

Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana

DANISH CHAPLAINS TO GUINEA, 1661—1850

By **Hans Debrunner.**

I

The story of the Danish Chaplains in Guinea is a story of great sufferings and often apparently futile endeavour. From 1660 to 1850 more than 36 Chaplains were sent out from the Lutheran State Church of Denmark. We have evidence that 17 of these died on the Coast and the scanty records suggest that six more might have died there also.

Only 13 of these Chaplains returned home to Denmark. The mortality, therefore, is well over 50%¹. No wonder

¹) Royal confirmations of Governors and priests, Dansk Kanc. C 24 and D 36, Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen for the period from 1700—1769. From 1769 onwards, the Chaplains are mentioned in the Royal Danish "Statskalender". Further particulars are to be found in Kay Larsen's "Dansk vest indisk og guineiske Personalia og Data", two boxes of index cards kept in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Particulars about those Chaplains who returned home to Denmark can be found in most cases in S. V. Wiberg's Dansk Praestehistorie, Odense 1871. Invaluable for the background of the work of the Chaplains and as a guide to the documents in the Rigsarkiv is Dr. Georg Noerregaard: De Danske Etablissementer paa Guineakysten, published in the big volumes edited by Professor Johannes Broendsted under the title »Vore Gamle Tropekolonier", Copenhagen 1952, in Vol. I, pp. 429—647. In addition to the material preserved in the Rigsarkiv, I was able to trace a number of letters from Chaplains to their Bishop in the archives of the Bishops of Zealand, preserved in Landsarkivet for Sjaelland, Copenhagen. I have to thank Dr. Noerregaard and the staff of the two archives, especially Mr. Thomas Hatt Olsen, for their help in tracing documents and in reading the tricky hand of some of the Chaplains.

that the post was not popular among candidates for the ministry, and that it sometimes took two or more years to find a successor for a chaplain who had died on the coast. In the hundred years between 1705 and 1805 the congregation at Christiansborg was orphaned for seven periods of two to four years, adding up to about twenty years when there was no chaplain in Guinea. Nevertheless, there was some continuity in the work, if we consider the difficult communications, where it might take months before the news of a chaplain's death reached Copenhagen, months before a passage for his successor was found, and again months for the journey out.

After the abolition of the slave trade and the failure of the first Danish attempts at plantations, Denmark, weakened by the Napoleonic wars, lost for a time much of her interest in Africa. From 1809 to 1829 there was no chaplain at Christiansborg.

The appointment for the chaplaincy was made by the trading company in charge of Guinea on the recommendation of the Bishop of Zealand. The men who were sent out were all young men who had not yet succeeded in finding a congregation in Denmark-Norway. The job was at first but badly paid, and the congregation had a bad name. The authorities had, therefore, to take the men they could get. Often they could only find a student, who had not yet completed his studies but who for financial or other reasons was in need of a job, and the only place where such men would be employed in the ministry of the Church was the colonies. Others had done their theological exam, but had fared badly and received the qualification "non contemnendum". Therefore, they had but a small chance of getting a congregation. A tour in the colonies would entitle them to an appointment².

The contract for Guinea was at first for six years, later

²) F. Roenning, *Den grundtvigske Slaegt*, Copenhagen 1904, P. 113 f.

for four years only. It is therefore not surprising that we find among the chaplains people in debt (Jacob Grundtvig), mentally unbalanced men (Kop), lazy fellows (Niels Grundtvig), drunkards (Meyer), rowdies (Jenssen), people more interested in trade (Klein), and even a crook (Porth). It is far more surprising that many of these young men did rather well, maintaining a Christian witness in the dark ages of the slave trade, the schnapps trade and general loose living of the European ruffians on the coasts of West Africa.

Trader Roemer gives a very good estimate of the importance of the work of the chaplains for Guinea: "We have had some so-called ministers, about whom we cannot boast; but we have also had valiant men which we can name with pleasure. The first three I did not know personally. Rev. Elias Schwane (sic) is now in charge of a congregation in Zealand. He is still blessed by many Africans here. Rev. Lange lost his life in a miserable way at Elmina. Rev. Trane died on the way back to Denmark. Rev. Olaus Dorph is now Provost on the island of Falster. These three are kept in blessed memory not only among the Europeans, but also among the pagans, and their names are still honoured. It is true that these valiant men were not able to lift up the mind of the Africans to look up to God on high. Yet the Africans nevertheless had a great respect for them and at least were not encouraged in their disbelief."³

During all this time, the Roman Catholics showed a little more interest in missionary work. In the middle of the 18th century, one Roman Catholic, Father Bahours, spent a few days at Christiansborg in the company of trader Roemer. He showed himself very zealous, destroying a fetish and distributing little crosses to those who gave up their charms. He blamed the Protestants severely, and rightly, "that they

³) L. Roemer, *Nachrichten von der Kueste von Guinea*, Copenhagen 1762, P. 284.

did not attempt to convince the Africans to adopt Christianity''⁴.

The chaplains were not missionaries, but their work and witness helped to stir up the Christian conscience and to bring about real missionary work in Ghana. Rev. Mueller already had a real missionary programme in 1661, insisting on the training of an African ministry and on translation of the Bible into the local language⁵. Two of the school boys of the first Danish school founded in 1722 by Rev. Elias Svane were Frederik Petersen Svane and Christian Protten. Protten brought the Moravians to Guinea in 1736 and 1767-70⁶, and F. P. Svane came out on his own as a free missionary in 1736⁷. Trader Roemer had himself missionary ideas, which he must have discussed with his friend, Chaplain Olaus Dorph. He suggested a boarding institute for African boys on an island in the Volta where they should be trained in Christianity, the three R's, and especially in handicrafts and improved farming methods⁸.

As this study will show, the chaplains were also pioneers in education. The story of the Mulatto Fort School from 1722 is quite remarkable. It persisted against a lack of staff, it wrestled with the language question and with the problem of insufficient school books and materials in an unsuitable classroom. The latter section of this study deals with the part played by the chaplains in the coming of the Basel Mission, with Basel Missionaries as chaplains and the relationship between the last Danish chaplains and the Basel Mission⁹.

⁴) Ibid. P. 3.

⁵) W. J. Mueller: *Die afrikanische Landschaft Fetu*, Nurnberg 1675, P. 89.

⁶) P. Steiner: *Ein Blatt aus der Geschichte der Bruedermission*, Basel 1898, contains full information on Protten.

⁷) see H. Debrunner: F. P. Svane, in: *Evangelisches Missions Magazin* 101 Jhg 1957, Pp. 24-35.

⁸) Roemer, *op. cit.* P. 284 f.

⁹) The letters of these Basel Missionaries are preserved in the Archives of the Mission in Basel. Large extracts from these letters were published in the "*Missionsmagazin*" and in the "*Heidenbote*".

II

THE FIRST CHAPLAINS

The Danes first settled in Guinea in 1658, when they took Cabo Corso (Cape Coast) Castle from the Swedes. In 1659 they lost Cabo Corso and this led to the foundation of their Castle Frederiksborg near Manfrou, half an hour from Cape Coast. It is possible that even in those early days there were already Danish Chaplains functioning at Cape Coast or at Frederiksborg. Rev. W. J. Mueller, who became chaplain in 1661, wrote: "No Danish, Swedish, Dutch, or English chaplain ever returned home alive before me"¹⁰.

The German, *Wilhelm Johann Mueller*, from Harburg near Hamburg, is the first chaplain in Danish service whose name we know. He worked at the fortress Frederiksborg from 1661 to 1669¹¹. Mueller was a remarkable man. He observed the country and the life of the Africans shrewdly, discussed religion with them, made missionary plans and collected an Akan Word List, which is surprisingly accurate. On his return home he published his memoirs, dedicating them to the King of Denmark in the hope of being given a parish¹².

Mueller probably had one or more successors at Frederiksborg. Trader Tilleman mentions in a book published in 1697¹³ that the 45 Danes there were under the pastoral charge of a chaplain¹⁴. In 1661 the Danes had taken over "Osu lodge" from the Swedes and had begun to build Christiansborg Castle there. It is possible that in the time between 1661 and 1700 there were also some Danish

¹⁰) Mueller, op. cit. Preface.

¹¹) For details about Mueller see: H. Debrunner, Notable Danish Chaplains on the Gold Coast in: Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society Vol. II, 1 Achimota 1956, Pp 13-29.

¹²) Mueller, op. cit. The book was first published in Hamburg and then reprinted in Nuremberg.

¹³) Tilleman: *Liden enfoldig Beretning om det Landtscap Guinea*, Copenhagen 1697.

¹⁴) Partial translation of Tilleman's book into English in: Journal of the African Society 1904, P. 3.

chaplains¹⁵. In 1679 the Danish Commander of Christiansborg, Peter Bolt, sold the castle to the Portuguese, who renamed it Fort St. Francis Xavier. A Roman Catholic African priest, who had been ordained by the Bishop of the West African island, Sao Thomé, said mass there in a chapel built by the Portuguese¹⁶. In 1682 the Danes bought back the castle from the Portuguese. The chapel built by the latter was used by the Danish chaplains for the next hundred years. In 1693 Christiansborg was conquered by the Akwamu trader Asamany, but in 1694 the Danes bought it back.

The first Danish chaplain at Christiansborg whose name I am able to trace was *Friederich Snell*, whose appointment was confirmed by the King of Denmark in 1700. He was followed by one *Jorgen Bagge*, appointed on the 25 February 1702. The next was *Andreas Marriager*, appointed 26 August 1704¹⁷. *Anders Vinter* was on the coast from 25 May, 1705 to 25 May, 1709, exactly four years. He handed over the congregation in good order. On his return journey he landed at Little Popo together with trader Todberg and Captain Hans Maas. On their return to the ship the surf boat capsized and Todberg and Vinter were drowned. Captain Maas died from the injuries he had received¹⁸.

*Johannes Rask*¹⁹, born the son of a provost on the island of Laaland, Denmark, was appointed to the chaplaincy on 17 October 1708. He arrived in Christiansborg on 25 April 1709, after a stormy passage of five months. He was a conscientious pastor, whose heart grieved over the slave trade. He left Christiansborg on 29 September 1712, and

¹⁵) *ibid.*

¹⁶) Barbot, A description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea, London 1746, P. 181 and 183.

¹⁷) See the Royal Confirmations of Snell, Bagge, Marriager.

¹⁸) Joh. Rask: En kort og sandfaerdig Reise-Beskrivelse til og fra Guinea 1709–1713, Trondhjem 1754, P. 66 and 70 f.

¹⁹) On Rask: Roy. Conf. Wiberg *op.cit.* and Debrunner, Notable Danish Chaplains.

arrived in Denmark via the West Indies on 25 May 1713. He had to pass a further theological exam in Norway and was then posted in 1715 to the congregation of Roerstad and Kaeringoe within the arctic zone. He wrote down his African memories there and died on 8 February 1744. His son succeeded him as minister to the congregation there and showed the manuscript to the visiting Bishop of Trondhjem, who had it published in 1754²⁰. It was one of the first books printed in Norway.

On 6 May 1713, the Bishop of Bergen in Norway ordained a student, *Niels Smed*²¹, whose appointment to the chaplaincy was confirmed by the King of Denmark on the 13th of that month. I have not been able to discover any more about this man—possibly he did not come out after all. Certainly there was a vacancy at Christiansborg. On June 21st, 1717, *Christopher Pedersen Sunlien*²² was appointed. He died on the Coast, where his goods were auctioned on 6 January 1718. There followed a vacancy till 1721.

Elias Hansen Svane was the offspring of an influential trader's family in Kalundborg in Zealand²³. He received his royal confirmation as Chaplain to Guinea in July 1721²⁴ and probably arrived in Guinea late in 1721 or early in 1722. He wrote thus on 6 February 1722 to the Directors of the West India and Guinea Trading Company: "... here are some points which worry me in my employment: 1) that the children which have been born to the Europeans from their African wives have remained without any enlightenment about God and their salvation . . . Please send out a suitable person as a teacher . . . We have made a beginning, and have installed a soldier called *Boelle Merkel* as teacher. From time to time, the Governor examines the children.

²⁰) Rask, op.cit.

²¹) Roy. Conf.

²²) Roy. Conf.

²³) Wiberg, op.cit.

²⁴) Roy. Conf.

Merkel should be encouraged by an increment in his salary.

2) We further need a deacon, who could sing the litany before the altar in a black suit, so that in all things awe and respect should have their due place in the worship of God. But whom should I employ? Nobody here is suitable for the job. Please send out a deacon.

3) The chapel hall (built by the Portuguese, H.D.) is in a highly unsatisfactory state. The stairs to the Governor's apartment lead through it, so that there is a constant going and coming of pagans and traders, who even use the chapel as a waiting room. The plank before the altar, on which I stand when officiating, is so rotten that I always fear it may break through. There is no painted altar piece here. The church robes are torn and shabby. We have no candelabrum and no candles. There is no bench for the communicants to kneel down at the Lord's Supper. The pulpit has collapsed entirely. We have no keys and cannot lock the chapel. On Church occasions there is not enough room in the chapel. We need a book of sermons which every member of the congregation could use in the case of sickness or death of the preacher.

We need primers for the children—please send two dozen, as well as Gospels, Bibles and Psalmbooks (= Hymn-books H.D.). We need the latter for singing. We further need shirts and trousers for the school children. We also need oblates. The books of the last priest have been given to a soldier who knew a little latin. There are here almost no papers and Registers of former times.”²⁵.

Svane's request for teachers and Catechists did not pass unheard. Already on the 27 November 1722 the King of Denmark confirmed the appointment of one *Thomas Steenild* as catechist²⁶.

²⁵) Breve og Dokumenter indk. til Vestindisk-Guineisk Compagnie fra Guinea 1717–1732, Rigsarkivet.

²⁶) Roy. Conf.

When the new Interimsgovernor, Christian A Syndermann, was elected in 1723, Rev. Svane consecrated him in a prayer meeting in the chapel²⁷. After some time, Rev. Elias Svane baptised four mulatto boys. One of them was sent to St. Thomas in the West Indies for further training, the other three were drilled as soldiers. The African mothers did not like having their children sent to the West Indies, fearing that they might be enslaved there²⁸.

Svane seems to have been a man of deep convictions and to have won the love of the Africans. Trader Roemer reports that one day he asked Puttj, the priest of the great Ga war spirit, Laakpa, at Labadi, about his notions on the life after death. Puttj replied: »Signore! I have never been dead and come back to life. So I cannot speak about that other life with the same conviction as your holy man did when he was still in our land.«

Roemer then continues: »This holy man (the proper African word he used has escaped my memory) was the preacher Herr Elias Schwane (spelled thus by Roemer H.D.). I have never met him, but I cannot express or describe the depth of respect with which the Africans keep alive his memory even to this day. Many years after his departure our sailors brought his greetings to one or another African in order to get a few chickens as a reward for it. This present they always got from anybody to whom they brought greetings from him (i. e. Svane).«²⁹

On 17 August 1727 Elias Svane was back in Copenhagen, and on September the direction of the West India and Guinea Trading Company recommended him for favourable advancement in the ministry, mentioning that »In the six years he served us he had great zeal for God's honour and tried to bring the so-called mulattos in the fort to Christianity. He was the first to have begun such a godly work.

²⁷) Letter by Synderman, 29. 12. 1728, Br. & Dok.

²⁸) Noerregaard, op.cit. P. 568.

²⁹) Roemer, op.cit. P. 87.

Twenty-two mulattos were taught Christianity, of whom four were baptised and two more followed him to Copenhagen.»³⁰

The boys selected were the mulatto sons of soldier Protten and ensign Pedersen. He had received the order to take two along from Copenhagen. Rev. Svane had no children himself and young Pedersen, whose mother came from a good family in Teshi, became so attached to Rev. Svane that he called him his »father in the Lord« who had »begotten me as Paul had begotten Onesimus«. He therefore adopted the name Svane for himself.³¹

Young Protten had originally not been among the two boys selected. But then one of the two got sick and his parents would not allow him to go. Governor Suhm therefore selected young Protten in his stead.

Protten belonged on his mother's side to the family of the Ga mantse's stool. In spite of the violent protest of his family, Protten had been "snatched from his home country by force" and brought to Denmark. On 17 November, 1727 the two boys were baptized in the great garrison church of Copenhagen, the King of Denmark himself standing Godfather. They were baptised with the royal Danish names of Christian and Frederik: Christian Jakob Protten and Frederik Pedersen Svane.

After this notable occasion, Rev. Elias Svane obtained appointment to the country parish of Sorterup-Ottestrup on his native island of Zealand, where he prepared Frederik and Christian for the University. Protten had originally been destined to learn the trade of a blacksmith, but showed more inclination for study together with his more gifted comrade. The two entered Copenhagen University in 1732.

³⁰) Quoted in a short article on the Danish Mission on the Gold Coast in: Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 3. Raekke V, 1884-6, P. 528.

³¹) Frederik Svane: En kort sandfaerdig og omstændelig General-declaration etc, dated 1 June 1748. Westind. Guin. Komp. A I, Rigsarkivet.

F. P. Svane graduated in 1734 as Bachelor of Arts and Philosophy. In 1735 he came out on his own as free missionary to Guinea, but soon saw himself forced to accept the post of a catechist and teacher at the Mulatto school in 1736. Christian Protten did not graduate. In 1735 he met Count Zinzendorf, the leader of the Moravian brethren, who sent him out as their missionary, together with one Huckoff in 1736. Huckoff died in 1737 and Protten, after some sort of imprisonment on a lagoon island in Togo by the Dutch governor and a period of fever, was called back to Europe in 1740. We shall meet him later in our story as catechist and teacher.

Rev. Elias Svane continued to take a lively interest in the fate of his ward. When Frederik Pedersen Svane returned from Africa in 1746, Rev. Elias Svane helped him to obtain the post of teacher and catechist in Havrebjerg-Gudum, not far from his congregation at Sorterup. There Frederik Pedersen Svane Africanus taught for many years³². Rev. Elias Svane died in 1761³³.

Let us return to Christiansborg in 1726. Rev. Elias Svane's successor was one *Christen Heiger*, who had been appointed in August 1725³⁴. Heiger died, probably in 1728. By the end of that year *Niels Thomassen Lange* was appointed³⁵. He is mentioned as passing St. Thomas on his way out in 1729³⁶.

It may be that he had first been appointed for the West Indies and was then redirected. He arrived on the coast on the 28 December, 1729 and enjoyed good health for a year, as he reports in a letter to Christen Worm, the bishop of Zealand, his superior on 24 December, 1730. He continues:

³²) Debrunner: F. P. Svane. Steiner, op.cit.

³³) Wiberg, op.cit.

³⁴) Roy. Conf.

³⁵) Roy. Conf.

³⁶) Larsen, Personalia.

“But this is not the reason why I molest you with a letter. I have to bring a case before you. My predecessor, Christen Heygaard has baptised, confirmed and blessed the marriage of a mulatto girl with an assistant called Ole Larsen Grue, who then died. Before my arrival here, the same woman began to live together with another assistant, Joergen Bendixoen Warbjerg, on condition that they would marry in church as soon as a priest should arrive. But after some time there arose a disagreement between the two and he chased her away. In the meantime, the woman had conceived and some time after my arrival gave birth to a nice white girl. And yet the father refuses to take her to himself again, although I have often admonished him to do so. I would like to get your advice on what I should do in such cases.”³⁷. On his return journey Rev. N. T. Lange died at Elmina in an accident.³⁸

His successor, Erich Trane, was appointed in October, 1732,³⁹ but had to wait for a full year for a passage out. The journey itself was long and dangerous and took eight months. This is how he complains to his Bishop about the treatment he got on board: »My journey to Guinea took eight months. I write with a sore heart — not only did I experience the troubles of a stormy sea, but I had also to learn to live among wicked people who had turned their back upon God and his holy word. I wanted a thousand times to speak to somebody about my problems — but I was like Paul in Ephesus, fighting with wild beasts, especially with Captain Cornelius Bagge, who paid no attention whatever to your recommendations. He despised God’s holy word and Sabbath observance was like the pestilence to him. He prevented me from preaching on board all these eight months. Some jobs he always had done on Sundays,

³⁷) Bishop’s archives, letters from outside the diocese, Landsarkivet for Zealand.

³⁸) Roemer, *op.cit.* P. 284.

³⁹) Roy. Conf.

solely to prevent divine service. He mocked at religion a great deal when I wanted to speak to him about it. It would have needed a Moses or an Aaron to speak to this most ungodly member of the church. I was forced to eat with these people in the cabin, otherwise I would have gone without food. The meals were a torture. The second in command attempted a mutiny on board, which was, however, suppressed. He was brought to trial. I had to tell the people what the taking of an oath during a trial meant. I then addressed the council to pass such a judgement as could stand before God's throne. Foreseeing that this man, Knud Winderup, would be condemned to death, I tried to avoid giving witness, but the captain forced me to do it. I proposed that the man should be put under arrest and that the matter should be brought before a proper court.⁴⁰ This was written to accompany a complaint against Captain Bagge, accusing him also of trying to seduce Mrs. Trane. The accusation was signed by 15 people and confirmed by a letter of the Governor.⁴¹

Trane was an energetic man. He had talked over with Bishop Worm the question of the position of the African or mulatto wives of the Europeans on the Coast raised by his predecessor. In the letter to Bishop Worm quoted above he continues: "A man living with an African or mulatto wife is only allowed to the Lord's Supper if he gives the following promises: 1. That he will teach Christianity to his wife. 2. That he would make himself responsible for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the children, especially their baptism and instruction. 3. When leaving for Europe, he must ask her before the Governor whether she wants to come with him to Europe as his legitimate wife. These outlines are the final draft, detailing what you have already agreed upon⁴²." This regulation formed the basis of a

⁴⁰) Trane to Bishop, 28 March 1734, Bish. Arch.

⁴¹) Br + Dok Trane 30 March 1734.

⁴²) Trane to Bishop, 28 March 1734.

standing agreement which functioned for the next 80 years or so⁴³.

The school was in a rather miserable condition. The teacher, whom Trane met, a certain *Bremer*, was found to be unsuitable and one of the first things Trane did was to dismiss Bremer and to employ as "Cantor and Catechist" one *Rasmus Other*⁴⁴. On 10 January, 1735 Rev. Trane asked for 1 new church gown, 1 pair of new church wax candles, 1 liturgy book, 2 dozen primers, 2 dozen catechisms, 2 dozen copies of Rostock: Explanation to the Catechism, 2 dozen hymnbooks, and 6 Bibles. He added: "I shall make them pay for the Bibles and Hymnbooks, from their monthly salaries, but I ask to be presented with the other requirements. There are only nine mulatto children here apart from the grown-up daughters of Christian Petersen. These two have martyred my heart and worn me out . . . with their beastly whoredom, which they have introduced into the congregation . . . Five mulatto children are instructed by Precantor and Catechist Rasmus Other. They come every Wednesday and Sunday to church, where I teach them in the catechism and in Bible knowledge, as I am bound by duty to do. The other four are yet too small for school."

Trane then asks also for wine for the Lord's Supper—he had to beg for it until then. He had begun his letter thus: "My humble prayer and my instant request is the same as that of Adad to Pharaoh: 'Let me go and I shall depart to my country'—or like the request Moses put before Jethro: 'My dear father, let me go and I will return home to my brethren and see whether they are still alive' . . . Daily my poor soul is worried here like Lot in Sodom . . . Like Elijah, I am often tempted to ask that God may take my soul, were it not that I have the daily experience that

⁴³) Compare Debrunner, Notable D. Chapl. Pp 22 f.

⁴⁴) Gov. Waeroe, 30 March 1734 Br + Dok.

God is stronger than Satan . . . I ask for my dismissal and permission to return with the next ship. It is true that I have no legal right to ask for this quick release, having engaged myself in writing for six years—but it would make all the difference if your Excellencies knew my situation! When I set out to come here with my wife, we were both cheerful and confident, and none of us was afraid of such a dangerous journey. But now, with the dull daily diet of millet-bread, fish and water, disappointment and grief have become my daily lot.

I have to take my salary in goods and yet I am not allowed to trade. But that is not the worst thing . . . I am quite willing to suffer and to be satisfied with little . . . but here the reign of Satan flourishes and pagan desires and lusts have got the upper hand . . . I have the hard task of admonishing and preaching punishment—and yet I am myself daily tempted like Joseph. O, my gracious Lords, please grant me a gracious relief! I have already done three years in the service of the Company—one year here and two waiting for a passage and travelling out . . . I offer to pay out of my own pocket the monthly allowance for my successor till he is out here, so that the Company might not have any expenses . . . Concerning my grieved wife: She felt weak from the moment we left Helsingoer and all the seven months on the sea. A fortnight after our arrival she had her childbed and was maltreated by the black African women so much, that she was a miserable, poor patient for a full year and certainly would have died without the help of surgeon Mr. Joergen Munth. Again and again she was so sick that I and the angels in heaven would rejoice if I got my dismissal . . . ”⁴⁵

Trane got no answer to this letter. A year later, on April 15th, 1736 he repeats with almost the same words his requests, adding that “God only knows, whether your

⁴⁵) Bish. Arch. Trane 10 January 1735.

company got those letters". He thanked God, "that he had taken pity on this place and congregation by sending out to us the God fearing councillor of the chancellery Schielderup as Govenor . . he has already remedied a lot of things..."⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Frederik Pedersen Svane and his Danish wife had come out on their lonely missionary enterprise. Rev. and Mrs. Trane were very kind to them. When Gov. Schielderup came out, he brought the news that F. P. Svane's passage would not be paid and that he should seek employment with the Company. Svane was now deeply in debt and need. Rev. Trane and Gov. Schielderup came to his help and secured for F. P. Svane the post of a catechist and teacher to the mulatto school, a post which he held for 10 years. Mrs. Trane died on 22 July, 1737 and Trane himself was relieved only at the end of his contract in 1738⁴⁷. He died on the journey home⁴⁸.

Olaf Frantzen Dorph was the son of a church warden. He had completed his studies in 1735 and had then waited for almost two years for a job, as was the lot of theologians in those centuries. He was named as priest for St. Croix in the West Indies, but shortly afterwards, on 6 December 1737 his destination was changed to Guinea. He was ordained on 18 December 1737 and arrived on the coast in 1738, where he stayed till 1742⁴⁹. His catechist, F. P. Svane, called him a worthy and good man⁵⁰. After his return to Denmark he obtained the parish of Oenslev on the island of Falster, where he later became Provost. He died in 1777 at Nakskov.

Rev. *Peder Meyer*, appointed 24 January, 1741, was quite a different person. The hopelessness of his task drove him to drink. The good Governor Schielderup had died. Governor Billsen reported home in July 1743: "In truth it can be said

⁴⁶) Ibid. Trane 15 April 1736.

⁴⁷) Svane, Gen. Dekl. P. 28.

⁴⁸) Roemer, op.cit. P. 284.

⁴⁹) Wiberg op. cit. and Larsen, Personalia.

⁵⁰) Svane, op. cit. Pp 37-9.

that our priest, Rev. Peder Meyer, is the most dissolute person here in the fort. He often gets drunk on brandy, drinking with the soldiers and then sleeps on the floor. All this was tolerated by the former governor . . ." On March 30, 1744 Billsen wrote: "Rev. Peder Meyer has still not paid his debt of 200 rigsdalers to the Company. Although he can still preach, yet we cannot allow him to distribute the sacraments. We therefore ask the Company to send another priest, since the sacrament is a relief in sickness and in the hour of death."⁵¹

Meyer probably was also guilty of introducing his catechist, F. P. Svane to drink⁵². Yet Rev. Peder Meyer was not then called home and we find him installing the good governor Hackenburg in church on 1 May 1745⁵³. Rev. Peder Meyer returned home in June 1746⁵⁴.

Hans Jensen Flye was appointed on the 22 October 1745⁵⁵ and must have come out some time during 1746. On 3 February 1747 he wrote to his Bishop, Peter Hersleb: "As it is my duty as your subordinate, I herewith take the liberty to report to your noble highness what I have found out since my arrival here from the church registers and from conversations about the Sildwanu custom, that each European here in the land takes a moorish woman, so to say, as his wife. I do this according to the promise I gave to your highness the last time I had the fortune to wait on you, when you asked me about the matter. The custom is so widespread that not only do unmarried men take in African girls, but also married men who left their wives in Denmark. The Company does not encourage men to take out their wives . . . The document granting the licence for such liaisons is lost."

⁵¹) Br. + Dok.

⁵²) Debrunner: F. P. Svane, P. 30.

⁵³) Svane, op. cit. P. 123.

⁵⁴) K. Larsen: *De Danske i Guinea*, Copenhagen 1918, P. 61.

⁵⁵) Roy. Conf.

Flye continues by complaining that parents do not educate their children as Christians: "Educated mulattos find it difficult to find suitable jobs and often have to seek employment on board ship. Girls only want to come to school if they are paid for attending, once their father is away in Europe. There are only twenty Christians in town. The European officials have not enough money for the upbringing and teaching of those mulattos whose parents are dead or have gone to Europe. Baptism has been badly misused. Their conversion is purely nominal and done for the sake of material advantages. All sorts of excuses are found by them in order to avoid further instruction. Before baptism, however, they give fair promises. There are other minor difficulties here, but I felt it my duty to report the above especially. Almost everywhere they depart from the fixed rules, and I am at a loss what to do. The people here believe a priest to be an unnecessary piece of furniture and a burden to the community⁵⁶."

On 3 August 1747 Flye died⁵⁷. After a short vacancy of some months, *Jochum Bocchenhofer Klein* was appointed in August 1748⁵⁸. He stayed on the coast for five years and spent another two years on the journey out and back. He sold his slaves in Guinea in 1754 and got a letter of credit for the nice sum of 736 rigsdalers from the Government in Christiansborg in 1754. A priest's salary by that time was 240 rigsdalers annually, the same as the general accountant's salary. The Governor got 800 rsdl., the chief trader 300, surgeon and corporal 192 and constable and catechist only 144 rigsdalers⁵⁹. Klein came home via the West Indies, reaching Copenhagen on October 28, 1755⁶⁰.

⁵⁶) Bish. Arch.

⁵⁷) Larsen, Personalia.

⁵⁸) Ibid.

⁵⁹) Noerregaard, op. cit. P. 567.

⁶⁰) Larsen, Personalia.

Arp Luetken Kop was appointed on 8 June 1753⁶¹. On 4 April 1756 he asked that his parents should get 16 rigsdalers from his salary and his bride should be paid 16 rigsdalers likewise. A boy called Soeren Bay was to get 20 rigsdalers⁶². Was it the longing of love, disappointment in the work, or simple sickness which drove him in 1755 to strip himself naked, to sing and dance and to threaten the guards? In vain people tried to cure his madness with African medicines. He was therefore locked up in a room near the guard, so that an eye could be kept on him. "Sometimes he crept up into the window, hung out his legs and bleated like a goat or crowed like a cock⁶³." He seems, however, to have recovered. During this time, in 1757, *Christian Protten* came out as teacher and catechist, conscientiously pursuing his duties till 1761 when he accidentally killed one of his mulatto school boys when cleaning a gun and was therefore sent "home" to Denmark⁶⁴. Rev. A. L. Kop stayed on the Coast, probably till 1759; his successor, Hyltoft, speaks well of him. Kop returned to Denmark and reported to his Bishop⁶⁵.

Joergen Hyltoft, a student, was appointed to Guinea on 7 September 1759⁶⁶. By a royal resolution he was granted 20 rigsdalers for a minister's gown and 120 rigsdalers advance payment. His wife was permitted to accompany him out⁶⁷. But it was only on 23 December 1760 that he could write to his Bishop that he had arrived safely with his wife and that he had preached his first sermon a fortnight after his arrival. Like Rev. Erich Trane, Hyltoft had had trouble with the captain of the ship that brought

⁶¹) Roy. Conf.

⁶²) Larsen, Personalia.

⁶³) Noerregaard, op. cit. P. 569.

⁶⁴) Steiner, op. cit. P. 26.

⁶⁵) Hyltoft, 11 June 1761, Bish. Arch.

⁶⁶) Roy. Conf.

⁶⁷) Larsen, Personalia.

him out. "I had a disagreement with captain Diderich Smidt, who nearly killed me. He insulted me and called me names, and it is only by God's grace that we arrived here. I have lodged a complaint against him to the government department concerned and I ask you to take up the matter with the authorities at home in order to prevent the captain from spreading lies about me. I do not want the captain to be ruined, I only want him to be rebuked."

The school, under the able management of catechist Christian Protten, "assisted by a good and pleasant fellow called *Dressing*" he found in good order. There being no suitable class room, teaching was done in the chapel. Twenty-four mulatto children attended school. Hyltoft planned an examination for the first Sunday after Christmas. He liked Governor Jessen, whom he called a fine man, who had written for badly needed books for school and church, since the old ones were spoiled. Hyltoft then continues his letter thus: "As soon as I can give reports of progress I shall not fail to do so. Please allow me to have Calvinists in Church and to accept them to the Lord's table, since now and again Calvinist traders come here and desire to partake in the Lord's Supper⁶⁸".

Half a year later, 11 June 1761 Hyltoft again wrote to his Bishop. "I now have held two public Catechism exams in Church. The first I held on 11 January, shortly after my arrival, the second on April 12th. God permitting, I shall hold another exam on St. Michael's day. I regularly hold confirmation classes in my room. Although there are quite a number of people here who should be ready for confirmation, having attended my predecessor's classes, they are all equally ignorant. This is not the fault of my predecessor, Rev. Kop, but is rather to be explained by their having been brought up by their African mothers, by their life amongst the Africans and by their poor knowledge of the Danish language. But with God's help I have prepared two of the

⁶⁸) Bish. Arch.

mulatto soldiers so far that I could admit them to the Lord's Supper on Trinity Sunday. I hold my confirmation lessons every day in the morning, except on Saturdays and Sundays and during festivals, especially during Passion time. But since then Christian Protten, the teacher, has been dismissed by the Governor. I have only good things to say about Protten. He is now going to Copenhagen, and I recommend him to your protection. Thus I have double work to do — indeed, the harvest is great, but the workers are few. The old teacher can check the reading of the children, but he has no gift for teaching. He is a nice and harmless simple old soul. May God give me strength for the work. The children, as Rev. Kop will have told you orally, understand but little Danish. The language question is our main difficulty here. The governor is a good and pious man. Trader Reindorf is returning to Denmark. He had a palaver with the Governor. I had to take the Governor's place presiding in the court case, where accusations against Reindorf for having planned a rebellion against the Governor were heard. I had to do this since the Governor was a party in the case". Hyltoft ended his letter by speaking of his first complaint against Captain Smet (spelled thus here) which had brought no result and stated that Smet had also insulted his wife and that he had boasted "I have not been to the sacrament for seven years and I need no priest to forgive me". Hyltoft wondered whether his complaint had got lost⁶⁹.

The last letter of Rev. Hyltoft preserved in the Bishop's archives is dated 21 May 1762. "Governor Jessen is returning home. I want to give you my assessment of his work. He cared for good order and discipline in church. He urged people to attend services and himself gave a good example. The only thing of which I have to complain is that he did not attend our Lord's Supper, as I already wrote to you before (this refers to a letter which has got lost). I don't

⁶⁹) Ibid.

know why. Please go into that matter. Captain Smet and Mr. Reindorph (sic) accuse the Governor of having caused a shipwreck by magic. In my own case with captain Smet, Mr. Quist has been my main defender⁷⁰." On June 9th 1764, Rev. Hyltoft received permission to return home to Denmark⁷¹.

Eyler Christian Hagerup, a student was appointed in March 1764⁷². He left Denmark on 9 June 1764 as naval chaplain on the Company's vessel "Kronprinsen Oenske"⁷³. On 11 January 1765 Hagerup made the following application for the Governor and council at Christiansborg: "I have received permission to build a new sick bay. May I now extend this building to include a chapel room as well? The present chapel hall is more like a cellar than a church. The old church is 10 by 4 cubits and therefore too small for the congregation, the 26 school children and the church officers. It is a cellar room, underneath the big hall and is also used as a school room. Anybody walking in the big hall causes a terrible noise, which is disturbing to the teaching. There are only three windows in the chapel room, two of which face the slave yard, whence a terrible stench creeps into the room. The mulatto women living in town cannot attend church. Space is so limited that they cannot even stand in church, not to mention sitting. Church members alternate in going inside the church building, one half always standing on the battery. People only come at the beginning of the service. Because of the stifling heat and the stench they leave soon and go to change their clothes. In many cases people lost consciousness in church so that they had to be carried out and the sacrament was given to them in their rooms. When a Danish ship arrives, only a few are permitted to attend church, the rest must stay away because of lack

⁷⁰) Ibid.

⁷¹) Larsen, Personalia.

⁷²) Roy. Conf.

⁷³) Larsen, Personalia.

of space. I had to shorten the singing, the liturgy and the sermon because I have not enough strength and also because of the congregation. The king should, therefore, in view of the above mentioned reasons, grant the money for the building of a church on top of the sick bay. This is on the southern rampart where the sea breeze and the land breeze can drive away the smell. The sick people will then also be able to attend services. It will be big enough to hold the normal congregation and people from ships. Being superimposed upon a building which has already been approved, the construction will be cheaper than that of a separate building. The council should make an estimate of the cost of the structure. Please remember to recommend this to the authorities (in Denmark) so that no member of the congregation can accuse me on the last day of having neglected my duty." The council met on this and recommended the erection of the building, but saw itself unable to make an estimate of the cost.

The very next day Hagerup, probably encouraged by his success, submitted a further request, asking the council, "Whether the chaplains get the usual remuneration for the holding of funerals. Or is there a royal exemption from this for Guinea? Should this be so, I want to see authorized copy of such a royal proclamation. If there are no special laws about it, the council should tell me what I am to receive normally at burials, with the exception of poor people. The amount should depend on the income and official status of the deceased—the lowest to be paid for a mulatto soldier, the highest for a Governor. This is to be paid before the inheritance is divided among the heirs. By royal decision, there are no charges for administering the sacrament to the sick, and therefore clergymen are allowed some money from the property of the deceased. I am quite sure that the council will not consider me greedy. My request is all in line with God's equity and the king's laws. The money would help me to supplement my meagre income a little."

On this the council commented: "We have no document about this matter one way or another. Whatever may be the custom in Europe, no priest here has ever received such monies. We refer the matter to the authorities in Copenhagen⁷⁴." The authorities seem to have regulated the matter thus; that the priest would get three and a half ounces of gold on the average for each burial, and that the collections on the great Sundays would go to his pocket also⁷⁵. The building of the new church, however, had to wait till ca. 1790, when Governor Bjoern had it erected on the spot suggested by Hagerup⁷⁶.

In 1765 Christian Protten came out again as catechist to the mulatto school. He had realized the value of Ga for instruction and had written a primer for his school in 1764, the booklet "En nyttig grammatikalsk Indledning til tvende hidintil gandske unbekiende sprog, Fanteisk og Acraisk" (A useful grammatical introduction to two hitherto completely unknown languages, Fante and Accra). Hagerup died in Christiansborg, leaving two African slaves: the girl Stine and the boy Mall⁷⁷.

Nicolai Feldtman, a student, was appointed by the end of 1767 together with *Jens Eschel Moeller*, who was destined for the fort Fredensborg at Ningbo⁷⁸. They were prevented from sailing in January, since the harbour of Copenhagen was frozen. They embarked on 29 March 1768, arriving at Christiansborg on 5 July. "All the Europeans we saw had yellow faces and looked so ill that courage left us. I had bad indigestion for three long melancholy weeks." J. E. Moeller died on 5 October 1768. From 1767–1770 there was no doctor in the Danish establishments, so that Feldtman had

⁷⁴) Rigsarkivet, Br. + Dok.

⁷⁵) Roenning, op.cit. P. 126.

⁷⁶) Larsen, de Danske, P. 94.

⁷⁷) Larsen, Personalia.

⁷⁸) Roy. Conf.

to recover from fever and stomach troubles all on his own⁷⁹.

On 24 October 1769 Feldtman wrote to his Bishop: "I have to tell you that Christian Protten died in August. The secret council has therefore appointed *Terxel Cramer*, the under-assistant as teacher for the meantime, till you send out another. We could not find a mulatto with a sufficient command of the Danish language. I further ask your magnificence that with the next boat somebody may be sent out to relieve me; I am too sick to stay any longer. Since June 4th I am so ill that everybody had given up hope for me. I could not perform any function before St. Michael's day⁸⁰."

On 19 November, Feldtman again wrote to Bishop Ludwig Harboe. "I ask your Highness to relieve me of this post. I am in poor health, both the climate and the spiritual atmosphere among the people with whom I work are unhealthy. It is especially disgusting, that here are Europeans who have taken a girl as wife, having obtained the permission of the council and myself—and yet afterwards they take another without telling us. A slave girl had a white child. She confessed at last that Mr. Esau Quist, who has gone home with the last boat, was the child's father. I send you the minutes of the secret council's debates on this. (A long memorandum by Feldtman himself on this case is also preserved in the Bishop's archives H.D.) In the meantime, I could not accept the child for the holy baptism, because the council has insisted on giving the company's name to the child. Such a thing is never done by other nations. The Governor has allowed a mulatto boy who has not yet been confirmed and serves as a soldier to become his servant. I said that this was not allowed, but he said that he wanted it so. On April 17th the former school teacher, *Nicolai Dressen* died. I had great difficulties in finding somebody to take his place till assistant Cramer took

⁷⁹) Bish. Arch., N. Feltman's pro memoria 1775.

⁸⁰) Bish. Arch.

it on on August 12th, while waiting for the arrival of a replacement from home. I hope that somebody will be sent out soon⁸¹."

In 1772 Feldtman got permission to come home. But he writes later in his pro memoria to the Bishop of Zealand: "But since you sent out no successor, I would not leave my poor congregation. Only in 1774 did my successor come. I had now a yellow face myself. On 12 January 1775, my successor, *Hans Martensen Knudsen*, became sick and died on the 18th. We left Guinea on February 25th and were attacked on the 26th early in the morning by the slaves on board (there follows a detailed description) . . . The slaves had control of the hold, the crew of the upper deck. We returned to Christiansborg, but could not throw out the anchor, so we passed it. The slaves threw their chains into the sea. The captain asked the slaves to surrender and promised them a full amnesty. But they said that they were in a stronger position, since they had all the food and water. Each time the slaves tried to capture the deck we repulsed them by throwing boiling sea water at them. After two days of fighting, we got assistance from Christiansborg. On February 28th we left Ningo, reaching the West Indies on June 15th. But it was only on October 19th (1775) that we reached Norway after a terribly stormy passage." It is characteristic of the little concern for the post of a chaplain in Guinea that the official Danish "Statskalender", where all officials are mentioned by name, should mention Rev. Hans Martensen Knudsen as chaplain at Christiansborg till 1778, although he had already died early in 1775. The post was left vacant till 1778.

On 20 March, 1779, Reverend *Hans Randers* wrote to Bishop Harboe: "I arrived here on the 5th December 1778. On the following Sunday, the fourth Sunday of Advent, I preached my first sermon, which was very well attended, people crowding into the small collapsing chapel. But since

⁸¹) Ibid.

then I have never had the luck of a great congregation again. One of the reasons for this is the bad state of the chapel room in the cellar underneath the palaver hall, where most people have to stand. The other reason is that the desire to listen to God's word has died during the long time of the vacancy. I have endeavoured to persuade several white men to turn from their vices—but in vain. They say that among the Dutch no priest ever interferes with their private affairs. Thus the lives of the white men undo the little good a priest may accomplish among the mulattos. God is my witness that I fight here against the greatest difficulties and carry a heavy load in my task. So much so, that I sometimes almost ask that the good Lord should take this burden from me and take me soon to my last dwelling place⁸²." Hans Randers probably died on the coast.

For some time, one *Lars Tandberg* acted as catechist and teacher⁸³.

The new chaplain, Rev. *Sten Unger* wrote to his Bishop on 18 March 1781: "When I arrived here I found quite a changed situation. Many had died—Governor Hemsén, Captain Bioerns, Lt. V. Leermuth and catechist Tandberg . . . Church discipline was low; mulatto girls are married (the so-called casare) before confirmation. The chapel room was used for other purpose. I first tried to introduce discipline and order in our church, and the acting governor, Agent Kioege, helped me in this. The church was furnished properly for its use. Servants and mulatto girls were prepared for confirmation, the governor himself setting the example by giving permission for his own servants to attend school. The unbaptised children were baptised and such order and discipline introduced as is possible here. If God permits me to remain healthy and if acting Governor Kioege becomes full Governor, things will go well . . . We need a catechist and school teacher for the mulattos. The

⁸²) Ibid.

⁸³) Statskalender.

Governor has now appointed as acting catechist on my proposal, a mulatto, who was store keeper, called *Erich Engmann*. This is a better choice for work among the white and semi-white pagans than the drunken and dissolute student, the late catechist Tandberg. I have the pleasure to tell your Highness that I am honoured and respected among black and white, even among Roman Catholics, of which there are some among the garrison here⁸⁴." On 1 June 1782 Unger again wrote to his Bishop, urging for release on account of his ill health and melancholy. The Bishop should send out a successor⁸⁵.

Lars Lund, a candidate of Theology since 1781 was appointed to Guinea on 28 May, 1783. He is mentioned in the Statskalender till 1786 as holding the post. After his return to Denmark he became pastor at Holbaek and Udby, near Randers in Jutland, in the spring of 1789. He died in 1803⁸⁶.

Crowding the tiny, almost illegible words tightly over the pages, the new chaplain, *Christian Matthias Jenssen*, wrote from Christiansborg on 11 August 1787 a long letter to Bishop Gudman in Copenhagen. "... I arrived here on June 30th. The journey was long, tedious and dangerous. I caught a cold before entering the tropics, but that was my own fault." After a long description of the journey and the trouble he had on board with the quartermaster, he continues: "You sent me out with great misgivings . . . but neither you nor the Archdeacon should be sorry for having sent me out. I now understand the meaning of my obligation, and I feel about myself as you did. All the trouble I caused during my student days came from bad company. I did not attend classes, being fed up with my studies and attended parties instead, together with the rabble . . . In my room, a crowd of people came to drink every morning for

⁸⁴) Bish. Arch.

⁸⁵) Ibid.

⁸⁶) Wiberg, op.cit.

two to three hours with my room mates. I protested in vain. The leader of these parties was a witty and merry fellow. Even I felt pleasure in his company. In the evenings I often drank too much; I can stand but little alcohol. But now everything is changed. Governor Kioege is the best company I can find. During my first five weeks here, the Governor was only twice in church. When I rebuked him, he sent a kind letter. This shows how forbearing and kind he is towards me, a mere greenhorn on the coast." Kioege wrote to Rev. C. M. Jenssen: "Please excuse me for not attending church. It is the duty of every Christian to attend it, but there are sometimes reasons preventing you from coming. I hope that in future everything will go well in church and school." Jenssen continued:

"I do not attack people by name from the pulpit. If I have anything to tell people, I see them privately about it." He ends his letter with a long report about a quarrel between two Europeans in which he interfered in order to prevent fighting.

Jenssen seems to have been a cheerful and warm blooded fellow. He married an African girl officially in Church. This was believed to be the only marriage between a European and an African concluded thus. All the other unions were only tolerated by the dispensation of the bishops of Zealand. Jenssen died on the coast⁸⁷. After the death of Jenssen, there appears to have been another period of vacancy.

In the time of Governor Bioern a new church was at last erected. It was 20 yards long and 10 yards broad. A nice church tower was erected over it. The pulpit was above the altar, very high, so that it got extremely hot here, since services lasted from 10 to 12 a. m. on Sundays. There was a picture over the altar, representing the "last supper" and on both sides little statues, one of King Frederik IV and

⁸⁷) H. E. Monrad: *Gemaelde der Kueste von Guinea*, Transl. from the Danish, in: *Neue Bibliothek der wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen* 2nd half first century vol. 37, Weimar, 1824, P. 381 footnote.

one of A. P. Bernstorff. There was a gallery for the governor and the Europeans, and in the nave the soldiers, mulattos and a few Christian Africans (the latter mostly ex-slaves from the West Indies) had their seats⁸⁸. The church tower is still standing today. At the place where the church nave was, there is now the Prime Minister's office and the Cabinet room.

Johann Kioebke Meyer, born in Bergen, Norway, in 1765, was appointed to the Chaplaincy in August 1792. He arrived in Christiansborg in 1793 and stayed there for three years. He was sick in Guinea and asked for permission to return, whether there was a successor or not. Governor Hager ordered his return on Sept. 7, 1795 and asked for a replacement. Back in Denmark, in July 1796, Rev. Meyer asked the authorities for 200 rigsdalers annually as waiting money till he found a congregation, since he had not been able to put aside any money on the coast. After waiting for two years, he was appointed to the congregation of Randerup in 1798⁸⁹.

In September, 1795, a certain *Peter Quist* was appointed. He had to wait a full year for the passage. But when the moment for the departure came, he fell sick on board and had to be landed in Norway. He then applied to be relieved from his appointment and this was granted to him in September, 1797 after some deliberation. For one reason or another, the next two willing candidates, Student *Lohmann*, and one *Roeding*, also did not come out to the coast⁹⁰. Thus there was a vacancy from 1796 to 1800.

The notable story of chaplain *Jacob Ulrik Hansen Grundtvig*, who arrived at Christiansborg on 12 January, 1800, has been told in full by F. Roenning in his book, »Den Grundtvigske Slaegt⁹¹». Jacob Grundtvig was the elder brother of

⁸⁸) Larsen, de Danske, P. 94.

⁸⁹) Larsen, Personalia and Wiberg, op.cit.

⁹⁰) Roenning, op.cit. P. 14.

⁹¹) Ibid. P. 113-128.

the famous bishop, Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, the hymn writer, church leader, revivalist, and founder of the Danish people's high schools. Jacob Grundtvig got the job at Christiansborg on the recommendation of his uncle, Bishop Bagge, in May, 1798. For one and a half years he had to wait for a passage. Being on half salary, he suffered hardship during this time. He had hoped to be allowed to take his wife out—but the authority concerned, the General Chamber of Customs, was not prepared to pay. Lacking the money to pay for his wife's passage, Jacob Grundtvig went out alone, arranging that half of his salary should be paid out to his wife and little daughter. He travelled together with the remarkable botanist, Peter Thoenning⁹².

Jacob Grundtvig at once took charge of the school, where he found 50 to 60 children, all very ignorant, the teacher being "not wiser than the children". They knew almost no Danish. According to instructions brought from Copenhagen, Rev. Jacob Grundtvig selected four mulatto lads for private training as teachers. The oldest was 20 years old, the second 18, the other two both fifteen years old. The Governor and council made the necessary resolutions and arrangements so that these four could stay in the fort under Rev. J. Grundtvig's instruction and supervision. Grundtvig taught them reading, writing, arithmetic, religion and Danish in his room. He hoped to be able to employ them as teachers once they were sufficiently instructed, and thus to be able to divide the big crowd of school children into manageable classes. Rev. Grundtvig himself taught in school in addition to his normal duties as chaplain. In the evenings he held confirmation classes for 30 older boys and girls. He applied for 70 to 80 primers, catechisms and hymnbooks. He asked for text books, a few bibles, half a dozen arithmetic books and "this and that

⁹²) on Thoenning see: C. D. Adams, *Activities of Danish Botanists in Guinea 1783–1850* in: *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. III, Part I, Achimota 1957, Pp. 30–46.

historical or moral book which could be loaned out to the mulattos so that their moral character could be improved. One of the reasons why their character is still undeveloped is the lack of books. There cannot be found a single book in the possession of a mulatto after his confirmation. This brings it about that they forget what they had learned in their youth and cannot admonish their children to Christian virtues, and also relapse into the detestable and foolish fetishism practised by the Africans. But none of the books sent out should be bound properly; if they "are simply protected with a brown paper cover without glue, they will not spoil so rapidly". Thus Rev. J. Grundtvig is one of the pioneers of libraries in Ghana.

Rev. Grundtvig did not like the toleration of semi-official marital unions between Europeans and mulattos, and proposed to abolish this custom of "casare" altogether. Matters had changed since the time of Bishop Worm, he argued; both Europeans and mulattos should now marry in a regular way. As an encouragement, Grundtvig proposed a rise in salary for properly married people. On 12 May 1800, Jacob Grundtvig asked to be relieved on health reasons by August, 1801. He still had to struggle with financial difficulties. He died on 3 September, 1800.

After his death, the council at Christiansborg wrote that because of the lack of suitable teachers, the school children "had fallen back into their usual darkness". There was no other teacher, apart from *Reinholt Kamp*, who was, however, "neither old nor wise enough to teach the youth properly." The four men whom Grundtvig had begun to train were "not yet advanced enough to be employed in such an important function." The General Chamber of Customs therefore appointed one student, *Christian Port*, as teacher to the colony in April 1802. But Port could not be sent out. He had helped in the making of false currency notes, was imprisoned and sentenced to death. He was, however, pardoned by royal proclamation and sent to a penitentiary for two years.

Meanwhile, a successor for Jacob Grundtvig had been found in his younger brother, *Niels Christian Bang Grundtvig*, a "very gifted but lazy young man". His story has also been told by Roenning in the book mentioned above⁹³. Niels Grundtvig was appointed in March, 1802 and arrived on the coast in October of the same year. As a born trader, he began at once a flourishing trade in ivory tusks and rum, making quite a little fortune. We know nothing about his activity in church and school—he did not care much for his job. He had a servant girl who sometimes passed the night in the castle. Governor Wrisberg had passed a law that no unauthorized woman should be allowed to pass the night in the castle. On the evening of 31 March 1803, Rev. Niels Grundtvig's servant girl was therefore refused admittance to the castle. This annoyed Grundtvig, and he remonstrated angrily with the Governor, till the Governor threw him out. But Grundtvig insisted, so that the Governor referred the matter home to Denmark. Not satisfied with this, Rev. Grundtvig, in his minister's gown, passed into the Governor's hall and made a scene with the Governor there. He was put under house arrest. After a process the Governor and council suspended him from his functions on 25 April 1803. Niels Grundtvig died in the night between the fourth and fifth of May, 1803. His successor, Rev. Monrad, tried to justify him, but Mr. Roenning, who studied the documents carefully, is of the opinion that Grundtvig was guilty of neglecting his work, of insubordination, and perhaps even in the matter of the girl. It must, however, also be said that Niels Grundtvig used some of the money he gained in trade in order to help his famous brother, the later Bishop.

From May 1803 to 1805 there was again a period of vacancy. Then *Hans Christian Monrad*⁹⁴, born in 1780, was appointed to Guinea in the autumn of 1804. He arrived

⁹³) Roenning, op. cit. Pp. 130–143.

⁹⁴) on Monrad see: Monrad, op. cit.; Debrunner, Notable Danish Chaplains; Wiberg, op. cit.

on the coast in 1805 and stayed for four years til 1809. He was a remarkable man, full of enthusiasm and zeal for Africa, a decided enemy of the slave trade, and a shrewd observer of customs and social life. After his return to Denmark, he had to wait for a year till he got the parish of Greis and Sindberg in southern Jutland, where he wrote down the story of his experiences and observations in Africa. The book was first published in Danish and appeared in 1824 in Weimar in a German translation. In 1823 he was transferred to the congregation of Mern, and died there on 7 March, 1825.

Monrad had come to the conclusion that a chaplain's work in Guinea was futile under the existing conditions. He was not replaced for more than twenty years. But Prof. Molbech, the director of the Royal Library at Copenhagen, wrote in 1822 in his preface to Monrad's book: "Perhaps the Europeans there need no chaplain, but it seems to be reasonable to consider the mulatto congregation and children⁹⁵." The publication of Monrad's book seems to have awakened the conscience of the Danes in the matter of Guinea. From 1824-1826, *Governor Richelieu* had taken charge of the orphaned congregation in Guinea. He had found the church empty, and therefore himself introduced services and taught in the school. He baptised 150 school children, young men and women⁹⁶. In the same years, Major Wrisberg, who had been Governor in Guinea from 1802 to 1807, published his Ga translation of the Sermon on the Mount⁹⁷.

Christian Schioenning, acting Governor 1807-1817, had also written a small booklet consisting of parts of the

⁹⁵) Monrad, op.cit. P. XLV.

⁹⁶) W. Schlatter: Geschichte der Basler Mission, Vol. III, Basel 1916, P. 19.

⁹⁷) Jesu Biergpraediken oversat i det Accraiske Sprog. Med nogle tillæg af Luthers lille Catechismus, Copenhagen 1826.

catechism translated into Ga to be used in schools⁹⁸. The authorities in Copenhagen now ordered the setting up of a school commission in Christiansborg. The commission reported that the school was run by *two mulattos* who had been trained by Rev. C. E. Monrad. None of them knew Danish sufficiently. On the other hand, Protten, Wrisberg and Schioenning each wrote quite a different Ga. The commission therefore gained the wrong impression that the Ga language was "far too inarticulate and poor to be suitable as a medium of instruction and as a literary language." They decided therefore that all teaching should be done in Danish, "This would contribute to leading the Africans away from their state of rawness and the anarchical constitution in which they lived⁹⁹." The authorities in Copenhagen, however, seem not to have been convinced by these arguments. Professor Rasmus Rask, the leading authority in comparative linguistics of his day, studied the Ga language from the young lad Noi Davunnah, the son of the Christiansborg Mantse, and published a Ga grammar in 1828¹⁰⁰.

Governor Richelieu brought from Christiansborg in 1826 the request of the people there: "father, bring us back a teacher¹⁰¹." Things now began to move at last; Pastor Roenne, the chaplain to the King of Denmark and founder of the Danish Missionary Society, got the Basel Mission interested in Guinea, and the first Basel Missionaries were sent out in 1828¹⁰². The Basel Missionaries, Schmid, Holzwarth, Salbach and Henke arrived in Christiansborg

⁹⁸) Chr. Schioenning: *De ti Bud, det apostoliske Symbolum og Fader-vor oversatte i det Akraiske Sprog*. Privately printed, in a small edition of 100 copies.

⁹⁹) Noerregaard, *op.cit.* P. 595.

¹⁰⁰) Rasmus Rask: *Vejledning til Akra-Sproget paa Kysten Guinea, med et Tillaeg om Akvambuisk*, Copenhagen 1828.

¹⁰¹) Schlatter, *op.cit.* P. 19.

¹⁰²) Loegstrup, *Det danske Missionselskabs Historie*, Copenhagen 1905, Pp. 23 f.

on 22 December 1828¹⁰³. Schmid and Holzwarth began to study Ga and to explore the missionary possibilities, evangelizing wherever there was an opportunity, planning a town school for the Africans. Johann Philip Henke, the leader of the party, took charge of the mulatto congregation and school. Holzwarth assisted him in the school. They also began to learn Ga. Here are some extracts from Henke's diary: "On December 25th, Christmas 1828, I preached for the first time in the chapel, which had been nicely decorated by the mulattos and school children with palm branches. For 20 years there had been no service here. The church was packed full with Danes, mulattos and Africans, the Governor himself being present . . ." Henke was soon busy examining baptismal candidates, giving confirmation classes and looking after the school, where a *mulatto* was teaching. Holzwarth taught the New Testament in school every day for a short time, adding short explanations and admonitions to the text. He wrote about this: "I speak in Danish, and the interpreter, who knows a little Danish, translates me somehow. I teach hymns to the Christians. The children knew none before I arrived, but are doing quite nicely now¹⁰⁴".

The capable and enterprising acting Governor Lind soon employed as second teacher *Frederik Noi Davunnah*, the young man who had helped Prof. Rask to write his Ga grammar. He had been baptised on 14 June, 1828 in Copenhagen. It had been a great occasion¹⁰⁵. He had come out with the missionaries and also acted as an able interpreter for Henke in the mulatto school¹⁰⁶. Teaching was tedious—there was the old complaint raised, that there were "no exercise books, slates, pencils or pens etc, so that the

¹⁰³) On the first Basel Missionaries see: *Missions Magazin* 1829, Pp. 509–522.

¹⁰⁴) Letter Holzwarth 31 January 1829, Basel Mission Archives.

¹⁰⁵) Loegstrup, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶) Henke, 2 August 1829, B. M. Arch.

children in the meantime just have to be satisfied to learn to read only¹⁰⁷." Henke is happy to report on August 2nd¹⁰⁸ that he had baptised four of the children of Mr. Schwanekier (sic.). The Europeans and the Governor, he writes, regularly attend services "and seem to have improved morally". Surgeon Schioenning intended to marry in church the mulatto woman with whom he was living, once she knew enough Danish to be confirmed. "Governor Lind", Henke wrote regretfully, "is a rationalist, but the truth of the Gospel seems to make him unhappy in his rationalism".

The missionaries had reduced the number of servants they employed from eight to two. They hoped to train these two mulatto servants as future teachers. Henke ended his long letter thus: "I intend to apply for the post of a preacher at the fort. The job is extremely difficult, and one has to know the Ga language well to be able to do it properly. But there is the need and the Europeans here have asked me to apply. The brethren (= other missionaries) agree. I would like to have your fatherly advice in this matter". A few days after this letter to the home board of the Basel Mission had been sent, Holzwarth became sick of a liver complaint and died on August 12th. Schmid and Salbach both died on August 29th from Malaria¹⁰⁹.

Henke wrote to the home board of his mission: "Thus I am left all alone on the battle field of four fighters . . . My strength is but small, and often courage fails me. In such dark hours my heart is comforted with the promises of God: Behold, I am with you till the end of the world¹¹⁰." Henke now applied in writing to Copenhagen for the chaplaincy, "because otherwise a rationalist might get it",

¹⁰⁷) Heidenbote, 1829, P. 63.

¹⁰⁸) B. M. Arch.

¹⁰⁹) Schlatter, op.cit. P. 25.

¹¹⁰) Heidenbote 1831 P. 19.

he explained this step to Basel¹¹¹. On 20 May, 1830¹¹², he reports home that even before his letter had reached Copenhagen he had got his appointment as teacher and catechist, with a yearly basic salary of 600 rigsdalers. Once he could show that he had mastered the intricacies of the Ga language, he would receive an additional grant of 200 rigsdalers annually. When describing the congregation he paints in sombre colours. "There will scarcely be a more rotten congregation in the whole of Christendom" he maintained. Europeans still continued to attend church regularly, "but they have all their own faith, and none has the right one", said Henke.

His official appointment had started in March, 1830. Here is a description of a typical day of Henke as chaplain: "I rise at 5 a.m., meditate on the Danish Bible and Doering's hymnbook, and then I drink coffee or tea . . . At 7 a.m. I go to the mulatto school, where there are roughly 100 children, who are clothed by the Government. Mutual teaching is the method used here, as in Denmark. From 7-9 the children memorize Danish words, whose meaning is explained to them in the Accra language. From 8-10 they write or do some arithmetic . . . At 2 p.m. I am back at school. From 2 to 3 I explain the lists of simple Danish sentences and examples of grammar and from 3 to 4 they read these lists whilst I prepare 22 young mulattos for baptism. They have received religious instruction from me daily for more than a year, but unhappily their hearts are not yet as I would like them to be. The worst of it is that most of them do not understand enough Danish, and that I therefore must use an interpreter in teaching. But if it so pleases the Good Lord, this evil will soon cease, since they are taught in the Danish language by the two mulatto teachers. This they do after the parrot method, i.e. reading and repeating without understanding what they read . . .

¹¹¹) B. M. Arch. 11 March 1830.

¹¹²) B. M. Arch.

After my evening bath . . . I usually take a stroll from 4:30 to 6 p.m. After my evening meal (sometimes held in company with the Governor) I write my diary, prepare my sermon and read. But often I am so exhausted by the day's work that I just sit and do nothing¹¹³." In May 1830 he reported home that he was still teaching the 85 children for 6 hours a day. Every Sunday he taught the catechism to the mulattos and every second Sunday he preached. He complained that one of the girls in the school had been sold by her parents to a Portuguese slave trader at Keta, and that another had been forced by her parents to give herself to a sailor, who had bribed the parents. In due time she became pregnant. On account of "their immoral lives" Henke refused to give the Lord's Supper to all Europeans with the exception of surgeon Dr. Trentepohl¹¹⁴.

The Danish Government now interested itself much more in the education on the coast. By Royal Proclamation of 24 April 1830, a girls' school was decided upon, and free passage out and a salary of 300 rigsdalers annually was granted to a lady teacher¹¹⁵. This school was duly opened and run by one *Madame V...* At her school, assistant Christiansen, a graduate of Copenhagen University, was teaching the girls each afternoon from 4 to 5 in Danish, and the girls taught him Ga at the same time. Christiansen had already made a good start with the help of Professor Rask's Ga grammar, and he also began to learn some Twi¹¹⁶.

Christiansen disliked Henke greatly. He was annoyed that he had excluded him and the other Europeans from the Lord's Supper. As a University trained man, he looked down on Henke, who had been a butler before his training in Basel. Here is what Christiansen wrote: "I have since my

¹¹³) Henke to Kissling, 11 March 1830, B. M. Arch.

¹¹⁴) Henke, 20 May 1830, B. M. Arch.

¹¹⁵) Guineiske Journal, No. 708/1844, Rigsarkivet.

¹¹⁶) Letter dated 30 April 1831, printed (anonymously) in: Valkyrien, et Maanedsskrift for dannede Laesere, Copenhagen 1831, Pp. 57-62.

arrival here often wondered at the dislike which people in Denmark show towards this colony. This is especially true of doctors and ministers. Although just now a priest and a doctor are employed here, there are always vacancies. We had to employ a German Missionary under very favorable conditions of service. I have recently left University and therefore know the army of theological students. I was therefore even more astonished than others." Christiansen had read reports by Henke and others in the "Heidenbote", a periodical of the Basel Mission. The way the congregation at Christiansborg had been characterized there annoyed him greatly. "The Basel Mission—he writes—employs servants, shoemakers, clerks and God knows whom else, and stuffs these full of the crudest orthodoxy in a couple of years, sending them out without psychology and world knowledge, yea, even without simple erudition to the coast, where they are more likely to turn Christians into pagans than pagans into Christians¹¹⁷."

Governor Lind also opened a *school for the children of royal slaves*. In this school, he ruled, no time should be wasted on the teaching of reading and writing. Oral Danish and simple Christian moral teaching should be the only subjects to be taught. For the latter he had himself prepared the textbook, "adapting to (the mentality and needs of) the African child the 10 commandments, and especially the Apostle's creed in the catechism of Luther." To Rev. Henke, this was blasphemy and heresy of the worst kind. He protested to Governor Lind. Lind replied, that in that case there would be no religious instruction at all. Henke agreed to this, "because that would be better than the heresy and the neo-paganism of Lind's catechism". Henke, who always was a man of strong antipathies to some people (e.g. his colleague Schmid), was therefore glad when a new Governor arrived in January 1831, "rejoicing with trembling", because he did not know how the new Governor would

¹¹⁷) Ibid.

turn out¹¹⁸. The school for slave children seems to have collapsed soon.

On 31 October 1831, Henke wrote his last letter to Basel¹¹⁹. He complained that he did not get any answer to his letters to friends in Basel and Frankfurt and added that he felt much more sick than before. He then reported the death of Governor Hein, the man over whose arrival he had "rejoiced with trembling". Here are his words: "Governor Hein died on the 21 October 1831. I am sorry to say that his death was no loss for the Church of Christ here. He did not care for religion at all and never visited the school. He was a man composed of pride, ambition, greed and sensuality. He made life here, which had been pretty hellish before, to be like an antichamber of hell itself. To be just, it was not he who boycotted peace and created discord, but an assistant called Christiansen. (The man who had criticized Henke and the Basel Missionaries so severely). Christiansen organized a faction against the Governor and was probably guilty of the Governor's death (by poison). Governor Hein had arranged before his death that Christiansen should be taken to Copenhagen for trial. The removal of this man was the only good Hein did. I could not preach a funeral sermon at Hein's grave." (The tomb can still be seen in the Danish cemetery at Christiansborg H.D.) "The new Governor, Ahrensdorf, is a careless young man and not much better. I hope the king will send out good Governor Lind again . . . please pray for me . . . About my work: On the counsel of the physician I have given up preaching till my heart is better. Europeans and mulattos are anyhow more and more disinterested since I excluded all those not married in Church from the Lord's Supper last Easter. I still give baptismal and confirmation lessons and look after the school. From 6 to 7 p.m. I instruct the boys of the top class in grammar and geography." Henke died on 27 November, 1831.

¹¹⁸) Henke, 30 January 1831, B. M. Arch.

¹¹⁹) B. M. Arch.

As successor of Henke, a Dane was again appointed—the first since the departure of Monrad. *Peter Nicolay Haven* was offered the job on 25 July 1832 and was appointed in September. On the 9th of October he asked for advance payment. On the 3rd December he had to refund the advance given to him in October. He came out to the coast and died there on 3 September, 1833¹²⁰.

Meanwhile, on 13 March 1832, the second batch of Basel Missionaries had arrived in Christiansborg. They were the two Danes, Peter Petersen Jaeger and Andreas Riis and the German physician, Dr. Christian Friedrich Heinze. But already on 26 April, 1832, Dr. Heinze was dead and was followed on 18 July by Jaeger. Riis was also seriously ill, but recovered thanks to an African herbalist. On 22 September 1833, Andreas Riis wrote: "I gave up for the moment my plans for opening a school on the plantations. Because of the death of Rev. von Haven I feel myself obliged to take care of the mulatto congregation till a new chaplain comes out. I do not intend, however, to take this post permanently, although the people here would like me to do so". In a letter dated April 1st, 1834, he reports on his work as acting Chaplain:

"In the boys' school, I am assisted by a *mulatto teacher* and in the girls' school by a *European lady*; but in both schools my presence is needed to maintain discipline. I am preparing children for confirmation in November." Riis had difficulties with the Europeans. "Their former friendliness had disappeared for some time because of my sermons and my love for truth when speaking of sin¹²¹." In his next letter¹²², (10 May 1834) Riis complains that "even kind Lutterodt was hostile towards me for a short time. War commissioner Richter (the most influential mulatto at that time) gave me free meals and nursed me during my

¹²⁰) Larsen, Personalia.

¹²¹) B. M. Arch.

¹²²) 10 June 1834, B. M. Arch.

sickness in his house. I have been teaching his children together with the two daughters of Governor Broeck in private. The children in school are industrious and learn well. But their characters and lives are not satisfactory. They are brought up by pagans and live among pagans. The remedy would be a boarding institution. I appeal to Christian friends to make an effort to collect money for this. There is nothing more blessed than the snatching of children from perdition.”

By that time, Frederik Davunnah had given up teaching and was employed as a sergent in the fort. Riis never gave up his plans for Mission work in the interior. When the new Chaplain arrived at last, Riis could no longer be held back and followed his inclinations and the urgent requests of the Copenhagen Missionary Society to go inland. He went to Akwapim and began his remarkable pioneer work at Akropong¹²³. “I preached at Christiansborg for the last time on New Year’s day. No services are held at Christiansborg now, since the chaplain is constantly sick. It cost me an inner struggle to leave the 100 school children before the new chaplain could take charge of them. The Danes mock and laugh at what they call my folly and think that the journey to Akwapim is all in vain. I had to put the matter entirely into the hands of the leader of my life, and it was a hard thing, to get clear guidance¹²⁴.”

Jacob Rosberg Toersleff was the chaplain who had made it possible for Riis to go to Akwapim and who was sick for a long time in 1835. J. R. Toersleff was a farmer’s son and a candidate of Theology. He must have resented the departure of Riis to Akwapim. When Wulff J. Wulff, a Danish Jew, came out as secretary in 1836, he attended a thanksgiving service for their safe arrival held by Toersleff

¹²³) On his work at Akropong see: H. Debrunner: The Moses of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. A. Riis, in: Ghana Bulletin of Theology, Vol. I, No. 3 December 1957, Pp. 10–16 and No. 4, June 1958, Pp. 12–20.

¹²⁴) Riis, 10 October 1835, B. M. Arch.

in Church. Toersleff prayed, "that God might hold his hand over the new arrivals in the dangerous climate, and that each of them might be able to overcome the attack of the climate fever (malaria) and that by God's help they might all remain alive". W. J. Wulff was billeted with Catechist Toersleff for a week till his own quarters were ready. He wrote: "The priest is a fine fellow, he slept on the couch and let me sleep in his bed¹²⁵." During the palavers of Governor Moersch with the Basel Missionary, Rev. A. Riis, Toersleff backed the Governor fully¹²⁶.

When two new Basel Missionaries and the bride of Andreas Riis came out in the autumn of 1836, Toersleff refused to marry Riis. In a letter to the Governor, he states: "That Riis did not submit to Danish law. He could not produce a special marriage licence and did not want his marriage to be proclaimed from the pulpit for three subsequent Sundays. I therefore could not celebrate the marriage. Afterwards another Basel Missionary celebrated it." Toersleff further alleged in the same letter on the testimony of a dismissed servant of Riis, that Riis had sold gunpowder at Akropong. He reports that Riis had told him that the Africans could learn English more easily than Danish¹²⁷." Nothing had changed in the life of the Europeans in the Fort. W. J. Wulff reports about Christmas 1836: "Although the festival began with a solemn service in Church, it did not end solemnly at all. During three days a dissolute life was led here; swearing went on day and night, and people lay on the floor like swine, intoxicated by alcohol. Starting with the Governor, there were drinking parties held all around¹²⁸." Toersleff did not let the matter of the marriage of Riis rest. In September 1838, Rev. Murdter reported to

¹²⁵) Carl Behrens (edited): *Da Guinea var Dansk*. Wulff Joseph Wulff's Breve, Copenhagen 1917, P. 26.

¹²⁶) Debrunner, *The Moses* . . .

¹²⁷) Guin. Journ. No. 576/1848, Rigsarkivet.

¹²⁸) Behrens, *op.cit.* P. 84.

Basel from the Mission Station at Akropong that they had received a letter prohibiting the missionaries from blessing marriages, otherwise they would be deported to Europe. And on 20 February 1839 Andreas Riis wrote: "Rev. Toersleff must be behind the resolution, that we are not allowed to celebrate marriages. He even maintains, that we should not be allowed to give the Lord's Supper. Should this be enforced, we will have to remove from Danish territory. Toersleff was annoyed that in my letters I had counted him among the enemies of the Mission. He maintains that under Henke and me the children in the mulatto school had learned less than under himself . . . Nobody, apart from Toersleff, supported Governor Moersch against me¹²⁹." Toersleff was pensioned in 1842 and died in Copenhagen on 25 June, 1879¹³⁰.

Toersleff's successor died on the Coast. On his tombstone in the old Danish cemetery at Christiansborg is the following inscription which I translated from the Danish:

"Underneath this stone
is the dust of
Pastor *Theodor Sigfred Franck*
Born in Copenhagen on July 7th 1812
Arrived here in Christiansborg on Dec. 2nd 1842
Died on the 15th February 1843.
A father, wife and daughter mourn
Over his all too early departure.
Peace to his ashes."

The year 1843 was a year of sorrow at Christiansborg. All the Europeans with the exception of trader Lutterodt and Governor Carstensen had died¹³¹. When the Liberian, George Thompson, who had been trained as a teacher by

¹²⁹) B. M. Arch.

¹³⁰) Larsen, Personalia.

¹³¹) Missions Magazin 1844, P. 178.

the Basel Mission in Europe, came to Christiansborg in 1843 to open an English Mission school there, he gained the impression that "this town is not a Christian town at all. On Sundays, no services are held, only the mulatto teacher is said to read a sermon occasionally. Fortunately, the Governor is a friend of missions¹³²."

Rev. *Claus Theodor Joergensen* arrived on the coast by the beginning of 1844, together with his wife. He brought much energy to his work. He took part in an exam of Thompson's school and "baptised about 100 mulattos and Africans, most of them driven to the baptism by superstition", as Rev. Riis comments. Thompson was somewhat offended that some of the children of his school had smuggled themselves into the crowd of children baptised by Rev. Joergensen¹³³. *Mrs. Henrietta Joergensen* was permitted by the Governor and by royal resolution to revive the Girls' School. She was assisted by *Miss Nicoline Brock*, who received a monthly salary of 4 rigsdalers. The girls' school flourished for some time, and nice samples of the knitting of the girls can still be admired among the dusty files of the royal archives in Copenhagen¹³⁴.

The period of sickness was not yet over in Christiansborg. In a letter dated 10 July 1844 Andreas Riis writes¹³⁵: "We have happy relations with Chaplain Joergensen. He asked me to take the service and to officiate at the Lord's Supper. During his sickness I looked after his congregation and helped him with medical advice from my experience."

Pastor Joergensen died at Christiansborg in 1844. There were again a couple of months of vacancy. During this period, teacher Thompson had the satisfaction that trader Lutterodt took his son from the Fort school and sent

¹³²) B. M. Arch.

¹³³) Ibid. Riis 6 June 1844.

¹³⁴) Guin. Journ. No. 708/1844.

¹³⁵) B. M. Arch.

him to Thompson's Basel Mission school, because his slave boy had learned so well there¹³⁶.

*Joergen Erhardt Muehlensteth*¹³⁷, the last Danish chaplain, was the son of a Copenhagen judge. He was appointed on 12 February 1845, ordained on the 9th of April, arriving at Christiansborg on 18 October, 1845. Governor Carstensen and the authorities in Denmark entered into diplomatic relations with England in order to sell their possessions in West Africa. They intended to hand over the fort schools and congregation to the Basel Mission. Meanwhile, Rev. Schiedt, the Basel Missionary who had been reopening Christiansborg as a full Basel Mission station in 1845 was able to report home on 18 October 1846 that he is happy to have good relations with the Danish Chaplain¹³⁸. On 27 May 1847 Schiedt wrote: "The Government want to hand over the school and church to us. We shall not become Chaplains officially, but the school will be handed over and the soldiers will receive permission to attend our services. No strings are attached to this offer¹³⁹." But Rev. Joh. Stanger, writing a month later, foresees disadvantages: "Sermons would have to be held in English, and the Germano-English of new brethren would be despised. English anyhow will not yet become the general language here. The moral state of the Europeans will present even greater difficulties¹⁴⁰." Schiedt had his way. On 12 November 1847 he wrote: "Failing our acceptance of the Government offer, the school will surely be closed down in the castle. The other missionaries agree to the taking over of school and church." (Signatures follow)¹⁴¹. On 16 March, 1848, Schiedt once more urged Basel to accept the offer:

¹³⁶) Ibid.

¹³⁷) Wiberg, op.cit. and Larsen, *Personalia*.

¹³⁸) B. M. Arch.

¹³⁹) Ibid.

¹⁴⁰) Ibid. 25 August 1847.

¹⁴¹) B. M. Arch.

the Chaplain, he said, had fallen into the hands of the African girls and was not suitable for the job¹⁴². The schools were handed over in 1848, but the congregation remained under the care of Rev. Muehlensteth till the end of Danish rule in Guinea.

On 6 March, 1850, exactly 107 years before the independence of Ghana, "The first West Indian Regiment under Lieutenant Stocks marched to the castle, the Danish flag was lowered and the Union Jack hoisted in its place. After that, the Danish soldiers under Lieutenant Larsen marched out from the castle amid showers of tears. The educated community and all the rightminded and grateful people were in tears, while the others rejoiced . . .¹⁴³". This also meant the end of the official Danish Fort congregation. The church vessels of the congregation were handed over to the Basel Mission and are still in the possession of the Christiansborg Presbyterian congregation. Rev. Muehlensteth left on 6 October, 1850, settled in Denmark and married a wealthy girl there. The former Danish congregation gradually found itself at home in the Basel Mission in 1852, when the missionaries at last were able to speak freely to the people in Ga.¹⁴⁴

Quite a number of Svanekiers, Richters, Wulffs, Reindorfs, Hasses, Dowuonahs, Quists, and other members of the former Danish congregation contributed worthily to the development, not only of the Basel Mission and later the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, but also to the Gold Coast on its way to becoming Ghana.

Completed, October 1958,
Legon Hall, University College,
Legon via Accra,

Ghana/West Africa.

¹⁴²) Ibid.

¹⁴³) C. C. Reindorf: *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, 2nd ed., Basel, n. d. (ca. 1950), P. 321 f.

¹⁴⁴) Schlatter, op. cit. Pp. 51 f.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING CHRISTIAN PROTTE

I. In Herrenhut.

Mr. Richard Trueger, Archivist of the Moravian Brethren at Herrenhut, Oberlausitz, Eastern Germany, informs me that a number of files containing letters of Protten and the Moravian Missionaries sent to Guinea in the 18th century are preserved there. Erich Ranzau, the first Moravian Archivist, prepared between 1770 and 1775 a manuscript called "Short Historical Notice about the Moravian Mission to Guinea" (*Kurze historische Nachricht von der Brueder Mission nach Guinea*) containing many extracts from the original sources. There is also a portrait of Protten with his family in the archives at Herrenhut.

II. In the Landsarkiv for Sjaelland, Copenhagen.

Among the papers of the Bishop's archives, letters from outside the diocese, can be found a series of documents concerning Christian Protten, dated 20-27 March 1765, numbered 1-21. According to these documents, Protten had come out to take up his re-appointment as "Royal Informator to the Mulatto Children" on a Danish boat. At Elmina he went ashore to fetch some furniture of his. There being no room on the Danish ship, Protten went by a Dutch ship to Accra. There Protten, a man pursued by misfortune, lost in the surf all his goods, including his credentials and the copies of his Ga-Fante Primer and Grammar. This happened off James Fort and

nothing could be rescued from the sea. He was nevertheless kindly received by the Governor.

For one reason or another, Protten failed to present himself to Chaplain Hagerup, a pompous fellow of whom Protten probably was afraid. Twelve days after Protten's arrival, Governor Resch instructed Chaplain Hagerup to hand over the school and all school materials to Protten. But Hagerup was unwilling to do so. He was quite satisfied with *Jacob Fischer*, the present teacher. He wrote: "I cannot do anything without order from my superior, the Bishop of Zealand. I know Protten only by name and cannot judge his suitability. He might be a Roman Catholic, a Presbyterian (Reformed) or a follower of Zinzendorf. This would cause havoc in the congregation entrusted to me. Let Protten show me his credentials, and then only I shall comply." Protten was able to explain matters satisfactorily to the Governor and Council and was therefore officially appointed with a salary of 250 rigsdalers per annum. He was further given an allowance of 150 rigsdalers annually for the salary of an assistant, for books and for clothes for the children. For these 150 rigsdalers he had to give account each year.

But still Pastor Hagerup was not ready to hand over the school—he wanted proofs for the lost credentials, for Protten's appointment, capabilities, etc.etc., and correspondence went on between Hagerup, the Governor, and Protten. Protten was able to establish his credentials from the witness of the captain and mate of the Danish ship, on which he had come out. They had both seen his letter of appointment and his printed booklet. Finally, Hagerup gave in. He wrote to Governor and Council on 27 March 1765: "I cannot take it on my conscience to employ Protten, since he does not want to speak to me. I cannot believe that the chamber of commerce appointed Protten—he must be lying. He does not want to subordinate himself to the clergy . . . I will only hand over the school in presence

of the full Council, so that they accept full responsibility. I shall have nothing to do with the school and the council must take over the inspection."

For the handing over of the school and the school material, the following five documents were prepared:

DOCUMENT No. 18

Specification About the School Children at Christiansborg Fort And About Their Progress in Christianity

<i>Boys</i>	<i>Explanation of The Catechism Catechism</i>		<i>Primer</i>
1. Carl de la Palm	5 parts	all of it	all of it
2. Jacob Quist	4 parts	,,
3. Erich Engmann	all of it	,;
4. Christian Schmidt	5 parts	,,
5. Johann Peter Sonne	,,	,,
6. Carl Engmann	3 parts	,,
7. Friderich Engmann	knows only the alphabet
8. Johann Albert Quist		reads a litle
9. Carl Sonne		knows the alphabet
10. Joerges Sonne		,,
11. Knud Sonne		,,
12. Johan Magnus		,,
13. Carl Benjamin		,,
14. Friderich August		,,
15. Arn Konnie Anthonie		,,

Girls

1. Dorothea Sophia Roebe	4 parts	all of it	all of it
2. Lena Heisling	.....	,,	,,
3. Ana Barbra	.....	.....	spells

4. Maria Langhansen	.....	.....
5. Ana Lovisa	.....	knows the alphabet
6. Lena Abrahams	.....	„
7. Catharina Kuntze	.....	„

In addition to these there are the following three soldiers, which already are doing service as guards:

Peder Dittoer
Friderich Hackenborg
Christian Hackenborg

DOCUMENT No. 19

Gives specification about clothes issued to children. Seven boys have received each a pair of trousers and a shirt. Four girls got a so-called skirt, a blouse and one or two panties (African clothes).

DOCUMENT No. 20

Books Belonging to the School Children

200 primers (Alphabet books)
50 catechisms
50 explanations to the catechism
30 hymnbooks
12 New Testaments

On Pastor Hagerup's order, of these books the following were sent to Ningó:

12 primers
6 catechisms
2 explanations
4 hymnbooks

Christiansborg, 27 March, 1765

(signed) Jacob Fischer, Deacon and Teacher

Checked and found correct,

(signed) E. C. Hagerup

DOCUMENT No. 21

Specification About the Mulatto Children

at Fort Fredensberg (Ningo)

Under the Instruction of Teacher Johan Nicolaj Dressing

<i>Name</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Catechism</i>	<i>Primer</i>
<i>Boys</i>			
1. G. Friderich		reads it
2. Christian		has not yet begun to read
3. Svend Dittoer	not yet	begins to go to school
<i>Girls</i>			
1. Lena Dittoer	the whole.....	
2. Sara Tujong	one part	
		till now	
3. Ane Dittoer		„
4. Tujong's daughter (not yet baptized)		begins to read a little
5. the so-called Jacobaea..... (not yet baptized)	knows the letters

Books: 12 primers, 6 catechisms, 2 explanations to the catechism.

4 hymnbooks are used by the employees at the fort.

DOCUMENT No. 22

Clothes for the Children at Ningo

Each boy has a shirt, 1 pair of trousers, and 2 caps. Each girl has 2 panties, 2 skirts, 2 blouses.