'Local Species' in African Soil:
The Development of James McKeown's Mission Models and their Implications for The Church of Pentecost, Ghana

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the mission models of the Revd James McKeown, a British missionary who became the first chairman of The Church of Pentecost (CoP), Ghana. The relatively high growth of the CoP is normally attributed to McKeown's indigenous mission models by some members of the Church. Consequently, any attempt to introduce changes in the Church's existing practices is treated as heterodoxy by a cross-section of church members, who claim McKeown's name as authority.

The research identifies that the inclination to idealize the past and preserve implicit mission models for succeeding generations has always been a major source of rift among the generations in Christian mission. Although scholars have recognised this challenge, studies in the field of missiology have concentrated on foreign missions to the neglect of mission in multigenerational contexts. Using archival and ethnographic tools of qualitative research, and adopting a theoretical framework, which combines studies from the fields of contextualization and intergenerationality, the research argues that theology has to be done again for every generation, not for fashion but because people are cultural and cultures continue to change.

To mitigate the rift between the generations in the Church, this thesis proposes an 'Intergenerational Mission Approach' (IGMA) as important contextual missiology, especially from an African Pentecostal perspective. This approach has the capacity to incarnate into the contexts of the different generations within the Church, addressing the deep-seated needs of the older generations and responding to the contemporary needs of the younger generations. The thesis further argues that the IGMA's emphasis on context and social change, promises its potential to prolong the mission of the Church in Africa into the foreseeable future. This thesis is, therefore, a vital contribution to the growing body of knowledge in the field of missiology.

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DECLARATIONS

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed _____ (Candidate)

Date _____ JUNE 9, 2020 _____

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by mid-notes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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STATEMENT 2

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DEDICATION

To Apostle Professor Opoku Onyinah, former chairman of the Church of Pentecost for being a mentor *par excellence*.

Most importantly, I am greatly indebted to my dear wife, Olivia and my children, Blessing, Dorothy and Christian Jnr. They provided great emotional and spiritual support for me during the rigorous times of the study. My mother, Salome Afua Kpingbi, and my siblings: Francisca, Samuel Marconi and Henry, deserve thanks for their prayers and encouragement. I am grateful to other family members: Justice, Emmanuella, Rita, Mabel and a host of others I cannot mention, for their supportive roles.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	American Bible Society
AC	Apostolic Church
ACG	Apostolic Church, Ghana
ACUK	Apostolic Church, UK
ACHQUK	Apostolic Church Headquarters, UK
AFTC	African Faith Tabernacle Congregation
AICs	African Indigenous/Initiated/Instituted/Independent Churches
AoG	Assemblies of God
AoGG	Assemblies of God, Ghana
ARS	The Apostolic Revelation Society
BFBS	British Foreign Bible Society
CAC	Christ Apostolic Church
CMs	Charismatic Ministries
CMS	Church Mission Society
CoP	The Church of Pentecost
CoPCL	Church of Pentecost Circular Letter
CoPG	The Church of Pentecost, Ghana
CoPHQ	Church of Pentecost Headquarters
CPCs	Classical Pentecostal Churches
CPP	Convention People's Party
CRMHCs	Charismatic Renewals in Mainline Historic Churches
EC	Executive Council
EPC	Elim Pentecostal Church
EOCSS	The Eternal Order of Cherubim and Seraphim Society
FG	Focus Group
FGBMFI	Full Gospel Business Men Fellowship International
FGKNUST	Focus Group, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
FGPU	Focus Group, Pentecost University
FGUG	Focus Group, University of Ghana, Legon
FTC	Faith Tabernacle Church
FTM	Faculty of Theology and Mission
GC	General Council
GCC	Gold Coast Council
GCMMs	General Council Meeting Minutes
GCMs	General Council Meetings
GEC	Ghana Evangelism Committee
GECR	Ghana Evangelism Committee Report
GHAFES	Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students
GPC	Ghana Pentecostal Council
GPCC	Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council
GS	General Secretary
IGM	Intergenerational Mission
IGMA	Intergenerational Mission Approach
IMD	International Missions Director
LRM	Latter Rain Movement
MCG	Methodist Church, Ghana
MDCC	Musama Disco Christo Church

MHB	Ministerial Handbook
MPC	Methodist Pentecostal Church
MPL	McKeown's Pastoral Letter
NCA	National Communication Authority
NG	New Generation
NPCs	New Prophetic Churches
OAIC	Organization of African Initiated Churches
OG	Old Generation
PAN(T)	*Pentecost Asɔre Nnwom, Twi* (Pentecost Songs in Twi)
PCG	Presbyterian Church, Ghana
PENSA	Pentecost Students and Associates
PIWC	Pentecost International Worship Centre
PSB	Pentecost Songs Book
PTS	Pentecost Theological Seminary
PU	Pentecost University
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
SC	The Saviour Church
STML	School of Theology, Mission and Leadership
SU	Scripture Union
TAC	The Twelve Apostles Church
TEF	Theological Educational Fund
TF	Town Fellowship
TWMCs	Traditional Western Mission Churches
WAF	Women's Aglow Fellowship
WCC	World Council of Churches

Fig. 1 The Map of Ghana, showing all the political regions, including six new regions created in 2018. (Credit: Ameyaw Debrah)

Name of Region	Regional Capital
Ahafo	Goaso
Ashanti	Kumasi
Bono East	Techiman
Brong Ahafo	Sunyani
Central	Cape Coast
Eastern	Koforidua
Greater Accra	Accra
North East	Nalerigu
Northern	Tamale
Oti	Dambai
Savannah	Damongo
Upper East	Bolgatanga
Upper West	Wa
Volta	Ho
Western	Takoradi
Western North	Sefwi Wiawso

Fig. 2 Regions of Ghana in alphabetical order, showing regional capitals.

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CHAPTER ONE

JAMES McKEOWN'S MISSION IN CONTEXT

</div>

1.1 Introduction

The primary focus of this research is to investigate the mission models of the Revd

James McKeown (1900-1989), the first superintendent and chairman of The Church of

Pentecost (CoP). The CoP is generally designated as a classical Pentecostal

denomination[1], having its headquarters in Ghana. The Church started from the local

initiative of a group of Ghanaians who later affiliated their church with the Apostolic

Church, UK in 1935. This affiliation eventually led to the sending of the Revd James

and Sophia McKeown as Apostolic Church missionaries to Ghana (then Gold Coast) in

March 1937.[2] McKeown, therefore, became the first superintendent of the Gold Coast

Apostolic Church, from which the CoP eventually emerged in 1953.[3]

Even though the Church experienced two major conflicts at different times, the

CoP under the leadership of James McKeown enjoyed a steady growth from its

inception up to 1982, when McKeown left for retirement. For example, membership

grew from 13,940 members in 1953 (the year the CoP seceded from the ACUK) to

177,311 in 1982 (the year McKeown retired), representing an exponential growth of

over 1,000 per cent in 29 years (CoPHQ 2015). After McKeown retired and went back

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[1] Classical Pentecostalism is used in this thesis to describe Pentecostal denominations in Ghana who had some link with other Western Pentecostal movements such as the Assemblies of God Church in the USA and the Apostolic Church in the UK. These churches emerged in the early nineteenth century, laying emphasis on the experience of the power of the Holy Spirit. This will be discussed further in this chapter.

[2] The records about the particular day in March on which McKeown arrived in the Gold Coast is not consistent. Wyllie (1974) dates it as 2 March; Leonard (1989) and Larbi (2001) state 4 March whilst Onyinah (2004) indicates 7 March. Yirenkyi-Smart (2017) corroborates 7 March, taking his source from a photocopy document he assessed from the late Apostle AT Nartey.

[3] In 1953, the Church was known as the Gold Coast Apostolic Church. It became Ghana Apostolic Church in 1957 when the country had independence and eventually changed to The Church of Pentecost in August 1962.

to the United Kingdom, the CoP continued to experience relatively high growth under the leadership of different indigenous Ghanaian chairmen (see Markin 2019:166-82). As of December 2018, the CoP claimed a total membership of 2,759,642 in Ghana. This is said to account for approximately 9.3 per cent of the total estimated Ghanaian population of 29,614,337. The Church also has branches in 98 nations worldwide, giving it a total global membership of 3,257,943 (Nyamekye 2019).

This research does not intend to rehearse the history, growth and ethical developments within the CoP, since studies on these have steadily emerged in recent literature (see Debrunner 1967; Wyllie 1974; Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005; Walker 2010; Onyinah 2012; Quampah 2014; Daswani 2015; Elorm-Donkor 2017; Markin 2019). Nevertheless, since the mission models of James McKeown cannot be examined without recourse to the CoP's mission history, aspects of important events within the historiography of the Church that are of interest to this thesis are discussed as and when necessary. Additionally, attempts have been made to clarify some conflicting records and nuances in existing literature.

1.2   Defining Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism has been generally considered as a movement concerned with the experience and manifestation of the power and gifts of the Holy Spirit (Anderson 2013; Asamoah-Gyadu 2015a; Robeck 2007; Ma & Ma 2013). Although it has been growing for over a century now, the multiplicity, dynamism and variegated nature of the movement make it difficult to define. In fact, the task of explaining the Pentecostal phenomenon has become even more enigmatic than could be imagined at its inception (Wilson 1999; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005; Anderson 2013). Despite these complexities, there are shared features of the movement that can be used to attempt definitions. Asamoah-Gyadu, for example, broadly defines Pentecostalism as:

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> Christian groups which emphasise salvation in Christ as a transformative experience wrought by the Holy Spirit and in which pneumatic phenomena including 'speaking in tongues', prophecies, visions, healing, and miracles in general perceived as standing in historic continuity with the experiences of the early church as found especially in the Acts of the Apostles, are sought, accepted, valued, and consciously encouraged among members as signifying the presence of God and experiences of his Spirit (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:12).

This thesis follows such a broad definition of the Pentecostal phenomenon because it makes it possible to embrace the diverse waves of Pentecostal innovations, such as African Indigenous Churches (AICs), Classical Pentecostal Churches (CPCs), Charismatic Renewals in the Mainline Historic Churches (CRMHCs) and Neo-Pentecostals, generally referred to in Ghana as Charismatic Ministries (CMs). Such an inclusive approach to the study of Pentecostalism in Ghana is important due to the dynamic nature of the movement in the country as the case has been globally.

1.3   The Place of the CoP in Ghana's Pentecostal Christianity

Though the CoP is generally considered as a Classical Pentecostal Church (CPC), it is also described either as an 'Indigenous Classical Pentecostal Church' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2002:24) or as an 'Indigenous Church' (Arnan 2005:xii). These descriptions are due to the general observation that the CoP has taken on an indigenous character that marks it as different from other CPCs such as the Apostolic Church (AC) and the Assemblies of God Church (AoG) in Ghana (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:88). Current developments within the CoP reveal that whether intentionally or inadvertently, the Church has managed to accommodate different waves of Pentecostal innovations such as prayer centres, Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs) and Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA) alongside its traditional congregations.

Prayer centres in Ghana are similar to divine healing practices in special healing homes, which developed in the mid-nineteenth century in Europe and America, and Prayer Mountains in South Korea (see Onyinah 2012a: 151, 187). Prayer centres/camps in the CoP are places of worship that can be considered as congregations of the Church. They are however different from the traditional CoP congregations because some of the

prayer centres provide accommodation facilities for the sick and the afflicted who sometimes spend days, weeks or even months, seeking spiritual solutions to their predicaments. As of August 2017, there were 42 recognised prayer centres in the CoP in Ghana (CoPHQ Archives: 2017).

Some practices of these prayer centres such as emphasis on healing, deliverance and prophetic directions, are similar to such practices in churches described either as Prophet-led, Prophet-healing or New Prophetic churches (Larbi 2001; Anderson 2001b; Quayesi-Amakye 2015). What distinguishes the CoP prayer centres from the other Prophet-healing churches in Ghana is that the CoP prayer centres have been absorbed into the established structures of the Church and so the leaders of the centres are accountable to the leadership of the CoP. Also, to regulate the activities of these prayer centres and minimise spurious manifestations and manipulations, the CoP organises annual seminars for all prayer centre leaders and their teams to train them in handling some spiritual, ethical and other related challenges associated with the healing and deliverance ministry.[4]

Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs) are urban-type model congregations that developed within the CoP in 1993. The rationale behind the establishment of the PIWCs is to provide a well-organised, cross-cultural church for the emerging generation of Ghanaians who prefer to worship in the English language or a multi-cultural environment. It is also to provide a place of worship for people of non-Ghanaian cultural backgrounds who reside in Ghana and may want a place of worship. Right from their inception, the PIWCs do not adhere to some of the traditional practices of the CoP such as gender segregation in church and women's head covering (CoPHQ Archives: 1992a, 1992b & 1993). These congregations are much closer in outlook to the

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[4] See Appendix 4 for the copy of a letter by the General Secretary of the CoP, inviting area heads to attend the 2019 prayer centre leaders training seminar. I have personally been a facilitator at the 2014 prayer centre leaders training seminar.

churches normally referred to as Charismatic Ministries (CMs) in Ghana, especially in their ability to incorporate global influences into their liturgy and thereby attract a youthful membership.[5] What distinguishes the CoP's PIWCs from the CMs is the latter's emphasis on prosperity and their over-dependence on the founder-leader, whilst the former operates under the centralised administrative structure of the CoP.

Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA) is the student wing of the Youth Ministry of the CoP. This comprises CoP and non-CoP students on   second cycle and tertiary campuses in Ghana, who come together in fellowship and worship. PENSA has the characteristics of non-denominational student groups such as the Scripture Union (SU) and the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GHAFES) on university campuses in Ghana and elsewhere (Larbi 2001; Omenyo 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). The word 'Associates' in the acronym 'PENSA' for example, makes room for students who are not CoP members but want to fellowship or 'associate' with the group whilst on campus.

This ability to accommodate different waves of Pentecostal innovations within its fold seems to have contributed partly to the CoP's wide demographic and geographic appeal in Ghana. To some extent, the Church seems to be providing for the needs of its members at different levels and in different contexts. Arguably, the CoP has been recognised as the largest Pentecostal church in Ghana since 1989 (GEC 1989, 1993; Foli 2001; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005; Onyinah 2018). The CoP is also part of the four Pentecostal denominations that are recognised as the founding churches of the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC), formerly known as Ghana Pentecostal Council (GPC). The significant place occupied by the CoP in Ghana's Pentecostal Christianity therefore makes research on the mission models of its first superintendent, who is recognised by the Church as its founder, an important endeavour.

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[5] The PIWCs will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

1.4   The Place of Ghana's Pentecostal Christianity in Global Christian Mission

Despite the obscure beginning and the awkward history of modern Pentecostalism, the movement has emerged as one of the outstanding success stories of Christian mission in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Hollenweger 1984; Barrett 1988; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005; Anderson 2013; Johnson 2014). Pentecostals believe that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and mission are inseparable and as a result, they see themselves as a missionary movement (Ma et al. 2014). It is asserted that the Pentecostal movement has been growing, not because of a particular doctrine, but because their mission is hinged on oral liturgy, narrative theology, intentional evangelism and dependence upon the power of the Holy Spirit. They allow maximum participation at all levels and include dreams and visions in their worship (Hollenweger 1972; 1980; 1997; 2000; Anderson 2002; 2004b; 2005; 2013). Harvey Cox, for example, argued that Pentecostalism

> Succeeded because it has spoken to the spiritual emptiness of our time by reaching beyond the levels of creed and ceremony into the core of human religiousness, into what might be called "primal spirituality", that largely unprocessed nucleus of the psyche in which the unending struggle for a sense of purpose and significance goes on (Cox 1995:81).

Based on current demographic statistics on global Christianity, including Todd Johnson's *Counting Pentecostals Worldwide,* it has been argued that at the moment, Pentecostal Christianity, in its diverse forms, represents the fastest growing stream of Christianity, especially in the non-Western world (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013; Gelder 2014; Johnson 2014; Kärkkäinen 2018).

Currently, Pentecostal Christianity is growing in Africa, and the rest of the Global South, more rapidly than other parts of the world. Johnson et al. (2018:20-28) for example, observed that Africa became the continent with the greatest number of Christians, numbering 599 million people by mid-2018. African Christianity is growing by 2.8 per cent per year, followed by Asia (2.13%) and Latin America (1.20%). Low growth rates are identified in Oceania (0.98%), North America (0.58%) and Europe (0.04%). This report corroborates that of David Barrett (1970; 1982), Barrett et al.

(2001) and other observations that by the beginning of the twenty-first century, majority of the world's Christians would be living in Africa, Asia and Latin America (see Schreiter 1985; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005; Kim 2013; Ma & Ma 2013; Johnson et al. 2015). Projected statistics for both African Christianity (Johnson et al. 2018) and Global Pentecostalism (Johnson 2014) suggest that these two seismic shifts in the history of global Christian mission may continue unabated into the foreseeable future.

Todd Johnson's statistics on global Pentecostalism, published in 2014 brings out clearly the place of Ghana's Pentecostal mission within global Pentecostal Christianity (Johnson 2014). First, the statistics place Ghana among the top ten countries in the world with the highest percentage of Pentecostals as at 2010. Ghana was also placed among the top ten countries with the highest percentage annual growth rate of Pentecostals between 1910 and 2010 (13.25%). In relation to what they referred to as Pentecostals (Type 1) or Classical Pentecostalism, it could be seen from Johnson's research that Ghana's Classical Pentecostals (among all the nations of the world) was the only country listed among the first ten in all three categories of: (1) highest population (3,504,000); (2) highest percentage of country's population (14.4%); (3) highest percentage of Christian population (22.6%) (see Johnson 2014:285). Notwithstanding the obvious challenges with statistics, these significant observations are strong indications of a movement that needs to be taken seriously in mission studies in Africa and of course, global Christian mission in general.

1.5   Precursors of Ghanaian Pentecostalism

In an attempt to discuss the development of Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity, it is important not to overlook the fact that the growth of Pentecostal mission in Ghana, owes a lot to the work of the Traditional Western Mission Churches (TWMCs) who pioneered Christian mission in the region a few centuries before Pentecostalism emerged. Similar to the situation in other African countries, south of the Sahara, early

Christian missionaries from the Roman Catholic and other Protestant traditions had been carrying out pioneering missions work for more than four hundred years before Pentecostalism emerged in Ghana (Debrunner 1967; Agbeti 1986; Sanneh 1983; Williamson 1959; Bartels 1965).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the TWMCs had experienced significant growth in different ways. Thus, by the time Pentecostalism emerged in the country, Christianity had been experienced in almost all regions and had contributed to the building of schools and hospitals, the training of craftsmen and translation of the Bible and other literature into various vernacular languages (Debrunner 1967:55, 106, 126-29; Sanneh 1983:146-51; Clarke 2011:46; Gifford 2004:21-22; Schaaf 2002:46-50).

These noteworthy contributions became very important tools for the emergence, development and growth of Pentecostal mission in Ghana. Thus Pentecostalism in Ghana can be seen as part of the 'unintended fruit' of the modern missionary movement (Shenk 1999:59-60). Two of the significant contributions of these precursors of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana are briefly discussed in the next section.

1.5.1 Vernacular Translations

Translation of the Bible and other Christian literature into various vernacular languages is undoubtedly one of the major achievements of the TWMCs in Ghana and other parts of Africa. For example, as early as 1744, Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein, a Ghanaian slave who became a minister of the Netherlands Reformed Church and served as chaplain at Elmina, translated the 'Twelve Articles of Faith' into the Fanti language (Schaaf 2002: 37). His work is significant because it was carried out before the formation of the British Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in 1804 and the American Bible Society (ABS) in 1816, which later pioneered Bible translations into vernacular languages in Africa and elsewhere with the help of local agents (Schaaf 2002: 42-4).

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In Ghana, the New Testament was translated into the Ga, Twi and Ewe languages by 1859, 1863 and 1877 respectively (Schaaf 2002: 48-9). By the end of the nineteenth century, Johannes Zimmermann, a Basel Missionary had translated the entire Bible into the Ga language and wrote a Ga grammar book. Then, Johannes Gottlieb Christaller, also a Basel missionary, translated the entire Bible into the Twi language, developed a Twi dictionary and Grammar in 1875 and compiled 3,600 Twi proverbs in 1879 and by 1915 the German missionaries have produced the entire Ewe Bible. This underscores the fact that by the emergence of Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century, the entire Bible had been translated into three major Ghanaian languages, that is: Ga, Twi and Ewe (Debrunner 1967; Schaaf 2002; Sanneh 1989; Meyer 1999).

Sanneh (1989:125) argued that by encouraging and aiding the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, the missionaries promoted indigenization and 'helped nurse the sentiments for the national cause, which mother tongue crystallized and incited'. He contended, 'Translatability is the source of the success of Christianity across cultures' (Sanneh 1989:51). This is clearly true with Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity, especially in the case of the AICs and the CoP. In the AICs, it was the vernacular translations that ignited the spirit of indigenous freedom and spontaneity, which were among the factors that promoted the quirkiness of their liturgy and led to the Africanization of the Gospel (Sanneh 1989:51; Anderson 2001a:280-81). Similarly, in the CoP, the use of vernacular languages, which was promoted by the readily available vernacular Bibles, is among the factors that contributed to the successful spread and growth of the Church in both urban and rural towns in Ghana.

1.5.2 *Establishment of Formal Educational Systems and Training*

Similar to the role vernacular translations played in promoting Pentecostal mission in Ghana, is the significant contribution of formal education. As has been the case in other parts of the world, formal education can be said to have provided the necessary tools

and resources for the spread and growth of Pentecostalism in Ghana. Until the later part of the nineteenth century when the government began to take more interest in formal education, the TWMCs were largely responsible for organized schools in Ghana (Debrunner 1967; Sanneh 1983; Larbi 2001). These schools trained people who could read the Bible and other correspondence, in both the vernacular and English languages. Some of these people became pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism, whilst others were very instrumental in assisting the few white Pentecostal missionaries in the country.

Historical records are explicit of the fact that apart from few exceptions, many of the catalysts and pioneers of African Pentecostal mission were people who had benefited from either the formal educational system or lay leadership training of the TWMCs. For example, the Liberian prophet William Wade Haris and his contemporaries in other parts of Africa such as Garrick Sokari Braide of the Niger Delta and Simon Kimbangu of Congo, who spurred the various spiritual innovations in Western and central Africa, were educated and nurtured by mission churches (Baëta 1962; Omulokoli 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005, 2015; Kalu 2008; Quayesi-Amakye 2013). If Kalu's assertion that such people 'tilled the soil on which modern Pentecostalism thrives' is true (Kalu 2008: x), then it is apposite to contend that the TWMCs provided the tools for tilling.

In Ghana, pioneers and catalysts of Pentecostal mission, including the likes of Joseph William Egyanka Appiah (founder of the Musama Disco Christo Church), Prophet Samuel Nyankson (whose healings, miracles and other spiritual activities influenced Egyanka Appiah), Samuel Brako (founder of the Saviour Church), Peter Anim (founder of Christ Apostolic Church) and James Kwaku Gyimah (a key person in the formation of the Church of Pentecost) were all educated and nurtured in schools founded by mission churches (see Baëta 1962; Wyllie 1974; Bredwa-Mensah 2004). Regrettably, the TWMCs failed to recognise these renewals and spiritual experiences of

such people as the fruit of their labour. They therefore criticised and condemned such spiritual experiences, setting the tone for the emergence of independent Pentecostal denominations in the country (Baëta 1962:35-36; Onyinah 2012:112).

1.6 Waves and Developments in Ghanaian Pentecostalism

The Ghanaian Pentecostal and Charismatic scenes have been changing constantly right from their inception to the extent that many of the typologies used to describe the phenomena at a particular time, almost become misnomers by the emergence of another wave of Pentecostal innovation. Omenyo (1994:175) therefore, observed that no single typology can appropriately describe the various Pentecostal renewals taking place in the country. This notwithstanding, Allan Anderson (2018:9) suggests, 'Any serious study of Pentecostalism must deal with terminology to minimise confusion'. An attempt has therefore been made to briefly describe the various waves of Pentecostal innovations that have been taking place in Ghana since its emergence. The purpose for this is also to clarify the context in which McKeown's mission was located in Ghana's Pentecostal Christianity.

1.6.1 The Emergence of African Indigenous Churches

The early twentieth century witnessed the emergence of churches normally referred to in literature as African Indigenous Churches (AICs).[6] They are generally referred to as S*unsum Sɔre* (Spiritual Churches) in Ghana, similar to *Aladura* (Praying) Churches in Nigeria, *Roho* (Sprit), *Akurinu* or *Arathi* (Prophet) Churches in East Africa, and Zionist Churches in Southern Africa (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:21; Padwick 2018:17). According to John Padwick,

> The AIC movement can be seen as a response to the European and North American missionary movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and to the subsequent process of African

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[6] The acronym AICs also refers to other related terms such as African Initiated Churches, African Independent Churches and African Initiated Churches.

Christians reading and reflecting on the Christian scriptures in their own mother tongues' (Padwick 2018:17).

The origin of these churches in Ghana can be linked to the missionary activities of Prophet William Wade Harris, the Grebo Liberian prophet, whose missionary work through the coast of West Africa entered Ghana in 1914. Harris' ministry in Ghana was said to have attracted many followers and achieved great success, especially because of its appeal to primal resources (Baëta 1962; Larbi 2001; Omulokoli 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). Following Harris was John Swatson and Sampson Oppong, who also laboured as great prophet-evangelists in the Methodist Church. Even though Harris, Swatson and Oppong did not start any independent church, it was after their ministries that many independent pneumatic churches emerged in Ghana.

The ground-breaking work of Christian Baëta covers at least five major pneumatic churches and four smaller ones in the country as at 1962. Churches considered in this classification include: The Twelve Apostles Church (TAC) who traced their origin to the evangelistic activities of William Wade Harris in 1914, The African Faith Tabernacle Congregation (AFTC) which started in 1919, The Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC) founded in 1922, The Saviour Church (SC) founded in 1924, The Apostolic Revelation Society (ARS) which started in 1945, and The Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim Society (ESOCSS) which originated from Nigeria and was established in Ghana in 1931 (Baëta 1962).

Many of the major catalysts and pioneers of this wave, were from the Methodist Church tradition. David Burnett identifies several revival experiences within the Methodist Church Ghana (MCG) under the ministries of Thomas Birch Freeman and Joshua Hayford, between 1874 and 1885, which seem to have effectively prepared the spiritual atmosphere for the rapid growth of these AICs (Burnett 1997:50-58). These churches grew rapidly in Ghana, partly because of their rejection of Western forms of Christianity at a time when many African countries rejected colonial rule and fought for

independence. In Ghana for example, the then President, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, a Pan-Africanist, was attracted to the MDCC, arguably because the latter's claim to a mission of spiritual liberation of Christianity from Western elements appeared to resonate well with Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party's (CPP) ideology of African Independence (Burnett 1997:190-95).

In addition, a major contribution of AICs to the Ghanaian ecclesiastical scene, can be observed in their emphasis on healing from all kinds of diseases and on exorcism from evil spirits. This was seen as an alternative to idol worship for those who have converted to Christianity and as a result did not want to seek help from traditional shrines for their physical and spiritual quandaries. The AICs' method of healing, which infuses the power of the Holy spirit to heal, with the use of traditional herbs, seems to merge both Pentecostal spirituality and African traditional religiosity, a character which also attracted many people to them (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:43).

By the 1970s and 1980s, however, a major decline was observed in these churches (GEC 1993; Burnett 1997; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). Various reasons, including their persistent resistance to what they considered as foreign influence and their attempt to preserve, almost entirely, what they regarded as their cultural heritage in Ghana, were among factors accounting for this decline. Although seeking to be relevant to local contexts, they ended up maintaining a 'dated context' because of their inability to respond to global transformations, which had significantly influenced the everyday life of the average Ghanaian of the time. Burnett noted that some of the educated young people of the MDCC, for example, openly raised concerns and expressed dissatisfaction about the Church's traditional practices such as animal sacrifice, traditional chieftaincy structure and ceremonies around the graves of founding leaders (Burnett 1997:265-66). Similar trends seemed to have taken place in other African countries, including some *Roho* Churches in Kenya (Padwick 2003:191-2). John Padwick noted that during a

youth convention in one of the churches, one youth referred to the long white gowns (called *kanzu* by its members) as 'sacks', and complained that when worn, one cannot differentiate between men and women (Padwick 2003:192).

These observations demonstrate the existence of some disconnection or tension between the theologies of the older generation members of these churches and those of the younger generation. This gap is partly because on the one hand, the AICs have succeeded in resisting 'Any new form of theological education that is at variance with what they consider as "their founding vision"'[7] whilst on the other hand, they fail to coherently articulate their oral theologies for the benefit of the younger generation (Padwick 2018:15-20). In Ghana, it was in the wake of these dissatisfactions among the younger members of the AICs that Classical Pentecostalism emerged. Many of the young people therefore left their denominations and joined the CPCs, leading to the decline of the AICs.

1.6.2   The Rise of Classical Pentecostal Churches in Ghana

The emergence of Classical Pentecostalism in Ghana could be traced to the local initiatives of a group of young people who used to meet for prayers in Asamankese Anum in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Peter Anim, who was originally a Presbyterian, later joined the group from Anum Bosso in 1917 and subsequently emerged as the leader of the group (Personal Interviews: Ntiaku 27/04//2015; Okumfo 27/04/2015). Anim afterwards got to know about the Holy Spirit through the reading of *The Apostolic Faith* magazine, a publication of the Apostolic Faith Church in the USA.[8] Anim's desire for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, as taught in the magazine, motivated him and his followers to pray regularly for such experience. During my field work to Asamankese in

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[7] In the terminology of the Organization of African Initiated Churches (OAICs) 'founding visions' refer to the already existing oral theologies of the AICs (see Padwick 2018:16, 20).

[8] Subsequent to Anim's affiliation with the Apostolic Faith Church in the USA, Anim affiliated with the Faith Tabernacle Church also in the USA. This church was not a Pentecostal church but had a very strong teaching on healing without any recourse to medication (see Larbi 2001; Bredwa-Mensah 2004).

2015, my interviewees clarified that Anim and his group did not directly experience the Holy Spirit baptism; rather, it was Stephen Owiredu of Brekumasu, a member of the Presbyterian Church, who experienced it first (Personal Interviews: Ntiaku 27/04//2015; Okumfo 27/04/2015; Owiredu 27/04/2015; Asamoah 28/04/2015).

Nana Daniel Ntiaku Asihene of Asamankese Anum, whose father was one of the founding members of Anim's ministry, indicated that Stephen Owiredu was initially not a member of Anim's group. In 1930, Owiredu's wife gave birth to a set of female twins. Unfortunately, one of the twins died in 1932 and the second one also became ill. Fearing that this child would also die, Owiredu took her to his farm to pray for her healing. While praying, he began to speak 'a strange language', which was later described as speaking in tongues; an evidence that he had been baptised in the Holy Spirit. Since the Presbyterian Church could not accommodate Owiredu's experience within their fold, Anim's group was informed about the issue. A delegation of four people was sent to Brekumasu (Owiredu's village[9]) not too far from Asamankese, to bring Owiredu to the place where Anim's group had gathered to pray. Upon meeting Owiredu in the village, the four delegates also received the Holy Spirit baptism and began to speak in tongues. The four, together with Owiredu walked from Brekumasu back to Asamankese. Upon entering the church building where expectant believers were already gathered and praying, some members of the group were also baptised in the Holy Spirit accompanied by *glossolalia*. This gave popularity to the group and people walked long distances to Asamankese, just to pray for Holy Spirit baptism (Personal Interview: Ntiaku 27/04//2015).

This story is also corroborated by other participants such as Prophets JA Okumfo and DK Owusu, who were leaders of Prophet Stephen Owiredu Memorial Prayer Camp in Brekumasu at the time of the interview. I also met 85-year old Maame Yaa Attaa, the

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[9] Brekumasu is also called Kwao Yeboah

then 'little girl' Stephen Owiredu was praying for in 1932, when he received the Holy Spirit baptism. She also confirmed the story as was passed on to her by her father (Personal Interviews: Okumfo 27/04/2015; Owusu 27/04/2015; Owiredu 27/04/2015; Asamoah 28/04/2015). In his book, *Pentecost from Jerusalem to Asamankese*, Joshua Yirenkyi-Smart, a lecturer at the School of Theology, Mission and Leadership (STML), formerly Pentecost Theological Seminary (PTS), stated that people walked from far and near to Asamankese to experience the Holy Spirit baptism. A man named Kwadwo Kuku, for example, spent several days walking from Kumasi to Asamankese (about 256 kilometres), to experience the Holy Spirit baptism (Yirenkyi-Smart 2017:87-9). The events of Asamankese are reminiscent of the 312 Azusa Street revival in the US, where people were said to have travelled long distances, including a man who travelled 300 miles to Azusa Street, just to experience the revival (Apostolic Faith 1906:23).

Photograph 1, showing: from left - Prophet JA Okumfo (One of the founding leaders of the Stephen Owiredu Prayer Camp), Mercy Owiredu (Stephen Owiredu's daughter, popularly known as Maame Yaa Attaa, who Stephen Owiredu was praying for when he spoke in tongues) and the author. During field work in April 2015.

Photograph 2, Showing the very spot where Stephen Owiredu was said to have received the Holy Spirit Baptism. The place has become a prayer ground where people could go and pray. In the picture is a man sitting in a plastic chair praying. Also, at the root of a tree at the spot are various items, especially water and anointing oil. People placed them there so God will bless it for their use. Finally, in the picture is a bowl for offering. When people pray at this place, some make vows to God and when their requests are fulfilled, they come to pay whatever amount of money they pledged into the bowl.

Directly linked with Owiredu and the Anim group's experience in Asamankese is Kwaku Gyimah's experience in Akroso. Prior to Owiredu's experience in 1932, Kwaku Gyimah, also a Presbyterian in Akroso, read about the Holy Spirit from the same *Apostolic Faith Magazine*, which might have been in circulation in Ghana at the time. Through his desire for the Holy Spirit, he received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues in 1931. Since his experience could not be contained in the Presbyterian Church at Akroso, he began preaching the gospel on the streets. Gyimah with his followers later got in touch with Anim's group after the Owiredu's experience in 1932 and both groups began to have periodic interactions (Personal Interviews: Gyimah 12/05/2015).

It was within this context that Peter Anim affiliated the Church he led with the UK Apostolic Church in 1935, an event which led to the sending of James McKeown to the Gold Coast in 1937. Peter Anim's group and Kweku Gyimah's group eventually merged under McKeown and the Apostolic Church. Through different splits, this Church developed into three of the four Pentecostal denominations that form the nucleus of the Classical Pentecostalism in Ghana. These are: the Christ Apostolic

Church (CAC), the Apostolic Church (AC) and the CoP. These three denominations are therefore the direct offshoots of the mission activities of Peter Anim, Kweku Gyimah and James McKeown (Personal Interviews: Bimpong 30/04/2015; Obenewa 30/04/2015 and Gyimah 12/05/2015).

The fourth major denomination classified under this wave in Ghana is the Assemblies of God Church (AoG). The Assemblies of God, Ghana (AoGG) is a direct off-shoot of the Azusa street revival that started with the ministries of Charles Parham and William Seymour in the USA and was the first Western Pentecostal mission to work in Ghana (McGee 1986; Larbi 2001; Frimpong-Manso 2018). The AoG's missionaries from America, Lloyd and Margaret Shirer, were the first Western Pentecostal missionaries to work in Ghana. They arrived in the then Gold Coast in 1931 and started their work in the Northern territories. James and Sophia McKeown joined the Apostolic Church in Ghana in 1937, six years after Lloyd and Margaret of the AoG had laboured in the country (Larbi 2001; White 2016; Frimpong-Manso 2018). The Shirers' contribution to Christian mission in Ghana can be seen in their ability to plant many churches within the Northern part of the country at a time when Christian mission in Ghana was mainly centred in the South. The Shirers were also said to have identified with the indigenous people, learnt their languages and even contributed to the translation of the Bible into Dagbani, an indigenous Ghanaian language (Frimpong-Manso 2018:25, 67).

In spite of the hard work of the Shirers and other AoG missionaries in Ghana, Frimpong-Manson (2018) identified that the Church experienced a slower growth rate until 1973 when the leadership was handed over to indigenous Ghanaians. For example, total membership increased from 14,150 people in 1973 to 30,000 in 1978 and by 1992, the growth rate of the AoG was 86 per cent for the five-year period. Total membership as at 2013 increased to 512,634 (Frimpong-Manso 2018:111-12). Within Ghanaian

Pentecostalism, these four denominations (the AoG, the CoP, the AC and the CAC) are officially recognised as the founding member-churches of the GPCC (see Wyllie 1974; Larbi 2001).

1.6.3 Non-Denominational Christian Fellowships and Revival Prayer Groups

The third wave in Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity comprises mainly of non-denominational Christian fellowships on University campuses, revival prayer groups within the TWMCs and community interdenominational fellowships. This wave became predominant in Ghana from the early 1960s (see Adubofour 1994; Larbi 2001; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). Prominent among them are Scripture Union (SU), Town Fellowships (TF), Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GHAFES), Full Gospel Business Men Fellowship (FGBMF) and Women's Aglow Fellowship (WAF) now known as Aglow International.[10] Some of the non-denominational prayer groups later developed into independent churches that can be identified in this thesis as the fourth wave.

1.6.4 Charismatic Ministries

The fourth wave of the Pentecostal phenomena, generally referred to as Charismatic Ministries (CMs) in Ghana, emerged in the 1970s. Asamoah-Gyadu describes these churches as a local movement with a global character. They are international in terms of the use of music and are inclined to the application of technological tools in worship. They are mostly comfortable with the use of English language in their liturgy. In Ghana, these churches have been growing rapidly with large youthful demography, exhibiting some characteristics of megachurches as found elsewhere in the world (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:98-99; Gitau 2018:3-5). These churches seem to have responded effectively to the religious needs of the contemporary generation in Ghana, albeit

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[10] For detailed work on these non-denominational movements and para-church groups, see (Adubofour 1994).

neglecting the needs of people without Western education as well as those of the older generations. This shows in the demography and composition of people in their congregations.

1.6.5 New Prophetic Churches

The fifth wave of the Pentecostal experience in Ghana, is what Quayesi-Amakye refers to as New Prophetic Churches (NPCs). These churches are also similar to what Larbi (2001) calls Prophet-led Churches and Anderson (2001b) designates as Prophet-healing Churches. They also bear resemblance to the AICs in terms of their approach and emphasis on the 'existential needs of clients by means of primal religious understanding' (Quayesi-Amakye 2015a:164). They normally develop their churches around the gift of one key leader and focus on giving prophetic directions to their clients. Nonetheless, they differ from the AICs in their Western type of dressing and their ability to incorporate contemporary technological tools into their liturgy.

From its inception till now, Pentecostal Christianity in Ghana has continued to grow in various waves and forms and has been identified as 'the most cogent, powerful and visible evidence of religious renewal and influence in Ghana' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:14). Although James McKeown's direct involvement in the development of Pentecostalism in Ghana was limited to classical Pentecostalism only, Wyllie (1974:109) asserted that the ministry of Peter Anim and James McKeown had a profound influence on the independent Pentecostal movement in Ghana. In recent times, the use of McKeown's pictures and images by other Pentecostal traditions in Ghana seem to corroborate Wyllie's assertion and suggest that McKeown's influence might have transcended the classical Pentecostal sphere. This observation also emphasises the need to investigate the implications of McKeown's mission models for contemporary CoP and for that matter, Pentecostal mission in Ghana and Africa in general.

1.7 James McKeown's Mission Biography

James McKeown, whose parents originally came from County Antrim, Northern Ireland, was born in Glenboig, Scotland on 12 September 1900. He ended schooling at age 11 in order to assist his father, William McKeown, on his farm. McKeown grew up as a farmer and later became a tram conductor and driver before his call to missions in Ghana (Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001). Like many Pentecostal missionaries of his time, McKeown neither had much formal education nor theological training. While farming in Scotland may be different from that of Ghana, one can argue that McKeown's farming background early in life and low level of formal education might have influenced his ability to adapt more easily to the Ghanaian peasant life, spending time with the people in rural communities.

My interviewees disclosed that during McKeown's missions work in Ghana, he did not like short visits to towns and villages. He visited remote villages where the people were mainly farmers and spent days and sometimes weeks with them, teaching them the word of God and praying with them. Where there were no vehicles, he walked long distances, slept in the villages and ate local foods that were offered to him (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018; Abam 01/05/2015). Comparable to some Western missionaries of his time, who struggled to fit into the Ghanaian socio-cultural system, McKeown's adaptability won for him the admiration, acceptance, support and commitment of the indigenous people.

Some of the interviewees for this research disclosed that McKeown stayed with the indigenous people within their communities as friends. For example, his first residence in Ghana was in Asamankese, where he shared a compound house with Opanyin Anyani Boateng, the landlord. Opanyin Boateng had three wives and 23 children but McKeown was able to stay with them peacefully in that same house (Personal Conversation: Danso 28/04/2015). I visited Opanyin Anyani Boateng's

residence in Asamankese on 28 April 2015 and met Maame Adwoa, the only surviving person who lived in the house with McKeown. She recounted how McKeown lived with them in peace and prayed for them (Personal Conversation: Maame Adwoa 28/04/2015). McKeown was seen by many Ghanaians as someone who, to a large extent, adjusted to the Ghanaian way of life and lived a normal life with them. He associated well with all classes of people without discrimination (Personal Interviews: Abam 01/05/2015).

1.7.1   McKeown's Conversion and Disciplined Life

James McKeown's parents, who were originally Presbyterians, got attracted to Alexander Boddy's Sunderland conventions and exhibited Pentecostal characteristics such as speaking in tongues, when he (James) was only eight years old. The family eventually joined the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance, now Elim Pentecostal Church (EPC), founded by George Jeffreys in 1915 (Leonard 1989:11-14; Malcomson 2008:262-64; Schmidgall 2013:60). It was said that the McKeown's home became a vibrant centre of Pentecostal activities, where preachers such as George Jeffreys and Smith Wigglesworth came to minister. At age 19, McKeown accepted Christ into his life through the preaching of Pastor Robert Mercer and became a member of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance (Wyllie 1974; Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001; Walker 2010; Malcomson 2008; M Thomas 2016).

McKeown might have followed his parents to some of the Sunderland conventions and experienced the ministry of Alexander Boddy. This could have had some influence on McKeown's ministry in Ghana. According to William Kay, a professor of Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies at the University of Bangor, Alexander Boddy was a dignified evangelical Anglican clergyman, who 'maintained a balance between Pentecostal freedom and the scriptural precepts enjoining order' (Kay

2008:33). This ability to maintain a balance between Pentecostal freedom and the scriptural instruction of maintaining order in church as found in 1 Corinthians 14:37-40, became one of McKeown's major contributions to Pentecostal Christianity in Ghana as discussed further in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Apart from Boddy's possible influence, McKeown's personal life and ministry might have also been significantly influenced by the strict Presbyterian background of his parents and his encounters with renowned holiness Pentecostal preachers such as George Jeffreys and Smith Wigglesworth in his early life. This is especially palpable through the hosting of Pentecostal activities in their home. Smith Wigglesworth, for example, was said to be a great itinerant preacher, who was generally recognized as a man of faith (Malcomson 2008). In the words of Keith Malcomson, Wigglesworth was

> … indeed, an *Apostle of faith* with apostolic simplicity and marked by death to self. His message was always Christ [centred] and was always a clear message from the written Word of God. He loved God's word. He believed that it was the infallible, inspired Word of God. He took it literally and believed it carried absolute authority in every area of his life and ought to for the church at large (Malcomson 2008:195).

Many of my interviewees who claimed to have known McKeown, described him as a man of faith, who loved God's word and prayer (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018; Gyimah 12/05/2015; Amponsah 29/04/2015). Also, an analysis of some pastoral letters McKeown wrote during his mission in Ghana reveal that like Wigglesworth, McKeown believed in the absolute authority and infallibility of the Bible as God's word. As such, phrases such as 'I want you to read the Bible very well', 'I have to turn to the Bible', 'If you can bring any Scriptural authority for blessing water … But if there be no Scripture for such practice, what then will such practice be called in the Church?' are commonly found in his pastoral letters (MPL 09/01/1958; MPL 10/09/1971). Of course, this position is not unique to Wigglesworth and McKeown, just like other evangelicals, the ACUK affirms 'The Divine Inspiration and Authority of the Holy Scriptures' as found in their tenets (ACUKHQ 1937:19).

It should be acknowledged that both Smith Wigglesworth and George Jeffreys were themselves influenced by the Welsh Revival of 1904-1905 and Boddy's Sunderland conventions of 1908-1914 (Kay 2008:32-33). Generally, it is not in doubt that the Welsh revival had a direct influence on the emergence of the entire Pentecostal movement in Great Britain since most of its pioneers were prominent in this revival. This understanding also provides a pointer to the observation that some of the practices which were very strong in James McKeown's ministry as a missionary in Ghana, were characteristics of the Welsh revival. Keith Malcomson, for example, noted about the Welsh revival,

> It was a singing revival but the songs were crammed with sound doctrine. It was a time of blessing for the church but the emphasis was on seeing sinners saved … A desire and love for reading the Scriptures, resulted from this revival. Holiness of heart and conduct was wrought mightily (Malcomson 2008:83).

Malcomson's observation about the emphasis on holiness of heart, is again an important pointer to McKeown's strong emphasis on holiness. Characteristics such as passion for sinners to be saved, love for prayers, consistent reading of the Scriptures, love for songs and encouragement to the church to walk with Christ, were also clear impacts that can be traced to the Welsh revival. McKeown was described by many of my interviewees as a disciplined man, whose emphasis had always been on the power of the Holy Spirit to change lives and cause people to live in holiness (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018; Gyimah 12/05/2015; Amponsah 29/04/2015).

This Pentecostal holiness stance reflected also in his sermons and Bible teachings, as discussed later in Chapter Four of this thesis. Apart from teaching on holiness, he was also said to have practically lived a disciplined life. Throughout his 45 years stay in Ghana, this research could not find any accusation levelled against McKeown on the grounds of immorality. He therefore had the moral courage to discipline church leaders and members who fell below expectation, as understood by the practices of the Church he led (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018; Dampson 11/04/2015). This practice

of disciplining church leaders and members, continues to be upheld in the CoP (CoPHQ 2016a:79-84; CoPHQ 2016b:105-107). McKeown was said to believe that when people come to Christ and experience the baptism in the Holy Spirit, they must also discipline the flesh and live by the Spirit because those who are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God (Rom 8:14) (Personal Interviews: Gyimah 12/05/2015; Amponsah 29/04/2015).

1.7.2 Influence of Marriage on His Mission

At the age of 27, James McKeown got married to Sophia Killough, originally a Presbyterian, who also became attracted to the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance due to her desire to be baptized in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Before joining the Elim Church, Sophia became a member of the Faith Mission, an organization which worked in rural areas, using both men and women itinerant evangelists called Pilgrims. The Faith Mission also had a strong emphasis on Christian holiness (M. Thomas 2016:131-32; Leonard 1989:18). This suggests that Sophia might have affirmed McKeown's concept on holiness and church discipline. Her influence can be seen in the Women's Ministry of the CoP, in which Sophia was very instrumental (Personal Interview: Amponsah 29/04/2015; Abam 11/05/2015).

Right from its inception till date, the slogan for the Women's ministry of the CoP has been 'Holiness unto the Lord', probably taken from the inscription on the forehead of Aaron's crown (Ex. 28:36-38; 39:30). This slogan continues to be used in the CoP in contemporary times. Accordingly, it is very common for a CoP member to meet another member on the street or in the market and greet, '*Kronkron!*' (meaning 'Holiness!) and the response is '*Ma Awurade!*' (Unto the Lord!). Holiness unto the Lord has therefore become a common greeting for the women (and sometimes men) in the CoP.

Sophia has also been described as a prayerful woman. Some of my interviewees who claimed to have known her indicated that she had a tradition of praying for long hours. She therefore taught the women in the Church to pray for many things, including: the conversion of lost souls, interceding for their families and also seeking God's face in all decisions (Personal Interview: Amponsah 29/04/2015; Abam 11/05/2015). Since McKeown was also described as very prayerful, it can be assumed that the couple might have influenced each other to sustain their love for prayer throughout their ministry in Ghana.

Sophia was also said to be very zealous in evangelism. She accompanied McKeown to many evangelistic outreaches, normally playing her tambourine. She encouraged the women to evangelise and led them in separate evangelistic rallies and outreaches (Personal Interviews: Bimpong 30/04/2015; Obenewa 30/04/2015). The evangelistic zeal of the Women's Ministry of the CoP and how it has influenced McKeown's mission is further discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. Other contributions of Sophia, which might have aided McKeown's mission in Ghana included teaching the women about home management and needle work, biblical lessons on marriage and family life and how to raise children in the fear of God (Personal Interview: Amponsah 29/04/2015; Abam 11/05/2015). To a large extent, these lessons could be said to have attracted and sustained many women in the Church. The CoP described Sophia as 'a reliable, faithful, noble and a virtuous woman, always by her husband to support his ministry' (CoPHQ Archives n.d, see Photograph 12).

1.7.3 *Influence of the UK Apostolic Church on McKeown's Mission*

After their marriage, James and his wife moved to Glasgow in 1927 where they joined the Apostolic Church since they could not find the EPC there (Leonard 1989:19; M Thomas 2016:132). Just like the EPC, the ACUK emerged from the Welsh Revival,

which was a holiness movement (ACUKHQ 1937:7-8). Consequently, the AC held a strong stance on church discipline. It is shown in the 1937 constitution of the AC that even the apostles, who occupy the highest leadership position in the AC were not exempted from discipline in the Church (ACUKHQ 1937:178). For example, the constitution indicates:

> An Apostle shall hold such sacred office for life from the time of ordination, subject to his life and conduct conforming to New Testament standards, and as long as he is amenable to the government of the Church as expressed through the Constitutional channels, and adheres to the tenets of the Church as contained in the Constitution and Guiding Principles (ACUKHQ 1937:62).

It is evidence in this passage that even the apostles can only maintain their office on the condition that their life and conduct conform to certain expectations of the Church in terms of theology, governance and beliefs. This might account for why McKeown was very strict on the leaders of the Church he led. Nevertheless, Christine Leonard, who had the opportunity to interview McKeown in 1982 and published his biography in 1989, records, 'The Apostolics suspended James from membership for six months'. His offence was that McKeown, who was then a lay preacher, travelled to Canada to undertake a casual employment without informing his church leaders (Leonard 1989:20-21). Such was the nature of discipline in the ACUK. McKeown's position on holiness and church discipline as identified in the CoP in contemporary times might have been influenced significantly by the AC.

Another significant influence of the AC on McKeown's mission could be seen in his emphasis on the operations and practical manifestations of spiritual gifts, especially, the gifts of prophecy. This also influenced McKeown's mission as will be discussed further in Chapter Four. The AC believes strongly in the use of Spiritual Gifts as stated in 1 Corinthians 12:7-11. The fifth and sixth tenets of the AC clearly reveal their belief in the baptism in the Holy Spirit for believers with signs following and the belief in the operations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit (ACUKHQ 1937:18-19; ACUKHQ 2008:8). The 1937 constitution of the ACUK suggests that the Church accepted the Bible as 'The

written Word of God' and also accepted prophetic utterances as 'The spoken Word of God'. Despite this strong belief in prophecies, the AC seems to be very much conscious of the fact that the prophetic gifts can be manipulated. As a result, some measures were put in place to control excesses.

For example, it is pointed out in the 1937 constitution that even though 'The Word of the Lord through all the ordained and proved Prophets in the Church being equally accepted as the Voice of God …, The responsibility for the interpretation and carrying into effect of the Word of the Lord, is that of the Apostleship' (ACUKHQ 1937:149). This implies that when a prophet gives a prophetic message, he is not allowed to interpret or implement the details of the prophecy. Such interpretations and the implementation were left for the Apostles to determine. The constitution further states, 'No prophecy given by a person holding the dual offices of Apostle and Prophet should be acted upon, without the approval and co-operation of another Apostle (ACUKHQ 1937:145). This was necessary to make sure that each prophecy was tested and approved by other apostles before they could be accepted and implemented. This was to prevent a monopoly and abuse of the charisms of the spirit and to serve as checks and balances for their pneumatology.

In spite of these measures, McKeown was said to be very concerned about how prophecies were used in the ACUK. For example, his calling to missions and sending to Ghana was through a prophetic utterance, as had been the practice in the Church, within those days. Such prophecies that give specific instructions were normally referred to as 'directive prophecies' (B Thomas 2016). McKeown was said to have been worried about the fact that, 'people could use prophecies to fulfil their own human plans' (Leonard 1989:20). He therefore waited from 1935 till 1937, when he was convinced that the call was from God before accepting to go (Wyllie 1974; Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001). McKeown was said to have told Christine Leonard in an interview that, 'As he

[McKeown] grew closer to the inner circle, he came to believe that some so-called directive prophecies were manufactured to fit in with decisions which men had already made' (Leonard 1989:20).

McKeown's suspicion of the manipulative tendencies of charisms of the Spirit in the church, coupled with the control structures of the ACUK, greatly informed the manifestation and use of spiritual gifts in the CoP. Throughout his ministry in Ghana, McKeown and the CoP depended on prophecies and believed that God uses prophecies to direct the affairs of the Church. The CoP, nevertheless, has control systems that allows every prophecy to be reflected on or tested, irrespective of whoever is giving the prophecy (CoPHQ 2016b: 39, 43 & 47). This position is supported by 1 Thessalonians 5:19-22 which says, 'Do not quench the Spirit. Do not treat prophecies with contempt but test them all; hold on to what is good, reject every kind of evil' (NIV). By this Scripture, McKeown and the CoP have taken seriously the importance of prophecy in mission, albeit, they hold the view that the human agents can use prophecy to promote their human agenda and manipulate others. Prophecies and other spiritual manifestations must therefore be critically and objectively considered before implemented. This approach to their pneumatological experiences is what this research calls 'Reflective Pneumatology' as discussed in Chapter Four.

1.7.4   James McKeown's Weaknesses as a Missionary

James McKeown has been held in high esteem in the memory of many people in Ghana. As a result, during my fieldwork, almost all my interviewees noted that they could not tell of any weakness of the man James McKeown. The only area where interviewees had divergent views was in the area of church discipline. Some of the interviewees were of the view that McKeown was too strict on how discipline was meted out especially to pastors and church leaders, sometimes without investigation or appropriate

consultations (Personal Communication: Akrashie 13/02/2015; Hagan 13/02/2015). Others were of the view that at the foundational stages of the Church, very strict disciplinary measures as practised by McKeown was needful to ground the infant church on a strong moral and disciplined footing (Personal Communication: Ahuakese 13/02/2015; Sackey 02/05/2015). Further discussions on the subject of church discipline is offered in Chapter Four.

On the subject of whether McKeown spoke any of the Ghanaian languages, all the interviewees responded in the negative. Despite the fact that my interviewees did not see this as a weakness, this research argues that McKeown and Sophia's inability or refusal to speak any of the indigenous Ghanaian languages throughout their 45 years of mission in Ghana, is one of the greatest weaknesses in their mission. Similarly, McKeown did not use Ghanaian traditional clothes during his mission work in Ghana. Although he occasionally put on a Ghanaian smock or tried the traditional cloth (see photographs 13 & 14), he was mostly seen in a white shirt with a tie or in a suit. This is unlike many missionaries of McKeown's era, who devoted themselves to the learning of indigenous languages and identifying with indigenous people in their dressing. As stated earlier, missionaries of the Traditional Western Mission Churches dedicated themselves to the learning of indigenous language and to the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages (Debrunner 1967; Schaaf 2002; Sanneh 1989; Meyer 1999).

Besides, other Pentecostal missionaries of McKeown's time, such as Lloyd and Margaret Shirer, who were the first AoG missionaries to Ghana were able to learn and speak the Mori and Dagbani languages fluently and aided the translation of the Bible into Dagbani (Frimpong-Manso 2018:25, 67). It must be noted that even some of the missionaries from the ACUK, who came to Ghana after McKeown seceded from the AC, made efforts to learn at least one Ghanaian language. For example, during my interview with Mrs Pauline Lewis, a former ACUK missionary to Ghana, she was able

to still remember and briefly spoke the Twi language with me. She told me she had a Twi name *Adwoa*, the name given to females born on Monday among the Akan speaking people of Ghana (Personal Interview: Lewis 18/08/2017). The McKeown-led CoP could have been more attractive and achieved a greater numerical growth if McKeown and his wife were able to learn just a little of any of the Ghanaian languages.

Paul Hiebert points out that at a certain point in modern mission, Western missionaries realised that, 'mission must be far more sensitive to people and their cultures, … individual missionaries identified closely with the people they served and learned their ways. Many more showed their love for the people by their deep commitment to their ministries' (Hiebert 1985:9). Hiebert is however quick to add, 'But the identification of the gospel with Western power and technology made it foreign, and therefore unacceptable, to many people' (Hiebert 1985:9). Despite the fact that McKeown failed to learn the Ghanaian languages and also did not to use local Ghanaian costumes, the Church he led has been described by some as an indigenous church. Is the CoP actually an indigenous church? What makes McKeown's mission unique in Ghana? This will be analysed further in Chapter Five.

1.8   The Research Problem

As stated earlier, the CoP has developed a distinctive character that makes the denomination to be described either as an Indigenous Church, or as an Indigenous Classical Pentecostal Church (see Larbi 2001:203; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:23; Leonard 1989:74). Writing the introduction to the *History of The Church of Pentecost Volume 1*, DK Arnan, the then chairman of the literature committee of the CoP, asserted, 'The Church of Pentecost, from its inception, has been an indigenous, a do-it-yourself Church. Accordingly, self-governance, self-propagation and self-support, have been identified as main thrusts' (Arnan 2005: xii). These descriptions seem to agree with

McKeown's own claim that he wanted to plant 'local species' in African soil, since he recognises that an 'English oak' will struggle to grow in the Gold Coast.

The comparatively high growth experienced by the CoP is therefore attributed to the indigenous mission praxis of James McKeown; consequently, any attempt to introduce changes in any of the existing practices of the Church is met with opposition from a cross-section of church members, with McKeown's name as authority. This resistance to change is mostly assumed to originate from the older generation of church members who in one way or the other have experienced James McKeown's ministry with its character. They insist that the church should maintain its practices that have brought it this far. Elder SY Sackey, noted in a personal interview with the author, 'you don't change a winning team' (Personal Interview: Sackey 02/05/2015). As a result, such people have been nicknamed by the younger generation as the 'McKeownites', meaning, the people of McKeown (Walker 2010). Meanwhile, those who belong to the middle class and the younger generation (henceforth NG), for whatever reason, advocate for changes in several practices in the church.

In an attempt to make the CoP's praxis more relevant to the context of the NG, the leaders of the Church have made obvious attempts over the years to transform some of the Church's long-held traditions. Two obvious examples include: First, the introduction of English Assemblies, leading to the establishment of PIWCs in 1993. The second major transformation took place in 2010 when the leaders of the CoP issued a communiqué to further modify these traditional practices, not only in the PIWCs, but also in all other CoP congregations, allowing women to come to church without covering their head if they wish to do so. The communiqué further indicates, 'female visitors in decent trousers and Rastafarians or persons in dreadlocks be accepted in fellowship in the spirit of Christian love, while couples or families desiring to sit

together at church be allowed to sit under the feet of Jesus to learn' (CoPCL 02/02/2010).

Some church members were resentful with these two changes and openly deplored the decision of the leaders. My role as the then district pastor of the CoP in Bedeku District[11] placed me in a position where I experienced the difficult responsibility of handling reactions from disenchanted church members within my district. Apparently, a local radio station had taken the communiqué out of context and announced on air that the CoP had opened the 'floodgate' for any kind of dressing and relaxed in its stance on moral discipline (Radio Ada 17/02/2010). This was similar to what was communicated by other media houses in the country, including state-owned newspapers, such as *The Daily Graphic* (Salia 17/02/2010), and *The Ghanaian Times,* (Markwei 17/02/2010). Personal conversations with some members of the CoP and colleague pastors within this period revealed that other pastors and area heads[12] also found it very difficult explaining the import of the communiqué to their piqued church members.

Conversely, the NG church members became very happy with the innovations and commended the leadership of the Church for listening to God and guiding the Church to move on from 'narrow-mindedness' and 'pharisaic Christianity', towards a Pentecostal Christianity that is sensitive to the leading of the Holy Spirit. This stance of the NG became clearer to me when within the heat of this uproar, in the year 2010, I was transferred from Bedeku district to one of the PIWCs in Sakumono – Accra, as the resident pastor. In Sakumono, I had the opportunity to meet, not only the youth, most of whom were young graduates and students in different universities across the nation, but

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[11] Bedeku is a rural town located between Kasseh and Ada all within the Greater Accra Region. As a district pastor in Bedeku, I had the responsibility of overseeing 11 small congregations within different rural communities around Bedeku with a total membership of 889 adult and children as at June 2010.

[12] In the CoP, area heads are normally experienced full-time ministers of the Church, who are responsible for several administrative districts. They oversee the work of pastors who are responsible for districts.

also, the middle-class, some of whom were lawyers, medical doctors, engineers, bankers and other public servants as well as self-employed business men and women. Personal conversations with these groups of people revealed the relief and joy they had for what they considered 'courageous' and 'progressive' decisions by the church leaders.

Although these efforts seem to have helped the CoP to maintain a wide membership demography within its fold, the conflicting reactions among the different generations reveal that there seem to be a generational rift that has been left unattended to in the Church. The frequent reference to McKeown by those who oppose the transformations in the Church suggest that his mission model might have been absolutized and considered normative for all generations in the CoP. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Church, who propose the various transformations also appeal to McKeown's authority for implementing such transformations. Regrettably, no academic enquiry has been made into McKeown's mission praxis, which is understood to have evolved to become mission models that is being preserved for posterity.

David Bosch asserted, 'There have, of course, always been Christians (and theologians) who believed that their understanding of the faith was "objectively" accurate and, in effect, the only authentic rendering of Christianity'. He added, 'Such an attitude, however, rests on a dangerous illusion' (Bosch 2011:185). There is therefore a need to carry out an academic investigation into the mission praxis of James McKeown and analyse how contextual his mission has been in Ghana. This will make it possible to examine how his implicit mission models have influenced the mission of the CoP and investigate the implications of these models for the future of the Church's mission in Ghana. The research will then explore the possibility of proposing a mission approach that has the capacity to mitigate the rift among the different generations within the Church and to sustain the mission of the CoP into the foreseeable future.

1.9   Research Question

The central question this research seeks to address is: 'To what extent can The Church of Pentecost continue to learn from James McKeown's implicit mission models?' To that effect, the research will be concerned with the following sub-questions:

(a) How contextual was James McKeown's mission praxis in Ghana during his time?

(b) What are the implications of James McKeown's models for contemporary mission in the CoP, Ghana?

(c) Can an effective mission approach, with staying power, be developed out of McKeown's praxis to guide the future of the CoP and African Pentecostal/ Charismatic mission in general?

These questions are intended to guide the research in identifying James McKeown's implicit mission models, assessing the strengths and weaknesses of these models in order to propose a mission approach that has the capacity to address the deep-seated needs of the older generations whilst responding to the changing needs of contemporary generations. The assumption is that some principles might underlie McKeown's mission praxis. These can be contextualised for the future of the CoP's mission rather than the attempt to preserve his models for contemporary and future generations.

1.10   Methodology

The research adopts a multidisciplinary approach to the study of James McKeown's mission models in the CoP, Ghana. Though it was carried out primarily in the field of Pentecostal missiology, knowledge from other fields such as church history, cultural anthropology and sociology were employed. An interdisciplinary approach to the study of both missiology and Pentecostalism has been recognised by scholars as very vital in research (Verstraelen et al. 1995:2; Escobar 2003:21; GloPent 2006:1; Cartledge 2008:100). For example when a group of leading Pentecostal scholars had their first

European Research Network on Global Pentecostalism (GloPent) meeting in Birmingham 19-20 January 2006, they emphasised the importance of 'researching Pentecostalism from multidisciplinary perspectives: anthropology, sociology, history, religious studies and theology' (GloPent 2006:1).

Consequently, this study employed archival historic documentary research approach, in which General Council Meetings Minutes (GCMMs), annual reports, and pastoral letters of the CoP-Ghana, between 1953 and 1982, were consulted. Additionally, the 1937 and 2008 constitutions[13] as well as the 2016 centenary celebration video documentary and a magazine of the ACUK were also obtained from their headquarters, now located at Luton, UK. The archives contain rich information concerning the mission activities, mission policies, mission theologies and some decision-making processes of both the CoP and the AC. Since McKeown's mission in Ghana spans through these two organizations, an examination of such archival documents is apt. This is particularly important because McKeown neither wrote his mission policies nor left a diary that can be used for retrieving such information. Additionally, recent pastoral letters and annual reports of the CoP from 1983 up to December 2018 were consulted to evaluate the interface between McKeown's mission praxis and current developments within the CoP.

The aim of collecting historical data was not merely to undertake a historical study but to interpret the past and present mission practices of the CoP and critically examine their implications for the future. Bosch argued that we do not merely carry out history of Christian mission to satisfy our curiosity about how mission was carried out in the past. 'Rather, we do it also, and primarily, with a view to getting a deeper insight

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[13] The 1937 constitution of the ACUK is their first constitution. It is an 89-page document which contains a brief history, rules of practice, tenets and elaborate administrative structure of the Church. The 2008 constitution is their 5th and current constitution, which is a 35-page document also containing a brief history, tenets and a more concise administrative structure.

into what mission might mean for us today. After all, every attempt at interpreting the past is indirectly an attempt at understanding the present and the future' (Bosch 2011:183).

Secondly, the research employed an ethnographic approach where data was collected through in-depth personal interviews and focus groups. First, trial interviews were conducted with five different people to test the interview questions and the researcher's interviewing skills. The participants for these interviews were made up of two lay leaders and three members of the CoP, who claimed to have known James McKeown and what he stood for. These interviews were recorded and transcribed to test the extent to which the data collected was responding to the research questions, after which some of the leading questions were modified for further interviews. According to Elo et al, (2014:4) 'Pre-interviews may help to determine whether the interview questions were suitable for obtaining rich data that answer the proposed research questions'. A total of 24 participants were interviewed in all. Purposive and snowball sampling methods of data collection were used to select the 24 participants who either worked with James McKeown or knew him and what he stood for. Four of these participants were chosen from the CAC Ghana,[14] five from the AC Ghana,[15] 13 from the CoP, Ghana in addition to two retired ACUK missionaries who worked in the AC Ghana, after McKeown's cessation from the AC.[16]

Out of the 24 participants, 16 were men and eight were women. Again, five of the interviews were conducted in English, while 19 were conducted in Akan.[17] The reason for including people from the CAC and the AC was to deal with possible biases that

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[14] Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) was the first group that defected from McKeown's Apostolic Church in 1939 on the issue of divine healing without recourse to medication.

[15] Apostolic Church (AC) was the Church that actually sent McKeown to Ghana in 1937 as a missionary. He was dismissed by this church in 1953 and that was the beginning of the CoP.

[16] These two missionaries were in Ghana at the later part of McKeown's ministry in the country. They are both spending their retirement time in Penygroes, North Wales, where the interviews were held.

[17] Akan was the preferred language for these people. Akan is the dominant language in Ghana, spoken by 45 per cent of the Ghanaian population.

could arise from responses that were gathered from the CoP. Although the interview sessions were moderated to keep the discussions focused, open-ended questions were used to allow participants to freely express what they remember about McKeown's mission praxis. Most of the interviews were conducted within an average of one hour. Bearing in mind that memories can be fallible, data from these interviews was treated cautiously and triangulated with other sources to check reliability.

Additionally, ten focus groups were conducted. The participants for these focus groups were drawn from the NG of CoP members who neither knew nor experienced McKeown's mission. They belong to the category of people who advocate for changes in some of the Church's practices. A total of 89 participants took part in the ten focus groups with an average of nine participants per group. Each group was made up of both men and women between the ages of 18 and 35. The discussions lasted within an average of one hour fifteen minutes for each group. Four of these focus groups were conducted by the researcher whilst the other six were conducted with the help of research assistants. As a pastor of the Church which is being investigated, my presence in the focus group could cause some of the young people to restrain their comments. The services of research assistants were therefore used to make it easier for participants to speak freely and frankly about current mission practices of the CoP. Participants who demanded anonymity were permitted for the same purpose. The research assistants were mainly final year university students and national service personnel who have some basic research skills. They were further given advanced training by the researcher on how to conduct focus groups and how to use the question guide to moderate discussions and obtain rich data for the research.

The researcher's position as an active participant in the mission of the CoP offered him the opportunity to carry out this investigation from an emic point of view. Personal observations were documented during church services, meetings, conventions,

conferences, weddings, retreats, funerals, naming ceremonies and other important gatherings. Being an insider was quite helpful in the sense that the culture, structure, polity and politics of the Church under investigation were easily understood. According to Sema Unluer, 'insider-researchers generally know the politics of the institution, not only the formal hierarchy but also how it "really works." They know how to best approach people. In general, they have a great deal of knowledge, which takes an outsider a long time to acquire' (Unluer 2012:2). Access to archives at the CoP headquarters and at the School of Theology, Mission and Leadership Library, was less stressful. It was also quite easy to identify, contact and interview selected participants for the fieldwork.

The researcher is, nevertheless, not oblivious of the challenges of an insider researcher (Stringer 2002; Unluer 2012; McCutcheon 2014). Unluer, for example indicated that familiarity and biases can lead to a loss of objectivity, unconsciously making wrong assumptions about the research process based on one's prior knowledge (Unluer 2012:1). Consequently, Elisabeth Arweck points out, 'One of the issues which is relevant in this context is that it may not always be obvious in which capacity such a person is speaking, *qua* member or *qua* academic if it is at all possible to draw a line between the two' (Arweck 2002:125-26). This awareness makes me try as much as possible to play the role of a 'professional mediator' (Arweck 2002:127), in data collection and analysis. The phrase 'professional mediator' is used in this context to describe the ability to of the researcher to employ scientific research skills in the process of data collection and analysis in a way that minimises the challenges of being an insider (Arweck 2002:127). Additionally, data was collected and analysed critically, cognisant of the fact that members of the CoP hold James McKeown in high esteem for a great missionary work done. It is therefore likely that responses received from such participants could be biased. Responses were not accepted at face value but carefully

triangulated with documentary and archival sources. Triangulation is the practice of using more than one method of data collection to cross-check the validity of the data collected (Bell 2005:116) and this was necessary to ensure trustworthiness of data collected (Bryman 2012). Efforts were made to remain neutral as much as possible during both collection and analysis of data.

Using data from multiple sources was very time consuming and difficult, but worth pursuing because it made it possible for checking the validity of data being used. The use of many methods of data collection helped me to confirm or challenge the findings of one method to the others. This has proved very helpful in this research because some themes become clearer as they re-emerge in other sources whilst, new themes emerge demanding further investigation, which might have been lost using a single method of data collection. Data from minutes and other archival sources were very important because they provided complementary evidence for the oral sources of data analysed in the research.

1.11 Statement of Ethics

Even though the archival documents collected from minutes, reports and letters are administrative documents, all of them are in the public domain, (such as STML library in Ghana and ACUK headquarters, Luton) and so do not involve more than minimum ethical risk. These materials are, however, used strictly for academic purposes. Secondly, although interviews were conducted for both men and women, this also does not involve more than minimum ethical risk because minors and other vulnerable people were not interviewed. In addition, to prevent any form of accusations and suspicion, females and the aged were interviewed with the help of trusted assistants and these interviews were carried out in the open. Approval was sought from each participant before interviews were recorded. Participants who do not want their names

to be used in the research were granted anonymity to hide their identity. All references to literature were duly cited and primary data was used faithfully.

1.12 Structure of the Study

The research is organised into eight chapters. Chapter One has dealt with the general introduction and attempted to locate the McKeown-led CoP in the contexts of Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity and global Christian mission. The chapter has also given a brief mission biography of James McKeown, drawing attention to factors that might have influenced his mission models in Ghana. Chapter Two presents a critical analysis of mission models, developing a theoretical framework for evaluating McKeown's mission models and at the same time responding to the generational gap within the CoP. Chapter Three investigates James McKeown's mission thought and praxis, drawing attention to his approach to leadership training and capacity building as a missionary. Chapter Four looks at McKeown's mission theology and spirituality. The chapter evaluates the extent to which McKeown's theology and spirituality responded to the African spirit world.

Chapter Five examines the extent to which McKeown was successful in his attempt to plant local species in African soil. By using the 'Three-Self' indigenous church principle and various taxonomies of contextual models, this chapter investigates the mission models McKeown approximates to in his praxis. Chapter Six uses Jesus' metaphor of 'new wine in old wineskins' to analyse the CoP's paradox of preserving McKeown's mission models for succeeding generations. The chapter identifies the points of divergence between the old and young generations in the CoP and proposes the need for the CoP to be intergenerational in its mission approach. Chapter Seven therefore discusses an intergenerational mission approach, which it is argued has the capacity to mend the generational gap by respecting the old and favouring the young in the Church. Chapter Eight presents the conclusions and recommendations for further research.

1.13 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the general background to James McKeown's mission in the CoP. Since McKeown's mission in Ghana cannot be discussed in isolation, an attempt has been made to locate the McKeown-led CoP in its wider contexts of Ghanaian Pentecostalism and global Christian mission in general. The chapter further discussed McKeown's mission biography, highlighting formative factors that might have influenced his mission thought and praxis in Ghana. The chapter also discussed the research problem and the appropriate methodology used for investigating McKeown's mission models in the CoP.

It was identified that some of the waves of Pentecostalism in Ghana, especially, the AICs which absorbed, almost entirely, what they considered as Ghanaian indigenous cultures into their Christian worship, seem to have become less attractive to the younger generation. Other waves, especially the CMs, that seem to have responded to contemporary needs of the younger generations and are growing numerically sometimes into megachurches. Yet, these waves also seem to have neglected the deep-seated needs of the older generation. Meanwhile, the CoP, which seems to have succeeded in maintaining an appreciable proportion of different generations within its fold, does not seem to have responded to the generational gap problem in the Church.

How then can the CoP mitigate this problem of generational gap without losing its mission focus? Since McKeown's mission praxis has been frequently cited by the older generation to defend the Church's practices, the next chapter attempts to critically discuss existing mission models in order to evaluate the extent to which these models can provide a framework for investigating McKeown's mission models.

CHAPTER TWO

A CRITICAL STUDY OF MISSION MODELS

2.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss various mission models that have been conceptualised over the years, in order to identify a theoretical framework for analysing McKeown's mission models in the CoP. Christine Leonard (1989) suggests that McKeown's mission in Ghana was indigenous, appropriating from the 'three-self' indigenous church principles. Since the concept of indigenization and contextualization are crucial for the sustenance of Christian mission (Schreiter 1985; Luzbetak 1988; Bevans 2002), the extent to which McKeown's mission can inform the future of the CoP's mission needs to be investigated in the light of existing models used in Christian mission over the years. Consequently, the chapter begins by defining what mission models are and how the term 'model' is used in this thesis. The chapter continues by evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of these existing models and proposes a framework for investigating McKeown's models and its implication for the future of the CoP.

The attempt to identify a theoretical framework for analysing McKeown's mission praxis is important because as indicated in Chapter One, some members of the CoP consider the relatively high growth of the Church to have emerged from McKeown's indigenous mission praxis. As a result, they seem to have taken his implicit mission models as normative for the CoP. Such people oppose any attempt to change any of the existing practices of the Church. Meanwhile, the leaders of the CoP who have attempted some changes over the years also use McKeown's authority for effecting such changes. A clear understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of various mission models is

therefore crucial to provide a window for understanding McKeown's mission praxis and assist in proposing a sustainable mission approach for the future of the CoP's mission.

2.2   Defining Models

The term 'model' has been widely used in different fields of study, ranging from the physical to the metaphoric and to the theoretical (Barbour 1976; Schreiter 1985; Dulles 1992; Bevans 1992; 2002; Moreau 2012). Ian Barbour for example, argued that a model provides a mental picture whose unity can be more readily understood than that of a set of abstract equations (Barbour 1976:35). In his classic work, *Models of Contextual Theology,* Stephen Bevans describes a model as 'a "case" that is useful in simplifying a complex reality, and although such simplification does not fully capture that reality, it does yield true knowledge of it' (Bevans 2002:31).

What Barbour and Bevans seek to communicate is the fact that in modelling, one seeks to use either physical, metaphoric or theoretical symbols to create a picture that helps to simplify a complex reality. In mission, modelling is an attempt to simplify the various approaches adopted by missionaries to carry out their work on the field by employing metaphors and symbols that could help in describing these tasks. Luis Luzbetak aptly observed, modelling in mission involves 'inferences, and systems of motivation employed for guidance and imitation in the priorities, strategies, and approaches of those engaged in mission' (Luzbetak 1988:64).

In this thesis therefore, a mission model is defined as the use of theoretical patterns and symbols to describe and simplify missiological strategies or approaches in particular socio-cultural, historical and theological contexts. Shenk contended that the deliberate simplification depicted in modelling makes it possible for certain observations to be made (Shenk 1999:22). Frameworks provided in modelling mission may therefore be helpful for both theologians and missiologists to evaluate and discern

the effectiveness and success or otherwise of mission approaches within historical, theological and socio-cultural contexts.

2.3   Mission, Indigenization and Contextualization

From the mid-twentieth century, there emerged a growing recognition among both mission organizations and scholars that paternalistic tendencies, Western replica models of mission as well as Western traditional theologies, were stifling the growth of Christian mission in Majority World countries (Anderson 1869; Knight 1881; Pagura 1974; Mbiti 1976; Schreiter 1985; Hiebert 1985; Luzbetak 1988; Walls 1996; Shenk 1999; Bediako 1999b). These challenges provided distinct opportunities for fresh Christian mission and theological reflections, resulting in a shift in perspective; a shift in search for new ways of doing mission and new ways of answering new theological questions within new cultural centres (Bosch 2011; Bediako 2000).

This consciousness developed increasingly into the use of terms such as indigenization, localization, accommodation, adaptation, incarnation and subsequently, inculturation and contextualization as attempts to make theological expressions more germane (Schreiter 1985; Bevans 2002; Luzbetak 1988; Shenk 1999; Moreau 2012; Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989; Whiteman 1997). Liberation theology emerged from Latin America, also in search of a relevant theology that fitted into their unique situation. Other terminologies, such as indigenous theology, ethnotheology, contextual theology and local theology were also used and sometimes interchangeably, to describe new ways of mission (Schreiter 1985; Bevans 2002; Moreau 2012; Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989). Scholars, including Schreiter (1985), Luzbetak (1988), Shenk (1999), and Bevans (2002) have attempted to classify these shifting perspectives into models. Writing about the protestant mission approaches for example, Shenk (1999), identifies

three models. These include the replication model, the indigenization model and the contextualization model (Shenk 1999:50).

Similarly, the Jesuit missiologist Luzbetak (1918-2005) contended that the numerous mission models of the past two thousand years of action in mission history, can be placed into three major categories, irrespective of their differences. These, he outlined as ethnocentric, accommodational and contextual models of mission (Luzbetak 1988:64, 84). Despite the use of different terminologies by Shenk and Luzbetak, their modelling draw attention to the same missiological approaches. Bevans, on the other hand, gives a broader scope in his conceptualization, by drawing attention to six models of contextual theology, which will be discussed later in this chapter. An attempt has been made to briefly discuss how these various models developed within the history of Christian mission in order to provide a background to where McKeown's mission models fits in the CoP context then and now.

2.3.1   The Replication/ Ethnocentric Model

In the initial stages of modern mission, the main preoccupations of the missionaries were to preach the gospel, make converts and plant churches. Just as has been the challenge of Christian mission over the years, the modern missionary enterprise was seen to be ethnocentric in its approach. Wilbert Shenk observed, 'it was normal to assume that one's own culture was a self-evidently correct picture of reality, prescribing what ought to be and how things ought to be done. Naturally, this was the standard by which all other peoples were judged' (Shenk 1999:49). It should be understood that this model is as old as Christian mission. It can be traced to the first century church where the Jewish believers demonstrated their religious and cultural hegemony by insisting that the Gentile believers be circumcised before they could be accepted as Christians (Acts 15). In modern Christian mission, the model was dominant from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Describing   the   replication   model,

Shenk indicated that the model sees mission 'as a process through which the missionary seeks to replicate or produce a church in another culture patterned carefully after that of the church from which the missionary originated' (Shenk 1999:51). This model is ethnocentric in the sense that it has the tendency 'to regard the ways and values of one's own society as the normal, right, proper, and certainly the best way of thinking, feeling, speaking, and doing things, whether it be in regard to eating, sleeping, dressing, disposition of garbage, marrying, burying the dead, or speaking with God' (Luzbetak 1988:65). It was identified that both the Roman Catholic and protestant missionaries who carried out missions in Africa, Asia and Latin America within those periods, were resolved to 'civilize' and Christianize their converts (Price 1968). In his fight for the abolishing of the slave trade in Africa, for example, David Livingstone told his audience in Cambridge University Lectures, 'I go back to Africa to make an open path for commerce and Christianity' (Price 1968:101; Onyinah 2012:99). Onyinah stated, 'the goals of the missionaries were not only to evangelise Ghana but also to be purveyors of the blessings of Christian civilisation' (Onyinah 2012:99). This implied teaching them their socio-economic, cultural and religious beliefs and systems.

The major weaknesses identified in this model include paternalism, triumphalism and racism. Furthermore, since the replicated theologies did not take into consideration the needs of local communities, such theologies were considered by the indigenous people to be impotent in the face of local realities (Mbiti 1976:6). These weaknesses became much more evident at the middle of the nineteenth century into the beginning of the twentieth century (Schreiter 1985:3; Hiebert 1985: 193-94). The anthropologist, TO Beidelman carried out a research on the mission activities of the Church Mission Society (CMS) among the Kaguru people of Tanzania between 1959 and 1961 and from 1975 to 1976. This research provides some understanding of what the general sentiments had been at the time. He described how the efforts of the CMS failed to

develop a new society in which the Kaguru could live meaningfully. Beidelman's work shows that by unconsciously disparaging the indigenous cultures, the CMS ended up destroying the cultural heritage of the people they tried to evangelise (Beidelman 1982).

These replication tendencies were also observed in some Pentecostal missions. Narrating his experience with the Switzerland mission to Africa, Walter Hollenweger recounts:

> One particularly telling example was that the Pentecostal mission committee assumed that what was good for Switzerland must also be good for Lesotho, in southern Africa. The apprenticeship system has been a blessing for Switzerland and is the backbone of its quality industry. The mission committee collected money to build a school for apprentices in Lesotho and hired a Swissair plane to fly the whole infrastructure down to Lesotho. When it arrived, the African Christians were not amused. They had not even been asked if this was what they wanted (Hollenweger 2005:85).

This reveals that just like the missionaries before them, Pentecostal missionaries also attempted to replicate mission models and practices they were already familiar with in new cultural centres. The effect of this model on Christian mission was that in many Majority World countries, some indigenous people disparaged their own cultural heritage, accepted Western lifestyle as ideal and fought against those who suggest that there was value in their indigenous cultures.

In Ghana for example, Ephraim Amu was banned from preaching in the Presbyterian Church, Gold Coast and subsequently dismissed as a teacher from the Presbyterian Training College for putting on traditional Ghanaian cloth to preach at church and for teaching local Ghanaian drumming in the Presbyterian Training College. It is worth noting that these actions were not carried out by Western Missionaries, but by indigenous Ghanaian Presbyterian Church leaders, who had been trained by the missionaries in Western models (Onyinah 2012:107; Laryea 2012:19). Similar incidents took place in other parts of Africa. Writing about this situation in Nigeria, Bolaji Idowu was disenchanted and troubled, not only about Western ethnocentrism but also about the extent to which Nigerian converts themselves had wholeheartedly accepted the European way of life as ideal Christian living, and fought others who attempted any

form of inculturation (Idowu 1965:5-6). He therefore argued, 'the main obstacle in the way of an indigenous Church in Nigeria is, by some irony, ultimately Nigerians themselves' (Idowu 1965:5-6).

By the time of these observations, some missionaries and mission organizations had already initiated various attempts to have a closer relationship with the indigenous communities in which mission was taking place. The first of these initiatives is what was popularly known as the 'the three-self' indigenous church principle.

2.3.2   The 'Three-Self' Model in Christian Mission

The origin of the three-self indigenous church principle can be traced to two outstanding mission leaders: The American Presbyterian, Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) and the British Anglican, Henry Venn (1796-1873). This model was later on taken up by John Nevius (1829-1893), also within the nineteenth century (see Anderson 1869; Knight 1881; Nevius 1895; Beaver 1979; Shenk 1981; 1999; 2003; McGee 1986; Newberry 2005; Reese 2007; Hanger 2014). Anderson and Venn strongly advocated that the goal of missions was to plant churches that are self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing in order for the mission to be indigenous and sustainable. To what extent were the missionaries capable of either partially or wholly implementing the principles put forward by these two mission scholars? Shenk argued, 'The ideals they [Anderson, Venn and Nevius] expressed through their many pronouncements, policies, and administrative decisions were largely ignored by their own missionaries in the field and then eclipsed by events in the next generation' (Shenk 1999:55). The 'three-self' principles of indigenous church, nonetheless, continued to be a subject of discussion by others such as Roland Allen (1912; 1927), Alice Luce (1921), Melvin Hodges (1953), Paul Pomerville (1985), and Paul Hiebert (1985).

For example, Allen's *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* was written about five decades after the three-self indigenous church planting principles were introduced.

He seems to suggest in this book that the works of Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn might have achieved very little or have been forgotten by the missionaries on the field. Writing in 1912, Roland Allen laments that many missionaries of his time had preached and received a larger number of converts than St. Paul, but they were unable to plant churches as Paul did (Allen 1912:3). He raised many questions that imply that the missionaries of his time were not building native churches but made the converts dependent upon mission agencies. He stressed the role of the Holy Spirit in the development of indigenous churches and persuaded the missionaries to learn St. Paul's missionary methods as a model for building native churches. Even though Allen suggested that his missionary methods were based on St. Paul's first century methods as found in the New Testament, it is obvious that he might have been influenced by the writings of Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn. Again, at this point too, it is important to reflect on the extent to which Allen's propositions influenced the practical implementation of the missionary enterprise of his time.

2.3.3   The Indigenous Church

The contribution of Pentecostals to the conversation on indigenous mission could be credited to the Assemblies of God missiologist, Melvin Hodges' *The Indigenous Church: A Complete Handbook on How to Grow Young Churches* (Hodges 1953). Hodges' work was influenced by books and articles of Roland Allen and Alice Luce, whose books on indigenous churches were already circulating in Pentecostal circles in the early twentieth century (Anderson 2004: 209). Similar to Allen's approach in his *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (Allen 1927), Hodges, linked his work to the New Testament Church and advocated for the planting of responsible churches that would not be dependent on the mission agencies for growth and survival. By encouraging the missionaries and mission organizations to train leaders and allow them to govern their own churches, teach them to propagate the gospel on their own and to

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support their own mission with local finance and local materials, Hodges brought about a radical shift in Pentecostal mission models of his time (Hodges 1953). Anderson indicated:

> The influence of Hodges on Western Pentecostal (especially AG) missions contributed towards their commitment to the raising of national leadership and the establishment of theological training institutes (often called 'Bible schools') and in-service training structures throughout the world. This in turn resulted in the much more rapid growth of national Pentecostal churches (Anderson 2004: 209).

It must be noted that just like Venn and Anderson's three-self principle, Hodges' concept of indigenous church did not address the issue of the engagement between gospel and culture. The focus of his work was on the sustainability of the churches the missionaries were planting. He forcefully stated, 'The successful missionary is one who has done his work so well that he is no longer needed in that area. He can leave the work to his converts' (Hodges 1953:18). This position is similar to what Venn called the Euthanasia of mission (see Night 1881; Beyerhaus 1962; Newberry 2005). Venn insisted:

> The progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, the euthanasia of a mission takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to the regions beyond (Knight 1881:413-14).

Clearly, these indigenization efforts did not take into consideration, the gospel's encounter with the cultures of indigenous people. Hodges, for example, probably assumes that there is a pattern that has been established in the New Testament, which can be implemented in every culture. Explaining the goal of mission, he maintained:

> We do not propose to introduce a new pattern or system. We desire simply to return to the New Testament pattern and see a church founded that will bear the characteristics of the apostolic model. We believe that this is possible because the gospel is universal and adaptable to every climate and race and to every social and economic level. New Testament preaching and practice will produce a New Testament church in any place where the gospel is preached. People of other lands can be converted and empowered by the Holy Spirit to carry on the work of the church equally as well as Americans and Europeans (Hodges 1953:14).

By referring to 'the New Testament pattern' and 'the apostolic model', Hodges assumes that whatever model the first-century Apostles used in propagating the gospel in

Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria could be replicated as normative for churches everywhere in the world. Allan Anderson might have identified this when he stated, 'attaining the "three-selfs" does not guarantee real contextualization unless the "three-selfs" are no longer patterned on the symbolism of popular culture … Unfortunately, Hodges was still a product of his own context, seeing "missions" as primarily from North America (or elsewhere in the Western world) to the rest of the "foreign" world' (Anderson 2004:210).

Meanwhile, efforts to establish closer relationship between the Gospel and indigenous cultures continued among missionaries in different forms. Shenk contended that under the indigenization model, missionaries 'attempted to make adjustments to the new culture but essentially did this by changing the cast of players without rewriting the script' (Shenk 1999:54). Luzbetak corroborates this when he maintained that the inadequacy of the accommodation model was the fact that the process was still in the hands of outsiders, making mission more of a transplant than sowing (Luzbetak 1988:69). What Shenk and Luzbetak meant is that even though the missionaries wanted a closer relationship with indigenous cultures, they still dictated the pace and nature of the mission either by directing it or training indigenous people in Western categories to lead the mission.

Hiebert (1985) therefore proposed what he calls the 'fourth-self' or 'self-theologizing'. The purpose of this, he suggests, is to address the question of whether the young churches have the freedom to read and interpret the Scriptures for themselves in their own languages and cultures. Following Hiebert's 'fourth-self', there have been several other attempts to introduce other 'selfs' such as 'self-missionizing', 'self-caring, 'self-teaching' and 'self-expressing' to the list (see Newberry 2005; Brock 1994). These attempts to add other 'selfs' to the already existing ones is an indication that the 'self' principle was not adequately addressing the challenges of indigenization. Shenk

(1999:55) argued, 'Whereas the replication approach focused on the correct reproduction to the "original," indigenization emphasized finding the functional equivalent within the other culture for the "original."' It therefore became obvious that both the replication and indigenization models were unable to solve the problem of the control exerted by missionaries and their agencies (Shenk 1999:56).

Moreover, Shoki Coe and Stephen Bevans, for example, contended that the concept of indigenization was static and past-oriented (Coe 1976:21; Bevans 2002:26). Coe pointedly argued:

> Indigenous, indigeneity, and indigenization all derive from 'a nature metaphor, that is, of the soil, or taking root in the soil. It is only right that the younger churches, in search of their own identity, should take seriously their own cultural milieu. However, because of the static nature of the metaphor, indigenization tends to be used in the sense of responding to the Gospel in terms of traditional culture. Therefore, it is in danger of being past-oriented (Coe 1976:21).

Owing to this increasing dissatisfaction in the use of the word indigenization, 'A new word was needed to denote the ways in which we adjust messages to cultural contexts and go about the doing of theology itself. That word is contextualization' (Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989:31).

2.3.4   *Contextual/ Incarnational Models*

By the nineteenth century and particularly within the mid-twentieth century, there was an increasing awareness among theologians from the emerging Christian centres about the effectiveness of inherited Western mission models. Some of their writings drew attention to the weaknesses of such models in meeting the contextual needs of faith communities in majority world countries. A reading of *Mission Trends No. 3: Third World Theologies* edited by Gerald Anderson and Thomas Stransky, provide a range of responses from scholars such as John Mbiti (1976), EW Fashole-Luke (1976), Kenneth Kaunda (1976), Gustavo Gutierrez (1976), Samuel Escobar (1976) and Choan-Seng Song (1976); all from African, Latin American and Asian perspectives. Commenting on Western theology, for example, John Mbiti argued,

> This theology is largely ignorant of and often embarrassingly impotent in the face of, human questions in the churches of Africa, Latin America, parts of Asia, and the South Pacific. Thus, the church has become kerygmatically universal, but is still theologically provincial, in spite of the great giants of theology. This is a serious dilemma, and if we do not resolve it, it will destroy our foundations as the Church in the world (Mbiti 1976:8).

Though missionaries have been practising the principles of contextualization in different forms, the vocabulary of contextualization appeared in the missiological scene in the early 1970s (Kato 1975:1217; Coe 1976:21; Engle 1983:85-7; Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989:31-33; Whiteman 1997:2; Bosch 2011:431). The breadth of literature on contextualization demonstrates the attention it has received since its introduction into missiology (Hiebert 1985; Schreiter 1985; Whiteman 1997; Shenk 1999; Luzbetak 1988; Bosch 2011; Bevans 2002; Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989; Moreau 2012; Lukose 2013). Shenk describes the term 'contextualization' as 'a process whereby the gospel message encounters a particular culture, calling forth faith and leading to the formation of a faith community, which is culturally authentic and authentically Christian' (Shenk 1999:57).

Contextualization is seen, not as a departure from the concept of indigenization but as a broader concept that captures what missionaries and theologians intend the gospel to achieve in divergent and changing cultures (Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989:31; Bevans 2002:26-27; Coe 1976:21; Whiteman 1997:2). David Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen, for example contended that, contextualization

> … goes beyond the concept of indigenization which Henry Venn, Rufus Anderson and other successors define in terms of an autonomous (self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating) Church. It also goes beyond the Roman Catholic notion of accommodation defined by Louis J Luzbetak as "the respectful, prudent, scientifically and theologically sound adjustment of Church to native culture in attitude, outward behaviour, and practical apostolic approach" (Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989:32).

Similarly, Whiteman (1997:2) argued:

> In the past we have used words such as "adaptation," "accommodation," and "indigenization" to describe this relationship between Gospel, church, and culture, but "contextualization," introduced in 1971, and a companion term "inculturation" that emerged in the literature in 1974, are deeper, more dynamic, and more adequate terms to describe what we are about in mission today.

These arguments are corroborated by the Theological Educational Fund (TEF), led by Shoki Coe and his team who first used the word *Contextualization* in missiology (TEF

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1972; see also Haleblian 1983; Engle 1983). In their attempt to justify the need for contextualization, the leaders of the TEF differentiated between indigenization and contextualization by insisting that,

> Indigenization tends to be used in a sense of responding to the Gospel in terms of a traditional culture. Contextualization, while not ignoring this takes into account the process of secularity, technology, and struggle for human justice, which characterize the historical moments of nations in the third world (TEF 1972:20).

Five years after the introduction of the term, Coe explained, 'So in using the word *contextualization*, we try to convey all that is implied in the familiar term indigenization, yet seek to press beyond for a more dynamic concept which is open to change and which is also future-oriented' (Coe 1976:21). David Bosch observed, 'During the nineteenth century and, more particularly, in the twentieth, the recognition of the way in which theology was conditioned by its environment became the received view in critical theological circles' (Bosch 2011:432-33). This clearly was among the factors that led the TEF to coin the word contextualization, to mean 'the capacity to respond meaningfully to the Gospel within the framework of one's own situation' (Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989). Even though, the term has been generally accepted and widely used, it has also been contested and debated considerably (see Buswell 1978; Fleming 1980).

In order to simplify the understanding of the concept and evaluate the relationship between theology and the communities in which they take place, some classification of the many terminologies used to describe the contextual processes became necessary. Robert Schreiter's *Constructing Local Theologies* and Stephen Bevan's *Models of Contextual Theology* provide important classifications within which these various terms could be understood. Schreiter's work for example attempts to respond to the need for providing locally relevant theological framework for the local church. He proposes the use of translation, adaptation and contextual approaches as classifying principles for his work (Schreiter 1985:6). Similarly, Bevans offers a way to

think more clearly about cross-cultural mission, and about honouring tradition while responding to social change (Bevans 2002). These he calls, models of contextual theology.

Comparable to Hesselgrave and Rommen (1989), Whiteman (1997) and Shenk (1999), Bevans sees contextualization as 'the attempt to understand Christian faith in terms of a particular context' (Bevans 2002:3). He identifies six models of contextual theology and these are; the Translation Model, the Anthropological Model, the Praxis Model, the Synthetic Model, the Transcendental Model and the Countercultural Model (Bevans 2002). Despite attempts to differentiate the contextual models from incarnational models (see Shenk 1999:58), it must be stated that every model that properly incarnate is contextual.

Incarnational mission was a term that originated in the 1980s based on the fact that the second person of the trinity took on human form. It was developed from the doctrine of God in Christ as presented in John 1:1-14. John reveals in verse 14 that the word became flesh and dwelt among men. The incarnational model therefore communicates the need for the Christian community to 'live out the Gospel in culturally appropriate and recognizable forms' (van den Toren-Lekkerkerker & van den Toren 2015:83). Incarnation in Christian mission was originally used for the role of missionaries who adopted much of the local culture. The missionary's work represents 'the grain of wheat' which must fall into the culture (soil) and 'die' for a true local theology to develop as found in John 12:24. Luzbetak therefore contended that the incarnational model is the same as contextualization (Luzbetak 1988:69). Terms such as inculturation, enculturation or transculturation have also been used variously to describe the incarnational model. For example, Cray et al (2004) argued:

> The theology of inculturation makes use of the biblical botanical metaphors of sowing and reaping, emphasizing in particular the need of a seed to fall into the ground and die, or it remains alone. The underlying assumption is that the Church is God's community with a divine mandate to reproduce. It is intended by God to multiply, by the Spirit, and to fill all creation. This is an

essential dimension of any missionary ecclesiology. Churches are created by God to grow (Cray et al. 2004:93).

The use of such terms to describe this model has been seen by Shorter (1988:5) as inadequate since it presents one culture as a strong culture which tends to assimilate a weaker one. To overcome this problem, Shorter uses the term inculturation. He noted, 'enculturation (sometimes spelt 'inculturation') is a sociological concept which has been used analogously by theologians for the theological notion of inculturation'(Shorter 1988:5). He further contended, 'in order to differentiate between the sociological and theological uses of this term, it is better to preserve the spelling 'enculturation' for the sociological context and 'inculturation for the theological context' (Shorter 1988:5). Luzbetak (1988:69) seems to agree with Shorter when he indicated that the missiological term inculturation should not be confused with the much older anthropological household word, enculturation. On his part, Ben Knighton sees inculturation as a misspelling of enculturation. He argued that in an attempt to argue a case for inculturation, Shorter is bound to the very tradition he is trying to amend. Knighton further contended that Christian enculturation is a term that can be intelligible to others besides interested Christians (Knighton 1990:53). Again, in his work on *Christian Enculturation in the Two-Thirds World,* Knighton argued, 'Christian Enculturation is presented as a missiological model which can foster the confidence or morale of Two-Thirds World churches to work out their own salvation' (Knighton 2007:63).

2.3.5   *Contextualization from a Pentecostal Perspective*

Although much work has been carried out on contextual models, this has not been theorized from Pentecostal perspectives. It must be acknowledged that the Pentecostal movement is not monolithic and this character could render any attempt to consistently discuss 'Pentecostal mission models' a daunting task. This notwithstanding, it is also

not in doubt that the movement has generated a global culture which shares important common features (Klaus 1999:127; Anderson 2004a:216). An attempt has therefore been made to use discernible common features of the movement to discuss some mission models that have been practised by Pentecostal missionaries over the years.

Allan Anderson argued, 'One of the main reasons for the phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism has been its remarkable ability to adapt itself to different cultural and social contexts and give authentically contextualized expressions to Christianity' (Anderson 2004c:102). To him, 'Pentecostalism is inherently adaptable to contextualization' (Anderson 2004c:102). The contextualized nature of the practices of the movement made it easy for ordinary people to relate their faith to life situations. Thus, apart from breaking cultural barriers, Pentecostalism appropriates the concept of priesthood of all believers in both liturgical and missiological terms (Anderson 2004a:213). Ma and Ma therefore observed, 'Pentecostalism has brought an empowering effect to the masses who are socially and even ecclesiastically marginalized (Ma & Ma 2013:4). This is because as Hollenweger (1997:302) identifies, more often than not, the theology of Pentecostal churches is not contained in their confessions of faith but in their songs, prayers, liturgies, and testimonies; that is, in their oral theologies.

In this way, they have more or less 'democratised' priesthood and empowered the laity as against the prevailing 'clergy-centred' ministries among the TWMCs (Ma & Ma 2013:50). This is what Daniel Walker (2010) calls Local Mission Models in the CoP. He explained that in the Local Mission Model, every church member of the CoP was in mission. The only qualification required was baptism in the Holy Spirit. As a result, when people get converted into the CoP and are baptised in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues, they are required to share their new faith with their family members, friends, neighbours and all who come into contact with them (Walker

2010:79). This democratization of priesthood and mission, for example, contributed and aided the contextualization of mission among Pentecostals because as the local people preach the gospel, they formulate their own theologies through their songs, prayers, and liturgy by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Yet, in some cases, Pentecostals' effort to contextualize could best be described as countercultural for several reasons. Bevans observed that the countercultural model attempts to pay a closer attention to the cultures in which theology is taking place but with suspicion. This model identifies that all human beings and all theological expressions take place within a situation created by historical and cultural conditions. As a result, cultures need to be attended to with a high level of suspicion because the Christian message needs to redeem the culture (Bevans 2002:117-37). By suspecting cultures, some Pentecostal missionaries in Africa and their African collaborators, did not allow such 'suspect', cultural practices, especially involving traditional festivals and chieftaincy, in their worship services. They considered some of these customs to be pagan and primitive. Birgit Meyer narrates the story of Adwoa, a Ghanaian young woman, whose grandmother had refused to take part in the *Homowo*[18] festival because she (the grandmother) said she had become 'born again' and could not take part in such a 'primitive thing' (Meyer 1998:316).

Meyer refers to this as a complete break with the past (Meyer 1998). She argued, 'While other groups in society, among them leaders of the Catholic and Protestant mission churches, try to come to terms with local traditions and to reconcile new and old ideas in order to develop a genuinely African synthesis, pentecostalists oppose this revaluation of tradition and culture' (Meyer 1998:317). Though Meyer's argument is significant, the Pentecostals' position to cultural practices should better be understood as continuities and discontinuities with the past, rather than a complete break. This is

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[18] *Homowo* is an annual harvest festival celebrated by the Ga-Adangbe people of Ghana.

because while they distance themselves from some cultural practices, they also appropriated from indigenous resources such as drumming, dancing, clapping of hands and other primal resources to promote their mission (see Anderson 2018:6-7).

2.4   The Gap in Contextual Missiology

Although theologians and missiologists generally admit that mission is not limited only to the gospel's encounter with geographical cultures, research in contextual models seem to have concentrated mainly on geographical cultures to the neglect of generational cultures. Schreiter, for example, clearly indicated that his work focuses on 'issues and concerns that have become common among a number of geographical areas' (Schreiter 1985:1). Wilbert Shenk identifies this gap in missiological studies as far back as 1999 when he narrates his fruitless search for mission training programmes in several Western countries dedicated to the training of missionaries to the people of modern Western culture. He therefore argued, 'mission training programs and missiology continue to be defined by the "foreign missions" paradigm of the past two decades' (Shenk 1999: 129-30). This approach to mission, where missiology focuses on mission to the ends of the earth without concern for the gospel's encounter with cultures of emerging generations, continues to be a major weakness in existing literature on the field of missiology.

In order to explain this gap in mission research more clearly, I firstly use Andrew Walls' metaphor of the long-living scholarly space visitor to illustrate the observation. Walls shows that the 'Professor' or 'scholarly space visitor' was interested in 'Inter-Planetary' comparatives. In all his five visits to the planet earth, the 'scholarly space visitor' moves to different geographical locations, comparing transformations that have taken place from one geographical culture to another, without bothering about what changes have taken place among the people he encountered three hundred (or more)

years after his previous visit (see Walls 1996:3-7). As demonstrated by the scholarly space visitor, missiologists have been very obsessed about developments in foreign missions, but less concerned about how mission is fairing among succeeding generations in home countries. It could be understood that Walls was interested in what was happening at new heartlands of Christian vitality. This, however, does not deny the fact that intentional attention on studies of cross-cultural missions to the next generation has been hugely downplayed by focusing on foreign missions.

Similarly, missions research in Pentecostal literature seems to be limited to foreign missions, neglecting research on mission to emerging generations. Thus, mission from 'Jerusalem to the ends of the earth', without examining mission 'to the end of the ages'. That is to say, studies in Pentecostal mission seem to have neglected the examination of how Pentecostals contextualize their mission among emerging generations. Cecil Robeck's article 'Pentecostalism and Mission from Azusa Street to the Ends of the Earth' and Allan Anderson's book, *To the Ends of the Earth*, rightly illustrate this gap (see Robeck 2007; Anderson 2013). These authors demonstrate how Pentecostals have been preoccupied with carrying the mission in a hurry to people of other geographic cultures without paying attention to how this mission is carried to people of other generational cultures, which I refer to as 'Mission to the End of the Age'. Anderson for example, indicates that there are many reasons accounting for the amazing growth of the Pentecostal movement but 'The most important is that it is fundamentally an "end of the earth," missionary, polycentric, transnational religion' (Anderson 2013:1).

Painfully, a transgenerational mission (or more appropriately, intergenerational mission) seems to have been neglected in Pentecostal mission research as has been the case in contextual mission research in general. This gap is also very obvious in the course structures and modules available for teaching missiology in the seminaries and

the universities, especially in Africa. Teaching of missiology concentrates on foreign lands and rural communities but not generations. It must be emphasised that the task of cross-cultural mission in multi-generational contexts is as daunting as cross-cultural mission in foreign lands. Just as cultures differ from one place to the other, so also cultures differ from one generation to the other, within the same geographic location.

To fill this gap, this research proposes an amalgamated framework that promotes a dialogue between current research in the field of contextualization and research in the field of generational studies. It is hoped that this approach may have the ability to overcome the weaknesses observed in literature on contextualization and promote effective ways by which mission can be carried out in a way that attends to the deep-seated needs of the older generations within their cultural contexts and at the same time responds to the contemporary needs of the younger generations. Such an approach may also mitigate the current generational gap observed in contemporary mission as in the case of the CoP.

2.5   The Theoretical Framework: An Amalgamated Approach
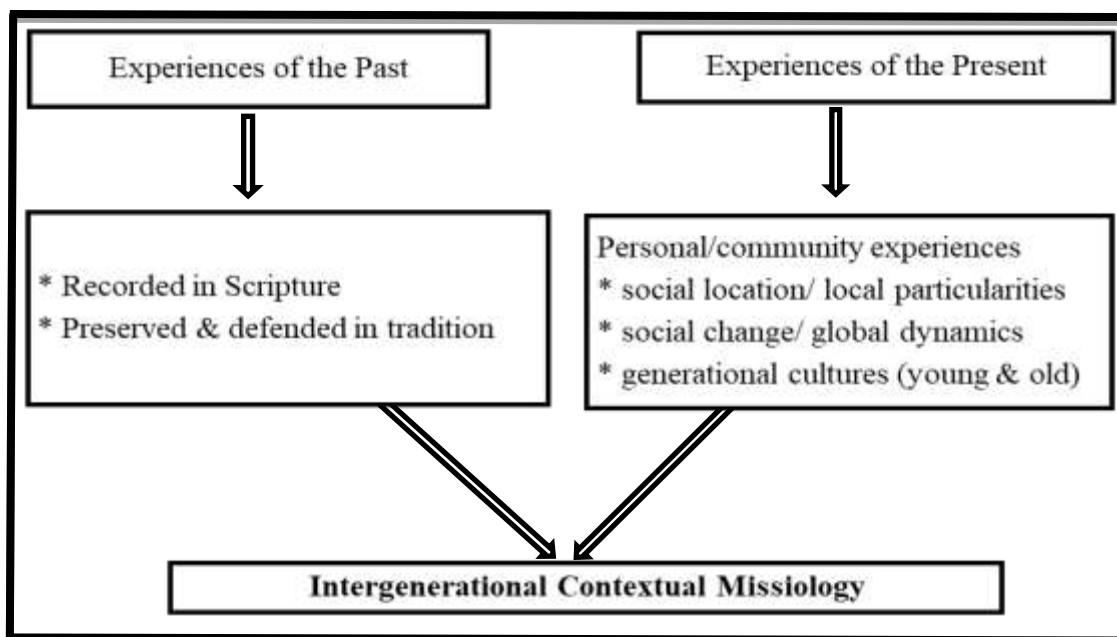
Fig. 4 An amalgamated theoretical framework

As shown in the fig. 4 above, an attempt has been made to develop an amalgamated framework, which uses a somewhat eclectic approach by combining the concept of contextualization and intergenerationality. This framework is adapted from Stephen Bevans' (2002:7) 'contextual theology' and merged with David Hilborn's intergenerational concept of 'favouring the young and respecting the old' (Hilborn 2017:31-2). The works of Bevans (2002) and Hilborn (2017) therefore, form the basis for the framework of this research.

I find Bevans' *Contextual Models of Theologies*, especially relevant for this work because as shown in the diagram above, it draws attention to important factors that need to be considered in contextualization. These include: first, experiences of the past (comprising of Scripture and tradition). Second, personal or community experiences (which encompasses social location, social change and culture). Bevans aptly identifies the crucial role of social change in contextualization. He maintained, '*Contextualization* points to the fact that theology needs to interact and dialogue not only with traditional value, but with social change, new ethnic identities, and the conflicts that are present as the contemporary phenomenon of globalization encounters the various peoples of the world' (Bevans 2002:27).

What Bevans' framework lacks is the fact that it does not provide any approach for mission in intergenerational contexts, which is the gap this research intends to fill. An attempt has therefore been made to provide a dialogue between contextual models and intergenerational mission approach to develop a mission approach that responds to the needs of the church not only in new heartlands but also in multigenerational contexts. It must be acknowledged that the desire to allow Christian mission to incarnate in the cultures of new centres of Christian vitality, as well as the quest for relevant and meaningful Christian mission among emerging generations, are both contextual issues. This research relates to both aspects of these contextual tendencies.

Whilst Bevans contextual models provide both a comprehensive lens for examining McKeown's mission models and the indicators for contextualization, Hilborn's work provides the indicators for mission among the various generations in contemporary CoP.

2.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed a body of theories in the field of contextualization from the perspective of Christian mission in general, and also from a Pentecostal viewpoint. It has been argued that despite the surge of research in the field of mission and contextualization, these studies have focused on foreign missions or mission within geographical cultures, to the neglect of mission in generational contexts. This is demonstrated in Andrew Walls' (1996) 'Inter-Planetary comparatives,' Cecil Robeck's (2007) 'From Azusa Street to the end of the Earth' and Allan Anderson's (2013) 'To the End of the Earth'. Thus, although the challenges of cultural differences experienced by Christian missionaries in foreign lands as well as the problem of generational gap in Christian mission are both contextual problems, studies in contextualization have hugely failed to attend to the problem of mission from generational perspectives.

The framework for this research is therefore based on the proposition that generational studies can effectively enhance contextualization in mission, making the *Missio Dei,* theologically and socio-culturally relevant in multigenerational contexts. Consequently, an amalgamated framework has been developed by merging Bevans' (2002) *Models of Contextual Theology* with Hilborn's (2017) intergenerational concept of 'Favouring the young and respecting the old'. This framework differs from existing literature in the field contextualization by proposing an approach aimed at contributing to effective and sustainable Christian mission in multi-generational contexts, specifically from an African Pentecostal Perspective. An approach intended to be used

in examining the development of James McKeown's mission models and at the same time responding to the perceived generational rift in the CoP. The next chapter therefore concentrates on McKeown's mission thought and praxis from which his mission models can be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

JAMES McKEOWN'S MISSION THOUGHT AND PRAXIS

3.1   Introduction

This chapter analyses McKeown's mission thought and praxis, which some members of the CoP perceive to have influenced the development of his mission models in Ghana. This discussion is carried out, not only for historical purposes, but also for the purpose of identifying how such praxis could inform the future of the CoP's mission in Ghana. Since McKeown did not leave a mission diary from which his mission thought and praxis could be discussed, data was basically obtained from General Council Meeting minutes, McKeown's circular and pastoral letters, interviews granted to people who claimed to have known McKeown as well as earlier biographic writings. Prominent among these written sources include: Robert Wyllie[19] (1974), Christine Leonard[20] (1989), Kingsley Larbi[21] (2001) and Marcus Thomas[22] (2016).

It must be noted that there are two other important published resources that needs to be mentioned here. First is the *History of the Apostolic Church,* published in 1959 and written by Thomas Napier Turnbull, a missionary of the UK Apostolic Church. This book covers extensively the AC's mission in Ghana and recognises the fact that the first AC missionary was sent to the Gold Coast in 1937. The book, however, omits the name

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[19] Robert Wyllie was a British anthropologist who held teaching positions at the Oxford College of Technology in England, and the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. His publication recognised James McKeown and Peter Anim as pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism.

[20] Christine Leonard is a chartered librarian. She was the only person who had a personal interview with James McKeown soon after McKeown's retirement in 1982 and published his biography in 1989, the year McKeown died.

[21] Kingsley Larbi is a Ghanaian Pentecostal historian. He was the first person to carry out a comprehensive historical study on Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity at the PhD level.

[22] Marcus Thomas is an Apostolic Church Minister. He published his book as a centenary volume for the Apostolic Church during their 100th anniversary celebration in 2016. He dedicated one whole chapter of this book on McKeown.

of McKeown from the AC's history in Ghana, though other missionaries who took over the work after McKeown were mentioned (Turnbull, 1959:85-89). Second is a magazine published by the ACUK in 2016 to commemorate the centenary celebration of the Church. This magazine displays pictures of some missionaries who worked in Ghana and also lists the names of all their missionaries who served in the AC in Ghana, except McKeown (ACUKHQ 2016a:4,18). Nevertheless, these historic materials provide some background for understanding the mission activities of the ACUK, the Church in which McKeown first served as a missionary.

3.2 Vernacularisation and Simplicity of Liturgy

As identified in Chapter One, McKeown stayed in Ghana for forty-five years without speaking any of the Ghanaian languages. This notwithstanding, he strongly promoted vernacularisation of indigenous Ghanaian languages throughout his mission in the country. He insisted on the use of the dominant indigenous language of each particular locality as the medium of communication in the liturgy of the Church. Activities such as Bible reading, singing, praying and giving of testimonies were all done in mother tongues. My interviewees mentioned that McKeown could ask a congregation to stop singing an English song during church service and request that an indigenous Ghanaian song be sang instead. Usually, an interpreter sat by him and interpreted what was being said, while his sermons were preached in English and interpreted into the language of the locality (Personal Interviews: Dampson 11/04/2015; Addison 20/02/2018).

During general conventions, where people from different ethnic and language groups came together, the Akan language was used and interpreted into the English language since English had become the *lingua franca* in Ghana. Even at such meetings, McKeown usually gave an opportunity to each of the major ethnic groups at the meeting to sing indigenous vernacular songs to glorify God. This was colourfully done

in turns, with vibrant clapping of hands and dancing. It was one of the moments some people looked forward to when it was time for general conventions (Personal Interviews: Dampson 11/04/2015; Abam 11/04/2015; Addison 20/02/2018). This aspect of McKeown's mission praxis had a unifying impact on the many ethnic groups that constitute the CoP in Ghana. There are about 100 ethnic groups in Ghana, speaking about 84 different languages, all spread over a total of 238,533 sq km (Mandryk 2010). Ghana has a large Akan speaking population of approximately forty-seven per cent of the total Ghanaian population. This is followed by Mole Dagbani, seventeen per cent; Ewe, fourteen per cent and Ga-Adangbe seven per cent (Mandryk 2010:365; Ghana Statistical Service 2013:61; Ichino & Nathan 2013:348). Although the CoP continues to experience a wide numerical growth across all the regions of Ghana, and encourages each local community to use the major vernacular language of the community, the Akan dominance also continues to be evident in its major activities because of the high percentage of Akan population in Ghana.

The general outlook of the CoP from an emic point of view is a united Church, where the many ethnic groups freely enjoy fellowship together. The premise for such observation is rooted in McKeown's intentional efforts to promote the culture of each people group. This, the CoP must recognise and work at maintaining, not only at the ethnic level, but also at the generational levels. The bond of unity is a strong missiological imperative, which should not elude the Church at any point in time (Jn 17:21). Asamoah-Gyadu observed that in Ghana, 'The CoP stands for what may be perceived to be a more accessible and "more respectable option" in indigenous Pentecostalism'. The CoP could be described as accessible because of its intentionality to promote, to a large extent, the vernacular language and local cultures of the various people groups in Ghana. Asamoah-Gyadu further enumerates some factors, including the effective use of vernacular languages, as being responsible for the CoP's growth and

wide geographic and demographic appeal (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:88). Thus, the accessibility of the CoP in various languages and the attempt to promote indigenous cultures has contributed significantly to the growth of the Church.

Apart from vernacularisation of the Church's liturgy, McKeown encouraged the use of a simple, informal and spontaneous liturgy, which encouraged the participation of all members, including those who did not have formal education (Personal Interviews: Dampson 11/04/2015; Abam 11/04/2015; Addison 20/02/2018). According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2015a:137), the simple outlook of the CoP creates the space and atmosphere for the 'experience of the Spirit through his manifestations in tongues, prophecies, visions and ecstasies'. Although these experiences were already prevailing features of Ghanaian Pentecostalism, especially among the AICs (Burnett 1997:291), the experience in the CoP has been institutionalised and manifestations are controlled to minimise abuses and manipulations as discussed further in Chapter Four.

3.3 Indigenous Leadership Formation in McKeown's Mission Praxis

McKeown's approach to missional leadership was to surround himself with a team of indigenous leaders and involve them actively in the Church's mission activities (see photographs 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11). Larbi (2001:203) and Markin (2019:103) suggest that the CoP's administrative structure was developed through a consensus by McKeown and indigenous Ghanaian leaders and patterned after the Akan traditional leadership system. A close observation of the 1937 ACUK constitution, however, reveals that the centralised administrative and governance structure in the CoP was significantly adopted from the ACUK (ACUKHQ 1937:26-70).

Just like the ACUK, the CoP has a hierarchical administrative system with the General Council[23] (GC) as the highest decision-making body. This governance structure is further decentralised to regional (or area), district and local presbyteries, with defined limits of authority levels (ACUKHQ 1937; CoPHQ 2016b). The GC was formed in 1948 while the other administrative structures developed later. An Executive Council[24] (EC) was instituted in 1964 to take care of the day to day administration of the Church at the headquarters (Leonard 1989:123; For detailed description of the CoP's administration and governance, see Tsekpoe 2010: 16-25; Markin 2019:102-112).

The interviews conducted as well as the old GCMMs examined suggest that, to a large extent, McKeown adopted an all-inclusive approach to ecclesiastical leadership, using these administrative structures. Committees were set up to examine specific issues that arose in the Church. Reports and recommendations from these committees were then presented to the GC for further discussion and ratification or otherwise. For example, McKeown did not take decisions concerning financial issues. Finance Committee submits recommendation to the GCMs for approval (see GCMMs 10/04/1957; GCMMs 08/04/1960). Also, the Literature Committee was responsible for the translation of Gospel tracts into local Ghanaian languages, preparation of ordination certificates and other related issues (GCMMs 16/04/1963). The Central Building Committee was formed in 1969 to take care of building related issues (GCMMs 08/04/1969).

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[23] The General Council is made up of all apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors in Ghana, all national heads and national secretaries of the external branches, national executive committee members of functional ministries, chairmen of boards and committees, national and area deacons (in charge of financial administration), trustees of the Church, elders' representatives and area Women's Ministry leaders (CoPHQ 2016b:13).

[24] The Executive Council was a seven-member committee during McKeown's time. It was later expanded to a nine-member committee and subsequently expanded a fifteen-member committee in 2015 (Markin 2019).

Although this method of setting up committees was also influenced by the administrative structure of the ACUK,[25] what was unique about McKeown's mission in this regard was the role played by indigenous people in these committees. These committees were chaired by indigenous Ghanaians and McKeown was not seen as imposing his ideas on the various committees (Personal Interviews: Bortsie 11/05/2015; Aboagye 30/04/2015 & Frimpong 30/04/2015). When the EC was formed in 1964, all the members of the committee, except McKeown, were indigenous Ghanaians, although there were some Western missionaries who worked with him in Ghana at the time (see photographs 7,8 & 9). This is in contrast with the administration structure he worked with during the Apostolic Church era, where his assistants were Whites. For example, CB Sercombe was Vice Superintendent to McKeown from 1943-1948 (Onyinah 2002:173). Similarly, in a picture of the then Apostolic Church pastors, SH Hammond, who was in Ghana with McKeown from 1948-1953, was identified as the Assistant Chairman to McKeown (see Photograph 10).

Usually, in McKeown's absence, it was a Ghanaian pastor who acted as the chairman for the Church although there were other Western missionaries working with him in Ghana. For example, during the General Council Meetings (GCMs) of October 1956, April 1957, September 1960 and October 1960, it was JAC Anaman, the then Assistant Superintendent of the Church, who chaired these meetings even though Sydney Scholes and Charles Berridge were then working with McKeown in the CoP. Their names were in all these minutes as missionaries, present at the meetings (GCMMs 29/10/1956; GCMMs 10/04/1957; GCMMs 06/09/1960; GCMMs 18/10/1960).

Onyinah insists that one of the unique contributions of McKeown to mission in Africa was the way he related closely with the indigenous leaders. He added that

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[25] The 1937 constitution of the Apostolic Church reveals the existence of a number of committees including Finance Committee, Bible School & Literature Committee and Building Committee as found in McKeown's mission (ACUKHQ 1937:102-113).

McKeown called the African pastors 'my brothers' and called the congregation 'brothers and sisters'. He further contended that McKeown's relationship with the indigenous people was not mere rhetoric. He consistently demonstrated it by relating with them as brothers and sisters (Personal Interview: Onyinah 25/09/2018). Onyinah recalled two incidents that demonstrated this.

First, an EPC missionary from UK, by name David Mills, who worked in Ghana during the time of McKeown, informed Onyinah in a conversation that the first time he (Mills) sought permission from McKeown to join the GCMs of the CoP, McKeown told him to hold on until he (McKeown) had discussed the decision with his brothers (referring to the Ghanaian Pastors) before approving or otherwise. Onyinah noted, 'Being the chairman of the Church, McKeown could have just given David Mills the go ahead without seeking permission from the indigenous leaders' (Personal Interview: Onyinah 25/09/2018). Apart from issues related to ministerial discipline, where some of my interviewees accused McKeown of mostly taking unilateral decisions, he made it a habit to discuss all major decisions (and sometimes minor ones) with the indigenous leaders before implementing such decisions (Personal Communication: Akrashie 13/02/2015; Hagan 13/02/2015).

Secondly, Onyinah recounts a story the late Apostle Nartey[26] told him about McKeown. He narrates that during one of the CoP's convention at Cape Coast, accommodation was prepared for all the pastors at one place, whereas a special accommodation, which was more decent, was arranged for McKeown separately. When McKeown got to know about this, he objected and insisted on sharing the same sleeping place with his colleague pastors. He therefore took his camp bed and joined the other pastors, where they slept (Personal Interview: Onyinah 25/09/2018). He did not like to be treated differently from the Ghanaian pastors he worked with. McKeown identified

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[26] A T Nartey was an Apostle of the CoP who worked very closely with James McKeown. He became part of the seven-member Executive Council, in McKeown's administration.

that the indigenous leaders have potentials and can do the work, so he trained, encouraged them and allowed them to own the work. Even though he built a central administration, he also encouraged indigenous innovations. He was said to have trusted the indigenous leaders and entrusted them with the work. He, however, played a supervisory role, ensuring that each leader was accountable to the General Council of the Church (Personal Interview: Onyinah 25/09/2018).

He was very observant and reflective on various emerging trends within the Church he led. Although he did not hasten to either prescribe or proscribe perceived solutions to issues that appeared to have social and cultural magnitudes, he normally drew attention to the legal, social, ethical and theological implications of such emerging trends. He then raised questions and invited the indigenous leaders he worked with to read the Bible and find answers to such issues. For example, on 10 August 1971, for example, McKeown wrote a letter in an attempt to initiate a discussion on what he perceived to be wrong about how funerals were being organized in the CoP in Ghana. McKeown wrote:

> Beloved Saints, Here I am to have a little talk with you. We will take our starting point from Jude 4. For there are certain men who have crept in unawares. Note the word crept; they did not run, they did not walk, they came in on hands and knees, so humble were they you did not see their real nature. Not only have men crept in, but certain customs have also come in. Just how they come in and when - it is hard to say.
> Let us examine one of them. If we can agree then we can cast them out. When we commenced the church, it was like this. If any member, friend or relative was bereaved, if at all possible, we attended the burial, expressed our sympathy in word and deed, and there it ended. But later on, we learned the family set a date for a so-called funeral. This took the form of a weekend set apart for wake keeping, then a so-called thanksgiving service in the Church on Sunday morning, followed by donations to the family … After the service there is a get- together at the family home of the bereaved where drinks soft and hard are served. I pose the question; what spiritual benefit is derived from such? (MPL 10/09/1971).

In this letter, McKeown raised a lot of issues concerning what he thought was wrong with the way funerals were held in the church in Ghana. First, his concern was on get-together after the funeral service; second, he was concerned about expensive coffins; third, he was unhappy with multiplicity of gatherings for one funeral: thus, wake keeping, the funeral day and thanksgiving service; fourth, he was worried about the

financial burdens such arrangements place on the local congregations and the human resources of the church. Further, McKeown's letter continued:

> A prominent member of the church dies, it may be a Pastor, Overseer or Elder or it may be that he has been bereaved of a wife, father or mother. The family takes over and provides an expensive coffin etc., this has to be paid for. Then comes the day of the funeral, wake keeping and thanksgiving service. Pastors and elders collect donations from their assemblies towards helping in the expenses. A delegation is sent with this donation and the church provides them with traveling expenses. On their arrival, they should be served with food and drink. This involves more expenses. Not only has the assembly been robbed of a good offering but has also been robbed of the ministry of the Pastor, Overseer or Elder. I pose the question, do these things add to the spiritual progress of the church?

> Take also into account, there are precious members with us who fled from other churches because of these practices. Now the same thing has followed them into the Church of Pentecost. They are now perplexed. It was just recently that the presbytery of the Saltpond assembly withstood me in my request to accommodate a certain bereaved family at our church for a thanksgiving service. Their arguments were stronger than mine, so I dropped my request. I have now said sufficient to set you thinking. Where can you draw the line as to who should have a memorial service and who should not? What scripture have you for any? ... May the Lord be with you and richly bless you (MPL 10/09/1971).

Now his concern has turned to the issues of discrimination with regards to funerals related to leaders (prominent members) of the Church as against all other members. He noticed that some of these customs were not part of the Church's practices because they 'crept in', probably from Ghanaian indigenous funeral customs. He observed that when the Church commenced, funerals were not organized the same way. He saw all the innovations in this custom as 'more expenses' with no added spiritual value to the people. To address these concerns, he did not just issue a pastoral letter as the chairman of the Church to stop it. He raised many questions: 'What spiritual benefit is derived from such?' Do these things add to the spiritual progress of the Church? Where can you draw the line as to who should have a memorial service and who should not? What Scripture have you for any?

Eventually, in the GCMs held in April 1976 at Winneba, a decision was taken by the council on this issue, stating that during funerals, 'there should be no wake-keeping before Memorial or Thanksgiving services in the Church' (GCMMs 08/04/1976). A circular letter then followed this decision to that effect on 22 April 1976 from the office of the chairman, signed by McKeown (MPL 22/04/1976). This is an important approach

to missional leadership, where the missionary does not take decisions for indigenous people on issues related to their customs and traditions, which the missionary has little or no knowledge about. The missionary, on the other hand, is not passive at the mission field. He is an active participant and raises questions for discussion when the need arises. This approach adopted by McKeown had the potential of encouraging self-theologizing in the CoP. This approach in mission means that indigenous answers to some decisions, may go contrary to the missionary's views or the position of the mission organization. Missionaries as well as mission organizations should be willing to cooperate with such decisions if they do not contradict core biblical and ethical principles and will help the progress of God's mission in the Church.

This seems to have been the approach McKeown adopted right from the early stages of his mission in Ghana. He sometimes had to retract his position and take the view of the indigenous people when he thought their explanations were convincing. One of such can be seen in the funeral letter we discussed above where McKeown indicated that the argument of the Saltpond local assembly presbytery was stronger than his request and as a result, he dropped his position and accepted the view of the local congregation in Saltpond. Such should be the approach in mission, where the missionary should not come with preconceived approach of handling things but ready to 'drop' his view when the indigenous think otherwise and have good reasons for it.

This should, nonetheless, be done raising biblical and theological questions for the indigenous people to contended with so that the attempt to contextualize may be critical (for critical contextualization, see Hiebert 1985:171-92; Rasmussen & Rasmussen 2015:16). This research contended that similar approach should be adopted in dealing with mission among emerging generations. Since cultures are very dynamic, the older generation may sometimes have to take missionary positions and ask questions,

encouraging the young people[27] to self-theologize and bring feedback to their mentors about what the Bible says concerning their unique contexts, instead of imposing decisions on young people all the times. In a multi-generational church, as in the case of the CoP, young people would have to be included in decision making processes and giving the opportunity to serve on committees and boards in the Church, taking into consideration their ages and potentials. Some of them could even be given the opportunity to chair committees and lead discussions, but under the supervision of older and more experienced mentors, who should be responsible for nurturing and guiding the young ones. This could help mitigate the challenge where the younger generation think that the adults always impose old Christian traditions on them. The approach can also increase the generativity of the older generations because it provides greater opportunity for mentoring children and youth in the Church.

3.4 Conflicts, Decision Making and the Indigenous Factor

The Apostolic Church under the leadership of James McKeown enjoyed a period of peace from June 1939 (the year in which Peter Anim seceded from the AC in Ghana), up to 1953 when another schism confronted the Church. In the early 1950s, the leaders of the AC in Ghana became interested in inviting an evangelistic group from the USA, called the Latter Rain Movement (LRM). They heard of this group through Pastor Fred C Poole, the superintendent minister of the Apostolic Church in Philadelphia, USA and Adam McKeown, a brother of James McKeown, who was also a missionary of the AC in Canada. Adam McKeown served briefly in Ghana with James McKeown before eventually going to Canada as a missionary. In Canada, Adam had joined the LRM during their crusades and later gave a very good report about them to the AC in Ghana

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[27] Young people in this context include both children and youth. On the CoP's annual and half-yearly statistical reports, children born into the church and those who join the church are all considered as full members of the Church, though they are not baptised in water until they are above 12 years of age. Those between 13 and 35 years are countered as youth members of the Church.

(Larbi 2001:211-212; Leonard 1989:133-134). Apart from this report, a magazine, *Wings of Healing,* published by the LRM and contained their evangelistic and healing activities was circulating in Ghana. Based on the reports of Adam, Poole and the magazine, the Ghanaian leaders who were working with McKeown became extremely excited about inviting the LRM to Ghana (Bredwa-Mensah 2005:19-20; Larbi 2001:212; Leonard 1989:135).

The LRM originated in 1948 from a revival that started in the Sharon Orphanage and Schools in North Battleford, Saskatchewan in Canada. The group however spread through North America and also had revival meetings in other parts of the world, including Africa (Riss 1988:112). In their teachings, the LRM laid much emphasis on prophecies and healing, relied on the offices of Apostles and Prophets and believed in the impartation of spiritual gifts by laying on of hands (B. Thomas 2016:111-112; Riss 1988:119). Both the ACUK and LRM 'shared a common understanding of directive prophecy and as a result the two groups were drawn closer together than either would be to the other Pentecostal groups' (B. Thomas 2016:9). The point of divergence between the two groups however emerged from the LRM's opposition to centralised administrative system of church governance, which was very strong in the ACUK. Additionally, the ACUK became uncomfortable with the practice of laying on of hands and excesses observed in the healing and deliverance activities of the LRM (Worsfold 2004:106-107). Although the ACUK initially approved the visit of the Later Rain Team to Ghana, as a result of the growing differences between the two groups, it later disapproved of it.

Meanwhile, at the time of disapproval, preparations to receive the team were already advanced in Ghana. The indigenous Ghanaian leaders, therefore, insisted that the group be invited against the decision of the Church's leadership at the mission headquarters in UK (Personal Interview: Onyinah 25/09/2018). McKeown seemed to

have understood the implications of disobeying the decision of the ACUK for his position as a missionary. At the same time, he also understood the implications of refusing to listen to the indigenous leaders he was working with. The 1950s witnessed a major period of disenchantment towards colonial domination in Africa. The Africans were opposed to anything that had the appearance of European hegemony and oppression and were willing to fight it. McKeown therefore sent a letter to the UK headquarters as follows:

> The Gold Coast you knew some months ago has dramatically changed and a strong political wind is blowing all over the country. The Africans are demanding freedom for their country. No religious doctrine could stop what was happening in the Gold Coast and the slogan is self-government now both political and spiritual (in Onyinah 2004b:67).

The content of this letter clearly reveals the socio-political atmosphere of the time. The Gold Coast eventually won independence in 1957. It was also the time when the AICs gained much acceptance because many Africans did not want to associate with 'the Whiteman's church'. McKeown therefore wanted to convince the ACUK to accept the decision of the indigenous leaders who were still bent on inviting the LRM. But with the strict and rigid administrative character of the AC, they could also not accept McKeown's concerns (Onyinah 2004:67). Pastor Nii Ankrah Vanderpuije told Onyinah in an interview that, 'the Council at Bradford replied very negatively with a gigantic NO and so self-government then was applied' (in Onyinah 2004b:67).

Having told the indigenous Ghanaians that they were a self-governing church, McKeown was compelled to disobey the decision of the ACUK in favour of the decision of the indigenous Ghanaian leaders. Onyinah was of the view that McKeown himself did not like the idea of the visit of the LRM but since the indigenous leaders collectively wanted it, he respected their decision and invited the team to the country (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018; Onyinah 25/09/2018). McKeown's decision to listen to the indigenous leaders and inviting the LRM, against his own wish and against the 'NO' directive from the mission headquarters, demonstrates his respect for

indigenous leaders and his willingness to take decision with them and even take their views when the need arises. This is especially crucial when McKeown was very much aware of the implications of flouting the orders of the AC headquarters in the UK.

This style of leadership has been identified in his mission praxis in Ghana and had won the heart of the Ghanaians for his mission. One important lesson here for mission is that missionaries will struggle to win the heart of indigenous people and get their cooperation in carrying out a successful mission work if they look down on the decisions of indigenous people and fail to respect their views. To a large extent, McKeown was able to avoid doing this during his mission in Ghana. This attitude revealed an important lesson that mission has much to do with the personal relationship of the missionary with indigenous people. These principles are crucial for mission in multigenerational contexts. The challenge is that in contemporary Ghana, young people are attaining higher educational status than their parents and are becoming more technologically inclined. They are also more disposed to the regular use of social media and thereby becoming more individualistic and culturally alienated from the cultures and values of their parents. Although the older generation may not be able to fit into the cultures of the emerging generations, they can be intentional in learning to mutually relate with the later, respect their views and love them. If this is done from a missiological perspective, it can reduce much rift in the faith transmission process from one generation to the other and sustain the mission of the Church.

Apart from Ghana, the LRM also visited the AC in Nigeria and New Zealand within the same year. The Church's mission headquarters in Bradford was not happy about these visits. Describing the influence of the LRM in New Zealand, Luke Worsfold explained, 'Considerable disquiet existed amongst the New Zealand Apostolic Church leaders regarding the extent to which their overseas brethren had embraced Latter Rain and consequently thrown over the Apostolic vision of a centralised divine government'

(Worsfold 2004:108-9). It must be acknowledged that the ministry of the LRM was not accepted by many of the established Pentecostal denominations of the time. Major Pentecostal denominations in the USA, Canada and the UK, such as the Assemblies of God Church, the Pentecostal Holiness Church and the Apostolic Church strongly opposed the LRM (Riss 1988:119-22). Richard Riss pointed out that, 'The Latter Rain Movement quickly became anathema among most major Pentecostal denominational bodies, and every effort was made by people within them to remain as far removed from any association with the movement as possible' (Riss 1988:121).

Consequently, during the Quadrennial Council Meeting of the ACUK in May 1953, the issue of the operations of the LRM in the Apostolic churches was discussed extensively. Although the ACUK seemed to have no problem with the LRM's spirituality, they had problems with some of their practices including their position on denominational titles and organizational structures (M Thomas 2016:144). During the centenary celebration of the ACUK, Pastor Marcus Thomas, who also served as a minister of the AC in Scotland and Northern Ireland, wrote a book in which he recounted the stories of some of the early leaders of the ACUK. One chapter of this book was written on James McKeown. In this book, Thomas reports that during the 1953 Quadrennial Council Meeting, 'Opinions regarding the LRM were divided. At the conclusion of the discussions all the participants were asked to reaffirm their belief in the tenets and the principles and practices as included in the ACUK Constitution, which had been agreed in March 1937' (M Thomas 2016:144).

According to Leonard, the purpose was to make it difficult to invite any external body to the Apostolic Church without the approval of the mission headquarters (Leonard 1989:138). All the participants to that meeting, one after the other, reaffirmed their belief in the constitution, except Cecil Cousen (an Apostolic Church Missionary in Canada) and James McKeown (Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001; M Thomas 2016; B Thomas

2016). McKeown later explained, 'He did not affirm the constitution of the Apostolic Church in UK in 1935 and 1953 because he found great discriminations in it' (GCMMs 24/11/1961). This document, however, did not explain the specific discrimination in the constitution McKeown was referring to. According to Kingsley Larbi, a scholar of Pentecostal history in Ghana,

> McKeown had requested constitutional amendments to certain aspects of the Constitution of the UK Apostolic Church. This was apparently refused by the leadership of the Apostolic Church. The Constitution sought to divide its prophets into "Assembly Prophets, District Prophets, Area Prophets and Inter Area Prophets" … The Constitution also stipulated that an African could be an apostle to blacks but not an apostle to the whole church (Larbi 2001:213-214; see also Bredwa-Mensah:22).

All attempts made to retrieve either the minutes of the 1953 quadrennial council meeting of the Apostolic Church or the constitution in question, in order to ascertain the authenticity of these claims, failed.[28] This notwithstanding, the researcher was able to assess the 1937 and 2008 constitutions of the ACUK from their headquarters in Luton. The first aspect of McKeown's concerns, which involves different categories of prophets was found in the 1937 constitution (ACUKHQ 1937:150-56).

The second aspect, which has to do with discrimination between black apostles and white apostles was, however, not found in any of these constitutions. Rather, the 1937 constitution regards every apostle as 'equal in calling and authority' (ACUKHQ 1937:145). This indicates the position of the ACUK, contrary to the claims of Larbi. Further, the 2008 constitution was the fifth constitution of the ACUK, which implies that three other amended constitutions existed between 1937 and 2008. The preamble to the 2008 constitution mentions two editions: 1961 and 1985 but is silent on the third. This makes it difficult to reach a conclusion on whether the said allegation on

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[28] I have personally visited the Apostolic Church headquarters in the UK, which is located at Luton but was told that these documents could not be traced. I also have email communications through which other documents were sent to me from the UK Apostolic Church headquarters. It is possible that these documents might have been lost due to the relocation of the headquarters of the church from Penygroes and Bradford (Missions office) to Luton.

discrimination was true or not. Yet, Marcus Thomas, supports Larbi's assertion by stating:

> McKeown "Asked the Council to debate a pre-existing decision that UK (white) pastors were not subject to the authority of local (black) apostleship" … This was an issue of discrimination that understandably troubled him [McKeown]. However, the main issue on the table at that year's Council was the "Latter Rain Movement" (M Thomas 2016:143).

A relationship between the activities of the LRM and the issue of discrimination between white apostles and black apostles could be drawn because McKeown's disobedience to the directives of the AC was as a result of the Ghanaian black apostles' insistence on the invitation of the LRM from the USA. Probably, to make it difficult for such events to recur, white apostles should be given enough authority to withstand the pressures of the black apostles. According to Marcus Thomas (2016:144), the refusal to reaffirm their belief was considered to be their resignation from the Apostolic Church.

Pastor Ernest Williams the last missionary of the AC to Ghana, who stayed in Ghana from 1972 – 1982 insists, 'McKeown was never dismissed, he resigned'. To him, McKeown was aware of the implications of refusing to affirm the constitution of the Apostolic Church and as such knew that it was the end of his ministry with the AC as a missionary (Personal Interview: Williams 18/08/2017). Others wrote that McKeown and Cousen were dismissed from the Apostolic Church as missionaries because of their refusal to affirm the constitution (Wyllie 1974; Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001; Walker 2010). Apart from McKeown and Cousen, Marcus Thomas points out, 'The immediate result [of the AC's reaction to the activities of the LRM] was that some pastors, officers and members in UK, USA and Canada resigned from the Apostolic Church and some churches also seceded. In Nigeria, four UK missionaries resigned' (M Thomas 2016:144). Similarly, in 1954, Pa G Elton, who had come to Nigeria as a missionary of the Apostolic Church, separated from the AC and joined the LRM (Kalu 2007:14). Describing the effects of the LRM in the USA, Riss noted, 'Many people were dropped from or pressured to resign from various denominations for their involvement in the

Latter Rain' (Riss 1988:121). Thus, the activities of the LRM had many repercussions, not only for McKeown and the AC, but also for many other Pentecostal Pastors and denominations.

Upon hearing of McKeown's dismissal (or resignation) from the AC mission, the leadership of the AC in Ghana, led by JAC Anaman, had a meeting and resolved to secede relationship from the ACUK. They immediately formed what they called the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, which became Ghana Apostolic Church after independence in 1957. They requested for James McKeown to return to Ghana as their leader (Personal Interviews: Bortsie 11/05/2015; Gyimah 07/05/2015). Meanwhile, a group of members of the AC, led by one lay leader, David Tenobi refused to join the Gold Coast AC but remained loyal to the ACUK. As a result, a new missionary was sent from the Apostolic Headquarters to lead the AC, Gold Coast. Thus, the Apostolic churches became two in Ghana, which brought open confrontations between the two churches until 1962 when the then President of the country, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, advised McKeown and his group not to use the name 'Apostolic Church' in order to forestall all such conflicts. As a result, the Ghana Apostolic Church became known as The Church of Pentecost (Personal Interviews: Bortsie 11/05/2015; Gyimah 07/05/2015).

The events of 1953 further won sympathy for McKeown in Ghana because the root cause of his dismissal, as a missionary, was generally understood to have emerged from the insistence of the Ghanaian indigenous leaders to invite the LRM. Secondly, news that McKeown was defending the cause of black apostles against white superiority further won admiration and acceptance for McKeown within the CoP and the Ghanaian community. These events, coupled with earlier observations that McKeown encouraged the use of vernacular languages, consulted the indigenous leaders before taking decision, lived with the Ghanaians in their communities and calls them 'brothers and

sisters' suggest that relationship with indigenous workers is a key factor in the success of Christian mission.

3.5   Direct Mentoring as A Model of Discipleship in Mission

One outstanding observation in this research is how McKeown used direct mentoring as a model for discipleship and leadership training. McKeown was convinced that leaders who understand and work with God's mission can only be raised if converts are effectively and genuinely discipled (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018; Gyimah 12/05/2015; Sackey 02/05/2015). To be able to fulfil this mandate, McKeown adopted a direct mentoring model. Mentoring has been defined as 'A relational experience in which one person empowers another by sharing God-given resources and a lifelong relationship, in which a mentor helps a protégé reach his or her God-given potential' (Hilborn & Bird 2002:170). McKeown carried out direct mentoring by intentionally bringing young Ghanaians who could be potential leaders closer to himself as interpreters. He taught them, travelled with them, introduced them to resources for Christian maturity and gave them the opportunity to observe his personal life. He also gave them opportunities to practice what they learn (Personal Interviews: Addison 20/02/2018).

Addison stressed that, 'McKeown never went to preach or travelled without going with a friend. He always had a younger person by him wherever he went'. The reason was two-fold: First because he could not speak the local languages, he needed an interpreter always. Secondly, he was deliberate in using that method to train people (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). Rigwell Ato Addison was one of the young people who benefitted from McKeown's direct mentoring model by following McKeown to many places. Addison also served as McKeown's interpreter on several occasions. Through this relationship, he learnt a lot from him. Addison recollects that

the first sermon he ever preached was one of McKeown's sermons he had heard and written down. McKeown encouraged young people and the pastors to read Christian books and introduced them to buying books from Challenge Bookshops (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018).

Furthermore, through these relationships, McKeown identified those who had the potential and the ability to contribute in different aspects of God's mission in the Church. Again, Addison recalls that at the age of 25,

> McKeown recommended that the church should sponsor me to attend Billy Graham conference for the youth in London, UK … At this conference, he told one Elim pastor that if they want someone to preach, he [McKeown] had a young chap who can preach and as a result, I was given the opportunity to preach at the Elim Church in the UK. He sat there in the congregation while I preached, and I could see that he was happy. It is a memory I will not forget (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018).

This was the method McKeown adopted to mentor the pastors and church members by doing ministry with them and identifying the potentials in the younger generation leaders, training them, encouraging them and giving them the opportunity to use their potentials. Such people became the leaders in the Church and contributed significantly to the growth of the CoP after McKeown's retirement. Ato Addison for example, became the General Secretary of the CoP. He also served as a missionary of the Church in Nigeria and Australia. After he returned from missions to Ghana, he continued to serve as an Area Head for the Church in Kumasi and Accra until he retired from active ministry in 2013.

During the time of this research, Addison continues to serve as a trustee for the CoP and as a resource person in leadership training programmes. Direct mentoring continued to develop in the CoP to become a model for discipleship and leadership training in the Church from its informal state until some formal structures emerged in contemporary times. This informal approach of mentoring can be likened to Jesus's mentoring approach, where He travelled with the disciples, modelled his ministry and

life for them to observe, taught them and gave them the opportunity to practise ministry (Krallmann 1992:124; Hilborn & Bird 2002:174).

3.5.1 *The Development of Direct Mentoring Structures in the CoP*

Right from its inception, evangelism has been part of the CoP's core values. Even though discipleship and leadership training have also been part of the Church's mission approach, there were no formal structures for these practices. Discipleship was carried out as mentorship or more appropriately, apprenticeship, where learning takes place practically through instruction, observation and practice. Thus, matured members were expected to mentor younger ones in Christ-like living, personal commitment and devotion to God, church and community. These were therefore carried out through personal relationships, interactions, church meetings and conventions. The informal nature of the apprenticeship system seemed to have fitted well into the Ghanaian scheme of life because, in Africa, as has been the case elsewhere, apprenticeship has been a basic tool for informal education. In CoP local congregations for example, mature members as well as ordained lay leaders and pastors of the Church were expected to provide direct mentorship to each member of the congregation.

This practice continued in its informal state until 2013, when in a five-year vision document of the Church (dubbed 'Vision 2018'), an outline for direct mentoring was formally written and disseminated to local congregations for implementation. The document stated:

> Since the future of every institution depends on the young generation catching the vision of the leaders or adults, there will be a deliberate attempt to mentor the children and the youth to know Christ in a personal way, grow in Him and also understand the Church's beliefs and practices. Paul tells Timothy, "What you heard from me, keep as the pattern of sound teaching ..." (2 Tim 1:13, NIV). Again, he says, "And the things you have heard me say in the presence of many witnesses entrust to reliable men ..." (2 Tim 2:2, NIV). Impacting people greatly depends upon their being with you, doing, seeing, hearing and understanding the rationale behind your actions. Biblical form of parenting such as Moses to Joshua, Naomi to Ruth, Mordecai to Esther, Jesus to the twelve apostles, and Paul to Timothy will be followed (CoPHQ 2018 2013:22).

This passage accurately captures the Church's model for direct mentoring, where the mentee or protégé is given the opportunity to see, hear, do and attempt to understand the rationale behind the mentor's actions. Following the vision document, a letter was written to all local congregations to explain how this intentional mentoring was going to be carried out. The letter outlined the various steps that needed to be taken to ensure that this is done effectively in the local congregations. Some of these steps are listed below (see CoPCL 07/06/2013):

1. Gathering of personal information: This shall include Name, Sex, Age, residence, place of work and Employment, phone numbers and email addresses.
2. The list shall be grouped into zones using the place of residence as the basis.
3. Members shall be shared among officers (Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses) Mature Spirit-filled members.
4. Particulars of the members assigned to an officer who shall be readily available for use and follow up by the Presiding Elders/ District Pastor.
5. In addition to ordained officers, members may be assigned to mature Spirit-filled disciples as their mentors.
6. Each officer/mentor shall be responsible for taking care of the members given to him/her for a year.
7. The officer/mentor shall visit the members put under his/her care at least once a Month.
8. Effort shall be made to send text messages, emails, etc. to make contacts.
9. The Presiding elder shall visit/contact the members in his local at least once in six months.
10. The District pastor shall plan and make sure he visits/contacts every member within a year.

In the CoP, there is no ambiguity about the Pastor's role as a disciple-maker. Though he may be involved in other useful ministerial activities, his core mandate is disciple-making. His first responsibility as a disciple-maker, is to be an authentic disciple. It is expected that as the Pastor abides in Christ, the fruit will be evident for all to see (Matt 7:16-20; Jn 15:5). The beauty of these fruits will speak louder than the words of the Pastor on the pulpit. The Pastor together with the local presbytery, are expected to make this a core aspect of their responsibility. Ideally in the CoP, each church leader is expected to have a maximum of ten protégés for effective mentoring.

The Church of Pentecost, like the ACUK and some other Pentecostal churches, does not subscribe to the cessationist doctrine, which holds that the five-fold ministry has ceased with the Apostolic Age. Rather, the Church believes in the continuation of such gifts, even in contemporary times. The CoP admits that these gifts are given to the

Church to equip believers for the work of ministry (Eph 4:11-16). The CoP therefore ordains apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors, who are expected to lead the direct mentoring process in the Church. Through this direct mentorship system, members of the Church are expected to be discipled into mature Christians, firmly established in the Church and also portraying Christ-likeness in their communities.

3.5.2 Direct Mentorship as an Aspect of Ministerial Formation

Apart from the formal structures of discipleship and mentoring that have emerged in the local congregations, by September 2014, the direct mentoring model of leadership training had also been formalized in the training of CoP ministers at the School of Theology Mission and Leadership (STML). This is done in two-fold. First, all the students in training are divided into smaller groups and mentors (who are lecturers) are assigned to them. On average, each lecturer is given ten students. Within the period of one year, which the students spend on campus, these mentors develop personal relationships with their mentees, guiding them on issues pertaining to life and ministry. There is a special time on the timetable once a week where students do not meet in classrooms but meet with their mentors to discuss practical ministerial issues and also to strengthen the bond between the mentors and their protégés. Secondly, the students are assigned to mature and experienced pastors who are already pastoring in the field. Students are expected to spend each weekend with these mentors during their one-year period of training. An average of two students are assigned to a pastor. Students normally leave campus on Friday afternoons, spend the weekend with their mentors and return to campus on Sunday after church.

It is expected that while the student is with his mentor-pastor, there are different ministerial skills the student could acquire. These may include evangelism and church planting, disciple-making, visiting and praying for the sick and the needy, organising water baptisms, dedication of children, conducting marriage ceremonies and funerals. It

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may also include praying for people to receive Holy Spirit baptism accompanied by glossolalia. In the CoP, glossolalia is considered as the initial evidence of Holy Spirit baptism. In addition, the student has the opportunity to observe their mentor's personal conduct, his relationship with his wife and children, his relationship with the lay leaders he works with as well as his relationship with chiefs and community members. In short, the model is based on this principle that, 'some things are taught, others are caught'.[29]

In an article written by Emmanuel Anim, the Director of STML[30], he describes this model of direct mentoring as the 'Apprenticeship or Asamankese[31] Model'. Anim noted:

> This model takes it roots from the informal ministerial training that ministers of The Church of Pentecost in Ghana received from the 1940s to the early 1970s. Asamankese is located in the Eastern Region of Ghana and is where James McKeown, the Irish missionary who founded the church, began his ministry. In this model, the context was wherever people were found and the method was to raise ministers who would be sensitive to the leading of the Holy Spirit. The syllabus was prayer, fasting, and preaching. Emphasis was placed on holiness, modesty, frugality, and respect for leadership and authority. There was no formal classroom teaching except that the minister-in-training simply learned by following (Anim 2017:53).

Two things become clear from Anim's submission. First is that the model is linked to McKeown's model of training and Asamankese, where he (McKeown) started his mission in Ghana. Second, Anim rightly indicates, 'the minister-in-training simply learned by following'. Again, Anim contended:

> The ultimate objective of the Apprenticeship Model is better understood in the words of the Apostle Paul, when he explained how much pain and trouble he went through (as in the case of a childbirth) in teaching and guiding the believers so that in the end, Christ may be *formed* in them (Gal. 4:19). The *formation* of the minister in the nature of character, and mission of Christ defines pastoral formation, and this is the goal of PTS. It is hoped that this approach would recapture the dynamic of the initial training at Asamankese while adding the wisdom the church has gained through the years. In contrast to 'trained incapacity,' and learning from proven mentors, they are demonstrating 'trained capacity' for quick intelligence and effective Christian leadership (Anim 2017:57).

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[29] This has two implications. It means the leaders will need to exhibit good behaviour, ethics and dispositions that are worthy of emulations for the younger ones to learn. It also means that the younger ministers will need to be observant as part of their training because it is not everything that is going to be taught.

[30] School of Theology, Mission and Leadership is a school within Pentecost University.

[31] Asamankese is a town in the Eastern Region of Ghana. It is place where the Revd James McKeown started his ministry from and as a result, is believed that this town is the birth place of McKeown's direct mentoring model.

After the minister completes his training and is posted to the field, another matured minister, who is now his direct supervisor, referred to in the CoP as 'Area Head' takes over the direct mentoring responsibility. There are therefore opportunities for people to be mentored at almost all levels of the Church. Even though this model is not unique to the CoP, the uniqueness of its practice is traced to McKeown's commitment and consistency in making sure that people are deliberately discipled and that next generation leaders are intentionally raised, using biblical principles.

One of the major weaknesses of this model as practised in the CoP currently is the observation that mentorship seems to concentrate solely on leadership training for church related activities. Even though some attempts have been made to mentor church members to acquire some practical skills in other areas such as craftsmanship, agriculture, politics, business and trade, these are mainly short-term training programmes that cannot be described as direct mentoring. There is the need for additional formal structures to be developed in the CoP for effective and sustainable mentoring to complement existing structures for the purpose of equipping young Christians in community development. Secondly, the current direct mentorship structure in the CoP does not factor the children in the Church into the model at the local congregation level. It is assumed that the children's ministry teachers will take care of them and mentor them. This also needs a rethinking in order to merge it into the Church's structure to make it intentionally intergenerational.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed McKeown's mission thought and praxis. First it was shown that McKeown's ability to relate well with the indigenous leaders he worked with, as well as his method of giving important leadership responsibilities to these leaders and involving them in decision making, contributed to teamwork and obtained support for his mission.

Many of the interviewees in this research identified McKeown as one who had cordial relationship with the indigenous people he worked with. Agreeing with Paul Hiebert (1985:227) that, 'Communication between people in different cultures does not take place in a vacuum, but always occurs within the context of social relationships,' this research contends that building effective relationships with indigenous people is a key factor in successful Christian mission. Effective mutual relationships can defy the assumption that mission is associated with the culture of the missionary (Hiebert 1985:9), as has been demonstrated in McKeown's mission praxis in Ghana. As a result of the effective relationship he built with the people, members of the CoP saw the CoP as their own, and not the Whiteman's church, although a white missionary, James McKeown, was the chairman.

Similarly, McKeown's method of asking the indigenous leaders to search the Scriptures and provide biblical answers to cultural issues promoted self-theologizing among the indigenous leaders. The danger here is that as observed by Hiebert (1985:197) 'Since everyone seems to have his or her own theology, how do we know ours is correct?' This is an important but difficult question. Since theology does not only emerge from the Scriptures but is also influenced by our cultures, there is a critical role to be played by both the missionary and indigenous people. It is argued in this thesis that McKeown's approach, in which he plays the role of an active observer, asking questions, but allowing the indigenous people to bring out their biblical understanding of cultural issues is crucial. This is because theology is not only guided by Scripture and culture but also tradition, revelation, experience and reason (Macquarrie 1996). A balanced theology is required from such a critical collaboration between indigenous people and the missionary.

The chapter finally argued that McKeown's use of direct mentoring as a model of discipleship and leadership training developed from its informal state until formal

structures emerged in the CoP. This model should therefore be made more effective by first extending its application beyond pastoral ministry and leadership in the Church. Brian Wakeman indicates, 'Whether it is business management, nursing, teaching, or any other profession, trade, or role, mentoring can help people acquire the expertise to perform well, to serve the human race, and to create work and prosperity' (Wakeman 2012:281). The CoP's direct mentoring approach should therefore be given a broader scope to help the members use their God-given talents to serve humanity in other spheres of life. This means that the Church's direct mentoring model should also include structures that can mentor and nurture church members to be concerned about the development of the communities in which they live and the wellbeing of the world at large.

Again, the CoP should consider integrating direct mentoring for children into its newly developing formal discipleship structures. This approach is important to integrate the younger generation into the Church's discipleship process for effective faith transmission. Although McKeown did not mentor children directly, the principle he used to mentor young people, should be developed beyond McKeown's praxis in nurturing the next generation in both Christian mission and mission to the wider community. Closely linked with McKeown's mission thought and praxis as discussed in this chapter is his mission theology and spirituality, which would be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

McKEOWN'S MISSION THEOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY

4.1   Introduction

Pentecostal theology and spirituality derives its strength from the ability to maintain a paradoxical continuity and discontinuity with other Christian traditions that preceded it (Land 1994:29-30). As pointed out in Chapter One, many formative factors influenced McKeown's mission thought and praxis, which undoubtedly contributed to his distinctive contributions to mission theology and spirituality. Land argued,

> The streams of pietism, Puritanism, Wesleyanism, African-American Christianity, and nineteenth-century Holiness-Revivalism form a confluence which has today become a sea of Pentecostal believers. Therefore, though there is an incredibly diverse array of Pentecostal denominations as the twenty-first century approaches, yet the original or essential spirituality has left its mark on them all and remain to be re-visioned if the movement is to have theological coherence and continuity (Land 1994:47).

In identifying the streams of traditions that have left their mark on Pentecostalism, Land omits the significant contribution of African spirituality to the Pentecostal movement. His observation is however important because as discussed earlier in Chapter One, McKeown's formative years were greatly influenced by his experience with great Pentecostal holiness preachers and his relationship with the EPC as well as the ACUK who were also influenced by the Welsh revival. He might have also been influenced by the Presbyterian background of his parents. It can therefore be argued that McKeown's mission theology emerged from a confluence of these varied Christian traditions. Christine Leonard (1985:82) asserted, 'James preached without notes, quoting the Bible chapter and verse from memory'. As indicated in Chapter Three, McKeown did not leave behind personal sermon notes or diary from which his mission theology can be assessed. Yet this does not mean that he did not have a mission theology guiding him. As common to Pentecostals of his day, his mission theology was lived and practised.

Anderson points out that in Pentecostalism, 'Theology is acted out rather than philosophized in the rituals, liturgies and daily experiences' (Anderson 2004a). Primary data for discussing his mission theology and spirituality was collected from two main sources; first, pastoral letters written by James McKeown to church leaders and the various congregations[32] from 1953-1982. Some of these letters contain short exhortations or teachings on issues of importance in the Church. Second, some of the minutes of the GC meetings from 1956-1982 contained the sermons he preached at those meetings. These sermons are very important because they were also the avenues McKeown used for his leadership training. These sermons can therefore provide pointers to what was theologically important to him.

4.2   The use of the Terms 'Theology' and 'Spirituality'

The word 'theology' is sometimes associated with engaging in dry academic debates involving highly trained specialists who possess the knowledge of Christian tradition, history of doctrine and high hermeneutical skills (Dickson 1984:13; Bevans 2002:18; Smith 2013:16). Bevans argued, 'If theology is truly to take culture and cultural change seriously, it must be understood as being done most fully by the subjects and agents of cultural change' (Bevans 2002:18). Although Bevans does not deride the place of the trained theologian, his contention is that theology is done in context by ordinary people who are in touch with everyday life of the community.

Consequently, agreeing with Anselm, Migliore (2004:2) defines theology as 'Faith seeking understanding'. Reference to McKeown's theology in this thesis is in the context of his understanding of the Christian faith, as he tries to articulate in his pastoral letters and sermons found in recorded church minutes. Secondly, Hendricks & Clarke

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[32] The congregations are referred to as local assemblies in the CoP, just as it is in the Apostolic Church UK.

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(1993:204), suggests that the term 'spirituality' does not have a universal meaning in all Christian traditions. It embraces a variety of terms, including piety, worship and devotion. They define spirituality as the relationship between the lived experience and reflection of the human spirit (individual and communal) and the divine spirit (Hendricks & Clarke 1993:204). In this thesis, McKeown's spirituality is used to describe his reflections on the relationship between the community of believers and the supernatural in an African context. To carry out this assignment, a total of 47 sermons, have been reviewed and some of the major theological themes have been identified.

4.3   Holy Spirit Baptism and the Doctrine of Initial Evidence

Theological reflections across the globe do not have the same emphasis globally. Context and unique experiences influence nuances existing in theological reflections across time and space. Byron Claus comments, 'Globally, Pentecostal doctrine is not uniform around such issues as the baptism in the Spirit, the evidence of the baptism in the Spirit, sanctification, healing, eschatology, or church polity' (Klaus 2005:323). This notwithstanding, Pentecostals generally believe that the experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit is the fuel for Christian mission (Cox 1995:81). Arguably, the central and distinct theme in the theology of the Pentecostals is the practical experience of the Holy Spirit, albeit diversely experienced (Anderson 2004a). Writing about the CoP, Markin (2019:242-43) contended that the Holy Spirit is the nexus of the emergence, growth, expansion and sustaining power of the CoP's mission.

It must acknowledged that it was the desire to know more about the Holy Spirit baptism that brought Anim into contact with the leadership of the ACUK and eventually led to McKeown's missionary assignment in Ghana (Wyllie 1974:112-13; Larbi 2001:101-102). Speaking in tongues or glossolalia occupies a very important place in Pentecostal theology and spirituality. Even though the use of the phrase 'Holy Spirit

baptism' existed before the emergence of modern Pentecostalism (Synan 1997:87-88; Riss 1988:18), the experience of Agnes Osman and the Azusa street revival brought about the formulation of a distinctive Pentecostal doctrine on glossolalia. Various reports in the *Apostolic Faith Magazine* reveal the doctrinal position of the pioneers of modern Pentecostalism. For example, in volume 1, No. 8 of the *Apostolic Faith Magazine*, issued in May 1907, we read:

> One after another became at last conscious, as the mighty power of God came upon them, that they were speaking in divine ecstasy with a voice that was not their own, and in a language whether of men and angels they knew not, for until some received the gift of interpretation it was not known what they said. They were speaking mysteries to God for their own strengthening. (1 Cor., xiv. 2:4.) (Apostolic Faith 1907:8).

Harvey Cox identifies three dimensions of elementary Pentecostal spirituality as: primal speech, primal piety and primal hope. He explained:

> *Primal speech* pinpoints the spiritual import of what scholars of religion sometimes call "ecstatic utterance" or glossolalia, what the earliest Pentecostals called "speaking in tongues" and what many now refer to as "praying in the Spirit." … the first Pentecostals learned to speak and their successors still speak – with another voice, a language of the heart (Cox 1995:82).

This primal speech or speaking in tongues was a very important ritual in the theology and spirituality of James McKeown. He emphasised it right from the inception of his mission in Ghana and continued to emphasise it even after retirement. Conspicuously missing in Ghanaian Pentecostal literature, is McKeown's unique emphasis on glossolalia as the initial evidence of Holy Spirit baptism, which led Peter Anim to seek for this experience in 1937. It must be clarified that although some of the people in Anim's group had spoken in tongues in 1932, Peter Anim himself never spoke in tongues until McKeown arrived in the Gold Coast (Asamoah: 28/04/2015; Ntiaku: 27/04/2015). Apostle Larbi Asamoah, a retired minister of Anim's Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), who also served as a personal assistant to Peter Anim before becoming the General Secretary of the CAC from 1955 - 1962, told me in an interview that,

> Although Stephen Owiredu and some of the members of the Church were already baptised in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues, Anim himself was not yet baptized in the Holy Spirit. Upon the arrival of McKeown, he told Anim that he [Anim] was not qualified to minister as a Pentecostal Pastor without the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in tongues. This forced Peter Anim to shut himself in his room to fast and pray for four days, confessing his sins until he also received the Holy Spirit baptism and spoke in tongues. He thanked the missionary for

the advice that led him to the receiving of the Holy Spirit baptism and they both continued the work (Personal Interview: Asamoah 28/04/2015).

This is also reminiscent of many events of the Holy Spirit movements in the USA and UK. For example, prior to the Azusa Street revival, people received the Holy Spirit baptism and spoke in tongues during the services of Edward Irving (1831), Dwight Moody's meetings (1875), Bethel Bible School, the Welsh revival of 1904 and many others. Meanwhile in some of these instances, the leaders themselves did not speak in tongues immediately, their experience came later (Synan 1997:87-87).

McKeown and Anim's encounter further brings out McKeown's position on the baptism in the Holy Spirit, which he consistently ensured during his ministry as a missionary in Ghana. For Anim's group, speaking in tongues was good and desired by the members of the Church, but it was not a prerequisite to becoming a Pentecostal minister or a leader. This explains why it was not difficult for Anim himself to lead the Church for all these years even though he had not spoken in tongues. This should be considered in recognition of the fact that Anim had been successfully praying for the sick to receive their healing before McKeown arrived in Ghana. Anim might have considered his ability to pray for the sick to receive healing, which is a gift of the Holy Spirit to mean that he was baptised in the Holy Spirit. McKeown's insistence on the fact that Anim should speak in tongues, therefore, reveals McKeown's strong 'initial evidence' position. Moreover, for Anim to accept the challenge, lock himself in a room until he spoke in tongues meant that he accepted McKeown's position on Spirit baptism. Convinced by this position on Pentecostal pneumatology, the two of them led the Apostolic Church with emphasis on the experience of glossolalia by their church members.

The position of initial evidence among Pentecostals has been defended by scholars such as Harold Horton (1934), Charles Conn (1966) and Donald Gee (1972), based mainly on Lucan evidence in the book of Acts (Muir 2003:103-107). According

to Hollenweger (2000:7), 'Speaking in tongues (or glossolalia) is considered a gift of the Spirit. It is the ability to speak (human or heavenly) languages without ever having learned them'. He observed, 'In Europe and North America this theology follows the evangelical traditions to which is added the belief in the baptism in the Spirit, mostly but not always characterized by the "initial sign" of speaking in tongues' (Hollenweger 1984:6).

Although the practice of Holy Spirit baptism, evidenced by speaking in tongues is a common feature in Pentecostalism, McKeown's emphasis was very unique in Ghanaian Pentecostalism in the sense that he insisted on the need for all new converts to be consistently prayed for until they received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. Apostle JS Gyimah and Elder Forson Amponsah point out that it was a common practice for the McKeown-led CoP to hold Friday morning prayer and fasting meetings in the various local congregations.[33] The focus of this prayer was on Holy Spirit baptism, healing and intercession for the unsaved (Personal Interviews: Gyimah 12/05/2018; Amponsah 29/04/2015; Asamoah 28/04/2015). The last sermon McKeown preached as the chairman of the CoP (on the day his successor was elected and inducted into office) McKeown stressed, 'anyone without the baptism of the Holy Spirit should NOT be received into the ministry which is no secular employment; spirit filled men would not grieve the Holy Spirit' (GCMMs 20/04/1982).

Subsequently in 1984, two years after his retirement and departure to the UK, McKeown visited the CoP in Ghana and when he came to the headquarters and realised that a number of new people had been employed as head office staff, he inquired whether 'all these people could speak in tongues' (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). An indication that the experience of glossolalia was a doctrine that was

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[33] These prayer meetings were normally referred to as 'tarry' meetings. This carries the idea of tarrying or waiting in the presence of the Lord. Whilst, congregants speak to God in prayers, they also have high expectations of hearing from Him in the form of prophecies, visions and other forms of revelation.

very important to him to the extent that he wanted to be sure if head office employees, including office clerks, receptionists, drivers, accountants, cleaners and security men, were all baptised in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in tongues. This seems to have been the initial position of Pentecostals in general until the 1950s when it seems to have been relaxed in some Pentecostal denominations. Recounting his observations about Pentecostalism David Du Plessis laments:

> We find that in the beginning of this revival, fifty years ago, everyone was expected to be filled with the Spirit with the confirmation of 'tongues' before they could hold any office in the Pentecostal church or the Pentecostal Assembly, but there are today the sons and grandsons of Pentecostal pioneers who are teaching in Sunday schools and are holding all kinds of offices in the local churches without ever having had a real baptism in the Spirit according to Acts 2:4 (Du Plessis 1970:109).

McKeown's position on initial evidence and his insistence that those who hold any position in the CoP must be baptised in the Holy Spirit and speak in tongues, seems to agree with the initial position of the Pentecostals as described by Du Plessis.

David Beckmann (1991:38) has wrongly indicated that speaking in tongues was first introduced to indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana by a missionary from Britain's Apostolic Church who arrived in 1937, conceivably referring to McKeown. Larbi (2002: 142) also identifies Owiredu's 1932 experience as the beginning of the experience of *glossolalia* in Ghana. Both dates are inaccurate because in his *Prophetism in Ghana,* Baëta (1962: 31, 33), discloses that Egyanka Appiah, the founder of the Muzama Disco Christo Church (MDCC), had experienced speaking in tongues as far back as 1919 and of course, Kwaku Gyimah also had his experience at least a year before Stephen Owiredu. It is, however, not in doubt that in Ghana, Owiredu's experience in Asamankese gave popularity to the *glossolalia* story, whilst McKeown's insistence and emphasis promoted the doctrine of initial evidence.

The analysis of McKeown's sermons as well as the interviews conducted reveal that an important theme in McKeown's theology is the Holy Spirit, which he expressed as 'setting the believers' heart on fire'. McKeown's aim was for every member of the

Church to be baptized in the Holy Spirit, the only way by which the work of evangelization can be carried out successfully (GCMMs 11/04/1956; GCMMs 24/11/61; GCMMs 20/03/70; Personal Interviews: Gyimah 12/05/2015; Addison 20/02/2018). To McKeown, the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men is power to overcome sin, cast out demons and to evangelize. He believed that demons are responsible for divisions in church and for hindering God's people and God's work. To him, evil spirits 'make people obstinate, proud, disobedient, rebellious, and self-opinionated'. It is only by the power of the Holy Spirit that people's heart can be set free (GCMMs 25/03/1958; GCMMs 10/04/1965; GCMMs 16/03/1978).

He therefore encouraged the Church to pray. This, he demonstrated himself by praying long hours. The participants in this research indicated that McKeown could pray for long hours both in his house and when he took the congregation to 'bush prayers' popularly known as *kookooase mpaebɔ*, meaning, prayer under cocoa trees (Personal Interviews: Bamfoa[34] 28/04/2015; Dampson 11/05/2015). At every GCM, one whole day was dedicated to fasting and prayer, in which every member of the council was expected to take part. The purpose was to wait in the presence of God so that the Holy Spirit can set their hearts on fire. By referring to the power of the Holy Spirit frequently, and encouraging the people to pray, McKeown's theology of power encounter responded adequately to the life-threatening fears of the Ghanaians who believed that witches and evil spirits are powerful and could cause destruction in the lives of people. The Spirit is not only seen as the Comforter but also the one who gives divine abilities to people to overcome evil forces and do what they could otherwise not do. Thus, McKeown's strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit and prayer made his ministry attractive to Ghanaians.

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[34] Grace Bamfoa, popularly known as *Maame, Shibboleth* in Asamankese. She told me that the name Shibboleth was given to her because she frequently refers to the name to identify those who were on the side of the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, a terminology she claimed McKeown thought them. She was 90 years old when we had the interview, but she was very strong and active.

This theology of Holy Spirit is not only demonstrated in sermons in the CoP but also many of their songs reveal what the Holy Spirit is able to do in the lives of the individual church members. According to Daniel Walker (2010:1), during the time of McKeown, one of the popular songs, which had been a source of motivation for the evangelistic and mission zeal of the CoP was 'the fire is burning,' composed by Hugh Michel:

> The fire is burning in my soul
> The fire is burning in my soul;
> The flame of glory maketh whole,
> Hallelujah! It's burning in my soul'

This song carries McKeown's theology of setting hearts on fire. It became the theme song for the CoP's radio broadcast 'The Pentecost Hour' from the 1970s and beyond (Walker 2010:1). In his PhD Thesis, Walker points out that "'Pentecost Fire" became a catch phrase in the CoP with leaders and members naming literature, vehicles and several activities as "Pentecost Fire"' (Walker 2010:1). In Acts of the Apostles Chapter Two, where the believers were believed to be baptised in the Holy Spirit, 'they saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them' (Ac 2:3 NIV). Fire is therefore believed to be one of the symbols of the Holy Spirit. This understanding has become part of the theological understanding of the CoP. Currently, the official magazine of the Church, which is published every three months is called *Pentecost Fire*. The magazine has the symbol of fire drawn at the top left corner of the front cover of each publication. This captures McKeown's theological legacy and emphasis on the fact that the Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer means so much to members of the CoP.

Within the CoP, the Holy Spirit permeates every aspect of church life. He is the one who gives the Church songs to sing. Songs within the CoP are not composed; they are believed to be 'received' from the Holy Spirit. Grace Gakpetor, a minister's wife in the CoP, who has the gift of receiving songs from the Holy Spirit for the CoP explains,

'sometimes, I hear the song being sang in my ears as if someone or a group of people are singing. I also join in singing with them and then I know how to sing (Gakpetor 27/02/2016).[35] Normally, if this happened during church service, she could get up and begin singing it aloud repeatedly until the congregation learns spontaneously and sings together with her.

Onyinah, who has 'received' over 160 songs in ten years (2008 - 2018), explained that whilst he is reading the bible, praying and meditating, the lyrics of the song 'drops into his heart'. Sometimes in stanzas, he will then take a pen and start writing them down. 'Once all the stanzas 'come', then it stops' (Onyinah 27/02/2016). CoP songs are therefore not Western Christian worship songs that are transposed or translated into the local languages in Ghana. They are rather 'received,' most of the time, in the local language and some of them are later translated into English. Many of these songs convey the Church's theology and spirituality. One example is analysed below:

Twi
Nea Owui wɔ Kalvary sunsum no
Reyɛ anwanwa dwuma
Retu mmonsam, resa nyarewa
Siw gyata ano, redum 'gya tum'
Reka ananafo mpasua nyinaa gu,
Nea Owui wɔ Kalvary sunsum no
Reyɛ anwanwa dwuma (PAN(T) 469 Addison 1963:303).

English Translation
The Spirit of He who died at Calvary
Is performing wondrous works
Casting out devils, healing the sick
Shutting the mouth of lions, quenching fiery flames
Routing out foreign armies
The Spirit of He who died at Calvary
Is performing wondrous works

This song, for example, carries the Church's understanding that the Holy Spirit, represented here as, 'The Spirit of the one who died at Calvary'. He is the one who performs miraculous works in the Church. It is the Holy Spirit who casts out demons,

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[35] The researcher was present at a church leaders' retreat referred to in the CoP as 'Apostolization' organized for both ministers and lay leaders of the CoP in La Area in Accra when she narrated her experience of receiving songs.

heals the sick, shuts the mouth of lions and quenches the fiery flames of the enemy. With the Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer therefore, one is able to overcome all the life-threatening fears. In Africa, where the fear of witches and evil forces is a major concern, such songs provide a source of encouragement to the believer to trust in the protection of the Lord. What is more important about these songs is that even members of the Church who are not able to read the bible can easily remember these songs and trust in the power of the Holy Spirit to protect them.

The impact of this on the CoP and, to a large extent, on Ghanaian Pentecostalism is that this doctrine has become so important that all members are encouraged to pray and avail themselves for the Holy Spirit baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Currently in the CoP, one cannot be ordained into any leadership position of the Church such as deacon, deaconess, elder or a pastor, if the person has not been baptised in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. The seventh tenet of the Church, for example, reads:

> We believe in the Baptism in the Holy Spirit for all believers with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues (Joel. 2:28,29; Ac. 2:3,4,38,39; 10:44-46; 19:16), and in the operation of the gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 12:6-8; Gal. 5:22-23 and 1 Cor. 12:8-11; 28-30) (CoPHQ 2016b:9).

With this emphasis, it is taken for granted in the CoP that glossolalia is the initial evidence of Holy Spirit baptism. Again, in the CoP, there are key indicators used to measure the effectiveness of a pastor's ministry. One of such indicators is the number of new converts who have been assisted through prayers to receive the Holy Spirit baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues each year. The annual reporting form for ministers and ministry leaders in the CoP has a column where such leaders had to indicate the number of new converts who had received Holy Spirit baptism within the reporting period. This pneumatological position of the CoP seems to have influenced many other Pentecostal denominations in Ghana, albeit with different emphases.

The implication of this for the CoP's mission therefore is that there is a specific point or day in the life of each believer, where one is very certain that he or she has been

baptised in the Holy Spirit. This is normally characterised with joy for both the believer who has received this Spirit baptism as well as his or her friends and the entire congregation. From that time on there is no doubt in the mind of the whole congregation that such a person has been given power to be a witness of Christ (Ac 1:8). The believer who has been empowered in such a way is therefore expected to start witnessing about Christ and winning souls into the Church. Witnessing has basically been understood in the CoP as going out to preach the good news about Jesus Christ to others who do not know Him. This can be done in the form of one-on-one evangelism either on the streets, in people's homes or in the marketplace. It can also take the form of rallies or crusades that are frequently organised by the local congregations or the various ministries in the Church.

This is one of the factors that explains the growth of the CoP in Ghana. Every member of the Church is empowered to witness about Christ and win souls. The Holy Spirit baptism is therefore understood as power for mission. Allan Anderson (2007:10) observed, 'One of the reasons for the rapid spread of Pentecostalism was the general expectation of revival accompanied by manifestations of the coming of the Spirit that pervaded radical evangelical circles at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially among their missionaries, their most devoted servants' (Anderson 2007:10). The evangelistic wing of the CoP has therefore been referred to as 'Witness Movement' until recently, when the name was changed to 'Evangelism Ministry'.

In contemporary times, other forms of evangelism such as media evangelism, sports evangelism and what is referred to as specialised evangelism have also been introduced. All these forms of Evangelistic activities are believed to be empowered by the power of the Holy Spirit received by the individual members of the Church. Although McKeown's position on the Holy Spirit might have emerged from his encounter with the Elim Church and the ACUK, his application of this position to the

African spirit world and issues that emerged within his mission in Ghana developed into a unique Pentecostal pneumatology, giving it a certain level of continuities and discontinuities from the traditions he inherited, as will be discussed in the next sections of this chapter.

4.4   Selling of 'Blessed Water'

In 1958, a practice emerged in the CoP, where some people in the Church started selling 'blessed water' for the purpose of healing, protection and success. This practice was already extant among the AICs and might have been borrowed from them into the CoP. McKeown wrote a letter, that he divided into lessons one and two, in response to the issue of blessing of water. The opening statement of the first lesson reads:

> As some people within the church have taken it upon themselves to bless water, for the purpose of healing people, for the purpose of ministering spiritual blessing, sprinkling the blessed water on goods in the store, that they may sell well, for the purpose of medication, protection, and not the least for the purpose of getting money for the people, I have to turn you to the Bible (MPL 09/01/1958).

As usual of his approach, McKeown did not directly instruct that the practice should be stopped or continued. He tried drawing attention to many subjects from the Bible concerning healing, miracles, blessing as well as the place of the cross and Christian suffering. He then ended the first part of the letter in his usual style of question and a challenge to the Church to search for biblical answers to the practice:

> Perhaps I have said enough in this circular about water. I will follow up with other letters on this matter. In the meantime, I want you all to read your Bibles very well, study the lessons I am bringing more fully, and if you can bring me scriptural authority for blessing water for the purpose of imparting a blessing to the church, I will be grateful to you. But if there be no scripture for such a practice, what then will such a practice be called in the church? (MPL 09/01/1958)

Although in contemporary Ghanaian Pentecostalism, the authenticity of this practice of blessing water is now being questioned, the CoP does not seem to have much challenge about it because the issue had been dealt with and the Church had taken its position not to bless water or any prophylactic for spiritual purposes, far back in the 1950s.

For example, on 19 May 2013, it was news in both the print and electronic media when four people were reported dead and about 30 others had various degrees of injury, resulting from stampede in a Pentecostal Church at Accra, Ghana. Apparently, congregants tussled to receive free 'anointed water' that was being given out during church service. This Church is the Ghana branch of Prophet TB Joshua's Synagogue Church of All Nations in Nigeria. Many people went to the Church when it was earlier announced that there will be distribution of free anointed water, allegedly from Prophet TB Joshua himself (Sapa-AFP 2013; AllAfrica 2013; XYZ 2013). Many of the members of the CoP (including some of its leaders) might not know how the CoP's current position on the spiritual use of prophylactic emerged. This thesis contends that McKeown and the founding leaders of the CoP had greatly influenced this stance.

4.5 Witchcraft Accusation in the Church

Similarly, on 10 November 1958, McKeown wrote a letter, responding to the issue of witchcraft accusation, which was emerging in the Church (MPL 10/11/1958). The belief in witchcraft and the issue of witchcraft accusation is a very controversial theological subject in Africa. Arguably, it seems impossible to carry out mission in Africa without being confronted with glitches concerning witchcraft activities and witchcraft accusations (Kirby 2015; Rasmussen & Rasmussen 2015; Jennings 2015). According to Esther Acolatse, an associate professor of pastoral theology and intercultural studies, University of Toronto, 'Witchcraft seems to be the all-pervasive supernatural force affecting all facets of African life today. Whether at home or abroad, Africans are pre-occupied with this evil phenomenon and its effect on them' (Acolatse 2014:44). This observation is corroborated by Johnson Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu's observation that it is impossible to have a successful Christian Ministry in Africa unless one takes spiritual forces, including witchcraft, into consideration (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005).

Hans Debrunner gives a comprehensive account of the prevalence of witchcraft belief and witchcraft accusation in Ghana, at the beginning of the twentieth century (Debrunner 1959). A phenomenon, which some of the TWMCs tried to dismiss and explained away as superstitious (Onyinah 2012a:93-107; Ngong 2014:80; Tsekpoe 2018a:144; 2019:282), whilst the AICs seemed to have provided a Christian substitute for the anti-witchcraft shrines by claiming to have power that can hunt and exorcise witchcraft. These churches were fond of publicly accusing people of being witches, a situation which has persisted in Ghana till contemporary times. (Debrunner 1959:135-36, 163-71; Quayesi-Amakye 2015a).

As had been his practice, McKeown was not passive in his mission approach to the issue of witchcraft. Excerpts of his letter in response to the phenomenon in the CoP are presented below for analysis:

> If any of you calls or charges any person being a member or non-member of the church a witch, you do so at your own risk. The Ghana Apostolic Church [now CoP] will not accept any responsibility before any court of law in the case of any of you being sued for charging any person of being a witch. There are springing up within our churches, and also people breaking away from our churches who are very free with words such as "you are a witch". Are you aware that the person charged with being a witch could call witnesses and sue you at the law court, and a heavy fine would be the penalty? …
>
> Now, if you will read Rom. 6:1-23 you will see that there is an 'OLD MAN' and there is a 'NEW MAN' … Devils cannot live in the 'New Man'. That new man is the Kingdom of God in you. Give all members good teachings from Rom. 6. Let them know that Jesus was crucified for them, buried for them, rose again from the dead for them … Now if the old man is dead and buried, and the new man is alive in you. [sic] Is there any chance for the devil to come in? If he comes to you; your faith will turn him away. Even if a person has been a witch and they are taught, and receive this faith, the evil spirit must go away.
>
> Do continue with your good work casting out Devils in the Name of Jesus. But also come a little higher up with your teaching and destroy the habitation of the devils in both saints and sinners. If any person comes to your assembly and confesses that he or she is a witch, accept their confession, but be careful how you speak. I write to warn you. I love you and I want to protect you (MPL 10/11/1958).

In this letter, McKeown does not suggest that the issue of witchcraft belief in Africa was mere superstition. Rather, he appeared to firstly accept the fact that evil spirits could live in human bodies as seen in Mark 5:1-13. He, then argued that when that evil spirit is cast out, it could return to the person because spirits do not die. What is important to McKeown was not to accuse people of being witches but to 'destroy the house in which they [evil spirits] dwell'. In some Pentecostal churches in Ghana, to

'destroy the house in which they dwell' is to pray for the death of the person being inhabited by the evil spirit. In McKeown's theology, he explained what he meant by destroying the dwelling place of evil spirits to mean teaching those who come to Christ to put away the old man and cloth themselves with the new man. This is important to him because 'evil spirits and witches cannot dwell in the new man'.

4.6   Controversies and the Doctrine of Divine Healing

Closely related to the issue of witchcraft and evil forces is disease and various kinds of ailments. Diseases were generally believed to be caused either by witches or other spirit forces. Although traditionally herbal medicines could be combined with spiritual methods for healing, many believed that the most effective method for healing was spiritual. As explained in Chapter One, Peter Anim had already affiliated the group he led with the ACUK in 1935 before McKeown arrived in 1937. Meanwhile, Anim and his followers had held onto a strong belief in divine healing without medication of any form, a doctrine they inherited from the Faith Tabernacle Church (FTC).

McKeown's initial disposition to this doctrinal position appeared quite diplomatic. He seemed to have decided not to interfere with the group's stance on the doctrine. He therefore worked harmoniously with them without confronting their belief on divine healing. McKeown had an interpreter called Boateng, who had a wound on his leg. Boateng normally used a white bandage to cover the wound, without using any form of medicine, and was unable to use any footwear because of the wound (Personal Interview: Ntiaku 27/04/2015). For McKeown to accept working with them without confronting this belief or insisting that Boateng needed medical treatment, reveal the initial attitude of a missionary who did not intend to interfere with the faith of the indigenous people. A modified form of this attitude to mission was seen throughout McKeown's mission in Ghana as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Secondly, the fact that he did not want to interfere with the doctrine of no medication could be identified in McKeown's attitude to his own sickness. Within a period of three months into his mission in Ghana, McKeown was said to have suffered from a severe bout of malaria. Malaria was a very common and deadly sickness in Ghana at the time. In spite of the severe nature of the sickness, McKeown did not request to be taken to hospital. He seemed to have believed together with Anim and the Church that divine healing without medication was enough.

McKeown's health condition deteriorated to the extent that the chief of Asamankese, Nana Boafo Adu Peterman, had to inform the British District Commissioner, about the condition of his fellow Briton, James McKeown, in the hands of Anim and his group, popularly referred to in Akan as *kyiri bentoa fɔɔ*, meaning, the people of no medication. It was the commissioner who arranged to pick up McKeown and took him to the European Hospital (now called Ridge Hospital) in Accra (Personal Interviews: Ntiaku 27/04/2015; Okumfo 28/04/2015; Owusu 28/04/2015). But for this intervention, McKeown could have died in Asamankese before the end of the third month of his mission in Ghana. This incident might have altered McKeown's approach to doctrinal issues in mission.

McKeown returned from the hospital with anti-malaria drugs. He was also seen to be using lemon juice as a preventive measure against malaria parasites. These were all seen by Anim and the Church as lack of faith and unacceptable. As a result, a section of the leadership of the Church had problems with McKeown. At this point, it became evident that McKeown did not want to take this position for granted. He was determined to teach the leadership of the group for them to change their position on the 'no medication' doctrine. He therefore had a series of meetings with the leadership of the group, intended to teach them to repudiate the doctrine. This new position of McKeown became a point of contention between him and the leadership of the group.

Consequently, McKeown was prohibited by Anim and his group, from preaching the gospel within Asamankese and its environs (Personal Interviews: Ntiaku 27/04/2015; Amponsah 29/04/2015). Eventually, in June 1939, the issue of 'divine healing only', caused Anim and his followers to end their affiliation with McKeown and the ACUK. Anim re-named his Church as 'Christ Apostolic Church' to differentiate themselves from the ACUK (Wyllie 1974; Leonard 1989; Larbi 2001; Walker 2010).

In view of this, the Akroso group, led by Kwaku Gyimah and Peter Asomaning, brought McKeown from Asamankese to Akroso to continue his work there. It should be noted that the Akroso group were originally independent from the group Anim led in Asamankese. This group did not connect with the Asamankese group on the basis of divine healing, but they connected on the basis of Holy Spirit baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues. They therefore had no challenge with medication and did not see McKeown's position on the issue as inconsistent with biblical teachings. Accordingly, my interviewees from Akroso contended that the origin of the Apostolic Church in Ghana was neither Asamankese nor Winneba, as found in literature, but Akroso.

They indicate that after McKeown left Asamankese, he stayed in Akroso for three months to re-establish himself. It was after this period that Kwaku Gyimah suggested that McKeown should rather settle at Winneba since Winneba was a coastal town and life there could be more comfortable for him. Kwaku Gyimah and the Akroso group therefore arranged for a place for him in Winneba and requested from Emmanuel Adu Gyimah, to follow him as an interpreter and a personal aid. For them, this was the beginning of the Apostolic Church in Ghana (Personal Interviews: Obenewaa 30/04/2015; Gyimah 30/04/2015; Aboagye 30/04/2015 & Frimpong 30/04/2015).

In response to the challenge created by the doctrine of divine healing without medication therefore, the then Apostolic Church led by James McKeown formulated a

doctrinal position to educate their members on the fact that the Church is neither against divine healing nor medication. This doctrine has also persisted in the Church McKeown led to contemporary times. The current position of the CoP as indicated in their eighth tenet reads:

> We believe that the healing of sicknesses and diseases is provided for God's people in the atonement (Isa. 53:4,5; Matt. 8:7-13; 16,17; Mk. 16:17,18; Lk. 13:10-16; Ac. 10:38; Jas. 5:14-16). However, the Church is not opposed to medication by qualified medical practitioners (CoPHQ 2016b:9).

The content of this tenet reveals a direct response to the challenge McKeown encountered. McKeown and the Church he led continued to believe in the power of prayer to heal the sick and as a result, praying for sick people to receive healing became a core emphasis in their mission praxis. In one of McKeown's letters inviting the Church to an Easter convention, he specifically noted, 'Divine Healing service will be conducted during the convention for all who are sick. Those bringing the sick people will be required to take care of them and see that they are properly attended until they bring them to the meeting' (MPL 28/03/1957). This corroborates the fact that although the Church strongly believes in divine healing, it does not proscribe the use of medication for a Christian.

This position also gave some unique identity to the CoP in the sense that apart from the CAC, some other indigenous Pentecostal churches also held the 'no medication' position whilst on the other hand, the TWMCs seemed to concentrate more on medical treatment for the sick than praying for healing. The CoP's dedication to both divine healing practices as well as its tolerance for medical treatment presented a holistic approach to healing, using both spiritual and physical resources. This holistic approach to healing seems to have agreed with the 'age-old' Ghanaian cultural practice, where spiritual means as well as herbal medicines could be used for treating ailments without conflict.

Many years after the divine healing without medication controversy (precisely in 1959), one member of CoP, by name Brother Lawson, seceded from the CoP with some of the members to form the Divine Healer's Church. As the name suggests, this Church seemed to build its doctrine around the practice of divine healing. The same year during the GMM, McKeown taught on the subject 'the difference between faith healing and divine healing' (GCMMs 19/03/1959). This can be seen as McKeown's response to Brother Lawson's establishment of the Divine Healer's Church.

This pattern is like the model the Apostle Paul used in addressing specific problems in the churches he established. For example, Paul addressed the issue of division in the Corinthian Church when some people from Chloe's household informed him that there were quarrels and division among the members of the Church (1 Cor 1:10-17-22; 3:1). He also responded to the report he received about the kind of sexual immorality going on among the members of the Corinthian Church (1 Cor 5:1-13). Paul wrote to address deception in the Galatian Church when he heard that the Church was deserting the one who had called them and were turning to 'a different gospel' (Gal 1:6). Responding to prevailing theological issues in the church is crucial to mission and this helps to keep the church theologically balanced. The CoP has maintained this model by further developing new models of Bible studies and discipleship systems that respond to issues taking place, not only in the Church, but also in contemporary society. An analysis of McKeown's emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit as well as his approach to the African spirit world has created a unique pneumatology for McKeown as discussed in the next section.

4.7   Reflective Pneumatology: A Contribution to African Pentecostalism

Pneumatology as used in this thesis refers to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity (Pfeiffer et al. 1975:1377; Enns 2014:259). McKeown's emphasis

on the importance of prayer as well as the power of the Holy Spirit to save, transform lives, heal the sick, cast out demons and protect Christians, responded favourably to the Ghanaian cosmology. Those who have renounced idol worship and turned to Christ, understood the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues as empowerment over the idols they have renounced and all other evil forces. Speaking in tongues is understood as an observable manifestation of the power of God experienced by believers. In handling spiritual issues such as prophecies, blessing of water, witchcraft accusation and divine healing, McKeown encouraged the Church to reflect on all spiritual claims biblically in order to test their genuineness.

The practical manifestation of spiritual gifts, especially prophetic gifts, occupies a very important place in African Christianity. Onyinah (2012:85) contended that the focus of religious activities among the Akan of Ghana is *abisa* or the desire to know the supernatural causalities of affairs. The development of divinatory consultation among the prophetic ministries in Ghana and other parts of Africa makes this assertion tenable and applicable beyond the scope of the Akan. As a result of the desire to know supernatural causalities, prophets who claim to have the ability to 'see' or 'hear' from the supernatural attract large followings. Regrettably, some of these prophets take advantage to exploit the gullible (Quayesi-Amakye 2015; Tsekpoe 2018a).

In the CoP, spontaneous prophetic utterances are allowed during church services. Any member of the congregation filled with the Holy Spirit can receive a prophetic message for the Church. When this happens, the officer presiding over the meeting is responsible for controlling the orderliness of the manifestations within agreed structures in the Church. It is a habit in the CoP that when such messages are being uttered, congregants are not expected to respond 'amen', 'yes, Lord', and so on as endorsement to the message, as is generally done when prayer is being said. Since every member of the Church is encouraged to desire and pray for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, the entire

congregation is expected to listen to such prophetic messages reflectively and discern its spiritual authenticity.

The practice of remaining silent and reflecting on the message, 'democratises' the pneumatic experience in a way that no one person can hold monopoly to it. In addition, the role of the presiding officer is important to ensure order in the manifestations of such spiritual gifts (1 Cor 14:23). This practice of empowering the whole community of faith to 'test the spirits' by reflecting and discerning the genuineness of each manifestation of the charisms of the Spirit is what I call 'Reflective Pneumatology'.

As much as it can be argued that spiritual things cannot always be rationalized, it is also true that the recipients of the spiritual blessings are not irrational (1 Cor 14:14-23). Scholars such as Amos Yong (2005) and David Ngong (2014) suggest that one major weakness of Pentecostalism is the tendency to emphasise spirituality at the expense of rationality. Ngong, for example, contended, 'A worldview where the spiritual is less important than the rational is just as problematic as a worldview where the spiritual is more important than the rational' (Ngong, 2014:86). He argued that since spirituality and rationality are not mutually incompatible, there is the need for a holistic approach to African Pentecostal pneumatology, which should pay attention to both the spiritual and the rational (Ngong, 2014:86).

McKeown's reflective pneumatology provides a framework for this holistic approach to Pentecostal pneumatology and needs to be examined, contextualised and transmitted to emerging generations. According to Grenz (2000:1),

> Each believer, whether in a deliberate manner or merely implicitly, reflects on the content of these beliefs and their significance for Christian life. The Bible documents themselves provide the foundation for this close connection between faith stance and theological reflection. The scriptures encourage us to think through our beliefs in order to understand the extent to which they express our personal and corporate commitment (Matt 22:37; 1 Cor 10:15; 1 Pet 3:15)

The Bible clearly calls for reflective pneumatology when the Apostle John cautions the believers not to 'Believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from

God. For many false prophets have gone out into the world' (1 John 4:1). Asamoah-Gyadu observed that although:

> The CoP takes seriously the manifestations of the Spirit … In order to avoid some of the excesses, suspicions and abuses surrounding the healing practices of Ghanaian prophetism, the CoP has institutionalised, integrated and therefore brought under the Church's administrative control the activities of those of their number manifesting the gifts of healing and deliverance (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:88-91).

This character of the CoP's ability to maintain a balance between Pentecostal freedom and the scriptural instruction to keep order in church, as William Kay observed about Alexander Boddy's Sunderland conventions (Kay 2008:33), is derived from McKeown's reflective pneumatology.

In the TWMCs in Ghana for example, the manifestations and operations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit were relegated to the periphery of their religious activities whilst in some of the Prophet-led independent Pentecostal churches in Ghana, prophetism has become a tool for manipulation and exploitation (Quayesi-Amakye 2015a:172-73). Such extremes do not seem to be constructive in Ghanaian Christianity, where the experience of the supernatural is very important to religious seekers and at the same time, the Christian community is much aware of the dangers associated with exploitations and abuses.

The CoP's pneumatology seems to place the Church at a position of trust because to a large extent, the pastors and prophets of the Church are expected to operate within certain biblical principles, which the Church considers acceptable. At the same time the CoP is seen to be a spiritually vibrant Pentecostal denomination, because it does not despise or neglect the use of these spiritual gifts. This reflective pneumatological position, which I argued, was influenced by the ACUK, is one of the greatest contributions of James McKeown to Ghanaian Pentecostalism.

4.7.1   A Trinitarian Dimension to McKeown's Reflective Pneumatology

Although McKeown did not refer to his pneumatology as Trinitarian, it is evident from a survey of his sermons as retrieved from minutes of the GCMs that he has a Trinitarian perspective to his teachings on the Holy Spirit (see GCMMs 08/04/1960; GCMMs 24/03/1972; GCMMs 08/04/1976). For example, on 20 March 1972, McKeown preached a sermon at the GCMs on the topic, 'The Successful Missionary'. Part of this sermon reads:

> Psalm 126:6; Isaiah 66:1-2; 1 Corinthians 2:1-5; Romans 1:16 … There is a book of instructions on any product of man, God has a book of instructions on the sowing of the seed and that is the Bible. The sower has to refer to the Book, clear the weeds, break the fallow ground and rake it, if he wants a bountiful harvest. He is at times instructed to sow his seed by the riverside … Jesus Christ and Paul were the greatest New Testament Missionaries. The burden on Jesus' heart was to do His father's will. Paul's burden was to know Jesus Christ and Him crucified because Christ is the power of God. Christ who occupies the highest seat in heaven, must be proclaimed to the world (GCMMs 20/03/1972).

First of all, this sermon reveals McKeown's belief in the Bible as God's book of instruction for mission. In this sermon, McKeown applies his background knowledge as a farmer in interpreting Psalm 126:6 by comparing the missionary and the burden of his responsibility to 'Those who go out weeping, carrying seed to sow' (Ps 126:6a, NIV). He then emphasises that for the missionary to have strength in difficulties times because of the burden of the mission work, he needs to rely on the Holy Spirit who is God's power. He then concludes with a Trinitarian emphasis by drawing attention to the fact that, 'Paul's burden was to know Jesus Christ and Him crucified because Christ is the power of God. Christ who occupies the highest seat in heaven, must be proclaimed to the world' (GCMMs 20/03/1972).

Furthermore, the statements: 'The burden on Jesus' heart was to do His father's will. Paul's burden was to know Jesus Christ and Him crucified because Christ is the power of God', in the sermon above reveal McKeown's Trinitarian understanding of mission. The Holy Spirit does not work in isolation. Jesus' burden is to do the Father's will and this can only be achieved through the power of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore,

Christine Leonard reports a conversation she had with McKeown in which McKeown told her that, 'I have only three important messages: One, Jesus Christ and him crucified. Two, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Three, the power of God to change lives and bring holiness in the Church' (Leonard 1989:85). Ngong (2014:90) argued that there is the need for African Pentecostal pneumatology to anchor the Spirit in the life of the Trinity. Taking his argument from the contributions of St Augustine of Hippo, Ngong submits that

> The Spirit, in a sense, holds the Trinity together and brings creation and the church to participate in the life of God. The spirit is therefore uniquely present in the Trinitarian life of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but also present in the life of creation and the church (Ngong 2014:88).

McKeown's understanding of the Trinity as well as his position on the Scriptures as the ultimate authority for mission, made him live a simple life without projecting himself or talking about his achievements. On 27 June 1958, for example, McKeown wrote:

> In these days, God is pouring out His spirit. The Holy Spirit is giving gifts … If anyone has the gift of healing, they heal people. We don't refer to that person as being a healer. That person should be careful not to call himself a healer. We say he has the gift of healing. Only Jesus can heal. Jesus in you can heal. Therefore, give all the glory to Jesus. One can have the gift of Prophecy. Then that one can exhort, comfort and edify with the word of God (1 Cor 14: 3). (MPL 27/06/1958).

Here, McKeown's argument is that both healing and prophecy proceed from the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. This leaves no room for the 'human vessels' to claim titles or authority for themselves. This humility demonstrated by ascribing the credit of any achievement in ministry to God, was reflected in McKeown's own mission praxis. Norman Barnes, the founder and the then director for Links International - UK, wrote in the foreword to *A Giant in Ghana* that, 'It was always difficult to get James to talk of his exploits. He was fearful and careful that only God should get the glory and constantly remarked, "I have built nothing"' (Barnes 1989:v). Also, Fred Tiakor, the director of the Children's Ministry of the CoP indicates that anytime an attempt was made to engage McKeown about his achievements, he responded that he did not achieve anything. He would sometimes quote Isaiah 14:12-15, noting that an attempt to take God's praise could lead to awful disgrace (Personal Interview: Tiakor 09/05/2019).

Again, throughout his mission in Ghana, McKeown preferred to be called 'Pastor McKeown' till he retired and left. It has therefore been difficult for the CoP to ascertain whether McKeown was ordained as an Apostle by the ACUK or not (Onyinah 2004). Marcus Thomas, a former missionary of the ACUK reveals that James McKeown was ordained an Apostle in 1935 before he came to Ghana in 1937 (M Thomas 2016:135-36). The implication here is that the Holy Spirit is the power of God, who must be projected through the crucified and resurrected Christ. This understanding of the pneumatic experience, therefore, leaves no room for abuse of power and titles. This is another legacy of James McKeown, which African Pentecostalism must contextualize in contemporary terms and transmit to emerging generations through teachings and the personal examples of the adult generation.

4.7.2   Reflective Pneumatology and Holiness

Reflective pneumatology needs to be built on a strong holiness ethic. The concept of holiness is compatible with the African traditional religiosity, where it is said that, 'The maintenance of high moral standards in response to prescriptions by the gods is well known' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:90). For McKeown's pneumatology to be respected, it was anchored on a strong holiness ethic, which he practised and emphasized in his sermons. He argued, 'if we do a holy work with unclean hands the whole work is defiled'. To him, the best way of loving God and your neighbour is by living a holy and dedicated life (GCMMs 24/03/1972). He encourages the leaders of the Church to live in holiness so that they will remain in the Kingdom of God always. He warned, 'if we fail to deal with sin, sin would deal with us' (GCMMs 05/04/1974).

Addison indicates that he visited McKeown on his sick bed in Ballymena, UK just before he died in 1989. McKeown's last words to the Church in Ghana were that the leaders should not allow sin to enter the Church and destroy God's holiness and power

(Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). This desire to keep the Church morally disciplined and holy whilst maintaining the power of the Holy Spirit, has compelled McKeown and the CoP to develop strict disciplinary structures. Different levels of disciplinary measures are given to both members and leaders who commit what the Church calls 'open sin' (CoPHQ 2016a: 57-58). This emphasis on holiness and moral discipline seems to present the CoP as a respectable Pentecostal denomination in Ghana. Asamoah-Gyadu observed, 'The Ghanaian public image of the CoP is that of a church that is making up for some of the failures and weaknesses – particularly in the area of morality – that have come to be associated with *Sunsum Sɔre* and even the traditional mission churches' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2015:140).

4.7.3 Reflective Pneumatology and the Media

It must be noted that the belief in the reality of the spirit world in Africa does not belong to antiquity. It is a current and ongoing phenomenon which occupies a significant place in African Christianity (Tsekpoe 2019:280). Claudia Währisch-Oblau (2018:178) contended that the beliefs in demons, spirits, witchcraft and sorcery should 'no longer be understood as backward superstitions to be shamefully hidden in international exchanges, but as a topic worthy of research, reflection, and pastoral action'. Whether positively or negatively, the contemporary generation of African Christians have appropriated media resources in their response to the spirit world. One of the ways in which this is palpable is what is normally called 'Prophetic Declarations'. Although this may have benefits for its participants, the ubiquity of information technology has been exploited by unscrupulous individuals to take advantage of the unsuspecting in the name of prophetic declarations. For example, names of popular Pentecostal pastors in Africa have been used Pseudonymously to outwit the gullible in prophetic merchandising. A typical example of the media where this occurred is Facebook, where

the pictures of Pastor Enoch Adeboye, Bishop David Oyedepo, Arch Bishop Duncan Williams, Prophet TB Joshua and Prophet Shepherd Bushiri among others have been used to lure people to believe in strange prophetic declarations (Prophetic Declarations 2018).

What is worrying about some of these declarations is how they threaten readers with misfortune for failing to share them with others. More worrying is how quickly people share such posts, perhaps, an indication that large numbers of people believe that by sharing the posts, one could be blessed in ways described in the various declarations. For example, one of the declarations reads:

> I am mad at the devil right now and I prophesy to anyone who will share this prayer: no matter the human sacrifices the devil will do this year through car accident, you and your families will never be a victim. Don't take this prophecy for granted. Share it quickly to connect to me. (Prophetic Declarations 2018)

The message was posted on 9 February 2018 at 09:21 and by 12 February at 11:33, it has been shared by 13,566 people and with 3,900 likes. Again, on 16 February 2018, this was posted, 'I am crying for those who will ignore this Message. They will miss something Great. Don't joke with this Prophecy! Before 6 pm tomorrow, anyone who shares this prayer will receive mind-blowing-miracles from God. Just humble yourself and share it. Share quickly and like this page'. By 24 February 2018, as many as 11,254 people have shared it and with 2,200 likes (Prophetic Declarations 2018; Tsekpoe 2018b). These developments suggest the need for the contemporary generations of African Christians to be guided in their reflections concerning claims of spiritual manifestations. The call for reflective pneumatology by testing the spirits (1 Jn 4:1) is as urgent today as it was in McKeown's era.

4.8   Conclusion

In this chapter, McKeown's mission theology and spirituality has been analysed. It was observed that McKeown's approach to pneumatology can be delineated as reflective

pneumatology. In Ghana, as in other Africa countries, there is a strong belief in the existence of spiritual forces (Kirby 2015; Rasmussen & Rasmussen 2015; Asamoah-Gyadu 2015b). It is argued in this chapter that McKeown's pneumatological approach, took the African spirit world seriously. It insisted that each member of the faith community is capable of experiencing the Holy Spirit's power and indwelling by which no evil spiritual power has control over them. For those who were afraid of evil spirits, this approach provided an alternative to the traditional shrines, which were considered a place of refuge. What makes McKeown's approach different from the AICs in Ghana was that in the AICs, spiritual power resides usually in a key leader, who is believed to be endowed in spiritual gifts, and is usually the centre of all pneumatic authority whilst in McKeown's CoP, every member has the opportunity, not only to experience but also to discern the operations of the Holy Spirit.

As shown earlier, this was practically demonstrated through McKeown's approach to pneumatic expressions in the CoP such as prophecies, divine healing, the blessing of water and witchcraft accusations. This reflective pneumatology, it is argued, has 'democratised' the charisms of the spirit among members of the faith community. Asamoah-Gyadu describes this character of the CoP as the 'Demystification of Ghanaian prophetism' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:88). In that sense, no one person in the Church holds a monopoly on spiritual power. This is also unlike the monopoly of the charisms of the Spirit as Ouayesi-Amakye (2015a) observed about many of the Prophet-led Churches in Ghana. The chapter also contended that this reflective pneumatology is Trinitarian and biblical. Ngong (2014) for example, has expressed his concern about the need for a Trinitarian emphasis in African pneumatology. It is therefore contended in this thesis that this Trinitarian pneumatology should be investigated further and developed for African Pentecostal Christian mission. This is especially crucial because although there continues to be a strong belief in witchcraft and spiritual forces among

Africans (Währisch-Oblau 2018), the focus and emphasis may differ from McKeown's era. Having shown McKeown's approach to the African spirit world, the next chapter will look at McKeown's approach to Ghanaian indigenous cultures.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE QUEST FOR AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH IN GHANA

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Four was an analysis of McKeown's mission theology and spirituality, which revealed that he had a very strong pneumatology that responded positively to life-threatening fears within the African cosmology. This pneumatology was described as 'reflective' and seems to have the ability to quell the manipulative tendencies, which continues to be a concern in African Pentecostalism. Since mission is not only spiritual, but also cultural, this chapter analyses the extent to which McKeown's mission was contextually relevant to the prevailing cultures of Ghana.

The chapter begins by briefly discussing models of mission activities in the CoP. It subsequently examines how McKeown appropriated the 'Three-Self' indigenous church principle, which he was said to have used because of his reference to the self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing principles (Leonard 1989:70). The chapter further discusses McKeown's mission praxis through the lenses of contextual models of mission in order to examine which contextual models he approximates to. Stephen Bevans contended that the attempt to understand faith in terms of a particular context is not an option, rather it is a theological imperative (Bevans 2002:3). This exercise is therefore intended to provide an analysis of McKeown's response to the numerous Ghanaian cultures, and how that can inform the CoP's contemporary and future mission approaches. Culture is used in this thesis to encompass the distinctive way of life (spiritual, material, intellectual, emotional) of a group of people. It shows in their languages, symbols, artefacts, value systems, traditions and belief systems (Awedoba 2013:131).

5.2   Models of Mission Activities in The Church of Pentecost

Daniel Walker's PhD research identifies five models of mission activities in the Church of Pentecost. These include Local Mission Model, Regional Mission Model, Migration Mission Model, Reverse Mission Model and Reflex Mission Model (Walker 2010). Walker's work presents a very comprehensive mission history of the CoP, by examining the Church's mission work from a historic perspective and modelling the evangelistic activities of the CoP from the grassroots or local level across nations to the international fronts. By employing economic market principles such as competition, monopoly, oligopoly, and comparative advantage, Walker concludes his work by developing an economic mission model, which he calls 'Economission', for the CoP. This, he argued, can be used to measure the other models in the Church (Walker 2010:229).

These mission models, nevertheless, do not show how the McKeown-led CoP interacts with the various cultures within which the Church operates. Again, despite the fact that in his concluding reflections, Walker identifies the existence of the generational gap problem in the CoP (Walker 2010:305), none of the models he proposes investigates the extent to which the Church contextualises its mission approach to respond to the needs of the different generations in the Church, which this current research seek to investigate. Walker's concentration was on the strategies or approaches used to expand the CoP's mission from one geographical location to the other within Ghana and in the diaspora. Thus, the mission models Walker identified in the CoP as well as his new mission model were not in the fields of contextualization and intergenerationality, as this current research seeks to achieve. Nevertheless, Walker's research is important to this research because it does provide a comprehensive historic background for understanding the various mission activities of the CoP whilst drawing attention to the generational gap problem in the Church.

Christine Leonard maintained, 'Right from the beginning, James wanted the Church in Ghana to be indigenous, with African culture, ministry and finance' (Leonard 1989:69). This assertion was also confirmed by Opoku Onyinah, when he wrote in the history of the CoP that, 'Right from the beginning, Pastor McKeown's aim and vision was to plant on Gold Coast soil an indigenous African or Gold Coast Apostolic Church to be neither European nor anything similar to the UK Apostolic Church' (Onyinah 2005:40). There is enough data, at least from 1953, to corroborate the view that McKeown, like other missionaries of his day, made frantic efforts to communicate the gospel to the people of Ghana (then Gold Coast) in culturally relevant ways. He seemed to be aware of the danger in attempting to replicate a British church in Ghana. This awareness is reflected in his statement that he did not want to 'plant a British oak in African soil'. To achieve this, he tried to appropriate from the 'Three-Self' indigenous church principle during his mission in the CoP (Leonard 1989:69; Onyinah 2004:40). The desire for an indigenous church was neither a new concept nor was it peculiar to McKeown's mission praxis. We could find efforts to remain relevant to indigenous needs even from biblical times. The Apostle Paul, for example, describes his own attempt to be contextual in his mission approach by pointing out that,

> To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law (though I myself am not under the law), so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law (though I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law), so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all people so that by all possible means I might save some. I do all this for the sake of the gospel that I may share in its blessings. (1 Cor 9:20-23, NIV).

What exactly did Paul mean in this passage? Is he trying to compromise with his principles anytime he is confronted with unfamiliar contexts? Is it an inclination to conform to Jewish laws at one point and Gentile customs at other times? This is not likely. It will be quite pejorative to assume that Paul is advocating for such a 'chameleon' mission theology when he publicly rebuked Peter for being a hypocrite (Gal 2:11-13). Dachollom Datiri, a scholar of biblical studies suggests, 'In becoming all

things to all men, he [Paul] was not abandoning his principles, Rather, he was demonstrating his willingness to enter other people's lives and share their circumstances' (Datiri 2006:1414). Similarly, recounting his struggle as a pioneer missionary among the Masai people of Tanzania, the Catholic priest, Vincent Donovan narrates, 'I spent long hours thinking long, difficult thoughts, and sometimes frightening ones, about the momentous task that faced me – the bringing together of a culture and the gospel' (Donovan 2001:25). Like Paul, and other well-meaning missionaries, McKeown attempted to adapt himself to the Ghanaian way of life, to a large extent, in order to be successful in planting what he calls 'local species in African soil'.

5.3   James McKeown and the Self-Supporting Principle

McKeown taught the Ghanaian church not to rely on foreign financial support since he believed that God, through the indigenous members of the Church, was able to provide resources for the Church if the leaders will learn to put their trust in Him (Personal Interviews: Amponsah 29/04/2015; Sackey 12/05/2015; Ghunney 11/05/2015). Onyinah indicates, 'McKeown would not allow the Church to ask for any outside [foreign] support. He said the Church should use whatever resources they had' (Onyinah 2004:75).

Gyimah corroborates these observations that apart from discouraging the Church in Ghana from seeking for financial aid from external organizations, McKeown enforced the practical implementation of such a self-supporting principle (Personal Interview: Gyimah 07/05/2015). One of the legacies McKeown has left for the CoP in Ghana is the ability to formulate and practically implement policies or decisions when agreed upon. In Ghana, like many other African countries, one of the major challenges facing development and economic growth, which seems to have permeated public life, including the Church, is the inability to implement policies that are formulated. The

CoP appears to be unique in its ability to do this, giving it a certain level of integrity. Apart from enforcing the implementation of the self-supporting principle, a close examination of MPLs and GCMMs reveal other factors that contributed to its success.

First, it is obvious that just like other Pentecostals who were forced to use the self-supporting principle as a result of insufficient funds to support their missionaries on the field, the AC mission that sent McKeown, also did not have enough funds to meet the pressing needs of his mission in Ghana. Recounting the struggles of the beginning of his mission in Ghana, McKeown wrote, 'we commenced at Winneba in June 1938, my wife and I with Pastor S. R. Asomaning, we had £10 with us plus God' (MPL 05/11/1953). This statement implies that as early as 1938 (just a year into his mission in the Gold Coast) the funds McKeown had, probably from the AC headquarters for his missions, was inadequate to sustain him and his companions for the work. He had then ordained the first Ghanaian pastor, S. R. Asomaning. He needed to take care of this pastor, himself and his wife. McKeown believed that God could work through the Africans themselves to supply the needs of the young church and he encouraged them to do that.

Writing about the contributions of women to the growth of the CoP in Ghana, Dorothy Addison (2013:17) indicates that at a point in his ministry, McKeown did not have money to pay his local pastors who were working with him. As a result, a wealthy woman by name Christiana Effie Obu-Mends, who had become a member of McKeown's Church in 1939, brought her jewellery, which was sold in order to raise funds to pay the pastors. Taking their inspiration from Acts 4:34-37, this practice has remained in the CoP, where individual church members willingly donate money, public address systems, cars, building materials, plots of lands and other items to the Church to support the Church's mission.

It can also be seen from CMM that in order to raise funds locally to support the missions work in Ghana, each district and local congregation of the Church was

expected to pay tithes and offerings to the Church's headquarters, which were put together into a central fund, and re-disbursed according to the various needs of the districts and local congregations. If the amount spent on any district was more than it has raised within a particular financial period, that district was categorized as a liability district. For example, reading the financial report at the GCMs on 11 April 1956, the Chairman of the finance committee noted:

> According to the statement of Dec.– Feb., 1956, Quarterly provincial Funds, these districts were a liability on the General Fund: Elmina, Akim Oda, Assin Foso, Enchi, Axim, Abura Dunkwa, Ashanti Mampong, Obuasi, Wiamoasi, Ash–Effiduasi [sic] and Juaso. Those in charge of these districts should see to it that tithes come in to balance their expenditure. Tamale being a new field is allowed to disburse its tithes, but a written statement of accounts should be submitted regularly to the Financial Secretary, Accra. (GCMMs 11/04/1956)

This practice of paying tithes and offerings into a central fund and re-disbursing according to the needs of the various districts and local congregations has become one of the practices that give the CoP its financial strength till date, even though there have been some modifications. Prudent financial administration has also become one of the known characteristics of the CoP in Ghana, a legacy that can be traced to McKeown's administration.

The second factor that helped the successful implementation of the self-supporting principle in the CoP is that prior to McKeown's arrival in Ghana in 1937, it was believed that God gave a prophecy to the Church (then Anim's group) in 1931, specifically instructing the group not to depend on external sponsorship for its funding. The said prophecy was believed to be a covenant God has made with the CoP. This 'prophetic covenant' was said to have been repeated in 1940 and 1948. The current CoP Ministerial Handbook (MHB) has the details of this prophecy as a reference for all ministers and church leaders. Section 1.2.6 of the handbook reads, 'The Church should not owe any man, borrow or seek financial aid, loans or grants from anywhere as God is her eternal riches, treasury and that He is able to sustain the Church in all her needs' (CoPHQ 2008:11).

In a personal interview with Elder Sackey, he insists, 'before McKeown came to the Gold Coast, God had already told the Church not to beg for money. McKeown only came to confirm it' (Personal Interview: Sackey 12/05/2015). This covenant relationship between the CoP and God is to similar that of the RCCG in Nigeria. It is stated in the Website of the RCCG:

> The Lord then established a covenant with Pa Akindayomi [the founder], synonymous to the Abrahamic covenant in the Bible. He said that He the Lord would meet all the needs of the church in an awesome way if only members would serve Him faithfully and be obedient to His Word. It is upon this covenant that the Redeemed Christian Church of God was built (RCCG 2019).

Asonzeh Ukah, who studied local identities and global processes in the RCCG at the PhD level indicates:

> This concept of covenant is used to underscore the nature of the promises and agreement which God is said to have made with the founder regarding the establishment and sustenance of the RCCG. References are made to this image of "a covenant" as being the historical foundation upon which the church was erected (Ukah 2008:13).

Although the CoP does not see their covenant as the historical foundation upon which the Church was erected, by this covenant both leaders and members understood that they were not going to seek for external support for the work in Ghana. Thus, the Church needs to be self-supporting, relying on God's providential supply. McKeown's contribution to the success of this lies in his ability to insist on the implementation of the 'no borrowing' and 'no grants' policy. Rigwell Ato Addison informed me that McKeown was unhappy with his fellow missionaries who attempted to encourage the leaders of the CoP that grants from UK or elsewhere would be solicited to support the Church in Ghana (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). Till date, the CoP strongly discourages the practice of taking bank loans for projects. All projects are carried out through internally generated funds and individual donations.

The third reason for McKeown's successful implementation of the self-supporting principle was his ejection from the ACUK as a missionary in 1953. He was therefore compelled by this situation to depend more on self-supporting principle of mission, since his mission had no sending organization. The story of McKeown and the AC in

Ghana is similar to the story of William C Hoover, an American Methodist missionary to Chile. Hoover was ejected from the Methodist mission because the Church thought that his conduct was 'scandalous' and 'imprudent'. His teachings were considered to be false and anti-Methodist (Anderson 2013:171-80). Allan Anderson indicates that

> Although Hoover was an American, his ejection from an American Methodist mission meant that he relied on local people for his support, infrastructures, and workers. As a result, the Methodist Pentecostal Church (MPC) was almost immediately a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating church – probably the first in Latin America (Anderson 2013:174).

The CoP has presented itself as a model of a self-financing church in Ghanaian Christianity. The Assemblies of God (AoG) missiologist, Melvin Hodges, is acknowledged as having been the first Pentecostal scholar to write about the indigenous church planting principles (Hodges 1953). It is also not in doubt that in global Pentecostalism, the AoG Church has been at the forefront of propagating this indigenous church policy. In Ghana, however, the McKeown-led CoP implemented this principle, especially in the area of self-financing and self-propagation, long before the AoG could come to terms with its reality in practical terms (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:23).

It can be further argued that after his dismissal, it was possible for McKeown to re-affiliate his Church to another mission organization from the West, as it was very common with the African churches of his day, but he did not. Affiliation might have worked out especially with the LRM from the US. There are indications of continual interaction between the McKeown's group and the LRM, even after McKeown's dismissal from the AC. This kind of interaction is evident in a letter McKeown wrote on 23 November 1953 to the leaders of his Church, inviting them for a meeting with the LRM. It should, however, be understood that McKeown originally wanted some kind of autonomy and freedom in his mission engagement and did not want to affiliate his Church with any other external organization. In another letter to the church leaders, which looked like a response to some requests for affiliation or re-uniting with the ACUK, McKeown stated:

> We want co-operation with all our people in England, we want co-operation with all the people of God in America, co-operation, yes, we need co-operation. "All one body we are," co-operation, yes, we will co-operate. But we will not come under dictatorship from either England or America. That they all may be one is the prayer of Jesus and by His grace we are one in him (MPL 05/11/1953).

The passage above clearly reveals McKeown's predisposition to remain autonomous in mission. In addition, his use of the phrase 'we will not come under dictatorship from England or America' was relevant to get more support from the Ghanaians at a time when the country was pugnacious with their struggle for independence from colonial rule. At this time, the whole African scene was charged with resentment against colonial, social, cultural, theological and ecclesiastical hegemony. African Independent Churches were mainly considered as 'protest churches' in many African countries (see Bediako 1999:305). It is implied from the tone of McKeown's letter that there might have been some suggestions within McKeown's group to either reconcile with the ACUK or affiliate with the LRT from the US. The GCMMs also reveal several unsuccessful attempts between the two Apostolic Churches, to work on reconciliation (GCMMs 26/11/1961). Refusing affiliation and encouraging the autonomy of the Church in Africa therefore made McKeown's mission acceptable to a large number of Ghanaians. This same character precipitated the spirit of donating freely to support the fact that the Africans were capable of supporting themselves financially.

5.4   James McKeown and the Self-Propagating Principle

Every member of the McKeown-led Church was encouraged to evangelize. McKeown himself held open air rallies and won souls for Christ but most of the churches were planted by ordinary indigenous church members (Walker 2010:79). The Witness Movement was formed to facilitate evangelistic zeal in members and promote church planting (Personal Interview: Dampson 11/05/2015). A careful examination of CMM reveals three main factors that contributed to the evangelistic ethos of the CoP, thereby

making it self-propagating. These include the introduction of the Witness Movement, the role of prophetic utterances and the role of women in the Church.

5.4.1 The Role of the Evangelism Ministry (Witness Movement)

The witness movement was formed in the early 1940s with the aim of mobilizing and training the youth for evangelism and to prepare them for various leadership positions. The group became so vibrant and attractive to the members that the age bracket of 16-25 years had to be removed to allow all interested church members to join. The movement embarked on regular evangelistic campaigns, won souls and planted many churches (Personal Interviews: Bortsie 11/05/2015; Gyimah 07/05/2015; Sackey 12/05/2015).

The evangelistic activities of the Witness Movement, spread throughout the whole country, giving opportunity to every member to propagate the gospel. The basic requirement for a person to effectively evangelize was to be baptized in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Such a person was expected to start spreading the good news of the gospel right from their immediate family and friends and to anywhere their strength could take them (Walker 2010:79). The Witness Movement was the main ministry responsible for teaching and coordinating all the evangelistic activities. For example, in a Council Meeting held on 9 October 1958, it was reported:

> In the Western Region the Witness in Sekondi-Takoradi, Tarkwa, Enchi and Wassa-Simpa are doing very well. Rallies are being held and souls won to the Lord. Eastern Region Witness are very active. Rallies have been held at Obansi, Okradjei in Kwahu district; Agormanya and Nudu in Lower Krobo district; Dodowa and Nsawam in Accra district. Branches will soon be opened in Upper Krobo. Ashanti Witnesses are doing their very best; campaigns have been held in several towns and classes opened at Akyease and Sehwi Wiawso. A regional Rally will be held at Bechem on 24th October. Kadjebi youths are active in the Trans-Volta Region. Classes have been opened at Hohoe and Ahamansu. Despite transport difficulties in the Northern Region, Witnesses at Tamale have been holding campaigns in several towns … rally has been held at Assin Foso. New Classes have been opened at Bawjiasi, Wenchi-Akim, Asikuma, Asuom, Akroso, Besease, and Apam (GCMMs 09/10/1958).

This report shows that the Witness Movement activities were not just occasional events in some selected congregations. It was nationwide. Secondly, membership of the

Witness Movement was not for a selected few, rather it involved the whole Church. Jesus' command to go and make disciples of all nations was understood in terms of evangelism and soul winning, seen as a mandate for all believers and not just a few (Matt 28:18-20). This understanding greatly influenced the self-propagation principle.

5.4.2 The Role of Women in Evangelism

Women also played a very important role in the propagation of the gospel and planting of churches in the CoP. This contributed immensely to the growth of the Church. In the Church's annual reports, normally read at the GCMs, the evangelistic work of the Women's Movement (now Women's Ministry) featured intensely, bringing out their unique contribution to the self-propagating principle. For example, part of the October 1956 report reads as follows:

> The general Women's Leader gave a brief report about the movement. A rally is scheduled to take place in Cape Coast in November. He said sister Obo and other sisters had opened an assembly at Nungua in Accra Municipality. Sister Prudence Anaman is also doing well. Pastors were admonished to take keen interest in the movement … An assembly had been opened by a sister at Ahwencanno formally under Accra but this Council agree that it be put under Winneba so the sister's husband Mr. Quartey may be keenly watched by Pastor Aboagye Atta and report his spiritual progress as he wishes to be called into the ministry (GCMMs 29/10/1956).

This report reveals that women were conspicuously active in propagating the gospel. Right from its inception, women have been the majority of church members in the CoP. Deaconess Abam of Abasraba, narrated her personal experience of how the Women's Ministry contributed to the CoP's self-propagation. According to her, she joined the Church at Korle-Gonno in Accra when the Women's Ministry held an evangelistic rally there. She later relocated to Abasraba in the Central Region and since there was no CoP at her new location, she became very instrumental in advocating for one to be planted and as a result the Women's Ministry held an evangelistic rally there. The Church was planted the same day and a young man was sent from Winneba to take care of the congregation (Personal Interview: Abam 11/05/2015).

From these and many other reports, it is seen that women were very instrumental in the propagation of the Gospel and church planting in the CoP. It however seemed that in some instances, the women were not allowed to 'pastor' the church after they planted it. Whenever it was possible, a man would be sent from the nearest town to take care of the souls won, as recorded in Abam's narrative. In a few instances, some women were given the opportunity to lead congregations as overseers[36] and were referred to as paid workers. This observation was corroborated by Rigwell Ato Addison when he stated that at least two women – Prudence Anaman and Christiana Obo were called as Overseers during the time of McKeown. He added that Christiana Obo, who was his grandmother, was stationed at Atonsu for three years (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). It is not too clear why the practice was discontinued and why these two women were not ordained as clerical pastors. This is confusing because in the CoP, ministers are first called into the office of overseers and subsequently ordained as clerical pastors.

The CoP's annual report reveals that as at the end of 2018, female members consisted of 62 per cent of the Church's total membership whilst 38 per cent were males (Nyamekye 2019:46). Although the CoP releases women to play active roles in evangelism and church planting, this does not seem to be enough justification for not ordaining females into full-time pastoral ministry. Emmanuel Apea, a lecturer at Pentecost University, maintained that the refusal of the CoP to ordain women into the pastoral ministry, could hinder the Church from using its full potential (Apea 2019:24). He further argued, 'If the Church is to be as global as I see it happening, and to be extended beyond the borders of Ghana, growing rapidly as the Church statistics of 2018 indicate, gender discrimination must be eschewed to enable the Church pursue genuine

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[36] Overseer in the CoP represents a pastor on probation.

goals in the executing of the Great Commission' (Apea 2019:24-25).[37] The evidence, nonetheless, remains that the active involvement of women in the evangelistic activities of the CoP has contributed immensely to the success of its self-propagation principle.

5.4.3   The Role of Prophecies

Prophecies also played a very important role in promoting the Church's self-propagation efforts. Many prophetic messages were uttered during worship services and council meetings, urging the Church to preach the word to lost souls. For example, at the GCMs held from 3 - 11 April 1956 in Accra, there were three prophecies on the third day of the meeting, urging the ministers to take evangelism seriously. The first one was given by Overseer T Nyarko: 'Ye must be broken; weep and have deep compassion for the lost souls. As Christ gave Himself for you, ye must give yourselves for your brethren' (GCMMs 05/04/1956). The second was given by Pastor Dufour: 'God has transplanted you in His vineyard that ye may bear fruit; but many do not know their calling as yet. Go to the nations and proclaim the Good News to the countless suffering creatures' (GCMMs 05/04/1956). Overseer T Nyarko uttered the third prophecy, which sounded like a continuation of the first one he gave, thus: 'Proclaim the Gospel to the dying world. This nation must be delivered through you. Let your hands be clean and rise to the plan God has called you to' (GCMMs 05/04/1956).

Prior to these three prophecies, Charles Berridge, a White missionary who was helping McKeown and the Church in Ghana, had told the council that God has laid the burden of lost souls on his heart. He added that the Church is called to go out and win souls 'and immediately it stops going out it loses God's best.' In the CoP's context, this is also considered as a prophetic word for the council (GCMMs 03/04/1956). In another council meeting held on 29 October 1956, there were three other prophecies urging the

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[37] For detailed discussion on the CoP and women in pastoral ministry, see (Apea 2019:9-26).

pastors to continue with the work of evangelism (GCMMs 29/10/1956). Reading through the minutes reveal that similar prophetic utterances continued year after year, entreating the ministers and for that matter the Church to be more committed to the work of evangelism. This clearly has been a strong force in sustaining the evangelistic zeal since the Church believes that prophecies come from God.

It must also be emphasized that apart from all these factors, McKeown himself was a constant source of motivation and encouragement to the Church to sustain the evangelistic zeal and propagate the gospel themselves. For example, on 15 July 1955, McKeown wrote to all the local congregations, pleading:

> Let us not be weary in well doing. The Lord has made these conventions a means of blessing to many while the conventions are convened to build up the spiritual life of the saints, let us not be selfish, let us prepare our hearts in love to go out after the lost. We should leave the convention, not only happy [and] blessed in own souls, but with a strong will to bring others to Jesus (MPL 15/07/1955).

By this, he was clearly stirring them to take evangelism more seriously, even beyond the borders of the Gold Coast. Evangelism therefore was an important activity for McKeown and the Church he led. In spite of this, it can be seen that McKeown, like the early Pentecostals, understood mission largely as evangelism. The CoP's self-propagation or evangelistic activities did not give much attention to social activities. Debrunner wrote what McKeown told him in a conversation: 'You other missionaries and your African pastors and collaborators labour and sweat with the school – and then you leave the people on their own, neglecting evangelism – and thus we can harvest where you have sown' (in Debrunner 1967:325). McKeown's attempt to separate social action from evangelism is a reaction to the social gospel model adopted in many parts of Africa and Asia by many TWMCs of the time. This can be understood because coming from the holiness movement background, McKeown's mission was inclined towards the fundamentalist model, which emphasized proclamation and either rejects or subordinates social action in Christian witness (Shenk 1999:22-24).

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McKeown was not very interested in building schools, hospitals and other social services, his aim was just to evangelize. Nevertheless, the Church was compelled to eventually start some schools. Prominent among the reasons for these schools was the compelling demands from local communities, where the CoP had been established, to the extent that some chiefs gave free land to the Church to build schools (GCMMs 19/03/1959; GCMMs 08/04/1960; GCMMs 05/04/1979; GCMMs 08/04/1981; GCMMs 20/04/1982). Even at this point, McKeown was not comfortable with the amount of attention given to the schools. Speaking to the leaders in 1977, he argued:

> The Church is growing numerically and financially, but if the secret place of waiting on the Lord is neglected, the Church will decline and decay will set in. At the commencement of the work some forty years ago, there was prayer and yet more prayer. If we follow education, we will get what education gives. If we follow material things, we will get what these give. We have to seek the Lord and wait on Him; this is the secret of the Church's success and expansion. (GCMMs 31/03/1977).

By placing education and what he saw as materialism on one side and contrasting them with seeking the Lord and waiting on Him, McKeown did not seem to consider social actions as integral part of mission. Until recently, this became one of the major challenges in the CoP. Deaconess Bamfoa contended, 'the only qualification we needed to preach the Gospel to lost souls is the Holy Spirit baptism. It is not about books' (Personal Interview: Bamfoa 29/04/2015).

This challenge is not only limited to education but just as the case has been among Pentecostals, the CoP's mission, at its initial stages did not adequately engage with the community. It was aimed at making converts from the nations – 'just to evangelize'. Nonetheless, the Church has evolved over the years to embrace what Shenk (1999:24) calls 'the contemporary model' and has established Pentecost Social Services (PENTSOS) department, responsible for its social actions. These efforts, nevertheless, still give minimal attention to social action in comparison to the Church's numerical growth in Ghana. The most comprehensive and intentional initiative by the CoP to engage its community is a recent projected five-year vision for the period of 2018-2023

dubbed 'vision 2023' (CoPHQ 2018). The implementation and effectiveness of this vision can only be fully measured after the year 2023.[38]

5.5   James McKeown and the Self-Governing Principle

As much as self-financing and self-propagating is important for indigenous church growth, self-government is also vital for fresh expressions of indigenous churches (Cray et al. 2004:121). Because of his desire to use the three-self principle, McKeown tried to bring on board the views and contributions of the indigenous leaders he worked with. Gyimah noted that he sometimes took decisions in consultation with his pastors before implementing those decisions (Personal Interview: Gyimah 07/05/2015). As discussed in Chapter Three, McKeown's decision-making process was mainly collective. He involved the indigenous Ghanaians he worked with in many of the decisions he took, except when it pertained to taking disciplinary actions against the ministers (GCMMs 10/04/1957; GCMMs 08/04/1960; GCMMs 16/04/1963; GCMMs 08/04/1969).

This notwithstanding, this research contended that the fact that McKeown stayed on as the superintendent and chairman of the Church until he was 82 years old, did not make the CoP a self-governing Church in the sense of the original meaning of self-governing as proposed by Rufus Anderson (1797-1880). For a church to be self-governing, the expatriate or missionary has to hand over leadership completely to the indigenous leaders. On his part, McKeown remained the leader for about 45 years in total, counting from his arrival in the Gold Coast in 1937. He was superintendent for the Apostolic Church in Ghana for 16 years and chairman for the Church of Pentecost for

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[38] The theme for Vision 2023 is 'Possessing the Nations: Equipping the Church to transform every sphere of society with the principles and values of the Kingdom of God'. The overall goal is a church where members go to possess their nations by transforming every worldview, thought and behaviour with values, principles and lifestyles of the Kingdom of God and thereby turning many people to Christ. The targeted focal areas are: Marriage and Family Life, Evangelism and Church Planting, Enhancing Church and State Relations, Possessing the nations through Chaplaincy, Ministry to the Chieftaincy Institution, The Church and Socioeconomic Development, Community Transformation and Ministry to Persons with Disabilities (CoPHQ 2018).

29 years. The indigenous leaders on some occasions agitated for a Ghanaian chairman for the Church but he did not readily consent to that.

For example, on 18 October 1960, while McKeown went on leave, an emergency general ministers' meeting was held in Merry Villas – Accra and at this meeting, a Ghanaian chairman, in the person of Apostle JAC Anaman, was unanimously elected to replace him. A new office was created for McKeown as 'Spiritual Father' of the Church (GCMMs 18/10/1960). Part of the minutes of that meeting reads:

(a) In order to relieve Pastor J. McKeown of the onerous administrative burdens, the Executive Council has thought it fit (and has obtained his consent by correspondence) to elect a Ghanaian Chairman. He will still come back to Ghana, and that early, to act as our Spiritual Father whose advice will be indispensable.

(b) By unanimous votes Pastor J. A. C. Anaman was appointed Chairman of the Church. His inauguration will come on after the arrival of Pastor McKeown from furlough. Others expressed the idea that the inauguration ceremony should be made at once, but the General Secretary pointed out that, that will be setting aside the spiritual and scriptural practise, which alone will not grieve the Spirit [*sic*]. This was finally decided upon. At the instance of Pastor Yaw, there was a few minutes of congregational prayer after the decision was taken.

(c) The above decisions should be published in the daily journals to notify the public and also a circular letter sent out to all our assemblies (GCMMs 18/10/1960).

Upon the return of McKeown from leave, it was discovered that the premise upon which his consent was sought for the election was false. His successor actually fabricated a story to convince McKeown that the then president of Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah had written to direct that the Church should have an African chairman. Based on this, McKeown consented to the election of a Ghanaian chairman. When the truth was revealed that the president of Ghana had never made such a request, McKeown expressed his displeasure about the occurrences and with the support of the same General Council, the election of the Ghanaian chairman was overturned. The Ghanaian chairman stepped down and McKeown continued his work as chairman of the Church (GCMMs 10/07/1961; GCMMs 24/11/1961). In his defence for holding on to leadership, McKeown explained that he would 'like to see the Church headed by a Ghanaian Chairman but the present circumstances do not make this feasible. It may be a

year, six months or six years that this may come about' (GCMMs 23/04/1962); it actually happened twenty years later (GCMMs 20/04/1982).

It is not too clear what McKeown meant by 'present circumstances' in that quote, but he might be referring to the protracted conflicts that confronted the Church after the cessation from the ACUK. It is also possible that McKeown was considering the issues surrounding JAC Anaman's schemes to have himself elected as the chairman of the Church. Even though Anaman confessed his wrongdoing and apologized to McKeown and the Executive Council, McKeown might have been lost confidence in the leading African pastors. Some of my interviewees argued that because McKeown had been dismissed from the Apostolic Church's mission, he had no sending mission and if there was a Ghanaian chairman, McKeown would have nowhere to go because the CoP was his only church (Akrashie, Ahuakese and Hagan, Personal Communication: 13/02/2015). Whatever justification made the fact remains that in not relinquishing power his leadership style can be described as paternalistic.

Luzbetak identifies three dangerous practices in early Christian mission to the Majority World. These include: paternalism, triumphalism and class prejudice (Luzbetak 1988:65-66). There are many actions taken by McKeown which suggest that he has been vindicated from class prejudice and triumphalism. This cannot be said completely about paternalism. Luzbetak contended, 'Whereas the call to mission implies a desire eventually to put oneself out of business through success in mission, paternalism implies the very opposite' (Luzbetak 1988:66). He noted that in paternalism the benefactor 'insists on playing father or mother to the receiving church more or less indefinitely' (Luzbetak 1988:66). Even though McKeown cannot be accused of making himself superior to 'his African brothers', his extended leadership in the CoP reveals his lack of trust in the indigenous leaders. It can therefore be argued that although the influence and roles played by indigenous workers in the CoP was significant, as

discussed in Chapter Three, the Church could not be described as self-governing in its original sense, until McKeown retired and left for the UK.

5.6   The Three-Self Principle: An Indigenous Mission Model?

From the discussions so far, it has been argued that the McKeown-led CoP was self-supporting and self-propagating but not fully self-governing until McKeown retired. It is palpable to argue that appropriating from the three-self principles promoted McKeown's missions work in Ghana. First, aligning himself with the three-self principles in Ghana at a time when the Africans were engrossed in nationalistic feelings of self-expression and independence, endeared McKeown's Church to the Ghanaians and this contributed to the numerical growth of the Church. Second, the self-supporting principle has provided a strong financial foundation for the CoP. This coupled with McKeown's prudent financial administration, that presented the Finance Committee freedom and accountability for operation.

The Finance Committee was free to operate but at the same time it was accountable to the General Council. This provided checks and balances in the Church's financial management. Currently, the CoP continues to operate a very strong and transparent financial system with effective Audit, Monitoring and Evaluating Department. This gives integrity and respect to the Church at all levels. Third, the self-propagation policy aided the rapid numerical growth of the Church because evangelism, church planting and mission were not left in the hands of selected few. Rather, all members were expected to be actively involved in the Church's mission.

It must be noted that the three-self church principle does not itself address how the gospel responds to the various indigenous cultures. In spite of the fact that the principle aims at overcoming the weaknesses of the replica model, the main focus of the 'three-self' was on the sustainability of the churches being planted by the missionaries. It must

be noted that by its principles, a church could practise all the 'three-selfs', but may still be using Western models if the local leaders have been trained in Western ecclesiological, missiological and theological models, which was the case in many African countries at the time. As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, Ephraim Amu was fired from the Presbyterian Training College in Akropong, not by missionaries or expatriates, but by indigenous Ghanaian church leaders who thought that they could not allow him to continue with the 'pagan thing' in their only Presbyterian Training College (Onyinah 2012:107; Laryea 2012:19). The argument therefore remains that being self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing does not make a church an indigenous one. Until indigenous people are able to raise questions about how the gospel speak into their own cultures and answer these questions without necessarily using Western theologies and Western models of mission, a church cannot be said to be indigenous. Probably, it is out of this searching to find solutions to the challenges of the three-self mission principle that the 'fourth-self' principle, 'self-theologizing' emerged (Hiebert 1985:195-224).

5.7   James McKeown and the 'Fourth-Self'/ Self-Theologizing

Hiebert suggests that the purpose of self-theologizing (which he also called the fourth-self) is to address the question of whether the young churches have the right to read and interpret the Scriptures for themselves (Hiebert 1985:196). The fourth-self mission principle deals with how the national church leaders would be allowed to develop theologies that speak more readily and directly into their cultural needs. To some extent, McKeown attempted to allow the CoP to develop its own local theologies. First of all, he allowed the liturgy of the Church to develop from the prevailing cultures. As indicated in Chapter Three, he allowed the Ghanaians to use their local languages, songs, drumming and dancing as well as the use of Akan traditional appellations to pray

(Bamfoa 29/04/2015; Asamoah 28/04/2015; Ntiaku 27/04/2015; Obenewa 30/04/2015).

For example, in 1962 when Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah ruled that the McKeown-led CoP should change its name from Ghana Apostolic Church and give it a different name to differentiate it from the other Apostolic Church that has its headquarters in the UK, McKeown wrote a letter to encourage the members of the Church about the developments. In that letter, he noted:

> Africans are singing people; they can sing and dance their way through life. If an Africa is filled with the fire of God, who can stop him from singing, clapping his hands and dancing. If anyone will choose to sing a hymn from the Methodist hymn book, will the Methodist forbid him? God gave Charles Wesley those lovely songs. They were given for believers to sing (MPL 24/07/1962).

The content of this passage reveals McKeown's admiration for the singing, clapping and dancing prowess of the Africans. This also supports the observations of the various interviewees that McKeown allowed the liturgy of the Church to develop from their indigenous cultures and he was not opposed to church members coming to church in their traditional Ghanaian costumes (Abam 11/05/2015).

Apart from encouraging the Ghanaians to bring their traditional costumes to church and use their indigenous music forms to praise God, McKeown was also reported to have permitted Afua Kuma to use Ghanaian traditional religious praise in poetic forms to praise the Lord Jesus Christ at church gatherings especially, during conventions (Bamfoa 29/04/2015). A few of the prayers have been selected for consideration:

Jesus of the Deep Forest: Prayers and Praises of Afua Kuma

All-powerful Jesus who engages in marvellous deeds, he is the one called Hero - *ɔkatakyi!*
Of all earthly dominions he is the master; the python not overcome with mere sticks,
The Big Boat, which cannot be sank.
Wonder worker, you are the one who has carried water in a basket
And put it by the roadside for travellers to drink for three days.

He is the Thumb, without which we cannot tie a knot.
O You-who-show-the-way; *Akyerɛkyerɛkwan!*
You teach us how to prophesy.
Supporter-of-friends, who come in glory and strength!
Source-of-great-strength: *Okuruakwaban*

The *mmoatia*[39] he has cut to pieces;
He has caught *Sasabonsam*[40] and twisted off its head.
He is the Hunter gone to the deep forest
Sasabonsam, the evil spirit has troubled hunters for many years.
They ran in fear, leaving their guns behind.
Jesus has found those same guns, and brought them to the hunters
To go and kill the elephant (Kirby 2006:17)

For the traditional Ghanaian of Afua Kuma's time, these prayers and praises relate to their worldview and reveal who Jesus is just as the Psalms will reveal God to the first Century Palestinian. By this, McKeown led the CoP to provide the Ghanaian context with 'a place to feel at home' (Walls 1996; Welbourn and Ogot 1966), by enabling the development of self-theologies, which Kwame Bediako refers to as 'grassroots theology' (Bediako 2004). The implications of this local theology for contemporary Christian mission in Ghana will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Despite these efforts, McKeown's British influence on the development of the mission praxis and theology of the CoP is very obvious. Few parallels exist between the basic practices and doctrine of the ACUK and the CoP in Ghana. This is, however, not always negative because all Christian traditions maintain some level of theological continuity and discontinuity. Moreover, it is clear that even though McKeown allowed local theologies to develop, he seemed to be playing the role of a 'coach' or 'gate-keeper' for these theologies. Onyinah argued that before he allowed the various cultural practices in the Church, he would normally ask for the meaning of whatever he did not understand. 'Once he felt the practice did not go against the word of God, he encouraged the people to carry on' (Onyinah 2004:73-4). This means that McKeown determined what contradicted or did not contradict Scriptures. If from his perspective, an activity contradicted the Scripture, then it could not be practised in the Church.

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[39] Dwarves or fairy
[40] Forest monster

Consequently, pertinent cultural issues such as traditional festivals, chieftaincy, rites of passage, polygyny and issues pertaining to chieftaincy, which are of deep concern to the African Christian, have all not been addressed in the theology of the CoP. As a pastor of the Church, I have been confronted with cultural issues at my duty stations, especially on issues concerning widowhood rites, chieftaincy, traditional festivals and polygamous members in the Church, where I realized that the doctrinal provisions of the Church do not offer satisfactory answers to such deep-rooted questions raised within the cultures of the people. For example, Article 25.3 of the constitution of the CoP reads, 'Converts who are polygamists shall be baptized but shall not be received into full membership of the Church until they renounce polygamy' (CoPHQ 2016b:61). This means that polygamists who get converted to the CoP are not treated as full members of the Church. This situation can be best understood from its background that McKeown had strongly warned about polygamists. October 1957 GCMMs reported:

> Council members were strongly advised by Chairman [McKeown] and missionaries [other Western missionaries who came to assist him] to examine all converts thoroughly before baptizing them, so as to avoid many insincere people being admitted into full membership. A fuller and all-round ministry of the word of God can change stubborn polygamists at present in the church and bring them to repentance (GCMMs 14/10/1957).

For lack of space, this research does not intend to enter into the monogamy-polygamy debate. This, however, is recognized as an important subject that requires a comprehensive theological evaluation since it has persisted in African churches for some time now. To say that polygamy should be accepted as a biblical practice for Christians in Africa as Daniel Eshun (2016) suggests, or that polygamists who come to church should not be admitted into full membership, as suggested by the CoP, are all extremes that will need further theological examination and appropriate response for the churches in Africa.

That is to say that on the one hand, Western missionaries may not have the full knowledge of the background of certain cultural issues and as such their theological

propositions may not always offer complete answers to African questions, hence the need for authentic self-theologies. On the other hand, self-theologies in African Christianity should not be detached from the wider Christian tradition and Scripture. There is no need producing 'chameleon theologies' that changes colour to suit every aspect of culture, just for the sake of indigenous theologies. Thus, in an attempt to self-theologize, the Church in Africa should heed Burnett's reminder that, 'Indigenous churches need to enter discussion with the wider Christian community to share their understanding and gain from the historic perception of the older churches' (Burnett 1997:283) and Kwame Bediako's admonishing to seriously take Scripture as the interpreter of culture and tradition (Bediako 2001). That is to say that when theologizing, none of the formative factors such as Scripture, experience, revelation, tradition, culture and reason should be taken for granted (Macquarrie 1996:1). Self-theologies should also necessarily take into consideration prevailing cultural transformations so as to remain relevant to emerging generations.

Notwithstanding the fourth-self's attempts to address weaknesses of the 'three-selves', Hiebert (1985) for example argued that it also raises the question of the extent to which the missionary should give freedom to the national church leaders. Does the missionary need to supervise the theologizing process or leave it? If he should leave it, what is the guarantee that it will not be syncretic? And if he should supervise or guide would he not be accused of ethnocentrism? (Hiebert 1985:196). The complexities of the 'fourth-self' and the attempt by others to introduce additional 'selfs', such as 'self-missionizing', 'self-caring', 'self-teaching' and 'self-expression', to the list, is indication that the 'selves' principles were not adequately meeting the theological needs of the new Christian centres (Newberry 2005:110; Brock 1994:103-104). As a result, some missiologists have questioned its effectiveness and considered it outmoded and advocate for contextual models in mission (see Reese 2007:25-27). Although McKeown

might not know about the concept of contextualization, it is pertinent to briefly evaluate his mission praxis through the lenses of contextualization to find out which contextual models his mission approximated to.

5.8   James McKeown and Contextual Models

For a church to be considered missiologically relevant to the context in which it operates, its mission must incarnate in the local cultures, respond to the deep-seated cultural needs of the local people and at the same time be responsive to the needs of emerging generations, whilst remaining faithful to the gospel of Christ Jesus. In contemporary times, contextual models seem to be preferred to indigenous models, when evaluating this character of mission. As observed earlier in this chapter, McKeown endeavoured to appropriate, as much as possible, from the prevailing Ghanaian cultures he came to meet. This notwithstanding, McKeown could not purge his praxis completely from the traditions of the British Apostolic Church. Further, the fact that Christianity has the gospel of Jesus Christ as its central message implies, to some extent, that the preaching of the gospel itself introduces a certain historical and cultural heritage into each new context. Consequently, this research argues that McKeown's mission praxis approximates to three different contextual models. First, the adaptation model (Schreiter 1985:9); second, the countercultural model and third, the synthetic model (Bevans 2002:88-102).

5.8.1 McKeown and the Adaptation Model

Schreiter suggests that the adaptation model involves missionaries' attempt to seek a more fundamental encounter between Christianity and culture. This is done either by developing a philosophy of the local worldview in consultation with local leaders or by training local leaders to develop their own theologies or by taking into account the importance of both the Christian message and the culture of the people (Schreiter

1985:9-10). He, however, explained that its ideal form does not seem to exist because the mere contact of culture with an external Christian tradition seems to impose some foreign elements on praxis right from the beginning (Schreiter 1985:11-12).

In an attempt to take the Ghanaian cultures seriously, McKeown's method was to mentor and train young indigenous Ghanaian leaders. He ordained some of them as full-time pastors and others as lay-leaders, guiding them to respond to their own cultural issues (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). This made room for him to use the primal[41] resources of the Ghanaian people to achieve his aim, accusing other missionaries for Westernizing their churches in Ghana (Leonard 1989:69; Onyinah 2004:71). Generally, most songs and hymns sang in the CoP are not translated English songs but locally 'received'[42] indigenous songs. These songs are believed to be prophetically received from the Holy Spirit. They are not composed with musical notations. Whoever received the song, either during prayer, worship or during the delivery of sermon, sings the song during the service there and then. After singing it over and over for about two or three times, the congregation listens and join to sing spontaneously. Most of these are in the local languages and some of them are later translated into the English language. This custom has been maintained in the CoP till date.

Primal resources are very valuable materials for Christian usage (Turner 1977:27; Bediako K 2000:88; Bediako G 2009:3; Gatumu 2009:16). We see especially in Africa that the names used for God in the Christian Bible were mostly derived from the primal

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[41] The term *primal* is used here, not in the derogatory sense but in the sense of basic, or fundamental to describe the pre-Christian cultures of Ghana. Even though primal may not be an ideal term, it is less objectionable among Ghanaians and more universal in usage than other terms known

[42] These songs are believed to be prophetically received from the Holy Spirit. They are not composed with musical notations. Whoever received the song, either during prayer, worship or during the delivery of sermon, sings the song during the service there and then. After singing it over and over for about two or three times, the congregation listens and join to sing spontaneously. Most of these are in the local languages and some of them are later translated into English. This is commonly practised in the CoP up till today.

religions. Songs, proverbs, poetry, riddles, stories, myths, and idioms are important primal materials that have made African Christianity fresh and original. Kabiro wa Gatumu stated:

> Gikuyu Christians use their primal resources not for academic reasons, but because the Bible is their guide to sound living … The use of primal resources has indeed helped Gikuyu Christians to attest to the sacred character of primal religion and world-view and to reclaim a relevant spirituality, which is vital in biblical hermeneutics (Gatumu 2009:16).

Gatumu's assertion seem to reflect McKeown's understanding of mission. Though, he strived to take the Ghanaian cultures seriously, he always considers the Bible as the guide for interpreting culture. Onyinah corroborates McKeown's adaptation mission model when he argued that McKeown's ability to adapt to the Ghanaian cultural situation helped him to associate with the people and allow their Christian worship to incarnate from their cultures (Personal Interview: Onyinah 25/09/2018).

5.8.2 McKeown and the Countercultural Model

The countercultural model has been described as a model which pays closer attention to the culture in which theology is taking place but with suspicion. It identifies that all human beings and all theological expressions take place within a situation created by historical and cultural conditions. The model further holds that cultures need to be attended to with suspicion because the Christian message needs to redeem the culture (Bevans 2002:117-38). McKeown could be said of being suspicious of the Ghanaian culture because before he allows any traditional practice in the Church, he will first request for the essence in order to be sure before allowing it (Onyinah 2004). It was said that he did not allow the *adowa*[43] dance in the Church because he thought it was immoral (Personal Interview: Abam 01/05/2015; Gyimah, 12/05/2015).

It is also not too clear how McKeown responded to the numerous customs and festivals celebrated by the various tribes in Ghana. Normally, like other Pentecostals,

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[43] An Akan traditional dance.

members of the CoP would not want to be part of traditional festivals such as *Homowo, Aboakyer, Hogbetsotso, Ngmayem/ Dipo, Asafotu-Fiam, Adae/ Akwasidae, and Odwira* within their local communities. These are just few of the numerous festivals celebrated by the people of Ga Traditional Area, Winneba (the Central Region), Ewes (Volta Region), Krobos (Eastern Region), Ada (Greater Accra Region), Ashantis (Ashanti Region) and Akropon-Akuapem (Eastern Region) respectively. Until recently, the CoP and many other Pentecostal churches in Ghana would distance themselves from the chieftaincy institution because it was considered as a pagan institution. Generally, Pentecostals in Ghana associate traditional festivals and institutions with idol worship because a couple of traditional rituals, including libation prayers, are said during the enstoolment/ enskinment of chiefs and during traditional festivals. It is obvious from the discussions that whilst on the one hand, the McKeown-led CoP promoted vernacularisation and the use of other indigenous resources as described earlier, on the other hand, the Church rejected some indigenous customs which they considered inimical to their Christian faith. This attitude of distancing itself from key traditional customs, seems to have alienated the members of the CoP from some aspects of indigenous life in Ghana.

In spite of these observations, the CoP has been growing numerically over the years. As a result, the success of the Church's mission has been measured mainly in terms of church membership growth, number of congregations planted, chapels built, pastors trained, and social services undertaken. In his PhD research on 'Church Membership Trends in Ghana', Foli identified that as at 2001, 'The Church of Pentecost has more than half the total number of churches (congregations) coming under the Ghana Pentecostal Council' (Foli 2001:96). The CoP is heavily represented in both cities and rural areas of Ghana. It has been recognized as the largest Protestant denomination, claiming about nine per cent of the Ghanaian population as at the end of

2018 (GECR 1993; Foli 2001; Nyamekye 2019). The question, however, is whether the CoP's mission has so far been able to fulfil the disciple-making mandate of Church as in Matthew 28:19 and if this high numerical growth has brought satisfactory transformation to the Ghanaian society. In his inaugural address on 25 August 2018, the newly inducted chairman of the CoP, Apostle Eric Nyamekye laments,

> In spite of our impressive achievements, I think there is still a lot more to be done in our societies across the globe. Taking Ghana for instance, according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, 71.2% of Ghanaians claim to be Christians. As evidence to this, churches are scattered along the length and breadth of the nation. The Church of Pentecost contributes largely to this occurrence. However, in spite of the presence of these churches, Ghanaian Christians have not yet impacted our society adequately in a way that eliminates endemic corruption and social evil (including *galamsay* [illegal mining], environmental pollution, degrading our forest, employers requesting for sexual favour before giving out jobs, lecturers requesting for same before dishing out marks to students) to reflect the huge Christian presence in the country (Nyamekye 25/08/2018).

The statement above suggests his observation of the inability of the Christian community in Ghana, including the CoP, to affect the socio-political and cultural system of the nation to expectation. This, to some extent, can be attributed to the Ghanaian Church's attitude of dissociating itself from the socio-political and cultural life of the Ghanaian society. The Church has been on the periphery of major institutions that control the everyday life of the Ghanaian society. This also reveals the failure of the CoP to play its prophetic role adequately as salt of the earth and light of the world (Matt 5:13-16).

This failure is the inevitable corollary of the Church's ardent suspicion of culture. This is not to advocate for a return to traditional cultural practices of celebrating traditional festivals in church or that the Church's leadership structure should be modelled after the pattern of the traditional chieftaincy institution as has been the case in, for example, the MDCC in Ghana. In the MDCC, Akaboha the leader of the Church was referred to as the *Omanhene* (Paramount chief), supported by *Ohenemaa* (Queen-mother). In Ghana, these are titles used in the traditional leadership set up of the Akans. (Burnett 1977:124,135). Rather, it is advocacy for the Church's mission to provide theological response to Ghanaian cultural needs rather than being suspicious and

remaining in the periphery. Again, the CoP's vision 2023, which promises to engage the Ghanaian socio-cultural and political spheres presents a framework for responding to this challenge; its success, however, can be evaluated after the year 2023.

5.8.3 McKeown and the Synthetic Model

In discussing contextual models, what becomes clearer is the identification of the fact that no one model is absolute in its literal sense. To curb this challenge, the synthetic model attempts to balance insights from different models and reaching out to 'Insights from other people's contexts–their experience, their cultures, and their ways of thinking' in its response to cultures (Bevans 2002:88). The synthetic model, Bevans explained, 'Takes pains to keep the integrity of the traditional message while acknowledging the importance of taking all the aspects of context seriously' (Bevans 2002:89). McKeown's attempt to consistently rely on the Scripture while appropriating from the doctrinal heritage of the ACUK and at the same time made efforts to take the Ghanaian context seriously, portrayed the level of success he had in approximating to the synthetic model.

In the CoP, some of the ACUK's heritage could be seen in the similarity between the roles of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, elders, deacons and deaconesses, in these two churches. Likewise, the tenets of the two churches, the use of clerical collar, the administrative structure and the practice of strict church discipline are some examples of inherited traditions from the ACUK, of course, with some nuances (Fatokun 2008:404; ACUKHQ 1937:18-19; CoPHQ 2016b:7-9). Even the highly contested customs of women's head-covering in church and gender segregation, which later became the centre of conflict between the generations in the CoP, were practised in the ACUK at its initial stages and might have been inherited from there although women's head-covering also coheres with the Ghanaian culture and other Christian

traditions.[44]

This notwithstanding, as long as the liturgy and style of worship of the CoP remains indigenous, and such Western practices were culturally relevant and acceptable within the time, they did not hinder the CoP's mission. They rather promoted the Church's mission because of the already observable Western cultural influences within the Ghanaian society. The implication here is that it is not wrong to allow a mission to take on some amount of cultural heritage from other traditions and cultures. Bevans (1992:194) contended, 'Central to the synthetic model is its understanding that a particular context or culture consists of elements that are unique to it and elements that it shares with others. What needs to be considered is the tendency to allow such cultural heritage to take pre-eminence over local categories and prevent natural changes that are necessary to occur. This is what contextualization seeks to achieve.

Right from the time of Jesus, mission assumed a contextual character. For example, by introducing the concept of the Kingdom of God, Jesus confronted some vital Jewish traditions. It is true that He maintained some Jewish practices by going to the synagogue with them and also observing the Passover and other Jewish religious festivals. He, however, confronted their understanding and practice of ceremonial washing (Matt 15:1-11; Mar 7:1-23; Lk 11:37-41) and challenged their perception about fasting (Lk 5:33-39). He transformed their thinking about the marginalized in society by associating with 'sinners' and even ate in their homes (Matt 9:10-13). He touched lepers (Lk 15:12-16) and allowed a woman to wipe his feet with her hair (Lk 7:36-50). By introducing Kingdom principles, Jesus' mission, albeit incarnational, was not purely

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[44] The centenary video documentary of the ACUK reveals that in its early stages, women went to church covering their head or wearing hair bonnet (ACUKHQ 2016b). Also, narrating his experience of Holy Spirit Baptism in the ACUK, Revd Garfield Spurdle, a former minister of the ACUK, wrote on 15 February 1926 that 'I was sitting in the week night meeting at Trealaw Assembly on the front row *on the male side* when the Holy Spirit began to move' (italics mine). The statement 'on the male side' indicates that gender segregation in sitting arrangement was practised in the ACUK before McKeown came to Ghana (Spurdle 1926 in ACUKHQ 2016a:28).

indigenous to the Jewish cultures. He merged Kingdom principles into Jewish traditions. This synthetic approach to mission is what contextualization seeks to achieve.

5.9   The Church of Pentecost: An Indigenous or Contextual Church?

From the observations made so far, McKeown's mission in Ghana can be described more appropriately as contextual rather than indigenous because in an attempt to plant an indigenous church, he combined some Ghanaian cultural practices with the heritage he brought from the ACUK. Bevans argued that contextualization understands culture to be dynamic and flexible while indigenization focuses purely on cultural dimensions of human experience (Bevans 2002:26-27). This research argues that the McKeown-led Church grew rapidly because the Ghanaian society itself, at the time of McKeown's mission, had already been influenced by Western cultures, through the activities of colonization, trade, Western Christian mission and Western forms of education.

The argument here is that at the time of McKeown's mission in Ghana the traditional Ghanaian societies had already been significantly transformed by Western cultures. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, the everyday life of the average Ghanaian had gone through some cultural transformation by the middle of the twentieth century. The English language had become the lingua franca and the everyday lifestyle of the average Ghanaian in terms of dressing, music, food and politics had been influenced. For example, during the celebration of Ghana's independence in 1957, the nation did not sing and dance to the tune of a 'traditional' Ghanaian music. The music of the day was an acculturated popular music, known as ' life' composed by ET Mensah (Video Documentary: Mensah 2013).

Highlife music has been described as a blend of traditional Akan rhythms and melodies with Western musical elements and harmony (Geest and Asante-Darko 1982:

27; Collings 1989: 221). John Collins (1989:221) contended that highlife is 'one of the myriad varieties of acculturated popular dance-music styles that have been emerging from Africa this century and which fuse African with Western (i.e. European and American) and Islamic influences'. It should be stated that this kind of acculturated popular dance did not develop only in Ghana but also in other parts of Africa. Collins identified the following:

> *Kwela*, township *jive* and *mbaganga* from South Africa, *chimurenga* from Zimbabwe, the *benga* beat from Kenya, *taraab* music from the East African coast, Congo jazz (*soukous*) from Central Africa, *rai* music from North Africa, *juju* and *apala* music from western Nigeria, *makossa* from the Cameroons and *mbalax* from Senegal (see Collins 1989:221).

The point here is that McKeown's CoP was contextually relevant for the particular time in which the Church's mission activities were practised. This is important because as already discussed, on the one hand, the TWMCs were seen to be Western in expression and as such they were considered as the 'Whiteman's churches'. Their attempt to replace African cultures with the Western cultures failed miserably. On the other hand, the AICs, which seems to have succeeded in Africanizing their mission, were already being considered by many Ghanaians themselves as archaic and syncretic. Asamoah-Gyadu noted, 'The over-concentration of the *Sunsum Sɔre* on producing integrated, syncretic rites and rituals of healing, deliverance from the demonic and traditional curses; potions for love, success in life's endeavours and so on, also led in time to the neglect of Christian growth at the deeper levels' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2002:21).

It should not be assumed that the cultural matrix of Ghana as at the time of McKeown is the same today. McKeown himself warned in a letter he wrote to the churches in 1955 that, 'It is not enough to imitate the past; God has new things in store for His children' (MPL 15/07/1955). This profound statement is a warning for the CoP to heed Migliore's assertion that many answers that sufficed yesterday may not be compelling enough to answer today's questions (Migliore 2004:4). There is therefore

the need for the CoP to be conscious of current changes taking place in the world in order to continue being relevant to all generations in its fold.

5.10 Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that in his quest to plant an indigenous church in Ghana, McKeown generally appropriated from the 'Three-self' indigenous church principles, which were first propounded by Anderson (1869) and Venn (Knight 1880). It was contended that although McKeown succeeded in implementing the self-supporting and self-propagating principles, the CoP could not be said to be fully self-governing until McKeown retired in 1982. This is because in the original understanding of the self-governing principle, the missionary was supposed to end the mission and leave the indigenous people to manage their own affairs; a practice referred to as 'euthanasia of mission' (Night 1881; Beyerhaus 1962; Newberry 2005). Apart from the fact that the self-propagating principle encouraged every member of the CoP to be involved in the Church's mission in terms of evangelism, which led to the conversion of many people to the Church, the language of self-expression itself gave acceptance and popularity to the Church McKeown led in Ghana at a time when Africans were agitating for freedom from colonial dominance. This means that Ghanaians saw a church which lays emphasis on self-propagation, self-financing and self-governing as a church of their own.

Secondly, McKeown's mission approximated to some contextual models of mission, such as adaptation, countercultural and synthetic models (Bevans 2002). It was argued in this chapter that for a church to be considered missiologically relevant to the context in which it operates, its mission must incarnate in the local cultures, responding to the deep-seated cultural needs of the older generations and at the same time be responsive to the needs of emerging generations, whilst remaining faithful to the gospel

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of Christ Jesus (Schreiter 1985; Luzbetak 1988; Shenk 1999; Bevans 2002). I argued that although McKeown seemed to have taken the Ghanaian cultures seriously, his British Apostolic Church background could not permit him to plant a totally indigenous Church as in the case of AICs in Ghana. Further, unlike some AICs such as the MDCC who literally translated some Old Testament practices such as polygamy and animal sacrifice which seemed to cohere with some Ghanaian practices (Burnett 1997) into their own faith, McKeown's understanding of mission was influenced by a constellation of traditions that introduced certain aspects of his own cultural heritage into his mission in Ghana. I argued that since Ghana at the time of McKeown's mission had already experienced some level of globalization and cultural transformation, these factors made McKeown's mission contextually relevant, approximating to three different contextual models in line with Bevans' taxonomy (Bevans 2002:88-102).

This contextual character helped the CoP to achieve considerable success in terms of numerical growth. There is therefore the temptation to preserve McKeown's praxis, which seems to have aided this numerical growth, and to pass it on to the next generation as the prescribed mission model for the CoP. The question, however is, to what extent can the CoP apply McKeown's mission models to its contemporary and future mission efforts? The next chapter therefore explores the implications of the tendency to preserve McKeown's mission praxis for posterity.

CHAPTER SIX

McKEOWN'S MISSION MODELS AND CONTEMPORARY COP

6.1   Introduction

It has been argued in the previous chapter that although the McKeown-led CoP combined some elements of the British Apostolic Church and Ghanaian cultural practices, the mission praxis of the Church can be described as contextual because the Ghanaian culture at the time of McKeown had already gone through significant cultural transformations as a result of colonization, trade, Western Christianity and Western education. This contextual character of the Church therefore contributed significantly to its high numerical growth under McKeown and subsequently, other African leaders. This chapter explores the CoP's struggles to preserve and transmit the legacies of the founding leaders to succeeding generations in order to prolong the Church's mission.

This attempt of preserving the legacies of founding leaders, is similar to what Weber (1996) describes as routinization of charisma. According to him, routinization is a 'Result of the process whereby either the prophet himself or his disciples secure the permanence of his preaching and the congregation's distribution of grace, hence ensuring the economic existence of the enterprise and those who man it' (Weber 1996:37). Similarly, Ukah (2008:82) contended that, 'Routinization also implies a transformation of charismatic authority to either legal-rational or traditional authority or a combination of both'. The attempt to routinize McKeown's mission praxis in the CoP appeared to have generated some rift between the old and new generations of the Church.

This chapter therefore begins by discussing the process of routinization and the paradox of transmitting the CoP's heritage to emerging generations. The chapter further

identified the internal processes of revitalization among the young people of the Church, instigated by external forces of globalization within contemporary society. Further, a discussion of the CoP's practical efforts to prepare the next generation to take up leadership of the Church, as the second generation who knew the founding leaders were exiting leadership. Using Jesus' metaphor of new wine in old wineskins, the chapter finally discusses the implications of the CoP's tendency to idealize the past and impose outmoded traditions on contemporary generations.

6.2   Routinization and the Paradox of Transmitting the 'Gains'

According to Ukah (2008:82), routinization can either take place before the leader dies or start in the lifetime of the leader. In the CoP, since McKeown remained the chairman from 1953 to 1982 before retiring, it is obvious that the routinization process of his mission praxis had already started before he retired. For example, a strong administrative system had been set up, the Church had a constitution and ministerial manual in which the basic doctrines and rules of conduct had been spelt out. Basic practices such as water baptism, communion services, church discipline, gender segregation, women's head-covering in church, Christmas and Easter Conventions had been established.

Apart from the routinization of administrative structures and church practices, McKeown had carefully mentored those who would take over leadership from him. As a result, leadership transition at the time of his retirement was not a major challenge. On the day the new chairman was elected into office to replace him, this was the sermon McKeown preached as recorded in the minutes of the GCMs in April 1982:

> He [McKeown] caused to be read Acts 19:1-8; 4:30; 5:18 and John 14:14-17. He recalled the Council's attention to Paul's advice to the saints at Corinth that in God's kindness, he had been taught how to be an expert builder by laying a good foundation for the Church to build on it. He said care must be taken in building thereon. He pointed out that no one can ever lay any other foundation than that which has already been laid and which Foundation is the Lord Jesus Christ. Paul, the Chairman said, was not prepared to share the Lord's work indiscriminatingly with everybody in the Church

save those endued with the Holy Spirit. He stressed that anyone without the baptism of the Holy Spirit should NOT be received into the ministry which is no secular employment; spirit-filled men would not grieve the Holy Spirit.

He went on to say that the crux of the matter was that he felt he was far advanced in years and whereas young Ghanaians who are capable of handling the affairs of the Church are available he needs not deprive them of that opportunity. Reflecting at the time when he first came to the then Gold Coast as a missionary, he said he did not use any lofty words or human wisdom in proclaiming the Word in plain words backed by the power of the Holy Spirit, proving to hearers that the message was from God and has, by that, built the faith of the Church on Christ Jesus. Concluding, he stated that Pentecost was the birthday of the Church. It was the first time the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Trinity, came to abide with us and a fulfilment of Christ's promise of the Comforter. Throughout our earthly pilgrimage, in the midst of fire and sword, the blessed Paraclete is to dwell within, sustaining and comforting until Christ returns for us (GCMMs 20/04/1982).

This sermon can be described as part of the routinization process. It is clear from the sermon that McKeown would like the leaders, and of course, the new chairman to be aware of the fact that the foundation of the Church had been laid by the Lord Jesus Christ already, and that whoever is ordained as a leader in the Church should necessarily be baptised in the Holy Spirit. Currently, the CoP does not ordain anybody into either full-time pastoral ministry or lay leadership without the person being baptised in the Holy Spirit, evidenced by speaking in tongues. McKeown ended the sermon by drawing attention to the fact that his sermons must not be considered as mere words; they must be taken seriously since they emerged from the Holy Spirit.

After McKeown's retirement in 1982 and his subsequent death in 1989, there have been genuine concerns among some leaders and adult members of the CoP regarding how to preserve the distinctive traditions, theology and spirituality of the Church for the new generation (NG). These concerns were heightened by the rapid socio-cultural changes observed within the Ghanaian society. In his observation of the dynamics of Ghanaian society, Max Assimeng, a Ghanaian sociologist, identifies that, 'Things are apparently never the same … Our certainties of explanation are no longer seen as valid, or adequate. It is no longer adequate for individuals or social groups to confidently support or buttress arguments from the viewpoint of "what my grandmother told me"' (Assimeng 2006:2-3). Globally, it is not in doubt that the dynamics of societal

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change have become more rapid than could have been anticipated a few decades ago. This is especially facilitated by globalization, that is the incursion and free flow of information from everywhere to everywhere, made easy by the tools of technology and media in particular (Febus-Paris 2014:119).

Prophet MK Yeboah, who was the chairman of the CoP from 1988 to 1998, and who was a conservative as far as traditional CoP values were concerned, was noted for constantly lamenting about *asɔre no daama* (the future of the Church). Within this period, efforts were made by the older generation (OG) to protect and defend the practices, traditions and theological distinctiveness of the CoP for posterity. This penchant for protecting the legacies of the Christian faith for posterity is neither new nor unique to the CoP in Ghana. In his PhD research, Caleb Opoku Nyani studied about the Second-Generation members of the CoP in the UK, who either grew up or were born in the UK. His studies reveal that the greatest frustrations of these Second-Generation CoP members in the UK is their inability to fit into the socio-cultural and theological contexts being preserved and promoted by their parents, who migrated from Ghana to the UK (Nyani 2018:290:303-316). This tendency to preserve known cultures to succeeding generations seems to have been one of the major challenges the Christian Church has always faced in its mission history. David Bosch observed, 'There have, of course, always been Christians (and theologians) who believed that their understanding of the faith was "objectively" accurate and, in effect, the only authentic rendering of Christianity' (Bosch 2011:185).

Some of the practices and traditions of the CoP that were strongly protected by the OG include gender segregation at church, women's head-covering in church and the prohibition of women from wearing trousers, stylish hairdos or using make-up. It became a common practice for deaconesses to come to church with extra head scarves, ready to be offered to any female who entered the church without a head-covering. This

was practised so zealously that in the absence of extra head scarves, female members or visitors who came to the church without it were given either a handkerchief, a baby napkin or 'anything available' for covering the head (Koduah 2010). In the same way, some of the church leaders made sure that contemporary practices like choreography, rap music and some 'strange' dance forms emerging among the youth, were not allowed in the Church because such practices were considered worldly and therefore unspiritual and mere entertainment (Kwame FGUG 27/05/2019).

Some of the young people especially, students and university graduates who considered the Church's traditions as fossilized and moribund, reacted by leaving the CoP and joining the Charismatic Ministries, which they considered more contemporary (Koduah 2004). These churches are mainly contemporary independent Pentecostal denominations that have appropriated global influences to accommodate the needs of the NG by incorporating contemporary symbols and technology into their mission praxis. They adopted the Western style of dressing and music and conducted their liturgy and preaching in English (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:98-101). It must be acknowledged that it did not take long for some of the leaders of the CoP to observe that this propensity to preserve old traditions was rather stifling the needs of the NG; the very people these efforts were meant to protect.

6.3   Revitalization and the Search for New Models

Wanjiru Gitau, a research fellow at the Centre for Religion and Civic Culture at the University of Southern California, argued that, 'As Christianity passes into a new culture, it is initially *relativized* by the new culture, but it eventually *revitalizes* it' (Gitau 2018:165). She compares these processes of relativization and revitalization to Andrew Walls' indigenizing principle and pilgrim principle respectively (Walls 1996:7-9; Gitau 2018:165). An aspect of the relativization process is what has been discussed in

Chapter Five as McKeown's efforts to plant local species in African soil. This process or relativization was followed by the routinization of the CoP's practices.

Revitalization is defined as the deliberate effort to construct a more satisfying culture by members of a society as a result of dissatisfaction with present living conditions. The process of revitalization does not seem to have a specific end since it continues across generations, centuries or millennia (Wallace 1956:265; Lanternari 1974:489). According to Anthony Wallace, an American-Canadian Anthropologist, revitalization is 'a special kind of culture change phenomenon' (Wallace 1956:265). He contended that

> … the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases; new traits (Wallace 1956:255).

According to Gitau, this process of revitalization is similar to Andrew Walls' pilgrim principle, which requires that the gospel confronts certain elements of the culture by challenging some indigenous customs resulting in a paradoxical continuities and discontinuities with existing practices. This process is normally not without pain (Walls 1996:8-9; Gitau 2018:167). The rift between the OG and the NG in the CoP emerged from this revitalization process and led to the search for new approaches that seemed to reject the protectionist tendencies of the OG, in search of models that can accommodate the emerging socio-cultural needs of the NG. For example, on 22 July 1992, the then International Mission Director (IMD) of the CoP, Apostle Opoku Onyinah organised a meeting with the presbyters of all English-speaking congregations in Accra. In that meeting he discussed the following concerns:

> Brethren, we are very much aware of our Commission "to go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation". This we have done as a church in the past years. The Lord has blessed our obedience to His commission to the extent that, records, independent of the Church of Pentecost, indicate that the Church of Pentecost is the fastest growing church in Ghana. This modest achievement in no way makes us complacent. Rather, we should ask ourselves questions like: What led to this? What was the need of that age? Were we able to supply that need? (OPL 22/07/1992).

Onyinah's observation that, 'This we have done in the past years,' reveals his conviction that the Church succeeded in the past but seemed to be failing as at the time of the meeting. Consequently, he quizzed, 'What was the need of that age? Were we able to supply that need?' Drawing inspiration from Paul's testimony about King David, Onyinah further extrapolated that just as David served God's purpose in his own generation, so God continues to use people to serve the specific needs of particular generations because each generation has its own needs, challenges and opportunities (Ac 13:36). He ended the address by asking few more missiological questions: 'What is the need of this generation? … How best can the Church of Pentecost supply this need?' (OPL 22/07/1992).

This first meeting seems to have set the tone and created the awareness for the need to reflect and find new ways of meeting the contemporary needs of the growing youth in the CoP. A follow-up meeting was held on 4 August 1992. The concern for the NG came out even clearer in the address Onyinah presented at this second meeting:

> Beloved brethren, there seems to be what one may term "generations in a generation" in our world today. In other words, there seems to be co-existing, three different generations in our present generation, and this is even more evident in the church, namely, (1) The Elderly, (2) The Semi-literate and Middle Class, (3) The 'New' generation. The first two groups, I suppose, are being catered for in the Church of Pentecost. They feel quite at home with our programmes, our mode of worship and our media of communication, even though there may still be room for improvement. The third group, however, do not appear to find their place in our traditional way of worship, let alone the media of communication. (OPL 04/08/1992).

His observation about the socio-cultural changes in Ghana is reminiscent of the reflections of Kosuke Koyama, a Japanese missionary and lecturer at Thailand Theological Seminary, on transformations in Thailand during the 1970s. In explaining what he calls 'points of theological friction,' Koyama points out that there were two groups of people existing in Thailand.

The first group, which he calls 'Thailand One' were unchanging and tied up to religious and cultural traditions whilst 'Thailand Two' were changing rapidly as a result of urbanization and industrialization and are inadvertently processing modernization that has huge implications for Christian mission (Koyama 1976:69-76). Koyama's

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concern was the fact that two different worldviews provided a point of theological divergence, which creates a conflict for catering for the needs of these seemingly incompatible groups of people in the Thailand Church. Similar conflict is what Onyinah was contending with, in the CoP. Just like Koyama, Onyinah emphasised that the traditional or indigenous ways of worship in the CoP were unable to cater for the needs of the NG of faith-seekers in Ghana. He further argued:

> The dynamics of civilization and the increased interaction of the peoples of the world through education, travel and commerce have all combined to making culture a transferable commodity. Therefore, this new generation being a product of today's civilization, do not always 'conform' to known and traditional ways of doing things. Whether they are right or wrong is not the issue at stake here. To us, what is expected of us is to reach them in their own world with the same, old, unchanging Word of God, which is still the power of God unto salvation (OPL 04/08/1992).

He further proffered the adoption of a mission approach that would take the socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds of this generation into consideration. He also acknowledges that some traditions of the CoP will need to be preserved and diligently passed on to succeeding generations, whilst others, whose non-observance would not affect one's salvation would be discontinued to give way to a 'truly cross-cultural church which is also Bible-based' (OPL 04/08/1992). On 6 May 1993, almost a year after the first two meetings, he held a third meeting on this same subject. In this meeting, he informed the participants that the CoP headquarters has granted a full autonomy to the English Assembly in Accra and there was the need to set up modalities to achieve the objectives of the new church (OPL 06/05/1993). As will be discussed in the next few paragraphs, the discussions and the papers presented at these three meetings became the nexus for major transformations within the mission praxis of the CoP.

6.3.1   *The Concept of PIWCs in The Church of Pentecost*

The first major transformation discussed in this research, is what has become known as Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs) in the CoP. In the PIWCs, some of

the traditional practices of the CoP such as gender segregation and the strict head-coving for women were not observed. Additionally, make-up and hair styles were not disparaged or reprimanded. This approach attracted divergent reactions from the Church. Whilst the NG applauded and embraced this transformation, the OG deplored and decried the worldliness that had been permitted into the Church. Currently, the ubiquity of PIWCs and English Assemblies, both in the cities and rural areas of Ghana, coupled with the demographic growth of young people in these congregations suggest that the approach has not reneged on its anticipated objective. For example, membership in the PIWCs in Ghana grew from 7,326 in 2007 to 28,337 in 2017, representing 281 per cent growth within ten years (Onyinah 2018:37). In focus group discussions for this research, some young people in the CoP expressed their satisfaction with the PIWC model and consider it a wise initiative by the Church. They maintained that without the PIWCs, it would have been difficult for the youth, especially those from tertiary institutions to fit into some of the traditional CoP congregations (Mansa, Ebo and Stella FGKNUST6 17/08/2018).

Daniel, for example, indicates that the PIWCs serve as a good link between the mother church and PENSA[1] on second cycles and tertiary campuses (Daniel FGPU 20/05/2018). Another young lady, Eyram, mentioned that, 'in the PIWCs, we encounter the Lordship of Jesus Christ, with understanding and not just because we are told to do things in a specific way' (Eyram FGKNUST 17/08/2018). Again, Agnes asserted that generations come and go with different inclinations and we need to discern the needs of each generation and help them to know Christ and to live like him. She reasons that the

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[1] PENSA is the acronym for Pentecost Students and Associates. This is the campus ministry of the Church of Pentecost where members of the CoP in both second cycle and tertiary institutions organise themselves as a church. The word 'Associates' gives opportunity to non-members of the CoP to feel free and associate with the group while on campus. The practices of PENSA and almost the same as the PIWCs, with the exception that apart from having associate members, membership in PENSA is not permanent since students complete their education and leave as fresh students join. They, however, have full-time Pastors of the CoP who are designated as traveling secretaries, responsible for several campuses each.

current PIWC model is a timely response to the needs of the contemporary generation of faith seekers in Ghana (Agnes FGPU 20/05/2018). From my personal observations of current practices in the CoP, as well as the growth of the PIWCs and PENSA groups on various secondary and tertiary campuses, it is plausible to contend that the PIWC model has enabled the CoP to re-contextualize its mission in a contemporary way, similar to the establishment of model parishes in RCCG, Nigeria (Ukah 2008:112).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the term 'contextualization' was first introduced into missiology in 1971 by the Taiwanese scholar, Shoki Coe, the then General Director of the Theological Educational Fund (TEF) (see Hesselgrave & Rommen 1989:20; Whiteman 1997:2). Differentiating between indigenization and contextualization, Shoki Coe contended, 'Indigenous, indigeneity, and indigenization all derive from a nature metaphor, that is of the soil, or taking root in the soil' (Coe 1976:20). He argued that the metaphor from which indigenization derives, is static in nature and stands the danger of being past oriented because it tends to be used in the sense of responding to the Gospel in terms of traditional culture. He therefore maintained that contextualization goes beyond indigenization by being future oriented and open to change (Coe 1976: 19-21). The assumption that the CoP is an indigenous church seems to contribute to the tendency of some members holding on to what they considered as indigenous character, petrified of socio-cultural transformations taking place in the wider society. The Church can only remain relevant if both members and leaders could understand its mission from a contextual perspective, rather than the previous notion of indigenization.

As discussed in Chapter Five, it is plausible to argue that this indigenizing character is what has caused the decline of many of the AICs in contemporary times. After criticizing the Westernization of African Christianity and seeking true indigenous identity in their cultures, they seem to have excessively preserved these indigenous identities for ensuing generations. This repudiation of inevitable social change divests

these churches of effective dialogue with new cultural identities and stands the danger of retaining moribund traditions for progenies. According to Bevans (2002:27),

> *Contextualization* points to the fact that theology needs to interact and dialogue not only with traditional cultural value, but with social change, new ethnic identities, and the conflicts that are present as the contemporary phenomenon of globalization encounters the various people of the world'.

This is not to despise the importance of tradition in giving a sense of community and stability to the Church. The point here is that until churches work towards authentic contextualization, contemporary and future generations may not find in these churches 'a place to feel at home' (Walls 1996: Welbourn and Ogot 1966). Notwithstanding, it is also important for the Church not to be oblivious of the fact that whilst on the one hand, indigenization has the tendency of producing 'fossilized theology', ignoring the socio-cultural dynamics of society, on the other hand, unguided or irresponsible contextualization also has the tendency of producing 'chameleon theology', uncritically changing colour according to every wind of change in each context. Shoki Coe therefore recommends what he calls 'contextuality-contextualization' (Coe 1976:21), similar to what Paul Hiebert at al. (2000:174) call 'critical contextualization'.

6.3.2   *Adapting the PIWC Model for the Entire Church of Pentecost*

After implementing the PIWC model for almost ten years, the leadership of the CoP observed that the issue of gender segregation, women's head-covering and make-up among others, have continued to be major concerns and sources of embarrassment to some members of the Church, and visitors to some CoP congregations. For example, during the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the CoP in 2003,[2] the then General

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[2] Although Peter Anim affiliated his Church to the UK Apostolic Church in 1935 and McKeown came to the then Gold Coast in 1937, the CoP recognises 1953, the year in which McKeown's faction seceded from the UK Apostolic Church, as its beginning.

Secretary of the Church, Apostle Alfred Koduah presented a paper on 'The Church of Pentecost in a Postmodern Society'.[3] He argued:

> It is on record that The Church of Pentecost has lost a considerable number of young people to the Neo-Pentecostal Churches, whose practices seem not to be too rigid and appear to be 'modernised' and therefore more enticing and appealing to the intelligentsia and the youth (Koduah 2004:107).

He further divided the CoP's mission praxis into what he calls 'negotiables' and 'non-negotiables'. He then invites the Church to re-examine the 'negotiable' practices in order to determine their continued relevance or otherwise, in postmodern Ghana. He defines these negotiables as 'non-biblically directed ethos, which have become church traditions over the years'. Koduah outlines some of the practices he considered 'negotiable' such as gender segregation and general administrative structures. He then pointedly argued that the Church must be bold and honest enough to discard those practices that have lost their relevance in contemporary society (Koduah 2004:127-132).

Similarly, in November 2009, the college of Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists of the CoP, led by Apostle Opoku Onyinah, the then chairman of the Church, had a meeting in Accra to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the CoP's mission praxis. They held plenary sessions as well as series of workshops to examine religious practices and traditions in the CoP that can be considered as 'yokes' or 'obstacles' to people's salvation in the Church. They took their lessons mainly from Paul's teachings on the old and new covenants as found in 2 Corinthians Chapter Three. They also studied Jesus' confrontation with the Pharisees' attempt to defend and preserve religious rules and traditions as shown in the Gospels. Teaching on the subject, 'Transformation into the Image of Christ', a sermon he preached at the that meeting and later published into a book, *No One May See God and Live: Change into the Image of Christ,* in 2010, Onyinah noted that this sermon can help,

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[3] This paper was later published as a chapter in *McKeown Memorial Lectures* the following year (see Koduah 2004).

> Leaders to be abreast with the leading of the Spirit in order to avoid being soaked in traditions, which kill. It helps leaders to move their ministries and churches with the Lord as he moves, so that their ministries do not become ministries or churches of yesterday (Onyinah 2010)

By the end of the November 2009 heads' meeting, all the apostles, prophets and evangelists of the CoP seemed to have agreed to the fact that the issues of concern needed to be dealt with once and for all in the entire CoP. Accordingly, they took a major decision in transforming the CoP's mission praxis. On 2 February 2010, a communiqué was released to that effect, spelling out among other issues that female members should be allowed to come to church with their heads uncovered, if they wished to do so. This communiqué drew authority from the Scriptures as well as from the writings of the first chairman of the CoP, Revd James McKeown. Part of the communiqué indicated:

> We, members of the College of Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists of The Church of Pentecost, after deep reflections on trends in contemporary Church globally, and in The Church of Pentecost in particular, have collectively agreed on the following decisions to retain the church's growing youth and adult membership as well as open the doors to people of different socio-economic backgrounds to have unhindered access to total gospel in its churches worldwide: that, the issue of head covering which has been a source of embarrassment to female visitors to the church over the years has no categorical biblical foundation as a requirement for salvation and should as such not be imposed on church members or visitors to the church's worship services; that, having fully examined the women head covering passage of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, it has become obvious that, what Paul wanted to put across was not clear; that, a critical examination of historical records such as Circulars of successive Chairmen of the Church from 1953 to 2007 revealed that, the forefathers of the Church, particularly the founder, Rev. James McKeown did not discourage or encourage the covering of the head by women; but had rather admonished the church through a Circular letter of August 7, 1957 that the leaders should not meddle in the private affairs of church members by prescribing dress codes for them. He had taught that church members dress decently and modestly (CoPCL 02/02/2010).

It is obvious that their decision was an attempt to respond to the socio-cultural dynamics brought about by globalization within the society in which they lived. The content of the communiqué gives an indication that the introduction of the PIWC was not enough to mitigate the exodus of the youth and some adult members from the Church. Part of the communiqué alleged that many denominations in Ghana were also faced with similar challenges which need to be attended to.

Prior to the release of this communiqué, Koduah presented a paper about women's head-covering to the collage of apostles, prophets and evangelists of the CoP

during their prayer meeting in January 2010. In that paper, he indicated interviews he had with the leaders of some churches in Ghana. These included the Methodist Church Ghana, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, the Apostolic Church of Ghana and the Ghana Baptist Convention. Others were the Assemblies of God Church in Ghana, Christ Apostolic Church International, the Deeper Life Bible Church in Ghana, Christ Reformed Church and the Four-Square Gospel Church. Koduah argued that women's head-covering had remained controversial and a major challenge for many of these Christian denominations in Ghana (Koduah 2010:69-84). The decision of the CoP to handle the issue of women head-covering as well as other religious traditions, therefore had implications, not only for the CoP, but also for Ghana's Christianity in general. The leaders of the CoP saw these traditions as culturally and not necessarily theologically motivated. The communiqué thus concluded:

> Female visitors in decent trousers and Rastafarians or persons in dread locks [sic] be accepted in fellowship in the spirit of Christian love, while couples or families desiring to sit together at church be allowed to sit under the feet of Jesus to learn. … The College believes that the early church when confronted with culturally motivated traditions, resolved the matter by appealing to the Scripture and the Holy Spirit. It appreciates, also, that the founder of the Church, Pastor James McKeown like the apostle Paul, provided a biblical pattern for global church growth whereby teachings that are cardinal to salvation are to be kept (2 Thess 2: 13-15), and others that were only religiously or culturally biased could be changed (Gal. 1:14). The College hereby urges all church members to accommodate one another in love and unity, and for the glory of God (1 Cor. 10:23-33) and joins Apostle Paul in stating: "Give no offense, either to the Jews, or to Greeks or to the Church of God (1 Cor. 10:32) (CoPCL 02/02/2010).

The scope of issues handled by this letter was undoubtedly broader than what the PIWCs were dealing with. Explicitly, issues of Rastafarians or persons in dreadlocks were not attended to in the PIWC model. Again, the leaders were drawing from a model used by the Apostle Paul in the Bible and James McKeown in the CoP. This model, the leaders pointed out, seeks to preserve doctrines that are cardinal to salvation (probably what Koduah calls 'non-negotiables') yet allows for changes in practices that are considered religious and cultural (as in Koduah's 'negotiables') as and when the need arises. In an interview with Apostle Professor Opoku Onyinah (at the time he was the chairman of the CoP), he explained that McKeown's mission praxis was very flexible

especially when it comes to handling cultural practices. It was his flexibility in adapting to the Ghanaian culture, that made the CoP 'a place to feel at home' for the Ghanaians. He therefore contended that if McKeown was alive today, he would have endorsed the various changes in the Church's praxis outlined in the communiqué (Onyinah 25/09/2018).

6.3.3   Reactions to the Communiqué

Whilst some members of the CoP and some non-members applauded the bold and courageous decision of the Church's leadership in transforming its cultural practices, others bemoaned and condemned the decision, calling for a reversion to the cherished traditions of the Church. It must be indicated that a certain level of reaction to the communiqué was anticipated by the leaders before they released it. In his research on *The Woman's head-covering in Church*, Alfred Koduah predicted that if the head-covering tradition in the CoP is transformed, the NG will celebrate whilst the OG will lament (Koduah 2010:91-2). Yet it was not anticipated that the reaction could become a national issue to be discussed and debated on radio and television stations as well as published in the newspapers.

Surprisingly, before the communiqué got to the various CoP congregations to be read in the churches, some media stations got it from the CoP's website and began to announce it. Regrettably, some of these stations misinterpreted the content by stating that the CoP has relaxed its stance on holiness and has opened the floodgate that any kind of dressing should be accepted in the Church. This news sparked sharp reactions from a cross-section of the church members, as well as the Ghanaian community in general. Some people questioned the spirituality of the leaders who met to take such decision. For example, one deaconess of the CoP approached me to express her anger and worry about the fact that the legacies of James McKeown had been trodden into the

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ground. She warned, 'Mark this, Jesus is coming within these days. If the Church of Pentecost, which was a holy Church, a Church that has a covenant with God could fall to this level, then the Bible is true that in the last days, people will abandon the faith to follow deceiving spirits and teachings of demons' (probably quoting from 1 Timothy 4:1).

The communique also took a centre stage in most newspapers in Ghana for a few days. The surge of newspaper reactions on the issue is evidence of its importance within the Ghanaian communities. *Daily Graphic* reports, for example include, 'Pentecost New Dress Code Causes Stir' (Salia 17/02/2010), and 'Invitation to Worship: Dress Codes and Other Matters' (Wireko 03/03/2010) while *The Ghanaian Times* had 'The Church of Pentecost Relaxes Morality Rules' (Markwei 17/02/2010), 'The Age-Old Controversy of Head-Covering in Church: Church of Pentecost Wades into the Fray' (Antoh 25/02/2010b), 'Church of Pentecost and Head-Covering' (Antoh 26/02/2010a) and 'The Pentecost Church Becomes More Inclusive' (Awunyo-Akaba 04/03/2010). Similarly, the *Daily Guide* published 'Pentecost Change' (Akosua 17/02/2010) and 'Oh, Church of Pentecost! Changes in Moral Code: Queer and Unbiblical' (Arhinful 27/02/2010); *The Spectator* had 'Ears on Wheels: Do Our Churches Need Dress Codes?' (Cobba-Biney 20/02/2010) and 'The Pentecostal Boogie Down' (Alomele 27/02/2010). In addition *The Chronicle* published 'Pastor Stunned by Pentecostal Decree' (Mensah 19/03/2010) and 'What Crime has The Church of Pentecost Committed?' (Editorial 22/03/2010). The various reactions to the communiqué reveal the extent to which the Ghanaian community, was concerned about the traditions being discussed (For detailed discussion of these newspaper publications, see Koduah 2010).

Despite these reactions, many of the NG in the CoP, especially students and university graduates, expressed their satisfaction with the transformations taking place in the Church in the focus group discussions. Concerning gender segregation, Monica

argued that in contemporary Ghana, gender segregation is not part of other social gatherings such as funerals, weddings, schools and even community meetings. Men and women sit together in buses and other public transport and join the same queues. She asked, 'If society in general does not segregate gender, why should the Church insist on such a practice?' (Monica FGKNUST 17/08/2018). Joe also maintained, 'We should allow people to sit comfortably during church services. Sitting position at church should not be a problem since it has no effect on our salvation' (Joe FGKNUST 17/08/2018). Yaa argued, 'Whether we sit separate or sit together, what is important to us is to please God. Times have changed and what we have been doing fifty years ago cannot continue today' (Yaa FGKNUST 17/08/2018).

Concerning women's head-covering, Joe contended that the CoP should not make strange doctrines out of head-covering. People who want to cover their hair should feel free to do so but those who feel they do not want to cover their hair should also be allowed (Joe FGKNUST 17/08/2018). Agnes noted that some deaconesses are still upholding the head-covering tradition in some local congregations. They have even gone to the extent of selling head scarves for those who come to church without it. This, she considered very unfortunate, especially when the CoP has moved away from these customs (Agnes FGPU 20/05/2018). Concerning dressing, the young people maintained that what the Church need to emphasise is modesty, not rules. They argued that it is not the covering of hair that makes a person more spiritual (Eyram & Joe FGKNUST 17/08/2018).

Listening to the NG, it became apparent that the transformations initiated in the CoP to contextualize its mission praxis to meet the contemporary needs of young people, have been able to achieve its purpose, at least among the NG. The statistics of the CoP indicate that as at the end of 2018, 73 per cent of the Church's membership in Ghana was made up of children and youth below 36 years. The report further indicates

that in the year 2018, whilst adult membership (36 years and above) grew by 4.4 per cent, youth membership (13 to 35 years) grew by 10.4 per cent and children membership grew by 6.7 per cent (Nyamekye 2019). Albeit church statistics can be problematic, physical observation of the CoP's age demography corroborates a Church with a growth in the numbers of children and youth. These can be interpreted to validate the satisfaction expressed by the NG about contemporary transformation in the CoP. Nevertheless, there were other NG members of the CoP who still have some amount of dissatisfaction with the Church's praxis, and these have been discussed in the next chapter.

The contentment expressed by the NG should not be taken to mean that they loathe the legacies and old practices of the CoP. When asked about practices of the CoP that makes them feel at home, they mentioned among others: spontaneity in liturgy, spirituality in worship, the theme songs, financial management policies, zeal for evangelism, emphasis on holiness and church discipline, systematic Bible studies, prayer and fasting (Daniel & Wise FGPU 20/05/2018; FGKNUST 17/08/2018). The implications of these observations are varied. First, the NG are not against Pentecostal spirituality practised in the Church, they rather cherish it and would want it sustained. They are also not against holiness and discipline. They, nonetheless, do not see ladies wearing trousers as a lowering of holiness as the OG see it. The NG do not despise church discipline. Their concern about discipline is how it is carried out. They argued that discipline should be carried out in love rather than the current attempt by some church leaders to name, shame, judge, and condemn.

Similarly, their concern about traditions is that the Church should be able to discard fossilized traditions and antiquated customs that in their estimations, are no longer relevant to contemporary Christianity (Kwasi, Baabra & Coby FGKNUST 17/08/2019). An important observation here is that there are many common practices

cherished by both the OG and the NG. The points of divergence lie in how each of the generational blocs understands these practices and the approach they would adopt to their practical applications. The gap existing among the generations in the Church may further be understood by assessing the impact of the age-segregated services in the Church as will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. Since there are no intentional opportunities for the generations to interact, they may even disagree on something they all pursue from different perspectives. Likewise, the lack of intentional intergenerational interactions can breed false impressions in the minds of each generational bloc concerning the other. This needs to be further explored and attended to.

6.4   Tell the Next Generation: Further Efforts to Impact Generations

In 2013, the leadership of the CoP drew up a five-year vision (Vision 2018) covering the period, 2013–2018. The theme for this vision was 'Impacting Generations', and its focus was on nurturing and impacting the younger generations of the CoP for a responsible mission (CoPHQ 2013). It was explained in the summary of the vision document that:

> The vision aims at making a conscious effort to adequately prepare and hand over the leadership of the church to a generation that did not have a direct contact with the founding leaders of The Church of Pentecost. Similar to the book of Deuteronomy, the beliefs and practices of the church are presented from diverse angles, in such ways that together with the exemplary lives of the leaders, the generations following will be impacted. The Pentecostal fire will be fanned through our very lives so as to impact generations now and in the future (CoPHQ 2013:11).

Clearly, two sources of motivation for this agenda of impacting generations is discernible from the passage above. First, is the acknowledgement of the fact that the Church was preparing to hand over leadership to 'a generation that did not have a direct contact with the founding leaders of the Church of Pentecost'. This must be understood from the backdrop that the then chairman, Apostle Professor Opoku Onyinah (who was then starting his second five-year term as chairman of the Church, after which he would

retire from the full-time pastoral ministry in 2018), was the last of CoP's chairmen who had had a direct contact with James McKeown.

Opoku Onyinah was called into full-time ministry of the CoP in 1976 at age 22. He therefore served for at least, six years as a pastor of the CoP before McKeown retired from active service and left Ghana. Apart from Onyinah, it was realised that all other ministers of the CoP who had such direct contact with the founding leaders of the Church would have gone on retirement by the year 2022 (CoP Ministers' Profile 2013). The implication was that the over 2,000[4] ministers of the CoP would have belonged to a generation that did not have any direct contact with the founding fathers of the Church. This observation can be extrapolated to include the lay leaders of the CoP. Many of the Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses who knew McKeown and worked with him have died. Others who claimed to have known him and are still alive are either on retirement or approaching retirement. This was clear during the fieldwork for this research as the majority of the OG interviewed were retirees.

The second source of motivation for the Impacting Generations agenda was connected to the biblical metaphor of Moses and his generation, who were about to exit the scene and hand over leadership to Joshua and the NG of Israelites. This links up with the observation that the CoP was in an epoch of generational transition. Just as Moses laid hands on Joshua and impacted him with Spiritual gifts (Deut. 34) so also the leaders of the CoP have the responsibility to impact the next generation with the 'Pentecostal fire'. The belief that, 'some things are taught, others are caught' has become a popular axiom in the CoP. As has been discussed in Chapter Five, Pentecostals believe that, 'fire' is one of the symbols representing the Holy Spirit. So, the statement, 'The Pentecostal fire will be fanned through our very lives to impact generations now and in the future' hints that the CoP needs a model that would provide

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[4] Globally, the CoP had a total of 2,386 ministers as at December 2017 (Onyinah 2018:40).

increasing opportunities for intergenerational gatherings. With age-segregated services, how does the 'very lives' of the OG impact the NG?

Again, in his introduction to the Vision 2018 document, Onyinah, explained:

We want to help our youth grow in faith and develop the skill to understand the word of God through the leading of the Spirit … For us to impact the incoming generations they must see our commitment, sacrifices, love for the Lord and the Pentecostal fire burning in us. Nothing apart from 'birth' can do the job of impartation. We give birth to our likeness … The apostle Paul boldly declared, "Follow my example, as I follow the example of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1, NIV).

Again, he told his son Timothy, "You, however, know all about my teaching, my way of life, my purpose, faith, patience, love, endurance, persecutions, sufferings — what kinds of things happened to me in Antioch, Iconium and Lystra, the persecutions I endured. Yet the Lord rescued me from all of them. In fact, everyone who wants to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted" (2 Tim 3:10-12, NIV). (CoPHQ 2013).

It is clear here that the transfer of leadership traits such as commitment, sacrifice, love for the Lord and the manifestation of the 'Pentecostal fire' was not just going to happen through teaching in age-segregated Sunday School classes.

In Onyinah's explanations, the NG must 'see … in us' for themselves. This also connects with the description Paul gave about Timothy's knowledge of his life and ministry. It suggests that Timothy might have been with Paul to observe his teaching, way of life, purpose, faith, patience, love, endurance, persecutions, sufferings and what happened to him in his missionary tours. Knowing that it is not everything that can be taught about the Holy Spirit and the values indicated in the vision, the NG must have experiential knowledge and 'catch' aspects of this 'fire' through observation and participation. Intentional attempts were made to teach the ministers and lay leaders about the need to transmit the legacies of the Church to the next generation. Many of these teachings were compiled into books, usually with the titles, *Tell the Next Generation* (Ntumy 2008; Onyinah 2013) or *Impacting Generations* (Onyinah 2014; Onyinah & Ntumy 2017). Here again, the impact of McKeown's mission praxis on the CoP are clearly observed when some of these books intended to 'tell' and 'impact' the next generations, were dedicated to James McKeown (see photographs of the book covers and dedication pages in appendix 3).

Whilst the leadership of the Church were making these efforts of transmitting the legacies of the CoP to posterity, the researchers' personal interactions with a cross-section of CoP members reveal that some of the OG members of the Church still consider the transformations described above as carnal and deviation from the CoP's cherished conventions. They have concerns about why women are allowed to wear trousers to church and keep their hair uncovered during worship. One female member told me in a conversation that, 'what is more worrying is that some deaconesses and pastors' wives, who are expected to be 'good examples', also go to church with their hair uncovered' (Personal Communication: Asantewaa 21/01/2016).

In 2015 and 2016, my family moved to East Legon, one of the communities in Accra. In the district where we fellowshipped, there was a woman who was concerned about my wife. Whenever my wife went to church without head scarf, this woman would call her aside and advise her not to follow the contemporary teachings that have crept into the church. In 2017, Apostle MC Asiedu[5] and I were on an official assignment to Abuakwa in Kumasi - Ashanti Region, to hold a retreat with the pastors and lay leaders of the Church in that Area. On the last night of what we considered a very successful and spirit-filled retreat, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions for clarification. Just before the session ended, the issue of women's head-covering was raised. Knowing the controversial nature of the subject and the fact that we were about to end the meeting, the answer was referred to the Area head to be considered at another appropriate forum. To my surprise, there was a spontaneous 'Nooo!!!' from the participants, who were mainly leaders of the Church. This clearly suggests that though, enough education had been given, there still exist, certain level of dissatisfaction among a cross-section of members of the CoP, on some of these transformations that had taken place within the Church.

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[5] He is a senior minister in the CoP and was then the Head of all the CoP churches in Suame area within the Kumasi metropolis.

Meanwhile, as described earlier in this chapter, the younger generation also appreciate the transformations, considering the older generation as out of date. One of the causes of this generational rift, this research contends, is the age-segregated models that are being used in the Church. As a result of this model, there seem to be no intentional mutual interaction among the generations in the Church on regular basis. As a result, each generation have their own assumptions about the other. This gives the indication that there is the need to further reflect on the generational problem, theologically and missiologically in order to propose an approach that can facilitate understanding among the generations.

6.5　The Metaphor of New Wine and Old Wineskins

Jesus' parable of the new wine and old wineskin reveals an age-old challenge of how each generation attempts to preserve old traditions for posterity (Lk 5:27-39). One of the challenges Jesus dealt with during his earthly ministry was to confront archaic traditions as well as old Jewish ceremonial forms and customs, which were incompatible with his message about the Kingdom of God (Shenk 2005). The major challenge of the Jewish sects was that before Jesus' incarnation into their society, they had formed their theological understanding of 'ideal' godly living. Two of these ideals are very explicit in the Lucan narrative of 'new wine in old wineskin' metaphor. First, a godly person should not associate with sinners and tax collectors. Second, a true worshipper of God should fast regularly and pray publicly as a sign of spirituality towards God. As a result of this background, when the Pharisees and Scribes saw Jesus and his disciples eating and drinking in Levi's house, together with 'a large number of tax collectors', they were outraged.

It is wrong to assume that the major glitches Jesus encountered with the Pharisees, always emerged from jealousy. Rather, Jesus did not quite fit into their theological

model of a religious person. He was 'a problem for Jewish culture, for he did not conform to the patterns of Jewish behaviour and conduct. Here is Gospel and culture interaction right at the heart of Jewish society' (Bediako 1999:2). Commenting on the conflict between Jesus and the Jews, Luke Johnson, an American New Testament scholar and historian of early Christianity, contended:

> The note of conflict that was sounded in the healing of the paralytic now becomes explicit in the series of controversy stories … They reflect the disputations between the early messianists and their (largely Jewish) opponents over the identity and claims of Jesus, and the validity of their own practices with the symbolic world of Judaism. The controversies tend to fall into set forms, and resemble the kind of disputes that took place all over the Hellenistic world between philosophical schools (both Jewish and Gentile) (Johnson 1991:86).

For the Pharisees, Jesus contradicts many religious regulations, yet he claimed to be the Son of God and people followed him as the Messiah. In the biblical narrative under consideration, it is apparent that Jesus was at variance with time-tested traditions piously observed by the Pharisees as well as John and his disciples. That is why they confronted him: 'Why do you eat and drink with tax collectors and sinners? … John's disciples often fast and pray, and so do the disciples of the Pharisees, but yours go on eating and drinking' (Lk 5:30, 33). They could not understand why Jesus would not follow what they saw as laid down religious traditions, if he was really from God. Craig Keener noted that among the Jews, 'A teacher was regarded as responsible for the behaviour of his disciples' (Keener 1993:370). By their estimation therefore, Jesus did not qualify to be a teacher.

In response to these reactions, Jesus raised some theological issues relevant for mission. Five of them have been identified as follows: One, those who are healthy have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; Jesus came, not because of the righteous, but to bring sinners to repentance (Matt 9:14-17; Mk 2:18-22; Lk 5:31-32). Two, wedding guests do not fast while the bridegroom is with them; they fast when the bridegroom is taken away from them (Lk 5:35). Three, no one tears a piece from a new garment and puts it on an old garment; if that happens, the new will be destroyed and

the piece from the old would not match (Lk 5:36). Four, no one puts new wine into old wineskins; if that is attempted, both the wine and the skins will be destroyed. New wine must be put into fresh wineskins (Lk 5:37-38). Five, no one after drinking old wine desires the new, for he says, 'The old is good' (Lk 5:39). These are deep theological and missiological issues that require reflections. For the purpose of this thesis, however, only the last two will be discussed.

First, 'No one puts new wine into old wineskins. If he does, the new wine will burst the skins and it will be spilled, and the skins will be destroyed. But new wine must be put into fresh wineskins'. In his explanation to this statement, Wilbert Shenk observed:

> Questions were soon raised about the way the disciples of Jesus, in contrast to those of John the Baptist, were departing from traditional practice with regard to fasting. Jesus responded by interpreting his ministry in new terms. A new age was dawning, he said, in which the old rules no longer made sense. To clarify this point Jesus told two parables. He said the sensible person does not tear a piece of cloth off a new garment and use it to patch a hole in an old one; likewise, it is foolish to pour new wine into an old wineskin (Matt. 9:14–17; Mark 2:18–22; Luke 5:33–39). In effect, said Jesus, we must pay attention to what God the Holy Spirit is doing in a particular time and place. Forms and practices are not sacrosanct (Shenk 2005:78).

For Shenk, the new wine in the parable stands for a new age while the old wineskins represent out-dated rules that make no meaning in contemporary terms. In the words of MacDonald, the old wineskins represent outmoded, forms, ordinances, traditions, and rituals. Shenk therefore suggest that since forms and traditions are not sacrosanct, in each generation and place, there is the need to be sensitive to what God is doing, rather than holding on to old traditions (Shenk 2005:78).

Consequently, Jesus' parable meant that new generations must have fresh reflections on their theological formulations and traditions. Any attempt to force new generations into old theological formulations, will cause both to be destroyed. The good news Jesus brought was producing a new community of believers (new wine), which requires new theological understanding (new wineskins). Shenk therefore insists, 'To carry out this witness [of the good news of Jesus] has invariably required new structures and forms appropriate to the cultural context. Old wineskins cannot handle new wine'

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(Shenk 2005:79). Andrew Walls contended that there has never been any society or culture,

> In East or West, ancient time or modern, which could absorb the word of Christ painlessly into its system. Jesus within the Jewish culture, Paul within the Hellenistic Culture, take it for granted that there will be rubs and frictions – not from the adoption of a new culture, but from the transformation of the mind towards that of Christ. (Walls 1996:8).

Walls therefore describes the gospel 'as prisoner and liberator of culture' (Walls 1996:3-15). The implication of this is that the gospel's encounter with any culture, invariably results in certain transformations within the culture. These transformations both approve and challenge existing forms and traditions of cultures (Bediako 1999:2). The ability of the Church to maintain a critical balance of continuity and discontinuity between such pre-existing traditions and emerging cultures is critical to the survival of the Church in any generation. Harvey Cox asserted:

> For any religion to grow in today's world, it must possess two capabilities: it must be able to include and transform at least certain elements of pre-existing religions which still retain a strong grip on the cultural subconscious. It must also equip people to live in rapidly changing societies where personal responsibility and inventiveness, skills associated with democratic polity and entrepreneurial economy, are indispensable (Cox 1995:218-19).

Cox's assertion reveals how important Jesus' parable is in contemporary generation as it was in Jesus' day. The rapidly changing societies suggest that faith communities must constantly be equipped with skills that will enable them to translate their faith in contemporary terms. On his part, Padwick contended, 'There is danger in having a fixed theology, or a theology insensitive to the changes of context. It can hinder the communication of the gospel in contemporary society' (Padwick 2018:24).

The more problematic statement in Jesus' parable is when he said, 'And no one after drinking old wine wants the new, for they say, "The old is better"' (Lk 5:39). According to Judith Lieu, a British New Testament scholar, this 'final saying [of Jesus] may imply that: of course, those familiar with the old will reject the untried and unfamiliar taste of the new' (Lieu 2012:46). This view is corroborated by Johnson when he argued:

The final parabolic statement–found only in Luke–reminds us again of the capacity of this message to repel as well as to attract, and the way in which the visitation of the prophet creates a division within the people. Those who are most accustomed to the old wine will not even taste the new; the old, they say, is good enough. To drink the new wine offered at Jesus' banquet, to wear the new garment for his wedding feast, one must have a new heart, go though metanoia, a change of mind, such as that shown by tax-agents and sinners (Johnson 1991:86).

This is where, all generations are at risk and will need a reflection. This profound statement Jesus made, traverses the New Testament and manifested throughout the history of global Christianity and still persists in contemporary Christian mission. Starting from the New Testament, it is evident that Jesus had to defend the disciples severally against the imposition of traditions by the Pharisees. These include eating with sinners (Mtt 9:10-17; Mk 2:13-17; Lk 5:30-32), not fasting (Mtt 9:14-15; Mk 2:18-18; Lk 5:33-35), and not washing hands (Matt 15:1-10; Mk 7:1-8; Lk 11:37-41). Later in their ministry, they were able to defend themselves amid persecution from the chief priests and the religious leaders (Ac 4:1-22). This shows the extent to which they moved from the entanglement of religious rules and structures.

Regrettably, when the faith was moving to the Gentiles, these same disciples found it difficult to cope with what God was doing. Undoubtedly, Peter was following Jesus when they sat at table with tax collectors in Levi's house, yet, Peter struggled with going to Cornelius' house (Ac 10). When Peter finally went and had a successful mission with these Gentiles, Luke reveals that, 'The circumcised believers who had come with Peter were astonished that the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on Gentiles (Ac 10:46). Peter himself was surprised that, 'They have received the Holy Spirit just as we have' (Ac 10:47). Why were they astonished? MacDonald explained that the natural reluctance of men to abandon the old forms for the new is evident when Jesus said one who is accustomed to old forms does not appreciate the new (MacDonald 1989:1389).

Further, Peter had to face strict opposition with the Jewish believers in Jerusalem for going to the home of a Gentile and eating with them. We read in the Scriptures that,

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> Soon the news reached the apostles and other believers in Judea that the Gentiles had received the word of God. But when Peter arrived back in Jerusalem, the Jewish believers criticized him. 'You entered the home of Gentiles and even ate with them!' they said (Ac. 11:1-3).

Admittedly, Levi, the apostle (who is Matthew, the tax collector, in whose house Jesus and the disciples were accused of eating with sinners) might have been one of the people who criticised Peter! They have also drunk their own wine 'and says it is better' so will not give way for any other wine. This has always been the nature of the gospel-culture encounter. The CoP's reactions to the establishment of the PIWCs and the communiqué on head covering as discussed earlier in this chapter are only examples of how each people group and each generation attempts to protect their cultural heritage without giving much consideration to the cultural differences experienced by others. This also does not mean that the message of the gospel should be compromised in our attempts to be relevant to different cultures. It rather illustrates the need for critical contextualization whenever the gospel is being transmitted into different geographical or generational cultures.

It is contended in this chapter that the problem is neither the wine nor the wineskin, but the person who drinks the wine. Because after drinking a wine and seeing that it is good, he does not desire for the new, for he says the old is better. It must be emphasized that every culture (including emerging cultures) into which the gospel is preached must be seen as new wine, requiring fresh wineskin (theological formulations). It must also be understood that every old wineskin was once fresh, and every fresh wineskin will become old. From Jesus' metaphor, it will not be appropriate to take old wineskins from any place or time to collect the new wine because old wineskins cannot hold new wine securely. It is therefore important to work towards producing new wineskins at all places and in all generations (Shenk 2005:78; Lk 5:27-39).

A major challenge is how to identify the appropriate ways of developing theologies that will be relevant to cultures, irrespective of socio-cultural dynamics.

Putting down a rigid framework or structured model for mission may not be appropriate since no society or culture is calcified. Principles underlying mission praxis can be established by way of models, through which mission organizations and churches at any point in time should be able to shape mission activities that can be adapted to each context with responsible freedom. This can be done if missionaries and theologians are sensitive to the leading of the Holy Spirit to identify what God is doing with a particular context, while the gospel message he carries remains a 'prisoner and liberator' of the cultures (Walls 1996:3). It is important to always remember that every theology is within a context (Bevans 2002:3) and that a contextual theology should take the gospel, the context as well as church traditions seriously (Schreiter 1985:20).

6.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, the paradox of preserving the Church's heritage for the next generation has been identified. It was observed that members of the OG, who insist on preserving CoP's heritage, were actually concerned about the next generation whilst at the same time, those who initiated changes in the Church's traditions and practices, were also concerned about the next generation. Secondly, it has been recognized that both those who attempted to bring transformations into the Church's practices and those who opposed these transformations, used the name of McKeown as authority. The constant reference to McKeown in the transmission agenda has been described in this chapter as the process of routinization in the CoP as defined by Weber (1996:37) and Ukah (2008:81-82).

Whilst the older generation were concerned about the routinization of McKeown's legacy, a process of revitalization, activated by globalization, had already started among the younger generation and this led to the institution of PIWCs in the CoP, similar to model parishes in the RCCG (Ukah 2008:112). Unlike the RCCG, where unity parishes

were later established to bridge the gap between the classical RCCG parishes and the model parishes (Ukah 2008:112-116), the CoP rather introduced the practices of the PIWCs into the traditional CoP congregations. Although these transformations have been able to sustain the young people in the Church to a large extent, this chapter argued that the lack of regular mutual interaction among the generations has contributed to the widening generational gap in the CoP. Irrespective of which generation one belongs, all Christians must keep studying the Scriptures and understanding it both in the context in which it was originally written and that into which it exists today in order to critically contextualise the Church's mission for each generation.

To understand the root of this problem, Jesus's metaphor of new wine and old wineskins was used to discuss the persistent nature of the tendency to preserve old traditions for new generations and new cultural centres. It reminds us that continuity with the past is essential and unavoidable, but so is discontinuity. To be able to transmit the Church's heritage to succeeding generations in contextually relevant ways, whilst mitigating the gap between the generations, the chapter contended that there is the need for the CoP to adopt a mission model that has the ability to incarnate into the various prevailing cultures of Ghana. A model that respects and deals the with deep-seated socio-cultural, spiritual, political and economic needs of the older generations and at the same time favours and responds to younger generations, whose cultures are continuously changing due to the insurgence of globalization aided by technological innovations. This attempt has been discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TOWARDS AN INTERGENERATIONAL MISSIOLOGY

7.1 Introduction

Chapters Three, Four and Five discussed McKeown's mission thought, spirituality and

his quest to plant an indigenous church in Ghana. It was contended that to a large

extent, McKeown's ability to relate closely with indigenous Ghanaians and respond to

the African spirit world, as well as the contextual nature of his mission models

contributed significantly to the growth of the Church he led. In Chapter Six, it has been

acknowledged that although there is the need to contextualize McKeown's mission

praxis in contemporary terms for the CoP, the inclination to idealize the past and

preserve McKeown's mission models for posterity, is a major source of rift among the

generations in the Church. This generational rift, the research contends, is further

widened by lack of intentional mutual interactions among the generations in the CoP.

Chapter Six further identified this generational gap problem as a missiological

challenge, requiring fresh reflections in each generation.

In an attempt to respond to this generational gap problem from a missiological

perspective, this chapter proposes what I call an 'Intergenerational Mission Approach'

(IGMA) for the Church of Pentecost (CoP) in Ghana. Although this approach dialogues

considerably with the growing body of research on intergenerationality, its root derives

from a constellation of principles underlying James McKeown's mission thought, praxis

and theology in the CoP, Ghana. This method is intended to keep the IGMA

contextually and missiologically relevant. It is hoped that the approach will strengthen

the CoP's mission praxis by challenging complacency and ecclesiastical impulses to

self-preservation, capable of preventing the Church from being missional in a rapidly changing society. David Bosch argued:

> Missiology acts as a gadfly in the house of theology, creating unrest and resisting complacency, opposing every ecclesiastical impulse to self-preservation, every desire to stay what we are, every inclination toward provincialism and parochialism, every fragmentation of humanity into regional or ideological blocs, every exploitation of some sectors of humanity by the powerful, every religious, ideological, or cultural imperialism, and every exaltation of the self-sufficiency of the individual over other people or over other parts of creation (Bosch 2011:508).

Thus, the IGMA is an attempt to respond to the problem of self-preservation and the fragmentation of the CoP into generational blocs, whilst drawing attention to the importance of tradition and the role of experience in Christian mission.

7.2   The Concept of Intergenerationality in Africa

The past five decades have witnessed a surge of studies concerning generations and intergenerationality (Mannheim 1952; Pott 1967; McGavran 1970; Kraft 1979; Hilborn & Bird 2002; Whyte et al. 2008; Hilborn 2017; Chancey & Bruner 2017; Allen & Ross 2012; White 2017; Allen 2018). Despite this increasing literature in the field, defining generations has continued to be a complex task because there are no simple indicators for what a generation is. Writing from a sociological perspective, David Kertzer (1993:125), for example identifies that there are multiple meanings to the term 'generation'. He suggested that generations can be categorised either as principle of kinship descent, cohorts, life stage, or historical period. Similarly, Drury et al. observed that generational identity in a typical workplace may differ from what the term could mean in a family or health settings (Drury et al. 2017:11).

Different typologies, especially from sociological and anthropological perspectives, have been used to delineate generations. The most popular characterizations follow the pattern of Neil Howe and William Strauss (1991), who broadly categorise them as: Generation I (born, 1901-1924), Builders (1925-45), Boomers (1946-63), Xers (1964-1981), Generation Y (also known as Millennials -

1982-1992) and later, Generation Z (1993 onwards) (Also see Hilborn & Bird 2002; White 2017). Although these classifications have chronological dates identifying them, there are other nuances, including the fact that each generation is marked by certain historical events such as World Wars I (1914-1918) and II (1939-1945) and could be described with specific social and behavioural character within epochs (Howe & Strauss 1991). It should, nonetheless, be acknowledged that not all who fall within such age brackets will fit such broad generalizations.

In Africa, the main context of this research, different historic, economic, political, religious and cultural matrices define societal changes and influence generational cohorts. Economically, for example, Africa's trade contacts with the Dutch and the Portuguese dates back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and subsequently, the English and the French. By the nineteenth century, Africa's trade with Europe had firmly been established (Igué 2010:155; Gifford 19982-3). The nineteenth century also saw the steady growth of Western Christian mission in Africa, although Christian missionary presence in Ghana dates back to the fifteenth century (Sanneh 1983:20). First converts to Christianity within this generation had to reject everything African and accept European way of life in order to be accepted into the Church (Gitau 2018:34).

Apart from trade and Christianity, the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth centuries were periods of huge colonial political influences. This same period witnessed the increasing interest in Western form of education and the generations around this era began to agitate for political, economic and religious independence (Gifford 1998:3). Emerging African Christianity of this era was drawn into the nationalist movements, rejecting Western forms of Christianity and made every attempt to Africanize the Christian faith (Gitau 2018:34). The mid-1950s into the 1970s therefore saw significant historical and socio-political transformations, marking the political independence of many African countries (Gifford 1998:4). The generations of this epoch were mostly

Pan-Africanists. Some political leaders in Africa, including Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, led liberation movements to free Africans from all foreign elements. Nkrumah's desire for the total liberation of Africa drew him close to the Mozama Disco Christo Church (MDCC) because of the latter's emphasis on the spiritual liberation of Christianity from Western influences (Burnett 1997:190-92). This epoch also marked the formative stages of the CoP as well as the developments of McKeown's mission models in Ghana.

Meanwhile, by the 1980s, political leadership had shifted from Pan-Africanists leaders to the hands of the military until another shift towards the democratization of the African nations by the 1990s in the midst of worsening economic conditions (Igué 2010:117; Gifford 1998:14-15). The same period marked the surge of information and communication technology, leading to increased global interactions, where many young people of that generation, including Christians, want to be part of the global community without losing their local identities. The global influence on the churches was mostly observed in the newer Pentecostal churches who 'internationalized' their names and appropriated the media for advertising church programmes and for propagating the gospel (Gifford 2004:30). By the beginning of the twenty-first century onwards, it became obvious that young people in African want to identify themselves as modern or post-modern Africans and not as traditional Africans. It is this generation of CoP members who now agitate for transformations in what was being preserved as McKeown's legacy in the Church, leading to the increase in awareness of the existence of generational gap among the generations in the Church.

Gathering research from different African countries, including: Uganda, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Ghana, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Benin, Gambia, Tanzania and Ethiopia; Susan R. Whyte et al. (2008:1-20) asserted in their introduction to *Generations in Africa: Connections and Conflicts* that, four major themes are crucial in generational studies in Africa. These include: i) reciprocity between generations and

kin; ii) the differential uses of the past in navigating the present; iii) generations as a factor in politics and iv) virtue as it is contested in intergenerational relations. These themes are of particular interest to this research.

For example, the theme of reciprocity among generations is understood as an informal contract in many African communities, bringing out the concept of mutual dependence between parents and their children as well as grandchildren. As suggested by Alber et al. (2008:6) reciprocity 'Captures both the sharing and transmission of resources and also mutual expressions of care and regard'. The interest of this research in intergenerational missiology, developed out of the search for an appropriate way by which both the older and the younger generations of the CoP could share their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ in culturally relevant ways and in an atmosphere of mutual dependence. Reciprocity as a theme therefore, carries this understanding and provides a missiological setting by which people of different generations can mutually interact during faith transmission with less generational rift.

Similarly, the second theme, 'differential uses of the past in navigating the present' vividly captures the aim of this research to use McKeown's mission models of the past to navigate the future of CoP's mission. The argument here is that the vast difference between McKeown's era and contemporary times does not permit the application of McKeown's mission models on a one-on-one basis in the CoP. This has led to the attempt to reinterprete McKeown's mission in a way that speaks readily into the contexts of both the older and emerging generations in Ghana.

Finally, the issue of 'virtue as it is contested in intergenerational relations' is crucial in the sense that in the face of globalization, what virtue means to one generation may be different from what it means to other generations. How then can virtue be transmitted in the context of faith formation, from one generation to the other? Mission

in intergenerational context provides a meeting place for merging the divergent views of the different generations in the Church.

This attempt is particularly crucial for the Church in Africa because in contrast to the massive decline in church attendance among the youth in the West (Jackson 2002:32; Brown 2009:193-98; Kinnaman 2011:21-35; Hilborn 2017:11-14; White, 2017: 21-65), the youth in Africa (especially south of the Sahara) seem to have directed their energy and zeal to church and Christian related activities in contemporary times (Dea 2008:11; Gitau 2018:3-5). Although it is true that Africa's demographic population is generally youthful as compared to that of the West, this is not enough to explain the huge decline in youthful demography in the Western church and the increasing youthful composition of the church in Africa. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the challenge of sustaining the zeal of these teeming youth in church is as enormous as the task of bringing 'drifted generations' back to church and must be taken seriously. In every society and in every generation, intentional efforts are needed for authentic discipleship and for maintaining the next generation in church whilst caring for the aged (Hilborn & Bird 2002; Payne 2016; Moore 2016; Allen 2018).

In carrying out this task, one challenge is obvious in both Western and African contexts – how to bridge the generational gap. This generational gap problem is one of the major problems that seems to have emerged in African Pentecostalism within recent times, especially as Pentecostal Christianity in Africa has travelled for about a century. For example, the problem of generational gap has been a major issue in churches like the MDCC (Burnett 1997) and the AoG (Frimpong-Manso 2018) in Ghana, the *Roho* churches in Kenya (Padwick 2003) and the RCCG in Nigeria (Ukah 2008).

7.3   Defining the Intergenerational Mission Approach

First of all, an attempt has been made to distinguish other generational terminologies from what is meant by intergeneration. Chancey and Bruner (2017) offer very insightful definitions for a range of generational terminologies, which I have adopted to use in describing the different generational concepts that can be encountered within a church setting:

i) Age-separated or age-segregated group; also known variously as generational fragmentation, generational segmentation or generational segregation (see also Allen & Ross 2012:30-32; Allen 2018:17-18). In this group, different generations are divided into separate groups based on age-specific needs or abilities for the purpose of helping them acquire knowledge, values and other important skills, at their own pace, using relevant teaching methods. The different age groups in this setting have very limited opportunities to mutually interact.

ii) Age-Inclusive group: This removes all age-based ministries and allows all age groups to participate in all activities together. This is an extreme opposite form of age-segregation. Though it provides a setting for mutual interaction, no provisions are made for meeting age-specific needs.

iii) Multi-generational group: This describes an organization comprising of different generations but does not guarantee intentional mutual interactions. It is in contrast with mono-generational groups where all the members of the group are almost of the same generation.

iv) Cross-generational group: This is where different generations are intentionally brought together to run the same programs. One generation (mostly the adult generation) is however, expected to be responsible for transmitting knowledge to

the younger ones who are expected to be passive receivers (Chancey & Bruner 2017:59-60; Allen 2018:17-18).

A major weakness of all these approaches is the conspicuous absence of intentional mutual interaction among the generations, whilst meeting age specific needs at the same time. According to Hilborn, one of the worse things that can happen to a community of people is the failure to respect the experience of the old, whilst favouring the young (Hilborn 2017:31). In the Old Testament, God warned the people of Israel that if they fail to fully obey His commands, He would bring upon them many cataclysmic punishments. One such punishment was to unleash a wicked nation to torment them; a nation that will neither respect the old nor favour the young (Dt 28:49-50). Hilborn sees the phrase 'favouring the young and respecting the old' in this Scripture verse, as very important for giving priority to 'intergenerational co-operation over generational segmentation, and serves as a vital caveat to the more distinctive "favouring of the young" that drives so much of the church's missional agenda today' (Hilborn 2017:31).

Intergenerationality therefore does not advocate for undue attention to young people to the neglect of the old. It is a call to provide opportunities for all generations to mutually relate. It involves the deliberate attempt to involve several generations in sharing Christian practices in ways that are mutually and spiritually formative (Hilborn & Bird 2002:49-52; Chancey & Bruner 2017:60; Allen 2018:17). The missiological agenda for such intergenerational approach is its ability to foster opportunities for the various generations to better understand and learn from each other through mutual interactions. The concept of reciprocity among generations in Africa, as well as the intentionality and mutuality of intergenerational interactions has the capacity to allow faith transmission to be incarnational. This is because whilst the young are intentional in respecting the old and learning from their rich experiences, the old are also cautious of

ethnocentric tendencies that can stifle authentic mission among emerging generations (Kinnaman 2001:96; Hilborn & Bird 2002; Whyte et al. 2008:6; White 2017:51).

In this thesis therefore, IGMA is defined as the deliberate mission approach in which the different generations within the church have the opportunity to mutually interact for the purpose of fostering faith relationships and expressions that facilitate the transmission of the Christian faith from one generation to another in culturally relevant ways. Whyte et al. argued, 'The most important quality of intergenerational relationships is reciprocity'. They further contended that reciprocity in African contexts captures both the sharing and transmission of material and immaterial resources and also infused with the concept of morality (Whyte et al. 2008:6). Consequently, Allen and Ross (2012:47-63) suggest that intergenerational interactions foster belonging, support for families, better use of resources, character growth and other unique benefits.

7.4   The CoP's Age-Segregated and Cross-Generational Approaches

The CoP can currently be described as a multi-generational Church, having 32.9 per cent children membership, 40 per cent youth membership and 27.1 per cent adult membership[1] (Nyamekye 2019:36). Its mission approach to generational cohorts at the moment is the age-segregated model. This is because a typical Sunday morning in a CoP congregation comprises of separate children classes (with different age consortiums), teens classes and adult church services. In congregations where there are no separate meeting places for children, they meet as first service, usually from 7:00 am-9:00 am. They normally close and go home before the adult service commences at 9:30 am.

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[1] In the CoP, those below the age of 13 years are counted as children members. The youth comprise of those who are from 13 years up to 35 yeas whilst those above 35 years of age are considered adults.

Apostle Fred Tiakor, the Children's Ministry Director of the CoP, indicates that before the inception of the age-segregated Children's Ministry (Sunday School) in the CoP, children were generally part of the main liturgy of the Church with adults. They accompanied their parents to church and participated actively in the church services. They therefore learnt by observing, participating and asking questions. They grew up in the Church and encountered Christ for themselves through the sermons and by following those they considered as models in the faith (Personal interview: Tiakor, 09/05/2019). The CoP officially adopted the age-segregated Sunday School system in 1972 to carry out the following age-specific responsibilities: i) Evangelise and lead children to personal knowledge of Christ as their Lord and Saviour ii) Prepare children to take their place in the body of Christ in a responsible way and into church membership after water baptism, iii) Nurture children to develop and grow up in Christ, holistically (Tiakor 2017:277).

Fred Tiakor is of the view that although the Sunday School system has served its purpose and continues to be an important model, there is the need for the CoP to introduce an intergenerational component for the holistic nurturing of children in the Church. He therefore advocates for an opportunity for the children to join the adult congregations for an 'intergenerational service' once each month, in addition to the existing Children's Ministry day observed once a year. Some congregations in the CoP have started using this approach and I had the opportunity to participate in a number of these services. Unfortunately, what is being practised now can best be described as cross-generational services because the children normally attend these services as passive participants. There are no intentional efforts to involve them as is expected of an intergenerational service.

The IGMA proposed by this thesis requires that the children and youth, be given the opportunity to fully participate in CoP services and see themselves as active

members of the Church and rather break into age-specific meeting places, preferably, twice in each month.[2] During church services, the young people should be given responsibilities and encouraged to take active part in all church activities as their abilities could allow. They could be involved in Bible reading, giving of testimonies, song ministration, playing of musical instruments, ushering and protocol, leading prayer sessions and preaching sermons, which are core activities of the CoP's liturgy. The Cape Town Commitment of the Lausanne Movement cogently contended:

> Children and young people are the Church of today, not merely of tomorrow. Young people have great potential as active agents in God's mission. They represent an enormous under-used pool of influencers with sensitivity to the voice of God and a willingness to respond to him … As we see in the Bible, God can and does use children and young – their prayer, their insights, their words, their initiatives – in changing hearts. They represent 'new energy' to transform the world. Let us listen and not stifle their childlike spirituality with our adult rationalistic approach (The Lausanne Movement 2011).

In short, Sunday services should not be seen as adult services. Children and youth should be guided to participate and be part of the services rather than being passive spectators. This approach also goes beyond Sunday morning church services to include other ministry and decision-making opportunities as could be supported by their abilities. The aim is to actively engage the young people in the mission of the Church at an early stage for the purpose of mutual faith transmission from the adult to the young whilst mitigating the generational gap problem in the Church. The quest for sustaining the passion and zeal of young people in church, with the ultimate aim of guiding them to become authentic disciples of Christ within their own contexts, without disparaging the experiences and wisdom of the older generation, is the *raison d'etre* of the IGMA.

7.5 The IGMA and Contextualization in the Church of Pentecost

Sunday 16 September 2018 was a Children's Ministry day in the CoP, and I attended church service in one local congregation at Tantra Hill in Accra, Ghana. Among other

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[2] Ministry activities for Men, Women, Youth where issues on marriage and other adult related issues are treated does not need to involve children. This may continue as far as they continue to be relevant.

activities, the children staged a well-rehearsed choreography. As I watched, I neither understood the song nor the dance movements. I also observed that many of the adults were not excited about this activity whilst the young ones seemed to be exhilarated about it. The culture, the liturgy and the language they used were not familiar to the adults. I suspected that many of the adults might have felt like aliens in their own church.

Immediately after the dance, I requested that the leader of the team should give a brief background to the activity, which she did there and then. The title of the song for the performance was 'Prepaid,' composed and sang by Revy Highness, a young Ghanaian gospel artist. This title caught my attention. It was explained to mean that Jesus had fully paid for the life I live through His death and resurrection, so my life is 'prepaid'. Part of the song goes:

> Get your money is what you desire
> But I know something which can take you higher
> Get your riches is what you desire
> But I know the man who can take you higher
> If He did it for me, He can do it for you
> When I was eating *Gari*[3] He [Jesus] came and changed my story
> Sister get on your feet *o*, brother no more defeat *o*
> Jesus carried the cross, carry the blood and sing *am* repeat *o*
> I like what you do for me, I like, I like what you do for me,
> I like, I like what you do for me. My life *na* prepaid *o* (Highness 2017)

After the leader of the choreography team explained the song and the dance movements, there was a spontaneous applause by both the young and the old. Both generations seemed to have understood what had just transpired. The lesson here is that in contemporary technological era, young people have found new metaphors that inform their theological reflections. Although traditional metaphors that have been used to shape African theologies for some decades now are still significant to a large extent, the influence of globalization and technological advancement on contemporary generations

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[3] *Gari* is one of the local Ghanaian foods, made from cassava powder. It is known to be one of the easily affordable staple foods in Ghana. Because of its affordability, people consider it to be poor people's food. Personally, *gari* used to be one of my favourites, but when I married, my wife was uncomfortable with me eating *gari*, because socially, it could be interpreted that I resorted to eating *gari* because she is not able to prepare delicious meals for me. So, I gave up eating *gari*.

in Africa demand that African theologians begin to identify contemporary symbols and idioms that are meaningful to contemporary grassroots Christians without neglecting the old.

As I have pointed out in the 'prepaid' scenario, it must be admitted that until the children joined the adult service and performed their choreography, the adults did not know about the existence of this 'prepaid soteriology'. This draws our attention to the fact that in contextualization, it is imperative for the missionary to closely associate with the indigenous people and also give them the opportunity to be actively involved in mission drawing from their own indigenous resources. This was one of the important lessons the CoP can learn from McKeown's mission models as discussed in Chapter Three. To be contextually relevant in mission in an intergenerational context, the older generation would have to adopt a mission approach that is not segregated from the living experiences of the young people. This will make it easier for them to hear the metaphors, the language and the symbols that speak readily into their everyday situation.

As discussed in Chapter Two, during the 1950s and 1970s (the era of James McKeown's mission in Ghana), African theologians advocated vehemently for what they considered African theologies that emerged from traditional African symbols, idioms and metaphors for Christian worship among Africans. There was increasing rejection of what that generation considered Western theological hegemony, cultural imperialism and the entire impulse of Westernizing Christianity in Africa, as was the case in other Majority World countries (Taylor 1963; Idowu 1965; Mbiti 1970, 1976). New trajectories of African Christian identity and authenticity were therefore charted by indigenous African Christians and local theologies were reconstructed (Mbiti 1976; Bujo 1992; Bediako 1999; 2000; Stinton 2004; Clarke 2011).

Although times have changed and some of these positions have been challenged (see Appiah-Kubi & Torres 1979), African theologians seem to continue to promote such metaphors as authentic for contemporary African Christianity. John Pobee and Kwame Bediako, for example, contended for understanding Jesus as the greatest ancestor (Pobee 1979:94; Bediako 2000:24). Another imagery that has been promoted over the years by some African scholars, such as Bediako (1993), Stinton (2004) and Clarke (2011) is *Kwaebirentuw ase Yesu* (Jesus of the Deep Forest), which I have already discussed in Chapter Five. In this oral theology, the Author, John Kirby records Afua Kuma, who describes Jesus as the 'Grinding stone on which we sharpen our cutlasses'. He is also *Nkrante brafoɔ* (the sword carrier) and the great hunter who has gone to the deep forest to destroy both *mmoatia* (dwarfs) and *sasabonsam* (the forest monster), thereby making the forest safe for hunters, who have been previously terrified by these life threatening fears in the forests (Kirby 2006:17-19).

As much as these symbols may continue to be significant in communicating Christ to some Africans in ways they can identify with, what is yet to be appreciated by the African theological enterprise, is the rapid changes in metaphors and language among emerging generations. There is a seismic shift in symbols that speak more readily and directly to the worlds of contemporary generations in Africa, which contemporary theologies in African contexts will need to swiftly respond to. Admittedly, some young people are completely disconnected from many of the pre-colonial pictures of Christ and find it difficult connecting. Many young people in contemporary Ghana do not see *mmoatia* and *sasabonsam* as symbols of threat; they have new threats. These categories have become remote and detached from their living experiences to the extent that advocating Jesus as the 'grinding stone' among some young Ghanaians could make the preacher a 'babbler' as Paul was seen in Athens (Ac 17:18). *Kwaebirentuw ase Yesu* could be so impotent in the face of contemporary

realities of some young people in Ghana, just as Western theologies did in Majority World countries few decades ago (Mbiti 1976:6-18).

Another example of contemporary metaphor that corroborates my argument is King Promise's CCTV song. King Promise is a Ghanaian gospel artist whose lyrics begins with, *Ɔno ne me CCTV da biara n'ani wɔ mesu*, meaning He [God] is my CCTV camera, His eyes are on me every day (Promise 2018). Similarly, Wanjiru Gitau describes discipleship in the Mavuno megachurch in Kenya as 'creating a GPS route', where the mentor is expected to know the gospel and walk others through each step towards Christlikeness (Gitau 2018:11 & 12). It is also not uncommon to hear young people in African Pentecostal/ Charismatic churches interpreting Jeremiah 33:3 as God's 'hotline', describing spontaneous prophecy during church service as 'God's telephone call' or referring to an afternoon prayer meeting as 'Midday Call' (See picture in Appendix Five). The IGMA, therefore, is a call for the church to be deliberate in its efforts to introduce each generation to Jesus in contextually relevant ways. All generations within the Church should be assisted to have fresh revelations of Jesus, incarnating in their thought forms. Just as the 'prepaid' theology communicated to the young people only, so also our theological reflections could sometimes speak to only the old, alienating the young, who constitute the majority of the Church in Africa.

Another important symbol that has becoming popular in the language of emerging generations is the use of 'emoji'. I read an exciting 'Emoji Christmas Story' in James White's book, *Meet Generation Z* (White 2017:121-24). What is vital about this observation is that emojis or emoticons can be used in communication as a common global language among the youth. No wonder in 2015, the Oxford Dictionary named an 'emoticon' as the word of the year (Oxford Dictionary 2015; White 2017:120). This supports the need for contemporary mission praxis to equip young people with basic skills necessary to enable them to bring out their own self-theologies. Kwesi Dickson

(1984:13) observed, 'every Christian theologises'. The question then is, how equipped are they to theologize correctly, communicating in languages and skills available to them so that they can brew authentic African theologies from their own professional and cultural 'pots'?

As discussed in Chapter Five, McKeown's effort to involve grassroots participation, contributed to some form of self-theologies in the CoP as shown in Afua Kuma's example. Moreover, McKeown's efforts to appropriate the three-self indigenous principle by encouraging self-propagation and self-supporting principles, led to the contextual nature of his mission models. In the same way, contemporary missiology needs to continue with the contextualization process, by encouraging the active participation of all generations in all aspects of the church's mission. This will result, not only in the emergence of authentic incarnational mission, but also in a sustainable mission beyond the contemporary era.

Within contemporary Ghanaian youth culture, oral theology, also called spontaneous theology or grassroots theology,[4] persists. It persists in what has been termed *anwinsem* (poetship). It also persists in their songs and prayers. What needs to be taken care of is the fact that the symbols must be contextual and meaningful to the people they are meant for. Theologians and missiologists have long observed that translation goes beyond meaning of words and grammar. It also includes the translation of thought forms and ideologies in context (Schreiter 1985:6-8; Bevans 2002:38-9). To speak about mother tongue today, theologians will need to pause and ask themselves, what the mother tongue of the contemporary generation is. This is because our understanding of mother tongue should not be limited to the literal usage of the term as

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[4] My reference to grassroots theology is not in terms of its lack of formal education, but grassroots in terms of the fact that those who are theologising might not have formal theological education or might not be in frontline pastoral ministry. Grassroots theologians could now be identified from multi-disciplinary backgrounds such as the medical sciences, civil engineering, accounting, banking and finance, from law and the vast array of disciplines at their disposal.

Gladys Ansah suggests in her Ph.D research (Ansah 2011:73). There is the need to investigate which idioms, proverbs, symbols and metaphors are relevant to contemporary generation of African Christians. Kwame Bediako rightly argued:

> This 'grassroots' theology is an abiding element of all theology, and therefore one that it is essential for academic theology to be in touch with, to listen to, to share in, and to learn from, but never to replace. Indeed, academic or written theology cannot replace this spontaneous or grassroots theology, because the two are complementary aspects of one reality, and the 'spontaneous' is the foundation of the 'academic' (Bediako 1993:24).

The contention therefore is not for a replacement of grassroots theology with academic theology. Whether written or oral, spontaneous or premeditated, grassroots or academic, theology should keep pace with the changes in culture, existential realities and contemporary experiences of each generation. Thus, as a matter of necessity, new wine should be poured into new wineskins.

7.6   IGMA, Globalization and the Youth Sub-Culture in the CoP

As discussed in Chapters Three and Five, McKeown promoted the use of vernacular languages and paid attention to the Ghanaian cultures because of his desire to plant 'local species in African soil'. Meanwhile, his emphasis on the Bible as a measure of authentic Christianity as well as the influence of his British Apostolic Church background, made him maintained some level of continuity and discontinuity with three major traditions. They are Ghanaian cultures, biblical traditions and British Apostolic Church traditions. This thesis contends that in contrast to the AICs, who succeeded in preserving pre-colonial cultures and seemed to 'Africanize' almost every aspect of their mission, the CoP became a more preferred church in Ghana. This was because by the 1950s, Western education, trade, Western Christianity and colonial influences had already altered the Ghanaian cultural landscape significantly. As a result, a church that draws from indigenous Ghanaian identity, with some amount of global influence was preferred in Ghana.

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The IGMA seeks to draw attention to the fact that in contemporary Ghana, significant transformations are still taking place in many aspects of the lives of emerging generations. Young people are very much aware of their identity as Africans, yet they also participate actively with their peers elsewhere around the globe. They identify with their indigenous origins and are alive to their current locations, yet they have access to the whole world in their palms. They do not just follow; they are part of the current global cultural and pop trends. They have access to information, they learn from multiple sources, they are not limited in the amount of information they need. They are connected with the immediate community in which they live, but they also have virtual communities they belong to. They are neither bound by culture, geography or ethnicity. They belong to many communities and many ethnic groups. With their laptops, tablets and smart phones, young people in Ghana can access information on any subject. By the click of a mouse or swipe of a finger, they can transact business, attend classes or learn new skills. Dea (2008:118) asserted that in Ethiopia, 'Young people are especially inspired by cyber-space-assisted religiosity. One consequence of this interconnectedness in cyberspace is an idea of standardized ritual practices in the light of which some local ways of being religious are criticized and subsequently often rejected'. Similarly, Kinnaman (2001:41) observed, 'The heightened level of access provided by these tools [of technology] is changing the way young adults think about and relate to the world'.

In Ghana, many of these transformations in youth culture are visible in the dressing, food, movies, poetry, and music of the young people. Contemporary African gospel music would be used to illustrate this observation. It has become an emerging trend for some artists to hybridize their entire music. In their video clips for example, the dressing of the artists appears African in some scenes and Western in other scenes, whilst singing the same song. Secondly, they creatively blend a traditional African

language and English in the lyrics of one song. A typical example is *Hosanna*, composed and sang by a Ghanaian contemporary gospel artist, Augustine Kofi Owusu Duah Anto, popularly known as KODA. The lyrics of this song are written below for our discussion:

Song	**Translation of Twi lyrics into English**
Yesu adi nkunim	Jesus is victorious
Over Satan power	
Messiah adi nkunim o	The Messiah is victorious
I'm an overcomer	

Refrain

Abodeε nyinaa	All creation
Momma yεn to Hosanna, Hosanna	Let us sing, Hosanna, Hosanna
Ahenfo hen ɔreba o, Hosanna	The King of kings is coming, Hosanna
Jesus *na ɔreba no o*, Hosanna	Jesus is the one coming, Hosanna
Ahenfo hen ɔreba o, Hosanna	The King of kings is coming, Hosanna
Momma yεn to Hosanna, Hosanna	Let us sing, Hosanna
Jesus *na ɔreba no o*, Hosanna	Jesus is the one coming, Hosanna
Aman nyinaa mom bɔ no ose, Hosanna	All nations should praise Him, Hosanna
Jesus *na ɔreba no o*, Hosanna	Jesus is the one coming, Hosanna

Who is this King of Glory?	
He's the Lord Strong and Mighty	
Yesu adi nkunim o	Jesus is victorious
See, I'm an overcomer	
No weapon fashioned against me shall prosper	
For the greater One lives in me,	
Yes, He does, Yes!	
Yesu adi nkunim o	Jesus is victorious
See, I'm an overcomer (Anto 2018)	

I do not intend to offer a theological or hermeneutical analysis of this song. What is of interest here, is the missiological implications of the skill with which he combines the English and Twi languages in one song. What KODA is doing is a demonstration of an aspect of the transformations that are taking place in the culture of the younger generation of Ghanaians. Why does he not use only English? Or, why does he not use only Twi? These are simple but sophisticated questions that demand more than just naive answers. One will need to interact with the young generation of Africans missiologically to identify that this observation is not just about songs or music. This kind of synergy between local and global cultures has become a popular sub-culture for the youth in Africa, creating a kind of bricolage, a new cultural identity that both

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accepts and rejects some elements of the local as well as the global cultures. Joe Kincheloe (2001:679) argued that bricolage promotes a synergistic interaction between two concepts. The use of the term in this context delineates the intercourse between local and global cultures for a unique sub-cultural identity.

Other examples of songs that have both English and traditional Ghanaian lyrics include *My Everything* by Joe Mettle (2018) and Diana Hamilton's (2018) *Mo ne yo* (well done). It is not surprising that at the Vodafone Ghana Music Awards (VGMA) on 18 May 2019, *Mo ne yo* was adjudged the best gospel music of the year 2018. What this portrays is a huge acceptance of a sub-culture that has developed within the contemporary generation. The case in other African countries does not seem to be any different. Prospa Ochimana's (2018) *Ekwueme* (The One who says and does it) and Tim Godfrey Travis' (2018) *Nar' Ekele M'o* (Accept my praise) are examples of hybrid gospel music that blend English and Igbo in worship. Again, Amanda Malela's (2018) *Yesu Nkolo* (Lord Jesus), is an example of a similar pattern in Congo. She uses English, Lingala and Tshiluba in one song. IGMA is a proposal for African theologies to find bridges that connect the cultures of emerging generations with the cultures of their parents in such a way that can sustain the church in Africa as an authentic family of Christ.

One of the strategies McKeown used was to live among the people, relate with them, ask questions and allow the mission to incarnate in their contexts. Addison noted that McKeown never travelled without a friend. He was always asking questions (Personal Interview: Addison 20/02/2018). This strategy connected him with the realities on the ground. McKeown did not detach himself from the people. He observed changes in practices and asked questions about them. If the CoP is to learn from McKeown's mission models, the question to ask is not only how McKeown did it during his era, but how would he apply these principles today?

The IGMA suggests that Christian mission in Africa must pay attention to the cultural transformations that are so evident in the Church yet hidden from many adults. It is not about prescribing or proscribing particular practices for young people. It is about guiding them to reflect on each new wave of culture that emerges in order to identify their spiritual relevance. Like James McKeown, the CoP will need to maintain responsible and creative balance between local and global cultures, with the Bible as its spiritual compass (Bediako 2001). This will create the atmosphere for sustaining the teeming youth demography in the Church in Africa, whilst enjoying from the wisdom of the old. The IGMA proposes the adoption of McKeown's direct mentoring approach as discussed in Chapter Three. This approach can aid authentic intergenerational mission in the church.

On 7 May 2019, the CoP launched a group called 'PENSA[5] International'. The group is a network of students and alumni across many nations, where the CoP operates. The missiological agenda for this group is to create an international forum for CoP students and professionals through networks and to facilitate CoP's international missions in the nations of the world (CoPHQ 2018:37). An important activity I observed on that day was a drama-like choreography that was staged by the youth. They blended many dance forms, one of which I got to know later as *Malwedhe,* originally from South Africa. As a result of this research, I have become intentional in seeking to understand what the young people do in the Church. In my quest to understand their dance movements, David, one of the students in Pentecost University, directed me to watch '*2nachiki'* channels on YouTube, where I can find some contemporary African dances. Some include, but not limited to: *Zigwenbe* (Kenya); *Kizomba, Malwedhe* and *Pantsula* (South Africa); *Chokobodi, Kupe, Pilolo,* and *Azonto* (Ghana); *Skelewu* and *Shaku* (Nigeria); *Wakanda* (African Diaspora); *Raqs Sharqi* (North Africa); *Gweta*

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[5] PENSA in the CoP is an acronym for Pentecost Students and Associates. It is the group that organizes the CoP's students in second cycle and tertiary institutions for fellowship, Bible studies and evangelism.

(Botswana); *Funana* (Cape Verde); *Ndombolo* (Gambia and DR Congo); *Compe-Decale* (Central African Republic); *King Kong* (Uganda); *Aron Norbert* (Cameroon); *Kwela* (Mozambique); *Sherrie Silver* (Rwanda); *Reis Fernado* (Angola); *Kwangwam* (Tanzania).[6] This exploration, like my experience with the 'prepaid' choreography, revealed to me how disconnected I was from the world of the younger generation without recognizing it. It became clearer to me that until the Church intentionally promotes increased interaction among the generations, different generations will continue to live in different worlds, albeit in the same congregation. This would promote generational stereotypy and increase the generational gap in the Church, eventually leading to generational stoppage (Hilborn & Bird 2002:158-67).

It must be acknowledged that this is a difficult task because not many of the dances mentioned above look 'godly' or 'Christian'. To what extent should the Church accommodate this in its activities? This has always been the task of missiology. It must be pointed out that whether the church is ready or not, the youth have already appropriated some of these dance forms such as *Malwedhe, Wakanda, Chokobodi, Pilolo* and *Azonto* into their Christian practices. Just as McKeown empowered the indigenous leaders he worked with, to interpret their own cultures in biblical terms, it is now the responsibility of the adult generation of the CoP to empower the younger generation to interpret their own cultures in biblical terms. IGM will need to deliberately appropriate from McKeown's 'synthetic model' in this mission. Bevans maintained that the synthetic model reaches out to creatively draw from 'the experiences of the present (i.e. context: experience, culture, social location, social change) and the experience of the past (Scripture, tradition)' (Bevans 2002:88).

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[6] see *2nachiki* channels on YouTube for more of these African dances that have become part of their culture of young people on the continent (Nacheki 2018).

7.7 IGMA and the African Culture

The African culture has a paradoxical approach to intergenerational mutuality. On the one hand, the concept of family in Africa is largely intergenerational. It provides opportunities for all the ages in the extended family – children, parents, uncles, aunties and grandparents – to live together in the same community (and sometimes in the same house) or even under the same roof. Children participate actively in family activities, performing house chores and running errands. Reciprocity is at the heart of interactions between family members or community members in Africa. In Ghana, there are many proverbs that explain this understanding of community. For example, among the Ewe, proverbs such as, *ta deka medea danu o*, (one person does not hold a meeting) and *ati deka mewɔa ave o* (one tree cannot make a forest) are rich expressions that reveal how they belong together.

This is similar to the Malawians understanding of *chala chimodzi sichiswa nsabwe,* meaning 'a single thumb cannot kill a louse' (Kwiyani 2014:164). Harvey Kwiyani, a lecturer at Liverpool Hope University, noted that in contrast to the individualism that has impacted the West, Africans have a communal understanding of the spirit-world. Explaining the Malawian philosophy *umunthu*, Kwiyani contended that in Africa, 'One's personhood is constituted through other persons, one's spirituality is also constituted through the spirituality of others' (Kwiyani 2014:164). The church in Africa should therefore take advantage of its communal character and be intergenerational. Social psychologists identify that, 'The most powerful type of contact, with the highest potential to improve attitudes, is direct contact via intergenerational friendship' (Drury et al. 2017:6). The IGMA is a proposal to use the strength of this cultural virtue in sustaining Africa's mission agenda.

On the other hand, in some traditional African cultures, children's views are not solicited when decisions are being taken on their behalf. In terms of communication and decision making, it is believed that, 'children are seen, not heard'. Intergenerational missiology will need to creatively deal with this weakness, because in the Bible, Jesus made it clear that children should not be hindered from coming to him (Matt 19:14). In contextualization, every culture must be thoroughly investigated in the light of Scripture. To be able to understand the world of children and the youth, adults will need to listen to their concerns.

Responding to the question, 'To what extent do you think the CoP is a Church that makes you feel at home?' the young people have much to say. For example, Oko, a student of the University of Ghana, indicates that what he does not like about his congregation is, 'Unless you are an officer,[7] you will not be allowed to play any leadership role in the Church. We are always side-lined, and they think the only thing we can do is to dance'. He further contended, 'Sometimes we go to church and feel like we should have stayed at home because the preacher had not prepared. He comes to tell the same old known stories' (Oko FGUG 27/05/2019). On his part, Martin explained this tension: 'Sometimes, I feel uncomfortable in my congregation because some of the prayer requests the adults raise are not relevant and if you refuse to pray, they think you are not spiritual. Meanwhile, they think they are always right so you can't tell them how you feel'. (Martin FGUG 27/05/2019). Eliot added, 'One of the things that makes me happy in church is effective group Bible studies, but they are mostly not organized well. Other times it is not held at all and there is no explanation for that. They just take things for granted' (Eliot FGUG 27/05/2019). Lydia quickly picks up the conversation, 'Many times, during our Bible studies, they expect your views to agree with what the facilitator

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[7] In the CoP, ordained non-paid lay leaders referred to as Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses are referred to as officers.

thinks is correct. No room to bring an objective view. Once your view does not agree with that of the facilitator, it would not be accepted' (Lydia FGUG 27/05/2019). Although these responses are contrary to the favourable views of the young people about the CoP, as discussed in Chapter Six, listening to this other side of their story is equally significant for strengthening the Church's mission praxis.

My concern here is not whether these young people are right or wrong. The point is that the absence of intentional mutual interaction makes some young people keep their views about the adults, whether correct or wrong. They feel they are side-lined or not considered as integral part of the Church. It is argued here that McKeown's method of involving the indigenous people in decision making should be extrapolated to the young people in the CoP. This is a missional approach that can make the young people feel a part of the Church. It is also true that the lack of mutual interaction widens the cultural gap so much that the wisdom of the older generation may sometimes disconnect from the needs of the young. In his research among the Kwahu of the Eastern Region in Ghana, Sjaak van der Geest contended:

> The superior knowledge of the older generation may decline in this time of globalization or lose its relevance to the young generation. What they know about farming, medical herbs, traditional customs, family history and ancestors has grown obsolete in the eyes of the young (Geest 2008:395).

Geest has shown that in Ghana, although the image of the old person as the custodian of wisdom continues to be held firmly, practically, young people do not usually seek wisdom from the old because they think that practical knowledge of the old may not be useful anymore in today's world (Geest 2008:395). He further contended that old people who are open to changes that are taking place in the world around them are scares, both in Ghana and in other parts of the world. He finally describes the wisdom of the older generation to open to social change as 'a rare intergenerational gift' (Geest 2008:396).

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Here again, the IGMA proposes the adoption of McKeown's direct mentoring approach, which helps the older generation to update themselves with the contemporary youth culture. I further argue that the older generation should also overcome McKeown's weakness, which is found in his inability to learn indigenous languages of Ghana. Rather, they should abreast themselves, at least to some extent, with the language of technology and the idioms of the young generation in order to remain relevant and increase their own generativity.

7.8 IGMA and McKeown's Reflective Pneumatology

Pentecostals generally believe that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as recorded in Acts Chapter Two, was the fulfilment of pneumatological promises of the Prophet Joel (Joe 2:28-32), John the Baptist (Matt 3:11; Mk 1:8; Lk 3:16) and Jesus Christ (Lk 24:49; Jn 7:39, 14:16,26 15:26; Ac 1:4-5). Explaining the Acts Chapter Two event, Peter told his audience:

> This is what was spoken by the prophet Joel: 'In the last days, God says, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your young men will see visions, your old men will dream dreams … Exalted to the right hand of God, he has received from the Father the promised Holy Spirit and has poured out what you now see and hear … The promise is for you and your children and for all who are far off—for all whom the Lord our God will call…' (Ac. 2:16-17, 33, 39).

Embedded in Peter's address are many indicators for IGMA. First, the pouring of the Spirit is for 'all people'. Explaining this text Mike McCrary (2014:7), a Pentecostal scholar and Assemblies of God minister, asserted, 'The Spirit's endowment at Pentecost authenticates Jesus' mission to include all people … God is building a diverse family and has a purpose for each person, regardless of age, gender, or ethnicity'. The Church should therefore give that opportunity to the whole family of God to continually experience the outpouring together.

The second intergenerational observation (and probably the most explicit) in this text is when Peter specifically mentioned young men and old men. By this, he drew

attention to the fact that the empowerment of the Holy Spirit is for all generations. When properly organized, IGMA offers opportunity for all generations to experience the Holy Spirit power for mission. Third, it must be acknowledged here that, 'your children' in this context does not necessarily mean young people; it might generally be referring to succeeding generations. This, nonetheless, does not preclude young people. In the CoP, Acts 1:8 has been interpreted to mean that the baptism in the Holy Spirit, accompanied by *glossolalia*, is the prerequisite for being a witness of Christ (Walker 2010:79).

Thus, in the McKeown-led CoP, the *Missio Dei* was understood to be the responsibility of every spirit-empowered member of the Church (Ac 1:8). IGMA proposes that children and youth who have received the Holy Spirit baptism should be encouraged to be witness of the Lord Jesus, along-side the old. Young people should see themselves as active members of the Church, because the Holy Spirit they have received is not different from what the adults have received. The Pentecostals' emphasis on personal experience and leadership of the Holy Spirit must be brought to bear by paying attention to what the Holy Spirit is currently doing among the young people and not only on what he is doing among the old. Febus-Paris contended:

> Pentecostals can be contemporary without setting aside our foundation. Our theology should always be in harmony with the work of the Holy Spirit and never lose sight of the young people maturing within the church. Our ways of doing and practi[s]ing Pentecostal theology must be relevant and directed toward having an impact on the lives of the emerging generations (Febus-Paris 2014:125).

It is important to be reminded and guided by history, but too frequently people dwell too heavily in history to the extent they can barely hear what God is saying or see what He is doing in contemporary times. The gifts of the Holy Spirit can be taught to children, but their practical manifestation in individual's lives may be difficult to teach, if not impossible. The CoP believes that these gifts can be transmitted through cooperate prayers (Ac 2:1-4), by the laying on of hands (1 Tim 4:14), and by the transfer from experienced mentors (2 Ki. 2:9-15). Intergenerational missiology in a

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Pentecostal context should provide all of these opportunities for children to experience and manifest the power of the Holy Spirit in their own lives.

IGMA therefore proposes that since the CoP already practises what I referred to in Chapter Four as McKeown's 'reflective pneumatology', emerging generations should be encouraged to take part in all spiritual blessings in the Church. As the generations worship together, pray together and carry out missions together, charisms of the spirit are believed to be imparted to the whole family of believers for the common good of the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:7). Those who receive special gifts such as prophecy, gift of healings, word of knowledge and the working of miracles among others, should be encouraged to allow the manifestations of these gifts in the Church, whilst the whole body of believers reflect on the authenticity of these manifestations (1 Cor 12 & 14).

7.9 IGMA: An Ecclesiological Imperative

The worrying statistics of the decline in Western Christianity[8] manifested and continues to manifest mostly among young people. For example, Hilborn (2017:4) indicates that in UK church attendance of young people under 20 years dropped from 4 million in 1960 to 2 million in 1980. It was further predicted to drop to 0.2 million by 2020. As at September 2017, 49 per cent of UK churches have no one between 11 and 14, and 59 per cent have no one between 15 and 19' years, attending church. For a detailed analysis of church attendance in the UK, see (Hilborn 2017: 4-8; Brierley 2011; Brierley 2014).

Kinnaman, the president of the Barna Group reports that in the US, 59 per cent of young people of Christian background have stopped church and 57 per cent of those less than 15 years say they are less active in church (Kinnaman 2001:23-4). As a result of these massive declines in church attendance and membership, many Western

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[8] This decline is particularly evident among the liberal and traditional churches, probably because these churches might have seized to be contextually relevant to the young people in their fold.

churches are now working towards models that can salvage the situation and prevent the church from total extinction. They recognise that these stark accelerated decline was caused by the alienation of younger generations from the mission models devised by the older generations (Hilborn 2017; Cray et al. 2004). Kinnaman indicates that 22 per cent of young Catholics who stopped church in the US, gave the reason that, 'Older people seem more important than younger people in my parish' (Kinnaman 2001:24).

Although there are no visible declines in church attendance among the youth in the CoP, the existence of an intergenerational gap, calls for proactive mission strategies in order to prolong the life of the Church. The Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs), for example, provide an important model that can practise some amount of intergenerational mission; the generations that worship together within the PIWCs currently include the youth and middle-class adult members of the CoP. The PIWCs, however, continue to segregate children from the adults. On occasions when children join the adult services, this becomes a cross-generational service rather than being intentionally intergenerational. The PIWC model can further be strengthened to provide an intentional intergenerational mission approach where the children will not just attend as passive observers, but as active participants. Both the challenges and opportunities of this generation are so enormous that there is the need for constant innovations within the *missio ecclesiae*, to make way for models that are contextual to contemporary needs of the Church. Febus-Paris cogently argued:

> This generation is living through changes that have never been seen before in the history of humanity (for example, the scale of present-day globalization, technological and scientific advancements that raise unprecedented questions about human identity, and the doctrinal implications of the post-modern rejection of absolute truth). These enormous challenges demand that we seriously examine and reconfigure the way we do church' (Febus-Paris 2014:118).

Although young people have different cultural understanding and advocate for freedom from old and traditional structures, they are also vulnerable, inexperienced and fearful of the future and dependent on the older generation for mentorship and survival. Febus-

Paris observed, 'The emerging generations today are dependent on the importance that we, the older and more mature generations, give them, as well as the time we invest in them; they particularly need a real and transformational experience of the Holy Spirit' (Febus-Paris 2014:119).

The implication here is that an IGMA must provide direct mentoring that aims at 'double listening'. A listening that pays much attention to the emerging cultures of the young without ignoring the biblical foundations upon which God's mission is build (Cameron 2014:70). According to Cray et al. (2004:105) 'Double listening is a process that enables something to evolve as its context changes. It seeks to hold in tension both a creative engagement with context and a faithfulness to the good news in Jesus'. One of the successful models James McKeown used as shown in Chapter Three, is direct mentoring. By drawing younger people to himself, who served as his interpreters, he intentionally mentored and prepared such people for the future of the CoP. One of such young persons who interpreted McKeown was Apostle Rigwell Ato Addison. He became a pastor in the Church during McKeown's time. After McKeown retired and left, Addison became the General Secretary of the CoP, worldwide. He also served as the National head for the Church in Nigeria and Australia. Even though he is currently over 70 years old and on retirement, he is still a trustee of the CoP. He is just one of the numerous examples of the young people McKeown mentored directly.

According to the Barna Group, the core reason for which young people are leaving the church in the US, is a disciple-making problem. Kinnaman explained this to mean, 'The church is not adequately preparing the next generation to follow Christ faithfully in a rapidly changing culture' (Kinnaman 2001:21). He further recognises three major areas of disciple-making deficiencies in the church as relationships, vocation and wisdom (Kinnaman 2001:28-31). Concerning the relationships, he noted:

> Twenty somethings frequently feel isolated from their parents and other older adults in the realm of faith and spirituality. Many young people feel that older adults don't understand their doubts and concerns, a prerequisite to rich mentoring friendships; in fact majority of the young adults we interviewed reported never having an adult friend other than their parents (Kinnaman 2001:29).

He argued that the teens churches are robust and enthusiastic but they are not able to disciple these teens to become young adult disciples of Christ (Kinnaman 2001:21). Indeed, 'The church must not remain content with what it has accomplished up to now. No matter how busy our ministry schedules are, our methods must be relevant to the generation we wish to affect' (Febus-Paris 2014:120). This is what Jesus did with his Jewish audience. He incarnated as a Jew and lived within the Jewish traditional customs, whilst mentoring people directly to model their lives according to Kingdom patterns.

Additionally, the IGMA does not provide opportunity for only the young people, it also provides opportunity for the older people to intentionally serve as mentors. These opportunities must be accompanied by providing training on mentorship and developing a manual that can guide the older people to be effective in serving the needs of the younger generation. The success of this process will improve the generativity of the older people as well. Generativity has been described as 'An adult's concern for and commitment to promoting the growth and well-being of future generations through parenting, teaching, mentoring, institutional involvement and a range of other social behaviors' (McAdams & Guo 2015:475). This concept was first developed by Erik Erikson (1963) as a key psychological challenge for people in their middle age.

Research has shown that adults who are high in generativity are more likely to be happier, healthier and experience higher psychological stability. Whilst adult who fail to be generative are likely to experience stagnation, self-preoccupation, and relatively poor psychosocial adjustment in adulthood (Erikson 1963; McAdams & Guo 2015; Dunaetz 2017). Geest has shown that among the people of Kwahu-Tafo in Ghana, many adults

are worried and complain that young people do not come to them for advice (Geest 2008:391-92). This suggest the lack of mutual interaction and opportunity to express their generativity by imparting knowledge to the younger generation. The Church should be able to provide that opportunity and the IGMA is a great tool to this end.

As has been pointed out earlier, the IGMA is not oppose to age-specific meetings or services. There are many ways in which these are important and should be encouraged as penultimate means of meeting specific needs of children, teenagers, youth, single mothers, married, widows and retirees. Nevertheless, these should not overshadow the ultimate purpose of the Church as the family of God, the people of God and the body of Christ, worshipping together.

7.10 Practical Application of the IGMA in the CoP

As indicated earlier, in many CoP congregations, children come to church early (usually 7:00 am - 9:00 am) before the adult service begins. Since many of the church buildings do not have separate classrooms for children's meetings, they are supposed to close on time and vacate the church room for the adult service to commence. On occasions where the children's service delay in closing, pressure is mounted on them to rush out of the church building to make way for the adults. After closing from the children's service, most of the children go home, whilst their parents 'enjoy' the adult service without 'disturbances' from the children. Children who are compelled to stay and wait for their parents (due to distance from home) are mostly left unattended to. They find a way of playing either inside (at the rear of the church room) or outside the church building. To keep the children busy, some parents give their phones, tablets or iPads to them to play games, so they do not 'disturb' the adult service.

These practices need revision because they do not contribute to effective faith formation. As shown in the Vision 2018 document of the CoP, which was discussed in

Chapter Three, the CoP, like other Pentecostal denominations believes that spiritual gifts can be imparted from person to person through interactions and direct mentoring. In faith formation therefore, people should have the opportunity to see, hear, receive, and practise. These should not be reserved until adulthood. Intentional IGMA is aimed at offering such prospects to all generations in the Church. Elder Stephen Ankamah Lomotey, a former deputy director of the children's ministry of the CoP, narrates a very unfortunate incident that took place in one of the CoP congregations in Accra. According to him, children were driven from the church building, as usual, to make way for the adult service to start. That day, a blind man instantly received his sight when he was prayed for during the service (Sermon: Ankamah-Lomotey 15/07/2012). This was an opportunity for these children to have experienced the practical demonstration of a miraculous healing. Although the children might be told this story later, they had missed the occasion to see for themselves at first hand because they were driven from the church building.

Coetsee (2015:150) points out that segregating children from adults in church and putting them into separate services designed for them is a modern trend. This statement confirms the CoP's history that at its initial stages, children joined their parents in the adult congregations. The Sunday school system was officially introduced in 1972. Apostle Fred Tiakor, the current director of the Children's Ministry, maintained that many of the second-generation leaders of the CoP who are currently in vital leadership positions did not attend the segregated Children's ministry classes. He recalled that he followed his father (the late Apostle Tiakor, a former CoP minister) to church, conventions and other church programmes and participated fully with adults. He still has fresh memories of the various events and experiences which he believed influenced his life in adulthood. Apostle Fred Tiakor therefore argued, 'adult rubbing

shoulders with children in the Church, in one way or the other, positively affects their Christian lives when they grow' (Tiakor 2017:282).

As shown earlier, Fred Tiakor's proposal for the CoP to adopt and practise intergenerational ministry, where frequent opportunities are given to the children to join adult services (Tiakor 2017:277) is being practised in many CoP congregations but require much education since the concept has not been understood by many of the adults. Even on occasions where the children are invited to minister in songs, it is not uncommon to observe that their teachers take the lead in singing whilst the children become passive participants. Concerning the youth, many attempts have been made to keep them actively involved in adult services. Apart from a few congregations that run teens services, the youth are mostly part of the adult service on Sunday mornings and many of the mid-week services. In order to cater for their peculiar needs, one Monday evening in each month is designated for youth ministry activities in all local congregations of the CoP in Ghana. Other specialised activities are also organised for them as and when the need arises. There are youth pastors who guide them and coordinate the youth activities. Additionally, PENSA is organised in second cycle and tertiary institutions to provide nurturing and fellowship for them whilst they are in school. PENSA also has traveling secretaries separate from the youth pastors who coordinate the campus fellowship activities. In this case, the youth also do not have the opportunity to interact with the children in the Church, although there are more opportunities for the youth to interact with the adults.

Since the IGMA is a call for intentionality in the CoP's mission approach, there is the need to revise all aspects of church life to intentionally create such opportunities for children, youth and adults to fellowship together as one church. All generations should be intentionally involved in various church activities, right from commencement of church services to the end. Children and teenagers should also not be separated from

the adults during group Bible studies, as is done in some congregations currently. Bible studies is a great opportunity for all the generations to listen to each other in small groups, though this may require the relevant training of group facilitators who will be able to coordinate all voices to participate in the study.

Instead of the children joining the adult service once a month, it should be the other way, round, where the children and youth are all part of the main service and once or at most twice in a month, they can go for a breakout session in age-separated classes. In this case, they see themselves as belonging to the main church with the adults; one whole family of God. Their breakout session rather becomes the auxiliary. As I have observed earlier, the lack of intentionality in its intergenerational approach to mission contributed greatly to the widening nature of the gap between the generations in the CoP. This gap was what manifested in the reactions to the introduction of the PIWC and subsequently the women's head-covering communiqué, the repercussions of which the CoP is dealing with till date.

Furthermore, the IGMA proposes that the huge children and youth demography of the Church in Ghana should be taken into consideration when planning church activities for the CoP. My involvement in Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA) activities, gave me the opportunity to be on the major Ghanaian university campuses on several Sunday mornings. I observed the zeal and passion with which large numbers of students attend fellowship meetings on the campuses of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, University of Ghana, University of Cape Coast, University of Professional Studies, and the Pentecost University, all situated in different regions of the country. The ubiquity of these campus fellowships and youth groups on university campuses corroborate the earlier statistics on the increasing youthful demography of Christian population in the country. As a result, the IGMA proposes that the CoP's official radio and television programmes should be reviewed to benefit all generations

in the Church. These reviews and planning should be done in collaboration with representatives from all the generations. Involving both the young and old in planning church activities and programmes will help the adults to listen to and fully discern the world in which the young people are living. Moreover, it would help the young to also start learning decision making and leadership at a very early stage.

7.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, attempt has been made to discuss the intergenerational mission approach which emerged out of this research. It has been argued that to be intentionally intergenerational, the CoP needs to pay attention to the contemporary metaphors that are theologically relevant and contextual to emerging generations. The chapter also contended that in contemporary times, the influence of globalization has become so massive that its impact on the young people should be seriously considered in the CoP's mission approach (Highness 2017; Gitau 2018). Unlike the AICs that seemed to be attractive to only the older generation (Padwick 2003; Burnett 1997) or the megachurch concept that seemed to have attention for the younger generation to the neglect of the old (Gitau 2018), this research contended that the IGMA has the capacity to hold the different generations in the Church together through intentional mutual interactions.

To remain contextually relevant, the chapter contended that the Church should maintain a responsible balance between local particularities, global influences and core Christian doctrines. This agrees with John Padwick's argument that, 'In a rapidly changing world, theologies and the way they are presented and lived out have to be communicated in very different contexts' (Padwick 2018:16). When properly implemented, the IGMA promises to be biblically authentic, pneumatologically relevant and ecclesiologically significant. The model also has the capacity to fit well into the African communal life and structure, attending to the deep-seated cultural needs of the

older generation whilst responding to the dynamics of cultural transformation among the youth. The model is therefore contextual and incarnational in its mission approach. It is hoped that if this model is implemented effectively, it will be able to bring the generations together as the family of God, thereby dealing with the generational rift in the CoP and sustaining the Church's mission for posterity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Indigenization and Critical Contextualization

This research has been concerned about the extent to which James McKeown's mission models have influenced the current praxis of the CoP's mission in Ghana and the implications of such influences for the future of the Church. It was noted that the relatively high growth rate of the Church has been attributed by some members of the CoP to the indigenous mission praxis of the Revd James McKeown, a British Apostolic Church missionary, who is recognised as the founder of the CoP. In order not to replicate a British Apostolic Church in Ghana, McKeown's intention was to plant what he called a 'local species in African soil'. Consequently, he tried to practise the 'three-self' church planting principles of self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing churches, which were first propounded by Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn (Anderson 1869; Knight 1881).

It has been contended in Chapter Five that although McKeown succeeded in implementing the self-supporting and self-propagating principles, the CoP could not be described as a self-governing Church until McKeown retired at the age of 82. This can be understood from the background that although he worked with many indigenous leaders, the Church he led practised a centralised administrative system with McKeown as its chairman. The thesis, however, argued that by leaning on the 'Selfs' principle at a time when Africans were engrossed in nationalistic feelings of self-expression and independence from all forms of colonial control, McKeown's mission gained acceptance and support by the indigenous people. This subsequently attracted many

more people to the CoP, which has been conceived as an indigenous Pentecostal Church or a 'Three-Self' Church (Leonard 1989; Arnan 2005; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005).

One of McKeown's weaknesses identified in this thesis is his inability to learn any of the Ghanaian languages during his 45 years of mission in Ghana. This notwithstanding, McKeown was said to have consciously promoted a local identity for the CoP by encouraging the indigenous people to use their vernacular languages, local forms of liturgy, indigenous music and other local resources in worship. Asamoah-Gyadu (2015a:137-138) considers simple liturgy, spontaneous prayer and vernacularisation policy as parts of the factors that gives the CoP a wider demographic and geographic appeal. Normally, leading a CoP service does not require any formal qualification. The informal and spontaneous nature of CoP services makes it easy for many of the Church's lay leaders (some of whom do not have formal Western education), to lead.[9] As Walls observed about Christian mission in Nigeria, many of the people who spread the Gospel were 'Usually without much formal education in the Western sense; not fluent, perhaps not literate, in English; but the terminal connection through which the Christian faith passes into the African village society' (Walls 1996:87).

An analysis of McKeown's mission models in line with Bevan's (2002) taxonomy of contextual models, revealed that McKeown's mission models approximated to three contextual models: adaptation, countercultural and synthetic. McKeown's adaptation was evident in his vernacularisation policy and his ability to promote the development of local theologies in the Church he led. Lamin Sanneh (1989:189) contended that vernacularisation played an important role, correlating between indigenous cultural revitalization and Christian renewal in Africa. Beyond vernacularisation, I argued in

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[9] The CoP relies on the assistance of lay leaders (elders, deacons and deaconesses) referred to as unpaid officers, who are usually in charge of the numerous local congregations in Ghana and elsewhere.

Chapter Three that McKeown's missional leadership was relational. He interacted freely with the indigenous Ghanaians, took collective decisions with the leaders he worked with and respected their views. According to Schreiter (1985:11-12), the adaptation model seeks a fundamental encounter between Christianity and culture by either working in consultation with local leaders, training local leaders or at a deeper level, taking the local culture with its own categories and allows for the development of a local theology.

It was however argued that in spite of this desire to seek a close encounter with the indigenous cultures, McKeown was suspicious of some Ghanaian cultural practices, and this attitude made his mission model approximate to what Bevans' called countercultural model (Bevans 2002:117-37). As a result of this suspicion, he tried to serve as a gate keeper, by asking for the meaning of the various practices and demanding for biblical basis for such practices before they can be carried out in the Church he led. This makes the CoP's description as an indigenous Church quite equivocal, especially when compared with the AICs in Ghana. The AICs succeeded in appropriating Ghanaian indigenous cultural practices, almost in their entire forms into Christian worship, literally interpreting aspects of Scripture that coheres with such practices. As discussed in Chapter One, although this seemed to make them contextually relevant at the time of their emergence, by the 1970s and 1980s, they were almost out of context as a result of global transformations that were taking place in the Ghanaian communities in general.

Although the Church McKeown led in Ghana could not be described wholly as an indigenous Church, the CoP maintained a kind of continuity and discontinuity with Ghanaian cultural practices. As discussed in Chapter Four, this continuity and discontinuity in the CoP's mission emerged from the fact that McKeown's British Apostolic Church heritage as well as his strong emphasis on what he considered as the

biblical truth (which also came with a constellation of Christian traditions) and the inclination to encourage appropriation from the Ghanaian indigenous cultures, combined to give the CoP a unique identity. This character of maintaining such a balance with three traditions is what made McKeown's mission approximated to the synthetic model of mission, appropriating from the wisdom of other models to achieve contextualization (Bevans 2002:88-102). This kind of interface, I argued, made the CoP practiced what scholars call critical contextualization and made the Church relevant and acceptable, to a large extent, during McKeown's era, contributing to its numerical growth.
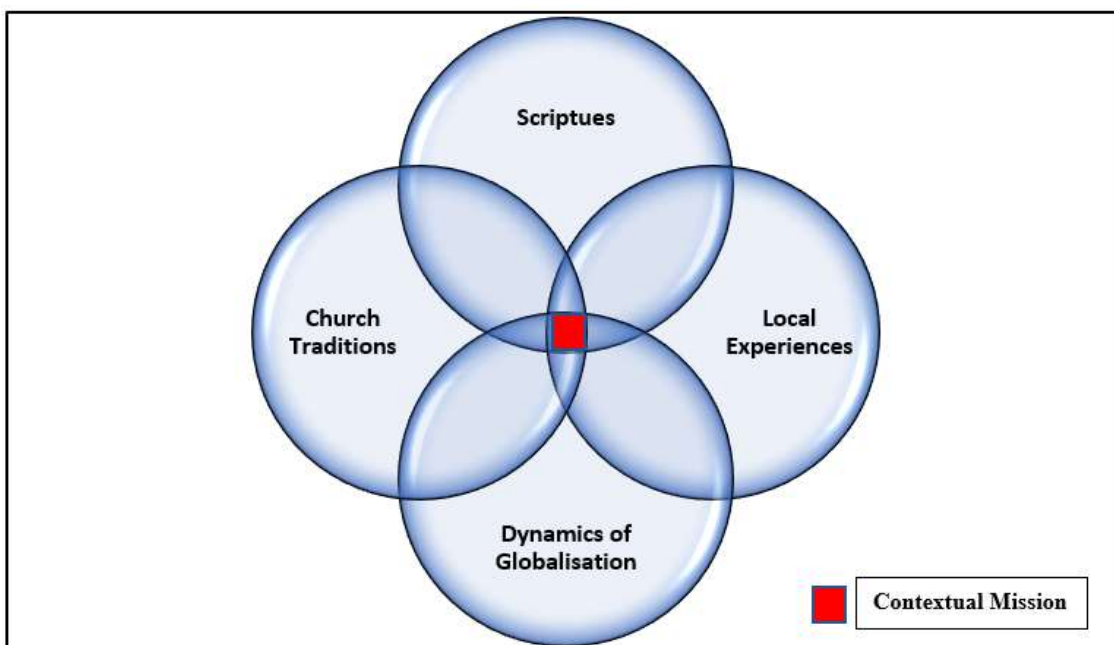
Fig. 4 Showing factors that must be taken seriously in contemporary contextualisation

As shown in the figure 4 above, relevant contextual appropriation of these variables: Scripture, tradition, local particularities and globalization, would continue to determine what is contextual and consequently, the success of Christian mission. Accordingly, Burnett argued, 'Contextualization cannot be considered only in a local and particular sense, but one must also recognise the forces of globalization. Both the local and global aspects impinge upon the church in Africa today, and will increasingly shape its future'

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(Burnett 1997:276). He further contended, 'Christians need to interact with others to share their understanding of the Biblical teaching, because if this does not occur a church can easily deviate from the mainstream of Christianity and be regarded as "heterodox"' (Burnett 1997:283). One of the methods by which theology can hold a relevant balance of these variables that contribute to critical contextualization, is to interact with and listen to grassroots communications. This can only be meaningfully done through listening to their songs, proverbs, poems, prayers and by observing their everyday expressions in order to identify relevant metaphors, images or pictures that are in vogue. These expressions are then interpreted in a creative balance with the Scriptures and tradition within a particular local context.

8.2 Reflective Pneumatology in Context

I have discussed in Chapter Four that one of the local particularities that has engaged the attention of Christian mission in Africa over the years, is the fear of evil spirits. It has been generally observed that to have a successful Christian mission in Africa, one must take the African spirit forces seriously (Onyinah 2012; Asamoah-Gyadu 2015b; Währisch-Oblau 2018). Consequently, the ability of African Pentecostal pneumatology to respond to the needs of Africans, both at the physical and the spiritual levels, where it is believed that the spiritual realm is inextricably bound with the material realm, is commendable (Elorm-Donkor 2017; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005; Larbi 2001; Ngong 2009). This, notwithstanding, I have argued that current reports about spurious pneumatic manifestations observed in African Christianity (Quayesi-Amakye 2015; Kgatle 2017; Tsekpoe 2019) can undermine the entire contributions of the African Pentecostal enterprise to Christian mission, if the community of faith in Africa is not empowered to collectively reflect on such pneumatic claims. This is because the belief that the spiritual realm influences and controls the physical, makes many Africans susceptible to those

who claim to have spiritual power and are able to deal with the numerous dilemmas people experience on the continent.

I have argued in Chapter Four that as observed about Pentecostalism in general, the central place occupied by the Holy Spirit in mission was a major component of McKeown's mission theology. As characteristic of Pentecostals, McKeown believed in the power and practical demonstration of the Holy Spirit. He also believed, taught and operated in the gifts of the Holy Spirit. He prayed for the sick and gave many prophecies, which are recorded in the General Council Meeting Minutes (see GCMMs 27/10/1959; GCMMs 08/04/1960). He however did not believe that the leader is the preserve of spiritual power. His concern was to encourage his congregants to be baptised in the Holy Spirit, which he referred to as 'Setting their hearts on fire' so that they can be authentic disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ and also be able to face spiritual realities within their own contexts. He also demonstrated his suspicion that spiritual gifts can be manipulated.

To respond to this pneumatological challenge in Ghana, I have shown in Chapter Four how McKeown adopted and contextualised the ACUK system of regulating the use of spiritual gifts. He emphasised that each member of the community of faith is capable of experiencing the Holy Spirit and reflecting on each claim of pneumatic experience, a practice I have named 'reflective pneumatology'. The application of this was seen in McKeown's reactions to practices such as selling of blessed water for spiritual purposes, witchcraft accusation in the Church and divine healing. As discussed in Chapter Four, the CoP's current approach to issues such as divine healing, accusation of witches, blessing of water or other prophylactics for spiritual purposes are the outcomes of McKeown's reflective pneumatology. This approach to pneumatology is also seen in how the prophetic gifts as well as all other charisms of the spirit are managed in the CoP. For example, during prophetic utterances in the CoP, each

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congregant is expected to listen reflectively and test the authenticity of the manifestation (1 Th 5:19-22; 1 Jn 4:1).

To maintain order in CoP meetings, and in line with Paul's admonishment that spiritual gifts should be managed in orderly way (1 Cor 14:40), the CoP has adopted the following approach: (i) Whenever there is prophetic utterance during a church meeting, the presiding officer of the particular meeting is normally responsible for opening up a discussion on the said prophecy if he or she discerns that it is appropriate to do so. (ii) If the presiding officer discerns that the content of a prophetic utterance can create controversy or division, he or she can stop the 'prophet' from continuing the prophecy. (iii) McKeown's emphasis on the fact that every member of the Church must be baptized in the Holy Spirit, which I have argued, is a form of 'democratization' of the charisms of the spirit, provides the opportunity for each member of the faith community to reflect on each spiritual manifestation and discern its authenticity. By that no one person possesses monopoly to pneumatic experiences in the Church as has been the case in some Prophet-led Churches. Asamoah-Gyadu describes this practice of the CoP as the 'Demystification of Ghanaian prophetism' (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:88).

This ability to hold a balance between confronting what the African consider life-threatening fears and at the same time controlling the abuse of spiritual gifts seem to also give some level of respectability to the CoP's public image in Ghana (Asamoah-Gyadu 2015:140a). As I have demonstrated, the CoP's contextual character can be attributed to both its ability to respond to the Ghanaian cosmology uniquely as well as its ability to be relevant to the socio-cultural context of the time. These achievements, the research contends, need fresh interpretation because culture is not static. It must be appreciated that the process of routinization certainly holds certain assumptions, making it difficult to appreciate future transformations. This must always inform missionaries,

missiologists and theologians and inspire the desire for critical contextualization in Christian mission.

8.3   Routinization, Revitalization and Conflicts

Throughout this thesis, it has been argued that as result of the success achieved by McKeown's mission in terms of numerical growth of the CoP, the older generation of the Church, who claimed to have known him and what he stood for, considered his implicit mission models as normative for the CoP and tried to preserve and transmit such legacies for emerging generations. In Chapter Six, I referred to this process of establishing a form of permanence for McKeown's mission in the CoP, as routinization. Weber (1996:37) describes routinization as the 'Result of the process whereby either the prophet himself or his disciples secure the permanence of his preaching and the congregation's distribution of grace, hence insuring the economic existence of the enterprise and those who man it'. I argued that in the CoP, the routinization process of McKeown's mission praxis had already started before he retired from active ministry in 1982. Basic activities such as water-baptism, communion services, church discipline, Christmas and Easter Convention celebrations had been laid down. A Presbyterian administrative system, church constitution and a set of tenets were solidly in place. I also argued that after McKeown's retirement in 1982 and subsequently, his death in 1989, the routinization process continued as observed in the OG's inclination to preserve his legacies for the NG. It has been argued that routinization can either take place after the leader dies or start in the life time of the leader as observed in McKeown's mission in the CoP (Weber 1996; Ukah 2008).

I also showed that the NG of the CoP, consisting mainly of university graduates and the middle class, seemed to have experienced a form of revitalization, instigated by globalization and as a result, did not appreciate the wholesale transmission of what they

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considered outmoded church traditions in a dynamic society. This discontentment of the reinvigorated NG in the CoP, who want a new way of expressing their faith became evident when some of them started leaving the CoP for the CMs that were considered to be more relevant to their contemporary needs. This observation is recurrent in Ghanaian Christianity. Whenever a church, a denomination or a Christian tradition fails to contextually meet the needs of a particular generation, they leave for another church, which they consider more contextually relevant. For example, the leaders of the TWMCs such as the MCG and the PCG, observed in the 1960s that their members were leaving their fold and joining the AICs (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). In the 1970s and 1980s, members of the AICs were leaving their fold and joining newer waves of Pentecostal churches (Burnett 1997; Asamoah-Gyadu 2005) and by the 1990s members of the CoP were also joining the CMs as mentioned above. This implies that if at a point in time none of the churches meets their contextual needs, they may stop church as the case has been in the West.

As shown in Chapter Six, the leaders of the CoP, some of whom as a result of their theological education, travel and personal development, found the need to respond to the needs of these NG by introducing mission models directed at transforming some traditional practices that were considered outmoded in order to make the Church's mission relevant to the needs of the NG. This process of transforming old church practices to meet the needs of contemporary generation was an integral part of the revitalization process in the CoP. A major contribution of this revitalization process in the CoP was the introduction of Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs). These churches were more open to modern trends. Similar to RCCG's Model Parishes in Nigeria (Ukah 2008:112-3), the PIWCs do not follow some of the traditional practices of the CoP, such as gender segregation and strict women's head-covering in church. English language is used in these congregations as the medium of

communication. They secure high quality musical equipment and make use of projectors and other technological equipment in their worship and liturgy. I argued that the increasing number of PIWCs in the CoP and their youthful demography suggest that the model have been successful in keeping many of the young people in the Church. These PIWC congregations grew rapidly and in many ways, exhibiting some characteristics of megachurches as found in Ghana and elsewhere (Akowuah 2013:69; Gitau 2018:4-5).

Meanwhile, the old generation of the CoP saw these PIWCs as aberrations from what the Holy Spirit has inspired the founding fathers to lay down for the Church. The PIWCs were seen to have been influenced by mere academic knowledge and secular lifestyles to abandon spirituality. The OG therefore condemned the 'carnality', portrayed by the fashionable or 'immoral' dresses, make-up and 'ungodly' dancing of the members of the PIWCs and call for the immediate abolishing of the PIWCs. Conversely, the members of the PIWCs regard the traditional CoP congregations as moribund and out of touch with reality. This misunderstanding between the two streams, coupled with reactions to the release of the 2010 communiqué on women's head-covering in Church (as discussed in Chapter Six), which allowed similar practices in the PIWCs to be accepted in the traditional CoP congregations, reveal the fact that although the leaders have been able to respond to the revitalization taking place in the Church and succeeded in maintaining the youth in their fold. Such responses however, have not been able to mitigate the generational gap in the Church. That is to say that the new models have been able to sustain the interest of the NG in the Church but could not deal with the rift among the generations.

I have argued in Chapter Six that the tendency to preserve outdated religious traditions for posterity, which normally leads to a widening gap among generations, is a missiological challenge, which has manifested itself in different forms in the history of

Christian mission. The thrust of the Barna Group's research on generations in the USA, which led to the publication of the book *You Lost Me* was that the younger generation of American Christians thought that the Church 'lost them' by disengaging from their living realities (Kinnaman 2011:10,19). Regrettably, many have left the church in the US, as has been the case in other parts of the West.

In Africa, scholars such as Burnett (1997), Ukah (2008), and Gitau (2018), have recognised this generational gap problem in the churches and argued for contextualization of the Church's mission to make it relevant to the younger generation. None of these works, however, approached the subject from an intergenerational perspective. Since the Church is not mono-generational, and the contexts of the different generations within the Church are not the same, this research has approached the subject from an intergenerational perspective. This is particularly important because whilst the AICs, who tried to preserve old traditions appeal mainly to the older generations (Burnett 1997; Padwick 2003), the CMs, who tried to attend to contemporary culture also seem to attract mainly a youthful and middle-class demography (Ukah 2008; Gitau 2018). It must be understood that the Church's contextual approach needs to be intentionally intergenerational in order to bring the generations together as the family of God.

8.4   Intergenerational Missiology in Context

As indicated in Chapter One, it was the generational rift in the CoP that prompted the search for McKeown's mission models, which has been used paradoxically as authority to both propose and oppose transformations in the CoP's contemporary praxis. Having analysed McKeown's mission models and their implications for the CoP's mission, this research argued that the profound dissimilarities between McKeown's era and our own imply that it will not do well for the CoP to appeal in a direct manner to the models of

mission McKeown used and apply them directly to contemporary situations. Rather, there is the need to reinterpret the principles that worked in his era, in our own contexts, reaching out to the deep-seated needs of the OG and responding to the contemporary needs of the NG. Consequently, this thesis proposes what I call, 'Intergenerational Mission Approach' (IGMA), as a missiological imperative for the future of the CoP's mission in particular and contemporary Christian mission in Africa.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the IGMA involves a deliberate attempt to foster mutual interaction amongst different generations within the Church for the purpose of fostering faith relationships and expressions that facilitate the transmission of faith from one generation to another, in culturally relevant ways. The CoP currently separates children (and in some congregations, teenagers) from the adult services and on occasions when they join the adults, they are mostly passive participants as has been the case in many Christian congregations. The IGMA proposes that children and youth, be given the opportunity to actively participate in church services together with the adults. This does not proscribe age-specific church meeting or activities. Rather, it encourages intentional and frequent intergenerational church meetings. On such occasions when all the generations meet, young people should be given active responsibilities in some core aspects of the church's liturgy, such as Bible reading, giving testimonies, song ministration, playing of musical instruments, ushering and protocol, leading prayer sessions or even preaching sermons, depending on their age and abilities. This approach requires intentionality and frequent mutual interactions, where both adults and children serve together, based on direct mentoring and apprenticeship system in which the protégé is given the opportunity, not only to observe but also to practise.

8.3.1   Characteristics of the Intergenerational Mission

Firstly, this research shows that by emphasising the contexts of both the older and younger generations, intergenerational missiology is contextual. It calls for respect for the deep-seated socio-cultural needs of the older generation. Thus, the desire to respond to the needs of the younger generation should not cause the Church to disregard the contextual needs as well as the contributions, experiences and wisdom of the older generation. Our theologies, liturgies, and language should find a way of being relevant to them. At the same time, the model draws attention to the dynamics of global transformations, which demand that Christian mission in Africa should not get stacked in pre-colonial metaphors by which local theologies were constructed.

I contended that whilst old metaphors remain relevant to some generations (Bediako 2000; Stinton 2004; Clarke 2011), new metaphors, such as Revy Highness' 'prepaid' (Highness 2017), Wanjiru Gitau 'GPS route' (Gitau 2018) and the popular 'God's hotline' and 'midday call' metaphors, speak readily to the contexts of the NG and must be considered in the Church's local theologies. Many young people are completely disconnected from some of the pre-colonial pictures of Christ and find it difficult to understand them. In contemporary Ghana, for example, some young people do not see *mmoatia* (dwarf or fairy) and *sasabonsam* (forest monster) as symbols of threat; they have new threats. These categories have become remote and detached from their living experiences to the extent that advocating Jesus as the 'grinding stone' among some young Ghanaians may not be meaningful to them.

Secondly, the IGMA is appropriate for fostering faith formation in multigenerational contexts. It was discussed in Chapter Seven that despite the surge of globalization, there are many virtues within African cultures, which the Church can use to aid its intergenerational faith transmission. For example, the concept of reciprocity in

the African context includes the transmission of both material and immaterial resources (Whyte et al. 2008:6). Allen and Ross (2012:47-63) suggested that intergenerational interactions foster belonging, support for families, better use of resources, character growth and other unique benefits. The intentionality and mutuality promoted by the intergenerational mission is aimed at achieving this kind of reciprocity where the young as well as the old learn from each other in the process of faith transmission. In the two examples of the 'prepaid' choreography and the *Malwdhe* dance as discussed in Chapter Seven, many of the adults (including myself) had no idea about the existence of such metaphors until the opportunity for intergenerational services. I therefore contended that frequent intentional mutual interaction between the NG and the OG can mitigate the current gap and facilitate effective faith transmission with less conflict. This is because as demonstrated in Chapter Seven, it was through intergenerational interactions that the OG got to understand the metaphors of the NG. Just as McKeown interacted closely with indigenous Ghanaians and asked questions to understand the meaning of their metaphors before guiding the Church to formulate its own contextual praxis, so also the OG will be effective in guiding the NG to contextualise their own symbols and metaphors in biblically authentic ways if such intergenerational interactions are intentionally promoted.

More so, using Ghanaian and Malawian proverbs, it was argued that the Church should use the community understanding of the African society to bring all generations together. A community in Africa includes children. An Ewe proverb states that, *devi nya asikokloe dua nu kple fia* (a child who knows how to wash his hands eats with the chief). This proverb is loaded with meaning and wisdom. The implication here is that the child must first learn to wash his hands, representing respect for the elderly. Then that child has the opportunity to eat with the chief. Eating meals together as a family also represents mutuality. These are moments of bonding and deep learning. To eat with

the chief means that the child will get some wisdom nuggets from the chief. Since the Church is the family of God, encouraging such mutual family interactions is helpful.

On the other hand, I drew attention to other elements of the African cultures such as the understanding that, 'children are seen, not heard', a philosophy that excludes children from speaking in public. This can stifle faith transmission. The Gospel should be able to respond to such cultural practices and create opportunities for children to be heard. After all, one of the crucial roles of the gospel is to be the liberator and prisoner of cultures (Walls 1996:3). Whilst on the one hand it liberates the cultural resources for indigenous use, the gospel must also confront elements in the cultures which do not point to Christ. This brings our attention back to the concept of continuity and discontinuity of cultural practices, which emerged from James McKeown's mission praxis and contributed to a form of critical contextualization in his mission, promoting the growth of the CoP in Ghana. Through intentional mutual interactions, the Church will be able to transmit its spiritual and material resources such as Holy Spirit baptism, charisms of the spirit and all other forms of pneumatic expressions, including reflective pneumatology, water baptism, holy communion, respect for authority and leadership succession among others.

Thirdly, the IGMA is biblical. Both the Old and New Testaments are explicit about the place of intergenerational mission. For example, the call of Abraham aimed at reaching all nations. Abraham was, however, expected to 'direct his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing what is right and just, so that the Lord will bring about for Abraham what he has promised him' (Gen. 18:19). Other Old Testament Scriptures present the model of worship within the Jewish system as intergenerational, where both children and adults worshipped together (Deut. 31:11-13; Jos. 8:35; 1 Sam. 2:18, 3:1-18; 1 Chr. 25:6-9; 2 Chr. 31:16-18; Ez. 10:1; Joel 2:15 &16).

Jesus Christ himself demonstrates why children should neither be despised nor hindered from coming to him (Matt 18:2-6,10; 19:13-15; Mk 10:13-16). According to Hilborn and Bird, 'Jesus several times takes the religious leaders of his day to task for the sort of intergenerational stereotypy which breeds legalism and ritualism' (Hilborn & Bird 2002:166). Paul's writings also demonstrate the importance he attaches to intergenerational mutuality where diverse worldviews and divergent ideas could function harmoniously and complement each other (Rom 12:3-8; 1 Cor 12:27; Eph 2:14-21; Phil 2:1-5; Col 3:12-17; see also Febus-Paris 2014:20; Hilborn 2017:32). For example, in 2 Timothy 2:5 Paul tells us that the sincere faith identified in Timothy also dwells in his mother Eunice and his grandmother Lois. This gives an indication of a mutual interaction of son, mother and grandmother for the effective transmission of such a virtue as faith.

8.3.2   Practical Application of the IGMA

Since missiology has not responded adequately to the generational gap problem from the perspective of contextualisation, missiology lectures in seminaries, Bible schools, and universities do not provide modules on mission to the generations. As a result, the mission scholars are not intentionally and effectively trained for missions to the generations. This also applies to the churches. Communicating the gospel to the generations has been taken for granted. The best approach currently, is the focus on youth and children ministries in age specific settings. These ministries are very vital in the Church's mission approach because they illustrate the Church's acknowledgement of the differences in the cultures between the old and younger generations. This notwithstanding, the age-segregated approaches do not provide solution to the generational gap problem since the approach focuses on training few people who see themselves as youth workers or children's ministry teachers. Meanwhile, practically,

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faith transmission to emerging generations does not lie solely with such selected few who are specifically youth and children's workers. Whether directly or indirectly, faith transmission involves the whole church and efforts must be made to bring this awareness and training to the whole church. This requires a massive paradigm shift in mission training both in the training institutions and in the informal structures of the churches.

In the CoP, for example, this research contended that there are many good structures for leadership training and development that can be used to effectively execute this task. Before its implementation in the local congregations, there is the need for leadership training and effective communication of the approach. The CoP's leadership training system, where leaders are trained through pastors and wives' conferences, ministerial training for new pastors (as well as short courses for pastors in the field) at STML, annual officers' retreats (usually referred to in the CoP as *Apostolization*) and annual lay leaders' training should be used for effective education. These training sessions should also give enough opportunity for questions and discussions in order that pertinent issues that may be misunderstood or that are not clear, could be addressed.

Practically, the direct mentorship approach, which was discussed in Chapter Three can be adopted and used for effective intergenerational mission. This approach encourages intentional mutual interaction among generations, giving opportunity to young people to learn from the old whilst adults also learn from young people. For example, the ministerial formation structure of the CoP, which makes provision for young ministers in training to spend practical time with older ministers should be maintained and strengthened. There should be adequate monitoring and evaluation of this block placement programme for effective feedback. This would encourage the intergenerational encounter among ministers. Hilborn and Bird (2002:170) contended,

'One of the most potentially rewarding means by which constructive intergenerational succession may be achieved is through mentoring'. Allen and Ross (2012:234) posit, 'Meaningful relationships between people of various generations can serve to break down generational gaps, can alleviate ageism and can enable youth to see themselves as part of the Church rather than youth group members only'.

Sunday morning Bible studies should intentionally involve children, especially those of school going age who are able to read the Bible. Currently, during Bible studies in the CoP, children do not join the adults since they have separate meetings, and in some congregations, the teens are also grouped separately. Each group studies what is specific to their needs. As much as this is good, the problem it creates, which has been the emphasis of the IGMA is that, it makes the young people live in a different world whilst their parents are also in a different world, albeit in the same congregation. When intentional efforts are made to integrate, the older ones would have the opportunity to listen to how the younger ones understand and interpret the Bible. In the same way, the young would also pick up from the rich experiences of Bible interpretations from the old. Vision 2023 of the CoP clearly indicates, 'The Church shall be committed to transforming the Bible study groups to become Discipleship Groups to augment the pastoral care system in the Church. Bible study leaders shall visit group members at their homes and work places to encourage them in the faith where feasible' (CoP 2018). To be able to effectively disciple the next generation, there should be that integrated approach to discipleship.

Above all, as stated earlier in describing the IGMA, Sunday services should be intentionally intergenerational. The needs of all generations within the Church should be taken into consideration in the planning of the liturgy, church activities and in sermon preparations. This will also mean involving representatives of children and youth in the planning stages of these activities. Similar approach should also be used

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when planning for conventions and evangelistic outreaches. It is contended that, 'Intergenerational services provide intense moments of faith and relationship building as the attending children, youth and adults all are stretched spiritually and emotionally' (Allen & Ross 2012:233).

8.5 Areas for Further Research

This thesis has identified some important areas that time and space could not permit extensive exploration and evaluation. These are being suggested as areas for further research. First, in discussing the self-propagation principle, it was evident that right from its inception, women in the CoP have played and continued to play significant roles in supporting the growth of the Church. As at the end of 2018, the CoP's statistics showed that women constituted 62 per cent of the Church's membership. Despite these contributions, women are not ordained into the full-time ministry as pastors of the CoP. It will be important to further research in this area in order to find out the reasons for this decision and the implications this may have for the future of the CoP's mission.

Secondly, the research has identified that McKeown's approach to pneumatology can best be described as 'reflective pneumatology'. This seems to have created a unique pneumatological outlook for the CoP in Ghana. It is to be assumed that this reflective pneumatology might have influenced the practices of some other Pentecostal denominations such as the Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church, who had some amount of contacts with McKeown during his mission in Ghana. This pneumatology would require further exploration to determine its influence and significance for Ghanaian Pentecostalism.

Third, although McKeown emphasised that his aim was 'Just to Evangelise', the CoP in contemporary times, has expanded its social services, offering medical services (including a major hospital in Accra) and educational facilities (including Pentecost

University, one of the leading private universities in Ghana). In addition, the five-year vision of the CoP, dubbed 'Possessing the nation', intends to influence every sphere of society, including politics, chieftaincy, business and the media. The Church has already launched a country-wide 'Environmental Care', campaign which is currently on-going in the various regions, the church is assisting the government to build police stations for the Ghana Police Service; it is also building some facilities for the Ghana Prisons Service. It will be important to investigate the extent to which the Church's expanding social focus is considered part of its integral mission.

8.6   Conclusion

It was argued in this studies that research in missiology has not responded adequately to the generational gap problem whilst generational studies have also failed to approach the subject from a missiological perspective. I therefore maintained throughout this research that theology has to be done again for every generation, using the principles of contextualization and intergenerationality, because Christian mission is not only affected by differences in geographical cultures; it is also affected by differences in generational cultures. This is especially crucial in Africa, where the demography of the church is hugely multigenerational. I further contended that to effectively mitigate the generational gap problem in Christian mission, there is the need to pay close attention to the contexts of both the older and younger generations. Just as missionaries who work in foreign lands need training, missiology must be developed to provide intentional training to the older generations on appropriate ways of communicating the gospel to succeeding generations. Many of the OG may not be aware that in an attempt to transmit the gospel to the next generation, they are treading cultural grounds very different from theirs. They therefore keep repeating the

missiological mistakes of the past by replicating mission models that do not fit the contexts of new generations.

The major difference between foreign missions and missions to the next generation is the fact that in carrying out mission to the generations, there is no real 'euthanasia of mission' as suggested by Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) and Henry Venn (1796-1873), and whether the mission goes well or not there cannot be any 'missionary go home' as suggested by Federico Pagura (1974:115-6). This is because in intergenerational mission, the mission field is also the homeland of the missionaries. This makes the need for intergenerational approach to mission within multigenerational contexts, a missiological imperative. This also means that whilst the older generations are being trained in this mission, the younger generation must also be given training in respecting the old and appreciating the fact that the OG's context may differ, yet their wisdom and experience cannot be taken for granted. Beyond that the need for the NG to take care of the old as a Christian responsibility and the social contract of reciprocity in the African context, must be appropriated in this mission.

The attempt of this research to bring contextual models into dialogue with generational studies from an African Pentecostal perspective is therefore an effort to contribute to the growing body of knowledge in African Pentecostal/ Charismatic missiology. This was done by using the concept of contextualization to discuss an intergenerational mission approach in the CoP, Ghana. Throughout this research, it has been argued that a church that lives in history will, admittedly, find itself losing its youthful demography. On the other hand, a church that neglects the needs of the older generation, will find itself reaching out only to the younger generation. This thesis proposes that the Church must be intergenerational; a family of God where both the old and young worship and serve together. Since the CoP occupies a significant place in African Pentecostalism, it is hoped that the outcome of this thesis can be extrapolated to

the wider African contexts, attending to the deep-seated cultural needs of the older generations whilst responding to the dynamics of cultural change among the youth. Although this research does not claim that this approach can completely eliminate conflict among the generations, it does propose that when implemented well, the approach can mitigate the generational gap and contribute to sustaining Christian mission in Africa, into the foreseeable future.

APPENDICES

Appendix One

Photograph 3. James McKeown at the early
stages of sis mission in Ghana
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh,
Central Region.

Photograph 4. James McKeown at the later
stages of his mission in Ghana
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh,
Central Region.

Photograph 5. James & Sophia McKeown at the
early stages of their mission in Ghana (n.d)
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh,
Central Region.

Photograph 6. James & Sophia McKeown at
the later stages of his mission in Ghana (n.d)
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh,
Central Region.

| Photograph 7. James McKeown and his indigenous Executive Council members (n.d) Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region. | Photograph 8. James McKeown and his indigenous Executive Council Members in 1960. Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region. |

Photograph 9. James McKeown and his indigenous Executive Council members in 1975.
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.

Photograph 10. A younger McKeown and his indigenous pastors (n.d, approximately before 1954), since SH Hammond and Seaborne (who appeared in the picture) did not continue the work with McKeown after 1953, when the CoP seceded from the ACUK.
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.
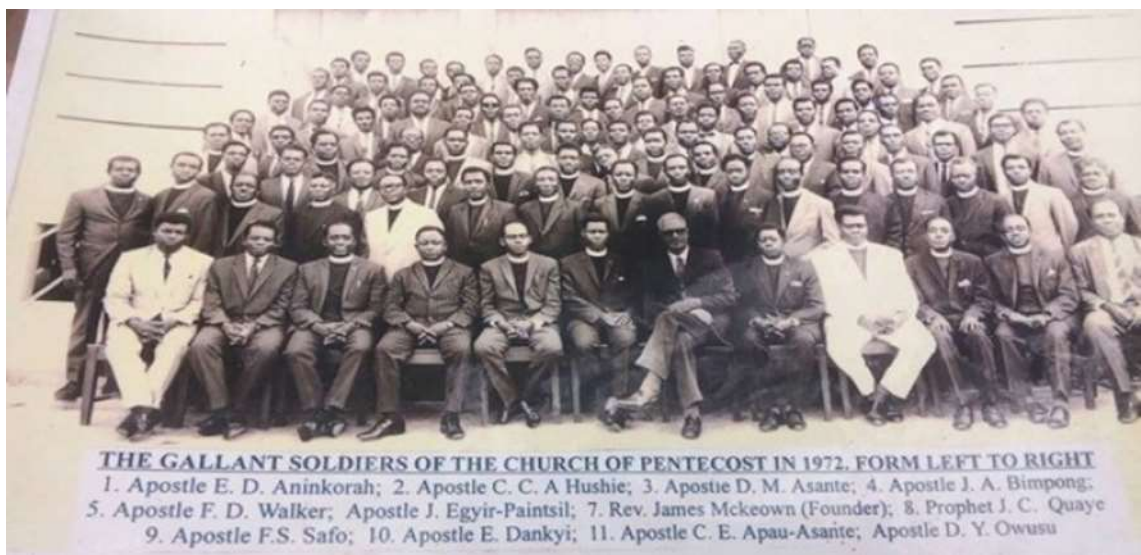
Photograph 11. An older McKeown and his indigenous pastors (n.d).
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.

Photograph 12. The CoP paying tribute to Sophia McKeown (n.d).
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.

Photograph 13. James McKeown wearing a
Ghanaian cloth (picture on from cover of
Pentecost fire, issue 84, 1987).
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh,
Central Region.

Photograph 14. James McKeown wearing a
Ghanaian smock in 1978.
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh,
Central Region.

LOCAL PASTER ENJOYS THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOUR

SOME 52 YEARS ago Pastor James McKeown, of Portglenone, arrived on the Gold Coast, West Africa, with his wife Sophia - the start of 45 years in what is now Ghana, teaching the Christian Gospel.

Just days before Mr. McKeown's sudden death last week, he and his late wife's life-long religious commitment were repaid, when they welcomed three visitors from their beloved Africa.

Pastor M.K. Yeboah, Chairman of the Church of Pentecost of West Africa, and Pastor Ato Addison, its General Secretary, preached in the Elim Pentecostal Churches of Ballymena and Cullybackey during their stay.

Mr. Addison was accompanied on the trip, by his wife, Grace.

During Mr. McKeown's time in Africa, he founded the Church of Pentecost, which was first registered at Accra, Ghana, in August, 1961. It grew phenomenally to become the largest indigenous church in Ghana, with around 4,000 assemblies.

In 1988, they opened 175 new works and baptised 25,000 new members into their ranks. The work has now extended into nine neighbouring countries in west Africa.

Photograph 15. A publication by Elim Church, showing funeral information about McKeown in 1989.
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.

Alderman Sandy Spence presents Seven Towers plaques to West African visitors Pastor M.K. Yeboah, Pastor Ato Addison and Mrs. Grace Addison during their visit to Ballymena Town Hall on Monday. Included is Pastor W.G. Mullan, of Ballymena Elim Pentecostal Church.

Photograph 17. Prophet MK Yeboah, Apostle Rigwell Ato Addison & Grace Addison. After Church Service with EPC, Sunday after McKeown's Burial
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.

Appendix Two

THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST : 1953 - 2015 MEMBERSHIP

| YEAR	GHANA	INT'L MISSIONS	WORLDWIDE
1953	13,940	-	13,940
1954	16,988	-	16,988
1955	20,701	-	20,701
1956	25,227	-	25,227
1957	30,739	-	30,739
1958	34,669	196	34,865
1959	45,650	1,669	47,319
1960	47,108	-	47,108
1961	40,600	2,600	43,200
1962	43,276	-	43,276
1963	40,595	-	40,595
1964	40,193	4,789	44,982
1965	41,263	4,152	45,415
1966	37,867	4,714	42,581
1967	38,903	4,873	43,776
1968	63,138	6,778	69,916
1969	49,066	7,117	56,183
1970	56,859	6,742	63,601
1971	60,232	5,605	65,837
1972	61,713	6,041	67,754
1973	65,773	14,265	80,038
1974	70,195	7,599	77,794
1975	78,514	5,200	83,714
1976	82,028	5,536	87,564
1977	92,091	7,640	99,731
1978	100,412	3,733	104,145
1979	106,244	4,078	110,322
1980	119,530	3,735	123,265
1981	127,130	4,736	131,866
1982	177,311	3,713	181,024
1983	188,699	7,932	196,631
1984	210,350	10,420	220,770
1985	241,055	9,628	250,683
1986	253,728	15,176	268,904
1987	272,978	24,394	297,372
1988	275,115	27,306	302,421
1989	291,549	29,838	321,387
1990	323,414	20,067	343,481
1991	359,508	21,015	380,523
1992	417,666	38,617	456,283
1993	479,300	42,110	521,410
1994	534,268	45,110	579,378
1995	589,268	48,110	637,378
1996	641,771	77,979	719,750
1997	711,426	86,088	797,514
1998	779,199	90,690	869,889
1999	863,401	109,194	972,595
2000	919,729	119,429	1,039,158
2001	988,608	125,098	1,113,706
2002	1,060,685	141,772	1,202,457
2003	1,126,791	149,836	1,276,627
2004	1,206,063	168,102	1,374,165
2005	1,290,712	189,118	1,479,830
2006	1,375,496	211,094	1,586,590
2007	1,468,726	226,686	1,695,412
2008	1,541,766	246,348	1,788,114
2009	1,618,561	263,595	1,882,156
2010	1,703,585	277,258	1,980,843
2011	1,810,056	292,487	2,102,543
2012	1,938,411	313,817	2,252,228
2013	2,078,166	340,908	2,419,074
2014	2,031,752	375,793	2,407,545
2015	2,208,509	404,109	2,612,618

Source: Statistics Office: COP-HQ

A table showing membership statistics of the CoP from 1953-2015.
Source: Pentecost Archives, Gomoa-Fetteh, Central Region.

Appendix Three
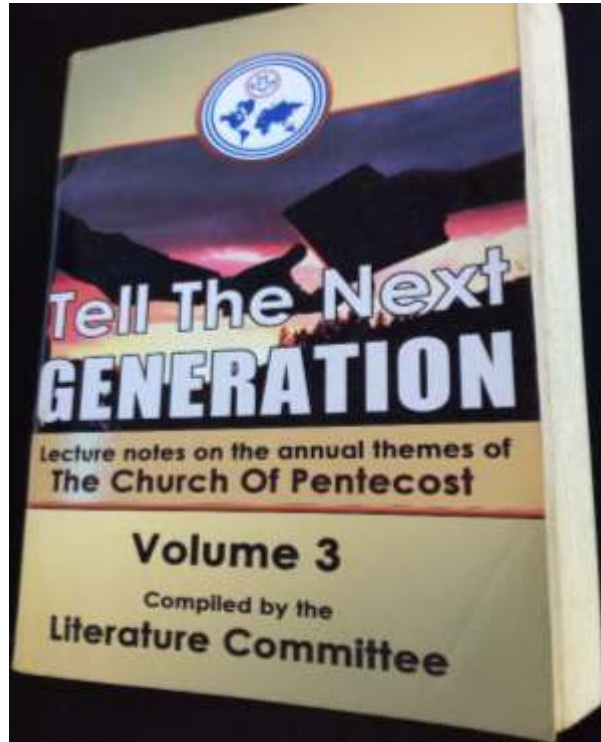
Cover page of *Tell the Next Generation Vol. 3* published in 2013.
Picture by Author.
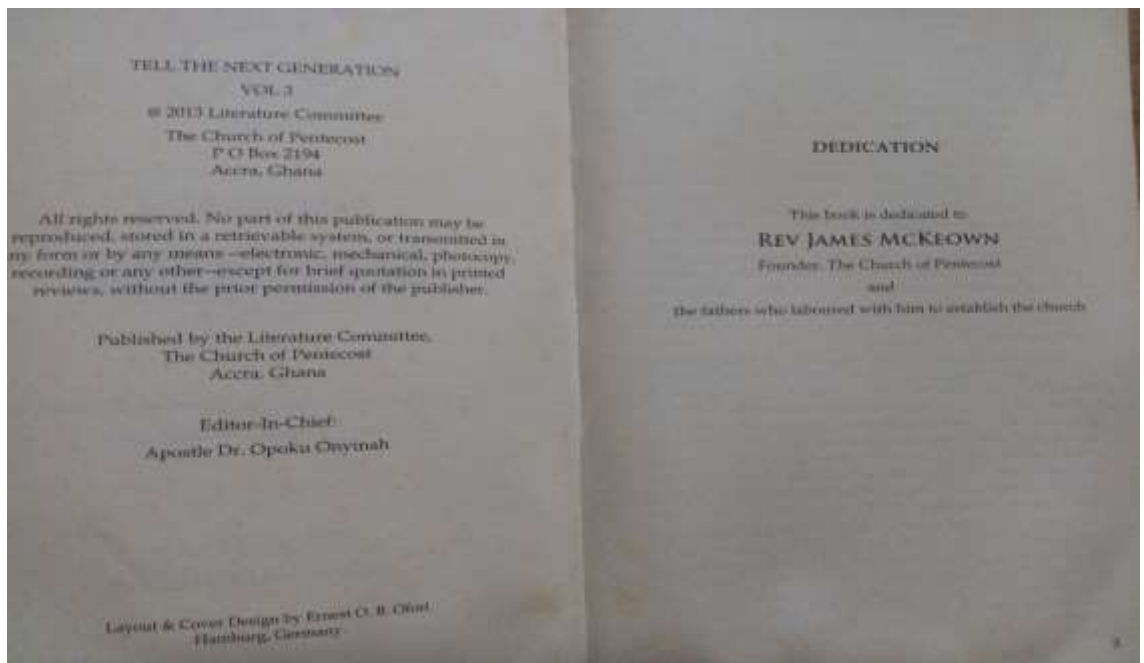
Dedication page of *Tell the Next Generation Vol. 3* published in 2013.
Picture by Author.

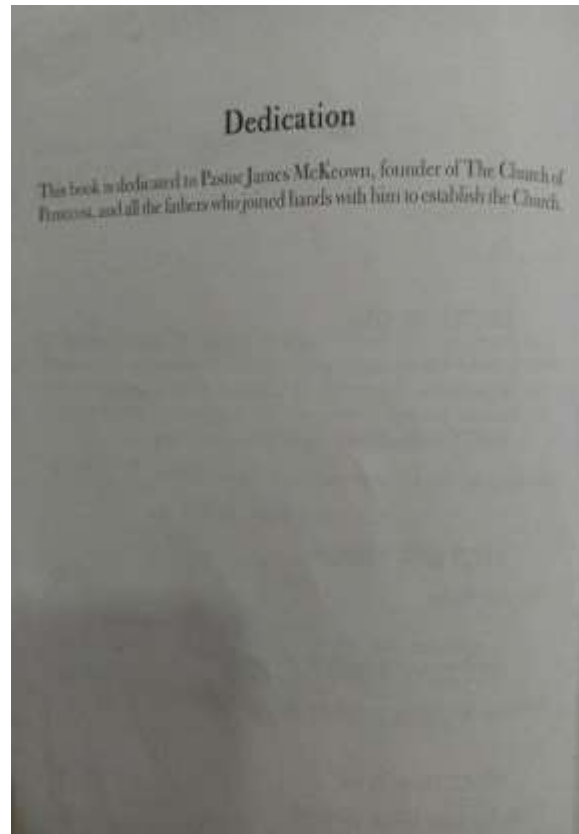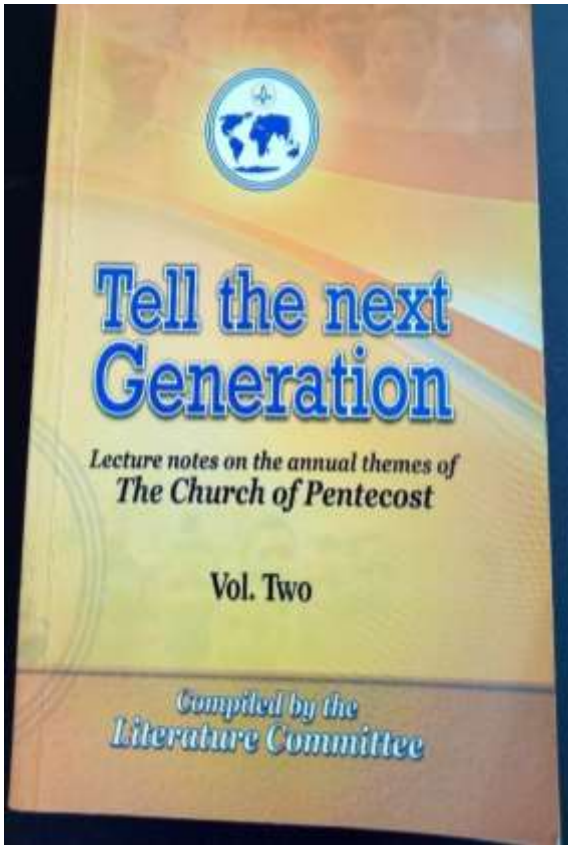Cover and Dedication pages of *Tell the Next Generation Vol. 2* published in 2008.
Picture by Author.
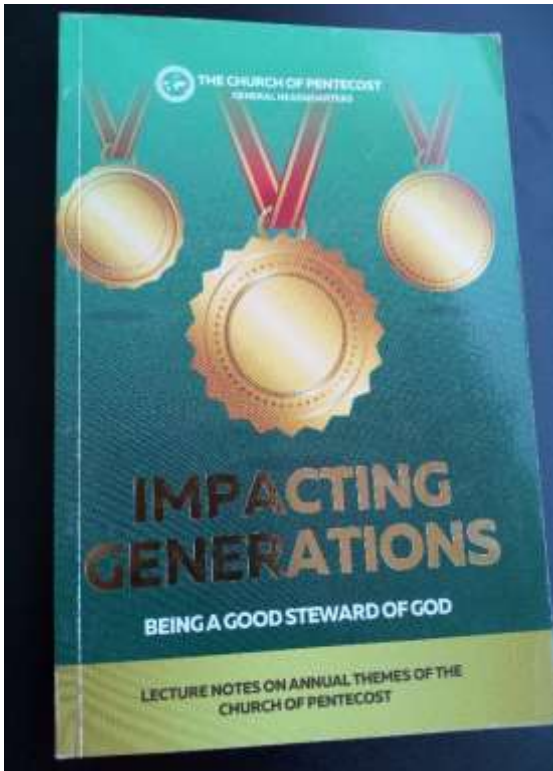
Cover page of one of the series in *Impacting Generations* published in 2017.
Picture by Author.
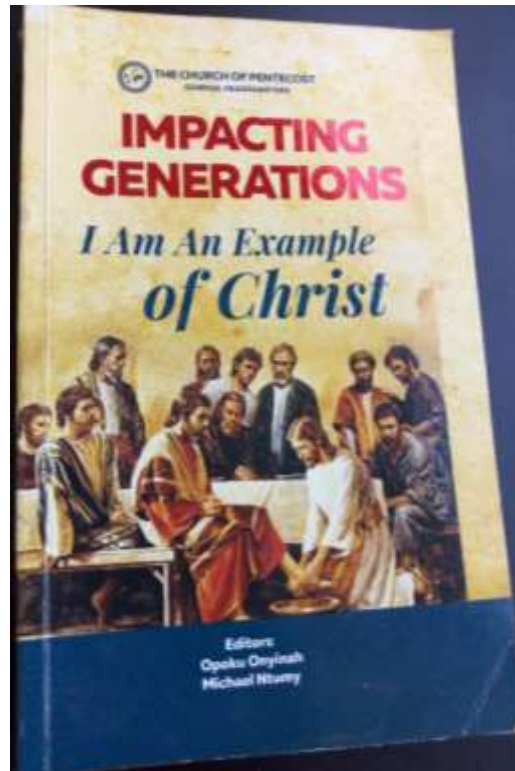
Cover page of one of the series in *Impacting Generations* published in 2015.
Picture by Author.
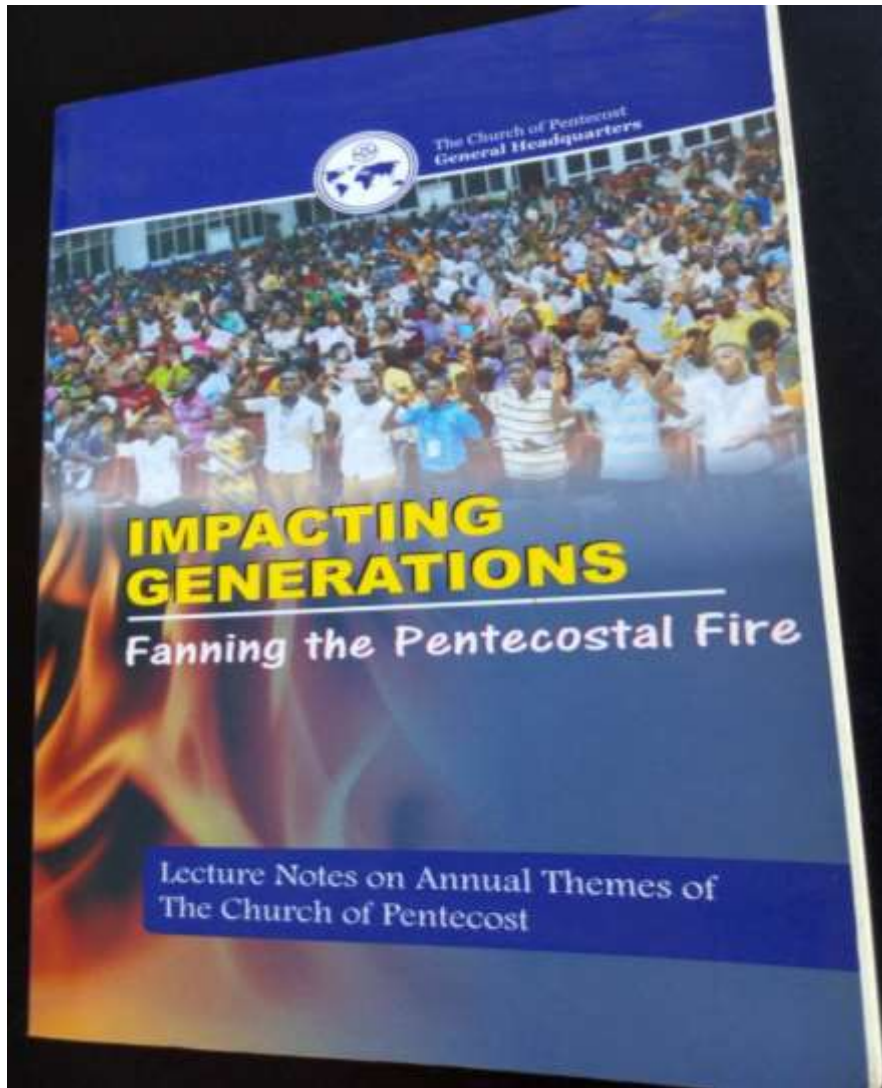
The Cover of one of the series in *Impacting Generations* published in 2014.
Picture by Author.
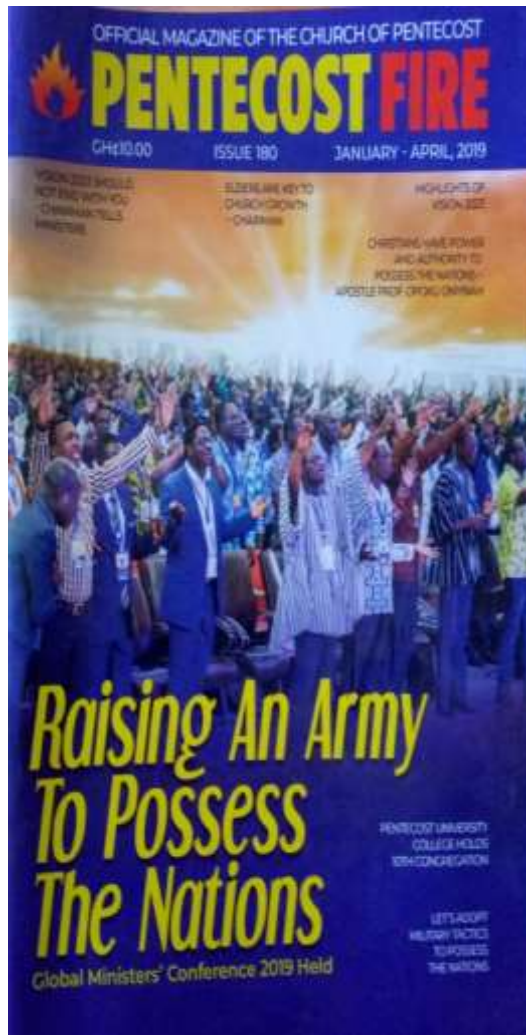
Samples of the front cover of Pentecost Fire magazine (official magazine of The Church of Pentecost) with the symbol of fire at the left right corner. Pictures by Author.

Appendix Four

THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST - GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

P.O. Box 2194, Accra-Ghana

Tel: (+233)-0302 771405; 057-0947613

Fax: (+233)-302-774721

OUR REF:

COP/GSO/004/2019

YOUR REF:

January 10, 2019

Area Heads
The Church of Pentecost
Ghana

Dear Sir,

INVITATION TO THE NATIONAL PRAYER CENTRE LEADERS' SEMINAR

Greetings in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

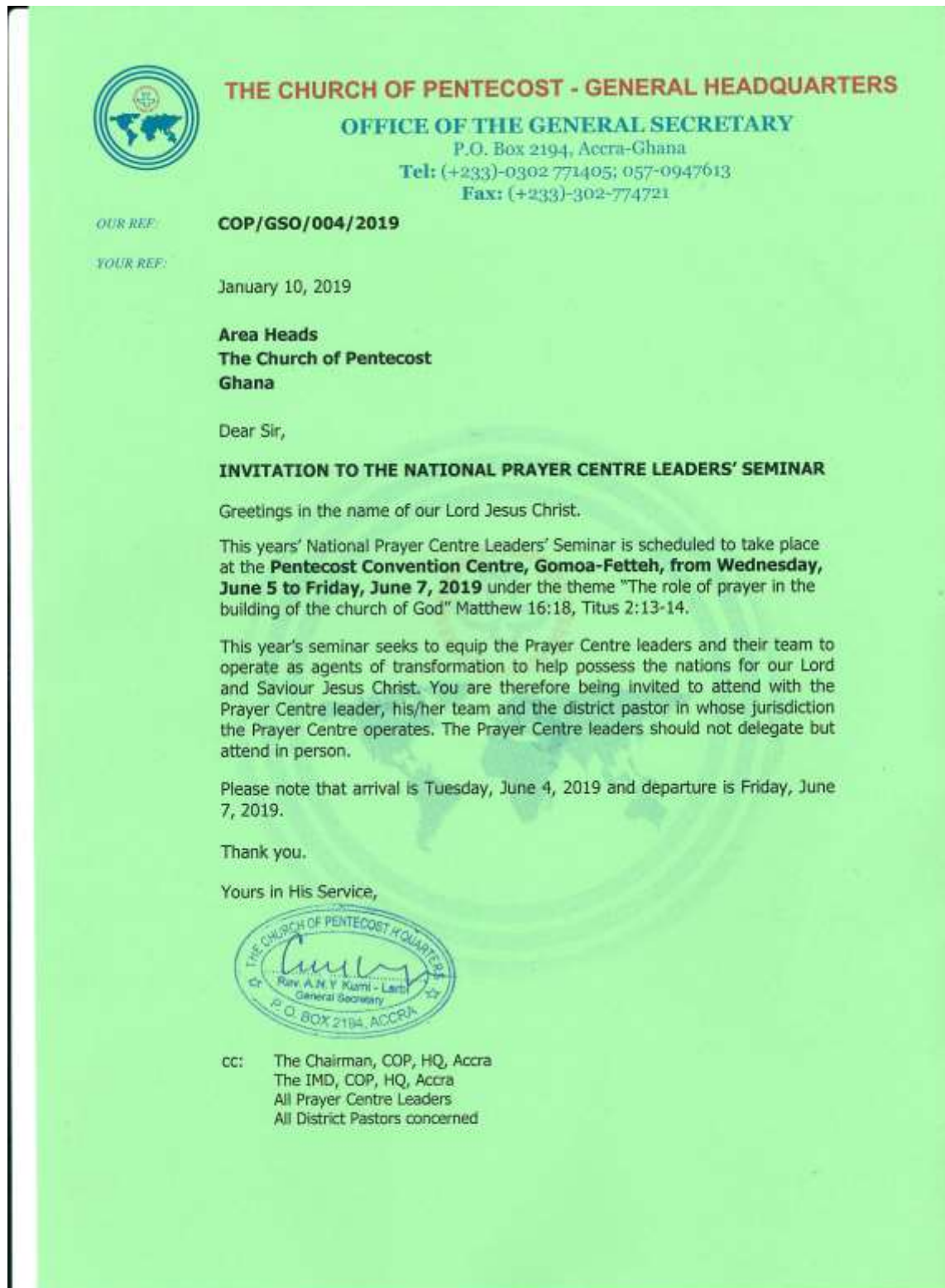This years' National Prayer Centre Leaders' Seminar is scheduled to take place at the **Pentecost Convention Centre, Gomoa-Fetteh, from Wednesday, June 5 to Friday, June 7, 2019** under the theme "The role of prayer in the building of the church of God" Matthew 16:18, Titus 2:13-14.

This year's seminar seeks to equip the Prayer Centre leaders and their team to operate as agents of transformation to help possess the nations for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. You are therefore being invited to attend with the Prayer Centre leader, his/her team and the district pastor in whose jurisdiction the Prayer Centre operates. The Prayer Centre leaders should not delegate but attend in person.

Please note that arrival is Tuesday, June 4, 2019 and departure is Friday, June 7, 2019.

Thank you.

Yours in His Service,

Rev. A.N.Y Kumi - Larbi
General Secretary

cc: The Chairman, COP, HQ, Accra
        The IMD, COP, HQ, Accra
        All Prayer Centre Leaders
        All District Pastors concerned

A letter inviting Prayer Centre leaders and their teams as well as the area heads and district pastors who have such centres in their jurisdiction to a training seminar

Appendix Five

A poster announcing an online prayer meeting at PIWC Koforidua, which was named 'Midday Call'

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Bortsie, Benjamin Alex 2015 [A retired Elder of the CoP, knows McKeown since 1968] James McKeown's Mission Praxis in The Church of Pentecost. Personal Interview, Winneba, Central Region, 11/05/2015

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Focus Groups

Abigail [Pseudonym] 2018 [PENSA Executive Committee Member] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 2, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (FGKNUST) 17/08/2018

Agnes [Pseudonym] 2018 [A student of Pentecost University and a member of The Church of Pentecost] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 1, Pentecost University, Accra (FGPU) 20/05/2018

Baabra [Pseudonym] 2018 [PENSA Executive Committee Member] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 1, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (FGKNUST) 17/08/2018

Coby [Pseudonym] 2018 [PENSA Executive Committee Member] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 1, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (FGKNUST) 17/08/2018

Daniel [Pseudonym] 2018 [A student of Pentecost University and a member of The Church of Pentecost] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 2, Pentecost University, Accra (FGPU) 20/05/2018

David [Pseudonym] 2018 [A student of Pentecost University and a member of The Church of Pentecost] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 1, Pentecost University, Accra (FGPU) 20/05/2018

Ebo [Pseudonym] 2018 [PENSA Executive Committee Member] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 6, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (FGKNUST) 17/08/2018

Eliot [Pseudonym] 2018 [A Member of PENSA] Contemporary CoP Praxis. Focus Group 1, University of Ghana-Legon, Accra (FGUG) 27/05/2019

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