Margaret Makafui Tayviah

The Colonial Impact in Christian-Muslim Relations in Ghana and Togo

A comparative assessment
DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to God for his wisdom and guidance given to me throughout this work.

I also dedicate this work to my late dad, Pharm. Harry Napoleon Tayviah, who did not live long to see the end of this work. This work is also dedicated to my dear mum, Mrs. Elizabeth Tayviah and my only Brother, Daniel Nana Mawuli Tayviah for their love, encouragement, patience, care and support. May God reward you.

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Abstract

Ghana and Togo are neighbouring states in West Africa which share some cultural and historical background. Before the advent of Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo, citizens practiced African Traditional Religion (ATR). The nature of African traditional religion and culture domesticated both Islam and Christianity in West Africa such that their exclusiveness was reduced with its own inclusive tenor. However, Europeans Colonial presence and policies, coupled with association with Christianity affected all aspects of the lives of the colonized people as well as their relationships, including the relationship between adherents of Islam and Christianity. Whatever their policies, Colonial powers contributed to the geographical expansion and therefore encounters between Christianity and Islam in West Africa, including the present day Republics of Ghana and Togo.

This study of Christian-Muslim relations was limited to the colonial impact on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo. This study further examined, assessed and compared how the policies of Indirect Rule by the British and direct rule of the Germans as well as Assimilation by the French directly or indirectly influenced Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo during the colonial period and the post colonial legacies thereof. This comparative study was based on facts and not on prejudice, assumption nor misunderstanding. The main conclusions drawn from this study are that since there seem not be any clear-cut, guidelines or documented policy of the British and the French on Christians and Muslims in Africa, the colonial governments related with Islam based on the discretion or decision of the Governor General. But whether a policy or attitude, it is clear that it was acted upon, implemented and very consistent in action. After the independence of the Ghana and Togo, successive governments of the two countries under study have made efforts constitutionally, educationally and spiritually to foster Christian-Muslim relations since adherents of the two religions continue to interact and engage one another. Finally, the ‘dialogue of life’ continues to be seen in all aspects of life of the citizens of both countries under study since citizens go about their everyday businesses with each other, live as good neighbours in peace and harmony irrespective of their religious and cultural differences.
**Terminology and Transliteration**

Throughout the research there are a number of Arabic terms that are used and these terms follow the standard Encyclopedia of Islam transliteration system for Arabic. There are also French and German words used in this work. Most transliterated words are in italics at every appearance, except when they are proper nouns, names of groups and organisations or when they begin a sentence.

The list below includes most common Arabic, French and German words used in this research work, that is, those that appear more than once or are used as key terms in a chapter.

- **Al** the
- **Haditha** saying of the Prophet Muhammad
- **Haram** unlawful
- **Ahlus sunnah wal-jama'a** Adherents to the Sunnah and the community
- **Malam** teacher, one who prepares talisman and medical cures
- **Madrasasa** college for Islamic instruction
- **Marabout** a Muslim religious leader, scholar or teacher in West Africa
- **Kufr** disbelief
- **Da'wa** missionary activity
- **Shari'a** a system of religious law in Islam
- **Emira** title of various Muslim (mainly Arab) rulers.
- **Eid al-Fitr** religious celebration by Muslims worldwide to mark the end of Ramadan
- **Eid al-Adha** the “feast of Sacrifice” Muslim worldwide celebrate
- **Imam** prayer leader (for Sunni Muslims)
- **A'ima** Plural of Imam (prayer leader)
- **Ibn** Son of
- **Qur'an** The Holy book of Islam
- **Sheikh** religious title
- **shuyukh** (plural) religious title
- **Sunnah** mainstream belief in the practice of the prophet Muhammad
- **Walia** guardian
- **mut’aa** temporary marriage recognized by the Shi’ite
Surah Chapter of the Qur’an
Suwar Plural of Surah
Mahdi the prophesied redeemer of Islam
Ulama scholars
al-daw’a al-islamiyya the Islamic State

**Hausa words**

boko book
makaranta School
makarantu Schools
zongo strangers quarters
sarkin tuba Chief of the converts
sarkin zongo Chief of Zongo
tuubakaawa converts
Imam al Balad Imam of the town

**German words**

Hamburger Nachrichten Hamburger News
Zeitschrift
für Kolonialpolitik Journal of Colonial Politics
gesperrtes Gebiet forbidden territory
Kirchen und Schulsachen” churches and school suppliers
Deutschland Germany
über alles About everything
Norddeutsche
Missionsgesellschaft North German Missionary society
Eingeborenenpolitik Indigenous politics

**French words**

coup d’état putch, coup
Islam noir black Islam
politique des races Race Policy

**English Words**
salems Christian quarters
mulato children from African men and women and European

**Latin Words**

personae non gratae an unacceptable or unwelcome person
cujus religio Whose religion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRC</td>
<td>Armed Forces Revolutionary Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>African Traditional Religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>AACC</td>
<td>All Africa Conference of Churches</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASWAJ</td>
<td>Ahlus-Sunnah Wal Jama’a</td>
</tr>
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<td>APRM</td>
<td>African Peer Review Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BK</td>
<td>Bible Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMS</td>
<td>Basel Mission Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMTC</td>
<td>Basel Mission Trading Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWANC</td>
<td>British West African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>The Convention People's Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCG</td>
<td>Christian Council of Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCT</td>
<td>Conseil chrétien du Togo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMB</td>
<td>Cocoa Marketing Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUT</td>
<td>Comité de l'Unité</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Christian Religious Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEVAA</td>
<td>Communauté d'Eglises protestantes en Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERAO</td>
<td>Conférence Episcopale Régionale de l'Afrique de l'Ouest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPAC</td>
<td>District Peace Advisory Councils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEPT</td>
<td>Eglise Evangelique Presbyterienne du Togo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FMC</td>
<td>Federation of Muslim Councils of Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCBC</td>
<td>Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCMM</td>
<td>Gold Coast Muslim Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>GES</td>
<td>Ghana Education Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEU</td>
<td>Islamic Education Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMC</td>
<td>International Missionary Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAP</td>
<td>Islam in Africa project</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRS</td>
<td>Islamic Religious Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>KNUST</td>
<td>Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAP</td>
<td>Muslim Association Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>MYC</td>
<td>Muslim Youth Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLC</td>
<td>National Liberation Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>NACCC</td>
<td>National Association of Charismatic and Christian Churches</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>National Peace Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>National Democratic Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>New Patriotic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRC</td>
<td>National Redemption Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNC</td>
<td>Peoples National Convention</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFP</td>
<td>Popular Front Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNDC</td>
<td>Provisional National Defence Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>People's National Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROCMURA</td>
<td>Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRICA</td>
<td>Programmes des Relations Islamo-Chrétiennes Afrique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Progressive Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RME</td>
<td>Religious and Moral Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPT</td>
<td>Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Regional Coordinating Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECOWA</td>
<td>Regional Episcopal Conference Of West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPAC</td>
<td>Regional Peace Advisory Councils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMC</td>
<td>Supreme Military Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AECAWA</td>
<td>Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAG</td>
<td>Christian Health Association of Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMOG</td>
<td>Coalition of Muslim Organisations in Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCCC</td>
<td>Ghana Charismatic Council of churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNACC</td>
<td>Ghana National Charismatic and Christian Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPC</td>
<td>Ghana Pentecostal Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIR</td>
<td>Union for the Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANEP</td>
<td>West Africa Network for Peacebuilding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCC</td>
<td>World Council of Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBA</td>
<td>Traditional Birth Attendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIGOV</td>
<td>Union Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>United Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WICS</td>
<td>World Islamic Call Society</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction
1.0 Background to the Study

Studies on the impact of colonialism on African peoples bordering on relationships have often covered issues of how the Colonialist related to Africans and vice-versa and how colonialism affected inter-ethnic relationship within modern states in and across Africa. However, the important phenomenon of how colonialism affected faith-based relationships has hardly been studied. Studies available mostly cover how Christianity and Islam were able to grow at the expense of African traditional religion and the types of negative relationship fostered especially by Christians with people who practice the traditional religion.

Ghana and Togo are neighbouring countries in West Africa. Ghana shares a boundary to the West of Togo. Before the advent of Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo, the people practiced African Traditional Religion (ATR). The coming of these two ‘foreign’ religions attracted many converts to them, thus the people in the two countries witnessed change in religious adherence with attendant religious pluralism and issues of inter-faith relations. The advent of Christianity in particular coincided with European colonial rule in Africa. Islam had preceded both Christianity and Colonial rule to the areas which now form the two countries.

The two countries had different colonial masters. The British colonized the Gold Coast now known as Ghana, to become an Anglophone country, while the French colonized Togoland now the Republic of Togo, to become a Francophone country. British West African colonies included Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, while French West African colonies were Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), French Guinea, Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Dahomey (now Benin), Mauritania and French Togoland. Togoland was first colonized by Germany in 1884 when Germany declared a protectorate over the coastal zone. Three weeks after the outbreak of World War I, in 1914 Togoland was split into two parts and the British and French were made to administer these zones on provisional basis.1 After the defeat of Germany, under the treaty of Versailles signed in 1919, Togoland was put under a League of Nations mandate but later was divided into British Togoland and French Togoland. This research explored the effects and impact of colonial rule on religion particularly its influence on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo during and after colonialism.

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1.0.1 Definitions of terms
Impact in this work is defined as having a strong effect and influence on someone or something. Thus this thesis sought to find out how the colonialism influenced and had an effect on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo.

Relations are defined as the way two or more people identify, connect and behave towards each other. In this study, we sought to identify the kind of relations and behavior that the Colonial authorities put up towards Christians and Muslims in the Gold Coast and Togo during colonial era as well as the relationship between Christians and Muslims during and after colonialism in the two countries under study.

1.0.2 Models of relations
Religious pluralism is evident in Ghana and Togo because people in these countries interact and relate with each other irrespective of their religious backgrounds. Christians throughout history have had different attitudes and ways of relating to Muslims. These attitudes have resulted into the emergence of four models with regards to how Christians and Muslims relate to each other in Ghana and Togo. These four models are dialogue, presence, trialogue and kenosis which have featured throughout the study. In agreement with Martha Frederiks on models, the models used in this work are abstract ideas which represent existing realities. Thus the models here are abstract ideas of the researcher to present and clarify realities which exist in the two countries under study.

The model of presence show how Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo have developed and spread to all areas. At least Christians and Muslims live almost everywhere in the two countries under study. Even though Muslims are in the minority as compared to Christians, Muslims are seen in almost every part of the country.

The model of dialogue has been consistent in the way Christians related to Muslims. With the advent of Christianity and Islam in Africa, Christians and Muslims were suspicious of each other mostly because of the way the colonial authorities related to the leaders of each religious group. Consequently, dialogue seems to have started on an official note between Christian and Muslim leaders. Dialogue became an everyday practice where

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2 Martha Th. Frederiks, We have Toiled all Night: Christianity in the Gambia 1456-2000, Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003, 5
Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo interacted and dialogued with each other first as humans and shared the values of African identity. Thus being a Christian or a Muslim was a secondary matter as the people of Ghana and Togo practiced the ‘dialogue of life’ as a natural way of interacting with each other irrespective of religious backgrounds.

Another model that features in the work is trialogue. Through this model, many chiefs in Ghana and Togo played the host to Christianity and Islam and since the chiefs represent the customs and precedents of African Traditional Religion, they became mediatory between Christians and Muslims during conflicts. Even though Ghanaians and Togolese became Christians and Muslims, their African identity and values remain intact. The chief in Ghana and Togo is therefore revered and respected.

In order to encourage intercultural encounter between Christians and Muslims, the model of kenosis emerged in the study. This model was proposed as an act of self-emptying whereby Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo first see each other as human beings, friends, family members, colleagues at school and work and neighbours whom they relate with every day. The model of kenosis enables a person to seek and respect the “other” in his/ her culture and religion while sharing our deepest convictions about God.

1.1 Research Statement

Ghana and Togo as neighbouring states in West Africa share some cultural and historical heritage. Both countries have strong Muslim presence in their Northern parts and strong Christian presence in the Southern parts due to the association of these geographical areas with the advent of the two faiths into each country. Lamin Sanneh has argued that the nature of African traditional religion and culture domesticated both Islam and

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3 Trialogue is when one religion stands in a position of trust to act as a third party in the event of a conflict involving two other religions. For instance in a conflict involving Christians and Muslims chiefs and other elders act as a third party to bring peace and harmony among the two religions. See more: Hyacinth Kalu, Principles And Practicalities Of Interfaith Relationships In Nigeria, Bloomington: iUniverse, 2011, 4-5


5 Martha Th. Frederiks, “Kenosis as a model for interreligious dialogue”. Missiology: An International Review, 33, 2 (2005), 8-9
Christianity in West Africa and thereby reduced their exclusiveness with its own inclusive tenor. Sanneh further posits that the more irenic character of Islam and Christianity was due to the fact that both were minority religions in West Africa for a long time.

European Colonial presence, attitudes and policies, coupled with association with Christianity, however, affected all aspects of the lives of the colonized people. Colonialism affected their relationships including the relationship between adherents of these different religions. The focus of this research is on how the relationship between adherents of Islam and Christianity was affected.

Our comparative interest lies in the fact that since the two countries were under different colonial masters, the relationships between them and the leaders of Islam and Christianity at times differed due to different colonial interests, attitudes and policies. It appeared that the English were more accommodating to Islam than the French. Peter B. Clarke attests that the British policy towards Islam was tolerant, sympathetic and even “protectionist”. Thus the application of indirect rule in northern parts of Nigeria and Ghana institutionalized Islamic rule, which due to jihadist movements was very prominent in these areas by the late 18th and first half of 19th century. Clarke however, suggests that during the colonial period, the administrations adopted different policies towards Islam and Islam’s responses to colonialism were complex and varied.

Though it is thought that the French wanted Africans to become Frenchmen through their policy of Assimilation so were less protective of Islam, Clarke asserts that the French policy towards Islam was often hostile but sometimes favourable. Paul Marty ascribe French attitudes to the notion of *L’Islam noir* (Black Islam) as irenic as opposed to *l’Islam Arab* (Arab Islam) which was conceived to be fanatic, militant and dangerous. Where Islam appeared to be too strong and a possible threat to French interests, steps were taken to undermine it. Nevertheless, scholars acknowledge the

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7 Lamin Sanneh, “The Domestication of Islam and Christianity,” 2
growth of Islam under French rule in West Africa. David Westerlund and Eva E. Rosander remarked that Sufism flourished well during French colonialism.\textsuperscript{11} Klaus Hock also suggests that “Islam spread faster and more successfully during the colonial period and in many ‘pagan’ areas Islam drew more adherents through its cultural attraction than it had ever attracted people by means of forceful expansion”.\textsuperscript{12} In the Senegambia, for instance, many embraced Islam as an anticolonial move. This was partly caused by the interventionist policy of the French and partly because by the 19\textsuperscript{th} century Muslim communities had indigenous leadership, unlike Christianity which had white missionary leaders.

This thesis examines how colonial policy relating to both religions particularly Islam impacted Christian-Muslim relations. Sheldon Gellar\textsuperscript{13} remarks that one of the by products of colonial rule was the explosive development of Christianity in non-Muslim territories and the rapid and steady expansion of Islam in territories adjacent to areas with large Muslim populations in Sub-Saharan Africa. This led to African Traditional Religion experiencing a sharp decline in adherents. Could this decline have reversed the domesticating influence of traditional religion that Lamin Sanneh refers to and which possibly produced the irenic \textit{Islam Noir}?

Whatever their policies, Colonial powers contributed to the geographical expansion and therefore encounters between Christianity and Islam in West Africa, including the present day Republics of Ghana and Togo. Our purpose in this thesis was therefore to examine, assess and compare how the colonial policies of Indirect Rule especially by the British, and Direct Rule by the French and various associated attitudes directly or indirectly influenced Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo during the colonial period and the post-colonial legacies thereof.\textsuperscript{14} We do so with the following research questions in mind.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} David Westerlund. & Eva E. Rosander, (eds.) \textit{African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounters between Sufis and Islamists.} (London: Hurst, 1997), 308-334
  \item \textsuperscript{14} These states did not exist in (pre) colonial times but were artificial creation of colonial times. Ghana was first “Gold Coast” and Togo was “Togoville”. Togo was first colonized by the Germans and then the French. In order to understand the colonial attitudes and policies towards Christians and Muslims in Togo we have to discuss the German era in Togo as well.
\end{itemize}
1.2 Research Questions

The key research question that we used to probe the effects of colonial policy on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo is:

Which policies of the different colonial powers in Ghana and Togo affected Christianity and Islam, in a way that impacted Christian-Muslim relations in both countries comparatively?

In order to effectively deal with this question, the following contributory questions are employed to guide the study.

- What was the religious context in Ghana and Togo at the dawn of colonial rule?
- Which key colonial governance policies of the British in Ghana, the Germans and the French in Togo, affected Christians and Muslims, and thereby their relationships and how?
- How did adherents of Christianity and Islam perceive themselves in relationship with the governance structure of colonial powers and how did this affect their perceptions of and relationship with each other?
- How have post-independent governments in Ghana and Togo handled colonial legacy on religion in their policies towards forging Islam/Muslims and Christianity/Christians relations in building the Modern State?
- What models of Christian-Muslim relationship were generated through colonial legacies and/or have been altered in contemporary Christian-Muslim relationships in Ghana and Togo respectively and comparatively?

1.3 Aims and Objectives

In order to answer the questions above, this research sets out four (4) main objectives which are interrelated.

- To identify, examine and assess how European colonial policy in Ghana and Togo has influenced Christian-Muslim relations in the two countries.
- To compare the experiences and nature of relations between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo before, during and after (1960-2015) colonial rule.
- To ascertain various changes in Christian-Muslim relations under and after colonialism, what contributed to the changes and consequent prospects for better Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo.
To produce a critical analysis of the modules of interfaith relationships stemming from colonial legacy and how they resolve the crises of a clash of civilizations generated by the peculiar context of the encounter between faiths under colonialism.

1.4 Scope of the Study

A study of Christian-Muslim relations cannot explore all issues involved in Ghana and Togo hence, the study is limited to the colonial impact on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo. Due to the differences in the colonial approach and policy in the two countries, it is important to study the impact of such approaches and policies on Christianity and Islam in the two countries because these two religions are the major religions of both countries. A study of this nature is also important to explore the encounters and practical relations of Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo without raising theological debates. The Christian religious groups that are studied include the mission churches like the Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian and the Pentecostal, Charismatic and Indigenous African churches. Muslim groups studied are the ‘Orthodox’ Sunni Islam, Ahlus Sunnah wal-Jama’a and Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The relations of Christians and Muslims throughout the world have been marked by polemics, dialogue, conflicts, confrontations or even wars. Guided by Samuel P. Huntington’s Concept of “Clash of Civilisations” where he forms a hypothesis that people’s cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold war world, it can be argued that Christianity and Islam have been involved in a “clash of civilizations” where each religion thinks of itself as more superior in the various contexts they find themselves. Christianity and Islam being missionary religions seek conversions not only of people of other faiths but also of each other’s adherents. As both religions claim to be the only “true” faith, this can contribute to clash of civilisations in Africa. Benjamin Soares argues that Christian-Muslim encounters or clashes are the normal state of affairs.

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15 Theological debates may be a diversion from the focus of this study so as much as possible we shall avoid it.
16 Samuel P. Huntington is a Political Scientist who proposed “The Clash of Civilisations” in a lecture at the American Enterprise Institute in 1992. This proposal was later developed into an article for the American Foreign Affairs in 1993.
Nonetheless, there are many religions in the world today hence interactions among adherents of these religions are more on the increase and this intensifies the consciousness and awareness of civilization. In Africa today, people are gradually being identified by their religious affiliations instead of their cultural identity. Therefore religion can provide a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and in the end unite civilizations.

The concept of colonialism is relevant to this study, because it provided a vivid context of the “clash of civilizations” in Africa. Colonialism has been used in historical and anthropological study of cultural encounters and change. Before colonialism, natives were in contact with each other directly or indirectly. According to Alexander Rani and Stephen Silliman such contacts took the form of exchange of commodities, ideas, cultural practices and sometimes led to Diaspora and settler communities. Stephen Silliman defines “Colonialism as the process by which a city, nation or state exerts control over people termed indigenous and territories out-side of its geographical boundaries”. The exercise of power is evident in the colonial practices and beliefs, religious persecution, inequality, racism, domination and oppression as well as native outright and subtle resistances. This study enables us do a comparative study of the different colonial powers of Ghana and Togo to appreciate the differences and inconsistencies among the different European powers during different periods, and how these effected a clash of civilizations not simply between European and African culture but more so between Islam and Christianity in Africa. This helps us to know how their rule affected or promoted Christian-Muslim relations in the two countries under study, especially after colonialism.

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20 Stephen Silliman, “Culture, Contact or Colonialism?, 58
1.6 Methodology

This study is anchored in the Comparative History of Religions, which requires a multi-dimensional approach in method. Various approaches have been used in research on Christian-Muslim relations by scholars. Some of these approaches include dialogue, historical and contextual approach, ideological and theological approaches. Scholars such as Lamin Sanneh, John Azumah, Martha Frederiks, Johnson Mbillah and Nathan Samwini tend to adopt historical and contextual approaches to the study of Christian-Muslim relations. Scholars who use the historical and contextual approach study the history of Christianity and Islam within the context of the community of study. This research also uses the historical approach since it explores the origins and developments of Christianity and Islam and the impact of Colonialism on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo. The Historical method is a process of systematically examining historical accounts. This method allowed the researcher to be guided by the techniques of assessing primary sources in order to interpret histories from the past. This method was used particularly in the second and third chapters to describe the nature of religion in the Gold Coast and Togo as well as the history of Islam and Christianity in the two countries under study. The historical method also allowed us to examine the attitudes of the colonial masters in their colonies in the two contexts and their effects on Christians and Muslims. The Comparative method enabled the researcher to use cross-cultural methods to identify, analyse and explain the differences and similarities across societies. This enabled us understand the reality in the different contexts, explored the diversity and interpret cultural or historical significance. The Comparative method was used in Chapters four and five to assess and compare the modes of Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo.

1.6.1 Data Collection Methods

This research employed qualitative research techniques appropriate for cultural and interpretative studies. In using this method, we depended on the quality of the information relevant to the subject matter under

study rather than on the quantity of responses to a particular issue. Thus instead of drawing from a large representative sample, we sought to acquire in-depth and intimate information from relatively smaller group of persons who are key in the issue being researched.25

### 1.6.2 Primary Data

Primary data for this research was therefore gathered through face-to-face interviews with experts of Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo as well as selected Christian and Muslim leaders in Ghana and Togo. The interviews were unstructured to provide greater breath and depths to answers sought.26 Thus questions were tailored to suit the person being interviewed, yet the answers of these questions covered the areas of the study. This enabled a complete description and analysis of the issues in this research, without limiting the scope and the nature of responses from interviewees.27 Purposive sampling method was used, where individuals interviewed represented the larger group from which they were selected. The purposive sampling method was used because it made the interview easy to conduct and had the high probability of achieving the representative sample since the interviewees were selected based on their expertise, knowledge or experience of the topic.

Other primary data used in the study were historical records and available official documents of colonial authorities (the German, British and French Governor-Generals, Governors and District Commissioners), and Christian and Muslim leaders in Ghana and Togo. These documents included diaries, directories, handbills, magazines, newspapers, maps, government statistical publications and photographs. Other primary documents used were constitutions, official addresses, minutes of official meetings and speeches as well as other official publications, handbooks, brochures, working papers and unpublished profiles of Christian and Muslim groups in Ghana and Togo. These documents sourced from libraries, museums, archives and personal collections were examined and critically analysed.

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1.6.3 Data Analysis
In analyzing the data from the interviews conducted for this study, content analysis was used. Moore & McCabe, argue that this type of research enables data gathered to be categorized in themes and sub-themes, describe situations and easy to compare. Content analysis gave the researcher the ability to structure the qualitative data collected to accomplish the research objectives. The various tools and techniques used to describe and critically analyse research data were interview transcripts, informants’ texts from diaries, official letters and field notes.

1.6.4 Secondary Data
The available secondary data for this study provided a diverse selection of materials such as books, journal, Internet sources and official publications in archives and libraries. The books which are used in this work provide historical background to Christian-Muslim relations in Africa, West Africa, Ghana and Togo. The journals used in this study complement the books and provide more current situational analysis related to this study. Internet sources and news databases necessary to this study were used with caution though they provided the latest information on the study and served as good sources for gathering information. Furthermore, internet sources were carefully cross-checked with other sources. Secondary literature was analysed through reviews to ascertain the theories, concepts, contexts and contents related to our study, what contributions these make to this study and the niche left to be filled by this research.

1.7 Literature Review
In the following literature review, we intend to tease out how various literatures provide various concepts, contexts and knowledge which enable us to fill the lacuna in colonial rule effects on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo. We will for structured convenience therefore explore available literature on the topic under the following headings:

- Pre-colonial African Traditional Religion and the advent of Islam and Christianity
- Colonial policy/attitudes towards Islam and Christianity in Ghana and Togo
- Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo

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Pre-colonial African Traditional Religion and the advent of Islam and Christianity

Before the advent of Islam and Christianity in Africa, Africans worshipped God and had their own understanding about God, his creation and the universe. Scholars like Edwin Smith, Geoffrey Parrinder, E. Bolaji Idowu and Kofi Asare Opoku agree that God stands at the apex of the African cosmos followed by the divinities, the ancestors, other spirits, totems and charms with human beings fitting in somewhere below the triangle.  

Islam preceded Christianity into West Africa. Levtzion and Pouwels assert that the process of Islamization began from the chiefs and kings of African societies, thereby making Muslim clerics serve the kings in return for their hospitality. Lapidus similarly observed that Muslims were culturally and educationally more advanced than non-Muslim Africans therefore they were appointed clerks and administrators in these non-Muslim areas. Klaus Hock posits that Islam’s coexistence with Africa Traditional Religion throughout the years made it more welcoming whereas Christianity still carries the image of a foreign religion as it entered Africa with colonialism. Lamin Sanneh argues that since African Traditional Religions were domesticating recipients of the religious beliefs of Christianity and Islam, this led to an inevitable exchange between these religions. Lamin Sanneh however alerts that the colonial entry into Africa had a deep and long lasting effect on the Muslim society more especially on the Muslim religious elite. This “lasting effect” had implications on Muslim societies as well as Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo.

In examining the varying expansion of Islam in West Africa, Peter B. Clarke observed that the history of Islam in West Africa at different periods adopted different attitudes towards the wider society. At one time

there was the pluralistic attitude which although maintained its doctrinal grounds allowed different cultures and political and social systems to co-exist. At another point in time, there was the accomodationist attitude where Muslims involved and incorporated their religion into the wider society at all levels. Then there was the militant attitude where some Muslims sought militant means to build the ideal Islamic society. Of the three, the pluralistic and accomodationist attitudes appear to have been ideal for good relations between Muslim-Muslims and Christian-Muslims. This pluralistic and accomodationist attitudes made religious people have mutual exchanges during pre-colonial and post-colonial eras.

**Colonial ‘policy’ or ‘attitudes’ affecting Islam and Christianity in Ghana and Togo**

Various scholars have discussed how the policies or administrative postures of colonial masters affected religions in Ghana and Togo. Alphonse Gouilly and R. L. Moreau both observed that France, like the other colonial powers in West Africa, never had a Muslim policy, the administrative and political measures of the colonial authorities appeared to favor Islam.36 However, scholars like Alain Quellien, Donald Cruise O’Brien, David Robinson and Christopher Harrison have argued that the colonial masters had a colonial policy for Islam because of their concern of how Muslims outnumbered Christians and other religions in West Africa.37 In examining the colonial ‘policy’ towards Islam in West Africa and the Islamic “response” to colonialism, Clarke points out that the French policy towards Islam was often hostile where Islam appeared to be too strong and a possible threat to French interests, therefore steps were taken to undermine it; but, the French were also favourable to Islam.38 However, when they felt threatened by Arab Islam, the French construed the concept of *Islam Noir*39 to dis-

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39 *Islam Noir* was a description the French used to distinguish the “inferior” Islamic practice of black Muslims and the practitioners of the faith. Islam noir represented the racism of both the Moors and French and was part of a general diminishment of the civilization of Sub-Saharan Africa in relation to the West Africans to other Muslims. I am not sure that racism was the main reason for the notion of Islam Noir which had a positive connotation, rather than being condescending. What seems to have been the case was that the construction of an irenic Islam Noir
tistinguish African Islam from Arab Islam. With this, it appears the French had different perceptions of Islam; African Islam and Arab Islam. Lamin Sanneh also submits that “the colonial officials often took sides in the cleavages created by turnovers in traditional rivalries and alliances. This unstable local political events meant that the officials were often unsure footed... officials cajoled and coaxed or warned and threatened in a mixed pattern of uncertainty”.40 This behavior of the colonial officials affected the development of Islam in their colonies as the Muslims were not sure when the colonial authority was accommodating or hostile. David Westerlund and Eva Evers Rosander, Jean-Louis Truiad, Ira M. Lapidus, Joseph Kenny and Klaus Hock have all argued that Sufism (Islam) expanded under French colonialism and colonialism in general.41 Nonetheless, many of the French colonial officers were secular rather than Christian (due to French revolution) and had more patience with Islam and Muslims than with Christianity, Christians and missionaries in particular. This attitude of the French colonial officers relating to Islam was perceived by the Christian missionaries as Islam being more favoured and this could have affected Christian-Muslim relations.

The British policy towards Islam was tolerant, sympathetic and even “protectionists”42 because of the indirect rule which made Islam in northern parts of Nigeria and Ghana develop so much that it was difficult to tell what culture was from Islamic practices. Even so, Clarke observes that

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41 Jean-Louis Triaud, “Islam in Africa under French Colonial Rule” in Levtzion & Pouwels (eds.) The History of Islam in Africa, (Athens. Ohio University Press), 169-188. The policy of the brotherhoods that was begun in Algeria and put to work by Xavier Coppolani was developed with success in Mauritanian, Senegal. Xavier Coppolani was a French military and colonial leader who was instrumental in the creation of modern day Mauritania. He was born in Algeria which was ruled by the French but was later transferred to Senegal. He made an alliance with two marabouts Sheikh Sidya Baba and Sheikh Saad Bouh who were leaders of the Qadiriyya Sufi brotherhoods. These Shayukh were promised a leading role in the colonial administration and protection for their zawiya tribes in return they would use their religious influence to persuade the local emirs to accept French rule. Jean-Louis Truiad admits that leaders of sufi brotherhoods such as Sidiyya Baba (Qadiriyya), Saad Buh (Fadillyya), al-Hajj Malik Sy and Abdullahi Niasse (Tijaniyya) and Amadou Bamba (Mourid) opted for cooperation with the colonial system. See also: Ira M. Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 737; Joseph Kenny, O.P. “West Africa & Islam: A Little Encyclopedia Of History, Beliefs, Practices & Christian Attitudes”, (Association of Episcopal Conferences of English Speaking West Africa (AECAWA). Accra. 2000); Klaus Hock, “Christian Muslim Relations in the African Context”, International Journal for the Study of the Christian-Muslim Relations, 3:2, (2003), 36-56.
42 Peter B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, 189
some Muslims in response to colonialism saw it as a form of evil and withdrew mentally, spiritually and culturally from all contact with European culture. Muslims also refused to participate in Western education in the missionary schools and this had a major effect on their participation in the country at independence.\textsuperscript{43} This response of Muslims caused some tensions between them and the Colonial authorities further affected Christian-Muslim relations examined in this work. However in towns and villages, Christian-Muslim relations were characterized by mutual tolerance and respect although there were occasional attitudes of superiority, debate and competition while at the official level, Christian-Muslim relations were characterized by mutual suspicion and competition by both religions in West Africa.\textsuperscript{44}

In his book \textit{Between Accommodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the State and Society in Ghana from the Precolonial to the Postcolonial Era}, Holger Weiss, with special reference to the history of Islam in northern Ghana outlined the development of Muslim communities in contemporary Ghana. Thus Weiss described the activities of Muslims in the north of the Gold Coast during the colonial period as well as giving an illustration of their influence and space within the colonial state. According to Weiss, the colonial state was not able to fully control or dominate the Muslim communities hence much of the daily life and activities of Muslims within the Muslim communities left no mark in the colonial files. This according to Weiss was because Islam and Muslims in Ghana represented a minority therefore having little political influence and smaller economic impact on the national level. Weiss further argued that this situation found its way into the contemporary period where Muslims are absent from the state and public sphere as long as they did not challenge the authorities or start to claim a rightful share of government interest and investment. However, Weiss in a comparison of the colonial period to contemporary Ghana, remarks that the visibility of Muslims in the public sphere, as well as in Ghanaian civil society, has increased tremendously during the last decades. \textsuperscript{45}

Robin Hallett observes that African societies witnessed some changes with European presence. European attitudes in Africa were complex since Europeans were of different nationalities and these affected their atti-

\textsuperscript{43} Peter B. Clarke, \textit{West Africa and Islam}, 190
\textsuperscript{44} Klaus Hock, “Christian Muslim Relations in the African Context”, 50-52
\textsuperscript{45} Holger Weiss, \textit{Between Accommodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the State, and Society in Ghana from the Precolonial to the Postcolonial Era}, Finland: Finnish oriental Society, 2008, 15
tudes to Africans. However, the attitudes of Europeans towards Africans were formed based on the interest of the European colonists and the European missionaries. Hallett admits that Muslims were in Africa before the arrival of Europeans in Africa hence the Europeans developed various attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. According to Harllet, there were long-held prejudices against Islam until gradually through the work of European scholars who specialized in Islamic studies; the foundation of a better, well informed and tolerant approach to Islam was laid. 46

Adu Boahen, 47 Elizabeth Isichei, 48 J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, 49 Ali Mazrui 50 among others have written about Africa and Colonialism. These scholars have briefly debated on the extent to which the advent of Christianity and Islam has contributed to the development of Africa. Further, historians and scholars of religion have debated on the kind of impact or effect that Western-Christianity and Arab-Islam has had on Africa and how they have related to African cultures. Peter Clarke, 51 J. Spencer Trimingham, 52 Nehemiah Levitzion, 53 Mervyn Hiskett, 54 Lamin Sanneh, 55 Ira M. Lapidus, 56 David Westerlund and Eva Evers Rosander 57 have written extensively on Islam and its influence and development in Africa. Scholars and  

49 J. F. A. Ajayi & Crowder Michael (eds), History of West Africa (v.1), (New York: Columbia University Press,1972)
historians such as Hans Werner Debrunner, Paul Gifford, Geoffery Parrinder, Sulayman S. Nyang and S. K. Odamtten have also researched and documented a comprehensive account of Christianity and its development in Africa. Through the research of these scholars, scholarly and useful information concerning the factors, influence, spread and development of Christianity and Islam have been made known. However, literature that extensively discusses the impact of Colonialism on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo and Africa as a whole is sparse.

The books under review suggest that European colonization came with Christianity and since the colonial authorities and Christian missionaries were Europeans, they did not seem to have many problems with each other. Therefore, the colonial authorities had to put measures in place to relate with Islam and Muslims who had preceded Europeans in Africa. These policies and attitudes of the colonial authorities towards Islam and Muslims made the religion spread and develop fast in Africa. This colonial attitude was interpreted as favouring Islam and this could affect Christian-Muslim relations in Africa.

Christian-Muslim relations in West Africa

Since the academic discourse of Christian-Muslim relations began many scholars such as Klaus Hock, Martha Frederiks, Johnson Mbillah, Lamin Sanneh, John Azumah and Nathan Samwini have tried to trace the history of Christians and Muslims living together to the Qur’an. The Qur’an in suwar 2:62, 3:55, 3:199, 5:66, 28:52-55 and 57:27 teaches the extent to which Muslims are to relate to Christians. However, Surah 5:72-73 and Surah 9 place Christians in the same category as unbelievers (kafirun). This ambiguity has had implications in the history of Christian-Muslim relations because the relations of some Muslims to Christians depend on the passages of the Qur’an they emphasise and how these passages are interpreted. The scholars of Christian-Muslim Relations mentioned above all agree that the history of Christian-Muslim debates began with the Prophet Muhammad himself. In 615AD when Muslim converts were persecuted, they sought political asylum with the Negus of Axum, but by that time,

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Christianity was well established in Ethiopia. The church and the umma since the days of Muhammad in Madina to date have been concerned with the need to promote peaceful and fruitful relations between the two religions.\textsuperscript{63}

John Azumah in the “Legacy of Arab-Islam in Africa: A quest for inter-religious dialogue” suggests that inter-faith relations to play a crucial role for peaceful co-existence between Muslim and non-Muslim Africans”.\textsuperscript{64} Cosmos Ebo Sarbah argues that the irenic co-existence between Christians and Muslims can be traced to ATR and in particular to Akan religiosity.\textsuperscript{65} In that regard Sulayman S. Nyang asserts that for Islam and Christianity to continue to have healthy inter-religious dialogue in Africa and the world at large, the language of “tolerance and social harmony” should be part of them or be cultivated.\textsuperscript{66} Sulayman Nyang further admits that the language of tolerance and social harmony is manifested in the principles of accommodation within African cultures. With all the above arguments, it is prudent for Christians and Muslims to live with their differences but also aim at tolerating and socially harmonizing with the ‘other’. In this 21\textsuperscript{st} Century, this must be the aim of adherents of the two religions hence there must be an intense and conscientious knowledge of “the other” in order to have a specific Africa identity\textsuperscript{67} since both religions are seen to belong to the same African heritage.

Johnson Mbillah in “Interfaith Relations and the Quest for Peace in Africa” makes it clear that the concept of God was known to the African even before the advent of Islam and Christianity in the continent which demonstrates the African traditional view of religious pluralism.\textsuperscript{68} In other words the African had lived in peace with his/her neighbor before the advent of Islam and Christianity. The above suggests that it is not Christians and Muslims who taught the African how to live in peace, therefore peace is important.

\textsuperscript{63} Nathan I.Samwini. “Christian-Muslim Relations in Retrospect: From Madina to Date; Lessons for Contemporary West Africa”, Oguaa Journal of Religion and Human Values, 1( 2011):1
\textsuperscript{65} Cosmos Ebo Sarbah, A Critical Study of Christian-Muslim Relations in the Central Region of Ghana with Special Reference to Traditional Akan Values, A thesis submitted for Doctor of Philosophy to the School of Theology, (University of Birmingham, 2010), 38
\textsuperscript{66} Sulayman S, Nyang, Islam, Christianity and African Identity, 86-87
\textsuperscript{67} Nathan I. Samwini. “Christian-Muslim Relations in Retrospect, 57; Klaus Hock, Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa, 55
John Azumah and Lamin Sanneh in their book “The African Christian and Islam” observe that a critical Christian reflection on Islam in a quest for a balanced theological and biblical engagement with Muslims in Africa gave rise to different faces of Islam such as radical or militant, political or ideological, Islamic missions or da’wa, folk Islam or Islamic mysticism and moderate Islam. These different faces of Islam identified according to Azumah and Sanneh showed that like Christianity, Islam was not monolithic and had different manifestations in Africa from one context to the other. These manifestations of Islam impacted Christian-Muslim relations in different parts of Africa such that the encounters between Christians and Muslims in Africa resulted in different dynamics in the relationship between them in different parts and periods. In some cases the relations were in the form of immigrant/host community relations, invader/ ruler and ruled relations and in other contexts, relations were in the form of a competition for commercial missionary and political interests. Since Africa is in the wake of reality of religious pluralism, Christian Africans need to learn to engage Islam and Muslims.69

In his article on “The African Christian and Islam: Insights from the colonial Period”, Elom Dovlo examined the attitudes of two West African Christian leaders Samuel Ajayi Crowther and Edward Wilmot Blyden towards Islam and Muslims. Dovlo argues that Crowther approached Muslims through a scripture-based dialogue where Christians and Muslims interrogated each other’s scriptures using the Bible and Qur’an. Edward Wilmot Blyden on the other hand felt that Islam was a more suitable religion for Africans than Christianity. He was also convinced that Islam provided opportunities for economic and cultural progress without the materialism of Christianity. Crowther and Blyden are therefore remembered for their pragmatic attitude and approach toward encounters with Islam and were careful not to arouse any hostility. Therefore the attitudes of Blyden and Crowther are still relevant in contemporary times where religious plurality is a reality and good interfaith relationships are encouraged in West Africa.70

Martha Th. Frederiks submits that the current trend in Christian-Muslim relations in Africa is a shift from “let us forget our differences” to “let us understand our differences and live with those differences in harmony”.71

This for Martha Th. Frederiks has been the characteristics of the recent development in interfaith relationships in Africa.

Martha Th. Frederiks, Johnson Mbillah, John Azumah and Nathan Samwini agree that Christian-Muslim relations in West Africa are healthy at the grassroots level but have concerns about polemics and how Christians and Muslims respond to missions and daw'a activities. These scholars call for a conscientious effort, re-evaluation and education to champion the course of good Christian-Muslim relations in West Africa. Martha Frederiks calls for the use of Kenosis\textsuperscript{72} as a model for interreligious dialogue.

Kenosis according to Frederiks is the willingness to seek the “other”, respect the “other” in his/ her culture and religion and in the encounter with the other, sharing our deepest convictions about God.\textsuperscript{73} In other words, the model of kenosis offers a paradigm shift for a joint human pilgrimage towards God. Kenosis then calls for religious people to mutually respect and mutually tolerate the other. This also encourages religious people to practice “dialogue of life” where Christians and Muslims coexist peacefully with the “other” in spite of obvious religious differences. The proposal of Kenosis as a model for interreligious dialogue in contemporary times enables people to mutually respect and mutually tolerate the ‘other’ in West Africa. These and other secondary literatures used are appropriately integrated into the body of this thesis.

1.8 Organisation of Chapters

This study was divided into six (6) chapters.

CHAPTER ONE introduced the thesis by raising the research problem of how British, German and French colonial policies influenced Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo (these two countries share some historical and cultural backgrounds) during and after colonial rule. The chapter raised research questions and outlined the aim and objectives.


\textsuperscript{73} Martha Th. Frederiks,”Kenosis as a model for interreligious dialogue”. Missiology: An International Review, 33, 2 (2005).
linked with the research statement. It discussed the Conceptual Framework used, ie, Huntington’s “Clash of Civilisations”, considered apt for the religious cum colonial context of cultural encounters envisaged by the study. It also gave details of the methodology used, offered a review of relevant literature and concluded with the perceived significance of the study.

CHAPTER TWO Reviewed the religious context of the thesis. It outlined the very similar Traditional African religion practiced in both countries prior to the advent of Islam and Christianity. This was followed by a historical survey of the advent and spread of Islam and Christianity in both countries and some of the changes or disruption that occurred due to their contact with the African traditional religion. The Chapter discussed the attitudes of both faiths to the host traditional religion noting that Islam coexisted more peacefully with African Traditional Religion than Christianity since missionaries condemned many of the practices of ATR and consequently, Christian converts looked down on ATR. It further explored how the coming and settlement patterns of Islam and Christianity into Ghana and Togo fashioned the beginnings of religious pluralism and interfaith relations among their adherents.

CHAPTER THREE dealt with the colonial moment/context by identifying and discussing the German, British and French policies/attitudes toward Christianity and Islam in the Gold Coast and in Togo during colonialism. The Chapter examined the north-south religious “zones” resultant from the limitations on Christian missions in Muslim territories by all three colonial powers. In spite of such restriction Islam spread in Ghana and Togo as Christianity inched its way northwards setting the scene for a variety of Muslim-Christian interactions and encounters. The chapter showed that whether the colonial authorities had formal policies or just developed administrative attitudes on how to treat Muslims and Christians in Ghana and Togo, it is clear that they implemented certain measures and were often consistent in action.

CHAPTER FOUR critically analyzed and compared the impact of colonialism on Christian and Muslims in Ghana and Togo. The chapter examined this impact under the rubrics of Colonialism, Civilisation, and Commerce all straddled by Christianity. These as proposed by Robin Hallett were the “Litany of Cs” accepted by Europeans as “providing the most effec-
tive recipe for the transformation of Africa.” 74 Using this paradigm of the tools of European influence, the chapter explored the negative and positive impacts colonialism had on Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo and what types of attitudes and interfaith relations were generated in both countries. It concluded with a comparison of the experiences in the two countries.

CHAPTER FIVE probed how Christian-Muslim Relations developed in Ghana and Togo during and after Colonialism. The chapter delved into how colonial policy restricting Christian evangelization of the northern parts of Ghana and Togo until after the 1900s; and some unspoken moratorium on converting each other’s adherent reduced the chances of Muslims and Christians relating to each other in competitive ways. However, by the 1950s (towards independence) several avenues such as western education created a basis for Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo to relate. This chapter also explored how after colonialism, successive governments of Ghana and Togo put in place certain measures constitutional, educational and even religious to foster good Christian-Muslim relations. It also examined how the religious bodies of the two faiths put programmes in place to promote interfaith peace and mutual coexistence for the common good, and the ‘dialogue of life’ practiced by ordinary adherents.

CHAPTER SIX drew conclusions and discussed some future possibilities for the study of Christian-Muslim relations. The study discovered that the perception that zoned the north of Ghana and Togo as Muslim or Islamic still lingers in the minds of people which is a colonial legacy. Yet, today the north of Ghana and Togo consists of Muslims, Christians and even adherents of other religions. Thus Christians and Muslims are everywhere and anywhere in the two countries under study. Since Muslims and Christians co-exist side by side in Ghana and Togo, they are compelled to respond to the challenges of this reality therefore the need for peaceful co-existence. The chapter further offered recommendations on how Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo could continue to relate better.

1.9 Significance of the Study

In our opening statement in the background to this thesis we noted that studies of the impact of colonialism on African peoples bordering on relationships have mostly covered how the Colonialist related to Africans and vice-versa, and how colonialism affected inter-ethnic relationship within modern states across Africa. The important phenomenon of how colonialism affected faith based relationships has hardly been studied. Studies available mostly cover how Christianity and Islam were able to grow at the expense of African traditional religion and the types of dialogues fostered with people who practice the traditional religion.

This research therefore was intended to fill this gap to underscore the need to understand the nature of the relationships that were generated through colonial impact, how they continue to exist among and between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo after colonialism in the light of models of interfaith relations.

Further, the legacy of colonial governance generally affects modern political governance in Africa. The thesis is therefore also significant as it seeks to analyse how post-independence government policies have also affected inter-faith relations in the search for peace and national stability in Ghana and Togo.
CHAPTER TWO

Religion in the Gold Coast and Togo before 1900s
2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the pre-colonial structure of African Traditional Religion which Lamin Sanneh argues allowed for religious inclusivism at the advent of Islam and Christianity in Gold Coast (Ghana) and Togo (Togoville) before the 1900s. The chapter also discusses the advent of the two ‘alien’ faiths to the two countries examining if and how the inclusivist nature of African Traditional Religion fostered good interfaith relations prior to the inception of colonial rule.

2.1 ATR in the Gold Coast before 1900s

Africa is not a country but a continent, Africa is not one culture but a rich diversity of cultures; Africa is not one language but is a polyglot containing many stories; Africa is not one religion but a shrine of many rituals. If you want to learn the culture and therefore the religious traditions of a people, go to the village and listen to the elders.

Robert B. Fisher

Africans practiced their own Indigenous religions before the advent of Islam and Christianity. Many African societies had their own ways of worshipping God and their own understanding about God, his creation and the universe. In their proposed triangular illustrations of the order of spiritual forces, Edwin Smith, Geoffery Parrinder, E. Bolaji Idowu and Kofi Asare Opoku argue that God stands at the apex of the African cosmos followed by the divinities, the ancestors, other spirits, totems and charms with human beings fitting in somewhere below the triangle.

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75 The Gold Coast will be used for any discussion before independence while Ghana will be used for discussions after independence. All the discussions in this chapter on the Gold Coast and Togoville are before colonialism and the change of names or the demarcation of the British Togoland and French Togoland.

76 Edwin Smith, The Religion of Lower Races (New York: Macmillan, 1923). See Also Edwin Smith (ed.), African Ideas of God, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1950) Edwin William Smith addressed a missionary conference in 1914 on the Bantu Conception of God. He believed that the concept of God was the best link between African Religious Traditions and Western Christianity but recognized that such a concept was part of a larger religious tradition in Africa. Edwin Smith was the first author to propose the pyramid illustration of the order of spiritual forces. Scholars such as Geoffery Parrinder, John Mbiti, Kofi Asare Opoku, E. Bolaji Idowu and Kwesi A. Dickson drew from Smith’s illustrations in their works.


In pre-colonial times, the Akan, the Mole-Dagbani, the Ewe and the Ga-Adangme were major tribes who lived in the area later known as the Gold Coast before the coming of the European colonists and missionaries. These peoples practiced their indigenous religion and each ethnic group had its concept of the Supreme Being’s relationship with man before the advent of Islam and Christianity. Although each tribe had its own concept of understanding the Supreme Being, some of their beliefs and practices were similar. The discussion in this section is on how certain notions within ATR resonated with the teaching of the newly arrived religions into Africa and how this allowed for good interfaith relations.

2.1.1 The Concept of the Supreme Being
The Akan believe in ‘Nyame’ (the Supreme Being). God also has other names such as Odomankoma (creator), Oboaded (creator), Amowia (Giver of sunlight) and Amosu (Giver of rain) by the Akans. The Ewe people believe that Mawu (God) created the universe. The Ga-Adangmes also believe in God as Mawu ji ngua (Omnipotent God), Nyongmo (Almighty God), Ongmo (God is strong and full of glory), Openosa (God is different from other deities) and Tsakoets (God cares). The Mole-Dagbanis also believe that the Supreme god is ‘Nawuni’ who is also the creator of the universe.

The Akan proverb “obi nkyere abofra Nyame” (no one teaches the child about God) shows the concept and belief in the Supreme Being as a religious experience of the Akans from birth. The Ga-Adagmes also share a similar belief that “nko tso we jokweyo Mawu” (nobody teaches a child about God). Just as the Akans believe that nobody teaches a child about God, so do the Dan-gmes also believe that God is accessible to anyone who seeks him no matter the age of the person. More so as a child is born later he or she realizes that a powerful source transcends him or her so due respect or reverence must be accorded to this Source. It is this concept or belief that makes it clear that the African knew God and had their way of relating to God before the coming of Islam and Christianity. Since the concept of God was known by the African before the advent of Islam and Christianity, it was easy for these religions to be introduced on the African soil because these religions also revered God as the Supreme Being and reverenced him as such. This

Maryknoll, New York, 1937), 9. This is a generalization and it is quite possible to find exceptions to this.

81 The Mole-Dagbani has five subcultures namely the Mamprusi, Mossi, Dagomba and Nanumba. The term or ethnonym ‘Dagbamba’, as applied here, includes the three related ethnic units referred to as ‘Dagomba’, ‘Nanumba’ and ‘Mamprusi’. The latter, by the way, also call themselves ‘Dagbamba’ while referring to the people known officially as ‘Dagomba’ as ‘Yooba’.
encouraged a pluralistic thinking among the Africans as they realized that God was also revered by the ‘foreign’ religions, Islam and Christianity.

2.1.2 Divinities
Many scholars have given various names such as ‘gods’, ‘demigods’, “deities”, “small gods”, “lesser gods” and ‘nature spirits’ according to different societies in West Africa. The pre-colonial Ghanaian major tribes mentioned above similarly believe in divinities which reside in rivers, streams, trees and mountains and are perceived as intermediaries between the Supreme Being and man. The Akans called the abosom (lesser gods), while the Ewes refered to them as vodu or trɔ and believed to effect the process of communication between humans and the heavenly God.  

2.1.3 The belief in Ancestors
The general belief in many African societies is that after the death of a person, the departed person enters into a spiritual state of existence. An ancestor according to many Ghanaian ethnic groups is a person who lived a worthy and exemplary life, had children and died at an old or ripe age. Kofi Asare Opoku remarks that ancestors are revered because they are the elders and predecessors who have trodden the path of life which the living are now treading. Joseph B. Danquah also asserts that Akan ancestors “act as friends who intervene between man and the Supreme Being to get their prayers and petitions answered more quickly and effectively”.

The Ewes similarly believe that prayers and sacrifices are offered to the ancestors in return for their protection, guidance and blessings. The Ga-Adagbe’s on the other hand believe in jemeawɔhi (ancestors) who bless and protect their people. African Traditional Religion, Islam and Christianity share the belief that the Supreme Being created the world and has a relationship with man. Whereas African Traditional Religion believes that God rules through divinities or lesser gods and ancestors; Christianity on the other hand believes in God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. Islam believes in One God only and the revealed holy books or scriptures to a God’s messengers.

82 Michael Swithenbank, “Ashanti Fetish Houses”, (Ghana Universities Press, 1969), 10
83 Both men and women can become ancestors but this is not the case in everywhere. See more in: Fortes Meyer, ‘Some Reflections on Ancestor Worship’, African System of Thought, M. Fortes & G. Dieterlen (ed.) (London, 1965)
The concept of the Supreme Being as a central belief among many of the African people, for the Muslim and Christian Ghanaian has been a ground for good interfaith relations. Ebo-Sarbah notes that in the Ghanaian social environment, Christians and Muslims use the same traditional Akan names and attributes of the Supreme Deity for God and Allah respectively. Proverbs about Nyame and his other names are used by Christians and Muslims in their speeches, wax prints, “High-Life” songs and traditional art works. According to him, the use of these names by the Akan people acknowledges, in no uncertain terms, that the Nyame of their ancestors is the same God or Allah they are worshiping now as Christians and Muslims, a fact that has been a crucial first stage in efforts at ensuring a harmonious coexistence and relations between the two great traditions.

The Ghanaian perception of the Supreme Being as One who guides, leads and directs the affairs of the world (hence nothing happens by chance) is expressed in the everyday activities. Thus Emmanuel Asante posits that this has influenced Akan Muslims and Christians in their expressions such as, ‘Onyame pε a’ and ‘insha Allāh’, constantly on the lips of the Akan.

2.1.4 Religious Practices of ATR as basis for Interfaith relations

According to John Mbiti Africans are an “incurably religious people” and have every aspect of their lives permeating religion. During the religious practices of ATR like Marriage ceremonies, Naming ceremonies and Funerals, Muslims and Christians participate in together. Since interreligious relations is not only about theology but also participating in each other’s lives and each other’s ceremonies, then the ceremonies become a common grounds for interreligious dialogue. As K. A. Busia and Elizabeth Amoah, have argued, ATR has influenced both Christianity and Islam.

86 Cosmos Ebo-Sarbah, *A Critical Study of Christian-Muslim Relations in the Central Region of Ghana with Special Reference to Traditional Akan Values*, (University of Birmingham, 2010), 98
87 Ebo-Sarbah, *A Critical Study of Christian-Muslim Relations in the Central Region of Ghana with Special Reference to Traditional Akan Values*, (University of Birmingham, 2010), 99. Nyame is referred to as God during inter-religious prayer meetings organized at various levels for the people of Ghana. In other words, irrespective of one’s religious affiliation, Nyame is used in referral to God.
91 Interreligious or interfaith relations in this text means sharing life and doing business, participating in each other’s rituals and relating to each other as people of faith communities.
and one of the reasons why people interact the way they do is because of their common heritage. Ghanaian Muslims and Ghanaian Christians still keep their African values and identity despite their ‘new religion’ and as a dialogue of life participate in each other’s ceremonies. For instance, marriage in Ghana is first done customarily (according to tradition) before it is further blessed in a mosque or a church. Funerals also attract mourners across the religions and may include the common denominator of some traditional rites.

The manner in which Islam and Christianity spread into Ghana and Togo also helps to explain the nature and varieties of interfaith relations. The following sections are therefore devoted first to the emergence and spread of Islam, followed by Christianity in Ghana.

2.2 Islam in the Gold Coast before 1900s

For the sake of clarity, geographical locations and conventions we adopt Nathan I. Samwini’s approach to the history of Islam in the Gold Coast before the 1900s by “zoning” the Gold Coast into two halves, the North and South.92 The North comprises the three Northern territories of the country now Northern, Upper West, Upper East and North-West parts of the Brong Ahafo regions. The Southern half of Ghana comprises current Ashanti, Western, Eastern, Central, Greater Accra and the Southern Volta Region.

2.2.1 Islam in the Northern Kingdoms of the Gold Coast

The earliest carriers of Islam to the Volta Basin were the Dyula-Wangara traders who established centers among the states of Gonja, Dagomba, Wala and Mamprusi leading to their Islamization.93 Of the four northern states mentioned, Gonja received Islam most warmly and the Gonja city of Salaga in the 18th and 19th centuries was instrumental for Islam’s penetration into Asante. Islam entered into Dagbon in the 17th century but did not exercise any real influence there until the time of the “reign of Na Zan-

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92 According to Nathan I. Samwini authorities such as Nehemiah Levitzion, Jack Goody, Ivor Wilks, John S. Trimingham and others have always divided Islam in Ghana into “Islam in the Volta Basin” (comprising Northern Ghana), “Islam in Ashanti” (the middle belt of Ghana) and “Islam among the Coastal tribes”. See Nathan I. Samwini, “Muslim Resurgence in Ghana”, 2006, 22-23. Samwini makes this geographical division to make the understanding of the history of Islam in Ghana easy hence this research also agrees with this geographical division.
gina (1700-1714) that a strong and influential Islamic community began to emerge in Dagomba”.  

Peter Clarke dates the founding of Wa to about 1650 by chiefs of Dagomba origin as well as the first Muslim settlers in Wa (Wangara Muslims) to the late 17th century. Nehemiah Levitzion and Mervyn Hiskett agree that Muslims entered Wa around 1650 to 1750. Nathan Samwni dates any firm evidence of Muslims in Mamprugu to the second half of the 18th century. According to him, Muslim history began to be recorded during the reign of Na Atabia between 1688 and 1741 when Na Atabia wanted to safeguard the Northeastern trade routes from Timbuktu/Jenne to the north and Hausaland that passed through his chiefdom.

According to Clarke the Dyula-Wangara traders were not aggressive itinerant scholars because “their main concerns were . . . with trade, the provision of a sound Islamic education for their own people and anyone else who wanted it and organizing the pilgrimage to Mecca”. Clarke further asserts that...

As was the case in Gonja and to a lesser extent perhaps in Mamprusi and Dagomba, the Muslims in Wa forged close ties with the chiefs and took on the language and many of the customs of the local people. They also allowed Islam to be adapted to a very considerable degree to the local culture.

Thus the Dyula-Wangara bearers of Islam adapted and mixed Islam with African beliefs and culture.

The Hausa of northern Nigeria were the second group of West Africans to introduce Islam to Northern Ghana. By 1775, Hausa speaking traders had settled in Salaga in Gonja because they were linked with trade in kola and

95 Peter B. Clarke, “West Africa and Islam”, 96
98 Peter B. Clarke, “West Africa and Islam”, 98. The Dyula Wangara Muslims were Tijaniyya who followed the (al hajj Salim) Suwari tradition.
slaves. Mervyn Hiskett mentions that Salaga “rose to prominence as a result of the kola-nut trade” and became the major kola market that linked the east, west, north and south. The Hausa traders took over the monopoly of the kola trade which was originally enjoyed by the Dyulas. Soon Salaga became almost entirely a town of people who spoke Hausa because of the strong Hausa presence there. The Hausa appeared to be less tolerant Muslims than the Dyula-Wangara Muslims. This presents us with two approaches to Islamization that could have affected interfaith relations with the traditional people in different ways.

2.2.2 The Dyula and Hausa Approaches in the spread of Islam in the Gold Coast

Levtzion, Sanneh and Samwini emphasize that the Dyula Muslims adopted a gradual, a quiet and pacific attitude towards the indigenous culture of the African where they integrated with the people and contributed immensely to the society. The Dyula Muslims were mostly influential at the royal courts. For instance, the Muslims served as clerks by recording history which helped consolidate the position of the chiefs. They supported the administration of the chiefs and were involved in the military warfare of the chiefs and people. In some kingdoms of the North like Gonja, Muslims became part of the chieftaincy institution such that when a descendant of Ndewura Jakpa (the founder of the Kingdom) is enskinned as a chief a Muslim is appointed an imam.

In Dagbon, the Muslims supported Na Zangina, to ward off Gonja attacks, kept official documents of past chiefs and imams of the land and finally recorded the history of the Dagbon kingdom. The Dyula Muslims did

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100 Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, 129
101 Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, 128
not only serve as clerks but in the religious capacity of manufacturers of charms and amulets.\textsuperscript{106} This approach of the Dyula involvement or engagement with traditional religion and culture seemed to have been effective in the spread of Islam in Northern Ghana because they did not demand a drastic break with the indigenous culture. Instead, they presented the positive religious assets of Islam which included the ritual prayer, the Ramadan fast, simple funeral and marriage ceremonies as well as some Islamic features such as polygamous marriage which fell within the framework of African customary practice.\textsuperscript{107}

The Hausa traders when they arrived in the northern territories of Ghana moved via the northern territories of Ghana further south into Bono and Asante. They were experienced in Islamic education with insightful knowledge of the Arabic language and as a result increased the supply of books and writings of Islam in the area. According to Clarke, their quest for Islamic education also offered them more frequent contacts with the Muslim world of North Africa and the Middle East and Muslims in areas with long tradition of Islam in West Africa.\textsuperscript{108} Clarke notes that the Hausa like the Fulani and Tuareg Muslims were reformist and puritan activists who were strict and adopted an uncompromising attitude toward the traditional or indigenous way of life. Thus they sought to advance orthodox Islam in Ghana. As part of the Hausa Muslims understanding of Islam, they tried to eradicate all traces of what they considered to be un-Islamic beliefs and practices encouraged or tolerated among Muslims of Northern Ghana.\textsuperscript{109}

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\textsuperscript{108} Peter B. Clarke, “\textit{West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century}”, 1982, 111. The Hausa scholars were not the only ones to travel to gather knowledge.

\textsuperscript{109} Peter B. Clarke, “\textit{West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century}”, 1982, 114. Some of the un-Islamic beliefs and practices according to the Hausa included the belief of spirits and deities inhabiting stones, trees, streams and rivers because these practices were considered reverencing the supernatural forces other than Allah.
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Mervyn Hiskett explains that the Hausa Muslims in Dagbon, Wa and Mamprugu set up Hausa zongos so that they could avoid associating with the non-Muslim chiefs. However, at times the Hausa Muslims cooperated with the chiefs and their people. One of the Hausa Muslims thus became the imam at the Mamprusi chief’s palace. This approach showed the authoritative nature of the Hausa Muslims. It seems the chief of Mamprugu did not have a choice since in those times, wars for territorial expansion were prevalent and Na Atabia needed the Muslims to support him.

After Uthman Dan Fodio’s jihad of the late 1700 and early 1800, Hausa Muslims practiced the stricter form of Islam in accordance with the Qur’ān and the Sunna of the Prophet wherever they went and declined to integrate or preferred segregation in the society probably because of their puritan ideology. As a result, Enid Schildkrout remarks that the Hausa Muslims unlike the Dyula Muslims did not get involved in the local politics and socio-religious affairs of the chiefs and their people in northern parts of the country.

Due to the different approaches of the Dyula and Hausa, Mervyn Hiskett remarks that there are two levels of Islam which emerged in Dagbon and Mamprusi “...the ancient one, of the Dyula Muslims (yarnas), which are barely distinguishable from the native Earth cult and a new, strictly Sunni and very literate Islam of the Hausa immigrants”. Thus there were two forms of Islam in Northern Ghana. The first form of Islam was moderate, tolerant and accommodative of the traditional beliefs and practices, while the second form to an extent was uncompromising towards the beliefs and practices of the local people.

11 Cosmos Ebo Sarbah, A Critical Study of Christian-Muslim Relations in the Central Region of Ghana with Special Reference to Traditional Akan Values, (University of Birmingham, 2010), 42
2.2.3 Islam in the South (Asante and Coastal towns of the Gold Coast)

Nathan I. Samwini makes a comparison “that whereas the history of Islam was mixed with invasions and trade in the north, in the south the history of Islam was purely trade and British external interventions”. The Salaga market which was noted for its trade in kola nuts and slaves enabled the Hausa traders to frequent and settle among the Gonjas in the north and in Kumasi, the southern point of the trade routes. Mervyn Hiskett admits that the Hausa occupation of Salaga had important consequences for the spread of Islam in Ghana. After the British defeated the Asante in 1874, Salaga began to decline and the trading community of the Hausas eventually dispersed to the south. Partly due to the Muslim presence, Samwini records that Muslims came to Asante on diplomatic missions from as far as Masina while others came on visits or upon the invitation of clerics by the Asante kings. Joseph Dupuis remarks that by the early 19th century the then Asantehene, Osei Tutu Kwame (c.1800-23) was regarded “as a friend on whom they could always rely for protection”. Even though Osei Tutu Kwame appeared to have liked the Muslims and the potency of their powers, the traditional legitimacy of chieftaincy in Asante could not allow him to fully accept the Islamic religion as a convert. Osei Tutu Kwame saw Islam and Muslim presence in Asante as an advantage because the Muslims served as clerics and also came as traders which were of economic benefit to the Asantes.

On the Coast of the Gold Coast, Fanteland which now constitutes the Central Region of Ghana had among others, two towns Elmina and Cape Coast which hosted the earliest European castles on the Coast built for the pursuance of trade. Mande Muslim traders were believed to have visited Fanteland on the Coast of the Gold Coast early from the 13th century, until the

114 Nathan I. Samwini, *The Muslim resurgence in Ghana since 1950 and its effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations*, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 38
115 Nathan I. Samwini. “The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since” 1950, 30
117 Nathan I. Samwini. “The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since” 1950, 32
118 Joseph Dupuis, “Journal of a Residence in Ashantee”, (London: Colburn, 1824), 250. Muslim influence began during the reign of Asantehene Osei Kwame (1777-1801) who is believed to have been ‘a believer at heart’. The general belief among the Muslims in Ghana is that Osei Tutu Kwame (Kwaku Dua) was destooled for becoming a Muslim. The next Asantehene, Osei Bonsu (1801-1824), began his reign as an enemy of Islam and even executed several Muslims most probably to win back the support of the people (See Also: Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in pre-colonial Period*, (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1968),187
19th century when they settled among the Fantis. During this time the Mande presence in Fanteland seemed to have been motivated by trade rather than Islamisation.\textsuperscript{119} When the British established their presence in Cape Coast, they imported Hausa soldiers from Northern Nigeria to form the local military force. They constituted a strong Muslim presence linked with the British. In 1885, the Imam of the Hausa Soldiers, Abu Bakr converted a Fante lay preacher turned trader Benjamin Sam to Islam. Benjamin Sam since 1864 was reputed to have had various spiritual experiences that predisposed him to Islam before his final encounter with the Hausa Imam. Together with his convert to Christianity and subsequently Islam, Mahdi Appah they devoted their lives to converting the Fante especially of Ekumfi and Gomoa to Islam. They even established a new Muslim township Ekrawfo. Benjamin Sam later wrote a letter to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement (now Mission) in Rabwa, Pakistan requesting for some Ahmadiyya missionaries to be sent to Fanteland to help them understand the religion better. Although Benjamin Sam and his friend Mahdi Appah were already converted as the first Fante Ahmadi Muslims their invitation to the Ahmadiyya and later their arrival of the Ahmadiyya Missionaries in Ghana saw further conversion of many other Fantes.

Muslim traders and the Hausa Constabulary also contributed immensely to Muslim presence in Accra which is now the capital of Ghana. Dretke has noted that apart from the traders who included Yoruba and Fulani, Muslim groups which settled in Accra included freed slaves from Brazil known as the tabons, who landed on the coast of Accra in 1836. These tabons were also believed to have carried a copy of the Qur’an along with them throughout the journey till they got to shores of Accra in 1836. These freed slaves were believed to be the main propagators of Islam in Accra.\textsuperscript{120} The active propagation of Islam yielded fruit in the conversion of indigenous Gas who were already Christians to Islam. They later reinforced the propagation on Islam among their kith and kin and by the early 1930s begun to form various associations of indigenous Ga Muslim which finally ended up in the Ga Aborigines Muslim Mission (1936), currently known as the Ghana Muslim Mission.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{120} Nathan I. Samwini, \textit{The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950}, (2006), 33-35
In the south of the Gold Coast, immigrant Muslims maintained their distinctness by keeping to zongos such as Asawase, Aboabo, Mossi zongo (all in Kumasi), Nima, Adabraka, Cowlane, Tudu, Fadama (all in Accra).\textsuperscript{122} There are many more Zongos across the urban towns of southern Ghana. While Muslims became integrated into northern chiefdom structures, that was not the case in the south as the zongos spelled segregation and at times marginalisation.\textsuperscript{123}

It can be deduced from the above account that factors leading to the spread of Islam in the south vary at times from that of the north. The rapid spread of Islam coincided with the establishment of European trading posts and later British colonial rule as well as the spread of Christianity in the south. It is important to note that conversion of the indigenous people to Islam therefore became more distinctively marked ethnically than the north. Moreover, unlike the north, the key converts to Islam in the south were already Christians who used skills of Christian evangelism to spread Islam among ethnic compatriots. The implications are that the southern encounter between Muslims and Christians was bound to be more complex and different from that of the North which was initially protected against Christian missions. This has implications for the nature of Christian Muslim relations in what is now Southern Ghana.

2.2.4 Muslims and Chiefs in the Gold Coast

Gyang Duah writing about the Scottish Mission Factor in the Development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana from 1917-1957 remarked that before colonial rule “the chief held the key to the success or failure of missionary enterprises”.\textsuperscript{124} Gyang Duah’s statement was also applicable to Muslims since the chief was important to both the trading and missionary enterprise because he was the first person the Muslim traders and Christian missionaries contacted as custom demanded. His acceptance of the ‘mission’ and its message paved ways for further evangelistic work in his ethnic group.\textsuperscript{125} Missionaries and Traders were thus able to settle down and

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{122} Nathan I. Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950, (2006), 36; See also: Osman B. Bari, A Comprehensive History of Muslims Religion in Ghana, 389-390 for a list of the earliest Zongos and dates of establishment.


\textsuperscript{125} Kofi Effa-Ababio, Conflict, identity and Co-operation- the Relations of the Christian Church with the Traditional, Colonial and National States in Ghana with Special reference to the period 1916-1966,
\end{footnotesize}
work in the Gold Coast communities due to the hospitality and protection given to them by the chiefs. Chiefs were important and respected traditional rulers in the Gold Coast. They were the repositories of custom and tradition and often played priestly roles.

Chiefs and local merchants favored Islam when Muslim traders arrived in their jurisdictions, but they did not easily abandon their traditional practices.\textsuperscript{126} Islam was tolerated because of trade which though a non-religious factor created an opportunity for interfaith relations between the people of the Gold Coast who were ATR practitioners and the Muslims. At places where Islam was tolerated and accepted by the chiefs, Islam influenced and Islamized the culture to a certain extent. A Muslim officiated and led prayers as well as used the Qur’an and Islamic Law as a guide for himself and the members of the Islamic community. As Nathan I. Samwini indicates that among the ethnic groups of the north, where Islam is old, people bear Arabic names, and the vocabularies of Wale and Dagomba contain several Arabic words. The days of the week from Monday to Friday are also derived from Arabic.\textsuperscript{127}

Ndewura Jakpa the founder of Gonja also patronized Islam. The Gonja chronicles speak of Ndewura Jakpa and Fati Morukpe’s contract which states that in every town Jakpa conquered, he appointed one of his descendants as chief and one of Fati Morukpe’s descendants became Imam to the chief.\textsuperscript{128} This contract signed between the Muslims and the Gonjas shows the direct involvement of Muslims in the establishment of the Gonja kingdom; thus, Islam became part of the chieftaincy institution which is still practiced till date in every Gonja town. In other words, once Islam became part of the Chiefdom, the religion was free to spread and develop in Gonjaland.

The reign of Na Atabia (1688-1741) among the Mamprusi marked the beginning of Muslim history in Mamprugu. Amongst all the Mamprusi chiefs, Na Atabia was more involved with Islam. Nehemiah Levtzion posits that a trade route from Hausaland which passed through Fadan-Gurma, Kupela and Gambaga the old capital of the Mamprusi kingdom leading to the Volta

\textsuperscript{127} Nathan I. Samwini, “The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana” (2006),61
\textsuperscript{128} Nehemiah Levtzion, “Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa”, (1968), 50-51
Basin was often attacked by robbers; hence Na Atabia set up chiefdoms at Binduri and Bawku to protect the Muslim traders on their journey. As a result of this, he appointed a Muslim to serve as a tax collector over the traders. Na Atabia also appointed Muslim Mangoshi or Magaji Akushi to teach the chief’s children and others the Qur’an. Although Muslims were not politically involved in the founding of the Mamprugu kingdom unlike Gonja and Wa, it appears that the Islamic education of the natives was their concern or aim. For Na Atabia to have this kind of relations with the Muslims shows the genesis of interfaith relations/interactions in Mamprugu land.

Na Zangina who ruled Dagomba between 1700-1714 made Islam popular for two reasons. The first reason was that he had legitimacy problems with his brothers over his chieftainship. Secondly, he turned to the Muslims for security and political reasons in an attempt to fend off Gonja attacks. Islam as discussed above was patronised by some chiefs and the merchants who had direct contacts with the Muslims.

Apart from the chiefs of the northern kingdoms who patronised Islam and Muslims, Asantehene Osei Tutu Kwame also patronised Muslims. Bodwich who visited Asante in 1817 found out that “the Moorish chiefs and dignitaries who surrounded the king of Ashanti had powerful influence not only from their rank but their reputation”. Baba al-Ghamba, Abu Bakr Tur-ray and Muhammad Kama’atay, were Muslims who enjoyed high position had the right to be heard in the Asante palace. Even though many people in the Northern kingdoms and Asante of the Gold Coast adopted some Islamic culture such as their dresses, prayers, naming ceremonies, funeral rites and divination they were uncompromising with their chieftaincy institutions and traditions.

The Asante king’s interest in the Islamic religion, was mainly for the benefits that came with the spirituality of the Muslims. Depuis quotes Osei Kwame as saying “the Koran... is strong and I like it because it is the book of the great God, it does good for me and therefore I love all the people that read it”. Osei Kwame consulted Muslims for prayers and the Mus-

129 Nehemiah Levzion, "Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa", (1968), 124
131 Ivor Wilks, “The Position of Muslims in Metropolitan Ashanti”, 319-320
132 Joseph Dupuis, “Journal of Residence in Ashantee”, 161
lims held positions in the king’s court. Kwaku Dua accepted some aspects of Islam but did not convert because his conversion would have entailed his being circumcised and since the Asante king cannot have any physical blemish including circumcision, it was impossible to be both Muslim and king. The Asantes seem to have been not so much interested in the Islamic faith in itself but the medicine, charms and amulets which were prepared by the Muslims. During Kwaku Dua’s reign, there was the widespread of the use of amulets and talisman which was used by everyone. According to Dupuis the warlords, the king himself and other warriors had battle garb sewn using bullet-proof amulets made by the Muslims.133

Owusu-Ansah agrees with Bodwich and detailed how the Muslims prepared amulets for protection during war and cures for bedwetting, smallpox, impotence, leprosy and ulcers. This according to him was how Islam was put into many uses in Asante”.134

Samwini asserts that Muslims and Islam became integrated into the fabric of the Gonja, Wa, Mamprugu and Dagbon kingdoms even though the religion made little impact on commoners.135 Both Jeff Haynes and Patrick Ryan136 hold the view that the mixing of Islam and African religions marked the early part of the African acceptance of the new religion, which was marked by the magical and ritual aspect the religion possesses. Nehemiah Levtzion also observed that the accommodating attitude of Islam which combined Islam and African Traditional Religion (which he calls symbiosis) is an explanation for the successful spread of Islam in Africa.137

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135 Nathan I. Samwini, “The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana”, 30
2.2.5 The Principle of Enclavement (Zongos)

Muslims in “pagan” societies during the 13th century were able to maintain some social distance from the ruling class as a result of the teachings of Al-Hajj Salim Suwari. The Suwarian tradition was intended to sustain the community of the faithful living in the Dar al-Kufr. This condition allowed the Muslims to accept the rule of non-Muslim authorities as long as they provided conditions whereby the Muslims could maintain the faith. Hence places of worship and education were generally provided within the neighborhoods of the trading towns. This provided some consultation between the Muslim and non-Muslim, and between the trading and ruling “estates,” which was institutionalized for peaceful conditions, which prevailed much of the time. The process of enclavement was prevalent among Muslim Communities in the Gold Coast. The places of enclavement bore the Hausa word Zongo.

Lamin Sanneh observes that the principle of enclavement (Muslim zongos) allowed the traditional host community to enable Islam appear prominent without any diminution of existing religious structures. According to Sanneh, even though many local rulers accommodated Muslims in their states, they later regretted their action when they realised the growing power of Muslims because of the autonomy inherent in the zongo system and this made such rulers powerless to stop the influx of Muslims.

Sanneh further observed that Muslims supported the traditional hierarchies because they owed too much to the ‘enclavement’ idea and did not

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138 David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 133; Roman Loimeier, *Muslim Societies in Africa: A Historical Anthropology*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 267-294. Al-Hajj Salim Suwari was a West African Soninke Islamic scholar who focused on the responsibilities of Muslim minorities living in non-Muslim societies. He formulated the Suwarian tradition which proposed peaceful co-existence. The Dyula Muslims who came to West Africa were guided by the Suwarian principles which therefore led them to peacefully co-exist wherever these Dyula traders went.


140 According to R. C. Abraham, the word zongo is used interchangeably to mean Hausa settlement, Mohamedan settlement or strangers’ quarters. See Also: R.C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Hausa language*, (London: University of London Press, 1962), 967. The word zongo is an Hausa word which means the ‘camping place of a caravan’ or ‘the lodging place of travelers’. Enid Schilkrot explains that zongo with an Upper case ‘Z’ refers to a specific geographical neighbourhood while zongo with a lowercase ‘z’ refers to the stranger’s community which inhabits a neighbourhood. See Enid Schilkrot, *People of the Zongo: The transformation of ethnic identities in Ghana*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978),280.

want to abandon it and the people who extended it to them. Muslims could not renounce the principle of enclavement which the traditional societies themselves practiced because they as visitors to the African soil did not have any schemes of adaptability. Thus Muslims continued to live peacefully in these enclaves even though once a while they played prominent roles in society.

E. G. Parrinder also refers to the “Muslim quarters as hospitable and as a place where strangers from the villages can find shelter. In the zongos they can observe Islam in worship and life and may take Muslim wives upon conversion to the faith. In this case, the zongos were created to maintain solidarity amongst Muslims so they can practice their religion without interfering with the indigenous traditional structures. According to Enid Schildkrout, the term zongo in Kumasi has several meanings which vary depending on the identity of the speaker and the context in which it is being used. From the Asantes and the European point of view, the zongo community included all northerners who were recent migrants in Asante. It appears that this explanation of zongos by Schildkrout has become the general perception of zongos to many people as stranger’s quarters and a Muslim dominated area.

2.2.6 Islam and Interfaith Relations with Traditionalists

Some key elements of interfaith relations are derived from the study so far regarding Muslim relations with the people of the traditional faith. It may first of all be noted that since Islam permeated the area through trade, it means interface with traditionalist was not doctrinal and confrontational. Since trade was beneficial to both parties the two were accommodative of each other.

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It has been noted that relationship with chiefs was an important unavoidable intersector of Muslim presence in the region. Yet the protection and hospitality offered by the chiefs required reciprocity rather than hostility eventually from the Hausa. Since chieftaincy legitimately lay within the heart of African culture, even where arrangements were administrative they required the tolerance that involved mixing of Islam. It is possible that the careers of Islam being Africans themselves were fully conversant with African political authority and context, this allowed for a level of understanding.

However, beyond non-religious factors that allowed for good interfaith relations such as trade, there were religious factors as well. Though the concept of God is applauded as a common denominator in interfaith understanding this understanding seems to have actually occurred more practically and existentially at the lower level of spiritual potency and health etc. For unconsciously in the area of magico-religious services that were rendered by Muslim clerics there was a dialogue of worldviews which attracted not only chiefs but the common people. Islamic response to these needs for health, potency of various sorts and success served the traditional worldview and vice-versa.145

It was the spirituality of power and potency that provided the basis for the practical manifestation of cooperative interfaith relations noted in 2.2.4 above where Ndewura Jakpa and Fati Morukpe contracted themselves and families into a future of a political and religious relationship which is still part of Gonja culture today.

We will now discuss the emergence of Christianity in the Gold Coast.

2.3 Christianity in the Gold Coast before the 1900s

Christianity arrived in Ghana through the sea, slowly made converts among the coastal people, then moved northwards into the northern parts of the country in contrast to Islam which came by land from the north and spread southwards. Christianity in Ghana began with the arrival of some Portuguese European explorations in the 15th century. In 1482 the Portuguese erected a castle in Elmina to fortify their interests in the lucrative gold trade which later expanded to include slaves and other items. However, there was limited Christian presence in the country between 1482 and 1828 restricted mainly to the Danish, the Dutch and the British who had chaplains and opened schools in the forts.

Asante was Christianized in the 1830s as many Fantes who had little or no opportunity to engage in trade with the people of Asante before 1831, were attracted into business by the certainty of the security offered by Governor George Maclean’s Peace Treaty of 1831 between the Asante, the British and the Coastal states. The aftermath of the battle of Katamansu in 1826, resulted in peace and trade boom in Ghana. According to Ahiable-Addo many educated Fante traders, who were active participants in this nascent trade had acquired a modicum of Christian life by 1835 so from 1835 to 1838 many of these traders became Methodists when Methodism was in vogue at the coast. Therefore, wherever these Fante traders resided in Asante to trade, they formed Methodist Christian fellowships, not only for the purpose of communal worship, but also for identifying themselves as a social group among the indigenous Asante.

Two of such fellowships were in Kumasi and Fomena. The fellowship in Kumasi was founded by John Mills, a Fante trader resident in Kumasi and James Hayford, a Fante and a British representative on the appointment

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146 S. K. Odamten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*, (Waterville Publishing House, Accra, 1878), 12
148 The Danish were in the Gold Coast between 1658–1850, the Dutch were also in the Gold Coast between 1598–1872 while the British ruled the Gold Coast in 1821–1957.
150 C. H. Ahiable-Addo, “Focus on the early Methodist Church in Ghana 1835-1838”, Trinity Journal of Church and Theology, VI, 2. (1996), 9
of George Maclean. Hayford appeared to have been influential enough to hold divine services because both Bartels and Debrunner observed that Hayford won the confidence of Nana Kwaku Dua I (1838-1967), and obtained his permission to hold divine services including singing of psalms and hymns, readings from the Bible and prayer in the presence of the King Kwaku Dua I and other members of the royal household in the palace.

We deduce from the above that Methodism was introduced to the Asante by Fante traders and not Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman. Again Methodism was introduced to Nana Kwaku Dua I by Hayford and the Fante traders and not Freeman yet the activities of these Fante traders prepared and paved the way for Thomas Birch Freeman in Asante. “Through Hayford’s devotional activities the King of Ashanti extended an invitation to Freeman to open a school there.” Freeman later opened his mission in Asante with this same group of Fante traders. Thomas Birch Freeman then asked the Asantehene for permission to formally establish a church and a school but this request was turned down by the Court and Freeman was asked to return at a later date if he so desired. He left Kumasi with his team on Monday, 15th April 1839, and arrived in Cape Coast on 23rd April 1939. Upon the invitation of the Asantehene Kwaku Dua I, Thomas Birch Freeman returned to Kumasi on his second missionary journey on 6th November 1841 but this time around had no detentions and interrogations. Thus Methodism in Asante was sustained against Muslim advice.

Fritz Augustus Ramseyer founded the Basel (Presbyterian) Church in Kumasi in June 1869, when together with his wife and brother Johannes as well as a black convert Thomas Owusu were taken as captives of the Asante army under Adubofour. Having been held as hostages for nearly five years and all efforts to secure their release had failed; the British Army attacked Kumasi and finally released them in January 1874. After their release, it was Ram-

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154 J. Kofi, Agbeti, West African Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations: 1482-1919 (v. 1), (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 56. Thomas Birch Freeman’s attention was turned to the Asante Kingdom by the end of 1838 and on January 30, 1839, Thomas Birch Freeman led a team from Cape Coast to establish a new mission in the Asante kingdom and arrived on Friday 8th February, 1839.
seyer’s most ardent wish to return to Kumasi as a free missionary to continue from where he left off. Thus in 1896, Ramseyer took that opportunity to return to Kumasi when the British army took King Prempeh I, the Queen mother and other high courtiers as captives to Elmina. By the end of 1896, two stations and two schools were opened by the Basel mission in Asante. 156

In 1882, Auguste Moreau from the Society of African Missions (SMA), and also the Superior (head) of the Catholic Mission in Elmina was sent to Asante.157 He was received and accorded a grand durbar by Nana Osei Bonsu, the then Asantehene. Moreau, assisted by two altar boys said the first Catholic Mass in Kumasi on Asantesoil at the visitor’s quarters of Nana Mensah Bonsu on 23rd April 1882.158 This indirect encounter between the Christian missionaries and the Asante kings portrayed the influence of the Asante royalty to the success of their mission work. The Christianization of Asante may have created suspicions among Christians and Muslims because Muslims who lived in Asante and had close ties with the kings and people of Asante for many years in Freeman’s observation prejudiced the king against Christianity and this may not have augered well for Christian-Muslim relations at the time.

The arrival of the Basel missionaries in 1828 was a new beginning of Protestant Christian activity or evangelization in the Gold Coast. Odametten also suggests that the arrival of Thomas B. Freeman in 1838 was the “real beginning and continuity of Wesleyan missionary activity in the Gold Coast”.159 Though, before Freeman’s arrival in the Gold Coast, Wesleyan missionary stations were opened in Anomabu, Mankesim, Dixcove and Half Assini, Freeman was the longest serving missionary among the earliest missionaries who came to the Gold Coast. This could have been Odametten’s reason for saying the above about Freeman.


158 Philip Naameh, Ghana Catholic Education Policy, Publication of Ghana Catholic Bishops’ Conference. (Accra, Ghana, 2009)

159 S. K. Odametten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development, 40
The North German Missionary Society (Bremen Mission) arrived and started work among the Ewes in Peki in 1847 while the Roman Catholic Church re-launched their missionary work in the Gold Coast in 1880 after their unsuccessful attempt in Elmina with the Portuguese traders in the 15th century. The mission was re-launched by the priests of the Society of African Mission (SMA) and this time the church’s strategy was to emphasize evangelism through education. By 1896, a mission station was opened in Kumasi and in 1906 the ‘White fathers’ from Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) opened a mission station at Navrongo among the Kassena-Nankana people.

Debrunner mentions that the beginnings of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) church started with inaugural meetings held in Cape Coast and Keta in 1898. The church started as a Black nationalist church and a breakaway Wesleyan Methodist of the Gold Coast; Egyir Assam became a founding member of the AMEZ church. Apart from these mission bodies other churches like the Seventh Day Adventist church (SDA) which began in Sekondi in the Gold Coast in 1898 and the Baptist church also started that same year in Cape Coast.

The advent of Christianity in the Gold Coast was the beginning of further interfaith relations because by the time Christianity started in the Gold Coast, Islam had already arrived and spread to many areas in the then Gold Coast. The early Christian denominations therefore practiced intra-faith relations to an extent because they were all visitors in a ‘new land’ and probably faced similar challenges with regards to the spread and development of the Christian faith but they were also rather skeptical of ATR.

2.3.1 Encounter between Christianity and African Traditional Religion

Hans W. Debrunner held the view that the early missionaries were delighted to discover that the Ghanaians believed in one God only and that all the other so called ‘gods’ or ‘fetishes’ (Twi: Abosom, Ga: Wɔdzi and Ewe: Trɔ) are strictly speaking not ‘gods’ but only tutelary spirits, or guardian angels.
Though Christian missionaries discovered that Ghanaians had their own religion, they referred to ATR as primitive and uncivilized. Throughout history, Christianity maintained a negative attitude towards other religious traditions such as African and Asian religions. Christianity was therefore hostile to Ghanaian Traditional Religion and it undermined ATR by describing it as a primitive, polytheistic, pagan, animist, primitive, fetish, idolatrous religion.

In Ghana, the early missionaries practiced exclusivism as they saw Christianity to be more civilized and superior to ATR. There was the fear of syncretism so they lived separately from those who did not profess the same faith which was similar to the reason Muslims established zongos.

Even though the general perception was that the Europeans and Christianity frowned on the African culture and religion we note that some missionaries or Europeans like R. S Rattray and S. G. Williamson respected the religion of Africans and warned Africans against blindly copying or adopting the lifestyle and culture of the Europeans thereby throwing their indigenous culture away.\textsuperscript{164}

According to Rattray even though it is natural for different cultures to learn from each other, people should not throw away their culture in a bid to learn from others.\textsuperscript{165} Rattray further observed the pride and sense of cultural heritage of the Ashantis and advised them to always develop their cultural identity.\textsuperscript{166}

Rattray further argues that instead of his fellow European counterparts acknowledging something good in the African culture, “we have been at too much pain to ignore the value of their own past beliefs and to hasten to destroy them”.\textsuperscript{167} He reasons that his fellow Europeans did not take pains to study the African and their culture but were rather quick to change, destroy and abolish the African culture not seeing anything ‘good’ in the African culture.

Kofi Abrefa Busia, an Akan Christian scholar sought an interaction between the Akan culture and Christianity. Opuni-Frimpong indicates that Busia

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{165}~R. S. Rattray, Ashanti, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923),11-12
\textsuperscript{166}~R. S. Rattray, Ashanti, (1923),12
\textsuperscript{167}~R. S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, (1929), 291
\end{footnotesize}
expected the Christian faith to contribute towards the refinement and glorification of the African (Akan) culture. Busia was concerned about how the new Akan Christian could live the Christian faith without dissociating themselves from their cultural beliefs and practices. Thus “the new ‘African’ convert is poised between two worlds: the old traditions and customs he is striving to leave behind, the new beliefs and practices to which he is still a stranger...”

Busia like Rattray was disturbed about Africans embracing Christianity at the expense of frowning upon or throwing away their African cultural identity. Busia observes that the early African converts kept distance from their cultural practices and were encouraged to disown their indigenous leadership structures. He further submits that Christianity was established as a “superior” over the Akan indigenous leadership systems, thus Akan Christians who were trained by the missionaires did not recognize their indigenous leadership institution anymore. Busia argues that by becoming Christians, they were told that they were under a new authority and therefore were governed by catechists, priests or ministers as well as the laws of the church. According to him, some new converts disregarded the traditional ban of farming and fishing on Thursdays because they felt the traditional leaders were only imposing their laws on Christians.

Williamson like Rattray and Busia observed that the missionary attitude towards Akan religion was ‘exclusive’ since:

the Christian faith and Akan religion reveal themselves as basically different. They meet without a common viewpoint and with fundamentally different emphasis. They constitute two different levels of religion able to view each other from afar but find no ground of fellowship.

Thus the Basel Mission separated the new converts geographically in a part of town they called salem, using 2 Corinthians 6:17 as the scrip-

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tural basis for doing so. In this verse, Paul admonished the Corinthians Christians that since they were God’s temple, they must separate themselves so as not to be equally yoked with unbelievers.

According to Smith, the “salems” which were mostly found in the Akwapim towns gave the missionaries more authority to supervise their mission work. The creation of these salems seemed to have promoted an exclusive stance with regards to the traditional religious and cultural values of the people of the Gold Coast which made interfaith relations between Christians and the ATR people difficult.

Opuni-Frimpong holds the view that the salem was used as a pattern for Christian formation among the Akan people because the Akan Christian recognized the church and school as centres of moral and leadership formation. S. K Odametten further remarked that the intention of the creation of these separation or salems was to help the new converts devote all their attention to evangelical work. S. K. Odametten and Williamson agree that “to dissuade the new converts from observing their traditional beliefs and practices; the missionaries at times adopted the policy of separating them socially as well as physically from the rest of the community.” In these salems, the new converts were dependent on the missionaries who gave them land for farming and the chances of getting the traditional practices and beliefs out of their system were brighter so that western culture could be impacted into them successfully. Indigenous culture such as music, dance and ceremonies which were regarded as pagan and fetish were forbidden in these salems. In all cases the new converts were to cut all contacts with their non-Christian relations whether they lived separately or they lived in the same house.

Sule-Saa suggests that the critics of the missionaries claim that the missionaries did not only embark on outright condemnation of African culture, but they indoctrinated their converts to do the same which resulted into clashes with the traditional authorities who felt that the chiefs’ abso-

175 S. K Odametten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*, (1878), 155
lute authority over the Christians was being challenged. Addo-Fening saw the formation of the *Salems* by the missionaries as “a campaign of enticing Christian converts to abandon their homes in the main townships and to settle at the mission stations variously known as *Salem*, Christian village or *oburonikurum*”.

Addo-Fening points out that the traditional authorities saw the salems as undermining the unity of their people. This was a source of concern to the Okyenhene and his chiefs who suspected that it was 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 the church and state.

Kwame Bediako argues that although many scholars and textbooks suggest that the *Salems* divided the society and that the people of the Gold Coast seem to have suffered from that, he holds a different opinion. The creation of the *Salem* according to Bediako, brings out the difference between the Methodists and the Basel missionaries because the Wesleyans did not build *Salems* since it was not their experience. The Basel missionaries, on the other hand, came from communities similar to *Salems* thus, the Basel missionaries offered what they knew best to their converts.

Bediako’s view helps to bring a positive perception to the understanding of the creation of the *Salems*. In explaining the real intention for the creation of the *salesms*, Bediako argues that:

> It was not a way of demarcating the town. The missionaries realized quite early that propagating the Gospel was a long-term work and that it was impossible to achieve results overnight. The *Salem* was acquired to replicate the *Salems* they had themselves come from. The town of Abokobi was modelled on a particular *Salem* in Germany called Korntaal, a wholly Christian village, self-contained with school, church and farm; and Abokobi was built like that. The idea was to build a model community beside traditional community, to be a kind of ‘control experiment’ ...The idea was to show how one could be a Christian in a context that people could observe.

178 Solomon S. Sule-Saa, *Ethnicity and the Church: the Case of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, (University of Natal, 2000), 48
We agree with Bediako because these *salems* were built as a community to guide and shape the new converts into a more ‘civilized’ community with church, schools and other necessities as a mission package. The *salems* facilitated discipleship for the new converts and protected them.\(^{181}\)

It was not in all cases that the missionaries created the *Salem* of their own will because circumstances compelled the formation of some of these *Salems*. Some Christians who were chased out of their communities because of their new faith had to be resettled, hence the formation of the *salems*. Clarke suggests that these *salems* were in response to the maltreatment converts received at the hands of their families, friends and community.\(^{182}\) Instead of perceiving the *Salem* negatively, we argue that these *salems* were created to instill moral discipline and not with an exclusivist intention of making the Christian look more superior to the non-Christian. We are of the view that the practice of town creation was long among many West African societies even before the concept of the *zongo* or *salems* because it was an African tradition for families or clans to live together in their communities in wards. In other words, the African people lived in enclavements\(^{183}\) but lived in harmony within the same community.

### 2.3.2 Comparisons between ATR’s reception to Islam and Christianity in the Gold Coast

We have so far discussed how ATR as an inclusive religion hosted Islam and Christianity in the Gold Coast and how these two religions related to adherents of ATR. In this section we will compare the reception of ATR to Islam and Christianity. As will be shown in section 2.5 of this work, some chiefs patronized Islam because of trade, S. K. Odametten submits that the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast were not interested in the Christian religion but only in the trading activities and schools the missionaries provided.\(^{184}\) The chiefs were also interested in agriculture and husbandry items to improve their standards of living but they were not interested in Christianity as a religion.\(^{185}\) This means that the issue of conversion to

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181 Solomon S Sule-Saa, *Ethnicity and the Church: the Case of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, A Dissertation of Master of Theology in African Christianity, (School of Theology, University of Natal, 2000), 49
183 Anlokordzi in Ho, Fante New Town in Kumasi, Torgbuike in Mamprobi, Accra are examples of some Ghanaian enclavements. People in such enclavements may either belong to the same family, clan or ethnic group.
184 S. K. Odametten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*, 61-62
185 S. K. Odametten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*, 64
either Islam or Christianity was not a complete turn away from ATR but because of what the chiefs benefitted from these two religions.

The Muslims and Christians understood the structures of the traditional African society with regard to the importance of the chief and other traditional rulers of the community. Many times the acceptance and welcoming nature of the chief meant his community or kingdom being opened to missionary work. This conversion method carried out by the Muslims and Islam accounted for the rapid growth and development of the religion in West Africa just as the case was with Christianity.

Islam right from the beginning did not attempt to exclude the existing practices, such as polygamy and traditional healing methods, beliefs and structures of the African society. R. A. Adeleye observed that one’s decision to embrace Islam did not involve a radical overthrow of important aspects of traditional systems and values.

Polygamy was a common practice in Africa and among the people of the Gold Coast before the advent of Christianity. When Christianity came it frowned upon polygamy and this made the African people reluctant in accepting the Christian faith. Islam on the other hand permits polygamy so the people of the Gold Coast were more comfortable with Islam than Christianity. Islam identified itself with some aspects of the Ghanaian culture hence the people saw not much difference between Islam and the African culture. The teachings of the missionaries on some aspects of culture like polygamy, funeral rites and some other cultural practices began to disturb the social relations Christians had with African Traditional Religionists.

S. K. Odametten posits that the new converts sought advice from the missionaries who in turn advised the new converts to undermine the social organization and culture hence the authority of the family heads and chiefs were challenged. When the missionaries began to setup schools, the traditional priests objected to children attending these schools as they believed it was means of conversion.

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186 Islam’s stance on polygamy, charms and amulets, magic and spirits and their service to the kingdoms of the Northern kingdoms of Gold coast like the Gonja, Dagomba, Mamprugu and even the Asante chiefs are best attestation to this.


189 S. K. Odametten, “*The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*, 69
There are many reports of clashes between Christians and adherents of ATR where the adherents of ATR accused Christians of failing to observe taboos and rules of the community which the Christians now saw as barbaric. Odametten records that in 1864, there was an outbreak of small pox in Aburi and the traditional priests called on all inhabitants to destroy their red goats and fowls, but the Christians refused to comply and as a result young men looted the red goats and fowls in the mission house and then there was a serious clash. At Tutu, in 1863, a crowd broke into a chapel to force the Christians to partake in a festival and when they refused, there was a clash. There were also some clashes recorded in Asafa and Arkrah (Fanteland) in the early 1850s because the Christians refused to acknowledge the sacred grove and respect the traditional priests. They insulted and provoked the traditional priests.\(^{190}\)

In all the above cases, although the Christians had converted they were still considered members of the community and were expected to obey and observe religious sanctions or take part in corporate worship so failure on their part resulted in clashes. Some Christian missionaries were also suspicious of the chiefs and leaders of ATR because they thought they would be harmed or even killed.\(^{191}\)

Kwamena–Poh explains that “Christianity had not made much conscious effort to engage the traditional culture in dialogue with the Gospel. Consequently, aspects of traditional culture such as drumming and dancing, oath, pouring of libation, festivals, puberty rites, polygamy and functions connected with the stools or skins remained points of contest between the church and the traditional setup. Even though some missionaries had sympathetic attitude towards some aspects of the ‘Ghanaian’ (Akan, Ewe, Fante) culture the general attitude was negative to say the least. The main reason was their “failure to divorce the non-Christian aspect from these customs some of which they could have used as they did with the Ghanaian language and the African religion”.\(^{192}\) What then was the pre-colonial moment like in the history of religions in Togo?

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190 S. K. Odametten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana’s Development up to the 1880s*, 162-163
192 Michael Albert Kwamena-Poh, *Vision and Achievement, A Hundred and Fifty years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, (Accra: Waterville Publishing), 367
2.4 ATR in Togo before 1900

Before the advent of Islam and Christianity in Togoville, the people practiced African Traditional religion (ATR). They believed in the ‘Supreme Being’, deities’ and ‘spirits’. The ‘Supreme Being’ was known by various names by different ethnic groups such as ‘Mawu’ (Ewe), ‘Ata’ (Akebou), ‘Esso’ (Kabye) and ‘Oluwa’ (Yoruba). The Ewe, Kotokoli or Tem, Tchamba and Kabye were the main ethnic groups in Togo. These ethnic groups had their own way of understanding and relating to the Supreme god before the advent of Islam and Christianity in Togo. Since ATR in Togo was largely similar to that of Ghana especially the Ewes we will only give a brief recap, highlighting specific areas of differences.

2.4.1 The notion of God: Supreme Being

According to the Ewe ‘Mawu’ is the Creator God who created the heavens and the earth and everything in the universe. He is the source, owner and the giver of life. The name ‘Mawu’ means nothing or no one is more superior, powerful or equal. Mawu is also known as ‘wọla’ (the creator of all things), ‘Mawu nuse kata to’ (God Almighty) who is the master of all things. He redeems man from calamities such as famine, drought and flood. ‘Mawu’ must intervene in every aspect of a person’s life according to the Togolese. ‘Mawu’ is believed to be a judge and an advocate of the oppressed for a person who is dissatisfied with a court verdict. ‘Mawu nutọ na ta mọ nwo’ shows that God is called upon to direct and guide the path or way of the traveller.193

Since the Ewe revere ‘Mawu’, so much references are made to Him in everyday life and the root ‘Mawu’ is seen in the names that are given to many Ewes like ‘Mawusi’ (In God’s hands), ‘Mawuko’ (Except God or only God), ‘Mawuli’ (God is with us), ‘Mawuse’ (God has answered) and ‘Mawuena’ (God gives). Similarly, the Kabye believe that ‘Esso’ or ‘Iso’ created the world and does not operate alone.

E. Bekeyi mentions that:

For the people of Kabye in Northern Togo, ‘Esso’ (Mawu) is the name given to the living and personal God. He is the author of life, warmth and light. He is unique and has the secret of all things, as many of his own essence as that of Kabye. He is good, almighty and transcendent.

This transcendence is not only physical but also metaphysical and psychological and leads the absolute domination of ‘Esso’ across the cosmos and man.194

2.4.2 Deities or ‘Trɔwo’
Aside ‘Mawu’ are intermediaries or deities and spirits who dwell in trees, stones, rivers and mountains. Paul Marty argues that Mawu contracts the services of ‘trɔwo’ (lesser deities) to manage the affairs of humankind and to serve as intermediaries between God and man. In other words, ‘trɔwo’ are messengers of God whose mission is to protect the lives of people and their properties.195 The people of Togo also believed in voodoo.

The brief overview of African Traditional Religion shows us that the Togolese knew God and had understood their relationship with God before the advent of Islam and Christianity. Just like the Gold Coast, the people of Togo had their own way of experiencing God and relating to Him before the advent of the foreign religions unlike scholars like Alfred B. Ellis and Edwin William Smith who assert that it was the coming of the Europeans that gave the idea of God to the African.196

2.4.3 The belief in Ancestors
Similar to the belief of ancestors in the Gold Coast, the people of Togo believe that an ancestor is someone who lived a worthy and exemplary life, had children and died at an old or ripe age.197 Therefore ancestors are revered because they are the elders and predecessors who have trodden the path of life which the living now treads.198 Ancestors are believed to offer blessings, protection and guidance to the living in the Togolese society.

197 Both men and women can become ancestors but this is not the case in everywhere. See more in: Meyer Fortes, ‘Some Reflections on Ancestor Worship’, African System of Thought, M. Fortes & G. Dieterlen (ed.) (London, 1965)
2.5 Islam in Pre-Colonial Togo
(18th - 19th Century)

Islam came to the North of Togo through trade and to the South through the migration of Muslims from the north. The following discussion is again adopted to cover Northern Togo and Southern Togo as the suggestion of Samwini is applicable within the historical and phenomenological experience of Togo as well.

2.5.1 Islam in Northern Togo
In the early 18th century, Muslim traders travelled through Togo from Hausaland to the Volta Basin. The most important terminal point of these trade routes was Salaga where salt and Kola and slaves were the main commodities sold. A major route to and from Salaga in the Gold Coast passed through the northeast Togo. R. Delval explains that the Hausa made their journeys in stages for several days therefore saw the need to build houses that served as resting places they called *zongo*.

Although these *zongos* were temporary quarters, the people organised themselves and elected a leader called the “*sarkin zongo*” whose authority was accepted by all. This chief served as an intermediary between the people of the *zongo* and the indigenous or local chief. Islam was the unifying religion between the traders. There was a place in the *Zongo* where the Muslims could pray and perform their daily rituals. Through this presence, the Hausa played an important role in the Islamization of Togo. Hausa became the business language and at the same time the religious language.

However, apart from the Hausa there were other West African Muslim carriers of Islam to Togo as well as Indigenous Togolese who converted early and became carriers of the faith to their neighbours. The Fulani were believed to have settled in Togo from Sokoto in Nigeria in the 1830s while others also arrived from Upper Volta in the 1850s. These Fulani Muslims were traders and others engaged in pastoral activities in northern Togo.

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199 Zongo is a Hausa word meaning ‘residence’ or ‘strangers quarters’ According to Nehemia Levtzion the word ‘zongo’ is derived from ‘zango’ which originally designated the site where the ancient caravans usually camped. The zango were never inside the cities, but just outside or near a water source. The term zongo now means that part of the city reserved for strangers or foreigners. R. Delval, “Muslims in Togo”, 16

200 Raymond Delval, “Muslims in Togo”, 17

201 Raymond Delval, Muslims in Togo, 21. Not all Fulani from Northern Nigeria were Muslims e.g. red Fulani
Another group of Muslims, the Djerma were skillful Muslim warriors who migrated from Niger, settled and offered to help the local chiefs and the people fight their enemies. They settled in the area between Togo and Dahomey\textsuperscript{202} (now Benin). The Djerma were not only warriors but they were traders as well and they lived in the \textit{zongo} with the Hausa. But as compared to the Hausa, the Djerma were not renowned traders.

There was also a strong Dyula presence in Northern Togo. They came from Kong also known as Wattara or Ouattara Empire which was an important pre-colonial African Muslim state centered in north-eastern Ivory Coast and also encompassed much of present day Burkina Faso. It was founded by Dyula immigrants from the declining Mali Empire. Kong was a decentralized commercial empire which linked merchants from across the region. Muslims from Kong are credited for the conversion of the Tchokossi or Anoufou in Togo to Islam.\textsuperscript{203} In 1750, the Muslim traders from Kong left Gourma in northern Togo for unexplained reasons and finally settled in Mango further north of present day Togo. Muslims in this group were elites who held key positions and chieftaincy titles.\textsuperscript{204} The Tchokossi are believed to have spread Islam to other areas such as Bassar in Northern Togo.

One of the accounts of the advent of Islam among the Bassar in Northern Togo related by Komi Adrake and Sidza Seeti\textsuperscript{205} states that some rebels from Tchokossi who had an argument with the chief in Mango left to form a \textit{zongo} in 1870 in Kodjodoumpou near Bassar. Another account, according to Adrake and Sidza however, mentions that in the first half of the nineteenth century, some Mossi led by El Hadj Kadré who were returning from pilgrimage to Mecca, settled in Bapuré, northwest of Bassar where they became part of the indigenous population.

Muslim traders are also credited with the spread of Islam among the Kotokoli and Temba. Delval discloses that:

\begin{quote}
...in the late eighteenth century, some Wangara traders settled gradually in the main centers of trade route linking Niger to the sea and through Malanville, Djougou, Sokode and Agbandi. Their number
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{202}{Robert Cornevin, \textit{Histoire du Togo}, 117 See Also Nehemiah Levtzion. \textit{“Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa”}, (Clarendon, Oxford. 1968), 152}
\footnotetext{203}{The Tchokossi Konkomba originally means ‘the winners’}
\footnotetext{205}{Dzinyêfa Komi Adrake, & Seeti Kwami Sidza, \textit{Islam et Christianisme en Afrique} , (Yaoundé: Éditions CLÉ. 2006)}
\end{footnotes}
increased during the first decades of the nineteenth century and they contracted marriages among Temba and developed their trade.\footnote{Raymond Delval, \emph{Les Musulmans au Togo}, (Paris, C.H.E.A.M., 1980), 20-21}

Adrake identifies five clans among the Kotokoli namely Touré, Traoré, Fofana, Cissé and Mende who were originally Sengeambian Muslims and started the conversion of the indigenous Togo people to Islam. According to oral tradition, the oldest of the clans, the Touré clan for many years practiced Islam secretly within the family. However, during the reign of the Kotokoli chief Uro Akoriko (1820 to 1840), these Muslims were granted the permission to build a mosque in Dédaouré. This event marked public worship of Islam in Togo.\footnote{Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, \emph{Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses}, (Thèse de doctorat d’Etat, Histoire, Strasbourg, 2008), 66}

This story of the Muslims among the Kotokoli in Togo is similar to how Islam became popular in Mamprugu and Dagbon during the reigns of Na Atabia and Na Zangina respectively. It confirms that the chief is an important figure for the success of the spread of Islam because it is when the chief accepts and shows hospitality to the religion that it develops. In 1860 the then ruler, Uro Eso Tya Djobo II converted to Islam and took the name ‘Boukari’ and was nicknamed Malua.\footnote{It is a term of Sudanese origin which means ‘Muslim’} In order to proselytize his people for Islam, he imposed circumcision on his subjects and relied on Muslims to govern his people. However, after the death of Djobo II, his successor, Djobo III renounced Islam. Under the fifth king of Kotokoli, an Imam among the Kotokoli called Traoré Alasani introduced the Tijaniyya brotherhood to the Kotokoli and received Umar Tall in the second half of the nineteenth century in Togo.\footnote{Raymond Delval, \emph{Muslims in Togo}, 20-21. See Also Nehemiah Levzion, \emph{Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in pre-colonial Period}, (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1968),152. Al Hajj Umar Tall was a Senegalese Islamic scholar. He gained the title El Hajj as the caliphate of the Tijaniyya Brotherhood for Sudan and made many journeys across Africa.}

Islam began among the neighbours of the Kotokoli, the Tchamba in 1850, during the reign of Obwê Ikoto Kitom. Gayibor emphasizes that by the second half of the nineteenth century that Tchamba developed quickly into a major, multi-ethnic commercial center because of its location on both the southern Hausa kola route to the Volta Basin.\footnote{The people of Tchamba were originally known as Kasselem because of its location at the crossroads of two trade routes. Kasselem was as a center of trade. N. L. Gayibor, \emph{History of the Togolese}, Vol 1,(UB Press , Lomé, 1997),310-313}
As a result of the commercial activities, Islam spread among the people. Kouko Amadja, a notable clan was the first converts to Islam. Their home became a place for the Muslim traders to pass the night. Also a priest of an important deity, ‘Ouko-Riko’ who was persuaded by the exemplary behavior of his guests, converted to Islam and took the name Aboubakar. He built the first mosque where he became the Imam after spending some time in Djougou in northern Dahomey. He led his younger brother to convert to Islam and gave him the name of Ousman. Ousman became the second imam of the mosque after the death of Aboubakar. This was the beginning of the development of Islam in Kasselem and till date Tchamba is one of the places where Islam has a strong presence.211

The Islamic religion spread through Central Togo states such as Mossi and Djougou regions after the 18th century, and to other localities like Didawure, Paratao, Bafilo and Adjéidê. Through the trade activities of the Hausa and Yoruba traders, the religion was introduced into the southern towns of Togo such as Atakpamé, Kpalimé, Kete-Kratchi, Tsévié, Aflao, Aného, Glidji and then finally in Lomé.

### 2.5.2 Islam in Southern Togo

The Islamization of the southern part of the country took place in the second half of the 19th century. Islam entered the region through the Djerma, Tem (also known as the Temba or Kotokoli) and Hausa traders, who had already Islamized the north and came to buy salt at the coast. Salaga at the time was a great trading centre which had a trade route linking Ghana to Togo and Dahomey coast. According to Adotevi Senyon, Islam in southern Togo (Atapkame, Kpalime, Lome) spread after the German colonial administrators closed the North of Togo to strangers and Christian missionaries. The German authorities further created or built zongos and made Muslims in the south to settle in the zongos; so the Kpalime zongo was built in 1896, while the Atakpame zongo was built in 1906.212 This made some Hausa and Yoruba traders who were Muslims to settle in the South of Togo. When the Hausa who played an important role in the salt trade arrived in Lome, they made a deal, which gained them the protection of Togolese notables such as Octaviano Olympio, one of the founders of Lomé. With this protection, they came in large numbers and from there spread throughout the South

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(Lomé, Noepe, Agu, Kpalime, Aného and other southern states). Other groups such as the Yoruba from Nigeria settled in Lomé and its surroundings in 1910. According to J. Cuoq and N. Gayibor, the creation of the first zongo in Lomé had its main activities as trade, masonry, sewing, carpentry and transportation.

Although Islam seemed to have been firmly established in the North in places such as Mango, Sokode and Tchamba, Islam did not have a stronghold in the South. The influence of Islam in the south was low. From the accounts above, there were two modes of Islamization in Togo. The first mode was through migrant Africans who came into Togo from Kong, Hausaland and Yoruba through trade. A second mode was through the religious conversion of indigenous inhabitants to Islam.

2.6 African Traditional Religion and Islam in Togo before the 1900s

Islam in Africa was generally tolerant when it began in Togo and because of trade it accommodated some cultural practices of some ethnic groups of Togo. Although Islam was a monotheistic religion it introduced new theological considerations which emphasized the points of similarity and affinity between the two religions. E. Bekeyi insists that the early Muslims who came to Togo also believed in the spirits of the dead. Some traditional religious customs of the Tem (Kotokoli) and Kabyè were also similar to the beliefs of the Muslims such as polygamy, using of charms and amulets and the belief in spirits.

Polygamy was a general practice in Africa and Ghana and Togo were no exceptions. For the Togolese, polygamy was not practiced only to show one's wealth but it was also to show pride and prestige. So for the Togolese, conversion and accepting Islam was easy since this practice was compatible with ATR. Polygamy was a real link between Islam and Traditional life; a major benefit for Islam in its quest for converts.

215 There is uncertainty as to the date the first zongo was created among scholars. J. Cuoq. “Histoire de l’islamisation de l’Afrique de l’Ouest: des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle”, (Paris, 1984), 32 gives the date of the creation of the first zongo in Lome as 1884; N.L. Gayibor, “Togo under colonial rule (1884 - 1960)”, (UB Press, Lomé, 1997),181 give the date as 1909; Senyon L. Adotevi, “L’ Islam au Togo sous Domination Colonial”, 75 also gives the date as 1897.
In a way of solidarity, the Muslims and adherents of ATR attended the ceremonies (naming ceremonies, marriage, funerals and festivals) of each other just like the case of Ghana as we saw in section 2.1.4. The Togolese adopted the Arabic names such as Aboubakar and Ousman and some traditions of the Muslims upon conversion.

Before the arrival of the Muslims in Togo, the traditional people told their stories orally because they could not read or write. When the Muslims arrived in Togo, they served as clerics and administrators of the chiefs just like the case of the Gold Coast. Since the traditionalists relied so much on oral tradition, the Muslims also made their dogmas very easy to remember and taught the new traditional converts orally. There was no need to learn any long catechism as it was enough to profess one’s faith in Allah: “I bear witness that there is no god except Allah and Muhammad is his prophet”.

Each Togolese traditional society had a chief who was the leader of his people. Therefore, when Islam came to Togo, the Muslims contacted the chiefs so that once the chiefs and notables were convinced, it made it easy for their subjects to also convert. This was the case especially in northern Togo. As we saw earlier in section 2.5.1, when the Kotokoli chief at the time Djobo Bukari II converted to Islam, his subjects followed suit. These were some of the ways that made Islam gain grounds in Togo. ATR and Islam had some similarities with each other’s beliefs they were compatible and this made it easy for the Muslims to convert the former.

Just like the case of Ghana, there were also zongos in Togo which were dominated by Muslims who lived in these communities so that they could practice their religion void of any interference. The zongos in Togo were first created in the Northern parts by the early Hausa traders who wanted a place to settle temporarily unlike the case of Ghana where the zongos were dominant in the Southern parts because they were considered strangers’ quarters for the Muslims.
2.7 Christianity in Togo before 1900s

Before the arrival of Christian missionaries in Togo in the late 18th century, missionary work had already begun in other countries of West Africa such as Nigeria, Dahomey and the Gold Coast. In order to understand the history of Christianity in Togo we need to trace it from some aspects of the history of Christianity in West Africa. Just as Christianity began in the coastal area of the south in the Gold Coast, Christianity also came into Togo through the south. Also, before Christianity came into Togo, Islam was already established as in the case of the Gold Coast.

2.7.1 The Catholic Missions in Togo

After the first attempt of Roman Catholic missionaries failed because of the Dutch in Elmina in the 15th century, another attempt was made this time in Wuidah (in Dahomey) by Celestin, a Belgian Capuchin 1681. At the end of the 1680s the plans of some Dominican priests to start Catholicism failed.\textsuperscript{217} Given the challenges the Catholic missionaries faced in Wuidah, another attempt was made but this time in Agoué by an Afro-Brazilian called Venossa Jesus who built a chapel which became the first Christian building on the Togolese coast. It was gutted down by fire but was rebuilt by a group of Catholics led by Bahian Joaquim de Almeida and then some baptisms were administered there at Agoué in 1892.\textsuperscript{218}

On August 28, 1860, the Apostolic Vicariate of Dahomey was created and the first Bishop was Planque who delegated his powers to Borghero who later moved to Wuidah. This assured the Togolese Catholicism of its remarkable growth. In 1910, four French priests, Nut, Beauquis, Moran and Household who came from Agoué built the first Catholic mission in Atakpamé.\textsuperscript{219}

\textsuperscript{217} Hans Debrunner, \textit{A Church between colonial Powers}, 1965, 23
2.7.2 The Protestant Missions in Togo

The Basel Mission which arrived in 1828 in the Gold Coast between 1870 and 1880 got to Kpandou and Kunya in Togo respectively. After the Nord-deutsche Missionsgesellschaft (North German Bremen Mission) had been established in the Gold Coast in 1847, the missionary Christian Hornberger undertook several journeys including one which led him to Atakpame in Togo. Subsequently, several stations were created but not developed until when substantive work began in Lomé Mission in 1893 and Tové in 1896 and extended across other parts of Togo.

The success of the Wesleyan (Methodist) mission in Togo was due to the hard work of Thomas Birch Freeman who arrived in the Gold Coast in 1837 and by 1843 and 1854, he travelled round the entire West African coast from Cape Coast through Dahomey to Abeokuta. In Aneho, T. B. Freeman met a man called Georges Akouété-Lawson, who helped him to start a missionary station there in 1848 and since then missionary work developed to other communities. In the words of T. B. Freeman, Aného then became ‘the land of great promise’.

The Anglican Church began in Togo through the efforts of the freed slaves from Freetown who started work as missionaries in Badagry in 1842. They settled in Abeokuta, Lagos, Ouidah and Aneho (Petit (Little) Popo).

The Assemblies of God church began mission work in 1937 and the Apostles Revelation Society began in 1940 in Togo respectively but the focus of this section has been to discuss churches that began before the 1900s in Togo.

2.8 African Traditional Religion and Christianity in Togo before the 1900s

Christianity in Togo just as the case in Ghana suffered many challenges because Christian missionaries frowned on the traditional practices and beliefs of the communities in Togo. The voodoo priests did not like the presence of the Catholic missionaries in their land because they saw the catholic teachings as conflicting their religious teaching. This conflict

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220 Robert Cornevin, Histoire du Togo, 127-128

221 Robert Cornevin, Histoire du Togo, 127


between the *voodoo* priests and the Catholic missionaries made the founding of Catholicism unsuccessful in Atakpame in Togo and Wuidah in Benin. The Christian missionaries in their turn condemned the ATR practices and were afraid to dialogue with ATR for fear of inculturation and syncretism.

Hans Debrunner posits that in an attempt to convert some adherents of ATR, some Bremen Christian Missionaries married some Ewe women. Debrunner further states that the prosperity and the peace of the ordered life in the Christian quarter of Akwapim had impressed many because many new converts claimed that ‘the fetish was of no good because people who became Christians went to school’. Therefore new converts who ‘were tired of paganism’ settled in Christian quarters such as Jerusalem at Gbadzeme in Avatime like the *salems* of the Basel missionaries in Ghana.

The advent of Islam and Christianity as the case of the Gold Coast was the beginning of interfaith relations in Togo since the two religions were hosted by Togo Traditional Religion. Therefore intra-faith relations also began with the advent of different Christian denominations in Togo.

### 2.9 Conclusion

According to John Azumah, Christianity and Islam both marginalized ATR and its cultural values, yet, ATR engaged in dialogical mutual exchange with these two mission religions because “…African Muslim practices are replete with indigenous African elements.” Elizabeth Amoah shares the same view with John Azumah that African Traditional Religions were passive recipients of the religious beliefs of Christianity and Islam which lead to an inevitable exchange. She further argues that despite the outward conversions of members of the indigenous religions to Islam and Christianity, the traditional religious beliefs and cultural practices still persist in these converts and continue to inform and shape their religious experience. In her argument, she thinks that African Traditional Religions have

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played a major role in transforming Islam and Christianity. In this case, we establish that interfaith relations began in both countries because the religious people learnt from each other.

Thus ATR and its cultural values have formed and shaped African thoughts and expressions, irrespective of a person’s religious background. Both Islam and Christianity have become an integral part of the cultures of what is today’s Ghana and Togo, as each has made inroads into the socio-cultural interstices and command significant following. The fact that the two religious traditions have survived on the continent for centuries is an indication of their indigenisation.

Therefore we agree with Lamin Sanneh that the nature of African traditional religion and culture domesticated both Islam and Christianity in West Africa such that their exclusiveness was reduced with its own inclusive tenor. Again, the indigenous elements of African Traditional Religion impacted the growth and spread of both Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo such that the common African indigenous beliefs and practices served as important mediation for Christian and Muslim religious expressions. This indigenous context also shaped and formed the nature of Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo, thereby making both religions very tolerant of each other. The indigenous symbols and rituals were key elements in the process of indigenizing Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo, thereby fostering the traditional value of community and family. In spite of some of the Christian and Islamic influences on the indigenous life of Ghanaians and Togolese, the indigenous beliefs continue, to a greater extent, to exert influence on the life of indigenous converts to Christianity and Islam.

Since ATR allowed Islam and Christianity to spread and develop in the Gold Coast and Togo amidst challenges, there were some instances that allowed for good interfaith relations in the two countries. But how did Islam and Christianity fare in Ghana and Togo under colonialism? This will be discussed in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER THREE
Colonial Policy in Ghana and Togo toward Christianity and Islam
3.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the structure of African Traditional Religion (ATR) and how it encouraged or allowed for inclusivism of non-indigenous religions in Ghana (Gold Coast) and Togo (Togoville) before the 1900s. The chapter concluded that both Islam and Christianity caused some changes or disruption when they came in contact with African culture and its values. Nevertheless the African culture still informed and shaped African thoughts and expressions, irrespective of a person’s conversion. This chapter, about the colonial period explains European domination of Africa. It then espouses the British, German and French attitudes toward Christianity and Islam in Africa and more specifically in the Gold Coast and in Togo during colonialism. The aim is to identify the policies that affected Muslim-Christian relations. In the light of this, the colonial policies and attitudes adopted by the British and the French towards Muslims and Christians in Africa are worth examining to determine how these two ‘foreign’ religions fared under their different colonial administrative systems and how this affected Christian-Muslim relations in the two countries under study.

The Oxford Dictionary defines colonialism as “the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically”. Colonialism is the direct and overall domination of one country by another on the basis of state power being in the hands of a foreign power. The first objective of colonialism was political domination and secondly exploitation of the wealth of the colonized country. A competitive rush referred to as the “Scramble for Africa” ensued between 1880-1900 where European countries invaded, occupied and dominated the African continent. Following this mad rush, Otto von Bismarck of Germany initiated a conference in 1884 for European nations to regulate their rush for African territory. The result of this conference was the “Treaty of Berlin”. Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Porto-

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231 Gold Coast is used interchangeably with Ghana in this thesis. The name Ghana was given after United Kingdom granted independence. This chapter will focus more on the French colonisation of Togo but will also discuss the German colonial period. It is important to note that the British experience with the people of the Gold Coast (Ghana) was much longer than the Togolese experience with the French.

232 http://www.oxforddictionaries.com


gal, Germany and Italy were the colonial powers who extended their power and territory in Africa after the Berlin conference.

Although all these imperial powers had the same economic aims for occupying the African continent, they did not use the same approaches in their colonial administrations rather they used different approaches and strategies to compel Africans to submit to colonial rule. The Portuguese, the Belgians and the French for instance used the Policy of Assimilation in their colonies and later used the Policy of Association. The British on the other hand, in many of their colonies used Indirect Rule except Zimbabwe where they applied Direct Rule. The Germans used Direct Rule as their system of administration in Tanganyika. Hence the major types of colonial administrative systems were Direct and Indirect Rule, Policy of Assimilation and Association.

These systems of administration used by the European powers in Africa did not only affect the African’s social, cultural or economic life but also his religious lives as well. We contend that this may have influenced, affected or impacted the relationship that the Africans had in terms of interfaith relations particularly Christians and Muslims. In other words the attitude of the colonialists towards a particular religion affected, influenced or promoted good or bad relations with the religious ‘other’.

J. Spencer Trimingham, Elizabeth Isichei, Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed have suggested that the British, French, Germans and Italians favored Muslims because Muslims were considered more loyal to the colonial authorities than mission influenced Christians; and wherever possible, funded Muslim education rather than Christian missionary education. Many European powers and some Africans also favoured Islam which developed and spread effectively during that era because Christianity was believed to be a demanding religion for the African whereas the apparent ‘laxity’ of Islam made it much easier for them to conform.

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Generally the European viewed African traditional religion during the early colonial period as ‘fetish worship’ and Africans as uncivilized and savage.\textsuperscript{238} As Christianity was understood, to be the apex of theological, philosophical, moral and ethical standards yet many colonial officials and Western academics argued that Christianity was too complicated, systematic and far too analytical for the African mind.\textsuperscript{239} Politically, the early colonial attitudes towards Islam and Muslims varied from hostility towards Islam to fear of Islamic militancy to outright sympathy. This was common to the British, the Germans and the French in their West African colonies.\textsuperscript{240}

The colonialists developed their attitudes towards Islam in Africa based on both the Muslim responses to colonial invasion and the past experiences of dealing with Muslim populations elsewhere on the continent. The experiences of the French in Algeria, Morocco, Senegal and Mauretania brought about the classifications of ‘\textit{Islam arabe}’ and ‘\textit{Islam noire}’.\textsuperscript{241} The experiences of the French in these areas served as a ‘litmus test’ for the French attitude towards Islam in later colonies. The attitudes of the German towards Muslims were influenced by their experiences with Muslims in German East Africa, Kamerun (Cameroon) and Togo.\textsuperscript{242} Although the

\textsuperscript{238} Frieder Ludwig & Afe Adogame (eds), \textit{European Traditions in the Study of Religion in Africa}, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 1-23
\textsuperscript{239} Holger Weiss, \textit{Variations in the Colonial Representation of Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana, ca. 1900-1930}, W0PAG-Working Papers on Ghana: Historical and Contemporary Studies (2) (2004), 4
\textsuperscript{240} Holger Weiss, \textit{Variations in the Colonial Representation of Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana, ca. 1900-1930}, 5
colonial officials individually had personal attitudes towards Islam there was still a general trend where the colonialists supported Islam when the Muslims cooperated with them but saw Islam as threat and were hostile when they suspected or mistrusted Muslims.

### 3.1 The Colonial Administrative Systems

Micahel Crowder citing M. Deschamps argues that although there has been a tendency to over-simplify the characteristics of systems of colonial administration in Africa there were fundamental differences between the administration systems of the French and British. According to Deschamps the French and the British made use of the ‘chiefs’ but the nature of the position and power of the chief in the two systems was totally different so were the relations between the chief and the political office. This difference in their colonial systems of administration can be categorized and explained in terms of “Direct Rule” and “Indirect Rule”. These terms related to the role of traditional chiefs in the colonial Administrative system.

#### 3.1.1 Direct Rule

The Direct rule was a system of administration whereby the colonies were governed by European officials at the top position. The Portuguese, Belgians and the French applied this system in their respective colonies. Although the British employed Indirect Rule in many of her colonies, they applied Direct Rule in Zimbabwe. Direct rule did not involve the traditional African chiefs in administration. As a consequence the colonial authorities encountered much difficulty in mobilizing Africans to perform their tasks and as a result used force to make Africans participate in the various colonial tasks.

#### 3.1.2 Indirect Rule

Indirect Rule on the other hand was a direct opposite to the Direct Rule of the French system of administration. In the indirect rule system African chiefs or rulers were involved in governing and leading their fellow Africans at the local level while the colonial officials and administrators administered at the higher level. Taxes were collected through these local chiefs. Northern Nigeria became the model for the implementation of the Indirect Rule for the British who believed in conserving what was good in

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the indigenous institutions and contribute to its development in their own way. The British system of indirect rule appeared not to create enmity from the Africans because since the African chiefs were involved in the administration, their subjects were loyal to them. Nevertheless the general citizenship was unhappy about the chiefs because they saw the chiefs to be partners in the political and economic exploitation of their natural resources. In other words, the British administration convinced the African traditional chiefs within their territories to mobilize their subjects to participate in various colonial tasks. The British seemed to have respected the traditional authority of the African chiefs so were more successful in their administration than the French, Germans, Portuguese and the Belgians who applied direct rule. We will now explore how the two broad administrative approaches were excercised by the French, German and British.

3.1.3 French Policy of Assimilation
The Policy of Assimilation was a form of direct rule adopted by the French in their colonies. The term assimilation means ‘similar to’. The French used this term to refer to a system of administration that aimed at creating French Black Africans among West Africans who would be French citizens. The French through the policy of assimilation wanted Black African French citizens to enjoy the same status and privileges or suffer penalties just like any French citizen in France. The assimilation policy was first used in Algeria and later introduced by Louis Faidherbe (1854-1865) a French governor to the four communes of Senegal-Goree, St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar. Senegal was France’s most important African territory and it was also the capital of French West Africa during the colonial period. From 1854, other French colonies in Africa were governed through assimilation where natives of these colonies were considered French citizens as long as the French culture and customs were adopted. The policy of assimilation appeared to have faced many challenges in West Africa. It faced resistance from African societies and local rulers in the 1890’s because African communities were supposed to abandon their traditional

244 Michael Crowder, *Indirect Rule: French and British Style Africa*, 197-198
way of living and accept the French lifestyle. Furthermore, African chiefs did not like the assimilation system because their authority was threatened as their subjects who became French citizens did not want to accept their chiefly authority since they regarded themselves to be superior to the chiefs. 247 Since the colonial authorities’ attitude towards African culture and African chiefs was negative because they always saw themselves to be more superior to the African, they encountered a lot of challenges and stiff resistance in West Africa.

3.1.4 French Policy of Association
The French colonial ideology of direct rule (policy of assimilation) began to change from the 1900’s to the 1920’s. After 1920, some French colonial ideologists like Henri Labouret and Robert Delavignette promoted a new attitude towards the local chiefs where they decided that there will be no more policy of assimilation but association. 248 The policy of Association was a system where the French colonial administration unlike in assimilation, respected the culture of Africans and allowed them to develop independently, and did not force them to adapt to French culture.

3.2 The German Policy on Religion in Africa
Among all the European powers that came to Africa, German colonial rule was unique because Germany was the last to enter the colonial field but the first to leave. 249 In 1905, the Germans held a Colonial Congress and one important topic for discussion was Islam and the colonial policy to adopt towards it. Consequently in 1908, some prominent German specialists in Oriental and Islamic studies were tasked to research and gather information about the spread and development of Islam in the German colonies in Africa. 250

247 Elise Huillery, Colonisation and Development in the Former French West Africa: The Long-term Impact of the Colonial Public Policy, 2006, 14
250 Since Germany was the last colonial power to come into Africa, other colonial powers may have had much more experience with the African people. The decision to investigate into Islam by the Germans gave them their own idea of how to behave towards Islam and not copy from what the colonial masters are doing in their respective territories. Therefore, Investigations on the state of Islam in the German colonies were launched by Professor Becker in 1908–1909, Professor Martin Hartmann in 1911, and Professor Diedrich Westermann in 1913. However,
Carl Heinrich Becker, German expert in Islamic studies stated that although Islam might be an enemy to Christianity, it was not an opponent of civilization because Islam was seen as superior as compared to African Traditional Religion (ATR). He advocated that Germans should tolerate Islam and further suggested that Christianity should be separated from Islam in a sort of enclave policy to prevent any conflict between the two. Following Becker’s proposition, the hinterland of Togo was practically closed to all Europeans including traders and missionaries except the administrators. European traders and Christian missionaries were not permitted into the north which was perceived to be Muslim zones for fear that their actions might cause restlessness among Muslim populations. Furthermore, it was feared that the North was not yet prepared as the South was for European influence. As a result of Becker’s investigation, German officials like Governor von Zech closed the Northern part of Togo to Christian missionary work thereby isolating the Muslims in the north from the south. Thus, only the southern part of Togo was a field for Christian missionary work. This policy adopted by the German colonial administration in Cameroon and Togo was similar to that of the British in Northern Nigeria and Northern Ghana as will be discussed later in this study.

Although the Muslims thus enjoyed some freedom of religion, they had no special legal, political or economic rights because the German administration in Togo made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims in their relations with them. Islamic law for instance had no official status and was not accepted at the colonial courts unlike in French territories. In Togo, Muslims had to obey all rulers and were equally taxed. Offi-

it appears that only Westermann published his results in Diedrich Westermann, ‘Die Verbreitung des Islam in Togo und Kamerun’, Die Welt des Islams, ii, 2/4, 1914, 188-276. This document portrayed German attitudes towards Islam in colonial times. The British (1874-1956) and the French (1880-1960) had much experiences with Islam and Muslims in Africa and even West Africa before the Germans (1884-1914) arrival in Africa. See more in Holger Weiss, “German Images of Islam in West Africa”, 54

252 The ban on Christian missions to the northern Togo was defended by Diedrich Westermann who was a missionary before his academic career. As a missionary, he participated in the 1910 Edinburgh congress where he supported the criticisms of British colonial policy in Northern Nigeria where Islam was kept apart in the North and Christianity in the south. He emphasised on the political and military situational differences between Northern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon. Although, Togo was a German colony at the time, the Germans used similar approach of the British to rule Togo where the North was kept apart for Islam and the southern part of Togo kept for Christianity. See also Holger Weiss “German Images in West Africa”, 61
253 See further Peter Sebald, Togo 1884-1914. Eine Geschichte der deutschen ‘Musterkolonie’ auf Grundlage amtlicher Quellen, (Berlin 1988), 54; See also Holger Weiss “German Images in West Africa”, 61
cially, the Germans at the beginning of their colonial era were of the view that Muslims in Africa did not pose any threat to their rule. Thus, according to Mervyn Hiskett, the German colonial officials in Germany and in Africa did not see Islam in sub-Saharan Africa as a radical or fanatic religion in the 19th and early 20th century so; Muslim rule was left untouched as long as Muslim rulers obeyed colonial authority. Muslims were generally watched by most colonial powers and any fanatic or ‘stubborn’ ruler, chief or individual was eliminated.

The German perception of a peaceful and harmless Islam in sub-Saharan Africa had been shaped by politicians, scholars and travellers in the 19th century. After two mahdist uprisings in Adamawa in Northern Cameroon in 1907, the Germans adopted a more negative perception of Islam and Muslim rulers in Africa. Generally, the German colonial authorities appeared to have had very good relations with Muslims in their colonies but we shall discuss more below.

3.2.1 Islam under German Colonial Authorities in Togo
Before the arrival of the Germans in Togo in 1884, Islam was already established in the country. The Germans quickly fostered good relations with the Muslims because Islam was perceived as an intermediate phase that would lead the Africans to civilization so all German colonial era in Togo was a period which saw good relations with Muslims.

The Germans as first strategy made a treaty with the Muslim leaders in the Northern part of Togo in 1889 so the Muslims could serve as soldiers for the colonial army. This treaty which was signed between the Muslim leaders and the Germans and later with the French made Islam develop and spread in Togo.

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255 Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam*, 279, 281
256 The French and British seem to have had more experience with the Muslim societies in Africa much longer than the Germans. See Mervyn Hiskett, *Development of Islam in West Africa*, (Chapter 13), 44-58 and Christopher Harrison, France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960, (Cambridge 1988), 118
257 Adamawa is now in Northern Nigeria
258 Jean-Claude Froelich, P. Alexandre and R. Cornevin, *Les Populations du Nord-Togo*, (PUF, Paris, 1963), 55-56. The Kotokoli and the Bassari lived under the protectorate of the Germans who settled in Bismarcburg from 1885 to 1895. However, after the alliance in 1895, Uro Djobo III (chief of Kotokoli) accepted to help and support the Germans. As a result of this treaty, Uro Djobo III was able to use the same army the Germans created to conquer Bafilo, Bassari and Kabre.
Robert Cornevin citing R. Chowdhury remarks that after the treaty between the Germans and the Muslim leaders in Togo, the Germans adopted a ‘policy’ to support Islam based on the advice of Becker who suggested that “Islam should be encouraged in the North while the Christian missions should be encouraged only in heathen lands”. On 20th September, 1907 Governor Graf Zech prohibited every access to northern Togo by any foreign European and native traders and missionaries not belonging to this region because the region was “gesperrtes gebiet” (forbidden territory). Thus one needed permission from the Governor in Lome before one could enter areas in Northern Togo. Togo under the Germans therefore became religiously segregated; the North for Muslims, Southeast for Catholic and Methodist missionaries, and Southwest for Bremen missionaries. This segregation lasted probably until 1912 because it was this year that the ban on not entering the northern part of Togo was lifted. It appears that once the ban was lifted there was free movement across the country.

There were several reasons why the Germans divided Togo based on religious lines. One reason was that to avoid religious conflict they considered inappropriate for areas which were already Islamic to be Christianized. It is also likely that the Germans protected the Kotokoli, Dagomba and Tchokossi Muslim kingdoms not only because they wanted to avoid any conflict. A second reason was that the Catholic and Protestant missionaries had exported the rivalry that was between them in Europe to Africa, and by extension to their African converts so allowing these missionaries to work in the same area could spark quarrels or conflicts. The outcome of the support the German colonialists provided Islam in Northern Togo was that the chiefs of Kotokoli and Tchokossi of Sokodé and Mango gained greater autonomy.

260 Schimming, a Basel missionary was denied to have any missionary activity in Mango because Von Hirschfeld (a captain and German administrator of the Mango district) was afraid that the work of the missionaries might cause trouble. See more: Robert Cornevin, Histoire du Togo, 1962 pp.23
261 Another later dated October 5, 1907, confirmed that Sokodé, Bassari, Mango, Yendi, should be “closed” unless one received a permission from the governor to enter these areas. See more Robert Cornevin, Histoire du Togo, 1962, 173.
263 Dzinyêfa Komi Adrake, Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses, 200
The Bremen missionaries of German origin insisted on opening a station in Northern Togo. In June 1912, the Catholics wanted access to open a mission station in Sokodé, while the Basel Missionaries (Protestants) also wanted to open a mission station in Yendi under German rule. However, it was only under the French colonial administration, that the Catholics were able to open a mission station in 1926 at Tchitchao in Kabiye and at Sokodé in 1929.264

Above all the German colonial administration helped Islam to develop economically in the *zongos* because markets were established which attracted Yoruba and Hausa traders who came to settle in these areas. Thus, the Germans founded a neighbourhood for the Hausa near Koutime or Manohar as well as the Atakpamé and Kpalimé *zongo*.265 We can conclude that German colonial authorities favoured Islam and had good relations with the Muslims in Togo during their reign and this contributed to the expansion of Islam in Togo.266

### 3.2.2 The Germans and the Christian missions in Togo

J. Beauberot as cited by P. A. Ramino asserts “the link between colonization and missions remained undeniable”.267 If indeed colonization and missionary activities interconnected such that missionary work complimented and consolidated the colonial authorities then the consequence is that the African was no longer able to distinguish between the colonial authorities and the Christian missionaries. The missionary and the colonial authorities were Europeans “white men” and therefore shared the same culture thus established a *de facto* solidarity with each other.268 It is important to discuss how true this assertion was in Togo with regards to the German colonial authorities and the missionaries.

#### 3.2.2.1 German Colonial Authorities and the Missionaries: Conflicts and ‘Bad rapport’

The early days of the German colonial administration in Togo was marked by tensions between colonial authorities and the missionaries because of the different objectives both sought to pursue. The relationship between

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268 R. Mehl, *Traité de sociologie Protestante*, (Delacheaux et Niestlé, 1965),149
the German colonial authorities and the missionaries in the beginning was marked by distrust because both entities had different objectives thus their plans often conflicted. This sometimes led to open conflicts where the cases were either solved somehow or it resulted in the detention of some missionaries or even their departure from the colonial territory. The colonial authorities decided how to allow the missionaries to work.

The German authorities allowed the Bremen missionaries, who were also Germans, to work in the area of west Togo and also in the region under British control of the Gold Coast because they wanted to rely on the activities of the missionaries to expand the German protectorate. But this plan of the colonial authorities was not accepted by the Bremen missionaries who thought that their missionary activities were beyond any considerations of national policy.

In his justification as to whether or not missionaries should support the wishes and interests of the European countries, Franz Michael Zahn (1833-1900), a German Protestant theologian and Inspector of the Norddeutschen Missionsgesellschaft (North German Missionary Society/Bremen missionary) remarked that:

Jesus’ missionary command knows no national frontiers. It applies to the world as a whole- missions have been carried on up till now as an international activity. Therefore a stronger emphasis on nationality would in their eyes be no advance but a “deplorable retreat.”

Zahn was clearly against any close liaison between missionary work and the German colonization because he was afraid that the close relationship could impede the work of the missionaries. In his 1895 annual report he again wrote:

...the task of the missionary was to remain neutral in the face of political aspirations because the people’s confidence can be easily lost if the missionaries belong to the ruling nation so the missionaries must make every effort to remain neutral to keep the confidence of the people to whom they wish to bring the gospel.

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270 Hans W. Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers*, 105
Zahn’s remarks were not accepted by the colonial authorities who argued that “Christianity and colonization were not opposite things”. The German colonial authorities did not understand why the missionaries separated missions from colonialism so the missionaries were therefore considered bad patriots. This shows the extent of the tension between the missionaries and colonizers in Togo. Missionaries who were adamant to accepting the pursuit of the colonial authorities were sent away or replaced by the mission board. Nonetheless, the colonial authority tried to win the missionaries to their cause.

The Germans further called for the protection of their national interests so they initially denied the Catholic Mission entry into Togo, because the Catholic fathers were French citizens. Eventually, they allowed only German missionaries hoping they would defend the interests of their nation better. This made the German colonial authorities in Togo to take measures to assist the Missions which were already working in the colony and to improve the level of missionary schools. This was because it was only the Christian mission schools that provided education to the people. To fulfill this, the German colonial authorities gave the missionaries parcels of land to build churches and schools, to conform with the policy which wanted missionaries with at least German background with the condition that the German language will be taught in such schools.

The Wesleyan mission made an appeal to the Ecumenical Committee of the Methodist Church so Johannes Mühleder arrived in 1892 as a Wesleyan pastor. The Catholic fathers of African Missions of Lyon could not come to terms with the fact that they had become “personae non gratae” so they also later placed a request for German Catholic missionaries based on the advice of the Christians in Anecho. A co-founder of the Society of the Catholic Fathers of Lyon wrote a letter about the wish of the German colonial authorities to the cardinal of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith:

Your eminence spoke to me (May 1890) of the German Government intention to have in its territories only German missionaries, but said to me that the representative of that government had promised that

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271 Hans W. Debrunner, A Church Between Colonial Powers, 106
272 Bertin Agbobjy-Atayi, Evangélisation et colonisation au Togo: Missions Chrétiennes et Administration Coloniale Allemande 1884-1914, (Mémoire de maîtrise en Histoire, Université de Paris, 1976) 34
provided they were German, they would be accepted even if they lost their nationality.\textsuperscript{274}

With the arrival of the Priests of the Divine Word in Togo in August 1892, missionary work was exclusively conducted by German missionaries of Catholic, Lutheran and Wesleyan background. Thus the German colonial Government achieved its aim of creating a nationalist policy. This on the one hand excluded or prevented other foreign missionaries from coming into their territory, and on the other hand, achieved the aim of making missions come under colonial domination. Two articles “\textit{Hamburger Nachrichten}” and the “Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik”\textsuperscript{275} published in 1907 and 1910 respectively clearly define the spirit of German nationalism.\textsuperscript{276}

The aim of the missionaries, however, was entirely different from that of the colonizers because the missionaries had the aim of bringing the Christian revelation to people who were considered to be lost. To help them achieve this aim in the administration of the sacraments and religious training, the missionaries set up stations and churches. This stance of the missionaries created conflict with the colonial officers who were of the view that the Negro was inferior to them. The missionaries kept defending the rights of the African people because the colonizers abused their rights even with regards to the “\textit{Eingeborenen politik}”.\textsuperscript{277} The Catholic missionar-

\textsuperscript{274} P. Moody, “The Growth of Catholic Missions in the Western, Central, and Eastern Africa 1860-1914”, 350 ans au service des Missions, vol. III (Rome, 1975), 235. This letter which was sent to Berlin in 1890 only received an attention from Pope Leo XIII who decreed on April 12, 1892 that the apostolic vicariate of Togo should be created and entrusted to the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) founded in 1875, who were German missionaries. See Also: Bertin Agbobly-Atayi, \textit{Evangelisation et colonisation au Togo: Missions Chrétienes et Administration Coloniale Allemande}, 1884-1914, (Mémoire de maîtrise en Histoire, Université de Paris I., 1976), 42

\textsuperscript{275} This are German journals published under the auspices of the \textit{Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft}

\textsuperscript{276} The crave for German nationalism led to the conflict between the Bremen Missionaries and the German colonial authorities because some people like Nicoue Gayibor stress that the “Bremen missionaries prepared the way for the imperialists, because it protected them and facilitated the work of the German traders who called for Germany to establish a protectorate over the regions concerned”. See more in Theodore Gayibor \textit{Les Ewe du Sud-Togo}, (thèse de doct. de 3è. cycle, Paris, 1976), 541; R. Chowdhury remarks that “it is because of the activities of the Bremen Mission that the German protectorate extended to northwest of Ho and Amedzofe stations”. See more in: R. Chowdhury, \textit{History of Togo}, (Paris, 1969), 129 Ali Napo also posits that the work of the missionaries was a determining factor for the dissemination of German culture many years before colonization created a sense of attachment of the latter to everything that could make Germany represented. Ali Napo, \textit{La Formation territoriale du Togo}, (thèse de doc. de 3è cycle, vol. II, Paris, 1976), 171. The missionaries indeed came to the West coast of Africa, to evangelize and civilize them through the Germanic culture which later served as the basis for colonialism.

\textsuperscript{277} ‘Eingeborenenpolitik’ was the ‘native policy’ which defined the level of criminal activity, tax
ies for instance, intervened in some cases of abuse in Atakpamé. Schmidt who succeeded Von Doering as District commander of Atakpamé in 1900 was rebuked by the Catholic missionaries because of his bad moral conduct and indecent assault against minors in the region.\textsuperscript{278}

The conflict between the missionaries and the colonial authorities came to an end with the arrival of Julius Graf Zech in the colony in 1903 as a new colonial administrator. After this period, the relationship between most of the colonial officials and the missionaries became cordial. This positive cooperation as we shall discuss in the next section appeared to benefit both the colonial authorities and the missionaries.

3.2.2.2 Rapport between of the German Colonial Administration and the Missions in Togo

Positive relationships began to exist between the German colonial authorities and Missionaries from 1903 until the First World War in 1914. The arrival of Governor Julius Graf von Zech in 1903 gave a new impetus to both German nationalist policy and the school policy of Missions because von Zech created the atmosphere of understanding which reigned in Germany between the imperial State and all the churches which became the pillars of colonial action.\textsuperscript{279}

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\textsuperscript{278} Dieter Edouard Skweres, \textit{Les Méthodes d’évangélisation des premiers missionnaires SVD au Togo 1892-1918}, (Lomé:Ediberum, 1993), 47 describes this situation better. The first missionaries of the SVD of Togo defended the rights of the population in At Atakpamé when in 1903; they accused a colonial officer of arresting and beating 40 people cruelly as well as sexually abusing a minor. As a result two Catholic fathers, Müller and Schmitz and two brothers, Probus and Willibroad, were put in prison for three weeks. This case resulted in lawsuits in judicial courts in Togo, Cameroon and Germany as well as a heated debate in the Reichstag (Parliament) of Berlin and polemic articles in the German press. Officials who were found guilty lost their jobs, but Catholics wanted to withdraw the two Catholic priests because of what they went through but the peace with the German Government was more important for Rome to keep these two missionaries who had fought so courageously for human rights in Togo. See more in: John S. Lowry, \textit{Big Swords, Jesuits, and Bondelswarts: Wilhelmine Imperialism, Overseas Resistance, and German Political Catholicism, 1897–1906}, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 220-236. Hans Georg Doering, (1866-1921) was the district administrator in Atakpamé from 1907-1911. He also served as the Deputy Governor of Togo in 1914, in 1894 he founded the military station Kete-Krachi.

\textsuperscript{279} Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, \textit{Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo : Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses}, 2008, 192
The collaboration between the Government and the Missions was in the interest of both parties since the Missions, which used education to ‘Christianize’, needed assistance from the Government to be successful, while the Government through the education given by the Missions, had elite people who were used in the development of the colony.\textsuperscript{280} This period appeared to be a period of peaceful collaboration. The missionaries had twofold objectives in their schools. The first objective was to convert the Togolese and build Christian churches while the second was to train their converts through schools for future generations.\textsuperscript{281}

In his explanation of the reasons for the cooperation between the missions and colonial government, Wolgang Mehnert mentions “Les Missions chrétiennes sont un moyen idéologique bon marché pour consolider la domination colonial”.\textsuperscript{282} Since the Christian Missions created a ‘cheap’ ideological way to consolidate colonial domination the German colonial authority began negotiations with the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft of Bremen who were in the British territory (Gold Coast) to come and work in Togo so the government could train the Africans to speak and write German to make them “useful” in future.\textsuperscript{283}

### 3.2.2.3 Education as a tool for collaboration

As stated above education became a tool, which enabled the missionaries and the colonial authorities to have good relations. The colonial authorities within this period gave the missionaries the freedom to evangelize and educate. At the beginning, there was no State intervention in the missionary work but the Colonial administrators indirectly used the missionaries to extend German influence on the people they had already evangelized.

As time went on the colonial Government became interested in or took advantage of the educational work of the Missions because they needed educated people capable to serve them. Therefore, the colonial authorities found a way to reduce the financial burdens inherent in the missions’ educational activities.

In 1894, the missionaries were exempted from paying for customs duties for imports of educational materials. The missionaries were in more need


\textsuperscript{281} A. Napo, *Le Togo à l’époque allemande : 1884-1914*, 1424.

\textsuperscript{282} A. Napo, *Le Togo à l’époque allemande : 1884-1914*, 1436.

\textsuperscript{283} A. Napo, *Le Togo à l’époque allemande : 1884-1914*, 1424 & 1438.
of teaching materials for their schools whose numbers were increasing each year so this decision of the government helped them operate in the colonies better. Thus, in 1902, a sum of two thousand German gold marks was allocated to two Missions for their educational activities in the “Kirchen und Schulsachen” (churches and school suppliers) budget of Togo but in 1903 the amount was reduced to a thousand gold marks. This was to reduce the financial burden on the missionaries and to enable the missionaries work diligently.

3.2.2.4 Politics of Language
The colonial administration through the leadership of Governor von Zech found the need to encourage and protect the educational work of the Missions through the grants. From 1903 Governor Zech monitored the progress of the educational work of missionaries because he wanted to use the products of their work in the interests of the colony. All these decrees of Governor Zech and his government were because by the time the Germans arrived on the coast, English dominated as a commercial language between the peoples of the coastal area; from Lagos to the Gold Coast.

In Anecho, the Wesleyan Mission used English as a language of study in their schools. In the East of the Gold Coast, the Bremen Mission also used English as a language of study in some areas like Kete Krachi where they evangelized. Since this was not in the interest of Germany, the German colonial authorities built schools at Adjido and Anécho in 1891 where German was the language of study in competition with the English language.

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284 A. Napo, Le Togo à l’époque Allemande : 1884-1914, 1605
285 A new educational reform was proposed by the Governor Zech to extend the teaching of German and abolish other ‘foreign languages’ apart from the Ewe which was the native language, in all schools of the colony and these schools were to be supervised by the Government. The importance of the new educational reform was first to promote the German language and then secondly train the Togolese youth in agricultural practices. This agreement was signed in Lomé on 15th March 1904, between the colonial Government represented by Zech and the Missions represented by pastors Dauble, Spiess and Fathers Kost and Litzenburger. In January 9, 1905, the Ewe language as a medium for teaching was also prohibited in schools on February 2, 1906; another decree introduced a single school system for all schools of Schutzgebiet Togo. These decrees signed by Zech, urged the Governors or the German officials to ensure the implementation of the curriculum. They ordered the closure of all schools who would not submit to the regulations in force. See more: Bertin Agbobly-Atayi, Evangélisation et colonisation au Togo : Missions Chrétiennes et Administration Coloniale Allemande, 1884-1914, 1976, 68.
286 The colonial administration used all means to introduce German instead of English. In August 1892, Pastor Muhleder de Nürnberg, a German by origin was appointed as Superintendent of the Togo Wesleyan Mission but he died shortly after and was replaced by another German pastor, Karl Ulrich of Waiblinger in May 189. See more in A. Napo, Le Togo à l’époque Allemande
3.2.2.5 Ideological Collaboration between the German colonial authorities and Missionaries in Togo.

The collaboration between the missions and the colonial authorities appears to have been peaceful because both were Europeans and shared the same ideology of indoctrination and bringing “civilization” to the Togolese through the European culture. The Bremen Mission attached great importance to the teaching of national history especially the lesson on ‘the Emperor and princesses’. For example, school boys repeated in a chorus: ‘the Emperor is very active’ when students sang in chorus: “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles.” Here the African children were taught the power of the Emperor as well as the importance of Germany above any other thing.

David Westermann in an assessment of the work of the missions in the colony mentions that the missions worked successfully to bring development to their colonies. Similarly, during the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Ho Mission station on 19th November, 1897, a Togolese who lived in Ho wrote to praise Governor Graf von Zech saying:

The Government has brought peace, built roads and the railway, installed the Telegraph, the telephone and the best postal service in the world, promoted trade and developed agriculture.

In 1911, there was a rumour in Lomé about Togo becoming a French nation and this alarmed the religious authorities who then sent a memorandum to express their concerns. The religious leaders expressed their deep distress for the Bremen missionaries especially if Togo should become a French colony because a lot of effort was put into creating a good relationship between the Bremen Mission and the colonial Government for the promotion of German interest. Therefore, the transfer of Togo to be under France would be considered a serious breach of German national interest.

The information bulletin “Steyler Missionsbote”, of the Catholic Mission also expressed similar concerns of the priests of the Divine Word of the Steyl Mission in these words: “Togo bleibt deutsch” (Togo remains German).

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288 Bertin Agbobly-Atayi, *Evangélisation et colonisation au Togo...Coloniale Allemande 1884-1914*, (1976), 96
289 This means: “Germany above everything”.

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Togolese lived in happiness and peace under the German flag... everything here is a brand of German culture... the Catholic Missions, also contributed to the spread of both Christian civilization and the German culture for nineteen years”.  

These Pro-German sentiments, which guided the missionaries, were inculcated into the minds of students they taught so when these children were asked ‘do you want to remain young Germans?’ They answered “ja”. The students were further asked “what they would do if the French came?” They responded: “we will then have a Franco-German war”. These statements by the young students in Togo on the surface shows that they were ‘okay’ with the German system and the German civilization but apprehensive to French take over.

Another factor which explains the collaboration between the German colonial government and the Catholic missionaries is seen when a book printed in Steyl in 1911, was used in the Catholic Mission schools “to generate positive patriotic feelings among the generation of this German colony”. We can conclude by saying that the Bremen and Catholic missionaries’ indoctrinated the young Togolese students to accept German rule and authorities.

3.3 French Colonial rule in Togo

The German colonial administration came to an end in Togo after the First World War (1914-1918) as mentioned above. The British, represented by Bryant and Clifford and the French by Maroix and Noufflard agreed to the sharing of the Togolese territory. Togo was then divided into two parts: the French took possession of the eastern part, while the British occupied the West, under British administration of the Gold Coast. Before we discuss the French and their policy in Togo we shall briefly discuss the more general policy of the French colonial government regarding Islam in West Africa.

3.3.1 Islam and the French

The French began their “conquest” of sub-Sahara Africa with the ‘four communes (Goree, Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis) all in Senegal. These communes became France’s earliest settlements in West Africa. The first

292 Steyler Missionsbote, number 39, de 1911/1912 as cited by in Agbobly-Atayi, Bertin, *Evangelisation et colonisation au Togo*, (1976), 103

293 Bertin Agbobly-Atayi, *Evangelisation et colonisation au Togo*, (1976), 104


French officers and officials who administered French West Africa encouraged Islam at the expense of Traditional religion because they knew little about the beliefs of the indigenous people but had known Muslims because of their experience with them in Senegal and North Africa. The French also favored Islam because they considered it more ‘advanced’ or ‘civilized’ than ‘fetishism’. Alphonse Gouilly argues that there is no such thing as a coherent French Islamic policy; rather the so-called policy consisted of a series of measures that were taken in response to given situations with little necessary coherence. This argument is to some extent persuading in that the policy often depended on the preferences of an individual local administrator. For instance, in areas where the Muslim leaders or notables cooperated with the French there was peace as in the case of French West Africa (present day Mali and Senegal).

Alphonse Gouilly and R. L. Moreau observed that there was no Muslim policy because

“Despite all the official declarations of yesterday the colonial authorities did not have a ... Muslim policy. This was mostly an administrative and police policy of maintaining order and in recent times, an electoral policy”.

The creation of the Service des Affaires Musulmanes et Sahariennes in Paris in 1900, and of the Service des Affaires Musulmanes in Dakar in 1906, together with the works of scholar-administrators such as Le Chatelier, Arnaud and Marty, mark the beginning of a general policy towards Islam in colonial territories. This policy was aimed, in particular, to secure the loyalty of the Muslim notables, and to use them as intermediaries and tools of administration.

Alain Quellien, in a study of Muslim policy in French West Africa, argues that Muslims were a step ahead in the process of “civilization” as compared to the indigenous believers because the Muslims were universally recognized

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297 The word fetish comes from a Portuguese word *fetico* which means fabricated. This word applied to the Portuguese colonizers who saw Africans wear amulets as well as their shrines and objects of worship believed to be the habitat of the spirits. These ‘fetico’ were believed to have been hand made
in social organization, intellectual culture, commerce, industry, well-being, lifestyle and education. The French colonial officers in Senegal were aware that Muslims greatly outnumbered Christians in Senegal and there was a concern that Muslims would adhere to Umar Tall’s call in 1805 to reject French rule. This concern determined the kind of policy that the French authorities adopted towards Islam and Muslims. When Louis Faidherbe was appointed governor of French Senegal from 1854–1865, he came up with a policy that the French eventually adopted towards Muslims and this policy served as a guide for all his successors in West Africa. Before the French came into Algeria in 1830, Islam was the dominant religion in Algeria, excluding all others. Many of the French military personnel including Louis Faidherbe gained their first experience in Algeria before moving to serve in Senegal. Thus, Hardy wrote: “Algeria served as a testing ground for political and economic doctrines whether for good or evil... the mark of Algeria’s colonization is to be found in all parts of the French domain”.

Faidherbe’s policy on Islamic matters appears to have been affected by his experience in Algeria, where he served in the military administration of the French army. Being conscious of the Algerian precedent, in 1856, he wrote to defend his project for the establishment of a Muslim court at St Louis, saying:

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it seems to me that it is hardly a good policy to refuse the Muslims of St Louis, who are sincerely devoted to us...what the French government has accorded with such good grace to the Muslims of Algeria, who are hostile to us deep in their hearts.  

Similarly, speaking on the ‘education policy which became the litmus test of French attitude towards Islam’ in Senegal, Faidherbe declared that they only have to imitate what was done in Algeria’.  

Robert Arnaud and Xavier Coppolani who also had past experiences in Algeria were both specialized in Muslim affairs and they both had much influence on Islamic policy in West Africa before the First World War. Since these officers were familiar with Muslims in North Africa, there was the tendency for them to assume that Islam was preferably the only religion as compared to the traditional beliefs. The French appeared to have been successful in Algeria especially with the cooperation of the sufi marabouts or leaders. Doutte remarks that there was;

no doubt that we can, although with less authority than a Mahommedan government, make use of the marabouts. We have already done so and with complete success... In purely administrative matters the marabouts have been of service to us: we have seen them order their followers, in the name of God and at the behest of an administrator of a commune mixture, to follow an administrative ruling.

The Tijaniyya and the Qadiriyya Sufi orders, which were dominant in West Africa were helpful to the French. Attempts were made to use the loyal

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306 Donald Cruise O’Brien, ‘Towards an “Islamic policy”, 306. When Louis Faidherbe was appointed governor of Senegal, he aimed at pursuing a policy of expansion into the interior of the colony. The Muslims in St. Louis outnumbered the Christians and this was a concern for the French because the Muslim populations could easily accept Umar’s statement issued in the early 1855 to reject French rule. After some fighting between the French authorities and al-Hajj Umar in 1856 and 1857, Umar was forced to withdraw and submit to the French. See Also: M. Ly-Tall, and D. Robinson, “The Western Sudan and the coming of the French” J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa, 2nd edition, Vol. II, (London, 1987), 251-258 for the summary of the history of the early colonial occupation of Senegambia. This concern made the French authorities to adopt a policy towards the Muslims in St. Louis.


**marabouts** of these orders to influence their members in West Africa. The general attitude as Delafosse, argued was that ‘France has no more to fear from Muslims than from non-Muslims... the interests of European domination... make it our duty to maintain the status quo and keep absolute neutrality towards all religions’. Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani, in their study of the Sufi orders in North Africa, mentioned that the *marabouts* played the role of intermediaries, and in many instances put themselves forward as men of peace.

J.C. Froelich in explaining the policy adopted towards the leaders of the brotherhoods states that “We have favoured the heads of the brotherhoods and organized the travels of the great *marabouts* while asking them, in exchange, to pacify spirits; we have treated them with the greatest honours; we have, at their demand, constructed schools, *madrasas* and even mosques”.

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310 *A marabout* is a Muslim religious leader, scholar of the Qur’an and a religious teacher in West Africa. Marabout was also adopted by French colonial officials in their reference to any imam, Muslim teacher, or secular leader of Islamic tradition. In the context of Sub Sahara, the French used the term marabout for virtually all Muslim clerics. The French officials initially never trusted the marabouts because they were not sure when there will be a revolt led by a marabout leader. This mistrust of the French officials was seen in the continuous admonitions of their reports between 1900 to the second world war in 1945 where the Lieutenant Governors of Senegal and Governor Generals of the Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) asked that the marabouts should be kept under close surveillance at all times. See Robert Arnaud, *l’Islam et la Politique Musulmane*, (1912), 148. The French did not hesitate to punish, kill or cause the exile of a marabout that resisted colonial power as in the case of Fode Solayman Bayaga who was hostile to the French but was eliminated. See: Robert Arnaud, *l’Islam et la Politique Musulmane*, (1912), 192; Elise Huillery, “Colonisation and Development in the Former French West Africa: The Long-term Impact of the Colonial Public Policy”, (2006), 14. Although the French generally mistrusted the *marabouts* there have been instances where some marabouts developed good relations with the French. Shaikh Sidya Baba is a good example of a *marabout* who had good relations with the French administration. Ahmad Bamba (1850-1927) a leader of the Muridiyya a Senegalese Brotherhood is also another example. See Also David Robinson “The Murids: Surveillance and Collaboration” in: *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (1999), 201-209; Cheikh Anta Babou, ‘Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853-1913’, *New African Histories Series*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007)


312 Octave Depont & Xavier Coppolani, ‘Les confréries religieuses Musulmanes’, (Algiers, Jourdan, 1897), 264

The French appeared to have been more comfortable with the Muslims and their loyalty in their West African colony, but some African chiefs in Senegambia condemned the policy of assimilation because it threatened their authority as the colonial powers did not regard their authority but rather saw themselves as superior to them. In 1908, William Ponty (Governor-General for French West Africa, 1908–1915) also favored and respected Muslim leaders. He appeared aware of the value of such persons from an administrative point of view but championed a course he termed ‘politique des races’, under which traditional chiefs were given much more security and respect than they then possessed at the time.

The aim of such a policy was to preserve ethnicity by ensuring that each ethnic group had chiefs appointed from its own people thereby safeguarding the culture and tradition of the indigenous people as well as the non-Muslims from being ruled by French appointed Muslim chiefs from other groups. According to Ponty, this policy would help stop any form of Muslim propaganda in non-Muslim areas because although the French were positive vis a vis Islam, Ponty and Clozel did not want Islam to spread among adherents of ATR. This is where the French government saw the need for Christian mission. Ponty’s policy also served as a principle of religious neutrality which formed the basis for the French policy and their attitudes towards the various religions in their colonies:

I maintain... that we must not openly take sides for or against Islam, as a religion or as a moral and legal doctrine. Such an attitude would be unworthy of us and might cause disaffection among a number of our subjects.314

Ponty’s successor, François Joseph Clozel shared the same views of religious neutrality. Previously, as Governor of Soudan, Clozel called for a great respect for ‘fetishism’,315 the chiefs and village councils and also for the use of traditional courts instead of the Muslim law in courts. Clozel in his quest for neutrality on religious matters posited that this policy was primarily designed to prevent the further diffusion of Islam and no attempt was to be made, either through missionary action or otherwise, to interfere with those who had already adopted and converted to Islam.316

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315 *Sic. The religion of the African was not fetish. The word fetish was used to describe the religion of the African by Europeans who understand the religion or wanted to downgrade the African religion.
From the policies of Ponty and Clozel, it appears that the French were not only worried about the development and spread of Islam but also about the other religions like African Traditional Religion and Christianity; hence, these religions were to be treated fairly and on neutral grounds to avoid any form of religious conflict.

3.3.2 *Islam Noir* and the French

One of the most unintended consequences of colonial rule in French West Africa was the Islamization of large parts of it. Islamic movements have often been interpreted in specific political terms, as either ‘collaborating’ with or ‘resisting’ colonial domination as discussed above.

The French colonial authorities in order to be comfortable with the growth and spread of Islam and not see Islam as a threat; invented a reassuring image of *Islam noir* (Black/ African Islam)\(^{317}\) to differentiate the Arabian Islam from the type of Islam that was practised in Algeria and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the French perspective, ‘Islam’ practised in Africa involved elements such as charms, amulets and magic and such alleged syncretism made Islam to be more accepted and accessible to the African because these elements were common in African traditional society. As discussed in Chapter two of this work, there were a number of similarities between ATR and Islam and hence, the presumption was more easily accepted or converted to Islam than Christianity. The reason for the construction of this notion of ‘African Islam’ was because many Muslims paid allegiance to *marabouts* or *sufi* leaders who belonged to *sufi* orders like the Tijaniyya or the Qadiriyya, which two orders were common in West Africa. Sufism in Africa, in the eyes of French colonial officers helped preserve ‘African’ Islam within ‘African’ confines.\(^{318}\)

The French notion about *l’Islam noir* was a misunderstanding of the nature of Islam that was practised in Africa because they did not understand the nature of loyalty of the African Muslims towards their *marabouts* nor did they understand the scope (and limits) of their leadership. Muslims in French West Africa were either directly under French control because their *marabouts* were either loyal to the French or their *marabouts* sought direction from other Muslim leaders outside West Africa and France.\(^{319}\)


\(^{319}\) Robert Launay and Benjamin Soares, ‘The formation of an ‘Islamic sphere’ in French Colonial
3.3.3 Islam and French Colonial Administration in Togo

German colonial rule in Togo came to an end after the First World War (1914-1918). The French like the German authorities shared the view that Islam was a more civilized religion than African Traditional Religion. Islam was also seen as a religion which best suited the African context because of its simplicity, its ethics and religious philosophy. Islam was not however seen as a unified religion but one which had many denominations or groups so the French colonial administration adopted two attitudes towards Islam.

They supported the Muslim leaders who were favorable to the administration and opposed those who undermined the French authority. The activities of the marabouts were no longer considered a threat to the French administration when Qur’anic schools were built. This improved the relations between the colonial administration and the marabout.

France from 1921 began to make efforts to win the heart of the Togolese natives who were yet to come to terms with the departure of the Germans. In order to achieve this, the French authorities decided to study the activities of the marabouts and the a’ ima in Lomé in a bid to know and understand them better; but also to see if they still had any close ties with Germany. The French also realized the growing influence of the Muslim marabouts and so sought to domesticate Islam for political purposes. The French administration achieved its aim under the leadership of Governor Bonnecarrère by 1922, and was able to win the hearts of the Togolese.

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322 David Robinson, Malik Sy : Un intellectuel dans l’ordre colonial au Sénégal, in *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara*, no. 5, (Editions de la maison des sciences de l’homme, Paris, 1993),190,199. Evidence of this cordial relationship is the Senegalese marabout Malik Sy to his compatriots. Similary, El-Hajj Ahmadu Bello, of Northern Nigeria is also believed to have collaborated with the British.
323 Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, *Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses*, 87
324 Gouverneur général Coppet, télégramme officiel 39, Dakar, 15 février 1937, ANT, Dossier Islam, n° 3 k; Discours de M. Laminou Géraldo, Secrétaire de la communauté musulmane à l’adresse du Commissaire de la République, à l’occasion de la fête de la Tabaski, 22 février 1937. ANT, Dossier Islam, 3 k.
The governor also made sure that both the Muslim and Christian leaders developed their religion within their areas in peace despite strict watch of the French government. In other words, the governor cooperated with and gave each religion a listening ear: He had favour with the Muslim leaders as well as with the Christian missionaries. Governor Michel Lucien Montagné (1936-1941) also made a similar report to the Governor General of the Afrique Occidentale Française (A.O.F) about the good relations between the colonial administration and the Muslims in Lome. Therefore, Muslims enjoyed good and cordial relationship with the French Colonial administration. Seydou Nourou Tall for instance, became so friendly with the French administration that when he visited Lome on one of his tours, he laid the foundation for a new mosque in the zongo in 1949 and the French Commissioner Jean Henri Arsène Cédile and members of his administration as well as many Muslim leaders were present at the ceremony.

Alphonse Gouilly posits that generally the French administrators in West Africa were great builders of mosques, and made efforts to engage Muslims in their activities as a sign of peace and eternal friendship. Similarly, M.A. Glèlè remarks that Governors and Governor Generals: Faidherbe, Punkprashant and Coppet resolved to make a pro-Muslim policy to support Muslims within their administrative jurisdictions and this included Togo. We may conclude from the foregoing that the period of 1922-1946 of the French colonial administration was marked by good relations with the Muslims and the colonial administration in Togo and in West Africa in general.

However, the French in 1940 became suspicious and monitored the activities of marabouts following two different events in Togo. Mamadou Sylla,
a marabout led an anti-French riot in Bobo Dioulasso with other disciples of Amadou Hamadoullah (Hamalliyya sufi brotherhood). This made the French change their attitude towards the marabouts, giving out instructions for marabouts and Muslims in general to be monitored in French West Africa. After the Second World War in 1945 until the eve of the independence of Togo on 27th April, 1960 Togoland was placed under the United Nations Trusteeship. The UN Trusteeship promoted some goals of developing the sense of interdependence of the people of the world and also to encourage them without distinction with regard to race, sex or religion. Muslims in Togo took advantage of this situation and further extended their religion.

Under the leadership and jihadist activities of Bukari (1895-1961) a member of the taribiyya Muslim Order, Islam developed in the period of the Trusteeship. His jihadist activity of destroying deities in Sokodé and converting people to Islam extended throughout Togo namely: Kpangalam, Tchalamidé, Nada, Tchanadé, Wuro, Farigadima, Bowûnda, Kpaswa, Agidaghadê, Wasarabo Yêli’imvo and Kedjikandjo, Tan, Dantcho and Balanka.

In 1943, Bukari went to Kumasi in Ghana as a trader who traded his goods between Kumasi and Cote d’Ivoire and also practiced as a tailor as well as being money lender. In August 1949, Bukari had a vision where he was directed to leave Kumasi and go to Takoradi where his life as a mystic began. Bukari returned to Togo in 1960 to continue his work in Aného, Lomé, Glei, Wahala, Atakpamé, Kpalimé and Badou. At this time the activities of Bukari did not clash with nor did it oppose the French colonial administration because the French saw Islam as more civilized than ATR.

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330 Robert Cornevin, Histoire du Togo, 1962, 369
331 El-Hadj Bukari Modjolobo, real name Bukari, was born in 1895 in Alakpade (small village East of Sokodé). He worked in both Ghana and Togo as a tailor, ‘money changer’ and finally became an Islamic missionary with the Tarabiya Muslim order. He died tragically in prison in 1961 at Sokodé in 1961. In 1949, he had some setbacks in his business in Kumasi so he left there to settle in Takoradi but his stay in Takoradi was short-lived because he returned to Sokodé in 1950 to become a missionary of Islam by launching a ‘crusade’ against the deities of Sokodé in 1952. It is believed he left to preserve 17 (deities of the clans) and converted 214 people through a sermon in a day. See More: Jean-Claude Barbier, ‘El-Hadj Bukari dit ‘Modjolobo’ ou la guerre des fétiches à Sokodé’. In : Islam et sociétés au Sud du Sahara (5)1991, 73-102 ; Dzinyêfa Komi Adrake, Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses, 107-109
We deduce here that the missionary activities of Bukari did not seem to have caused any clash with the French colonial administrators because even though he destroyed the deities of the Togoloese clans, he was not violent to the French. We summarise this section by suggesting that the period 1922-1946 saw good relations between the French colonial administrators and the Muslims while the period 1946-1960 was marked by suspicion and mistrust for the marabouts. We can observe that generally the period of German and French colonization witnessed good relations with Muslims paving way for Islam to develop.

### 3.4 The French and Christian missions in Togo

After the division of Togo into British and French protectorates, the Ewe (Bremen) church was also divided into three parts: one part was in the territory of the Gold Coast, the second was in the territory of Togo, which was under the British mandate and the third was in the French mandated territory. On the 1st of October, 1920, an Anglo-French agreement was signed to ban German Missions from any missionary work in these territories. The Bremen mission was affected by this ethnic and territorial division and called for a reunification and empowerment.333 This division further gave rise to indigenous churches to attempt a reunification as we shall soon discuss.

A Synod was held for this purpose in Kpalimé, from 18 to 22 May 1922, bringing together 166 delegates from the three territories. Robert Domingo Baéta, Synod Secretary of the Church under the French mandate who called for the unity of the church stated that:

> Le premier devoir de l’Eglise Ewe est de rester une et indivisible. Même si le glaive du pouvoir temporel devait la diviser, l’unité spirituelle doit continuer à exister.334

According to Baéta, the spiritual unity should continue to exist amidst the division of political powers. At the end of the Synod, the delegates in their resolutions called for the unity of the Church saying “the Ewe Church must and wants to remain one”. The delegates of the Synod further deliberated

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on the type of policy to help maintain the colonial administration-missionary relationship. This desire of nationalism was discussed with the indigenes and their leaders who subsequently refused to accept the new administration and the new territorial divisions.\[335\]

On October 8, 1920, the problem of reunification was brought before the League of Nations by the delegates of the British West African National Congress (BWANC).\[336\] After the 1920s, there was a new missionary policy which saw the Ewe church making attempts to reestablish the unity within the church.

Nonetheless, in order for the French Governor Bonnecarrère and his predecessor Governor Woelffel to support the missionary work of the French in 1920, the Wesleyan missionaries led by William J. Platt, head of the Protestant Mission in Dahomey and Togo were refused permission to continue the missionary work of the Bremen Mission in Togo. This was because of the relationship which existed between these two missionary bodies: Wesleyan and Bremen which the French colonial authorities felt suspicious about and threatened.\[337\] In 1922, Platt sent another letter to Governor Bonnecarrère requesting for an appointment to discuss the transfer of the assets of the Bremen Mission to the Wesleyan Mission.\[338\] Although this meeting took place on 17 February 1922 in the office of the Governor, the transfer of the assets of the Bremen Mission to the Wesleyan was not attained because Bonnecarrère wanted to reserve missionary work for the French.\[339\] This stance of the Governor confirmed the position of the leaders of the Bremen (Ewe) Mission, who did not want to entrust their work to the Wesleyan mission.\[340\]
In this case as above, the Governor kept and promoted the interests of his country, France. Bonnacarrere arrived in Togo at the time when the Togolese were still to come to terms with the abrupt departure of the Germans. Bonnacarrère did not seem to ignore this nostalgia of the natives towards the Germans yet he worked towards the policy of making France also find its place in the heart of the Togolese. Bonnacarrère won the confidence of the Togolese to the extent that the relations of French colonial authorities with the native leaders, on the one hand, and with the religious authorities, on the other improved and became cordial. It is worthy of note that the methods and policies of Governor Bonnecarrère appear to have created a good relationship between the colonial authorities and the chiefs in Togo because he promoted a policy with an aim of cooperating with the chiefs by forming a “council of chiefs” to make the chiefs serve as intermediaries between the colonial authorities and the natives.
3.4.1 The French and the Bremen Evangelical Church in Togo

During French colonization, the relationship between the French authorities and the Protestant missions was generally good. These cordial relationships created and maintained by Bonnecarrère during his reign, remained cordial throughout the period of the mandate. The protestant missionaries of this period used French as a medium for study in schools and were successful and appreciative to the French government for financial aid to support their schools. The missionaries promised to help the French administration ‘civilise’ the colony.

The result of this cordial relationship bound the Church and the State together thereby making the church a subordinate of the state. Finally, the Ewe language which is/was spoken by members of the Evangelical church in Togo and Ghana enabled the reunification of the church as her agents led by Aku, Baeta and the delegates of the Synod of Kpalimé May 1922 called for at the beginning of the French rule.

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345 Some documents in archives reveals the nature of these relations in Lettre adressée par le modérateur et le secrétaire synodal au gouverneur le 17 Février 1922. Archives EEPT, Lomé; Lettre au pasteur Baéta au 31 Août 1927 au gouverneur, Archives EEPT, Lomé; Lettre du ministre des colonies au commissaire de la République du Togo, Paris, le 18 Août 1927, Archives de l’EEPT, Lomé.


347 Rapport du Pasteur Baéta à l’administrateur des colonies, 1930. Archives de l’EEPT, Lomé. The relationship between the colonial authorities and the Bremen (Ewe) church was so cordial that when Charles Master, Director of the French Protestant Mission of Cameroon arrived in Lomé on 27th February, the necessary accommodation was made for his stay in Togo. See also: Lettre du 21 Janvier 1927, relative à l’arrivée du Pasteur Maître. Archives de l’EEPT, Lomé. Governor Bonnecarrère and Robert D. Baeta became friends as a result of the cordial relations by the French government and the missions.

348 Lettre du pasteur Charles. Maître au gouverneur, à propos de son voyage à Lomé le 8 janvier 1927. Archives de l’EEPT, Lomé. In 1929, 28 Evangelical and Catholic schools benefited from the grants of the State. This further promoted the spirit of cooperation and cordial relationship between the missions and the French authorities. See also: Copie de décision no. N 894 du 24 Septembre 1929, Archives de l’EEPT, Lomé.

3.4.2 The French and the Catholic Mission in Togo

The Catholic Church in Togo was not different from that of the Evangelical church with regard to their relationship with the French colonial authorities in spite of the abuses of the French colonial authorities of the Catholic missionaries at the beginning of the French rule. Between 1922 and 1932 Pope Pius XII sent 25 Catholic priests, 11 Brothers and 15 Nuns to Togo and this began a new phase in the life of the Catholic Church and their relationship with the French colonial authorities. A report by André Boucher states that the “Governor Bonnecarrère had the best relations with Monsignor Cessou…” and testified that the Governor assured him of help throughout his travels.

In 1937, Monsignor Strebler, the newly appointed Apostolic Vicar of Sokodé in a bid to promote the cordial relationship between the Catholic Mission and the French Government promised Governor Montagné in a letter of his collaboration and cordial relations with his government. The Governor also was fond of the Catholic missionaries. These cordial relations between the Catholic Missionaries and the French colonial administration promoted the activities and development of the mission in Togo. Although many instances described the cordial relationship between the Catholic Missionaries and the French colonial administration there were few moments of tension as well.

350 The French authorities at the beginning of their rule closed down the Catholic mission at Atakpamé. Three Catholic sisters in Anecho were also quarantined and expelled following the falsehoods leveled against them by Maroix, a Lieutenant Colonel of infantry of Togo See more in: Emmanuel I. Y. Bocco, Peuples et nationalisme. Les partis Ewe et l’Eglise évangélique du Togo: Aspiration unitaire 1919-1955, Tome I, (Thèse de doctorat 3e cycle, Histoire contemporaine, Université de Poitiers, 1982), 162

351 André Boucher is responsible for the direction of the apostolic work, arrived in Lomé on November 21, 1924 to visit the Apostolic Vicariate of Togo and Dahomey. André Boucher, A travers les missions du Togo et du Dahomey, (Paris, librairie Pierre Tequi, 1926),18-19. Several correspondences between the Governor and the leaders of the Catholic Mission confirm this. Because of the good relations between the Catholic missionaries and the French authorities the religious authorities did not hesitate to call on the Government in times of problems. Between October 13 and November 21, 1930, the Catholic Mission received two grants from the French government See more in Décisions No. 884 et 927 des 17 et 27 Novembre 1930. ANT; Lettre de Mgr Cessou au Gouverneur De Guise. Lomé, le 6 mars 1933. Archives de l’EEPT

352 Note de Monseigneur Strebler au Gouverneur des colonies Montagné officier de la légion d’honneur, commissaire de la République du Togo le 11 décembre 1937. ANT

353 Télégramme du 9 août 1932 enregistré sous le N°343 du 12 août 1932, ANT

354 Father Chazal objected to the French colonial administrator Mahoux from installing a tractor and a circular saw in the church premises. Another incident is when the Monsignor Ahmad gave his disapproval to the Commissioner of Lomé about a program developed for the commemoration peaceful celebrations in Togo which was considered a as a protest against the
After the Second World War in 1945, Togo became a mandate of the League of Nations and gained some form of administration and internal autonomy. This was also a period of nationalistic spirit led by former officials and employees of the German colonial administration, farmers, traditional chiefs, notables, Christians and leaders of the various churches. It may be important to know what the relationship between the Missions and the French government within this period was like.

The urge for the unification of the Ewe church (Protestant) in 1920s resurfaced after the Second World War. This time, pastors Paku and Awouma did not only opt for the unification of the church but of the Eweland and for Togo to be unified as one country. The French administration felt threatened by this position of the church leaders so the French authorities used the French missionary pastors Jean-Faure and Jacques Bertho to continue with missionary work with the hope that the replacement of the church authorities would change the position of the Ewe Church leaders.

During this period the relationship between the Ewe Church and the colonial administration had become one of mistrust because this period was marked by the emergence of several political parties which were mostly led by Christians who advocated for the unification of Togo under an independent administration. Furthermore, the consequences of the Second World War did not only weaken the colonial powers in Africa, but also prepared Africans for their independence in the 1950s to 1960s as well as the autonomy of the Missions and churches.

ceremony. See: Courrier du 10 novembre 1929 du vicariat apostolique du Togo à M. le Commissaire de la République au Togo. ANT.

Pastors Erhardt K. Paku and Elias Awouma, Sylvanus Olympio, Daniel Chapman Nyaho and Stephen Abiodun, were at the front of the stage.

Emmanuel I. Y. Bocco, Peuples et nationalisme. Les partis Ewe et l'Eglise évangélique du Togo : Aspiration unitaire 1919-1955, 343. Paku and Awouma were considered anti-French and their position threatened the French.

Lettre du pasteur Jean-Faure à Keller, le 2 février 1948. Jacques Bertho was a missionary in Dahomey at the time.

Emmanuel I. Y. Bocco, Peuples et nationalisme. Les partis Ewe et l'Eglise, 343


3.5 British Policy on Islam and Christianity

Through the Indirect Rule Policy, the British acknowledged the role of the African chiefs and ruled the people of the Gold Coast through these chiefs. This made the British quite successful in West Africa.

3.5.1 Islam and Indirect Rule

Michael Crowder notes that in the 19th century, Islam made significant advances in West Africa as it consolidated its position in Western Sudan and advanced into Yorubaland, Ashanti and Senegambia.\(^{361}\) The British colonial authorities immediately recognized that Islam could not be subdued from its position so they encouraged the spread of Islam once they could make the Muslim leaders support the colonial regimes and desist from their hostilities. The colonial authorities had a guiding principle that once the Muslim community did not challenge the colonial order, their internal autonomy would not be challenged.\(^{362}\) The British colonial administration did not perceive the spread and development of Islam in the Gold Coast as a political problem because Islam was already in the Gold Coast before the coming of the British.\(^{363}\)

Rüdiger Seesemann's perception of the British colonial policy on Islam and Muslims in West Africa shows that there was no clear-cut or systematic

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\(^{361}\) Michael Crowder, “A thousand Years of West African History”, 255


British ‘Islamic’ or Muslim policy during most of the colonial period just as we saw in the case of the French. Peter Clarke also remarks that “the British policy towards Islam was pragmatic. Rather than being formal and rational before hand, it was often no more than an ideological justification for a policy dictated by circumstances.” Islam was not taken into consideration when the British formulated their colonial policies in their four West African colonies but they acknowledged Muslim personnel and institutions where they existed and were found suitable for the colonial administration.

The British colonial policy towards Islam and Muslims in West Africa was shaped in Northern Nigeria. Nigeria became the foundation of British colonial rule as first stipulated in the Memoranda written by Lord Frederick Lugard.

Although indirect rule in Nigeria became the foundation for British rule in West Africa, the situation was very different in Senegambia and Sierra Leone. In other words, Northern Nigeria became the litmus test because of the success of the policy of indirect rule which became a policy administered in all other British colonies. In this policy, the British promised the emir that they would not interfere in the religious matters and this meant that Islam would be the religion of any state whose ruler was a Muslim. The British secured or maintained the position of emir and Muslim chiefs as head of communities with their subjects. The British further aided Islam to expand by extending the rule of Muslim emir to neighboring areas which

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365 Peter B. Clarke, West Africa and Islam p. 193
366 Holger Weiss, Weiss, Holger, "Variations in British Colonial Attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana, 3
were considered “pagan”. According to Lugard, although Islam was superior to African traditional religion and inferior to Christianity, it was easier for the Africans to accept and convert to Islam. This he argued by saying Christianity caused disorder among traditional African societies, especially in those areas of the North that were dominated by Muslim rulers. This policy aided the spread of Islam and made Islam gain greater influence especially in the Northern Territories of Nigeria and Ghana where Islam was protected for Muslims while the southern parts were preserved for Christianity.

The British achieved much with this policy of indirect rule. During the early years of colonial rule in the Gold Coast, A.E.G Watherson (1905-1909) the Gold Coast chief Commissioner of the Northern territories considered Islam a religion which eminently suits the native and was helping to spread civilization, encouraging a decent life and giving impetus to trade. Watherson was reluctant to allow Christian missions to work among non-Muslim communities in the Northern territories of the Gold coast. Stewart and Hiskett point out that Watherson shared similar views with Lugard as regards Islam. However, the difference between the case of Northern Nigeria and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast was that there were no Muslim states in the Northern Territories.

In 1906 when the ‘White Fathers’ wanted permission to work in Wa, Watherson refused to grant them the permission because according to him, Wa was an important Muslim settlement. Six years later, Armitage who succeeded Watherson also banned the Wesleyan mission for the same reason even though there were more pagans than Muslims in that area. This position of the British in the Northern Territories made Islam to have

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369 Michael Crowder, “A thousand Years of West African History”, 359
a greater advantage to spread because some Muslims called on the British for help in times of need and whenever they felt threatened. The Ahmadiyya Mission in Wa for example, were supported and protected by the British and this made the mission gain more grounds for their development. 373

However, the colonial discourse on Islam in the Northern Territories changed in 1906-1907 when Watherson invited the Basel Missionary Society to establish a shop and a mission station in Tamale. 374 He also became less suspicious of the Roman Catholic mission in Navrongo. 375 The change in attitude towards Christian missionaries continued among the British administrators in the first quarter of the 20th century while missionary activity was restricted to non-Muslim areas. 376

According to Philip Naameh the fact that these white fathers belonged to a society of French origin and came from a French territory to settle in Navrongo made it difficult for the British administration to imagine how they could work completely free of French nationalist interest. This reflection cultivated the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust which governed the British administrations attitude towards the mission. 377

373 Ivor Wilks, *Wa and the Wala*, 180-181 and Nathan I. Samwini, *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950*, (2006), 91-93; both give examples of a former Suwarian scholar Salih bin Hassan who in 1932, led a group of six men to embrace Ahmadism. These men were later summoned by the Wa Na Pelpuo and the Wa Liman Muhammad b. Uthman Dun who were surprised at what they heard from these men. Salih was then banned by the chief of Wa from going out of his house or going to his farms as well as his wives and children being banned from fetching water at the village pond. Eventually, Salih sneaked out of Wa and in 1936, the District commissioner Ardron was asked to prepare and receive Salih upon Salih’s return to Wa. The Captain Ardron summoned the Wa Na and other notable sand told them he was ready for a battle if they should probably refuse Salih’s return.

374 BMA D-1, 91 file 91, Letter from Chief Commissioner Watherston, Tamale 29.4.1909. The Basel Missionary Society (BMS) trade Stations in the Gold Coast rejected Watherson’s offer because the prospects for trade were limited in the north (BMA D-1,91 file 92 Aussagen über wirtschaftliche Aussichten der Northern Territories). The General Agent of the BMS eventually turned down Watherston’s invitation (BMA D-1,91, file 100 Auszug aus dem Brief des Generalagenten A. Opferkuch von Accra, 19.7.1909)

375 The White Fathers were allowed to settle at Navrongo in 1906. However, the relationship between the Roman Catholic fathers and the colonial administration remained strained during the next decade or so. See further Benedict Der, “Church-State Relations in Northern Ghana, 1906-1940”, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (June 1974): 41-61


From this context understanding the later policy of the White Fathers (French missionaries) being replaced by Canadians who were British subjects come to play. Here the British were more concerned about national interests more than religion. C. H. Armitage, Watherson’s successor adopted a more strict policy toward White Fathers where he granted them permission to carry out their missionary work within a confined area, yet Britain politically controlled these territories and pursued policies that were of benefit to them.

Another phenomenon which took place in the Gold Coast was when the Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement (AMM) came into Wa with a ‘new form’\(^\text{378}\) of Islam. Irrespective of the evidence of the activities and resistance of the traditional authority against the Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement, the British could not do anything to eliminate the activities of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement (AMM).\(^\text{379}\)

Ivor Wilks points out that in 1930, young Wala Ahmadis saw Ahmadiyya as a liberal movement which gave them freedom from the conservative ‘ulama’\(^\text{380}\) and the Wa Na (traditional ruler of Wa). Thus Ahmadiyya with their methods of missionary activities expanded even within the traditional Muslim territories during colonial era. The Ahmadis built and managed schools and hospitals; they also levied and collected taxes from their

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378 The ‘New form’ of Islam here is used with regards to a new practice and belief of Islam which differed from what was originally or traditionally or known as orthodox form of Islam. Although it was Islamic, the group claimed that their founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was the expected Mahdi (Messiah) and this was unaccepted and caused many problems in Wa.

379 Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement now Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission (al-jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah al-Aāmadiyyah) is an Islamic religious movement founded in Punjab, British India, near the end of the 19th century. It originated with the life and teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835–1908), who claimed to have been divinely appointed as the Mujaddid (renewer) of Islam, the promised Messiah and Mahdi awaited by Muslims. The adherents of the Ahmadiyya movement are referred to as Ahmadi Muslims or simply Ahmadis. In 1922, the first Missionary of the AMM Fadl-ul-Rahman arrived in the Gold coast upon the invitation of two Fante men Benjamin Sam and Mahdi Appah. See more J. Spencer Tringham, *Islam in West Africa*, (Oxford University Press, 1959); Humphrey Fischer, Ahmadiyyah: A study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast, (Oxford University Press, 1963), 117-118; Ivor Wilks, *Wa and the Wala Islam and Polity in Northwestern Ghana*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Nathan I. Samwini, *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950: Its Effects Upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian Relations*, (Berlin: Lit Verlag 2006).

380 Ulama literally means “the learned ones” is defined as the “those recognized as scholars or authorities” in the “religious hierarchy” of the Islamic religious sciences. The Indirect rule of the British needed ‘traditional’ rulers so the colonial administration strengthened the position and authority of the chiefs. Therefore for the young Wala to start seeking freedom form traditional polity was set for future problems.
followers without permission from the Wa Na. Although the British pro-
tected the Northern Territories from Christian missionary activities, they
failed to bring the Ahmadi preachers to order and the spread and develop-
ment of the Ahmadiyya activities were consequential. First, the AMM
approach to mission and their attitude toward orthodox Islam and ulama
caused a rift between the orthodox Muslim communities and the follow-
ers of AMM. As a result the new followers of AMM were mostly cast out of
their homes and families often deprived of their wives and children. Conse-
quently, the Ahmadi followers were obliged to begin practicing patrilineal
cross-cousin marriage which was traditionally abhorred in Wa. In other
words the above tradition of the AMM contradicted the traditional world-
view of the Wala to the extent that no orthodox Muslim would willingly
give his daughter in marriage to an Ahmadiyya Muslim.

In an explanation of the position of the Orthodox Muslims towards the
Ahmadis, an informant in 1969 told Wilks:
They will walk together and if it is prayer time they will pray together,
one making their arms the other one way, the other making them the
other way, it is marriage that keeps us apart... We don't marry each
other easily. When the Ahmadiyya bury a man they consign him to
Allah and that is the end of it. There is no funeral. The wives are free to
remarry after 40 days, when it is clear that they are not pregnant. But
the orthodox Muslims make a funeral when a man dies for example,
his sons in-law will come along and make gifts, even a cow if they can
afford it. But ...if I marry an Ahmadiyya girl not even my wife will come
to my funeral and my family will not receive help when I die. So, you
see, we don't marry easily.

From the above, there were tensions between the orthodox and Ahmadi
Muslims on one hand and the social components of the religion within a
society on the other hand. These conflicts were so bad that other Muslims
in the Gold coast saw Ahmadiyya Islam as a heretic form of Islam. Conse-

381 The writings of Ghulam Ahmad were interpreted as a more “peaceful” and accommodat-
ing form of Islam as compared to other older Islamic groups so he gained prominence and
attention from the British colonial government who were interested in his interpretations on
jihad. See more in: Yusuf K. Effah, The Early History of the Ahmadiyya in Ghana, (Headquarters:
Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission Press, 1994). Ghulam Ahmad remarked that because the British
allows for freedom of religion, military resistance against them was unnecessary and conse-
quently, the British protected the Ahmadis from other Muslim groups.

382 Ivor Wilks, “Wa and the Wala”, 2002, 183
383 Ivor Wilks, “Wa and the Wala”, 2002, 192
sequently, Salih b. Hassan\textsuperscript{384} was denied the opportunity of having a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Although the British colonial administrators allowed the growth and development of Islam in the Northern territories, they did not prevent Muslim activities in Ashanti and other coastal states. In Accra, the Gold Coast Muslim Association was founded in 1932, to cater for the social and welfare needs of migrant Muslims.\textsuperscript{385}

However, the Tijaniyya Sufi order seems to have been gaining more influence in the Gold Coast and has become the dominant Muslim group in Ghana since the 1950s.\textsuperscript{386} When asked by the French colonial authorities in West Africa to keep a watchful eye on the Muslims in the mid-1950s, the British authorities replied that there was no ‘Islamic problem’ in the colony.\textsuperscript{387}

3.5.2 The Hausa and Colonialism in the Gold Coast during the 1900s
During the last quarter of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the three (3) colonial powers: Britain, Germany and France used the services of the Hausa who had gained a reputation as ‘courageous’ and ‘reliable’ soldiers for their colonies.\textsuperscript{388} The British begun to recruit Hausa soldiers in 1872, made use of

\begin{itemize}
  \item Salih bin Hassan a former Suwarian scholar from Wa was among some young scholars who accepted Ahmadiyya form of Islam at Amumoso near Adanse in 1932 then he was sent to preach in Wa perhaps to ‘test the waters’. See Ivor Wilks, “Wa and the Wala”, 2002, 180-181. N. I. Samwini, The Muslim resurgence in Ghana since 1950 and its effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 92-93
  \item Letter from the Ahmadiyya Movement to the AG: Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, Kumasi, July 2, 1928, ARG1/30/2/42.
  \item Holger Weiss, “Variations in British Colonial Attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in Northern Ghana”, pp 47; Samwini, N. I. The Muslim resurgence in Ghana since 1950 and its effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations, Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006
  \item According to Emily Anne Williamson, “Understanding the Zongo: Processes of Socio-Spatial Marginalization in Ghana” (PhD Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014), 53 “Whereas the Fante people in Cape Coast were portrayed lazy, cowardly and even soggy because of their close proximity to the sea, the Hausas, Fulani, Dahomeys and other tribes of the north were attributed with a “Superior mental and bodily vigour that may perhaps partly be due to their living in a healthier climate, upon higher land than the habitation of the coastal tribes.” In addition to geographical location, devotion to Islam further elevated the Hausa’s position in the eyes of the British. In the Illustrated London News, a correspondent explained, “they are of warlike faith – that of Mohamed and can contribute 3,000-4,000 soldiers.” Thus the British produced a convincing image of the ideal Hausa soldier and other Northern eth-
\end{itemize}
them in their wars against the Asantes in 1874. Shortly after the 1874 war, two European mercenaries Karl Neilson and Jacob Peter Huydecoper were employed by the Asante to recruit and train some Hausa soldiers into the Asante army to strengthen it as a match for the British.\textsuperscript{389} Thus the period 1872-1874 was very important in the history of Hausa people in the Gold coast because they served in both the British and Asante armies, were traders and missionaries of Islam.

In the light of that Skinner argues that the “British were agents of Islamization when they recruited Muslim Hausas for the colonial military in the Gold Coast during the nineteenth Century.”\textsuperscript{390} He supports this position by asserting that amongst others, colonial authority offered support for the building of Mosques and funding of schools and teachers, as well as giving financial assistance to Muslim officials and their communities.\textsuperscript{391} According to Skinner, The first Central Mosque in Accra was built on land purchased by the colonial government and deeded to the Muslim Community and the Imam of the mosque was recognized as Chief Imam of Accra.\textsuperscript{392}

Elom Dovlo on the presence of the Hausa soldiers in the Gold Coast also concludes that,

...with time a Muslim police force enforced and policed British Colonial policy throughout West Africa. The West African Constabulary made up mainly of Hausa pitched by default Muslim communities as military police in the key towns along the coast of West Africa. On the Gold Coast, towns such as Keta, Accra, Cape Coast, and Elmina had garrisons characterized by morality, justice, strength, and tenacity that would eventually carry the Hausa south to fight in the British-Asante Wars. Even After descending to Cape Coast, the soldiers were primarily associated with their northern coordinates of origin, giving them a socio-partial advantage compared to their local Fante counterparts”.

\textsuperscript{390} David E. Skinner, “The Incorporation of Muslim Elites into the Colonial Administrative Systems of Sierra Leone, The Gambia ad the Gold Coast,” in \textit{Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs}, (Vol. 29, No 1, March 2009), 103
\textsuperscript{391} David E. Skinner, “The Incorporation of Muslim Elites...”, 2009, 103.
\textsuperscript{392} David E. Skinner, “The Incorporation of Muslim Elites...”, 101 See also Holger Weiss, \textit{Between Accommodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the State and Society in Ghana from Pre-Colonial to the Postcolonial Era}, (Helsinki: Studia Orientalia, Vol 105, 2008), 230 also confirms that “At one time, the authorities I the Gold Coast even built mosques for retired soldiers in the Zongos of the South,”
of Hausa-Muslim military police units. This inadvertently created a Muslim community allied with government and with authority among the communities of Christians that were developing in these trading towns and centres of European influence.393

The implications are that the Hausa presence and influence in the Gold Coast south due to advantages of serving the government created the first real environment of religious pluralism for consequent inter-religious relationships. Williamson has noted that “...the Hausa soldiers (located within the castle walls and the Muslim-Northern traders (located outside of the town), were most often not physically confronted by the church or its educational agenda.”394 Skinner also notes that “The Christian missionary establishment continued to be supported by the colonial administration but not to the detriment of Muslim leaders and their activities.” On the balance therefore it could be said none of the two faiths, Islam or Christianity was privileged above the other in the south of the Gold Coast.395

3.5.3 Christianity in Asante after 1874
Ironically, in using the Hausa soldiers to subdue Asante, the opportunity was created for the spread of Christianity in Asante. The Asante perception of Christianity changed as the Basel and Wesleyan Missionaries were invited by the Governor of the Gold Coast colony to work in Asante. Thus, Christian missionary activity was the clearest sign of British defeat of the Asante and the beginning of colonial rule. Although the Christian missionaries were free to practice and convert the Asante, the process was “slow and laborious.”396 The conversion of Prempeh I as an Anglican while in exile at the Seychelles Islands in 1917 was of interest to his people back home. He came back to Asante in 1924 a convert to the Anglican Church and he was monogamous. The British saw Prempeh I as a Christian and “civilized” as well as educated man totally different and changed from his past. The dynamics of conversion to both Islam and Christianity changed during colonial rule because the British allowed the Christian missionaries to build schools and churches just as the Muslims were allowed to build mosques when they first arrived in Kumasi.

394 Emily Williamson, “Understanding the Zongo:”, 67
395 David E. Skinner, “The Incorporation of Muslim Elites...”, 194
396 Gold Coast District: A Report of the Sunday Schools in the Ashanti mission for the year rending 31st December 1898.
Christianity was seen as a religion of the rulers and provided access to Western education which aided its rapid expansion during colonial era.\textsuperscript{397} Michael Crowder noted that Christianity made a greater impact on the African society through education.\textsuperscript{398} David Kimble similarly noted that missionary education provided more clerks and teachers during colonialism.\textsuperscript{399} These trained people saw themselves superior to others and this could have affected Christian-Muslim relations.

### 3.5.4 Indirect rule: Muslims and Christians in the Gold Coast

The British gained more control of the Gold Coast after defeating the Asante in 1896. After the defeat, the Asante lost their control and power and the Asantehene Prempeh I was exiled. The exile of the king made the British gain more control and dominance over Asante. The British from this point protected the Muslims in Asante by making the heads of various Muslim populations’ kings or zarkuna to manage the zongos or “states.”

The British considered the Southern parts of the Gold Coast as “pagan” while the North was considered as “Islamised.”\textsuperscript{400} Thus they promoted efforts of the missionaries in certain southern areas because these areas needed “civilization” but also made sure that “too much civilization” did not “spoil” others.\textsuperscript{401} Since education and Christian activity were promoted in Asante and other southern states, the people from the South gained employable skills and higher social status within the colony while their northern counterparts and Muslims were considered as uneducated and second class citizens who could not gain respectable employment in the colonial administration. Although few Northerners were educated or were converts to Christianity, they still could not get the needed respect and social status of the southerners.\textsuperscript{402}

In the North, Armitage’s strict policies of not allowing Christian missionary activities, was based on his reading of Lord Lugard’s publications on Northern Nigeria. He interpreted these as implying “the preaching of

\textsuperscript{398} Michael Crowder, “West Africa under colonial Rule”, 1974, 187
\textsuperscript{401} Antoine Mikelle, \textit{Practice and Conversion of Asante Market Women to the Ahmadiya Muslim Mission in the late 20th Century}, (2010), 68
equality of Europeans to Natives” and an abolition of class distinction.\textsuperscript{403} This was deemed a misrepresentation of Lugard and therefore a change in this policy occurred in 1913 under Sir Hugh Charles Clifford the Governor of Accra (1912–1919). Governor Clifford declared that the government had no power to prevent the establishment of mission in the Northern Territories. This new policy allowed for Christian missionary activity in the Northern Territories. However, Armitage’s policy of isolating the Northern Territories from the rest of the Protectorates had implication for the future because in 1919, out of 213 schools in the Gold Coast colony, only four (4) were located in the North. Nonetheless, when the Catholic White Fathers expanded their activities in the Northern Territories education become more accessible to the children.\textsuperscript{404}

### 3.6 Conclusion

Islam and Christianity experienced colonial rule in the Gold Coast and Togo in various ways. Before the coming of the Europeans, Islam had already been present in West Africa and had also established itself within the structures of the Traditional African society.\textsuperscript{405} Christianity in the views of the German, British and the French was more civilized than Islam and African Traditional Religion (ATR). However, since they also saw Islam to be more civilized than ATR, they were comfortable to work with the Muslims. The German, British and the French colonialists also saw that it was impossible to ignore or completely clear the presence of Muslims from West Africa because they had gained much influence before the arrival of the colonial authorities so they decided to collaborate with the Muslims.

From the chapter we identify some Influential German, British and French colonial officers such as Julius G. Zech, Louis Faidherbe, Alfred L. Woelfel, Paul A.F. Bonnecarrere, Michael Lucien Montagne, Jean H.A. Cedile, Lord Luggard, A.E.G Watherson, Robert Armitage, Sir Hugh C. Clifford) who were instrumental in their policies regarding Muslims and Christians in Ghana and Togo. In a bid to avoid any religious conflicts between Muslims and Christians in the early day of colonial rule these colonial officers were

\textsuperscript{403} David Kimble, \textit{A political history of Ghana}, (Oxford: Clarendon. Press, 1963), 82


\textsuperscript{405} Muslims served as Advisers to the Asante chiefs, secretaries and clerks to chiefs in Northern territories (Gonja, Dagomba, Mamprusi and Wala) of Ghana. See: Nehemiah Levitzion, \textit{Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: a Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period}, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press 1968), 256
careful to make policies or take strategies that would not jeopardize the good relations with both Muslim and Christian leaders in Ghana and Togo.

We also discovered the key role of politics of language where the colonial administration in power always wanted their language to be used as a medium of communication for missionary work or in schools. The colonial officers made sure they achieved this aim so insisted that the missionaries use the language of the colonizing nation. In the case of the German, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, sometimes the colonial authorities requested for German missionaries to protect and defend their political and territorial interest. These languages had an upperhand over Arabic language of the Muslims as they became the official language for communication in the countries under study. We further showed how the Colonial authorities were involved in a politics of education. They supported the Christian missionaries to promote education because they benefitted from the educated people who worked for the government. Hence the colonial authorities gave financial support in education. However, because of the fear of Christian influence and conversion, Muslims initially refrained from sending their children to school.

We also showed the role and limitations of Christian missions in Muslim territories by the Germans, the British and the French gave rise to the respect and influence Islam and Muslims had which inturn helped in the development and spread of Islam in Ghana and Togo. Consequently, despite the absence of any clear-cut, guidelines or documented policy of the British and the French on Islam and Muslims in Africa, the colonial governments related with Islam based on the discretion or decision of the Governor General at any given time. The effect of colonial rule was to favour Islamic proselytization because the French and British rule ensured and guaranteed the safety of Muslim preachers throughout West Africa. The French and British administrations displayed an ambivalent attitude towards Muslims. Whereas the French reduced or eliminated the temporal power of Muslim chiefs, the British established them over both pagan and mixed populations thus enabling them to employ the principle of *cujus religio*.

These policies had implications for Christian-Muslims relations under colonial rule and left legacies for the postcolonial relationships as well. The next chapter explores this experience in Ghana and Togo.

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406 A. E. Afigbo *The establishment of Colonial Rule, (1900-1918)*, 481
CHAPTER FOUR
Christian-Muslim Relations in Ghana and Togo under Colonial Rule
4.0 Introduction

This Chapter further explores how some specific aspects of colonial rule impacted Christian-Muslim relations during the colonial era in Ghana and Togoland respectively and comparatively. This comparative critique will be guided by Robin Hallett’s contention that Europeans contrived the four C’s; Colonization, Civilization (Culture), Commerce, and Christianity, to be able to provide transformation and regeneration in Africa.408 The chapter therefore critiques how these tools of European colonial impact affected Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo under colonial rule.

4.1 The Ghana Experience

As Robin Hallet cautions, however, the 4 Cs, set out above are intertwined and in discussing them there are bound to be levels of overlap.409 The first, colonialism set in motion the historical context of the thesis.

4.1.1 Colonialism and the Zoning of Religion

A major aspect of colonial territorial expansion and control in the Gold Coast as noted in the previous Chapter was the North-South divide which resulted in what can be termed the Zoning of Islam to the North and Christianity to the South. This as discussed below fashioned out certain Christian-Muslim relations due to the initial segregation of the two faiths. Our discussion will cover the Northern Territories and Asante, then the Gold Coast proper which constituted the south.

4.1.1.1 The Northern Territories and Asante

As noted frequently in the previous chapter, the colonial practice of zoning Islam and Christianity geographically into North and South of the Gold Coast was to determine some important impacts of Christian-Muslim relations. The origins of the North-South divide were not however necessarily derived from religious motives. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, British colonial activities in the Gold Coast increased and resulted in the formal demarcation of the region into the Northern Territories (for the Gold Coast) and the Colony proper. The British colonial administration took steps to integrate the Northern Territories into the economy of the Gold Coast by sending Provincial, District and Assistant District Commission-

ers to head and encourage trade in the areas of the Northern Territories. The Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories, H. P. Northcott observed that slave raiding by the Asante kingdom had destroyed the hierarchical system of chieftaincies in the area which is important to Indirect Rule. Northcott therefore made an attempt between 1900 and 1919 to “resurrect” these chieftaincies and reestablish the north’s traditional political structures for development along “African lines”. Northcott’s plan was to develop the Northern Territories through trusteeship to extract labour and resources from the indigenous population.

This policy was upheld by James Thorburn, Governor of the Gold Coast in 1912 who reluctant to developing the north remarked that:

Until the Colony and Ashanti have been thoroughly opened up and developed, the Northern Territories must be content to await their turn, and any extensive program designed to render the area more accessible ‘must be suffered to stand over’ for a long time to come

Governor Thorburn and District Chief Commissioners Armitage and Watherston all maintained the intention of making the North a reservoir of cheap labour which was another reason why they prevented Christian missionary activities in the north. Thus the British since 1872 isolated the North from Christian missionaries, an act which subsequently deprived it of western education. The result of Colonial policy for the Northern Territories thereby affirmed its subordinate economic and political position and retention as a labour reserve for the rest of the country. In addition, the colonial government prevented investment, and adopted a ‘protective’ attitude towards the population of the Northern Territories, which kept northerners apart from the development which was experienced elsewhere in the Colony.

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413 G. B. Abdul-Korah, Migration, Ethnicity and Uneven Development in Ghana: The case of Upper West Region in the twentieth century, (University of Minnesota, unpublished PhD dissertation 2004), 55
414 As early as 1876, the first secondary school was built in the south of Gold Coast, yet the NTs had their first government secondary school only in 1951. See more in H.O. Quist, ‘Secondary Education – A ‘Tool’ for National Development in Ghana: A Critical Appraisal of the Post-Colonial Context’, Africa Development, XXVIII (3 & 4, 2003), 188, 199
415 World Bank, Equity & Development Report’ Background Papers, 2006, 12
Hugh Clifford who became governor of the Gold Coast in 1913, was the first to allow free movements between the people of the North and South since the entire country depended on the Protectorate for their meat supply. But he also remarked, the Northern Territories continued to provide the country with man-power, including men recruited to serve in the Gold Coast Regiment of the West African Frontier Force. His successor, Gordon Guggisberg, acknowledged openly that for many years the Northern Territories had been deprived of sufficient funds to help them with the progress expected from the colonial government. Guggisberg saw the potential of the Protectorate developing economically thus was prepared to develop it. He remarked that:

the career of the North as the Cinderella of the Gold Coast is nearing its end; as Cinderella she has done good and unobstructive work. Her reward for that and the gallantry of her soldiers is in sight.

Although Governor Guggisberg has been credited for his contribution to the educational advancement in the Gold Coast Kimble noted that “even Guggisberg’s drive... could not correct the regional disparities in education that had grown up over the years”. Nana Brukum suggests that the educational reforms under Guggisberg could have possibly aggravated the North-South educational gaps, because the colonial authorities restricted the highest level of educational achievement in the North to standard three (3). Explaining the reason for this policy, one colonial officer remarked that since agriculture was the most important economic activity among the Northerners, they did not need a high academic standard but enough English education to carry on business and practical acquaintance with such trades to be useful members of the community.

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419 David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, 1963, 121
The Northern Territories were also excluded from representation in national political institutions. As early as 1885, George Cleland (the first Southerner) was nominated to a consultative Council and by the 1930s; all the Southern regions were represented in the Legislature by chiefs and Africans with background in Western education. In contrast, “northern members were excluded from the Legislative Council until 1950”. Thus, the first Northern members were initially admitted into the Council on unequal terms with their Southern counterparts: “they were actually extraordinary members with no casting votes”. In 1951, the North was for the first time represented in the Legislative Assembly and the first group of Northerners who served in the Assembly had the aim of defending Northern interests and fighting for rapid socio-economic development of the Northern Territories. The Northern Territories has thus been described by David Apter as “the stepchild of central Gold Coast politics”.

Nathan I. Samwini cites P. A Ladouceur who observed that relations between the people of Northern Ghana who are generally considered as Muslims in the south, and those of Southern Ghana were restricted before the 18th century. Historically, relations with the northern states especially at the peak of Asante power caused hatred and resentment between the northerners (including Muslims) and the southerners. It appears that Asante interest in the north was also exploitative while the northerners experience and appearance in the south were linked with slavery. Also since there was a delay in the Northern Territories receiving western type of education, northerners who voluntarily came to the south before the 1950s served as domestic servants, house helps, farmhands in cocoa and coffee plantations and the mines.

422 A. A. Boahene, Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1975, 57
427 Nathan I. Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950 and its effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006),100
During this early colonial period then, the chances of Muslims and Christians crossing each other’s’ paths in any competitive way was therefore quite slim because Protestant Christianity did not start any sustained evangelisation of these “prohibited” areas until after the 1900s. The Catholic White Fathers concentrated their mission work among the Dagaaba, Talensi, Kasena, Nabdam (Frafra) and Kusasi where Islam had little presence, so there were not many encounters between Muslims and Christians.428

The earliest encounters between Muslims and Christians were largely reported by Umar of Kete Krachi who lamented the arrival of ‘Christians’ in Kete Krachi and the consequent disasters which engulfed the Western Sudan.429 Umar was of the view that the West represented Christianity and since Christian missionaries and the colonizers arrived in Ghana and other parts of Africa almost around the same time, the two have always been linked in the African’s eyes.430 Hence any European action was considered a ‘Christian’ action. Jan Knappert rightly observed that the behavior of some Europeans made many African anti-European and anti-Christian.431

In the case of the Asante kingdom, there was much Islamic influence especially during the reign of Osei Bonsu (1801-1824). This was a challenge for the Christian missionaries because Freeman observed that when he visited Kumasi in 1839 Otumfo Kwaku Dua I was always surrounded by Muslims who prejudiced him against the ideas of Christianity.432 This would have probably made Christian missionary activity among the Asante quite difficult and then would have also created suspicions between the Muslims and Christian missionaries.

4.1.1.2 Southern Ghana

Christianity came into the south which constituted the Gold Coast proper of present day Ghana when various groups of Europeans and missionaries landed on the coast from … and especially in the 1800s with the advent of

429 Nathan I. Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950, 2006
Protestant missions as discussed in Chapter Two. Unlike the North however, Muslims were not completely restricted from coming to the south. They therefore came to the south through trade and migration from the northern kingdoms of the Gold Coast through Asante. They were also recruited by the British for the Hausa constabulary and garrisoned in various coastal towns as discussed earlier.

An important factor in Muslim presence in the south which would affect the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in the south was the establishment of *zongo* communities which developed into strong social, political, religious and ethnic enclaves. *Zongos* in Ghana are generally believed to be Muslim populated, whether everyone there is a Muslim or not. Native converts to Islam in the south, however, could decide to live elsewhere and not necessarily in the *zongo*. But on rare occasions they also established their own distinctive communities.433 The *zongo* determined the kind of relationship that existed between the ‘foreigner’ and his or her native hosts. The *zongo* dwellers did not make any effort to fully integrate with the local people and still had strong ties with their home countries. Since they never fully integrated they had their own chiefs.434 Margaret Peil described the *zongos* as being a determining factor important for all time relations between the *zongo* community and the natives.435 This could be extended to relations with Christians in the South.

It can be argued that the *Zongo* inadvertently replicated the North/South *zoning of religion* in the south of Ghana. Thus zoning religiously did not pertain only in the North/South divide of the country under colonial rule but also in the south in the colonial support for the formation of *Zongos*. According to Weiss, Colonial rule transformed the *Zongos* beyond traditional ethnic enclaves especially in the south.436 Contrasting the word to its original use, Weiss states that

433 The case of Ekrawfo in the Central region by Fanti Muslims led by Ben Sam, Mabrouk by Ga Muslims and the transformation of Kangbuli by Nzema Muslims into a Muslim community comes to mind.

434 Nathan I. Samwini, *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950*, (2006), 102. According to Samwini the Cowlane, Nima, Mamobi zongos in Accra and Sofoline, Aboabo I and II zongos in Kumasi generally was known as: “a city within the city” were examples of these zongo communities which were dominated by the Fulani or Hausa.


436 Holger Weiss, *Between Accommodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the State and Society in Ghana from the Precolonial to the Postcolonial Era* (Finnish Oriental Society 2008), 248
In Ghana on the other hand, the word Zongo is more specifically used to refer to the residentially segregated quarters where strangers, especially Muslims or at least people influenced by Islam settle. Both in Southern as well as Northern Ghana, the formalization of Zongos started during the colonial period and was tied to the attempts by the colonial authorities to regularize the development of townships.437

The Colonial authorities also took away the right of the community to elect Sarkin Zongo and present him to the traditional ruler away and begun to make the appointment.438

Issues can therefore be raised on the dilemma of the Zongo as an advantage and disadvantage as far as segregation, marginalization, and sanitation and how this affects Christian perceptions, attitudes and relations. Weiss, noting the right of Zongos from pre-colonial times, to maintain a level of autonomy comments that,

From a Muslim perspective, therefore, it was crucial to negotiate with the political authorities to define the borders of their autonomy. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Muslim leadership was quick to negotiate their position with the colonial rulers....However in retrospect one could claim that the deal with the British colonial authorities backfired in the long run.439

Because, as Weiss goes on to postulate, within this autonomy to maintain cultural and religious integrity Muslims repelled aspects of the encounter with the West such as education which affected them in the postcolonial period. It also led to economic and societal marginalization of Muslims whether imagined or real as the Zongo also came to be associated with filth, poverty and begging.440 On this Williamson, confirms that Zongo segmentation reinforced...

The Zongo’s monolithic and poverty stricken image. Despite the wide range of socio-spatial variation from one settlement to another, scholars classify and reduce all Zongo’s to “slums” and “ghettos” without taking into

437 Holger Weiss, Between Accommodation and Revivalism, 248
438 Holger Weiss, Between Accommodation and Revivalism, 249
439 Holger Weiss, Begging and Almsgiving in Ghana: Muslim Positions towards Poverty and Distress (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet 2007), 158
440 Holger Weiss, Begging and Almsgiving in Ghana, Chapter heading: “Economic and societal marginalization of Muslims – imagined and real”, 76
account variations between and within settlements. This contrasts to neat well organized Salems, with packages for modern development such as schools, clinics, factories, and agricultural posts. Resultant attitudes of superiority were therefore not based on theology or doctrine, but privilege and better circumstances.

These religious demarcations whereby the north was demarcated for Islam and was prohibited to any Christian missionary activity while the south was left for Christian mission work were probably intended by the colonial authorities to prevent any religious conflict due to the “civilizing” influence of Christianity as a bearer of western culture. This north-south divide however, still had some implications for Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana because the south of Ghana became more developed than the north. Gradually, when migration of people made interactions and relations much more possible as people from the south live and work in the north of Ghana and vice versa, the Christianized people of the south felt superior to people from northern Ghana because of their association with western civilizations. Separate living also created little room for intimate social encounters and to some extent, deep knowledge of each other’s faiths.

Colonial zoning of religion also created some sort of moratorium on cross-faith conversions among Christians and Muslims. While both could convert traditionalists, they initially did not go in for each other’s adherents. Though anxious about the expansion of Islam, missionaries were more anxious to stem it by converting more indigenous people untouched by Islam. Similarly, there seem to be no overt Muslim attempts to convert Christians.

Nevertheless, especially in the South, according to Johnson Mbillah, Christians realized they could not lay claim to being the only missionary religion on the African continent and that Islam was also a missionary religion in its own way. Since that time, missionary and da“wah efforts have been hindered by views that reflect “medieval polemics between Chris-

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442 After Ghana’s independence, people from Southern Ghana settled in the North as civil servants and business men and women so there was a new growing influence of Christian presence in the area, which established relationships between the Muslims and Christians.

443 Interview with Johnson Mbillah, General Advisor of PROCMURA, Nairobi, Kenya on 10th January, 2017
tians and Muslims” and which “slot historical views into the African situation”. Gradually there were instances where Muslims became converted to Christianity and vice versa especially in the case of Fante and Ga Muslims. Interestingly, these cross-faith converts, indigenes of the ethnic areas in which they were converted were the first to raise real interfaith encounters between Christianity and Islam both in the colonial and post-colonial periods.

As communities came to include Christians and Muslims, several encounters were made especially when members of the same family converted to either of the two religions. Thus Christians and Muslims appeared to have met as members of a family rather than officially meeting as people of different faiths by 1950. In spite of the zongo communities in southern Ghana, members of a family by the 1950s could include Christians and or Muslims thereby making direct Christian-Muslim contacts possible. In other words, it was possible to find members of a family or a community belonging to either the Christian or Islamic faith. For instance, Fanteland which happened to be the hosts of the early Christian missionaries also saw an influx of traders who included both European and Muslim traders. When the Fante people came into contact with the Christian missionaries and the Muslims, members of the same family could belong to either Christianity or Islam.

Generally, however, Shuiab Yakubu Abban, the General Secretary of ASWAJ captures the mood of this period in Ghana by expressing the opinion that Muslims and Christians have a good relationship in the sense that Muslims have the idea that they cannot change all Christians into Muslims and vice versa. Thus because of the religious zones created for Islam and Christianity, for a long time it looked like traditionalists were available for conversion by Muslims and Christians, and these faiths did not go for each other’s members. As a result, Christians and Muslims lived peacefully.

4.1.2 Civilization/ Culture
The Colonizers and missionaries had the perception that for Africans to be saved they had to be civilized and their culture revised. Culture is the way of life of a particular society or group of people, including their patterns of

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445 Interview with Shuiab Yakubu Abban (Gen Secretary, ASWAJ) on 2nd November, 2016 in Accra. In Ghana, Muslims and Christians discuss social issues such as waste management, climate, human rights and health pertaining to development.
thought, behavior, customs, rituals, beliefs and traditions, dress, language, art, music, and literature. Culture is important because it reminds us where we are from. Culture shapes a person’s identity, personality and attitude towards life. As such European and African cultural contact was a two-way process. It is therefore the basis for a clash of civilizations that determine relationships between people of different cultures and it is important to some patterns of interfaith relations derived from colonial legacy which this study is about.

Western civilization and culture began in Africa with the first European contact with Africa. It was consolidated following the Berlin conference in 1884-1885 which entrenched European boundaries and presence in Africa in order to exploit the continent’s resources. Western culture and civilization were considered a way of life superior, more advanced than Traditional African cultural practices, considered primitive and archaic. Therefore, when Europeans dominated Africa, Western culture and European style of civilization thrived over the African culture.

African culture was thus affected by two external influences namely the earlier Arab-Islamic and later the European-Christian religions. The lifestyles, values and practices associated with these religious traditions were assimilated on the continent. Cultural contacts of African people with the West were led by Christian missions. Through the missionary enterprise Europeans were involved in the lives of Africans. The attitudes of Europeans towards Africa and Africans was as a result of the European world view of European societies and cultural tradition being superior hence the need to distort African cultures. As noted earlier, cultural contact is a two-way affair and the meeting of two civilizations; as such European and African cultural contact was also a two-way process. Thus Western culture faced the challenge of being accepted by the Africans and Muslims in Africa. Many Africans associated with Europeans adopted the foreign way of doing things and became ‘westernized’. Regarding Western culture as superior to both African and Islamic culture, this made many Christian coverts feel superior to people of other religions including Muslims in Ghana. The attitudes of Christian/Western superiority called for either the abolishment or reforms in many traditional customs and values.

448 Viera Pawlikova-Vilhanova, ‘Christianity, Islam and the African World, 118
in Ghana. Again western culture influenced some Muslims who began to dress in the European western way.\textsuperscript{449}

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) identified and discoursed extensively on the impact of this triple clash of cultures in Africa. Blyden though schooled in Western and Christian ideas and residing in the Western world, was one of first Africans to stress the danger of the dispossession of culture. Blyden’s concept in his work on “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race” was to interpret the history and culture of Africa from the belief that not only did Africans have a worthy past but they also possessed a unique culture.\textsuperscript{450} He therefore stressed the importance of the virtues and pride of the African history and culture. Blyden was also sympathetic towards Islam in Africa. He praised Islam as a unifying factor extending across ethnic lines and influencing Africans through the introduction of Arabic language and literature.\textsuperscript{451} In the face of the clash of the three cultures/civilisations, Blyden’s preference for Islamic culture indicated the racial and cultural dimensions of Christian-Muslim relations. Blyden appreciated the fact that the racial and cultural nature of Islam in Africa which did not entirely change the traditional statutes of Africans was able to co-exist peacefully.

Pawlikova-Vilhanova submits that Blyden developed the concept of the African Personality to refute European perception that Africans were inferior.\textsuperscript{452} According to him, Blyden maintained that Africans should not blindly adopt European values and institutions but should appreciate and cherish their own customs and institutions. Blyden admonished Western-educated Africans not to only retain their pride as Africans but they should also control the process of selecting and integrating aspects or modified versions of Western culture into a new cultural synthesis.\textsuperscript{453}

Blyden’s admonishing to cherish African culture was upheld especially during the governments of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Gnassingbe Eyadema in Togo as will be discussed in Chapter Five. They resorted to

\textsuperscript{449} Haideh Moghissi, \textit{Women and Islam: Critical concepts in Sociology}, Volume 1, (USA, Taylor & Francis, 2005), 71

\textsuperscript{450} Edward Wilmot Blyden, “Africa and the Africans.” In: Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, (Baltimore, Black Classic Press, 1888), 276


the inclusivism of traditionally harnessing both Christians and Muslims towards national unity and development.

The National Imam of ASWAJ posits that even though the Europeans brought Western culture, Africans who accepted this were not forced. Just as Christianity is dominated by European culture and values, so is Arabic culture also prevalent in Islam practiced in Ghana.\textsuperscript{454} Thus many Ghanian Muslims give Arab names as Islamic names and those who convert to Islam automatically adopt Arab culture in an attempt to become “Islamic.” African Muslims give Arab names, wear some cultural dresses of Arabs and sometimes adopt the language, mannerisms and cultural mind set of an Arabized people.\textsuperscript{455} Christians and Muslims in Ghana continue to learn from each other and this makes them relate to each other better.

\textbf{4.1.2.1 Colonial Education Policy/ Western type of Education}

A major instrument of European cultural imperialism which advanced western civilization is western education that came with colonialism and Christian influence. Two types of education existed in the Gold Coast before the beginning of Western education. The first and naturally the most widespread was the informal and loosely institutionalized African traditional mode of education and learning. Traditionally, a child during the formative years was taught how to speak the local language (mother-tongue), as well as the primary norms of the society including respect for the elderly. At puberty, young adults went through the briefly institutionalized process of initiation into adulthood. Thus young girls were taught how to keep and manage a home while young boys were taught basic skills in farming, fishing and hunting to be able to fend for their families. This type of informal education is still present in Ghana even though formal and western type of education has come to dominate.

The second type of pre-colonial education, much more institutionalized than the traditional was Islamic education. Prior to (and even after) colonial presence in the Gold Coast, settlements of Muslims in the Volta Basin, Asante and elsewhere had Qur’anic (Makaranta) schools run by Muslim clerics for the Muslim communities.\textsuperscript{456} Though the Basic schools focused

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\item \textsuperscript{454} Interview with Umar Ibrahim Imam, National Imam of Ahlus-Sunnah Wal Jama’a (ASWAJ) on 13th February, 2016 at the ASWAJ headquarters in Accra.
\item \textsuperscript{455} http://africanholocaust.net/african_culture/ [Accessed on 4th May, 2017]
\item \textsuperscript{456} Abdulai Iddrisu, “The Growth of Islamic Learning in Northern Ghana and Its Interaction with Western Secular Education” Africa Development, (Vol. XXX, Nos. 1 & 2, 2005), 56-57; Helen N. Boyle, Sheikh Zakaria Seebaway, Ismail Lansah, and Abdenour Boukamhi, Islamic Education
on learning the Quran and committing it to memory, Muslims were able to read and write, albeit in Arabic and were taught numerical skills (useful in trading) before the arrival of the colonial masters. More advanced forms of Qur’anic and other Islamic Sciences were however acquired through itinerant studies across centers of learning with renowned Muslim clerics/scholars across West Africa.\textsuperscript{457} It was because of these literate capabilities that Muslims served as secretaries, treasurers, diplomats and even advisors to some chiefs of the Gold Coast.

The advent and establishment of Western type of education in Ghana was therefore one of the pivotal points of a clash of civilizations, not only with African Culture, but also with Islamic literacy and culture which as noted was part of the attraction, roles and influence of Muslims with traditional Chiefs.

Western type of Education in the Gold Coast begun with the mercantile class who took their children to Europe to learn numerals and basic book keeping skills so as to assist their parents in their trading on their return. These efforts were complimented by European traders in the castles and later by missionaries who, unable to speak the local language used education as a tool to establish communication with the local people in the Gold Coast. The Portuguese started the first western type school in 1529 after their arrival in Elmina in 1482.\textsuperscript{458} These schools started in the castles or forts on the coast and were managed by European merchant companies while teaching was done by chaplains who were assigned to the castles. The European schools were initially meant for the \textit{mulato} children (from African women and European men). Later the schools extended admission to children from the immediate coastal towns especially the sons of local chiefs and wealthy indigenous traders.\textsuperscript{459} This, according to Agbeti brought new forms of learning and the beginning of formal schools and Western book-based education.\textsuperscript{460}

\textsuperscript{457} Helen N. Boyle, Sheikh Zakaria Seebaway, Ismail Lansah, and Abdenour Boukamhi, Islamic Education sector study: Ghana, (USAID/GHANA: Education Development Center, Inc. (EDC), 2007), 18-20
\textsuperscript{459} H. O. A. McWilliams, \textit{The Development of Education in Ghana}. (New Edition)London: Longmans Green & Co. Ltd. 1962; C. K. Graham, \textit{The history of education in Ghana}, 1971; Even though the Castle schools at Accra exclusively admitted \textit{mulattoes}, Cape Coast Castle School went a step further to admit children of important chiefs and wealthy merchants.
Though established by Merchant companies, the schools had Christian religious bias since apart from being run by Chaplains, their curriculum was biblically based. The Royal African Company, a trading company set up a school in the Cape Coast castle in 1694 to enable African people acquire Christian training and skills in interpreting the Bible into local dialects for better understanding. Although this school was short-lived, its formation showed how priority was given to the interpretation of the Bible into local languages to convert Africans from the traditional religion to Christianity. Western type of education therefore started as a tool for missionary evangelization in Africa which the missionaries fully controlled.

The colonial administrators also put effort into the introduction of western type of education into the territories as they saw education as strategic to changing the consciousness of the people. However, there were not many teachers to take up appointments in all parts of the colonies. Therefore Christian missionaries were the major agents for the introduction of Western type of education and literacy into the mission territories in the Gold Coast, expanding the recipients of this form of education to children who lived far beyond the castles and coastal towns.

When Britain created the Gold Coast colony in 1874, the educational system saw much transformation with a growing number of mission schools.

461 C. K. Graham, The history of education in Ghana, 1971, details this interest by the Dutch who re-opened the Castle school in Elmina for the mulattoes in 1637 and sent Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein with other boys to Holland for studies. He returned to the Gold Coast as the first African Protestant Minister and in 1943, translated the Apostles’ Creed, Lord’s Prayer, the Twelve Articles of Belief and the Ten Commandments into Fante. The Danes at Christiansburg Castle started the first Danish school for the mulattoes in 1722 and sent Christian Jacob Protten and another child to Copenhagen for further studies. Protten published a work in Danish in 1764, translated in English as “Introduction to Hitherto Completely Unknown Languages, Fante and Accra”. The first Danish Chaplain, Mueller (1661-1664) at the end of his book “Die Afrikannische LandschaftFetu” written in 1673 listed 400 Twi words and their translation (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). In 1752, Thomas Thompson of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) at the Cape Coast Castle started “formal education as it is known today” (C. K Graham, 1971, 13). He also sent three boys to England in 1754 including Philip Quacoe who later came back as a teacher, catechist and schoolmaster at Cape coast between 1766 and 1816.

462 Chukwudi A. Njoku “The Missionary Factor in African Christianity, 1884-1914”, (Digitized by the University of Pretoria, Library Services, 2013), 254. It was believed that the African people were hostile to the Europeans and were not ready to be converted to the religion the missionaries brought hence education was introduced to change the consciousness and mindset of the African people.

Thus Christian missions remained the major provider of formal education until the independence of the Gold Coast. The Basel Mission was the first to sustain evangelization and missionary activity in the Gold Coast and also became a forerunner in the introduction of an educational system comprising kindergarten, junior school, middle or senior, teacher education and seminary education. Religious Education became an integral part of Basel Mission Education but other subjects such as Nature Study, Music, Arithmetic and Physical Exercises (vocational and technical subjects) were included in the curriculum of their schools. Also, the Basel Mission introduced Seminary/teacher education at Akropong-Akuapem in the Gold Coast in 1848. The establishment of a teacher training college became a necessity because the Basel missionaries wanted trained teachers and catechists to help the missionaries in the evangelization process.

The Colonial administration viewed education as an instrument to overcome underdevelopment in the colony and began the establishment of key government schools to supplement those of the missionaries. Frederick Gordon Guggisberg as governor of the Gold Coast had a profound and personal devotion to the advancement of the country. On his appointment in 1919 he prepared a Ten-Year Development Plan which prioritized education. Guggisberg used part of the increasing revenue from agriculture to provide schools and medical facilities. Guggisberg saw the need to reform education in the country. He received suggestions made by an educational committee that he set up to advise him. After this, Guggisberg drew up sixteen principles of education including the reduction of the size of classes, building of new training colleges, instruction in local history, folklore, teaching local languages, character building activities and organized games. As a model to put his ideas into practice, Guggisberg built the Achi-

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466 S. K Odamtten, The missionary factor in Ghana’s development, 1978, 124.


mota School in 1927 with departments such as Kindergarten, primary, secondary and University College.  

As part of Guggisberg’s plan to reform the Gold Coast educational system, the Achimota College originally known as the Prince of Wales College and School was established. Alexander G. Fraser a priest was the first Principal from 1924 to 1935 while James Kwegyir Aggrey, became the first Assistant vice Principal from 1924 to 1927. Achimota as a government school was to provide education and character training which would equip those who would attend it, for the benefit of the nation. Though a government school which admitted students from different religious backgrounds, it continued its ties with Christianity through the first Principal Rev. Alexander Garden Fraser and continued to the tenures of H. M. Grace and R. W. Stopford, the second and third headmasters of the Achimota School respectively were all priests. The government’s educational efforts favoured Islam and Muslims because it restricted mission education so that Muslims could also attend Achimota School.

Ismail Saeed Adam the Ashanti Regional Imam of ASWAJ pointed out that the establishment of the Achimota School came as a relief to Muslim parents who sought to avoid their perceived conversion agenda mission schools, marked by even the taking on of Christian names by Muslim pupils. Muslims therefore saw the government schools as a school for all citizens irrespective of their religious background. Yet Muslim leaders retained suspicions of secular learning because of the fear of innovation aimed to change the attitudes of Muslim children toward traditional Islamic religious practices, values and cultures. This therefore allowed for a wide intake of Muslim students. This broke the barrier of fear of Muslim parents that their wards will be converted to Christianity. Thus, the Achimota College was opened to all children irrespective of religious background which consequently allowed for interfaith relations.

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470 [http://www.oldachimotan.net/school/history](http://www.oldachimotan.net/school/history)


472 Interview with Ismail Saeed Adam, Ashanti Regional Imam of ASWAJ and founder of the Zakafiyya Islamic Institute, Kumasi on 10th November, 2017
Similarly, Guggisberg established a separate Department of Education for the North and also established the Trade School in Yendi in 1922. This school which was later transferred to Tamale was set up to supplement the Government Technical School in Accra.\footnote{Philip Forster, \textit{Education and Social Change in Ghana}, Routledge, 1965, 149-150} Just as the case of Achimota College, the Trade school in Tamale also admitted many students including Muslims. As a result, many of these educated people such as the Late Imoro Egala ended up joining the political battle towards Ghana’s independence which became one of the meeting points for Christians and Muslims.

The missions who had more schools than government continued to provide formal education with government assistance through aid granted to their schools. The Major Churches gradually organized their educational institutions under Educational Unit such as the Catholic Educational Unit, Methodist Educational Units that worked directly with the Churches and at the same time the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service. Since formal western type of education was introduced by Christian missionaries and even government schools had a level of Christian influence, Muslims were reluctant to send their children to school because they feared that their children would be converted to Christianity and even made to change their names to Christian names.\footnote{Rabiatu Ammah-Konney gives an example of her Muslim mother who was given Christian names in these mission schools. Interview with Dr. Rabiatu Armah-Konney on 3rd November, 2016} This brought about seclusion and gap between Muslims and Christians.\footnote{Interview with Ismail Saeed Adam, Zakafiyya Islamic Institute/ Ashanti Regional Imam of ASAWAJ in Kumasi on 10th November, 2016} Thus Shuiab Yakubu Abban argues that because of the fear of conversion to Christianity, Muslims continued to train their children in Arabic and Islamic education in makaranta (Arabic schools). However, the initial fear of Muslim parents in not allowing their children to attend western type schools, made Muslims lag behind in terms of speaking English which had become the official language of the country and gaining western type skills for jobs created by the government. This made some Christians feel superior to Muslims in Ghana for a very long time.

The coming of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission (AMM) in Ghana in 1921 created opportunities for the establishment of new Islamic learning institutions by providing possible adaptations to traditional makaranta to inte-
grate secular subjects by forming the Ahmadiyya Mission School. The Ahmadiyya Mission School used Western-type programs to emphasize an agenda of modernization and this met several reactions from some Muslims in Ghana. Whereas the AMM School appeared to have been accepted and popular with some urban Muslims, Orthodox Muslims who embraced the Arabic-based learning of the makaranta looked down upon the AMM schools as imitations of the West and supporters of colonialism. By the 1950s however, a new generation of Muslim proprietors of the Qur’anic schools began to incorporate change in the education system by stressing that the “modernization of Islamic schools should be acceptable so long as the faith of students will remain intact and as long as they do not succumb to Western cultural values”. Muslims were not the only people who benefitted from the Ahmadiyya Mission School as some Christians also attended the school. The TI Ahmadiyya School in Kumasi produced two (2) Moderators of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in the persons of Yaw Frimpong-Manso and Sam Prempeh. Thus for Christians to attend Muslim Institutions and vice versa, creates an opportunity for open dialogue between Christians and Muslims in the quest to enhance the inter-religious nature of Ghana. In other words, Christian and Muslim students continue their good relationships from the days of schooling to the life after school and the future.

Thus whereas some Muslim leaders were committed to the traditions of religious learning others saw the need to incorporate more secular subjects into the curriculum. Yet both groups of Muslim leaders retained their suspicions of secular learning because of the fear of innovation aimed to change the attitudes of Muslim children toward traditional Islamic religious practices and cultures. Muslims who decided to learn the Islamic way were only able to preserve the Qur’an and other Islamic Sciences but those who went for formal western type of education and learnt to read and write the western way acquired employment skills and got jobs within the fast changing economy. Margaret Peil indicated that Muslims did not send their children to the local government schools for a long time because

477 David Owusu-Ansah, David, Mark Sey, and Abdulai Iddrisu, *Islamic Learning, The State, And The Challenges Of Education In Ghana*, 74-75
479 Interview with Shuiab Yakubu Abban (Gen Secretary, ASWAJ) on 2nd November, 2016 in Accra
they did not want them to become Christians. However, Muslim parents who wanted their children to benefit from western type of education curbed their fears and suspicions and sent their wards to school.

School provided a good environment for direct Christian-Muslim encounters. Thus even before the 1950s, Christians and a few Muslims met and related as colleagues in schools and colleges established by the Christian missionaries and the British in the southern part of the Gold Coast before being employed in government service. Friendships were struck in the classroom lasting through adult lives and careers.

4.1.2.2 Colonialism on Female Education

The traditional social and cultural expectations of females in Ghana generally limited their access to western type of education during and after colonial rule. A careful examination of women and western type of education in Ghana can be said to be the gendered impact of colonialism on Africa because it entrenched African women experience of economic and political marginalization.

Joseph R. Dunwell, the first Methodist missionary to the Gold Coast who arrived in Cape Coast in 1835, observed that the coastal people of Ghana were keen on educating their daughters. Hitherto most parents, apart from reserving their daughters for domestic labour, found it more profitable and prestigious to marry off their daughters than to keep them in school. By 1835, however, female education in Ghana seemed to have been kindled among both Europeans and Africans.

Until the 1870s, girls received just primary school instruction but by 1874, an advanced girls’ school (now Wesley Girls’ SHS) was started in Cape Coast. Only girls who had developed their skills of reading, writing and speaking English were admitted for this advanced education. Prior to

480 Margaret Peil, “The Expulsion of West African Aliens”, (1971), 217
482 C.K.Graham, The History of Education in Ghana, 1971, 74
483 C.K.Graham, The History of Education in Ghana, 1976, 72. Furthermore, British officials and some reports of the Methodist missionaries documented in 1841 reveal that the Methodist mission had nine (9) schools in Ghana, of which three (3) were for girls. See More: G. E. Metcalfe, Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History, 1807-1957, London: Thomas Nelson, 1964, 176
484 C. K. Graham. The History of Education in Ghana, 131. Secondary education became available in Ghana in the 1870s but the first institution was a boys’ school: Wesleyan High school, founded in Cape Coast in 1876. See F.L. Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, 93.
this provision, girls who desired to receive secondary education had to do so abroad, and only few of them had this opportunity.⁴⁸⁵ Women were disadvantaged in the competition for resources not only because of the limitation of access to education, but also because girls received a separate kind of instruction which trained them with skills meant for domestic chores with the ultimate aim of training them into becoming wives and mistresses for the resident merchants. This however eventually made women excellent managers in domestic concerns and careful nurses.⁴⁸⁶

Claire Robertson asserts that Western type of education created a new dilemma for women since African women were disadvantaged whether or not they acquired Western education. She argues that rather than leading the way to equality and greater opportunity, education for most women in Africa functioned as an instrument of oppression to reinforce subordinate roles.⁴⁸⁷

Although girls in general were disadvantaged in Ghana, Muslim girls were more affected and suffered the most. Though Islam requires basic religious education for all Muslims irrespective of gender, the necessary knowledge and experiences for one to become an educated scholar did not accommodate the social status of females, who were expected to be married off by the end of their teenage years.⁴⁸⁸ But by the 1980s many parents saw the need to educate their girls in schools because educated Muslim women had proven that western type of education does not necessarily influence the Islamic religion and culture.⁴⁸⁹

4.1.2.3 Language

Language is an important element of culture. It was an important tool for colonizing and de-culturalising Africans. The main avenue for doing so


⁴⁸⁶ C. K Graham, *The History of education in Ghana*, 72. Other domestic skills and subjects such as sewing constituted the core of the curriculum for girls’ education. Both government and mission schools emphasized the basic training of girls in domestic skills. The British officials insisted on the teaching of domestic science to all school girls.


⁴⁸⁹ Margaret Makafui Tayviah, *The Muslim Woman and Western type of education in Ghana from 1957 to date: Case Study Kete Krachi, Volta Region*. BA Long Essay, KNUST, Kumasi, April 2010, 47
was through education, thus linking the various elements leading to the colonial impact. Every ethnic group in the Gold Coast had their language before the coming of the Europeans but language became a barrier of communication between the Gold Coast people and the Europeans since both parties could not understand each other. Again when the missionaries arrived in the Gold Coast, language was a barrier in transmitting the gospel message. Since language is a vehicle of evangelization the missionaries made efforts to translate the principal Christian dogma such as the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, Apostle’s creed and other forms of the catechism into the local languages of their audience. This effort of the missionaries was the beginning of writing Ghanaian local languages such as Twi, Ga and Ewe as well as the gradual development of standard orthographies. Hans Debrunner writes that the missionaries’ preferential choice for a particular local language created its own problems for the traditional linguistic landscapes.\footnote{Hans W. Debrunner, \textit{A History of Christianity in Ghana}, (Waterville Publishing House: Accra, 1967), 343. See also: Elizabeth Isichei, \textit{A History of Christianity in Africa}, 169ff, 268, 294} Yet the Basel missionaries Johannes Christaller and Johannes Zimmerman for example, scientifically studied the Twi and Ga languages respectively\footnote{J. D. Amanor, “Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation”. \textit{Cyber Journal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research}. (n.d.), 9} in the mission seminary that prepared them for “unknown ‘exotic’ idioms” of local languages. The essence of this was to enable them reduce the indigenous language to writing so that converts could read the Bible in their own language for better understanding.\footnote{Juliet Oppong-Boateng, \textit{Economic Enterprises Of The Basel Mission Society In The Gold Coast: A Study Of The Basel Mission Trading Company From 1859 To 1917}. M.Phil Thesis, (University Of Ghana, Legon, July, 2014), 41} Unlike the Bible which is translated in many African languages, the Qur’an has not been translated into any indigenous language. This makes the study of Arabic important for any Muslim who will want to read and understand the Qur’an well. That is, Muslims who are unable to read and understand the Qur’an are left to the interpretation and understanding they get from the \textit{a’ima} who try to interpret what they read and preach in the indigenous languages. However, the Qur’an has been translated into English making both the Arabic and English versions of the Qur’an easy to access by both Muslims and non-Muslims. Since English is the official language in Ghana, the translation of the Bible and Qur’an into English makes both scriptures easy to read and understand by both adherents and non-adherents. This further makes interfaith dialogue and relations easier and meaningful since Christians and Muslims are able to understand the text in each other’s scriptures.
4.1.2.4 Health Care and Healing

Health constitutes an important area of the influence of the Colonial moment in Africa. Scholars such as Mbiti, Maier and Tahzib rightly argue that before the advent of colonialism and the introduction of western medicine, Africans had their own system of health care. Mbiti observe that:

Every village in Africa has a medicine man within reach, and he is the friend of the community. He is accessible to everybody and at almost all times, and comes into the picture at many points in individuals and community life.494

In other words, many African cultures developed their medical system in accordance with their needs. Traditional practitioners such as bone-setters, herbalists, birth attendants, diviners, magician-healers and oracle men provided the health needs of their societies. In many Ghanaian societies, especially among the Ewes, Gonja and Asante, elderly women provided midwifery services prior to the introduction of European forms of medicine. Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) as they were called also served as pediatricians. They were well respected in Asante as those who had expertise in the health needs of pregnant women and children in the community.497 The Nsumankwahene has always been the traditional priest of the Asantehene, responsible for the latter’s health and wellness. As the chief traditional priest for the Asantehene, he was also obliged to prescribe medicine for others.498 Significantly, he was the indigenous doctor for the Asante state although the Muslims or the Asante nkramo were noted to have introduced non-herbal medicine into Asante before the first half of the twentieth century.499


499 D. Maier, ‘Nineteenth-Century Asante Medical Practices’, Comparative Studies in Society and
The traditional medicine system which served as the main provider of health care for many people over the centuries in Ghana was however considered superstitious, unhygienic and unscientific by allopathic medicine practitioners. Traditional medical practitioners were called “witchdoctors” and even as late as the late 1960s, a group of American doctors on a research visit to Ghana claimed that the country’s traditional medicine consisted solely of “ignorance and superstition” and that “witchdoctor ... medicine man and native doctor were synonymous terms”.

The arrival of the Europeans in the Gold Coast saw the introduction of allopathic or western medicine and medical care in the mission territories developed by the missionaries. Rudolf Fisch, a medical doctor arrived in the Gold Coast and settled in Aburi in 1885. Between 1885 and 1891, Fisch devoted his time to the health and sanitary conditions of several Basel Mission stations. Later, smaller clinics were established in Abokobi and Odumase where other medical missionaries were sent to work with Fisch. The missionaries appeared to have potent, regenerative and miraculous medicines in their clinics and maternities which appealed to many Ghanaians as compared to the potency of the traditional Medicare.

The development of the medical care by the missionaries formed an integral aspect of conversion in the Gold Coast because it ‘softened’ the hearts of the people and created a sense of awe therefore predisposed people to conversion. Through the provision of western medical care, the ‘compassionate hearts’ of the missionaries was demonstrated towards the converts and the people of the Gold Coast because by 1890, the Basel missionaries were treating the “wounds and minor ailments” such as dysentery of the African people without a fee. Medicines and drugs were sold in the

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History, 21,(1979), 73

500 D. Maier, ‘Nineteenth-century Asante Medical practices’, 63

501 Michael A. Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, A Hundred and Fifty Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (1828-1978) (2011), 244-245. Dr. Fisch travelled on bicycle or in a Hammock to several outstations of the Basel mission. The devoted medical missionaries who followed and worked with Dr. Fisch were Dr. Carl A. Eckhardt (1887-93) who died in Odumase, Dr. Fred Hey (1895-1899), Dr. Hermann Vorstisch (1903-1905), Dr. Theo Muller (1909-1914) and Dr. Karl Huppenbauer (1913-1917). Apart from Eckhardt who died earlier, the other doctors were later transferred out of the Gold Coast to work at other places. Dr. Hey was transferred to Cameroon while Vorstisch was transferred to China.


stores of the Basel Mission Trading Company (BMTC) and the indigenous people purchased.

The Korle Bu hospital was established on 9 October 1923 by Gordon Guggisberg. In 1954, the Kumasi Central Hospital, the second-largest hospital in Ghana was built. It became the main referral hospital for the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Northern regions of Ghana. The two pioneer hospitals with the early missionary clinics, some of which have grown to become hospitals now cater for the health needs of Ghanaians.

The colonial authorities also contributed financially to the work of the missionaries, in the building and running of hospitals as one of social services requiring collaboration between the missionaries and the colonial authorities. The hospitals set up by the missionaries did not only serve as an introduction to western institutional models of health care but also enabled a generation of new professionals such as medical doctors and nurses who worked to serve the country and citizens irrespective of religious backgrounds. The missionaries thus improved medical delivery which enhanced the standard of living of the African people.

Indeed, this may have led to conversion as humans will do anything to seek solution to their problems. Prayers were said in both mission and government hospitals irrespective of religion. There were Hospital Chaplains who visited the hospitals to pray and counsel patients. Thus, health always has a residual element that often allows for a level of inclusivism since in this case it was devoid of supernatural elements unlike some aspects of the other two modes, yet facilitated a dialogue of life between people of different faiths. In other words, people seek health care wherever they will find solutions irrespective of the background of who is administering the health care. This creates scenarios of dialogue of life in Ghana.

More recently, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission (AMM), which we have noted contributed to the development of Western type of education among Muslims also begun operating modern allopathic hospitals in the country at places such as Kaleo (Upper West), Techiman (Brong Ahafo), Asokore

504 The Kumasi Central Hospital was later named Komfo Anokye Hospital after Okomfo Anokye, a legendary traditional priest of the Ashanti. In 1975, the hospital was converted into a teaching hospital affiliated to the medical school of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology. See more at www.kathhs.org
506 Amanor, “Pentecostalism in Ghana”, 9
and Kokofu (Ashanti), Swedru (Central), and Daboase (Western). The Ahmadiyya Muslim community also provides other health-related services including clinics, medical aid programs, and short-term health delivery projects. The health institutions built by the Christian missionaries and the Ahmadiyya Mission paved the way for Christian-Muslim relations because the health officials provide health care to patients without considering their religious backgrounds. Dialogue of life is practiced in these hospitals as well.

4.1.2.5 Sanitation
The British Colonial Authorities desired to physically separate the sophisticated European from the “diseased” Native especially spaces occupied by Muslim-Northerners as zongo because the zongos were perceived to be filthy places. Therefore, Sanitation in the zongos in Ghana has been a matter of concern since some Christians and Muslims think that people who live in the zongos live in unhygienic conditions. This creates the general perception among Christians that Muslims are dirty and this notion affects how some Christians see and relate with Muslims.

4.1.2.6 Family/Social Relations
The family is a very important cultural institution, and any effects on it by intrusive civilization and culture impact social relationships. Marriage and family life are important aspects of culture in Ghana. According to G. K Nukunya, marriage is a social union or legal contract between people that creates kinship. It is the recognized social institution, not only for establishing and maintaining the family, but also for creating and sustaining the ties of kinship. Therefore, a married couple is not considered a family if they do not have children. Hence, G. K. Nukunya argues that a family is a group of individuals related to each other by ties of consanguinity, marriage or adoption and the adult members of this union are responsible for the upbringing of children.

The coming of the Europeans and European culture affected the institution of marriage. Since monogamy was the system of marriage practiced by Europeans, they frowned on the African’s practice of polygamy or

507 Emily Anne, Williamson, *Understanding the Zongo: processes of socio-spatial marginalization in Ghana*, (Msc in Architecture Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014), 79
polygyny. Thus, polygamous marriages were acceptable in the African Traditional Religion and culture but it was condemned by the Christian missionaries when they arrived in Africa. Today, polygamous marriages have become less common while monogamous marriages have become more common in many African societies, yet polygamous marriages still exist and are legal in some parts of Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana and South Africa.

The extended family which Nukunya defines as “a residential group comprising series of close relatives built around either patrilineal or matrilineal lines” was a good platform for social relations and security. Cultural ideas and values were taught within the family leading to the process of socialization. With the coming of the Europeans, the values of the traditional African family are gradually breaking down and the extended family is giving way to the nuclear family system. Urbanization has further led to rural exodus and the dislocation of large segments of the population thereby breaking the extended family system. On the other hand, this created an opportunity for people to learn from and interact with each other irrespective of their religious backgrounds and fostered various forms of the dialogue of life between people of different ethnicities and different faiths. These include language, cultural values and marriages.

Colonial statutes have regulated Muslim marriage and divorce since 1907 and later Christian marriage and divorce since 1884. Islamic marriage is a type of marriage made in accordance with Islamic rules regarding marriage. In this form of marriage the registration should be done by the bridegroom, bride’s wali (a guardian representing the bride’s father), two witnesses to the marriage, and an Imam licensed under the Ordinance, after which a certificate of marriage is issued by the Registrar. This process is also followed in case of divorce. Marriages under Islamic law may be monogamous or polygamous under the Marriages Act (CAP 29) but they must be registered to be valid. Although Islam recognizes the following forms of marriages; monogamous marriage, polygamous marriage,

513 Qur’an 4:3 permits men to marry up to four wives at a time therefore making polygamy permissible.
*mut’a* (temporary marriage)\(^{514}\) and slave marriage, the common forms of marriage practiced among Muslims in Ghana are monogamous and polygamous marriages. Muslims in Ghana follow marriage regulations stated in the Qur’an and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.

We discovered during the study that many Muslim marriages in Ghana are not registered under the Mohammedan ordinance.\(^{515}\) They are therefore regarded as customary marriages.\(^{516}\) Nonetheless, a marriage registered under the Mohammedan ordinance can be dissolved by divorce if both spouses consent to it\(^{517}\) because the Matrimonial Causes Act (MCA) is applicable to all the three marital forms.

Our study also discovered that European presence encouraged direct or indirect intermarriages\(^{518}\) through promoting trade and bringing in Muslims as policemen\(^{519}\) because wherever the traders and policemen settled they had the opportunity to marry the local women. Women were therefore married by these traders and policemen irrespective of their religious or cultural backgrounds.\(^{520}\) Intermarriages first reduced any form of ethnic

\(^{514}\) Mut’a is a temporary marriage recognized by the Shi’ite. This kind of marriage is terminated after an agreed period whereas slavery marriage is the permissibility of sexual intercourse with slave girls or women captured in war without marrying them. These forms of Islamic marriage are not practiced in Ghana

\(^{515}\) Marcelinus Dery, “No register of Islamic Marriages”, Daily Graphic, Thursday, February 3, 2011; The Ghana Chapter of the United Muslim-Christian Forum (UMCF) described Muslim marriages in Ghana as illegal since there was no legal recognition and licensing of any Islamic marriage According to Ahmed Nii Nortey, Executive Director of the UMCF in Ghana, the unacceptable situation was an anomaly which resulted in legal actions against some Muslim groups who had decided to issue marriage certificates to Muslims to acquire Visas and other travelling documents. See more: http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/forum-describes-muslim-mariages-in-ghana-as-illegal-71403; Interview with Rabiatu Ammah-Konney, Senior Lecturer, Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana (Legon) Accra on 3rd November, 2016


\(^{517}\) William E. Offei, *Family Law in Ghana*, (Third edition), (Accra-North, 2007), 266

\(^{518}\) Intermarriage here refers to the choice of a partner or spouse outside one’s own ethnic, racial or religious group.

\(^{519}\) When Great Britain had full control of the Colony in 1871, it became necessary to have a strong police force. To this end, Captain Glover recruited a Force of 700 Hausa men from the Northern Nigeria to take part in the Ashanti Wars on behalf of the British in 1874, and in 1876 this body of Men formed the Gold Coast Constabulary.

prejudices and provided the space for people to interact socially. Intermarriages further allowed for people to interact with each other irrespective of their cultural and religious backgrounds thereby paving way for good Christian-Muslim relations.

Christian-Muslim marriages in contemporary times according to Cosmos Ebo Sarbah are considered to be the ideal model for inter-religious relations because through marriage spouses are able to relate and raise a family irrespective of religious differences. Despite the challenges of Christian-Muslim marriages in Ghana, the prospects of such marriages are facilitated by the multi-religious environment and encouraged by the traditional culture. Furthermore, both religions attempt to reconcile their teachings of marriage and divorce through the covenant relationship of marriage. However, Christian-Muslim marriages in Ghana remain a difficult and sensitive issue. 521

Although Christian-Muslim marriage is a sensitive issue in Ghana, such a marriage cannot be avoided totally because Christians and Muslims live in the same plural environment and are exposed to the beliefs of each other. Furthermore, the traditional customs allow and facilitate Christian-Muslim marriages since it does not consider the religious background of prospective partners a prerequisite for marriage. 522

4.1.2.7 Funeral/ Burial Rites
Every culture whether African, Asian or European has its own worldview and beliefs about the meaning and purpose of life and what happens after death. In view of this people are more secular than religious in their perspectives about life. 523 Joseph Hanson Nketia in a paper on “Birth, Puberty and Death” in a seminar of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast held in Accra in 1955, described birth and death as events of “Life cycle”. 524 In Africa, death rituals are deeply rooted in the culture and traditions as well as in the beliefs of their religions. It is for this reason that it can be said that despite European presence and the advent of Christianity and Islam and their influence on some aspects of African rites and rituals, some traditional funeral themes have survived in Ghanaian traditional socie-

ties. It is instructive to state that though Islam and Christianity have both attempted to modify the rites, rituals and traditional religious beliefs of Africans many customary beliefs especially about death, the after-life, and the place and role of ancestors continue to pervade the performance of funerals in Ghana, even among believers of the two religions. In spite of the religious nature of funerals in Ghana its social dimensions bind people of different faiths in the same family, friends and sympathizers. Christians and Muslims are therefore not left out in performing funerals. During the celebration of funerals, family members and friends who maybe Christians and/or Muslims come together to give a befitting burial to the dead.

4.2 Commerce and Trade

Before the arrival of the Europeans and Arabs, Africans were involved in agriculture and trade. With the arrival of the Portuguese European traders at Cape Coast in 1471, items such as gold, cloth, beads and metal ware were traded in. Between the 15th century and the 19th century trade and commerce along the coast of the Gold Coast was dominated by the European merchants within the castles and forts.

The Basel missionaries made remarkable contributions in the area of agriculture and economic development. Firstly, the Basel missionaries were particular about vocational and technical training and so established industrial institutions and workshops to equip the local people with skills in carpentry, blacksmithing, cask making, masonry and shoemaking which, they could sell to earn income. Young girls were also trained by wives of missionaries in housewifery, cooking and sewing. This is how Tetteh Quarshie earned a skill as a blacksmith from the Basel missionaries before he went to sell his wares at Fernando Po from where he brought cocoa to Ghana. The missionaries experimented with its cultivation in Akropong, at their agricultural station.525

A number of factors such as the inadequacy of funds, the high cost of needed European commodities and the delay in acquisition of the desired European commodities necessitated the establishment of the Basel Mission Trading Company (BMTC) in the Gold Coast in 1859. So the BMTC

525 Tetteh Quarshie is widely believed to have introduced the cocoa crop to the Gold Coast but scholars such as Kwamena-Poh and Kwame Arhin have attributed the introduction of the cocoa crop to the Basel missionaries. See Kwamena-Poh, “The Basel Missionaries and the Development of the Cocoa Industry”, (n.d), 17; and K. Arhin, “The Role of the Presbyterian Church in the Economic Development of Ghana” Research Review, 1(2), 1985, 158.
which was established as a subsidiary of the Basel Mission Society (BMS) had the vision of evangelizing through trading activities in addition to preaching. With its establishment African people developed the taste for European commodities. Again with the establishment of the BTMC, transportation systems including water transportation was improved to facilitate the import and export of goods to and from the Gold Coast.  

Two “European” stores were opened at Gambaga and Wa in 1898 and 1900 respectively to encourage trade and help the people of the Northern Territory of the Gold coast get familiarized with products of the British such as imported cloth. Before the Government later built small stalls at Wa and Gambaga, Kintampo and Salaga were noted for such trading activities and by 1904 the number of petty traders selling European goods in all the markets of the Protectorate were reported to increase yearly. It is worthy to note that Salaga and later Kintampo were ‘slave’ markets where trading activities were going on between the Arab world, Hausa Muslims and the people of the Gold Coast before the coming of the British thus making it easier for the British colonial government to further encourage trading activities in these places in 1904.

Trade and commercial activities paved way for these Christian traders to relate and interact with African traditionalists and Muslim traders since the Europeans were introduced to many new kinds of textiles, carpets, spices, and clothing so too were Muslim traders enriched. However, European presence affected Muslims and Muslim trade in the sense that slave trade which was a dominant feature of the Salaga market which saw Muslim traders coming from Kano in Nigeria came to a halt in 1874 when the British abolished it. Another factor that affected Muslim traders because of the presence of the Europeans was the division of Yendi where the German
mans governed Eastern Yendi while the western side of Yendi was governed by the British. This affected trade.

European trade on the coast nonetheless drew Muslims to the coastal lands so the expansion of Islam along the coast was due to trade. This may have probably led Benjamin Sam a former Methodist catechist and others to convert to Islam.\footnote{Nathan I. Samwini, The Muslim resurgence in Ghana since 1950 and its effects upon Muslims and Muslim Christian relations, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 37} Thus trade, commerce as well as Intermarriages led to real life encounters and interactions between Christians and Muslims in Ghana. Practical dialogue occurred between Christians and Muslims as Muslims dominated the meat market and even fuel market in remote rural communities. Itinerant Zabrama traders for a long time dominated and still dominate the textile market. Muslim women are believed to cook good \textit{waakye}, \textit{tuo zaafi} and \textit{Dagomba koko}. Christians buy from Muslims irrespective of the religious differences. Some of these Muslim women are affectionately called Hajia and Amariya which further shows a great level of relationship.

Christianity has featured considerably in Colonial presence, Civilization and Culture and Commerce. Deriving from this and in preparation for the comparative assessment intended, it is important to now surmise the main elements of interfaith relations generated by colonialism that impact the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Ghana. The above discussions show that not many avenues were created for Christians-Muslims encounters up to the 1950s. During this period such encounters were not theological or evangelistic therefore the relationship between Muslims and Christians were mutually peaceful.

This chapter deduced that the four (4) Cs: Colonial presence, Civilization and Culture and Commerce made Christians and Muslims relate at different levels. These relations brought out several attitudes about how Christians and Muslims towards each other and each other’s religion and how these were expressed. Some attitudes that have emerged during colonialism are

- Suspicion
- Superiority
- Mistrust
- Competition
- Moratorium on conversion
From the above discussion, we realized that during colonial era, both Christians and Muslims were suspicious of one another especially with how the colonial authorities treated each religion. Thus Christians felt Muslims were more favoured and vice versa. With the coming of European civilization and Christianity, Christians felt that they were more superior to Islam and Muslims because they had the opportunity to acquire Western type of education and other benefits like health care from the missionaries. With the above mentioned benefits that Christians had, they saw themselves as having an upper hand over Muslims. Both Christians and Muslims had mistrust for each other at a point because of how each religion related with the chiefs as well as the rush for converts from ATR. This rush for converts made Christians and Muslims compete with each other. However, because of the zoning system, both religions experienced a moratorium on conversion since they could not convert each other’s members but both went for converts among ATR.

The attitudes outlined were expressed in the models of presence and triadogue. The model of presence saw Islam and Christianity being founded, spread and developed in the Gold Coast and Togo during colonialism. Thus these two religions had come to stay in West Africa and therefore had their presence felt in many parts of the country. Instances whereby conflicts arose between Christians and Muslims, the chiefs served as reconcilatory agents and therefore the model of triadogue was practiced.

4.3 The Togo Experience

Togo as a country was a colony of Germany and later came under French and British rules. The first German connection with Togo was the arrival of missionaries in 1847 to work among the Ewes which was the largest ethnic group in the region. German traders soon followed and settled at Anécho also known as Petit Popo on the coast. After the World War I in 1914, France and Britain occupied the two German colonies: Togoland and Cameroon. By the early 1916 the British and French were in control of the former German colonies under the mandate of the League of Nations. After the Second World War in 1945, Togo, which remained divided, became a

529 In a Trialogical relationship, one religion is in a position of trust to act as a third party in the event of a conflict involving two other religions. For instance in a conflict involving Christianas and ATRs, Muslim religious leaders can act as a third party to bring peace and harmony among the two religions. See more: Hyacinth Kalu, Principles And Practicalities Of Interfaith Relationships In Nigeria, 2011,4-5
Trust Territory of the United Nations (UN). This was the international institutional arrangement in which France was responsible for the management, administration and control of two-thirds of the German Togoland it inherited.

4.3.1 Colonial North-South Divide

Before colonisation in Togo, socio-cultural and religious exchanges occurred between kings, religious leaders and traders. Pre-colonial Togo also had its “cities” such as Tado, Mango, Dapongo, Anufom where the German colonial authorities founded a network of towns with modern architecture which ended up being the urban framework of Togo today.

At the beginning of the colonial rule, a real urban network was set up with its administrative functions in Lome. Later the German authorities saw the need to create administrative posts across the colony, which ensured the creation of several cities in Togo to serve the colonial interests.

As happened in the Gold Coast, the German colonial authorities under the leadership of Graf von Zech in 1907 closed the North of Togo to Christian activities because the Germans saw Islam to be the dominant religion there. According to Dzinyèfa K. Adrake, in as much as the German colonial government did not want any form of religious conflict and so prevented Christian missionaries from doing any missionary work in the north, the same authorities also wanted to preserve the north of Togo as a labour force for the country just as the case of the Gold Coast. The Germans forbade any Christian activity or European traders in the north until 1911. However, at the same time, the southern part of Togo was being developed as a result of the Christian missionary presence and activities. Many southern Togolese had embraced western type of education and attended the schools opened by the missionaries. Just as the case of Ghana, the colonial authorities were interested in the resources of the southern part of Togo hence did many developmental works. Eventu-


531 Marguerat Yves & Gabriel K. Nyassogbo, “L’Ubanisation et les villes”, in: Nicoue Gayibor (ed.) Histoire Des Togolais, Tome 3, (Karthala et Presses de l’Universite de Lome (UL), 2011), 525. In Adjido for example, the missionaries built their houses, including the Methodist church and the Catholic Church also built their school. In Lomé, the German authorities settled near the city of trade, buying 150 hectares of land from the Lome bourgeoisies which became their new administrative district.
ally, when the north of Togo was opened to Christian missionary activity and Europeans were allowed to trade there, they were late in these developmental projects as the south had already thrived. Similar to Ghana, the north of Togo was late in development or less developed than the south of Togo.

4.3.2 Civilization and Culture

The German idea of ‘kultur’ (culture) was the quest for constructing the self-image of their nation.\textsuperscript{532} Therefore, Germans believed that “those who speak the same language are linked together, because they understand each other and are capable of communicating more, and more closely with one another, they belong together, they are by nature one indivisible whole.”\textsuperscript{533} Hence Germany was a culturally and linguistically unified entity. It is with this mindset of promoting the German ‘self-image’ that made the German colonial authorities in Togo promote their language and culture to the extent that they preferred Christian missionaries who came to Togo to have German heritage as we saw in Chapter three of this work.

In their quest to turn the Togolese into French men, the French colonial authorities practised the policy of assimilation and therefore promoted their interests by educating the people such that they could become civilized and eligible to work for the French government. Thus the French promoted their culture and interests as they attempted to transform and civilise the indigenous Togolese into French citizens through promoting the French culture. Cultural practices such as birth rites, funeral rituals as well as marriage rites were all modernized to suit the French culture. The Christian missionaries also banned some cultural practices such as human sacrifice of the Togolese which they saw as barbaric and primitive.

The institution of marriage and the recognition of a family in Togo is similar to the case of Ghana. Therefore in Togo, the family is a very important social unit. European presence and culture affected the institution of marriage and the extended family system in Togo just as the case of Ghana. The Europeans practiced monogamy and frowned upon polygamy or polygyny practiced by Togolese. Polygyny was practiced in Togo before coloni-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{532} Adam Kuper, \textit{Culture} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 6-9
  \item \textsuperscript{533} Mohammad Shahabuddin, “The Colonial ‘Other’ in the Nineteenth Century German Colonisation of Africa, and International Law” in African Yearbook of International Law, (ed.) A.A. YUSUF, Netherlands, African Foundation for International Law, 2013, 19
\end{itemize}
This strengthened the extended family system and made that system very important among many families in Togo because according to Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, the strength, wealth and greatness of a man were determined by the kind of family he had. Men were the head of the family while women were restricted to domestic life and work just as the case of the Gold Coast (Ghana). Nicoue Gayibor asserts that although colonialism brought some good to the African, it also resulted in Africans losing their values and culture especially when the French tried to make the Togolese become French citizens.

Nonetheless, European presence encouraged direct or indirect intermarriages such as promoting trade because wherever the traders settled they married the women there irrespective of their religious or cultural backgrounds. These intermarriages allowed for people to interact with each other thereby paving way for good Christian-Muslim relations in Togo.

4.3.2.1 Western type of Education in Togo

Education in pre-colonial Togo was a unique way of vocational training integrated with culture. Parents played an important role in educating their children in this traditional system of learning. The introduction of western type of education in Togo by the German Missionaries facilitated a high improvement in the Educational system with a new way of teaching, a more practical and organised way. Even though, Akuété Zankli Lawson was believed to have established the first school in Togo, when he came back from England in 1842, the nature of curriculum in the school became unclear and much is not said about this school.

The German colonial authorities established several educational institutions such as primary schools, a school of agriculture, a vocational school and a school for evangelism. The major contribution of the Christian missionaries in Togo was the establishment of western type of education.

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534 Interview with Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, PROCMURA Regional Coordinator for Francophone West Africa on 23rd November, 2016 in Lome.
535 Interview with Nicoue Gayibor on 22nd November, 2016 and Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake on 23rd November, 2016 in Lome
536 Interview with Innocent Akousah, Pastor and Human Resource Director at EPPT, Lome Togo on 20th November, 2016
538 Essoham Assima-Kpatcha; Marguerat Yves & Peter Sebald, L’education sous Domination Coloniale in: Nicoue Gayibor (ed.) Histoire Des Togolais, Tome 4, (Karthala et Presses de l'Université de Lome (UL), 2011), 102-103
through schools. However, many Togolese rejected it because they considered western type of education as a means of destroying ancestral beliefs and values.\textsuperscript{539} Having realised that religion, art, music, and other social activities of the African people were closely connected with each other, the German missionaries concluded that unless the Togolese refrained from their social activities they could not be saved. As a result, school children were trained as mainly Christian citizens, which eventually changed them and distinguished them from other indigenes.\textsuperscript{540}

The main objective of the missionaries for setting up the schools was to separate Christian converts from traditional beliefs which were considered pagan and demonic but the colonial administrators mandated the prominent chiefs and citizens to educate their children since they respected the traditional chiefs in order to govern the colony.\textsuperscript{541} Both missionary bodies allowed teaching in “indigenous language” in order to make the indigenes understand and convert to Christian religion.

After the First World War, Franco-British military forces joined to make Germans exit Togo in August 1914. The school systems were faced with crisis because of the disorder the war brought, including the Franco-British occupation.\textsuperscript{542} From 1920, the French prohibited the English language in their occupied zone. They like the Germans promoted the use of French in the schools and banned all other European languages.\textsuperscript{543} They developed their schools and made French the official language of Togo in 1922.

As was the case in Ghana, Muslims and African Traditionalists in Togo initially refused to send their children to school for fear of having them con-

\textsuperscript{539} Interview with NicoueGayibor Professor of History, University of Lome, Togo on 22nd November 2016
\textsuperscript{541} Pouzon-ANI BAFEI, ‘Education in Togo: From Its Creation until the Period of Socio-Political and Economic Crisis of 1990’ International Education Studies Vol. 4, No. 1; February 2011, 251. It is important to note that by this time the French colonial authorities wanted to win the hearts of the Togolese after German rule so although the French practiced their policy of assimilation they still gave some respect to the Togolese chiefs.
vert to Christianity. Although there were a few Qur'anic/Arabic schools, Islamic education was limited to only Islamic sciences and not eligible to make one gain employment in the French government. This did not auger well for Christian-Muslim relations since Muslims were afraid to send their children to school for fear of them being influenced and converted to Christianity. Again, Christians felt more superior and enlightened than Muslims because they felt they had the opportunity to be educated and trained by the missionaries. However, Muslim parents felt more comfortable to allow their children to attend government schools which were considered more secular and scientific. After Togo's independence the policies of Eyadema to unite all Togolese under the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (RPT) made them relate better with each other because they considered themselves as one.

In a bid to reduce poverty and inequality, the Togolese government and the Ministry of Education makes education important and easily accessible for children in Togo. Education and particularly primary education aims at preparing the child to integrate usefully in society. Thus the spirit of interfaith is awakened in the child from basic level to the higher level of education.

### 4.3.2.2 Language

Like Ghana, the various ethnic groups in Togo had their own languages they communicated in before the coming of Islam, the Europeans and Christian missionaries. When the Germans ruled Togo, they promoted German national interest and wanted their language to be spoken and used for teaching and learning in the schools. According to Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake and Nicoue Gayibor, the German language seemed to be too difficult for the indigenous Togolese so the Germans then allowed for Ewe indigenous language to be used in teaching concurrently with the German language. When the French took over the rule of Togo they also promoted their national interests and language. Today, French is the official language of Togo used in the government administration, in schools and for commercial activities. However, the makarantas maintain the teaching of Islam in Arabic. The Bible and Qur’an are translated into French.

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544 Interview with Nicoue Gayibor on 22nd November, 2016, Interview with Karim Aleyare, Vice President of L’Union de Muslimes (Muslim Union of Togo) on 24th November, 2016


546 Interview with Nicoue Gayibor on 22nd November, 2016 and Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake on 23rd November, 2016 in Lome
which is the official language of Togo but unlike the Qur’an, the Bible is further translated into other indigenous languages such as Ewe, Mina and Kabiye. However, the a’ima in Togo have the responsibility to interpret the Qur’anic scriptures into local languages for better understanding. Since the Bible and the Qur’an are translated into French, it makes the reading of these two Books easy for adherents of the two religions to read and understand each other’s sacred scriptures thereby making interfaith relations promising.

4.3.2.3 Impact of Colonialism on Health in Togo

Before colonialism, the Togolese had their way of curing ailments in their communities and each village or community had their own traditional herbalists who were the health experts for the Togo people. However, both the German, and later the French put some policies in place to ensure western medicine, sanitation and rejuvenating healthcare replaced the African healthcare system. August Wicke, the first German medical doctor arrived in Togo in 1888 but officially resided in Aneho. By 1894, the first hospital called Nachtigal was opened and another hospital called Reine-Charlotte was opened in 1909, in Lome. By February 1909, three (3) categories of African people were treated in these hospitals. The first category was soldiers and agents of the colonial authorities; the second were well-to-do Africans who paid taxes while the third were average Africans and other indigenes.547 The establishment of the hospitals saw the beginning of western health care in Togo.

The indigenous Togolese were vaccinated to combat any form of epidemic as well as early childhood diseases such as measles, chicken pox and diarrhea. Other epidemics the European doctors fought against were trypanosomiasis, malaria and leprosy.548 The fight against trypanosomiasis, starting from 1927 has remained the great medical legacy of the 1930s.549 When the French authorities took over the rule of Togo, they were overwhelmed by the high level of professionalism the Germans showed in opening health centres and providing health care in Togo. Governor Bonnecarre and Robert Cornevin commended the efforts of the German administration for starting western Health care in Togo and also showing a high level of pro-

548 Trypanosomiasis became endemic in West and Central Africa notably Cameroon, Nigeria, Chad, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire, and Dahomey.
fessionalism in the health care. In 1921, the French authorities decided to continue the good work of the Germans with regard to health care and hygiene. In 1924, Mrs. Bonnecarrere the wife of the Governor Bonnecarrere opened a health centre to take care of mothers and children to reduce child mortality and high mortality rate among mothers.

By 1924, the number of health care facilities in Togo were twenty (20) and by 1946, the number had risen to 56 comprising six (6) hospitals, thirty-three (33) Dispensaries, ten (10) maternity homes, one (1) psychiatric home, two leprosarium, three clinics to treat people with sleeping sickness while the last one (1) was a place to isolate people during the outbreak of epidemics. A school for sanitation was built in Lome in 1932 while another school for microscopic studies and specialization in trypanosomiasis was built in 1938. Between 1956 and 1960, Togolese indigenes namely Kpotsra, Kekeh and Vovor who had gone to study Medicine in Paris and other parts of Europe returned as Medical Doctors to practice in the public hospital. The establishment of these hospitals and clinics enabled Christians and Muslims to relate well with each other since the health professionals provided health care for patients irrespective of their religious backgrounds. Thus the hospitals are opened for all Togolese.

4.4 Commerce and Trade

One of the aims for which Germany occupied Togo was because of economic gains and so Togo became a ‘model colony’ to serve this purpose. Besides, Togo became a model colony because the German authorities wanted to develop Togo. This development policy was a result of the fact that the German administration in Togo had to adapt to the existing economic conditions whereby trading activities were ongoing between the Hausa traders and the indigenous people. The German colonial administration favored the Hausa traders and built zongos for the traders. The size of the caravans, the value of the goods as well as the appearances of Hausa traders encouraged the colonial authorities to favour the Hausas. As a result, trade routes

551 Kokou Alonou and Peter Sebald, “L’Oeuvre Sanitaire de la Colonisation”, 2011, 591-593
552 Kokou Alonou and Peter Sebald, “L’Oeuvre Sanitaire de la Colonisation”, 2011, 581
553 Kokou Alonou and Peter Sebald, “L’Oeuvre Sanitaire de la Colonisation”, 2011, 584
554 Peter Sebald, ‘Chapter II: The beginnings of German colonial rule on the Togo coast - the Decade of colonial Bill peace (1884-1894)’ in Die deutsche Kolonie Togo 1884-1914: Auswirkungen einer Fremdherrschaft, (Christoph Links Verlag, 2013), 3
in Togo were protected by the German authorities. Thus introduction of colonialism in Togo also affected their economic system positively.

The Europeans ensured the creation of new markets and the expansion of existing ones. For instance, Aneho, also known as “Petit Popo” was made the economic center on the coast of Togo. The Germans built a market called “Marktstrasse” which means Big Market at Lomé. Trade and commercial activities in Togo just like the case of Ghana paved way for Christian traders to relate and interact with African traditionalists and Muslim traders. Lome was close to the coast and situated such that merchants who traded along the coast interacted. Again the Hausa traders who traveled from Nigeria passed through Sokode and Mango in the north of Togo. When the French took over the rule of Togo, trading activities continued since the Germans had laid down structures for the Hausa traders by building zongos for these traders in Kpalime, Atakpame and Lome. Thus the internal and external factors of Islamization in Togo as we discussed in Chapter Two of this work made Muslims and Christians interact and have good relations because of trade.

4.5 Christian-Muslim relations in Togo

The relationship between the religious and political authorities in Togo during colonial times is worth examining because during this period, several factors contributed to the establishment of interreligious dialogue.

4.5.1 German colonial authorities (1884-1919) and Interreligious dialogue

As discussed in chapter three, Islam was the first expansive religion to come to Togo, followed by Christianity thus creating religious pluralism in Togo by the 19th Century. The German colonial authorities however established a zone system to avoid conflicts. This zone system prevented Chris-

555 Peter Sebald, ‘Chapter II: The beginnings of German colonial rule on the Togo coast - the Decade of colonial Bill peace (1884-1894)’ in Die deutsche Kolonie Togo 1884-1914: Auswirkungen einer Fremdherrschaft, (Christoph Links Verlag, 2013),


557 According to Dzinyêfa Komi Adrake (Area Advisor for Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PRCOMURA)-Francophone West Africa and Nicholas Gayibor a Professor of History at the University of Lome, Christian-Muslim relations first starts with dialogue because a person must first agree to dialogue before any form of relations. Therefore interreligious dialogue is used interchangeably with Christian-Muslim Relations.
tian missionaries from entering the Northern part of the country which was reserved for Islam. In other words, the colonial authorities entrusted the North of the country to Islam and the South to Christianity. The zone system fostered the separate development of both Christianity and Islam and helped to avoid tensions, intolerance and inter-religious strife between Islam and Christianity.

Closing the North to Christian missionaries and limiting their work to the south of Togo resulted in delay of Christian presence in Northern Togo. Meanwhile, the collaboration between the Muslim leaders in Northern Togo and the colonial authorities protected Islam. Even where Christian missionaries reached the North, they were required to pay allegiance to the powerful traditional rulers, who could welcome or ban foreigners. As discussed, the Kotokolis who were islamised had powerful chiefs, as such Christian missionaries who arrived in Northern Togo kept any missionary activity peaceful and lived with Muslim leaders in mutual respect.

4.5.2 The French colonial authorities (1920–1959) and Interreligious dialogue in Togo.

In Chapter three we discussed Governor Bonnecarrère’s efforts of maintaining peace between the religious leaders of the various Christian missions. We saw Governor Bonnecarrère to be “a man of the people” because he won the hearts of the Togolese who were still trying to come to terms with the departure of the Germans. As part of the efforts of Governor Bonnecarrère to maintain peace among the chiefs, religious leaders and people of Togo, he established in a Council of Notables in each community which included religious representatives from ATR, Islam and Christianity. This Council was not only a place for political debates. It was also a place of dialogue, tolerance and mutual acceptance of one another forging consensus in cases of any potential misunderstandings.

Seydou Nourou Tall, a marabout of the Tijaniyya Muslim brotherhood in West Africa during one of his visits to Togo remarked on the peaceful nature and unity of the Togolese saying:

Bien que lui-même musulman, il ne veut pas parler de religion. Le seul désir qui le guide, la seule pensée qui l’anime, c’est de faire mieux sentir à tous ses frères de couleur la reconnaissance éternelle qu’ils doivent à la France.558

According to Seydou Nourou Tall, even though a Muslim, he was grateful to France for helping maintain peace in Togo. After the Germans left Togo, France in trying to win the hearts of the Togolese pursued a policy that sought to bring together all Togolese irrespective of their religion. This attitude adopted by the French made the Togolese put aside religious differences and promoted reconciliation and religious tolerance. The French colonial administration did not want the 'spirit of tolerance' prevailing among religions in Togo to be disturbed. Thus, as discussed in Chapter three, in 1949 they stopped the activities of El hadj Modjolobo who claimed a prophetic mission to convert pagans to Islam.

### 4.6 Conclusion: A Comparative Assessment

Colonialism we can say had negative and positive impact on African lives. From the above study, it is evident that Colonialism encouraged and intensified ethnicity within the African colonies in order to prolong the rule and domination of African territories by Europeans.559

From the above chapter we realize that the histories of Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Togo are similar yet these two countries witnessed different colonial and political administrative systems. However, the British in Ghana and the German and French colonial authorities in Togo developed similar attitudes towards Islam and Muslims which consequently made adherents of both religions suspect and mistrust each other as we saw earlier in the chapter. We saw in the chapter that Religion played and still plays an important role in Africa because the advent of Islam and later Christianity paved way for the introduction of western type of education and other social developments in both Ghana and Togo. Therefore the introduction of Islam and Christianity created a new basis for Africans with diverse backgrounds to come together and relate better.

Although colonialism did not transform the African people and society entirely, it also did not leave Africa in the manner it met it hence leaving a colonial legacy or heritage. What the colonial authorities left behind as a legacy has either been improved or transformed to suit the African today. This is to say that the colonial authorities left legacies in the socio-cultural life, economic, religious and political life of the African people which made Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo interact and relate better.

Trade as we saw in the cases of Ghana and Togo was a factor that promoted peaceful co-existence and relations from the days of colonialism till now. As people migrate and settle at their new places of abode, they learn from and interact with each other. Thus in Ghana and Togo, trade paved way for intermarriages which allowed for further peaceful coexistence by curbing any form of prejudice against the ‘other’.

In a survey of Samuel Huntington’s “clash of civilizations”, John Voll argues that the model of a clash in the long history of African Muslim and Christian encounters in Africa is largely irrelevant to understanding the African context. John Voll advocates that there have been many “constructive encounters” between Christians and Muslims in Africa yet an examination of Christian-Muslim relations in Africa in the broader framework of world history provides the basic view in which conflicts and constructive interactions can be seen as very different from the encounters of “civilizations”.

Indeed the early encounters between Christians and Muslims in Africa demonstrate a variety of positive or negative attitudes and approaches towards the other and the same can be said during later encounters as well. During these encounters Christians and Muslims in different parts of the world were involved in cultural exchanges and the transmission of ideas from one community to the other. Christians and Muslims encounter each other in different ways, levels and places.

CHAPTER FIVE

Christian-Muslim Relationships in Post-Colonial Ghana and Togo
5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the legacy of Colonial policy on post-independence Ghana (1957) and Togo (1960). It explores how Christian and Muslim religious bodies have built relationships after independence. It will detail how after independence Christians and Muslims have encountered and interacted with each other in different ways and by the 1980s, established institutional forms of dialogue and relationship at the various level of their communities, while ordinary Christians and Muslims established ‘dialogue of life’ among themselves.

In order to understand the history of Christian-Muslim relations in the post-colonial times, there is the need to understand the current political realities which were created as a result of European colonialism. The chapter, therefore, further discusses the efforts of successive governments of Ghana and Togo towards fostering good Christian-Muslim relations as part of their efforts to unite the diverse peoples in the modern state/nation after their respective countries gained independence.

The chapter is organized thematically to be able to easily identify any similarities and differences in the experiences of Ghana and Togo. It deals with religious organization engagements looking first at Muslim then Christian initiatives in both countries. It then examines how Governments of both countries have promoted good Christian Muslim relation. The conclusion assesses the interfaith attitudes and engagements generated in the post-independence era what models of Christian-Muslim relations they fit into compared to the colonial era.

5.1 Muslim Organisations and Christian Relations in Ghana

We discovered in earlier chapters that domestic trade was led and dominated by the Muslim estate, especially by Muslims of West African origin such as the Hausa, Wangara, Fulani, Yoruba and Mossi, among others. The Hausa were the most prominent among these groups as they dominated trade and among others, their language became a trade and local Muslim *lingua Franca*. The reformist character of the Hausa Muslims, noted during their early presence in Northern Ghana also made them custodians of Islamic tradition. Moreover, the Hausa Constabulary established by the British with *a’ima* attached as chaplains had direct links with the colonial
government and played more political roles than the other ethnic groups under colonial rule. The non-Ghanaian Muslims saw the indigenous Ghanaian Muslims as new converts who could, therefore, not lead the Muslim Community in matters of faith and politics. This notion soon created conflict because the Ghanaian “converts” saw the new nation as belonging to them, rather than their alien co-religionists.

Ahmad Rufai’s critical examination of Muslim leadership at the dawn of the independence of Ghana poses that...

The Rise of Nationalism in post-World War II-Africa is sometimes credited to the rise of an African educated elite. In what way did this assumption affect Muslim political consciousness and eventual activism and did generational activism play any part? What role did education play in Muslim activism?562

These questions are relevant in that most migrant/alien Muslims did not attend the government or Christian schools to acquire western type of education. They were traders/ clerics who set up Arabic schools and taught Islam in Arabic. As trading and clerical families they did not see the need for secular education. On the other hand it seems that the indigenous Muslims took some limited advantage of Western type of education. More so, such western educated Muslim elite belonged to a younger generation thus complicating the Muslim leadership issues. The latter were, therefore, more likely to relate to Christians politically or religiously without much conflict. Thus there was a complex situation of Muslim organization at independence which was partly dependent on the issue of migrant (“Alien”) Muslims and Indigenous Muslims, and also the colonial legacy of North-South divide and the territorial interests of the North.

In the North the emergence of political parties or the formation of the Northern Territorial Council (N.T.C.) was not a Muslim Affair but that of the new Northern-educated elite who formed the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) in 1954. It had close links with the traditional rulers and the Muslim Association Party (MAP) was a major ally. As argued by Brukum, “The view of Northerners which was articulated by the N.T.C. was that independence should be delayed until such time as the region was on a footing of equality socially and economically with the South. Northerners did

not oppose Independence *per se* but its timing.”

Thus against the background of the marginalising impact of colonial heritage, Brukum explains that “Northerners therefore feared that they would forever remain subservient both economically and politically to Southerners”, but they did not want their area, according to J. A. Braimah, ‘to remain nothing but a labour camp.’

Immediate independence then to the Northerners meant the “British government would ultimately hand them over unprepared to an unsympathetic independent government controlled by Southerners.”

Indirectly, considering the colonial North-South zoning of religion, the Southerners would be Christians, thus indirectly thrusting the north-south religious divide into the realms of political suspicion and distrust at independence.

Political activities among Muslims in the South were more directly linked with Islam. However, in the South the issue of “Alien” and indigenous Ghanaian Muslim became dominant. These differences within the *Ummah* led to the formations of various political alliances with the emerging political parties and governments. Thus the immediate post-independence Muslim organisations were more concerned with intra-Muslim political relationships than interfaith relations. This was because they were concerned with internal Muslim divisions along doctrinal and ethnic lines and quests for recognition and political participation.

The repercussion, therefore was that whereas the leadership of Muslims in the newly independent Ghana were the foreigners (Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Kotokoli and Mossi), the leadership of Christians in Ghana were European or indigenous Ghanaians. This left no rooms for confrontations. It was practically impossible for the “foreigner”to confront local people or the new government. Moreover, in the south of the country the *Zongo* enclave-restricted confrontation with Christians since for a long time Christians did not venture into *zongos* for purposes of evangelism.

According to Sulemana Mumuni, the Gold Coast Muslim Association (GCMA) was the first Muslim organization to be formed among the Muslims in Ghana in the 1930s. The main objective for the formation of the GCMA was to cater for the religious and social needs of the Muslim commu-

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nity, but the GCMA soon took to politics thereby, neglecting its core objective. It fielded candidates during the 1953 Accra Municipal elections and 1954 Kumasi Town Council Elections. The GCMA later metamorphosed into the Muslim Association Party (MAP) in 1954 during the struggle for Ghana's independence. At independence, the MAP was banned and the leaders deported through ‘The Avoidance of Discrimination Bill of 1957’ and subsequently the ‘Deportation Act’ of the same year. They were mostly the Hausa leaders and heads of the Migrant Muslim communities such as the Gao and Moshie. Muhammad Abass was also removed from Office as Chief Imam of Accra.

Whilst opposed to political parties along ethnic and religious lines, Kwame Nkrumah clearly recognized the importance of the Muslims in the move towards Independence and harnessed them to the CPP. The Muslim Youth Congress (MYC) was the Muslim organization, which came into the limelight during the reign of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP). It was formed mainly by young indigenous Muslims who linked up with the Convention People’s Party (CPP), thereby exhibiting readiness for pluralism in political practice. Led by Z.B. Shadow and Mutawakillu, the young Ghanaian Muslims called GCMA a voice of the past, seeing the old Muslims as part of the colonial process whose leadership must be relinquished. Thus as noted by Patrick Ryan of the GCMA/MAP,

By 1950 this Association found itself confronted with the opposition of a Muslim youth Congress, representatives of younger Muslims more interested in progress towards independence and less interested in the parochial and mercantile concerns of the elders who ran the Gold Coast Muslim Association.

Though within the political realm, the efforts of the GCMA and subsequently the MAP can be interpreted as the indirect fall offs of colonial policy on religion. Patrick Ryan also saw the association as an attempt at recovery from the erosion of Muslim influence in the traditional state. Ryan states that...

As early as 1932 Muslims had formed a non-political organization named the Gold Coast Muslims Association, recognizing that their former privileged status in Chieftaincy courts like that of the

567 Sulemana, Mumuni, “Islamic Organizations in Accra: Their Structure, Role and Impact in Proselytization of Islam”, (M.Phil, Thesis, University of Ghana, 1994), 96-100
Asantehene in Kumasi and their control of long-distance trade had been eroded with the advance of Christian mission-sponsored literacy and medicine as well as European controlled trading companies.\footnote{Patrick Ryan, “Ariadne auf Naxos: Islam and Politics, 318}

Later, the Muslim Council was set up to unite and dominate the affairs of Muslims during the 1960s since Enid Schildkrout observed that there was disunity within the zongo community which was "clearly expressed in the 1969 phase of the Mosque crises".\footnote{Enid Schildkrout, _People of the Zongo_, (1974), 121. Government officials met with some of their northern tribesmen and urged them to form associations in order to effectively compete with the non-Ghanaians such as the Hausa, Yoruba and the Mossi in the trade of livestock and kola nuts. Though such associations proved ineffective, they were used by some politicians to create disunity within the zongo community by whipping the sentiment of nationalism. See also Sulemana Mumuni, “Islamic Organizations in Accra: Their Structure, Role and Impact in Proselytization of Islam”, (1994), 98-99} Thus the Muslim Council was mainly made up of migrants such as the Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Mossi, Kotokoli, the Zabarma and other non-Ghanaian Muslims. Despite its alien composition, there were some members of Ghanaian ethnicity such as Abdullahi Shuiab, head of the Mamprusi community and Abdul-Mumin the Asante Nkramo Imam.

The Muslim Council became defunct after the coup d'état in 1966, and two Muslim organizations namely: the Muslim Community and the Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM) emerged to contest for the role of the Council. These two organizations claimed to have been in existence long before the Muslim Council but remained inactive until after the coup d'état in 1966.\footnote{See Mumuni Sulemana, “Islamic Organizations in Accra: Their Structure, Role and Impact in Proselytization of Islam”, (M.Phil, Thesis, University of Ghana, 1994),100} The establishment of zongos in the Northern as well as Southern Ghana started during the colonial period whereby the colonial authorities attempted to regulate the development of townships; although, communities of Muslim traders such as of the Mande or Wangara descent and Hausa or Mossi caravan traders had existed before the colonial period in both the North and in Asante.\footnote{Holger Weiss, _Between Accomodation and Revivalism_, 248} The Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM) which was formed in 1930s, was first organized by the Gas to champion their ethnic cause as Muslims.\footnote{Nathan I. Samwini, _The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950_, (2006), 83} Later the Mission was organized mainly by indigenous Ghanaians such as the Gas, Asante, Fante and the Brongs to bring indigenous Ghanaian Muslims under one umbrella in order to break the hegemony of the “alien” Muslims in the country.
We deduce that the Muslim organizations mentioned so far were formed for the wellbeing of Muslims and to unite all Muslims in Ghana but eventually turned out to be ethnic and political inclined. This probably made it impossible to prioritise any initiative in interreligious dialogue as many of the Muslim groups had many intra-Muslim differences which needed to be settled. Consequently, the spiritual, ethnic and ideological differences between the Tijaniyya group, the Ahmadiyya, the Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM) and Ahlus-Sunnah Wal Jama’a (ASWAJ) as well as the intra religious conflicts between them caused the government to set up various Muslim Councils in-between the 1970s and 1980s to curb these issues. The efforts of the government to maintain peace and unity among these Muslim groups remained a mirage until the al-daw’a al-islamiyya (World Islamic Call Society, WICS) of Libya intervened. The leaders of the WICS arrived in Ghana to help organize Islam, especially the Sunni Muslims. They met with the National Islamic Secretariat which happened to be the ‘mouthpiece’ for Sunni Muslims in Ghana at the time. As a result of the meetings held in Accra and later in Tripoli on the 4th and 5th January, 1987, the Federation of Muslim Councils of Ghana (FMC) was formed to replace all existing Sunni Muslim councils and further serve as a body to unite Muslims in Ghana.\footnote{Nathan I. Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950, 2006, 209}

The Federation of Muslim Councils of Ghana since its formation has acted together with Christian religious bodies to advance religious pluralism and national development and peace which we will discuss when we deal with the Christian bodies or governments which have taken the initiative for such collaboration.

At times however, Muslim bodies raise national issues that stir inter-religious debate and rivalry. An example is when The Coalition of Muslim Organisations of Ghana (COMOG) challenged the 2000 Housing and Population Census released in December 2001. The Census reported that Muslims constituted 15.6% and Christians 69% of the 18.4 million population of Ghana.\footnote{Ghana Statistical Services, 2000 Census Report.} COMOG raised various arguments and cited various sources that made Muslims the majority religion in Ghana in a press conference on 9 January 2002. As Dovlo reported,

During the press conference and the discussions that ensued in the following weeks in the Ghanaian media, the Coalition suggested repeatedly that the released Census figures were doctored in a Christian conspiracy to continue to enjoy the privileges of socio-
economic and political life. The Coalition felt that there was a deliberate attempt by the Ghana Statistical Services and its ‘collaborators’ to considerably deflate the population of Muslim in Ghana, in other to provide an official basis for their marginalization.\textsuperscript{576}

In Dovlo’s opinion “the ‘collaborators’ could only be Christians.”\textsuperscript{577} He further argues “Probably, the lack of direct Christian reaction was helpful in making the situation less volatile. Also ... leaders of the coalition, such as Alhaji Mumuni Sulemana, were more conciliatory in their tone and less combative.”\textsuperscript{578} Though occurring in 2002, the issue of population figures, relates to the spread of both faiths which were regulated (though without success) by colonial policy and socio-economic marginalization which clearly remains an issue in Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana.

Generally, except for the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission in Ghana, the initiative for interfaith relationship with Christians has remained mostly on the initiative of Christian Ecumenical Organisation. The same seem to be the case in the Republic of Togo.

5.1.1 Muslim Organisations in Togo

The late 1960s and early 1970s were marked by a series of \textit{coup d’états} which eventually saw the establishment of a military power and or a single party in Togo. This ‘single party’, the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (RPT) of Gnassingbe Eyadema advocated national unity.

Although Muslims in Togo did not initiate or engage in any struggle for political independence, they saw the need for Muslims to organize themselves on a national level, to occupy a place that corresponds to their numerical importance. On the other hand, Muslims in Togo saw the need to be united for or against any political policies which could shake the foundations of Islam in Togo.\textsuperscript{579}

The independence of Togo in 1960 and the adoption of the nationality Law of 25th July, 1969 defined and regulated Togolese nationality which further saw the creation of national Muslim associations which worked for the wel-

\textsuperscript{577} Elom Dovlo, “The Engagement of Muslims and Christians in Post-Independence Ghana”, 21
\textsuperscript{578} Elom Dovlo, “The Engagement of Muslims and Christians in Post-Independence Ghana”, 22
\textsuperscript{579} Dzinèfà Komi Adrake, \textit{Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses}. 2008, 117-118
fare of the Muslims in the country. By the Nationality Law of Togo foreign children of Yoruba, Hausa and Djerma descent acquired Togolese nationality and during independence of Togo, these Muslims of different foreign backgrounds were investors of the Togolese economy. In order to be able to control these foreign Muslims, Gnassingbe Eyadema and his RPT government enacted the Togolese Nationality Act to define and regulate their Togolese nationality. As a result, “Union Musulmane du Togo” (U.M.T.) (the Muslim Union of Togo) was formed on 16th September, 1963 to first maintain the good relations between the Muslim community and the then government. Secondly, the “Union Musulmane du Togo” (U.M.T.) was formed to unite Muslims of Togo irrespective of their different origins, languages, and the more or less in-depth knowledge of the Islamic religion each group had.

However, during the statutory Congress of Union Musulmane du Togo (U.M.T.) held on 1-3 May 1970, Idrissou Moumouni, the President of the Union declared that the U.M.T was not a political party and will not join any political movement. Therefore any political discussion within the union was prohibited. Although the Union Musulmane du Togo (U.M.T.) leaders are not politically inclined, Eyadema agreed to their decision but made sure that all Muslims in Togo became a part of the union in order to discourage rival Muslim groups from springing up in Togo as a national voice. Apart from the UMT, there is also the Federation of Togo Muslims which work together and have the same leadership. Thus the “Union Musulmane du Togo” (U.M.T.) and the Federation of Togo Muslims were considered one and the only national voice of Muslims in Togo which is also recognised by any political government in Togo till date.

Other non-governmental Muslim organizations (NGOs) in Togo are:

- Association des Jeunes pour la promotion de l’Islam (Association d’action pour la promotion et la réinsertion sociale) (A.J.P.I.)
- Agence des rites Islamiques d’Afrique (A.R.I.A)
- Association des Musulmans d’Afrique (A.M.A).

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580 The Nationality Act of Togo of 25th July, 1961 stipulates that any child born in Togo to foreign parents acquires a Togolese nationality if by that date; he or she has a residence in Togo and has lived there since age sixteen. By this law, the first generations of foreign children of Yoruba, Hausa and Djerma descent acquired Togolese nationality.

581 Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses. 2008, 120; Interview with Karim Ayalere, Vice President of L’Union de Muslima (Muslim Union of Togo) on 24th November, 2016

582 Idrissou Moumouni, discours inaugural, Lomé, 1 Mai, 1970

583 Interview with Karim Ayalere, Vice President of L’Union de Muslima (Muslim Union of Togo) on 24th November, 2016
Association du message islamique. (A.M.I.)
Le Bureau Togolais pour l’Organisation de la Oumra et du pèlerinage à la Mecque, Sokodé (BU. TO. PA. M).
Association des conducteurs pour l’appel à l’Islam (A.C.A.I)

In sum, Eyadema gave recognition to the UMT as the national voice of Muslims in Togo to avoid many Muslim rival groups being formed on ethnic or doctrinal lines. All these efforts of Eyadema was to prevent any form of fanaticism and conflict amongst Muslim groups in Togo as well as make the quest for national unity of Togo a success. 585

5.2 Christian Organisations and Muslim Relationships

Though Christian religious bodies had maintained peaceful relations with Muslims in Ghana and Togo after independence, the 1960s marked a turning point in the attitudes of Christian Organisations in taking proactive initiatives towards promoting good Christian-Muslim relations. The efforts of the Christian Ecumenical bodies in both countries in the 1960s were tied into and can be attributed to those of international religious organisations and ecumenical bodies. On October 28, 1965, Pope Paul VI issued the “Nostra Aetate”, a “declaration on how the Roman Catholic Church will relate with other religious traditions”. 586 The Catholic Church, since this declaration, has urged its members worldwide to forget any past tensions between Christians and Muslims and sincerely seek mutual understanding, as well as protect and promote peaceful relations with those who fol-

585 Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, Le dialogue interreligieux au Togo: Contributions des pouvoirs politiques et des confessions religieuses. 2008,400
low other religions. The “Nostra Aetate” declaration is linked to the process of interreligious dialogue among Catholic churches in Africa particularly Togo. This was within the ambit of the Second Vatican Council held from 1963 which called for Christians to relate with Muslims more positively.

The initiatives of the Uppsala conference of World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1968, the International Missionary Council (IMC) in 1957, the Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) in 1959 and the All African Council of Churches (AACC) in 1963 and later the Vatican II (1962-1965) of the Roman Catholic Church led to a “new thinking” in Christian-Muslim relations. It can be argued that though the zoning system practiced by the colonial authorities in Africa prevented any form of religious clash, and Christians and Muslims lived apart for a long time, at independence there was the realization that since both Islam and Christianity had constituted the population of the new nations there was the need to re-think Christian-Muslim relations at the international, regional and national levels. Also, the reversal of colonial thinking which now placed African Christians (no longer considered traditionalists) above African Muslims may have called for a re-thinking of how Christians could live with Muslims.

In this section we shall discuss the efforts of the churches and Christian leaders aimed at having good relations with Muslims which began at the international level with the Vatican II and the World Council of Churches (WCC) mandating Christians to have good relations with Muslims. At the regional level, the Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa (AECAWA) and the Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) also made practical efforts for Christians to relate well with Muslims in Africa. At the national level, the Roman Catholic Churches and the Christian Councils in Ghana and Togo continued with the efforts to make Christian-Muslim relations a healthy one. We will first discuss the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church and then the Protestant churches in the two countries.587

### 5.2.1 Christian Organisations and Interfaith Relations in Ghana

There are a number of Christian Organisations in Ghana but for the purpose of this thesis we intend to deal mainly with the two that are actively engaged in Christian Muslim Relations. These are the Ghana Catholic Bish-

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587 The Roman Catholic Church and denominations of mainline protestant traditions such as the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian are considered mainline churches in Ghana.
ops Conference and the Christian Council of Ghana which encompasses the churches established by protestant missionary endeavors of the 19th century such as the Methodist Church Ghana, Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Ghana Baptist Convention, The Salvation Army and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

These bodies related to Muslims in various ways before and after independence. It is worthy to note that at the verge of independence, for instance, Spencer Trimingham was commissioned by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS), in 1952 “to tour the West African Sub-region to survey the progress of Islam ... and make recommendations on how the church should work among Muslims.”

As noted by Dovlo & Asante, his report pointed out that though the North of Ghana was not entirely Muslim, Christians would still find it difficult working in the Muslim dominated areas. Trimingham advised that any evangelistic work among Muslims must be non-aggressive and more relevant to this thesis “advocated the Christian promotion of peaceful coexistence in a pluralistic society through dialogue between the top leadership level in the Christian and Muslim Community.”

We agree with Dovlo & Asante that the mainline churches seem to have followed Trimingham’s suggestion for dialogue and coexistence without any distinctive non-aggressive mission to Muslims that would have upset the heritage of colonial status quo. As Anquandah asserts, Christians were indifferent to sharing the Gospel with Muslims. This left little room for confrontation.

5.2.1.1 Roman Catholics and Interfaith Relations in Ghana

Ghanaian Catholic efforts at interfaith relations derived from Vatican II in 1965. Vatican II acknowledged Islam as a monotheistic religion and held the view that Christianity and Islam shared common beliefs such as prayer, fasting, almsgiving and the honour of Mary as the mother of Jesus. Therefore, the Council decided that the “quarrels and hostilities” between Islam and Christianity should be a thing of the past and called for social

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593 Dhamaraj and Dhamaraj, Christianity and Islam: A Missiological encounter. Delhi, ISPCK, 1999, 278
justice, moral values of peace and freedom between Christians and Muslims to be fostered.594

A Declaration, “the charter of Muslim-Christian dialogue” regarded men and women as coming from “one stock” who share a common destiny namely God. Thus since Muslims worship one God who is almighty the creator of heaven and earth and the God of Abraham, the Vatican Council established a solid foundation for dialogue and cooperation between Christian and Muslims.595

In West Africa, the Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa (AECAWA)596 were moved by the spirit of dialogue as advocated by the Second Vatican to promote “discussion and collaboration” with Muslims. The official position of the Vatican Council was adopted and implemented by all Catholic churches worldwide including Africa and Ghana and Togo in particular. Since the Vatican II in 1965, the Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa (AECAWA) in the words of Gregory Ebo Kpiebaya, Archbishop of Tamale has been exhorted to follow the precedents of Nostra Aetate.597 Since 1965, the Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa (AECAWA) holds conferences for Christians and Muslims in West Africa. Nathan Samwini cites a conference held by AECAWA for Christians, Muslims and Believers of African Traditional Religion in Accra on 4th to 7th October.598 In October 1997, another conference was organized by AECAWA on the theme “Islam and Christianity on Human Development” in Nsawam, Ghana where a communiqué was issued that mutual understanding should be fostered by religious education in one’s own religion together with knowledge of the basics of the faith of others. Christian and Muslim youth in West Africa were urged to respect one another while the government was encouraged to support interreligious committees and programmes without interference.599

594 www.vatican.va/archive/hist.../ii.../vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html
595 Opening Address of Most Rev. E. S. Obot, Bishop of Idah, Chairman of AECAWA Interreligious Dialogue Commission at the Seminar or workshop organized by AECAWA Inter religious Dialogue Commission at Our Lady of Apostles Sisters’ Conference Hall on the 12th of October, 1998, 11
596 Association of Episcopal Conference of Anglophone West Africa (AECAWA) is now known as Regional Episcopal Conference Of West Africa (RECOWA)
597 Cited in Nathan Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950, 2006, 215
598 Nathan Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950, 2006, 215
It is important to note that in Northern Ghana, which due to colonial policy has a large Muslim population, Archbishop Emeritus Dery then the Bishop of Wa began the first Interreligious dialogue programme of the Catholic Church in Ghana in 1978. In 1986/1987 when he was transferred to Tamale as Archbishop, he began the Tamale Interreligious Dialogue Programme. These two programmes were as response to Vatican II’s stance on how the church should relate to the non-Christians. The efforts of Dery has been sustained and as noted by Dovlo and Asante,

It has been very successful and the Christian Muslim reflection group it set up in 1991 has developed into an Inter-Religious Dialogue Committee with the aim to promote peace, encourage cooperation and enhancing religious freedom targeting the youth who are prone to be more radical and intolerant. In October 1995, the Most Reverend Gregory Ebo Kpiebaya inaugurated the 45-member Christian-Muslim Dialogue Committee, and in December, a joint inter-religious prayer meeting was held between Christians and Muslims to promote peaceful coexistence between people of the two faiths.

The Tamale Interreligious Committee has the following aims and objectives:

To promote peace and unity among believers of different faiths in God; Promote collaboration among religious bodies to enhance the wellbeing of humankind, promote mutual friendship, knowledge and love for one another and finally promote interfaith dialogue of life to undertake project jointly at both national and local levels.

Nationally, according to Michael Awuah-Ansah, Executive Secretary, Pastoral Ministry and Evangelisation at the National Catholic Secretariat in Accra, the Roman Catholic Church organizes seminars with Muslims every year on issues relating to peaceful coexistence at both Diocesan and national levels. Although in the last two years the seminar with Muslims was not held because of lack of finance, one will be held in 2017 for both Christian and Muslim youth on religious extremism and peaceful coexistence. Michael Awuah-Ansah also remarked that during every Ramadan

600 Nathan Samwini, The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950, (2006), 212-213
601 Elom Dovlo & Alfred Ofosu Asante, “Reinterpreting the Straight Path’ Ghanaian Muslim Converts in Mission to Muslims.” In Exchange, 32.2 (2003), 221
602 Constitution of the Interreligious Dialogue Committee, Tamale (no date). Members of ATR are not members of the Catholic Interreligious Dialogue Committees across the country.
603 Interview with Michael Awuah-Ansah, Priest and Executive Secretary, Pastoral Ministry and Evangelisation, National Catholic Secretariat, Accra on 21-06-2017.
and the *Eid* celebrations of the Muslims, the Pope sends a message from the Vatican which is delivered on his behalf to the National Chief Imam.  

### 5.2.1.2 The Catholic Church and Interfaith relations in Togo

Since the Catholic Church has an international structure, the story of its initiatives in Christian-Muslim relations in Togo is a contextual variation of the initiatives of the Church in Ghana. In 1966, the Episcopal Commission of Religions for the West Africa (Conférence Episcopale Régionale de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (C.E.R.A.O.) was formed as a regional body to promote inter-faith dialogue. In 1969, the commission changed its name to the Episcopal Committee for Relations with Muslims and later again to the Episcopal Committee for Relations between Christians and Muslims.  

The changes in name show as Peter Clarke observed that “From 1969, the catholic church’s leaders in Francophone West Africa have made dialogue with Muslims a top priority of their ministry”.

Since 1966, the Episcopal Committee for Relations between Christians and Muslims has organized meetings with various countries in West Africa to educate the leaders of the Catholic churches of francophone West Africa to have a theological and pastoral reflection on ways and means of dialogue between religious communities in West Africa. In 1980, the Catholics and Protestants had a conference in Koumi in Mali on the theme: “Islam as a faith, the African Muslim and Christianity”. At this conference, participants who encouraged Muslim-Christian dialogue in Africa also expressed the desire and the need for the two communities to recognize and to understand each other at every level of their co-existence.

The Catholic Church of Togo participates in all meetings organised by the CERAO. Additionally in 1988, the Episcopal Commission for Christian-Muslim Relations was formed for further dialogue between Christians and

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604 Interview with Michael Awuah-Ansah, Executive Secretary, Pastoral Ministry and Evangelisation, National Catholic Secretariat, Accra on 21-06-2017. See also http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/interelg/index.htm


Muslims in Togo. Its aim is to contribute to the awareness of Christians about Islam and to promote the participation of Muslims in training sessions organized by the Episcopal commission of the CERAO. An important move made to facilitate mutual understanding for the youth was that a course on Islam was introduced in the educational curriculum for College and high school students of member countries of CERAO.

5.2.1.3 Protestant churches and Muslim Relations in Ghana
The Protestant Churches began making efforts to improve their relationship with Muslims before the Catholics did. This partly derives from the World Council of Churches which happened to be the international partner of the Christian Council of Ghana. At the Uppsala Conference in 1968, participants declared that “God is at work within and without the boundaries of the church.” The conference raised two positions regarding the “other”. First, God can work through people outside the church to achieve the purpose of justice. Secondly, the conference acknowledged the importance of dialogue with other faiths. After the Uppsala conference, member churches of the World Council of Churches made efforts to relate better with Muslims. The Christian Council of Ghana for instance had an Interfaith and Ecumenism department whereby seminars, workshops and programmes were also held to make Christians understand and engage better with Muslims.

5.2.1.4 Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA): Ghana Area Committee
The Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) is another organization aimed at promoting Christian-Muslim Relations. Prior to independence, African Churches and missionary organisations alike were considering what the nature of their relationship would be once African countries gained their independence. The African churches, for example, were considering how they could become self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating.

At the end of 1957, the International Missionary Council (IMC) decided to hold its last meeting in Accra, Ghana. At this meeting, African Churches expressed among other things the need to evolve a more intensive study

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609 The ‘Islam in Africa Project’ (IAP) is known as The Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) in English and Programmes des Relations Islamo-Chrétiennes Afrique (PRICA) in French.
and action in respect to the presentation of the Gospel to Muslims in the continent. About two months later (January 1958), the All Africa Church Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, met under the theme “The Church in a Changing Africa”. A paper delivered by Bishop S. O. Odutola of Ondo in Nigeria, on his experience with Muslims re-emphasised the concerns raised in Accra.610

The 1950’s marked the period of political agitation by African Nationalists to obtain independence. Therefore African Churches and missionary organisations alike were considering what the nature of their relationship would be, once African countries gained their independence. The African churches, for example, were considering how they could become self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. At the end of 1957 the International Missionary Council (IMC) decided to hold its last meeting in Accra, Ghana. African Churches at the meeting expressed among other things the need to evolve a more intensive study and action in respect to the presentation of the Gospel to Muslims in the continent. About two months later (January 1958), the All Africa Church Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, met under the theme “The Church in a Changing Africa”. A paper delivered by Bishop S. O. Odutola of Ondo in Nigeria, on his experience with Muslims re-emphasised the concerns raised in Accra.611 The discussions stimulated by the paper centred on how Christians in Africa need to interpret the Gospel in a more meaningful way to Muslims without violating the principle of good neighbourliness. Discussions further considered the view that medieval responses to Islam that led to polemics and eventually gave cause to the crusades should be avoided. Therefore there was the need to adequately and objectively study Islam and have an informed knowledge of the history of Muslims in the continent.

At about the same time that the African churches were considering the most appropriate approach to Islam in the African context, the Missionary Society of the Netherlands Reformed Church offered to send to Africa, one or more specially trained personnel for this encounter with Islam. The International Missionary Council, perhaps aware of the Dutch intentions and certainly having in mind the issues raised by the African Churches in Accra and Ibadan, facilitated a consultation of about twenty missionary leaders drawn from different countries in Europe at Oegstgeest in the

611 J. Hafkens, “PROCMURA and the churches in Africa” PROCMURA vol. 3, no. 3 May/June, 1994, 8
The theme of the consultation: “Islam in Africa Project” was to discuss how Europe could be of help to the African churches stated objective to be responsible witnesses to the Gospel among Muslims. The theme of this consultation was eventually adopted as the name for the Project, while members of the missionary organisations represented at this meeting formed the core of the European Liaison Committee of the Project.

The outcome of the consultation was a resolution to send a messenger to embark on a fact-finding mission to West Africa and some parts of East Africa. The lot fell on Rev. Pierre Benignus of the Paris Missionary Society who was also the secretary to the consultation to make the trip. He was mandated to consult with leaders of Protestant and Anglican churches and missions in Africa on what practical steps could be taken to assist them to equip the Christian community in Africa for its stated task of Christian approach to Islam. Rev. Benignus’ trip took him to Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Cameroon Kenya and Tanzania. His report led to the formation of the first Area Committees on Islam in North and West of Nigeria. Two specialists on Islam, John Crossely, a Methodist from England became the first Area Adviser to the Western Nigeria Committee while W. A. Bijlefeld of the Netherlands Reformed Church became the Area Adviser for Northern Nigeria Committee. Ghana, Cameroon, and Kenya followed the trend and formed Area Committees and the European Liaison Committee appointed Area Advisers for them. In 1963 when the project was taking shape Rev Benignus lost his life in a plane crash in Cameroon while travelling in the service of the Project. With this background it has to be said that the seed of the IAP, later PROCMURA, was sown in Accra in 1957, watered in Ibadan in 1958, nurtured in Oegstgeest in September 1958 and transplanted as an African continental organisation in 1959.

One major mission statement of PROCMURA/PRICA is that churches have a responsibility of understanding Islam and Muslim in Africa for under-
standing Islam and Muslims in their region in view of the church's task of interpreting the Gospel of Jesus Christ faithfully in the Muslim World, and to effect the research and education necessary for this." Since 1960s, PROCMURA and the Islam Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) in Ghana has organized seminars, workshops, published articles and brochures for Christian-Muslim dialogue as peace initiatives.

5.2.1.5 The Forum for Religious Bodies (FORB)

After the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission (AMM) had attempted forming a “Council of Religions of Ghana” and failed, the Forum for Religious Bodies (FORB) which was an initiative of the Christian Council of Ghana and Muslim Bodies was set up. This was done with the help of the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC), the Christian Council’s Interfaith Committee and Federation of Muslim Councils of Ghana (FMC). In 1970 religious leaders had meetings to serve as a socio-political mouthpiece for religious bodies in Ghana. Representatives of FORB were officially delegated by their respective religious organisations. The focus of the FORB was to promote interreligious relations by encouraging religious tolerance, harmony and understanding, to uphold the concept of Freedom of worship as a basic human right, to eliminate prejudice and discrimination and protect cultural diversity as well as encourage the teaching of comparative religion in all educational institutions. Thus FORB deliberations are devoid of any form of theological controversies and encourage collaboration on social issues which aim at curbing religious prejudices. Their efforts were particularly manifested in 1995 when a series of attempts to evangelise Muslims by some freelance evangelists led to violence in Kumasi, Takoradi and Tamale. As noted by Dovlo, “The leaders of the Christian and Muslim communities were prompt and united in their efforts to resolve the various conflicts and stop the violence”.

They have also acted together in promoting good governance and to resolve national conflicts such as a purported conflict between President Rawlings and his vice President K.N. Ackah in 1992 and the Northern ethnic conflict in Northern Region in 1994. In the latter case they issued a joint resolution “calling on Ghanaians to eschew all hatred, ethnic exclusivism and religious extremism, add-

ing that ‘as religious leaders, we remain united in our continuing search under God’s guidance for peace and justice.\textsuperscript{620}

Religious bodies in Ghana are also engage in Socio-developmental projects on Waste Management and sanitation which has been a colonial concern. They formed the Interfaith Waste Management Initiative (IFAWAMI) on 14\textsuperscript{th} November 2005. This body was set up to educate religious people on waste management and sanitation in Ghana.\textsuperscript{621} This initiative builds inter-faith dialogue as religious bodies in Ghana advocate and campaign for sanitation and waste management.

5.2.1.6 Women Organisations
We have noted how women were disadvantaged in education under colonial rule in the previous chapter. Despite the opportunities available for education in Ghana after independence, both Christian and Muslim women were unable to fully avail themselves of these opportunities and hold key administrative and political positions. Thus their participation in decision-making was compromised.\textsuperscript{622} The Institute of Women in Religion and Culture and the Circle of Concerned African Theologians (The Circle) for example are organizations made up of African Women irrespective of religious backgrounds who participate and work together as academics and theologians. This has provided a platform for Christian and Muslim women in Ghana to work together to be empowered like their male counterparts. Furthermore, Christian and Muslim women organisations such as Christian Mothers Association (CMA), the Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations of Ghana (FOMWAG) and other women groups have worked together to promote peace in Ghana.\textsuperscript{623} Currently, many women of both faiths have risen to become icons in the economic, educational, political and religious spheres of Ghana.

\textsuperscript{620} Dovlo, “The Engagement of Muslims and Christians in Post-Independence Ghana”, 53
\textsuperscript{623} http://www.ghananewsagency.org/politics/ec-chair-lauds-work-of-faith-in-ghana-platform-118996
5.3 The Protestant churches and Christian-Muslim relations in Togo

The story of Protestant Church initiatives in Christian-Muslim relations in Togo as in the case of Ghana is also linked with International Christian organisations and ecumenical bodies. Thus, the protestant missions (EEPT and Methodist) in Togo have since 1959, been members of the Programmes des Relations Islamo-Chrétiennes Afrique (PRICA) aimed to engage Muslims for peace and peaceful coexistence. PRICA also organizes programmes for both Christian and Muslim leaders to work together for justice, peace and reconciliation, towards the holistic development of the human family and the environment.624

Similar to Ghana, the Conseil chrétien du Togo (Christian Council of Togo) founded in 1983 is an institutional framework for exchange of experiences and consultation between member churches. Member churches of the Council include the Methodist Church of Togo and Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Togo who are also members of the World Council of Churches (WCC). Other members of the Conseil Chretien du Togo are Assemblies of God Togo, Baptist Convention of Togo, Church of Pentecost Togo International Church of Pentecost Togo, Lutheran Church of Togo and the Seventh-day Adventist Church of Togo. The member churches of the Council learn from each other and foster inter-religious dialogue.625

According to Adraké Komi Dzinyéfa, aside the major programmes held by PRICA, the Conseil Chretien du Togo also works with member churches and Muslims in Togo to make them understand the need for peaceful coexistence. Karim Ayelare, Vice President of the Muslim Union of Togo confirmed this by remarking that peace was very essential for development hence the need to live in peace as humans.626

624 From 24th to 28th August, 2015 a programme, the Lomé Consultation Briefing was held on the theme “Think, Plan and Work for Peace” for Christian and Muslim religious leaders from Benin, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, The Gambia and the host country Togo. Its aim was to bring Religious leaders together to think, reflect, agree, synergise and design country-focused plan of action to prevent violent conflicts from occurring and entrench a culture of peace for the well-being of the sub-region and beyond. There was the first ever special musical performance by the Kekeli Christian choir and Muslim choir calling on Muslims, Christians and indeed all humankind to “Walk the Talk on Peace”. We had the opportunity to attend this conference as part of the Ghana delegation. See more: https://www.procmura-prica.org/files/Lome-Briefing-EN.pdf

625 https://www.oikoumene.org/en/member-churches/africa/togo/cct-1

626 Interview with Dzinyéfa Komi Adraké, PROCMURA Area Adviser for Togo and now newly
5.3.1 Comparative summary

Both Ghana and Togo had foreign Muslims who dominated in trade. The Hausa became the most prominent among these groups of foreign Muslims as they dominated trade so their language became the local Muslim Lingua Franca in both Ghana and Togo. Unlike the Hausa who played some roles within the British government in the Gold Coast, the same cannot be said for Togo. Again in the case of Ghana, Muslims attempted to be part of the struggle for independence while in Togo this was not the case since Muslims in Togo were interested in protecting the religion against any policies that could shake the foundation of Islam.

However, Muslims in Ghana and Togo realised the need to form associations so they be united and serve as the voice of other Muslims. Yet in Ghana several Muslim associations such as the Gold Coast Muslim Association (GCMA) and Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM) sprung up and later veered off their core objective of catering for the religious and social needs of Muslims and became partisan. This however was not the case in Togo as Muslims in Togo under the Union Musulmane du Togo (U.M.T.) were not interested in the political struggle.

Kwame Nkrumah and Gnassigbe Eyadema seem to have had the same idea of uniting their people in Ghana and Togo respectively as they called for national unity and fought against any party formed along ethnic or religious lines. The Catholic and Protestant Christian organizations on the other hand internationally and nationally put several measures in place to understand Islam and Muslims and made efforts to promote good relations with Muslims in Ghana and Togo. Distinctively, whereas the Catholic Church insists on dialogue, PROCMURA insists on relations between Christians and Muslims.

The Protestant Churches just as the Roman Catholic Church have also made efforts to improve their relationship with Muslims in Ghana and Togo. The Programme for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) or Programmes des Relations Islamo-Chrétiennes Afrique (PRICA) is one major Protestant organization that has worked hard to promote good Christian-Muslim Relations and the need to live peacefully with each other in both countries under study. Member churches of the Christian Councils of Ghana and Togo have aided PROCMURA to organise their programmes in the two countries under study. Some of the member churches like the

appointed full time PROCMURA Regional Coordinator for Francophone West Africa on 24th January, 2017
Northern Ghana Diocese of the Methodist Church, the Northern Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana also organise workshops and then invite PROCMURA to attend and educate participants. Similarly, both Councils help PROCMURA to engage Muslims and make Christians understand the need to relate better with Muslims. Many Churches especially those who are members of the Christian Councils of Ghana and Togo participant fully in programmes either organized by PROCMURA or sister churches because they all see the need for Christians and Muslims to relate better. PROCMURA has also trained personnel who work for the organization in both countries and these personnel serve as Resource persons for issues concerning Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo.

5.4 Post-Colonial Governments and Interfaith Relations

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, in order to understand the history of Christian-Muslim relations in the post-colonial times, there is the need to understand the current political realities which were created as a result of European colonialism. This section therefore discusses the efforts of successive governments of Ghana and Togo in fostering good Christian-Muslim relations as part of efforts to unite diverse peoples in the modern state/nation after their respective countries gained independence.

Colonial policy was to keep Muslims and Christians physically apart so as to maintain peace. Independence however gave birth to a new country where there could be not physical separation of citizens in, a country where the two religions were in daily expression and their adherents in daily encounter across the country. How did governments face this reality in nation building?

5.4.1 Governments and Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana

After Ghana’s independence, successive Governments have tried to always put measures in place for ensuring interfaith relations. In other words, post-independent governments in Ghana as we shall see have adopted measures to curb any religious unrest and dominance of any particular religion over the others. J.D. van der Vyver has noted that “almost all the states in Africa have included the bill of right in their constitutions and religious freedom in one form or the other feature prominently in all those constitutions”.

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The constitution of Ghana states “Every person in Ghana, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinion, colour, religion, creed or gender shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedom of the individual contained in this chapter but subject to respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for public interest”. These articles of the Ghana Constitution spell out the freedom of the individual or group in Ghana.

After Ghana’s independence, many efforts have been made by successive governments to foster religious tolerance. Christianity and Islam have played developmental roles in the politics of Ghana and continue to do so today. Suleman holds the view that, after independence, the governments were confused about the religious affiliation of the people of Northern Ghana. Thus the governments of Ghana were not sure if the people of Northern Ghana were Muslims or traditionalists. In other words, it was difficult to tell if Islam was the only religion practiced in Northern Ghana especially at a time when people of the south migrated to the north. However, the governments of Ghana had the responsibility of continuing the peaceful nature of Christian-Muslim relations that they inherited from the British colonial authorities. Since the time duration of the third republic was not long enough to merit any distinctive analysis this section will concentrate up to the PNDC regime.

5.4.1.1 Independence, the First Republic and the CPP Government of Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966)

After Ghana’s independence the church became active in the country’s public life, specifically in national politics and governance. During the reign of Kwame Nkrumah as President of Ghana, churches and religious believers were free to hold their religious opinions so long as they participated in

629 Joseph Godson Amamoo, Ghana, 50 Years of Independence, (Accra, G-Pak Limited, 2007), 4-22
630 Interview with Suleman, Senior Lecturer, Department of the Study of Religions, University of Ghana (Legon) Accra on 1st November, 2016
state affairs and supported but did not criticize state policy. As early as 1957 Nkrumah clearly stated that the Government would not tolerate “religious imperialism”. At independence, he banned the MAP and deported the leaders through The Avoidance of Discrimination Bill of 1957 and subsequently the Deportation Act of the same year. Whilst opposed to political parties along ethnic and religious lines, Kwame Nkrumah clearly recognized the importance of the Muslims in the move towards Independence and harnessed them to the CPP. The Muslim Youth Congress (MYC) was the Muslim organization, which came into the limelight during the reign of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP). The press also regularly reported meetings of both Muslims and Christians who held prayers for the country and the president which meant that members of these religions supported the nation and Nkrumah.

Kwame Nkrumah who became the first President of Ghana, had his first Degree in Divinity also had multi-religious inclinations with a strong bent towards the magico-spiritual elements of Islam and African Traditional Religion (ATR) were renowned for. Nkrumah had spiritualists who prayed with him. Samwini writes that the sheikh of the Tijani tariqa, Ibrahim Niasse of Kaolack in Senegal who used to visit Ghana regularly in the 1950s was often an official guest of Kwame Nkrumah. It is generally believed that from 1952 to 1965 Nkrumah sent annual presents to the Sheikh in exchange for baraka (blessings).

Pobee also recounts that for years Kwame Nkrumah was advised by a Holy Man, a marabout not only on personal but also in political matters. It is even believed that this Holy man was responsible for the marriage between Nkrumah and Fathia. After the death of this Holy Man, Nkrumah was believed to have visited his grave to meditate and to establish contact with his spirit.

633 Daily Graphic, April 22, 1957, 1
634 Sulemana, Mumuni, “Islamic Organizations in Accra: Their Structure, Role and Impact in Prose- lityzation of Islam”, (M.Phil, Thesis, University of Ghana, 1994), 96-100
635 Ghanaian Times, October 13, 1962, 2
637 John S. Pobee reveals that Nkrumah’s will dated June 26, 1965, stated that one Alhaji Iwa of Kankan, Guinea, was to be given £610,000.00 since this Alhaji assisted Nkrumah, He (Nkrumah) had to leave that huge sum of money in his will to be given to him. See More in John S. Pobee, Religion and Politics in Ghana, 1991, 123
On the other hand, Kwame Nkrumah turned the symbolic resources Christianity and African Traditional Religion in an attempt to subsume and manipulate their symbols for nationalistic purposes. Nkrumah satirized the words of the Apostles’ Creed and the Lord’s Prayer in the CPP Varanda boy’s creed, the CPP Lord’s Prayer. The CPP and Nkrumah used Matthew 24:35 made reference to their party saying: “Chameleon organisations shall pass away but the political Holy Ghost, the CPP shall stay forever more”. In another way, John 17:17 was mimicked as “Oh Dynamic CiiPiiPii, sanctify them through the truth: thy word is truth. Traditionally Nkrumah used chieftaincy titles like Osagyefo and Katamato to elevate himself.

Nkrumah’s acknowledgement of Religious pluralism and equity led him to start the Department of Divinity. The Department for the Study of Religions of the University of Ghana is the oldest of such departments in Ghana and in Africa. It started as the Department of Divinity in 1948 as one of the original units of the Faculty of Arts of the then University of the Gold Coast. Kwame Nkrumah proposed that the current name of the department be adopted in 1962 to reflect the secular and multi-religious character of the country. The change of name was also to reflect the orientation of the Department as a sub-unit of a public secular university committed to the academic rather than confessional approach to the study of religion. Practically, the Department for the Study of Religions issued certificates in two options: Islam and Christianity for a long time until the 2000s when degree certificates are issued in Religious Studies. Since then the department has been dedicated to the promotion of the scientific study of religions but also continues with the promotion of high quality theological education for a just, peaceful and humane society. The Department has helped trained and awaken the conscience of students about the religious pluralistic nature of Ghana and the need for peaceful co-existence among themselves as students and then as citizens of Ghana.

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639 Ebenezer Obiri Addo, Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999),103-104
640 http://www.ug.edu.gh/religions/about/brief_history
5.4.1.2  The Second Republic, the Progress Party (PP) & Kofi Abrefa Busia (1969-1972)
Kofi Abrefa Busia assumed office as the Prime Minister of Ghana on September 3, 1969. He was a committed Christian and a staunch member of the Methodist Church. Busia came from the Brong Ahafo Region which had a long tradition of Islam. However, Busia promulgated the “Aliens’ Compliance Order” of 18th November, 1969 which required all aliens in Ghana who had no valid residence permits to either get them or leave the country by 2nd December 1969. This order was intended to meet the domestic economic crises that faced the country at the time of his government, but it ended up a sour legacy in the minds of Muslims in Ghana especially aliens because many of them were affected by the order. Many Muslim traders who were aliens from Nigeria, Niger, Mali and Cote d’Ivoire were affected because they had to leave their businesses. Two influential Muslims, Ahmadu Baba and Lalemi in Kumasi as well as some Syrians and Lebanese at the time were affected by this order. This act has since made Busia’s United Party (UP), and the later Progressive Party (PP) acquire an anti-Muslim stigma. This affected the NPP, heir to the Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition, to which the UP and PP belonged until the era of John Agyekum Kuffour as Presidential candidate of the party.


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642 Kwaku Danso-Boafo, The Political Biography of Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1996),103. By this time there were many Aliens working in the country while many Ghanaians remained unemployed so this order was meant to make available jobs for Ghanaians and also make Ghanaian traders take over the trade to boost the economy. Busia’s Compliance Order resulted in Busia being known as “Anti Pan-African Africanist”. See more in H. B. Martinson, Ghana NDC in National Politics: From J. J. Rawlings to Atta Mills...The Untold Story, (Accra: HBM Publications Ltd, 2010),39
643 This order affected many Ghanaian economic ventures since there were fewer labourers on the cocoa farms. In towns where people did not have capital to establish the kind of shops which were operated by the African Alien traders, commerce suffered and items which were previously easy to get became extremely difficult to get.
645 On 24th February 1966, Generals Ankrah and Afrifa led an “Operation Cold Chop”, a military coup under the National Liberation Council (NLC). In 1969, Dr Kofi Busia and the Progress Party (PP) Elections were elected in a Civilian government. On 13th January 1972, a military coup led by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong governed Ghana with Supreme Military Council (SMC I). Then on 5th July 1978, a palace coup under the leadership of General Fred W. K Akuffo still under SMC II ruled. On 15th May 1979, there was a failed coup attempt by Flt.Lt. Jerry John Rawlings which
few civilian rules which were short-lived. This section discusses the effects of these military regimes on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana.

The cases of coup d’etats in Ghana were marked by the coup planners consulting mallams and spiritualists to enable them succeed in their plots. Most of the military and civilians involved in coups d’etat in Ghana swore oaths before religious persons to invoke the supreme sanction for total secrecy.\textsuperscript{646}

Rawlings was believed to have been friends to Mallams who helped him get through with the coup. The PNDC\textsuperscript{647} military government under Rawlings, which started out with pro-Communist policies, apparently fell out with the mainline Christian leadership in the country, and in the eyes of some Ghanaians, Rawlings seemed to have lurched towards Islam and Muslim countries as possible alternative allies.\textsuperscript{648} In 1989, the PNDC government took certain steps which were understood by the Christian population as attempts to undermine Christianity and religious freedom in general. Firstly there was an attempt to ban the broadcasting of Christian gospel music on national television and radio. Secondly, “religious instruction” was replaced with “cultural studies” in the curriculum of Christian Mission schools.\textsuperscript{649} Again, the enactment and conditions of the Religious Registration Law in 1989 which required all religious groups in the country to register with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism made the leadership of the mainline Christian leadership unhappy. The Christian Council of Ghana and Ghana Catholic Bishops conference in Ghana resisted and aborted the registration and the law was later repealed.

\textsuperscript{646} John S. Pobee, \textit{Religion and Politics in Ghana}, 1991, 123

\textsuperscript{647} The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) under Rawlings later became known as the National Democratic Congress (NDC). In other words, the PNDC reformed as a political party, the NDC.


\textsuperscript{649} John Azumah, Muslim-Christian Relations in Ghana: “Too Much Meat Does Not Spoil the Soup”, 2000
Yet the government provided personnel, financial and material support for Muslim schools, generally referred to as “English/Arabic” schools and went ahead to create Islamic Educational Unit (IEU) at Regional and National levels with the Ministry of Education. Thus the PNDC government permitted and paid for the teaching of Arabic in these English/Arabic schools which was perceived by Ghanaian Christians and Muslims as a promotion and propagation of Islam.

5.4.1.4 The Fourth Republic, The NDC and NPP governments (1993 till Date)
The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana which came into effect on 7th January, 1993, provided the basis or the country’s fourth attempt at a republican democratic government since independence in 1957. Therefore the enactment of the new constitution with the inauguration of the Fourth Republic saw Jerry John Rawlings as the first elected president of Ghana and the first president of the 4th Republic taking office on January 7, 1993. Ghana is currently in its fourth republic and has experienced six terms of four years each with the baton of governance changing hands 3 times between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). John Agyekum Kuffour of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) became the second president of the 4th Republic on 7th January 2001 while John Evans Fiifi Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) became the third president of the 4th Republic on 7th January, 2009. After the death of his former boss, John Evans Atta Mills, John Dramani Mahama came to office as Ghana’s fourth President under the 4th Republic in 2012.

During the PNDC era under Jerry John Rawlings, Owusu-Ansah, Sey and Iddrisu, explain that “the march toward modernization of Islamic schools as part of the national secular education was a process that charted its own history”.650 They argue that Islam did not oppose secular education and therefore Ghanaian Muslims were not actually against modern learning. However, Muslims had “to understand the tensions between traditional Islamic religious learning and secular education” by looking up to the people directly involved in the process of establishing the Islamic Education Unit (IEU) in 1987.651 Thus, the establishment and structures of the

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650 David Owusu-Ansah, Mark Sey, and Abdulai Iddrisu, Islamic Learning, The State, and The Challenges Of Education In Ghana, 104.
651 David Owusu-Ansah, Mark Sey, and Abdulai Iddrisu, Islamic Learning, the State, and the Challenges of Education In Ghana, xi, 131. The Islamic Education Unit (IEU) Councils were largely made up of proprietors of the makaranta schools committed to secular education. This assured the proprietors that the IEU was a true partner and not a government plot to get rid of them.
IEU which continued through to the NDC era provided a framework for greater inclusion of all Muslim groups in the national educational system. This allowed for non-Muslims to teach in these English-Arabic schools in a bid to improve good Christian-Muslim relations.

5.4.1.4.1 The National Democratic Congress governments
All these activities of the PNDC under Rawlings made people believe that the regime was for Muslims and against Christians. Thus, the PNDC and later the NDC became known as a pro-Muslim party till date. The following have led the National Democratic Congress:
• John Evans Fiifi Atta Mills (2008-2012)
• John Dramani Mahama (2012-2016)

5.4.1.4.2 The New Patriotic Party (NPP) governments
John Agyekum Kuffour had to disprove the perception Ghanaians had by declaring that the Aliens Compliance Order of the 1970s was a thing of the past and under no circumstance will a government of the NPP re-introduce it. The NPP, according to Kuffour, saw all Zongo residents as playing a very important part in shaping the nation’s economy and therefore assured them that an NPP government will co-operate with them. Kuffuor demonstrated this resolve by selecting a running mate the late Aliu Mahama who hailed from the North and happened to be a Zongo Muslim. He asked, “how can a Zongo boy be a party to a decision to deport other Zongo boys”.

The late Aliu Mahama was the “zongo boy” chosen to be the running mate of John Agyekum Kuffour for the NPP in the 2000 General elections. This decision put a lot of pressure on the late John Evans Atta Mills the then Presidential aspirant of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to also select a Muslim or someone from the North. Hence John Dramani Mahama was selected as vice-presidential candidate for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) for the 2008 General elections. Since the 2000s, Ghanaians

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The IEU councils designed the syllabus for Islamic religious education.

652 Since the NPP was known as anti-Islam or Muslim, the PNDC and later the NDC capitalised on this and were friendly to Muslims. This has won the favour of the NDC among Muslims in Ghana for a very long time. Kuffuor Speaks on Aliens Compliance Order GhanaWeb, General News of Wednesday, 8 November 2000 [Available at: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Kuffuor-Speaks-On-Aliens-Compliance-Order-11908], (Accessed on 21-06-2017) See Also: Modern Ghana General News Aliens Compliance Order will not be reactivated, 21 January 2003. Available at:[https://www.modernghana.com/news/30245/1/aliens-compliance-order-will-not-be-reactivated.html] (Accessed on 21-06-2017)
have pushed or called for the President to come from the south while the Vice-President comes from the north. However, it recently became a common perception that once the President is a Christian the Vice President should be a Muslim but this was refuted by many Ghanaians who thought that if accepted, politics will be religionised. According to Johnson Mbillah, religionising Politics would be a serious threat to national unity and must be avoided.\textsuperscript{653}

In order for the NPP to further dispel the perception of being anti-Islam, the current President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo during his campaign promised Muslims his party’s support for them. Akuffo Addo came up with a Ministry for Inner Cities and \textit{Zongo} Development in order to help meet the challenge of the social development of the \textit{zongos}.\textsuperscript{654}

\section*{5.5 \hspace{1em} Direct or Indirect promotion of Christian-Muslim Relations in Ghana}

Areas in which successive governments have directly or indirectly promoted inter-religious dialogue and peace include the following:

- Interreligious Prayers at State Functions
- National Day of Prayer/Thanksgiving
- Eid celebrations as National Holidays
- Hajj/Jerusalem Pilgrimage
- Education (Religious and Moral Education)
- The Appointment of Government officials
- National Peace Council of Ghana
- Ministry of Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs

\subsection*{5.5.1 \hspace{1em} Interreligious Prayers at State Functions}

Civil religion was introduced by Nkrumah to unite Ghanaians.\textsuperscript{655} Thus Kwame Nkrumah made representatives of the three (3) major religions in Ghana namely: African Traditional Religion, Islam and Christianity to pray at state functions such as the Independence Day celebrations of Ghana. This was continued until the John Atta Mills regime (2008-2012) stopped

\textsuperscript{653} Interview with Johnson Mbillah, General Advisor, PROCMURA, Nairobi, Kenya on 26th August, 2015

\textsuperscript{654} ‘Why I created a Zongo and Inner City Ministry - Akufu-Addo’ Available at: Graphic Online www.graphic.com.gh, Accessed on: 12 January 2017. Alhaji Abubakar Saddique is the first person to serve as Minister for the Inner Cities and Zongo Development.

the pouring of libation at state functions. However, on 3rd June, 2015, there was a National disaster of Flood which claimed the lives of many Ghanaians in Accra. John D. Mahama then president of Ghana allowed for libation to be poured. The pouring of libation therefore was a civil religion that combined Christianity and Islam and made Ghanaians unite, yet Mill’s attitude towards libation made and kept Islam and Christianity as the key players thereby reminiscing colonial era.

5.1.2 National Day of Prayer/Thanksgiving
Successive governments have tried to promote national unity and well-being through various religious bodies. One of such avenue has been the National Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving. A National Day of Prayer or thanksgiving was instituted by successive leaders of Ghana since the time of Kwame Nkrumah. When Jerry John Rawlings became the civilian President in 1992, he also instituted a National Thanksgiving Day where Muslims and Christians as well as adherents of the indigenous religions met on different days and locations to offer thanksgiving to God and intercede for His continued blessings upon the country. John Agyekum Kuffuor continued this tradition when he assumed office in 2001 as President of Ghana. John Evans Atta Mills who became President in 2009 in consultation with various religious bodies also continued the National Day of Thanksgiving. An example of such Day of Thanksgiving took place on Sunday, 14th March, 2010 was after one week national prayer and fasting. A similar event by the Muslim Community took place on Friday, March 12, 2010.

John Dramani Mahama who served as Vice President of John Evans Atta-Mills later became the 4th President of Ghana is from a religiously plural family consisting of Christians and Muslims. After the December 2012

656 Until the time of John Evans Atta Mills, all three major religions of Ghana: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion say prayers at national events. Atta Mills though he recognized ATR, took out the pouring of libation at public events and this was continued till now. It appears the adherents of ATR have not raised any concern about this.


658 John D. Mahama a Christian born and raised Presbyterian but is currently a member of the Assemblies of God ascended to the office of the President after the untimely demise of the late President John Evans Atta Mills on 24th July, 2012. He served as Vice President under Atta Mills. Article 60(6) of the Constitution of Ghana states that “whenever the President dies, resigns or is removed from office, the vice-President shall assume office as President for the unexpired term of office of the President with effect from the date of the death, resignation or removal of the President”. Therefore J.D. Mahama assumed office as President of Ghana until elections were held in December 2012 where he won and continued his reign as President of the 4th Republic of Ghana.
elections, John D. Mahama requested that ‘Special Muslim and Christian prayers’ should be held in all Mosques and churches for “Ghana to continue to enjoy peace and stability”.

During the National Day of Thanksgiving, a day is set aside for all religious faiths to pray. Thus Fridays are set aside for Muslims while Saturdays and Sundays are set aside for Christians. According to Michael Awuah-Ansah, Executive Secretary, Pastoral Ministry and Evangelisation, National Catholic Secretariat, the programme for the National Day of Prayer of Thanksgiving is drawn separately with the Ghana Catholic Bishops’ Conference, the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), the Ghana Pentecostal Council (GPC) and the Ghana Charismatic Council of churches (GCCC), Ghana National Charismatic and Christian Churches (GNACC).

The office of the National Chief Imam, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission and Ahlus Sunnah wal jama’a meet to separately organise the Muslim programme for the National Day of Prayer. At the end of these separate meetings, both groups send their itinerary to the Head of Religious Desk at the Flagstaff House to collate and then announce through the Ministry of information. Though Christians and Muslims plan and perform separately there is still the issue of a common national purpose which indirectly forms basis for good interfaith relations.

Aside the National Day of Prayers and Thanksgiving, some Presidents had very good personal relations with religious leaders. Steve Asante, Past President of the Ghana Baptist Convention, revealed that Ministers of the Christian faith were also invited periodically to the castle by John Agyekum Kuffour to study the word of God and pray with him. Likewise, Kuf-

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659 These prayers were requested after the 2012 elections were successfully held. J. D. Mahama asked the Chief Imam and the Ameer of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission to offer special prayers on Friday, December 14th, 2012 while the Christian Council of Ghana, the Catholic Bishops’ conference, the National Association of Charismatic and Christian churches and the Council for African Indigenous Churches were requested to ask all member churches to offer special prayers on Sunday December 16, 2012. Statement signed by Fritz Baffour, Minister for Information, Accra, December 13, 2012. [Available at www.presidency.gov.gh (Accessed 20th December, 2016)]

660 Interview with Michael Awuah-Ansah Executive Secretary, Pastoral Ministry and Evangelisation, National Catholic Secretariat, Accra on 21st June, 2017

661 Interview with Rev. Fr. Michael Awuah-Ansah, Executive Secretary, Pastoral Ministry and Evangelisation, National Catholic Secretariat, Accra on 21-06-2017

fuor joined Osman Nuhu Sharabutu, the National Chief Imam and some other Muslim clerics to pray and perform some rituals aimed at driving away malevolent spirits at the Accra Sports Stadium after a disaster occurred during a match between Accra Hearts of Oak Sporting Club and Kumasi Asante Kotoko on 9th May, 2001 at the Accra Sports Stadium. John Evans Atta-Mills was also believed to have established a chapel at the Castle and was often visited by the clergy. Consequently, Charles Gabriel Palmer-Buckle, Metropolitan Catholic Archbishop of Accra, remarked that a nation that prays together stays together.

5.1.3 Eid celebrations as National Holidays
Further efforts by successive governments in Ghana saw the NDC Government under Jerry John Rawlings declaring *Id-ul-Fitr* and *Id-ul-adha* as national holidays in 1996. The declaration initially raised concerns among many Ghanaian Christians who thought Muslims and Islam was being much more favoured than any other religion. However, the *Ids* have now become statutory holidays and are recognized by Ghanaians. During the celebration of the *Ids*, Muslims do not only receive goodwill messages from Christian leaders and Christians across the country but some Christian religious leaders as well as some government officials join in the celebration. Likewise, Muslims wish Christians well during Christmas and Easter celebrations. All these mark a sense of belongingness and religious freedom of each religious group and further promote good Christian-Muslim relations.

5.1.4 Hajj/Jerusalem Pilgrimage
Hajj the fifth pillar of Islam is an obligation for every Muslim to undertake the pilgrimage at least once in their lives if he or she can afford it and are physically able. The Government of Ghana has sponsored and supported Muslims who embark on their pilgrimage since independence in 1957. Many Presidents of Ghana, Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kuffour, John Atta Mills and John Dramani Mahama had their governments support the Pilgrimage. Until September 2014, pilgrims who wanted to embark on the Hajj, spent several nights under impoverished conditions at the air-

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663 During the football match, the home side Accra Hearts of Oak scored two late goals to defeat Asante Kotoko in a 2-1 defeat. This made the disappointed Kotoko fans throw plastic seats and bottles onto the pitch. The police in a response to this crowd disturbance fired tear gas into the crowd. Panic ensued and resulted in a stampede that led to the death of 127 people. See more at: http://news.ghanaweb.com/news (Accessed 14th July, 2016)

port due to delayed flights and minimal temporary housing facilities for pilgrims who had travelled from far. John Dramani Mahama in 2014 established the *Hajj* village to shelter pilgrims while they waited for their turn to be airlifted to Saudi Arabia.\(^{665}\)

Christians in Ghana have raised concerns about how much government spends on the pilgrimage. This made some Christians also call for support for pilgrimage to Jerusalem to balance how much the government of Ghana spends annually on Muslims on the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In June 2017, the Minister of Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs, Samuel Kofi Dzamesi, made the announcement at a press conference that the N.P.P government will sponsor Christians annually on pilgrimage. However, pilgrimage in Christianity is not as compulsory as in Islam where it is a pillar.\(^{666}\) This intention of government to sponsor religious groups for pilgrimage must not be politicized because if care is not taken the “other” will feel left out and this would not auger well for good Christian-Muslim relations. Therefore, the government should not sponsor any pilgrimage since our current economy cannot sustain its support. If government should defy all odds to support now and in future there is no money to do so this will bring problems which will affect the good Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana.

### 5.1.5 Education (Religious and Moral Education)

As noted earlier, Owusu-Ansah, Sey and Iddrisu, explain that “the march toward modernization of Islamic schools as part of the national secular education was a process that charted its own history”.\(^{667}\) It started during the era of Kwame Nkrumah and occurred during the PNDC government of Jerry John Rawlings who took over power in 1979. By 1987, the PNDC government under Jerry John Rawlings saw the need to create the Islamic Education Unit (IEU) with a curriculum promoted by the Ghana Education Services (GES).

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My informants expressed the view that the Hajj board has been politically manipulated by governments to win more favour among the Muslim community in Ghana.


\(^{667}\) David Owusu-Ansah, Mark Sey and Abdulai Iddrisu, *Islamic Learning, The State, And The Challenges Of Education In Ghana*, 104.
Fati Sulemana suggests that the Islamic Education Unit was organized like the way Christian missions did theirs, where they had teachers, syllabus, classrooms, and certificates at the end of their studies just like the western form of education. She further posits that since western type of education in Ghana is more secular Muslims cannot detach themselves from becoming educated because they also believe in development, and wherever one finds him/herself, that person must contribute to development. Today in many Islamic Schools, there are teachers who are Christians and likewise, Muslim teachers also teach in both Christian and government schools in Ghana, evidence of the social levels of interrelationships among people of the two faiths.

The subject “Religious and Moral Education” (RME) was also introduced in primary and Junior Secondary Schools (now Junior High Schools) while Bible Knowledge (BK) in Senior High Schools was replaced by either Christian Religious Studies (CRS) or Islamic Religious Studies (IRS) in Ghana during the Rawlings era. This subject allowed pupils to learn the religions of the ‘other’. This made Muslim and African religionists parents feel more comfortable to send their children to school because then these children learnt about all the three major religions. This further allowed for good relations among children and eventually adults in Ghana. The subject ‘Religious and Moral Education’ taught in schools makes children in Ghana realize and recognize the religious rights of the ‘other’ from the basic level of education. This makes one able to learn, work and socialize with the ‘other’ without any prejudice and bias. Furthermore, this makes the child learn how to peacefully co-exist with the ‘other’ and show religious tolerance towards one another. When as result of new educational reforms the subject RME was removed in 2007, this was resisted by both Christian and Muslim religious bodies leading John Agyekum Kufour to instruct the education authorities to revisit the issue in his 51st Independence Anniversary Speech.

668 Interview with Fati N. Sulemana, Lecturer, Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana (Legon) Accra on 31st October, 2016  Fati N. Sulemana previously worked with the Islamic Education Unit.

669 Interview with Ismail Saeed Adam, Zakafiyya Islamic Institute/ Ashanti Regional Imam of ASAWAJ in Kumasi on 10th November, 2016; Interview with Rabiatu Ammah-Konney, Senior Lecturer, Department of the Study of Religions, University of Ghana (Legon) Accra on 3rd November, 2016

Recent conflicts in the area of Christian Muslim relations linked with education however have come up regarding whether Muslim students in Christian Mission schools should be obliged to participate in programmes of the school such as Church services. Rabiatu Ammah-Konney submits that the schools set up by missionaries were guided by their religious statues thus if a Muslim should go to a Christian school, that Muslim should be prepared to be guided by Christian values, virtues and principles. The same applied to Muslim schools which also have their own values and principles. She added that if one was not prepared to obey the rules of either Christian or Muslim schools then that person was not ready for education as schools are guided by certain principles and values which could be religious. She cited an example of Achimota School which was a government and an interdenominational school where Muslims and Christians with different denominational background attended.

Umar Ibrahim Imam, National Imam of the ASWAJ, acknowledging the reasons for the early resistance of Muslims to Western type of education laments that although a Hadith says “seek knowledge from everywhere” which should include western type of education, some Muslims till date are of the view that western type of education is bad. This is what has given rise to the group Boko Haram in West Africa, which fights against anything western. He urges that the fear of Muslim parents should be overcome in today’s world. To him, Western type of education was good and the British left a good legacy which has helped many Africans and Ghanaians whether Christian or Muslim for that matter.

5.1.6 The Appointment of Government officials
The appointment of Government officials at both local and national levels is another reason for good relations between Muslims and Christians in Ghana. All past and present governments of Ghana have acknowledged the fact that Ghana is a plural state and therefore all must work together

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671 On 16th March, 2008 some students of the Adisadel College in Cape Coast failed to attend the school’s church service. Upon seeing the Senior House master Mr. Joseph Opare, some students including a Muslim Gafaru Abdul Rahman Mustapha ran helter-skelter. Gafaru who was a final year student jumped from the fourth floor and died. See: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php; See Also http://www.modernghana.com/news/161233/1520/my-son-did-not-jump-to-death-.html

672 Interview with Rabiatu Ammah-Konney, Senior Lecturer, Department of the Study of Religions, University of Ghana (Legon) Accra on 3rd November, 2016

673 Al-Tirmidhi, Hadith 74

674 Interview with Umar Ibrahim Imam, National Imam of Ahlus-Sunnah Wal Jama’a (ASWAJ) on 13th February, 2016 at the ASWAJ headquarters in Accra.
for the development of the country. Therefore from the party level to the
district, regional and national levels both Christians and Muslims are
appointed irrespective of their religious backgrounds to serve the coun-
try as Government officials.\textsuperscript{675} However, Ghanaians and Africans as a whole
may be at risk of practicing “Religionisation of Politics”\textsuperscript{676} whereby people
push for politicians and government officials to be appointed based on reli-
gious affiliations and not necessarily competence. Ghana stood the chance
of forming parties based on ethnic or religious lines but Kwame Nkrumah
stood against it so parties in Ghana were formed and joined based on inter-
est in the party and the candidate. However, a common perception that has
lingered in the minds of many Ghanaians is for a President to be Christian
and come from the south while the Vice President should be a Muslim or
one who comes from Northern Ghana. Many Ghanaians tend to forget that
Hilla Limann, a Catholic from a Muslim background in Northern Ghana had
once ruled Ghana as president and this can happen again. Even though this
perception lingers on the mind of Ghanaians, government appointees in
Ghana are appointed based on competence and not necessarily religious
background.

5.1.7 National Peace Council of Ghana
Another factor that has promoted good interfaith relations between Chris-
tians and Muslims in Ghana is the establishment of the National Peace
Council (NPC). This is because as members of the NPC serve the country,
avenues are created for interfaith relations from the national to the local
level. The National Peace Council (NPC)\textsuperscript{677} is an independent statutory

\textsuperscript{675} Jerry John Rawlings chose Hudu Yahya to be the Chairman of the NDC, John Agyekum Kuffour
chose Aliu Mahama to be his Vice Presidential candidate and later Vice President of the country
after the NPP won the 2000 General elections. John Evans Atta Mills chose John Dramani
Mahama to serve as Vice President although Mahama was not a Muslim he is believed to come
from the northern Ghana and therefore represents the people of the north. Nana Addo Dankwa
Akuffo Addo chose Mahamadu Bawumia as his Vice Presidential candidate and now he is the
Vice President of Ghana. Many Christians and Muslims have worked in successive governments
for the developments in Ghana. It is common to have a Muslim serving as a Minister of Govern-
ment and a Christian serving as his or her Deputy Minister.

\textsuperscript{676} ‘Religionisation of Politics’ and ‘Politicisation of Religion’ is a term coined by Johnson Mbillah,
the General Adviser of PROCMURA. Interview with Johnson Mbillah, the General Adviser of
PROCMURA on 25th August, 2015. According to Johnson Mbillah, ‘Religionisation of Politics’ is
when religious Leaders take politics into religion because they use politics and politicians to
advance the course of their personal ambitions while ‘Politicisation of Religion’ is some Politici-
ans also use religion to advance their political ambitions.

\textsuperscript{677} John Dramani Mahama swore-in members of the National Peace Council Board in 2011. The 13
members of the Board are: The Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Asante, Chairman of the National
Peace Council, Most Rev. Vincent Sowah Boi-Nai, (Catholic Bishop of Yendi Diocese repre-
national peace institution established by Act (818) of the Parliament of the Republic of Ghana, named the National Peace Council Act, 2011. The core function of the Council is to prevent, manage, and resolve conflicts and to build sustainable peace. Thus any activity the Council undertakes must be derived from its mandate under Act 818. Its establishment abolished the Regional Peace Advisory Councils (RPACs) and District Peace Advisory Councils (DPACs). At the Regional and District Levels, the NPC encompasses Regional and District Peace Councils appointed by the National Board in consultation with the Regional Coordinating Council and the District Assemblies respectively. There are also Regional and District Executive Secretaries appointed by the President. Members of the NPC at district, regional and national levels comprise of Christians, Muslims representing the various Christian and Muslim groups in Ghana and traditional rulers. The members of the NPC also serve as a mediation group and stand out as an impartial group to facilitate peace among all parties in conflicts whether political, ethnic or religious. Therefore, the National Peace Council Board is mandated to ensure general public safety and security, establish national infrastructure for conflict prevention, management and resolution and peace building in Ghana.

5.1.8 Ministry of Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs

During the Jerry John Rawlings and the NDC administration in 1993, two agencies namely the Chieftaincy Division Secretariat Under the Office of the President and the Culture Division under the National Commission on Culture were set up and backed by the Civil Service law, 1993 (PNDC law 327). Based on the recommendations of the administration of Jerry John Rawlings and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) of the African Union (AU), the above agencies were merged into the Ministry of chieft-
taincy and culture in May 2006. In 2013, the Ministry was re-designated by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government as the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs in accordance with section 11(1) of the Civil Service Law. The mission of the ministry was to develop effective interface between government and civil matters relating to chieftaincy and traditional affairs. In 2017, this Ministry has been renamed by the New Patriotic Party government as the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs. Although this Ministry still acknowledges Chiefs and traditional authorities, it is opened to multi-lateral relations between the government of Ghana and religions in the country.

5.1.9 Dialogue of Life

The efforts of Religious Bodies and the government of Ghana towards Christian-Muslim relations complemented the ‘Dialogue of life’. ‘Dialogue of life’ is an informal form of inter-religious dialogue which takes place at any place and any time; therefore in Ghana this form of inter-religious dialogue takes place. Thus, Christians and Muslims in Ghana have generally lived in peace at the grassroots level, where it is very common to find members of the same family who adhere to different religious traditions. Family members attend each other’s religious programmes. For instance, Christians visit their Muslim friends and relatives during the festivals of *Id-ul-Fitr* and *Id-ul-Adha* while Muslim relatives and friends visit Christians during Christmas to wish them well. On these occasions good will messages are shared amidst gifts and meals. In Ghana, it is also common to find Muslims attending church and vice versa during occasions such as weddings, child naming ceremonies, ordination of priests and funerals because the ceremony involves a relative or a friend. Again, Christians and Muslims attend schools together and work in the same institutions irrespective of religious backgrounds. This is called the ‘dialogue of life’. This is not to say that there have not been moments of tension between the two faiths but in spite of any tension, Christian and Muslim leaders come together quickly to curb the issue. These leaders also issue statements on issues of national concern.

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679 www.mcta.gov.gh/about.html

680 Before the 1992 General elections, tension mounted between members of the NDC and NPP but the Christian Council of Ghana, the National Catholic Secretariat, the Ghana Pentecostal Council and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission met and issued a statement calling on the political parties to exercise restraint. Similarly, the religious bodies met and called upon warring factions during a communal fighting in northern region in 1994 to stop fighting “in the name of God and in the name of Allah”. In 2000, Christian, Muslim and traditional religious leaders, met and issued a resolution calling for restraint and respect for the other’s traditions on a controversial
From the above discussion, we see that all the Presidents of Ghana we discussed are Christians or publicly profess to be Christians yet they appear to have private personnel relationships with *mallams* and Muslim leaders. Thus these presidents sometimes consult *mallams* or spiritualists in order to know their future. This personal relationship with Muslims has sometimes paved way for these presidents to publicly favour or support Islam and Muslims in Ghana especially through the Hajj Board. More so, the presidents of Ghana realized that since Ghana was a multi-religious state, there was the need to allow ‘freedom of worship’ and have put measures in place for the promotion of good Christian-Muslim relations. It was also shown that some presidents put policies in place that appeared to have favoured Islam and Muslims more than any other religion in Ghana. It also appeared from the chapter that the political campaign messages of most presidential aspirants in Ghana are aimed at promoting the interest of Muslims. For instance, the NPP as we saw has over the years tried to win the hearts of Muslims in Ghana so they make lots of promises in their campaign messages that end up or glaringly favouring Muslims. Although many Ghanian Christians complain about the glaring favour many governments show towards Islam and Muslims in Ghana this has not caused any form of disunity or religious conflict.

In conclusion, it is evident that all previous governments have enjoyed good working relationships with all religious groups and have collaborated with them in education, in health and social development for the benefit of every citizen. Thus former President John Mahama has noted that “religious tolerance in our country is a hallmark and hospitality indeed is our way of life”.681 This seems to be the case in the Republic of Togo as well, to which we will now turn our attention.

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5.6 Post-Independence governments and Christian-Muslim Relations in Togo

Apart from efforts made by religious groups in Togo to foster Christian-Muslim relations, the governments of Togo after colonialism also put measures in place to make sure Christians and Muslims in Togo continue to live in peace. There have been three main governments propelled by their leading political figures. The first was led immediately after independence by Sylvanus Olympio (1958-1963). This was followed by the 38 year rule of Gnassingbe Eyadema (1963-2005) who was succeeded by his son Faure Gnassingbe (2005-2017).

5.6.1 The Comité de l’Unité (CUT) and Sylvanus Epiphanio Olympio

After Togo’s independence the ‘north-south divide’ still remained because Sylvanus Kwame Olympio who was an Ewe continued the legacy of making the northern part of Togo a labour reserve but continued the developmental works in southern Togo. The north and south divide could be the reason why Gnassingbe Eyadema staged a coup since he was from Kabiye in the north. Eyadema may have also staged a coup in order to develop the north of Togo because it is during his tenure that the northern part of Togo was developed and many parliamentarians came from the north. The Kabre language of the north was also made a national language in addition to Ewe. Today, churches like the Roman Catholic, Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Togo and other NGOs have built schools, hospitals and other amenities in northern Togo in order to develop the place.

Sylvanus Epiphanio Olympio the first Prime Minister, and later President of Togo served from 1958 till 1963 when he was assassinated. Olympio became active in the domestic and international struggle to gain independence for Togo after World War II. He tried to unite and educate the people about their new nation and the needs for development. Olympio, who had Afro-Brazilian ancestry, was born in Kpando now in Ghana but previously part of the Transvolta Togoland. He therefore advocated for the reunification of the Ewe people under his Comité de l’Unité (CUT). His early death makes it difficult to assess his regime’s impact on Christian-Muslim rela-

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682 Interview with Nicoue Gayibor, Professor of History, University of Lome, Togo, 22nd November 2016
683 Djifa Kothor, Political History of Togo Center for African Studies, [Available at: publish.illinois.edu/africanstudentsorganization/files/2012/10/Togoppt.pdf] (Accessed on: 24th October, 2016),
684 Interview with Dzinyéfa Komi Adrake, PROCMURA Regional Coordinator for Francophone West Africa, Lome on 23rd November, 2016
tions in Togo. Olympio, however, must have inherited the colonial heritage of the peaceful coexistence of the two faiths. More so he came from an ancestry that was accommodative of both Christianity and Islam. His Uncle, Octaviano Olympio credited with the expansion of Lomé, gave lands to both Christian missionaries for the construction of churches and schools and Muslim traders to build zongos in Lomé. Probably this made the missionaries and Muslim traders in Lomé live in peace lest they offend their generous benefactors.

Olympio was assassinated on 13th January 1963 in the first successful military coup in postwar sub-Saharan Africa. After his assassination, Gnassingbé Eyadéma became president from 1967 until his death in 2005. He was succeeded by his son Faure Gnassingbé as president of Togo from 2005 till date.

5.6.2 The R.P.T. Regime of Gnassingbé Eyadéma

Gnassingbé Eyadéma after leading two military coups in January 1963 and January 1967 became President, on 14th April, 1967. He immediately put measures in place to first gain grounds politically and also to unite the people of Togo. His policies geared towards building a united nation both directly and indirectly aided good Christian-Muslim relations in Togo. The pivot of these policies were the establishment of the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (Rally of the Togolese People) R.P.T., the introduction of a one-party state, and the passage of the Nationality Act of Togo in 1969.

The formation of a political party Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (R.P.T.) by Gnassingbé Eyadéma was intended to integrate all Togolese as a single and unified people who could share the same ideology void of any distinction of race or religion were a course for dialogue among religious people.685 “Peace with oneself and peace with others” was a slogan of Eyadema which he tried to inculcate into the consciousness of the Togolese through the chorus of the anthem of the R.P.T party and later into the national anthem of Togo.

In order to achieve the aim of uniting all Togolese at national level, the R.P.T. on 13th May 1967 decreed a ban of all other political parties which existed in Togo.686 The R.P.T was declared “Creuset national” (National

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685 The Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais, RPT (Rally of the Togolese People) was the ruling political party in Togo from 1969 to 2012. It was founded by Gnassingbé Eyadéma and headed by his son, Faure Gnassingbé, after Eyadéma’s death in 2005. Faure Gnassingbé replaced the RPT with a new ruling party, the Union for the Republic (UNIR), in April 2012, thereby dissolving the RPT.

686 Décret no. 67-111 du 13 Mai 1967
melting pot) because of its aim of molding the various peoples of Togo into a society that live together in peace.687 Once a person became a Togolese national the person automatically became a member of the R.P.T irrespective of one’s race, ethnic group, clan, religion or gender. They all were to share one ‘national identity’ within the R.P.T. using the same flag, anthem, patriotic songs and slogans. Yagla, therefore, remarks “le pays avec sa réalité sociologique se retrouve donc tout entier au sein du R.P.T” (the country with its sociological reality is therefore all integrated within the R.P.T.).688

Interestingly, this quest for unity was tied to tradition and culture. A verse in the anthem of the R.P.T. translated into English as “A union, union, oh our ancestors call us”! is a reminder to all Togolese to be united because it is a ‘call’ or ‘order’ from the ancestors. The R.P.T. politicians probably thought that making the agenda to unite all Togolese a call from the ancestors was likely to be successful because Africans generally find it difficult to disobey an order from the ancestors for the fear of being cursed. Using the inclusivist power of ATR and the continuing influence of its worldview on converts to Islam and Christianity the first and second lines in the anthem of the R.P.T:

Écartons tout mauvais esprit qui gêne unité nationale.
Combattons-le tout comme l’impérialisme.689

Invoked both spiritual and anti-imperialism sentiments to remind the Togolese not to impede or delay the realization of this unity.

When Gnassingbé Eyadema formed his Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (R.P.T.) he intended to integrate all Togolese as a single and unified people who would share the same ideology irrespective of race or religion. Thus both Christians and Muslims were able to relate well and this has been the case in Togo till date.

689 (Depart any evil spirit against national unity, fight it just like imperialism) “Terre de nos aïeux” (Land of our forefathers) was the national anthem of Togo. The words and music were written by Alex Casimir-Dosseh, and it was the national anthem from independence in 1960 until 1979. In 1979 it was replaced by a different anthem composed by the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (party of the Rally of the Togolese People). It was readopted in 1992. [Available at:http://www.nationalanthems.info/tg.htm] Accessed 22nd June,1016)
In 1969, Eyadema, naturalized all foreigners who came to Togo to be citizens after K. A. Busia, Ghana’s Prime Minister deported all foreigners who were mostly Muslims. The Nationality Act of Togo of 1967 allowed for people to claim Togo as their nationality by birth or descent and also to anyone who cannot claim any nationality. The Nationality Act of Togo also allowed for people who married by the customs and law of Togo. This Act promoted Islam such that all foreign Muslims who came to Togo were no longer considered strangers but had Togolese citizenship. These Muslims who were mainly traders either married or gave birth to their children in Togo and since the Act allows them to be citizens of Togo based on their decision got naturalized.

According to Dzinyéfa Komi Adrake, to prevent any form of intra/inter-religious conflict in Togo because of the proliferation of churches, apart from the Roman Catholic Church, Eyadema recognized only two Protestant churches: Evangelical Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Therefore all other churches such as Pentecost, SDA, Lutherans and Baptist were to operate behind or join these two protestant churches in worship. In other words, the pastors of the two accepted protestant churches were to officiate and manage the affairs of other churches as well; thus the EP pastor or Methodist pastor was the head or face of the programmes and activities of Eyadema’s unrecognized protestant churches. However, this policy changed in the early 2000s when all churches were allowed to freely establish and evangelise; this has made the churches in Togo to relate well with each other and also with other religious groups.

Gnassingbe Eyadema was also not happy with the different Muslim groups in Togo and said once they were all Muslims who believed in Allah and Muhammad as his prophet, it was possible for them to unite as Muslims. With his policy of uniting Togolese in mind, he formed l’Union Musliman du Togo (Muslim Union of Togo), which includes Tijaniyya Muslims and ASWAJ. This was to prevent any form of fanaticism and conflict amongst

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690 Kofi Abrefa Busia was Ghana’s Prime Minister from 1969 to 1972 and attempted to restore civilian government to the country following the coup d’etat that overthrew Kwame Nkrumah. One of the things Busia did was to deport all foreigners who lived in Ghana such as Nigeriens, Nigerians and Malians. These foreigners who were mostly Muslims went to live in Lome capital of Togo which was closer to Ghana so when Gnassingbe Eyadema began his rule in 1979, he first decided to make all those foreigners in Togo who have stayed and had families in Togo for 18 years became citizens of Togo. Until this time many Muslims in Togo lived in the North but this influx of Muslim foreigners from Ghana made Muslims also live in Lome in Southern Togo.

691 Interview with Dzinyéfa Komi Adrake, PROCMURA Regional Coordinator for Francophone West Africa, Lome on 24th August, 2015
Muslim groups. According to Karim Aleyare, the Muslim Union of Togo was formed by Eyadema to prevent the springing up of different Muslim groups in Togo, which could cause any form of religious conflict as a result of different ideologies. He posited that even though the Muslim Union of Togo was made up of mostly Tijaniyya and ASWAJ Muslims, there has not been any form of misunderstanding between them as the government recognizes the leaders of the union as the Muslim voice of Togo.692

Dzinyèfa Adrake and Karim Aleyare both agree that Christians and Muslims have related well since colonial times and even till date, especially with the policies of Eyadema. Since Faure Gnassingbé took over the presidency of Togo, he has continued the policies of his late father and Christians and Muslims have continued to relate well and live at peace with each other.693

We deduce that Eyadema’s nationalistic movement and reconciliation plans for Togo had three dimensions namely Political, Ethnic and Religious. Politically, Eyadema had the duty to unite the people of Togo who were still influenced by the colonial ideologies of the Germans and French. Togo as we discussed in Chapter three of this work was religiously zoned into the north (Muslims) and south (Christian) by the German and later the French colonial authorities. For a long time the perception of the North being Muslim and the south being Christian lingered in the minds of Togolese. This made people from the south of Togo with western type of education, public jobs and colonial affiliation feel superior to people from Northern Togo.

Ethnically, Eyadema had to bridge the colonial gap of the north and south demarcation as well. This was possible because Eyadema was born to a father from Kabye in the north of Togo and his mother was Ewe from the south. Making government appointments from the north and south, from Muslims and Christians was one way in which Eyadema sought to unite the nation.

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692 Interview with Karim Aleyare, Vice President of L’Union de Muslima (Muslim Union of Togo) 24-11-2016. Karim revealed Muslims in Togo have lived in peace since they came to Togo. In Togo, a Muslim is not identified by the Muslim group the person belongs to but rather as a member of the Muslim union of Togo.

693 Interview with Karim Aleyare, Vice President of L’Union de Muslima (Muslim Union of Togo) and D. Komi Adrake, PROCMURA Regional Coordinator for Francophone West Africa, Lome. In Togo today, many other religious groups such as Eckankar, Jehovah Witness, SDA, International Central Gospel Church, Perez chapel and Free Masons are seen.
5.6.3 The Appointment of Government officials
In addressing the issue of disadvantage, Eyadema gave government appointments to people from the northern Togo in his government as well as put measures in place to develop the north of Togo. All this measures were to curb the colonial perception that northern Togo was less developed than southern Togo. Eyadema also appointed government officials belonging to different religious backgrounds and who came from different parts of the country to work for the common good of Togo. In sum, it appears Eyadema’s policies mended these political, ethnic and religious divides to some extent reducing suspicions between northerners and southerners and also between the Christians and the Muslims of Togo. This has continued during the reign of Faure Gnassingbé, the current president of Togo who is a son of Eyadema.

Further inter-faith relations in Togo are fostered through the celebration of inclusive National Holidays, Traditional Festivals and what has been discussed previously under Ghana as Dialogue of Life.

5.6.4 National Holidays
During the celebrations of independence of Togo, Christian and Muslim religious leaders play various roles of leading prayers like the case of Ghana. Also Togolese observe religious holidays such as Christmas, New Year, Easter, *Eid Fitr* and *Eid Adha*. Since the ideals of Gnassingbé Eyadéma are peace, unity and solidarity, religions in Togo are made to be conscious of these ideals, promote and contribute to inter-religious dialogue. Just like the case of Ghana, during religious festivities, Christians attend the religious ceremonies of Muslims to wish them well and vice versa. It is also common in Togo, like Ghana to find Muslim family members attend the churches of their Christian family members during marriage ceremonies, child naming ceremonies, ordination of priests and funerals.

5.6.5 Traditional Festivals and Cultural Authenticity
Traditional festivals in Togo such as *Gbagbaza*, *Aqbugboza* and *Ayiza* are inclusive festivals involving traditional leaders and their people, the Government of Togo, and Christians and Muslims. During these festivities,

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694 Yaya Malou was a member of the [Eglise Evangelique Presbyterienne du Togo (E.E.P.T)](https://example.com) and also the Minister of Education; Ayi Hawkins Hörkkö, former Foreign Minister later became a pastor of the EEPT; Daoukou Perea, a Catholic was the president of the National Assembly. Seyi Memen, a Muslim, was the Minister of Security and administration of Togo. Mensah Qaasim also a Muslim was the Ambassador of Togo to Libya; Mama Forlan was a Muslim Government official. etc.

695 The Gbagbaza is celebrated in every August in Kpalime-Togo to signal the end of the farming
the Government promotes its policy of cultural authenticity which calls on everyone in Togo including the president of the Republic, the Prime minister, government officials and even religious leaders of other faiths to be sensitized on traditional culture and values. Irrespective of whether the traditional festivals are the heritage of a particular ethnic group, all Togolese are invited to work together towards the success and development of the traditional area and its people.

During these festivals, the government of Togo initiates and invests into development projects for that traditional area or community. The people also accept to collaborate and work towards realizing the developmental goals. This indirectly and directly promotes inter-faith relations as the celebration of these traditional festivals provides the opportunity for diverse people in a community to share and discuss ideas about the common good.

Furthermore, Christian and Muslim leaders are part of the organizing committees of traditional festivals. Prayers are said in churches and mosques for the success of these festivals. During Agbogboza and Ayiza for example, choirs of some churches participate in a concert organised for the festival and many people including government officials and religious leaders attend. All these translate into the positive interfaith relationships between ordinary citizens, known as Dialogue of Life.

5.6.6 Dialogue of Life

‘Dialogue of life’ is an informal form of inter-religious dialogue takes place in Togo. Similar to the case of Ghana, it is common to see Christians and Muslims work in the same institutions and attend the same schools. However, unlike Ghana, where there have been moments of tension between the two faiths, Togo because of the policies of Eyadema which have been continued by Faure Gnassingbé have not recorded any serious tension though there was some form of suspicion of the religious ‘other’.696 Thus cycle with the bountiful harvest as well as to celebrate the beginning of the rest period. The Agbogbo-Za is a historical festival of the Ewe people in Togo to commemorate the exodus of Ewe people in the seventeenth century. This is celebrated on the 1st Thursday of September at Notsié while the Ayiza named after the bean ‘Ayi’ is celebrated every year on the 2nd Saturday of August in Tsévié.

696 The researcher observed that there was some form of suspicion among religious leaders in Togo who tend to think that the Government favours either Christians more than Muslims or vice versa. Again among the Protestant churches the suspicion is even stronger as the Methodists think the government favours the Eglise Evangelique Presbyterienne du Togo (E.E.P.T) more. More so because the families of the Gnassingbé are believed to be members of the EEPT, the suspicion is even stronger. However, no one is able to voice this out but have worked together thus far.
far, despite these suspicions, Christian and Muslim leaders in Togo come together to work for the development of the country.

In summary therefore Dzinyèfa Komi Adrake, is right in his assertion that “Churches in Togo coexist in perfect harmony, religious training and formation does not warrant insulting the religious ‘other’ thanks to the policy of the Government. The quest for unity, tolerance, dialogue and peaceful coexistence advocated by the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (R.P.T.) under the leadership of Gnassingbé Eyadéma from 1969 to this present day under Faure Gnassingbé, have allowed for peaceful coexistence between members of various religions in Togo. It appears that after independence, the Togolese political regimes in general and that of Gnassingbé Eyadéma in particular, realized that divisions created through colonial policy to keep the religions apart for purposes of peace would not work for an independent nation. The two faiths had spread beyond their colonial demarcations and government became the first initiators of peaceful dialogue in Togo. Till date, good relations have existed between religious leaders and political powers in Togo and any religious group which wants to function well in Togo must put into consideration the key words of unity, tolerance and dialogue. In summary, the relationships between Religious groups and political leaders in Togo from the colonial times and after independence have been good. These relationships have promoted inter-religious dialogue in general and Christian-Muslim relations in particular.

5.7 Conclusion

Many governments in Africa including Ghana and Togo have put measures in place constitutionally, educationally and spiritually to exercise religious freedom without any conflict. Government efforts in both Ghana and Togo have also been highly augmented by Christian ecumenical bodies both International and national. Ecumenism refers to efforts by Christians


698 The word ecumenism is derived from the Greek words oikoumene (“the inhabited world”) and oikos (“house”) and can be traced to the commands, promises and prayers of Jesus. Protestants began to use the term ecumenism to describe the gathering of missionary, evangelistic and service after the International Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. During and after the second Vatican Council (1962–1965), Roman Catholics used ecumenism to refer to the renewal of the whole life of the church, undertaken to make it more responsive to “separated churches” and to the needs of the world. Apart from the efforts of the Catholic Church working to achieve ecumenism, the World Council of Churches (WCC), a consultative and conciliar agent of ecumenism inaugurated in Amsterdam in 1948, works with national, denominational,
of different church traditions to develop closer relationships and better understandings with one another. The Catholic Church though monolithic in character has promoted Christian-Muslim dialogue, through regional and national organisations of the Church. The main protestant churches in Ghana and Togo also in line with international ecumenical bodies such as the World Council of Churches and the All African Council of Churches, as we discussed above put organisations (such as PROCMURA) and programmes in place for good relations with Muslims in particular. These dialogue and good relations have allowed denominations within Christianity to work together and have also allowed other religions to communicate peacefully with one another.

Unlike Ghana where the Muslim community has been organized into national bodies as shown in the study, Muslim leaders in Togo did not have any internal structures nor an organization established for the culture and the promotion of Christian-Muslim dialogue or relations. This did not mean that Muslims in Togo were not interested in matters concerning Christian-Muslim relations. They respond and take part in programmes, conferences and seminars normally initiated by Christian groups.

Karim Ayelare argues that Muslim leaders have always admired the structures put in place by Christian groups in Togo for interreligious relations and they wished for similar structures within Muslim groups in Togo, all these wishes remained only on the grounds of suggestions yet to come to pass. Alhaji Ayelere further explained that many Muslims in Togo found interreligious dialogue important since they were already practicing ‘dialogue of life’.

Throughout the chapter some similarities and differences between the scenarios in Ghana and Togo were identified. First, Ghana had independence three years before Togo. In Ghana, Muslims joined in the struggle for independence and formed several associations. We showed in the chapter that initially these Muslim organisations in Ghana were formed to cater regional and confessional bodies. See More at: https://www.britannica.com/topic/ecumenism


for the religious and social needs of Muslims yet some of these groups aligned themselves to some political parties. In Togo however, Muslims did not join in the political struggle for independence. Again the study revealed that Muslims in both countries had a similar desire to cater for the religious and social interests of Muslims. In another observation, after a few years of civilian rule in Ghana and Togo both countries witnessed a military rule. Similarly, under military rule citizens of both countries lived in fear and could not develop much. Later when Ghana and Togo decided to go democratic through a multi-party system, Ghana had multi-parties contesting for elections while Togo for a long time had a single-party system even under democracy. Christian organisations in Ghana and Togo seem to continuously work to promote good relations with Muslims through organizing programmes such as workshops and seminars. Successive governments in Ghana and Togo have also put measures in place to promote inter-religious relations among citizens by appointing government officials based on competence and not religion. The Dialogue of life is a natural way that Ghanaians and Togolese relate with each other in the family, community and nation without considering religious inclinations.

All these efforts are to curb any form of prejudice and stereotypes which could be a major source of conflict so that Ghanaians and Togolese will continue to live in peace. From the early 1980s, Christian-Muslim dialogue had already become an established tradition and ‘dialogue of life’ was being practiced in Ghana and Togo. Thus, since the independence of Ghana and Togo respectively, both Christians and Muslims in the above mentioned countries have continued to dialogue and have sought for mutual understanding to develop further between them.

It is important to note that there were differences in the attitudes of Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo as well as the models of interfaith in the two countries under study during post-colonial era and colonial era. For instance we identified in Chapters three (3) and four (4) of this work that as a result of colonial presence, European culture, civilization and commerce, Christians and Muslims related on different levels. Hence, these relations brought out certain attitudes of Christians and Muslims towards each other and each other’s religion. We discovered that Christians and Muslims exhibited attitudes such as Suspicion, superiority, Inferiority, Mistrust and Competition towards each other.
After colonialism, the following attitudes marked how Christians and Muslims related to each other.

- Mutual acceptance
- Moratorium on conversion
- Collaboration
- Recognition
- Accommodation

This chapter makes us understand that Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo realized that both religions had come to stay hence the need to mutually recognize, accept and accommodate each other. Therefore, Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo saw the need to collaborate and work together towards the development of the two countries. In this sense the practice of ‘dialogue of life’ became an everyday lifestyle between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo. Just as during colonialism in Ghana and Togo Christians and Muslims rushed for converts from ATR, by post-colonialism, both religions still experience a moratorium on conversion since they hardly convert each other’s members but still make adherents of ATR their primary targets for membership.

Consequently, the models of interfaith relationship during post-colonialism differed from colonial era. The model of presence during post-colonial times in Ghana and Togo makes every citizen aware of the existence of a religion different from one’s own. Thus there are Christians and Muslims in every part of Ghana and Togo and they cannot live without the help of each other since they need each other to help develop their countries. The model of dialogue during post-colonial times in Ghana and Togo has become a natural and everyday affair where citizens of the two countries relate with each other irrespective of their religious backgrounds. This has given rise to ‘dialogue of life’ practiced at different levels in the two countries under study. The model of kenosis in post-colonial era allows Christians to treat others as fellow human beings and as God's creation. The differences in attitudes and models between this era and the colonial era can be attributed to the fact that Ghanaians and Togolese respect and acknowledge blood ties. As Africans, a person’s relationship with the other counts first as a fellow human being and religion is a secondary matter in many relationships.
CHAPTER SIX
Concluding Remarks and future possibilities
6.0 Introduction

Religious plurality and diversity has become a reality in Africa and the world. Today, plurality is seen in many facets of life ranging from politics, ethnicity, languages and religion. Many African societies like Ghana and Togo practiced African Traditional Religion before the advent of Islam and Christianity in these two countries. With time, adherents of African Traditional Religion have had to choose between converting to Islam and Christianity. As we saw in chapter two of this work, the inclusivist nature of African Traditional Religion paved way for Muslims and Christians in Ghana and Togo to then interact and relate.

As John Mbiti remarks ‘Africans are notoriously religious […]. And Religion permeates all the facets of the African life so that it is almost not easy or possible to isolate it’. Therefore religion is very important in Ghana and Togo, and no matter the plurality of religions in the two countries under study, adherents continue to freely practice their religion and relate well with each other.

The study established that Islam was present in Africa long before the colonial authorities arrived. Therefore the colonial authorities had to devise measures to relate to the Muslims and the African people. The study discovered that although the colonial authorities did not have any clear-cut guidelines or attitudes towards Islam and Muslims, they consistently related to Muslims based on the discretion of the governor in power. With these measures gave rise to the creation of religious zones as a result of the colonial authorities dividing the north and south of Ghana and Togo respectively for Islam and Christianity. This legacy remained for a long time until successive governments in Ghana and Togo continue to put measures in place for Christians and Muslims to relate to each other in the respective countries. This chapter seeks to conclude the study and suggest ways that Christians and Muslims can continue to live in peace despite the colonial legacies.

6.1 Summary of Chapters

In chapter one of this work, we saw that Ghana and Togo are neighbours and share a boundary to the West of Togo in West Africa as well as share similar culture and history. However, Ghana and Togo had different colonial masters who had seemingly different colonial attitudes and policies on

701 John S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy, 2nd revised an enlarged ed., (London, 1990), 1
religion. These attitudes and policies had impact on the relationship with these colonial masters differed. Both countries have strong Muslim presence in their Northern parts and strong Christian presence in the Southern parts due to the association of these geographical areas with the advent of the two religions into each country.

The second chapter of this study discussed and critiqued the structure of African Traditional Religion and how it encouraged or allowed for inclusivism of Islam and Christianity in the Gold Coast and Togoville before the 1900s. The chapter indicated that before the advent of Islam and Christianity in Africa, Africans had their culture and religion. It showed some key beliefs such as the concept of the Supreme Being, deities and ancestors.

In Chapter two, we also saw that “the chief held the key to the success or failure of missionary enterprises” in his area of domain because he was the first person the Muslim traders or itinerant preachers and Christian missionaries contacted. His acceptance of the ‘mission’ and its message paved ways for further evangelistic work in his community. Islam right from the beginning did not attempt to lay aside the existing practices, beliefs and structures of the African traditional society. Islam as was shown also identified itself with some aspects of the Ghanaian culture such as the practice of polygamy, medicine, healing and spirituality hence the people saw not much difference between Islam and the African culture. However, the teachings of the Christian missionaries on polygamous marriage, funeral rites and other cultural practices began to disturb the social relations Christians had with the adherents of African Traditional Religion.

Finally, the chapter concluded that ATR engaged in dialogical mutual exchange with Islam and Christianity. Scholars like K. A. Busia and Elizabeth Amoah, argued that ATR influenced both Christianity and Islam and one of the reasons people interact the way they do is because of a common ground where adherents of the three aforementioned religions participate in each other’s lives and each other’s ceremonies. Since interreligious relations is not only about theology but also participating in each other’s lives and each other’s ceremonies, then these ceremonies become common grounds for interreligious dialogue. In other words, Ghanaian and Togolese Muslims and Christians still keep their African values and identities despite their ‘new religion’ but as a dialogue of life participate in each other’s ceremonies.

The traditional religious beliefs and cultural practices still persist in these ‘new’ converts and continue to inform and shape their religious experience. Thus, the chapter showed that African Traditional Religions have played a major role in transforming Islam and Christianity in Ghana and Togo because the religious people continue to learn from each other.

The third Chapter of the study explored the scramble for European domination of Africa. It reviewed the British and French attitudes toward Christianity and Islam in Ghana and in Togo during colonial era from 1880-1900. The types of colonial administrative systems in Africa; direct and indirect rule, policy of assimilation and association were explained. The chapter detailed the colonization processes of Germans in Togo until after the First World War when Togo was divided into French and British possessions. Islam was already established in Togo before the arrival of the Germans in 1884. There were good relations between the Muslim leaders and the colonial administration because the Germans adopted a strategy and made a treaty with the Muslim leaders in the Northern parts of Togo in 1889 whereby Islam was encouraged in the North, the Christian missions were encouraged in the south which was considered heathen. This treaty later continued by the French, aided in the development and spread of Islam in Togo.

The chapter revealed the limitations placed on Christian missions in Muslim territories by the Germans, the British and the French who gave much respect and influence to Islam. This in turn enabled the development and spread of Islam in Ghana and Togo. The chapter further showed how the relationship between the German, French and British colonial authorities and the missionaries in their colonies were strengthened through education which the missionaries provided. Since the colonial Governments needed educated people capable to serve them they took advantage of the educational work of the Missions and helped finance these schools. The colonial authorities within this period gave the missionaries the freedom to evangelize and educate.

The chapter drew the conclusion that though there seemed not to be any clear-cut, guidelines or documented policy of the British and the French on Islam and Muslims in Africa their practice showed a clear-cut favour of Islam over Christianity in many respects and the colonial governments related with Islam based on the discretion or decision of the Governor General. Whether policy or attitude, it is clear that it was acted upon and implemented and very consistent in action. As a result, these colonial gov-
ernance policies or attitudes of the British in Ghana, the Germans and the French in Togo gave rise to a zoning system which then affected Christian-Muslim relations and their perceptions of each other.

Chapter four did a critical comparison and analyzed the impact of colonialism on Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo through the introduction of Colonialism, Civilisation and Commerce all straddled by Christianity as proposed by Robin Hallett. Hallet’s proposal of “Cs” was accepted by Europeans as “providing the most effective recipe for the transformation of Africa.” The chapter deduced that the Colonial presence, Civilization and Culture and Commerce straddled with Christianity made Christians and Muslims relate on different levels. These further led to several attitudes Christians and Muslims adopted towards each other and each other’s’ religion through the lenses of interfaith models proposed by scholars. From the summary of chapters, the following sections relate to our research questions outlined in Chapter One.

Chapter five examined the relationships between Ghanaian and Togolese Christians and Muslims during and after colonialism. The chapter further assessed the efforts of successive governments of Ghana and Togo and how they fostered Christian-Muslim relations after their respective countries gained independence even though in Ghana some governments used Muslims for political gain. The key findings were that the two religions initially operated from different parts of the country with limited or no direct encounters between them. Sustained Christian evangelization of the northern parts of Ghana and Togo was late because these areas were “prohibited’ to any Christian missionary activity until after the 1900s. Therefore the chances of Muslims and Christians relating to each other in any competitive way were quite slim.

Since the colonial policy was deliberately intended to delay the Northern territories from receiving western type of education, northerners who came to the south before the 1950s served as domestic servants, house helps, farmhands on cocoa and coffee plantations, the mines and serve as recruits in the colonial and Asante constabularies.

After 1950s Christians and a few Muslims met and related as colleagues in schools and colleges mostly in the southern parts of Ghana. Since the Brit-

ish colonized Ghana and English was the official language of communication in schools and other government establishments, one had to receive western type of education before he or she became employable in government service areas. Therefore, Muslim parents who wanted their children to benefit from this western type of education sent their wards to school. This became the basis for Christian-Muslim relations and interactions in Ghana. This was the case in Togo as well.

The chapter also demonstrated that post-independence governments in Africa, including Ghana and Togo were faced with challenges of national unity immediately after colonialism. Thus leaders and governments of Ghana and Togo had to first and foremost put measures in place constitutionally, educationally and spiritually to unite the nation as well as exercise religious freedom. The effort by the Religious bodies and governments of Ghana and Togo in fostering peace and interfaith relations were meant to curb any form of prejudice and stereotypes which could be a major source of conflict. Since the independence of Ghana and Togo in 1957 and 1960 respectively, both Christians and Muslims in the two countries have continued to dialogue and have sought mutual understanding to develop further between them. The chapter concluded that, Christian-Muslim dialogue had already become an established tradition from the early 1980s.

6.2 Colonial Authorities, Colonial policies and Religion in Ghana and Togo

Historically, Christianity was associated so closely with colonialism\footnote{Paul Gifford, ‘Some Recent Developments in African Christianity’ \textit{African Affairs}, Vol. 93, No. 373 (Oct., 1994), 514} while Islam was believed to have been spread by African Muslim traders. Christianity is often perceived as a European or “Western” religion, which played an essential role in the formation of European culture and life \ldots in Africa.\footnote{Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová, Reflections on Islam and Other Faiths in the Contexts of the African Pasts, 442} Christian converts disobeyed the authority of their traditional leaders in favor of that of the missionaries who they saw as their ‘teachers’. Again, Christian missionaries consciously set themselves up as alternatives to recognized traditional authority, with terrible consequences for the social fabric\footnote{Andrew E. Barnes, ‘Evangelization Where It Is Not Wanted’: Colonial Administrators and Missionaries in Northern Nigeria during the First Third of the Twentieth Century, \textit{Journal of Religion in Africa}, Vol. 25, Fasc. 4 (1995), 419} as in the cases of Ghana and Togo in Chapter two of this study.
Again, in Chapter three of this study, we saw that before the colonial authorities occupied their various colonies in Africa, Islam had already dominated many African societies. Therefore since it was difficult to do away with the Muslim presence, the colonial authorities had no choice but to work and relate with the Muslim leaders. The Germans, French and British colonial authorities protected Muslim territories and interests from any Christian missionary activity and this made Islam spread and develop better in the colonies. The British first practiced the ‘Indirect rule’ as a system of administration in Nigeria and later continued with this system of administration in other British colonies by developing indigenous political institutions to serve the needs of the colonial regime.707

We conclude by saying that all colonial authorities saw that it was almost impossible to relegate the Muslim leaders in Africa to the background since they had lived in many societies for many years before colonialism. Therefore the German, French and British colonial authorities decided to make policies or guidelines on how to live with Muslims and Christians in their respective colonies.

6.3 Christians and Muslims and the acceptance or rejection of colonial policies

Christians and Muslims appeared not to have a choice in either the acceptance or rejection of the colonial policies or attitudes. In chapter three (3) above it was shown that, although Islam seemed to have gained more prominence and development during the time of the colonial masters, Christianity was also favoured and developed in its own way. The chapter further noted how sometimes some Muslim leaders rebelled and the colonial authorities were quick to put an end to the activities of such leaders. Also some Christian missionaries who stood against the activities of the colonial authorities were either deported back to their home countries or were imprisoned. We can therefore conclude that the colonial policies or attitudes may not have fully been in the interest of either Islam or Christianity but in order for both religions to thrive on the African soil, there was the need to seemingly accept the policies of the colonial authorities.

707 Andrew E. Barnes, ‘Evangelization Where It Is Not Wanted’; (1995), 418
6.4 Christian-Muslim relations before and during colonial rule

Islam was practiced in Ghana and Togo before the coming of the colonial authorities. During the colonial period, Klaus Hock suggests that Islam spread faster and more successfully than ever before. The colonial ‘pacification’ also facilitated improved communication as well as better and safer travelling. Furthermore, this was an advantage for the promotion of Islam in many ‘pagan’ areas since Islam drew more adherents through its cultural attraction than it had ever attracted by means of forceful expansion.708 The history of Islam and Christianity in Ghana and Togo are similar because Islam began in the northern parts of these countries while Christianity came through the ‘coast’ in the southern parts of the two countries. In the third chapter, we saw that the Germans, French and the British separated the northern parts of their colonies for Islam and Muslim activities while Christians were allowed to perform their missionary activities in the southern parts of their colonies. As long as the colonial authorities held on to that position, any encounters between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo was limited.

The northern parts of Ghana and Togo were opened much later to Christian missionaries who started schools for the natives and then Christian-Muslim relations began. When people from the northern parts of Ghana and Togo also migrated south because of work or trade, further relations evolved between Christians and Muslims. However, we observed that sooner or later, colonialism which seemed to favour Islam in the north was to their disadvantage since by the time of independence of Ghana and Togo, Muslims found themselves deprived or less educated than Christians.709 For a long time, years after independence many Ghanaians and Togolese still assume that the North of their countries is dominated by Muslim while the south is dominated by Christianity. In conclusion, Christians and Muslims had slim chances of relating with each other during colonial times in Ghana and Togo but just before and after the independence of the two countries, Christian-Muslim relations have been practiced at various local and national levels. In fact ‘dialogue of life’ is being practiced in both countries


709 This is not to say that Muslims were not educated in Arabic and Islamic sciences but the kind of education mentioned here is western type or formal education which the Christians or the people of the south appeared to have benefited from better than Muslims. This western type or formal education was what was needed for any kind of western or formal employment.
as citizens of both countries go about their everyday businesses with each other, live as good neighbours in peace and harmony irrespective of their religious and cultural differences. Besides, Christian bodies such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) and the Programme for Christian-Muslim relations in Africa (PROCMURA) continue to run programmes to promote Christians understanding and engagement with Muslims for the better.

6.5 Colonial Legacies and Christian-Muslim relations

West Africa, in particular, has become a theatre of Christian-Muslim engagement. At the latter parts of colonial rule, Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo encountered each other in different ways such as schooling and working together and have continued to interact with each other after independence until now. Again, Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo have lived amicably as neighbours and even intermarried. Africans were not passive recipients of new faith traditions because they still maintain their African values and identity. The colonial policies did not seem to affect Christian-Muslim relations because the colonial authorities in Ghana and Togo made sure to avoid any form of religious conflict especially the Germans as we saw in Chapter three sections 3.2.1.1. When the colonial authorities began to build and develop schools, hospitals and transport systems it was opened for all irrespective of religious or ethnic background. After independence, the government of Ghana and Togo has continued to put measures in place for peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims through ‘shared living and the primacy of the dialogue of life’ to enhance development in the two countries.

The colonial impact on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo was also not directly felt because the Germans, French and British were not interested in any religious impact but rather economic and political impact. This politics of the British for instance created a lot of divisions within the Muslim community in the south of Ghana because it was considered a foreign religion to the southerners.

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711 Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová, Reflections on Islam and Other Faiths in the Contexts of the African Pasts, 454
When we talk about the colonial legacies we mean ‘an inherited challenge’ which in turn becomes a political challenge. This is because the colonial perception of the north being Muslim dominated still lingers on the minds of the people of the southern Ghana and Togo. For instance, in 2000 when the former president of Ghana, John Agyekum Kuffour wanted to appoint someone as a Vice President for the New Patriotic Party (NPP), he wanted and considered someone from the northern part of Ghana because the place was considered Islamic and a Muslim dominated area. Hence the Late Aliu Mahama was nominated as Vice-Presidential candidate for the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The idea was probably to appoint a northerner and not necessarily a Muslim because of the inherited perception. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) under the flagbearaship of the Late John Evans Atta Mills was under pressure to choose a Vice Presidential candidate from the North or stand to lose the election. He went in for John Mahama. Atta-Mills appeared to have been looking at competence instead of Religious background because John Mahama is a Northerner but not a Muslim. Following that same perception, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo chose Mahamadu Bawumia, a Northerner and a Muslim as Vice-Presidential candidate for the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in the 2012/2016 General elections in Ghana. Thus, the perception that the north of Ghana is Muslim or Islamic still lingers on the minds of people and that is a colonial legacy. Yet, today the north consists of Muslims, Christians and even adherents of other religions. As a student of Christian-Muslim relations I debunk this erroneous inherited perception that the North is Muslim and the south is Christian and propose that Christians and Muslims live anywhere in Ghana and Togo. Therefore Christian-Muslim relations should be a national affair because from our survey, in Ghana and Togo there is no ethnic group today that can be singled out as being only Muslim or Christian; rather there are adherents of the two religions within the same ethnic group. Thus Christians and Muslims are everywhere and anywhere in the two countries under study. Nevertheless, there are some ethnic groups that have Christians as majority and Muslims as minority and vice versa. Therefore Ghana and Togo should be seen as a unit and a nation made up of Muslims, Christians, ATR and other religions.

6.6 Comparison and Models of relations

Ghana and Togo are examples of countries in West Africa where religious plurality is evident. This has enabled religious people in these countries to interact and relate with each other. From the study, we identified several
attitudes which were abstracted into models of how Christians interacted with Muslims. In agreement with Martha Frederiks on models, the models used in this work are abstract ideas which represent existing realities.\textsuperscript{712}

Throughout the study we showed the model of dialogue is consistent in the way Christians relate to Muslims. This model of dialogue started on an official note between leaders of each religious group and sometimes the colonial authorities and later became an everyday practice where adherents practiced the ‘dialogue of life’ as a natural way of interacting with each other. Although, the Christian attitudes towards Muslims have grown from confrontation to openness and respect, relations between the adherents of the two religions in Ghana and Togo are still tainted with mutual suspicion. However, dialogue has allowed for better communication and understanding among Christians and Muslims and has further promoted peaceful relations.

The model of presence is another ideal that came up in the work. Christians and Muslims have come to live on the Africa soil and their presence is seen and felt everywhere in Ghana and Togo. Therefore no matter what Christians and Muslims will continue to live together hence there is the need to always put measures in place for peaceful relations between adherents of the two religions.

Finally, the model of \textit{kenosis} is proposed as an act of self-emptying in order to encourage intercultural encounter. With this model, Christians and Muslims identify each other first as human beings, friends, family members, colleagues at school and work and neighbours with whom they relate in their everyday life. The model of \textit{kenosis} presents us with the fact that all human beings can suffer the same fate irrespective of one’s religion. This model is seen in the lives of Ghanaians and Togolese who relate with each other first as human beings before religious affirmations are considered. Thus, during an epidemic of a disease, cure is sought for every Ghanain or Togolese and not for only Christians or Muslims.

The study of Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo show that the models outlined and discussed above perform supplementary roles to each other. However, the models discussed above do not aim at converting each other’s adherents yet they allow for good relations between adherents of the two faiths.

\textsuperscript{712} Martha Th. Frederiks, \textit{We have Toiled all Night: Christianity in the Gambia 1456-2000}, 2003, 5
6.7 Future Possibilities: Avoiding Extremism

There are several religious extremist groups in Africa but for the sake of this thesis only the extremists groups in West Africa are discussed so their activities will be watched and guarded against if the current peace and tolerance is to be maintained in the two countries under study.

Extremism describes the beliefs and actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological, religious or political goals. This includes terrorism, other forms of politically motivated violence and some forms of communal violence. In West Africa, the following are famous Religious extremist groups:

- *Jama`atu Ahlus Sunna Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad* (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad) popularly known as Boko Haram which operates in Nigeria and other surrounding countries like Chad.
- *AQIM*: ‘*Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb*’ which operates in the Sahara and Sahel and has regional ambitions with its activities expanding into Mali with the hope of spreading into the Greater Sahel.
- *Ansar al- Dine*: “Helpers of the (Islamic) religion” or “defenders of the faith”. They are active in the Sahel especially Mali. They seek to eradicate Sufi Islam and Sufi practices and introduce Islamic Law in the region.
- *MOJWA*: “Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa” known as *Jamā` at at-tawhīd wal-jihād fī gharb` afriqqiyā*. This movement which is a breakaway from *Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb* has an intention to spread jihad across a larger section of West Africa.

Boko Haram seems to be the more notorious extremist group in West Africa. Boko Haram is a Hausa version of ‘Western education is unlawful or forbidden’. The name ‘Boko Haram’ is derived from a combination of Hausa word ‘boko’ (book) and the Arabic word ‘haram’ (unlawful). Boko Haram uses the slogan ‘Western culture is forbidden’, because culture is
broader than education. Boko Haram proposes that only education based on the teachings of the Qur’an and the Sunna as interpreted by the first generations of Muslims (salaf) is acceptable as an alternative to Western and secular education.\textsuperscript{716}

Theo Brinkel and Soumia Ait-Hida postulate that Boko Haram is primarily driven by religious motives with an aim of establishing an Islamic state in Nigeria on the basis of the \textit{Shari’a}. Also, its members are motivated by a Jihadist version of Islam because they perceive themselves as believers of the only true interpretation of the Islamic faith.\textsuperscript{717} This thesis is therefore interested in the resistance to western education as part of the colonial and post-colonial experiences.

According to Muhammadu Buhari, President of Nigeria, Boko Haram terrorism activities still remained the biggest challenge confronting not only Nigeria but the rest of the West African region.\textsuperscript{718} This has also been a challenge and a concern for many heads of state in West Africa as they have to be security conscious. Modern Islamic militancy is more visible in the British former colonies of Sudan and Nigeria because the British’s policy of indirect rule enabled Muslims to perform their customary, administrative and jurisdictional powers particularly in the area of enforcing Islamic Shari’a law in Northern Nigeria thereby contributing largely to the development of Islamic militantism.\textsuperscript{719} In contrast to the British, the French through

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{716} The “Boko Haram” tragedy: Frequently asked questions. Minna: Da’wah Coordination Council of Nigeria. 2009, 14. Boko Haram is rooted in the Islamic Yusufiyya sect, which is named after its founder Mohamed Yusuf. The sect started in Maiduguri, the capital of the federal state of Borno in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. In 2004, the group moved to Kanamma in the federal state of Yobe, close to the border with Niger. Since that time, Boko Haram has had a base there from which it organises its assaults. Mohamed Yusuf was a charismatic preacher of violent extreme Islam. He was responsible for radicalisation of Boko Haram. In July 2009, he led a large-scale uprising in the member states of Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Katsina and Yobe. See Also: Adesoji A.O ‘Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram’. \textit{Africa Today} 57(4): (2011), 99–118.
\item\textsuperscript{717} Theo Brinkel and Soumia Ait-Hida consider Boko Haram’s use of religion as an ideology, as an instrument for recruitment, as a means of legitimizing extreme violence and as a criterion for the selection of targets. In the recruitment and cohesion of members of Boko Haram, religion plays a significant role because members behave as if they belong to a religious sect since they usually pray in their own mosques and do not mingle with the local population. Theo Brinkel and Soumia Ait-Hida, ‘Boko Haram And Jihad In Nigeria’, \textit{Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies}, Vol 40, Nr 2, (2012), 12
\item\textsuperscript{718} \textit{Africa Research Bulletin} – (20561), May 1st–31st 2015, John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
their policy of direct rule or policy of assimilation replaced the customary, administrative and jurisdictional powers with new procedures shaped by European officials and largely operated by them. The French generally saw Islam as a serious rival, and sought to neutralize it by restricting the construction of schools and mosques as we discussed in Chapter three of this work. Later, the colonial authorities gradually found some friendship in certain marabouts such as Ahmad Bamba of Senegal.

Since Nigeria is close to Ghana and Togo in West Africa, once their security is threatened it affects other West African countries and this has been a concern for many Christians and Muslims who think their relationship in future could be destroyed based on the activities of Boko Haram.

According to Suleman Mumuni:

the Muslim groups in Ghana are not militant groups and before a foreign militant group can have an influence on an internal or local militant group, there should be some internal militant group so that the external one will be able to penetrate and enhance their operation we are lucky in Ghana we have never had that. Therefore, it is very difficult for any agent to have such influence on Ghanaian Muslims. However, individual Muslims are daring to join but they have no support here in Ghana. It can be a serious issue if there is an internal militant group because it is easy to send them resources and ammunitions and dictate to them what to do.  

Christians do not hate Muslims and vice versa and ATR had been and is still receptive to all of them hence the need to coexist peacefully. Shuiab Yakubu Abban also remarks that ‘Ghanaians and Togolese should not go to sleep and think that Boko Haram is far away from us. Since Religion has become part of the problem so religion has to become part of the solution’. In that case more education on the need for peaceful coexistence and the consequences of joining such militant groups need to be instilled in the youth. In the case of Togo, Karim Aleyare argues that it is quite impossible for Togo to witness any form of internal militant uprising because of the strict measures put in place by the government. According to him, the Togolese foreign affairs are strict on any one who emigrates or migrates into the country so as to be sure that person has no relationship with any

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720 Interview with Mumuni Suleman, Senior Lecturer, Department of the Study of Religions, University of Ghana (Legon) Accra on 1st November, 2016
721 Interview with Shuiab Yakubu Abban, Gen Secretary, ASWAJJ, Accra on 2nd November, 2016
militant group. He further remarked that the Muslim Union of Togo helps the Ministry of Foreign affairs by researching into the life of the traveler and once they are suspicious, that traveler is prevented from entering into the country.\textsuperscript{722}

6.7.1 Religion and Politics

Still looking into the future of Christian-Muslim relations in Africa, most governments in West Africa especially Ghana and Togo should be mindful of what Johnson Mbillah terms as “Religionisation of Politics and Politicisation of Religion”. This according to Mbillah is a canker in Africa\textsuperscript{723} because although many African constitutions are against the formation of parties based on religion or ethnic group, some African countries have witnessed this. This can be destruction to peace and good relations among members of a community.

Some Religious Leaders take religion into politics because they use politics and politicians to advance the course of their personal ambitions, enhance their personal images in public life and entrench the resurgence of their religious group. In other words they hang on the aprons of politics by supporting Religious Pilgrimages. The issue here is that if care is not taken, this form of support can breed division among people of a community. For the sake of peace, then the government must be ready to sponsor the religious pilgrimages of all religions or stop supporting the religious pilgrimage of one religious group leaving the others. Since the purse of Ghana and Togo cannot support this enterprise we propose a total stop of it all.

Some Politicians also use religion to advance their political ambitions, thus, people vote for candidates based on the person’s religious background and not the person’s competence. For instance, before the 2000 General elections in Ghana, there was a perception that a Christian must be a President while a Muslim becomes the Vice-president. This has been the trend in Ghanaian politics over the years. We propose that, the governments of Ghana and Togo should appoint citizens who are competent and not based on ethnic and religious backgrounds.

\textsuperscript{722} Interview with Karim Ayalere, Vice President of L’Union de Muslima (Muslim Union of Togo) on 24th November, 2016

Elom Dovlo remarks that media is one of the contested areas in Ghanaian religious pluralism. Dovlo explains that the state-owned media was originally seen by Muslims as biased in favour of Christianity but by the 1990s, Muslims began to build a new image for themselves and for Islam.\(^{724}\) The electronic media especially has become the means through which apologetics and polemics operate hence this must be checked. The media is faceless yet it can cause damage to or promote Christian-Muslim relations; therefore the media has to be circumspect in their reportage on religion.

Although there has been considerably well meaning talks and efforts to promote good Christian-Muslim relations and peaceful co-existence in Ghana and Togo since independence we think more can be done to maintain these good relationships between members of the two faiths. The future does look bright for good relations between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo but God is the only one who knows more about the future so we live it to Him.

### 6.8 Future possibilities

There have been successes of relations between Christians and Muslims and the issue of dialogue and peaceful co-existence between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo remains a major concern. Since Muslims and Christians co-exist in Ghana and Togo, they are compelled to respond to the challenges of this reality. Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo continue to promote mutual understanding and better practical relationships among themselves. In order for the religious communities and individual adherents of the two faiths in the two countries to achieve good relations four suggestions concerning the future of Christian-Muslim Relations are raised below.

First, we identify that both Christianity and Islam teach about peace and peaceful co-existence. In Ghana and Togo, the Multiplicity of religions and freedom of religion has made accommodating one another a natural phenomenon. Thus, coexistence is paramount even though there is diversity. Again, ‘blood ties’ are respected in both countries hence this fosters the relationships between Christians and Muslims because naturally they become “each other’s keeper”. Religion in most cases is a secondary mat-

ter because the blood relationship is the most important issue to consider. Hardly do we find someone killing his/her relative on the basis that he or she belongs to a different religion. Therefore, the respect for blood ties and backgrounds pave way for Ghanaians and Togolese to work together in the same working environment and learn in the same schools irrespective of their religious differences. In both countries, Muslims and Christians have a good relationship because they invite each other for programmes such as wedding ceremonies, child naming, religious festivals and funerals. The fact is that, Muslims cannot convert all Christians and vice versa and once this fact is accepted then it takes both a Christian and a Muslim to develop a country.

Second, we commend the efforts of the Programme for Christian–Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) which is a Christian organization with a primary interest of constructively engaging Muslims for peace, peaceful co-existence and for the holistic development of the human person. This organization holds programs and encourages programs in both Ghana and Togo that will enable both Christians and Muslims to interact, learn from each other and above all live peacefully with each other.

Third, more academic centres in seminaries, universities or within departments of universities for the study of Christian-Muslim relations should be established for Christians and Muslims to interact and learn from each other. These centres could hold both formal and informal programmes for religious leaders and adherents geared towards better peaceful relations and coexistence. Such centres as we agree with Nathan Samwini could be possible avenues to ‘offset any religious prejudice, biases or particularism’ against the ‘other’. Religious leaders and bodies or individuals can also initiate programmes to discuss social issues between Christians and Muslims.

725 Nathan I. Samwini, “The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana” 2006, 252
726 On the 15th November, 2016, the Programme for Christian–Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA) in conjunction with the Northern Ghana Diocese of the Methodist Church, Ghana and the Northern Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana held a ‘Peace conference’ in Tamale towards the General elections of Ghana. This conference was attended by The Most Rev. Prof. Emmanuel K. Asante (Chairman of the National Peace Council of Ghana), Rev. Dr. Johnson Mbillah (General Adviser of PROCMURA), the Rt. Rev. Dr. Nathan I. Samwini (Bishop of the Northern Ghana Diocese of the Methodist Church), Rev. Dr. Solomon Sule-Saa (Chairman of the Northern Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana), the Dakpema (Chief of Tamale) and other traditional leaders, religious leaders and adherents of many churches in Northern Ghana as well as Muslims, Imams and Islamic scholars.
Fourth, Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo should consider themselves first as Africans and then Ghanaians and Togolese of a common identity or belonging to the same nation or community. They must not see themselves as foreigners because they have converted to a new religion therefore adopting a ‘new’ culture. Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Togo should avoid or curb the notion of Western individualism which sees the other as an outsider and an intruder to privacy, thus the notion of ‘I am by myself and the other is different from me’ which is translated into religious relations as the religious other must be for himself and I for myself. Again, Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Togo should be a national affair and since there is no ethnic group that can be singled out in Ghana or Togo as being only Muslim or Christian, adherents of the two religions must learn to live in peace either in their clans, ethnic group or community. Christians and Muslims are everywhere and anywhere in the two countries under study so the colonial perception of the North being Muslim and the south being Islam should be curbed.
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