Introduction

Integral Missionary Training and the Basel Mission

My interest in the preparation of missionaries for intercultural work originates in my own experience of the challenges of cross-cultural ministry and appreciation for the missiological training I had received prior to working in Ghana. As a trained teacher my interest was initially in educational questions, particularly in how to improve curriculum and teaching methods to prepare men and women more effectively for cross-cultural engagement. Experiential educational approaches like the concept of *Communities of Practice* stood out for their engagement of the whole person in the learning process and their effectiveness in facilitating learning. However, the analysis of such integral training in the Basel Mission from sociological perspectives revealed a more foundational issue that impacts all kinds of missionary preparation, regardless of curriculum or educational methodology.

Research that explores effectiveness of training is often based on self-assessment by the educators or directors of programs.[1] However, the true outcomes of preparation for foreign missions are revealed in the cross-cultural context and in long-term results of intercultural engagement. Moreover, persons not directly involved in the organization are more likely to present a balanced evaluation. While I am as a German who worked in Ghana for eight years quite familiar with the general context in Germany as well as in Ghana, I have no direct involvement with the Basel Mission, its successor organization *mission 21*, or the church

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1. For example, Whiteman's survey asked leaders to rate their missionary preparation with the result that all reported their programs as effective or highly effective, and the assessments of training schools in Brynjolfson and Lewis's volume are invariably presented by the program leaders. See Brynjolfson and Lewis, *Integral Ministry Training*; Whiteman, "Integral Training."

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that resulted from their work in Ghana. Thus, I offer my evaluation as a relative outsider to the study objects.

Furthermore, evidence for the proposed links between preparation processes and intercultural praxis is best produced by the in-depth analysis of specific contexts and organizations which case studies permit. They allow for identification of particular influences that shaped an educational approach and how these in turn are reflected in intercultural ministry. However, thoroughly assessing a contemporary context would necessitate extensive observation and long term qualitative research which require considerable resources. By contrast, a historical study is more accessible and enables the necessary depth and critical analysis because the perceptions and actions of the missionaries can be elicited from the sources, long-term outcomes can be traced, and possible organizational interests are less likely to interfere directly with the findings. Historical study reveals how peoples' thinking and emphases, what they regard as important, and the value judgments they make are shaped by their individual and corporate past. On the other hand, history allows inferences of the effects of human attitudes, decisions, and actions on events and other people in the immediate context and in the long run. For these reasons I focused on a historical case study in which the long-term outcomes of training and characteristics of cross-cultural engagement are readily available. However, the methodological approach had to consider the likely biases, problems of accessibility, and limitations of historical sources.

The Basel Mission suggested itself for a number of reasons. My German background enables me to read with comparative ease the old German script of the primary sources and contributes to my interest in this society. I was also highly attracted by learning more about their earliest ministry in Ghana—one of the first in the country by European missionaries—because of my own experience in this country which today is over 70 percent Christian.[2]

More importantly, the Basel Mission was the most significant German mission in the nineteenth century having far reaching influence across central Europe and beyond through its extended networks of

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2. The 2010 Ghana census showed "that 71.2 percent of the population profess the Christian faith, followed by Islam (17.6 percent). Only a small proportion of the population either adhere to traditional religion (5.2 percent) or are not affiliated to any religion (5.3 percent)." See Ghana Statistical Service, "2010 Population and Housing Census Summary," 6.

communication, collaboration, and publication. The Basel Missionary Training Institute (BMTI) was the first of its kind and British mission societies developed their institutions looking to it as a model.

With the founding of agencies for the purpose of advancing Christian mission in non-European lands at the end of the eighteenth century, Protestant leaders felt for the first time the need for specialized preparation of missionaries. Early ideas on missionary training had been advanced by David Bogue (1750–1825) of the London Missionary Society (LMS) from 1795 onwards.[3] The Lutheran Pastor Johannes Jänicke (1748–1827) led a small seminary in Berlin from 1800 to 1827 which provided the first missionaries for the British London and Church Missionary Societies.[4] But it was the Basel Mission that developed a systematic approach to the training of Christian foreign missionaries. The BMTI was declared by its founders as German contribution to the foreign missionary movement already under way elsewhere in Europe. It was established in 1815 and the first course commenced in August 1816.

The Basel Mission was the first and largest continental mission and became the main motivator and channel of German missionary passion in the nineteenth century. It was enormously influential beyond German-speaking Europe through the numerous German missionaries it supplied for other societies, foremost the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Moreover, Walls and Piggin point out that the BMTI provided the model for the training institutes those societies established later on.[5]

In spite of this significance, very few studies exist on the Basel Mission, or German missions in general, especially in Anglophone scholarship—a neglected area of study.[6] No previous study focuses explicitly on

3. Bogue's educational ideas and practice is described by Terpstra, "David Bogue." Terpstra's dissertation is the most comprehensive study on this important mission thinker and educator.

4. Information on Jänicke's school is sparse. The most detailed account is provided by Schick, *Vorboten und Bahnbrecher*.

5. Andrew Walls highlights the fact that German Pietist circles both provided the first missionaries for the Protestant missionary societies and developed seminaries and systems for training of missionaries in Walls, "Missionary Vocation." The point that British training institutes reflect the BMTI is made in the detailed analysis of approaches to training missionaries by British societies by Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*.

6. If German missions are considered at all, the focus is typically on the earlier efforts of the Danish-Halle mission in India and the Moravian missions. The significant engagement of other European missionaries in the nineteenth century is generally overlooked in Anglophone preoccupation with British and American ventures.

the impact of the Basel missionary preparation processes on intercultural engagement. The analysis of the influences and emphases of the BMTI presented here therefore furthers understanding of the development and impact of foreign missionary training in the nineteenth century, as well as appreciation of the contribution of BMTI trained missionaries to the work of dominant Anglophone organizations.

Beyond its historical significance, this study contributes to a more profound assessment of the breadth of influences which impact on the preparatory processes of missionaries and in turn on their engagement in an environment vastly different from their own cultural and religious background. The findings expose aspects of missionary preparation which can result in many of the maladjustments and difficulties missionaries face in cross-cultural contexts. The historical case of the Basel Mission reveals among other things the common presumption of universality of Christian values and practices which are, in fact, culturally and locally determined and their imposition on the people being served. Hence, it identifies causes which are not usually paid attention to for the frequent struggles and lack of contextual adjustment in cross-cultural Christian mission.

THESIS AND KEY CONCEPTS

This study examines the ways in which context of origin and deliberate preparation processes correlate with the engagement of missionaries in a cross-cultural environment. Specifically, it investigates how the cultural, socio-economic, and religious background and the intentional preparatory processes of Basel Missionaries affected their work in Ghana (former Gold Coast)[7] in the beginning years (1828–1840).

Using the educational concept of *Communities of Practice* and the sociological notion of *trained incapacity* as conceptual tools to explicate missionary training and engagement, I advance the thesis that the Basel Missionary Training Institute constituted a "community of practice" which produced various levels of "trained incapacity" in the missionaries it sent to foreign lands. This poses a crucial influence of the background

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7. The modern nation of Ghana is not identical with Danish Guinea or the later British Colony Gold Coast. The areas of the Basel Mission work were in the South of today's Ghana, in the regions of former Danish Guinea which in 1850 became part of the British Gold Coast. For this reason I use these names interchangeably in this study, except where the identification of the Danish or British claimed area is relevant to the argument.

and context of missionaries and their constituencies on the goals and designs of deliberate preparation processes affecting missionary attitudes and practices. Especially when groups engaging in cross-cultural Christian ministry are essentially homogeneous in terms of their religious and socio-ethical emphases (like the Basel Mission and its participants) their training processes have a strong propensity to establish inflexible mental frameworks of theological assumptions and social ideals that are potentially detrimental to intercultural engagement; thus illustrating *trained incapacity*.

Speaking of training or preparation processes indicates the wide range of factors that influence people. Participants of any educational effort are shaped by dynamics of informal socialization before and during formally designed training. The term *hidden curriculum* was coined by Philip Jackson to highlight the influence of latent values and assumptions built into the social expectations and procedures of the school environment which are at least as powerful, if not more so, as the stated curriculum pursued in the classroom.[8] Preparatory processes include the whole range of educational means which are employed intentionally and implicitly by an organization, the criteria and procedures for selection of candidates and the goals, content, teaching methods, and general design of the training provided for missionaries. However, the accumulative effect of previous experience and intentional intervention together determines the attitudes, ideas, values, and practical approaches people take to new situations. Therefore, it is paramount to include the various influences on missionaries beyond formal education in assessing their preparation for ministry in a foreign environment. Consequently, this study offers a thorough investigation of the historical context and life experience of the missionary candidates as well as the intentional preparation provided by their organization.

Both theoretical frameworks enable such a comprehensive analysis of preparatory processes because of their sociological definitions of "proficiency" in a *community of practice* and "training" in *trained incapacity*.

Communities of Practice

According to Etienne Wenger "Communities of practice are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavor," they are "groups of people who share a concern or

8. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms*.

a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly."[9] *Communities of practice* have three crucial characteristics: (1) Members are committed to a *shared domain of interest*, they have common goals, visions, or problems, (2) *the community* in which members interact and learn together, and (3) *the practice*—members "develop a shared repertoire of resources to improve what they do: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short a shared practice." Only all three elements working together constitute a *community of practice*. For example, teachers may share the common interest to ensure that their students learn better. When a group of teachers regularly share their experience and learn from each other how to improve a particular approach to help their students learn, it becomes a *community of practice*.

This theoretical framework was first articulated by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger in 1991. They pose that learning does not just take place in specifically designed experiential contexts but social participation itself is a learning process. Learning is "a process of participation in communities of practice, participation that is at first legitimately peripheral but that increases gradually in engagement and complexity."[10] Traditional apprenticeships were a chief illustration for this "situated learning" which stressed "the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice." "Legitimacy" described the ways of belonging to the community and the idea of "peripherality" the location in the community as newcomers move towards full participation.[11] A novice enters at the periphery and moves towards the center which represents proficiency in the practice of the community. However, the authors emphasized that they were not promoting apprenticeships per se but a new theory of learning which identifies it as a social process in contrast to the mere acquisition of impersonal knowledge.

Wenger developed the concept further and—in part in response to critique on the earlier book—revised the idea of "legitimate peripheral participation" so far that he has all but dropped the term in favor of "a process of negotiation between reification and interaction." By this he means that tangible and non-tangible representations of the practice of a community are constantly revised in the interaction processes of the

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9. Wenger, "Introduction."

10. Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*, 7.

11. Ibid., 34–35.

community.[12] However, a "common ground" of basic knowledge and skills that are taken for granted as basis for the interactions of a group is still regarded as necessary and does create varying levels of participation. Together with other factors like motivation to be involved, Wenger, Dermott and Snyder identify three levels of participation, the core group, the active group and those on the periphery.[13] Wenger and others apply these concepts to organizational and knowledge development in contemporary Western contexts which in part explains the emphasis on a more egalitarian understanding of the participants in communities of practice.

This experiential theory of learning highlights the situational context and the social character of learning and emphasizes the importance of patterns of joint activities. It provides critical insights into the Basel Mission's preparatory processes. The leaders articulated intentions for the BMTI that indicate a perception of social participation as a learning process and they intentionally employed community life and patterns of joint activities to foster a particular practice. Finally, a common vision (*domain of interest*) of foreign Christian mission motivated and guided all participants in the enterprise. Therefore *community of practice* provides a fitting analytical framework for explicating the dynamics and influences at the BMTI.

Trained Incapacity

The term *trained incapacity* was coined in sociological studies to indicate a situation in which education, training, and experience establish mental frameworks and practices so thoroughly in people that they are unable to adjust appropriately to changed circumstances. Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929) first used the term in 1914 to describe the proclivity of businessmen and workers to evaluate their actions solely from the perspective of pecuniary gain. He posed that this proclivity originated in the experience and education of the business world of his time and saw this as particularly problematic in the case of businessmen who hold power to affect their workers, organizations, and society at large. The tendency—induced by training and experience—to measure actions only by the money that can be made leads to incapacity to see the negative social outcomes and wider repercussions of business behavior. Veblen continued to explore how the perception of success purely in pecuniary

12. Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 51–71.
13. Wenger et al., *Managing Knowledge*, 55–58.

parameters leads to seeing those as successful in society who deceive many people into paying them more than their services and goods are worth, thereby taking advantage of society.[14]

In 1935, Kenneth Burke (1897–1993) in his deliberations on "Permanence and Change" contemplated how Veblen's concept of *trained incapacity* and John Dewey's *occupational psychosis* can help to identify mental patterns that may have become obsolete.[15] Burke used the concepts to propose the need for changed thinking and possibly very different approaches to life during the Great Depression. He claimed that attitudes, behaviors and ways of thinking that people have been trained in by previous experience and education, and that served them well in the past, may lead to serious maladjustments under the new and changed conditions and cause actions which ultimately are detrimental to people's wellbeing and survival.

Over a decade later Robert Merton (1910–2003) used Burke's discussion and defined *trained incapacity* as

> that state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills that have been successfully applied in the past may result in inappropriate responses *under changed conditions*. An inadequate flexibility in the application of skills, will, in a changing milieu, result in more or less serious maladjustments.[16]

Applying the concept to the "Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy," Merton sketches the importance of discipline in highly streamlined processes that demand exactness and consistency in the application of rules and regulations. People working in this context are trained to follow processes with rigidity, so much so that it can lead to *trained incapacity*, the inability to flexibly adjust to changed conditions and different circumstances. Discipline becomes so engrained that exact application of regulations becomes a goal in itself to be "followed to the letter" thereby creating what is

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14. Veblen, *Instinct of Workmanship*, 343–50; Wais, "Trained Incapacity." Wais refutes the claim that the phrase does not appear in the works of Thorstein Veblen and provides a helpful discussion of Veblen's original use of the term and Kenneth Burke's adaptation and expansion of its meaning.

15. Dewey, "Understanding the Savage Mind." Burke, *Permanence and Change*, 7–11, 38–47. Interestingly, Dewey proposed the notion of *occupational psychosis* to "understand the savage mind" as a more positive and comprehensive framework to understand the workings of non-western cultures.

16. Merton, *Social Theory*, 197–200. Emphasis in original.

experienced as "red tape" which has the potential to defeat the purposes of the organization the bureaucratic apparatus was set up to serve. Thus, *trained incapacity* describes a condition where training, education, and experience produce mental predispositions, attitudes, values, and behaviors in people in such a way that their capacities become potential impediments; they lack flexibility to adjust attitudes and actions under changed conditions or in different circumstances.

In this book I posit that the preparatory processes of the Basel Mission shaped the missionary agents in such a way that their intercultural engagement illustrates trained incapacity, i.e., an "inadequate flexibility" in the application of learned judgments and practices which resulted in the vastly different circumstances "in more or less serious maladjustments." While both theoretical constructs I employ were articulated in the twentieth century, they describe educational and sociological dynamics which are timeless aspects of the human experience. Therefore, their application to the Basel Mission is not anachronistic but sheds light on this particular historical experience from new angles. In this way *trained incapacity* provides an explanatory framework for the struggles, difficulties, and tensions encountered by Basel missionaries in the cross-cultural context of Ghana.

In order to assess the character of the Basel Mission as an essentially homogeneous *community of practice* I investigated the ways in which the general historical context and the social, economic, religious and intellectual background of the Basel Mission leaders, supporters, and missionaries shaped their motivations and approaches towards cross-cultural mission and Africa. Furthermore, I examined the extent to which the deliberate preparatory processes of the BMTI reflected the theological convictions and practical emphases of its participants and shaped the missionaries' attitudes and approaches. The findings show that the BMTI closely reflected and functioned largely to deepen the German cultural and Pietist religious values, practices and emphases of the participants' background.

Trained incapacity of Basel missionaries in the intercultural encounter with the African context is assessed through an investigation of the attitudes, practices, and experience of the Basel missionaries in Ghana. I understand intercultural capacity or effective intercultural engagement in Christian mission as the ability to adjust to life, build relationships, and communicate the gospel of Jesus Christ meaningfully with people of another culture in order to initiate and foster the development of culturally

relevant and missionally engaged communities of indigenous believers. While such communities are ultimately dependent on indigenous agency and appropriation of the Christian message, cross-cultural missionaries play an important initial catalyzing role that can foster or hinder their development. Thus, the assessment of prevalent characteristics of the initial Basel Mission engagement in Guinea was guided by three criteria: adjustment to the cross-cultural situation, the mission's declared objectives, and African responses. The study shows that BMTI training established religious convictions and practical emphases which were applied inflexibly in the intercultural encounter. This impeded adjustment to different contexts, the realization of organizational goals, and the emergence of an African appropriation of Christianity, and constituted a major factor in the mission's initial failure.

The examination of Basel missionaries' intercultural engagement is confined to the first twelve years of their work in Ghana (1828–1840). This earlier period represents the organization's initial engagement and sets the precedence for their basic approaches to ministry in Africa. However, there was little success towards organizational goals which raises the question of causes of such failure that this study addresses. Because of this failure most scholars brush over the first years of the mission. But while there is ample evidence for the trained incapacity proposed here in the later years—as the brief analysis of the replication model shows that became fairly standard in nineteenth century Protestant missions in Africa—direct correlations between preparation processes and intercultural engagement are clearer in the pre-colonial period.

I am conscious that this delimitation affords only a limited sample, but not only does it offer a detailed analysis of a period that is typically neglected in accounts of the Basel Mission in Ghana, it enables an evaluation of the missionaries' cross-cultural ministry, their actions and experience in Africa before European governments—and in the case of the Basel Mission organizational intervention—interfered with policies and practices in Ghana. From the 1840s colonial governments sponsored missionary "civilization" work in Africa. In Ghana, the last Danish governor envisioned the Basel Mission in this vein.[17] In 1850 Britain became the sole colonial power in the area where Basel missionaries worked and enforced stronger colonial control. Furthermore, within the organization,

17. Carstensen letter October 20, 1843; "Remarks concerning the Danish-Guinean possessions" June 30, 1844 and letter July 25, 1844 in Carstensen, *Closing the Books*, 58–60, 78, 84.

from 1844 detailed rules for the relationships of missionaries to the Basel leadership were introduced and from 1850 the new Director Joseph Josenhans (1812–1884) began to implement ideas of stricter organization of the mission fields which obscure the dynamics this study analyses.[18]

PIETISM AND THE BASEL MISSION

The roots of the Basel Mission in German Pietism are undeniable. I present a brief analysis of the missional impetus of common characteristics of this movement across its various streams and their presence in the Basel Mission. However, I do not engage the discussions on the definition and scope of German Pietism, nor the copious analyses of variations of the movement that typically focus on the late seventeenth and eighteenth century and tend to sideline the ongoing importance of German Pietism, especially in missionary engagement outside Europe.[19]

The chronological and geographical scope of what constitutes "Pietism" has been hotly discussed in recent decades.[20] Strom and Lehmann provide helpful summaries and represent scholarship that emphasizes the heterogeneity and international significance of Pietist movements.[21] Both identify the activism of German Pietists in the global expansion of Protestantism as needing further research.[22] Lehmann poses "the historical phenomenon we call Pietism" should be studied as "part of a series of religious revivals in Central Europe, which were, from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century and beyond, part of a series of religious revivals in many European countries and in the Atlantic world." He repeatedly advocated for sociological-political investigations and a wider definition of Pietism than the typical church histories' limitation to

18. Schlatter, *Heimatgeschichte*, 228–45. Schlatter commends Josenhans's new regulations as "a system of consequently exercised typical German order" and cites at length the newly introduced rules.

19. Strom provides a good summary of the issues related to Pietism studies and Lehmann an overview of how definitions changed in the past century: Lehmann, "Pietism"; Strom, "Problems and Promises." However, the still prevalent foci are clear in the majority of articles in the representative yearbook Brecht and others, *Pietismus und Neuzeit*.

20. Representative is the conversation between Brecht and Wallmann: Brecht, "Einleitung"; Brecht, "Zur Konzeption der Geschichte des Pietismus"; Wallmann. "Fehlstart."

21. Lehmann, "Pietism"; Strom, "Problems and Promises."

22. Lehmann, "Aufgaben der Pietismusforschung," 12–13; Strom, "Problems and Promises," 554.

"an epoch . . . which lasted about from 1675 to 1725."[23] A clear endpoint of Pietism is difficult to define. The comprehensive four-volume multi-authored German work representative of recent scholarship, for example, takes the *History of Pietism* into the nineteenth and twentieth century.[24] My study embraces the inclusion of later developments and activities by individuals and groups of Pietist convictions, identifies the Basel Mission and their networks as dominant among them, and constitutes such a sociological-political investigation. It highlights the ongoing significance of the Pietist movement and proffers its foundational importance in the development of missionary thinking and engagement in German-speaking Europe.

In contrast to prevalent discussions of differences between various Pietist strands, I focus here on shared emphases of European pious circles and the missional impulse they entailed which led to the founding of the Basel Mission and shaped its priorities and practices. Common characteristics of Pietism are defined by various authors whose work I use in my analysis. Ernest Stoeffler has been critiqued for his "inclusion of a pietistic Puritanism within Pietism" and his definition of Pietism which he derived primarily from theological criteria.[25] However, as Strom rightly observes, in English, Stoeffler "remains the most comprehensive work on early Pietism" and his second volume outlines the five main strands of German Pietism.[26] Reginald Ward places Pietism within the wider context of Protestant revival movements in Europe and America.[27] Dale Brown's short account presents a defense of Pietism that emphasizes the intentions of its early representatives, but he shows the religious and social background German Pietism arose from and its multi-faceted legacy.[28]

23. Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung*, 14. See his various articles on the subject: Lehmann. "Grenzüberschreitungen"; Lehmann, "Pietism"; Lehmann, "Einführung"; Lehmann, "Aufgaben der Pietismusforschung."

24. Brecht and others, *Geschichte des Pietismus.*

25. Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung*, 14; Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 13; Strom, "Problems and Promises," 547.

26. Stoeffler, *German Pietism.* The five strands typically identified are the Spener-Francke-Halle Axis, Zinzendorf and the Moravians, and Reformed, Württemberg, and "radical" Pietism.

27. Ward, *Evangelical Awakening.* Lehmann astutely observes: "While Stoeffler expanded the notion of Pietism to include large portions of Puritanism, Ward reduced the role of Pietism to an episode within early modern religious awakenings that originated in England." See Lehmann, "Pietism," 15.

28. Brown, *Understanding Pietism.*

Most recently, Shantz provides a fresh *Introduction to German Pietism* which highlights its antecedents in earlier movements, religious and cultural significance, and continuing legacy in inspiring Evangelicalism.[29]

Most literature on German Pietism focuses on controversies within and with its critics. Despite recognition of the Danish-Halle and Moravian missions, often little is being said about the impulse to Christian mission generated by this movement.[30] Indicative for this tendency is the brevity of the chapter on *Mission* in Brecht's extensive study.[31] However, in the final volume Wellenreuther compares the Moravian and Halle missions and briefly mentions that the BMTI as "the largest of its kind in the German speaking area contributed much to the professionalization of the training of missionaries."[32] A smaller specific study is Peter Zimmerling's exploration of the missionary ideas of Francke and Zinzendorf.[33] More recently, Mason and Vogt highlight the influence of Moravian missionary experience and ideas on Protestant missionary societies in Britain and Germany.[34] Quite incomprehensibly, Vogt excludes the prominent German outcome of missionary passion, the Basel Mission. However, he offers insightful "explanations of the relationships between Pietism and

29. Shantz, *Introduction to German Pietism.*

30. Both, the Halle and the Moravian missions have attracted recent research. See, for example, Jensz, *German Moravian Missionaries*; Mettele, *Weltbürgertum*; Liebau, *Tranquebarmission*; Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle*. An older detailed study is Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar.*

31. Rennstich, "Mission." The first two volumes also include brief descriptions of the Halle and Moravian missions respectively: Brecht, "August Hermann Francke," 514–40; Meyer, "Zinzendorf und Herrnhut," 68–74.

32. Wellenreuther, "Pietismus und Mission." However, his statements regarding the Basel Mission are in part incorrect. For example, he claims that, leaning on the example of the Moravians, the BMTI initially did not make educational demands on its applicants. This contradicts the extensive curriculum that was pursued from the beginning. Also, the statement that the first German mission societies initially only supported other missions financially is incorrect regarding the Basel Mission. This claim does not differentiate between support associations and mission societies in the proper sense. The Basel Mission depended on the financial support they received from English and German supporters.

33. Zimmerling, *Pioniere.*

34. Mason, *Moravian Church*; Vogt. "Mission der Brüdergemeine." Vogt cites Mason extensively for Moravian influences in Britain and shows similar influence on the continent for the Dutch Mission Society (founded 1797), the Senfkorn Mission Society (founded 1798 as support society for other ventures), and Jänicke's Missionary training school in Berlin (founded 1800). He delimits his study to the period from 1792 to 1802.

mission."[35] In my study I focus on the Basel Mission and its preparation processes for missionaries. While I recognize the influences of the Danish-Halle mission and the Moravian missions, in particular in relation to ideas of preparing missionaries, I do not offer a comparison of the Basel Mission with these earlier Pietist missionary efforts.

Many influences of the various strands of Pietism are visible in the Basel Mission but most of its participants originated from Württemberg. Therefore, studies on the specific character of Pietism in this German region inform my analysis. Lehmann contributes a careful investigation of the relationships between Württemberg politics and Pietist church leaders from the seventeenth to the twentieth century and an important analysis of two key values—community and work.[36] Significant for the cultural influences on the religious emphases reflected in the BMTI is Martin Scharfe's analysis of Pietism in the life and practice of common people.[37] Paul Jenkins points to the influence of Württemberg Pietism on the Basel Mission in two articles which curiously have not received much attention.[38] Finally, Dieter Ising's detailed biography of Johann Christoph Blumhardt (1805–1880)—a friend of the organization's second director and teacher in Basel for seven years (1830–1837)—provides important insights into the background of BMTI teachers.[39]

HISTORICAL RESEARCH OF THE BASEL MISSION

As a study of so-called "mission history" this research has to engage with the prevalent one-sided approaches and presumptions both from proponents and opponents of the modern Western missionary venture. I approach the subject as a Christian convinced of divine action in the processes of history but not with the assumption that all actions by Christian players are intrinsically positive and necessarily leading to positive results. I acknowledge the complexities of relationships between Christian engagement and the circumstances of the social, economic, religious, and political historical context and assume the embeddedness of the missionary experience in the forces of general history, both in Europe

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35. Vogt, "Mission der Brüdergemeine," 211–13.

36. Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung*; Lehmann, "Community and Work."

37. Scharfe, *Die Religion des Volkes*.

38. Jenkins, "Towards a Definition"; Jenkins. "Villagers as Missionaries."

39. Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt*.

and Africa. In this I build on Max Warren's *Social History and Christian Mission* which first drew attention to the inextricable links between the missionary narrative and general social history.[40] Furthermore, I will not discuss the validity of engagement in cross-cultural Christian mission. It is my assumption that the Christian faith is implicitly missional and the community of believers is called to partake in the mission of God to draw men and women from all peoples to himself with the goal of establishing new communities of believers in diverse cultural contexts. Therefore, the actors are presented with the assumption that their intentions represent this missional call without negative intent toward the people they engaged.

Historiography of the European missionary movement and its impact on the non-Western world has undergone major reorientations since the first missionary reports of the kind we find in the Basel Mission archive. In reaction to missionaries' and mission societies' hagiographic accounts of their achievements, twentieth century scholarship has tended to condemn the enterprise as collaboration with imperial colonialism.[41]

A recent example of many studies that investigate the role of missionaries within British (and other European) imperialism are Stanley, Porter, and Etherington who see their work as more balanced presentation and a response to earlier criticism that assumed a close collaboration between empires and missionaries of the same nationality.[42] While they offer some evaluations that also apply to the Basel Mission in Ghana, much of the critique is directed to the dynamics of imperial colonial rule and obscures the issues this project highlights.

European missionary approaches in Africa did not originate in colonial overlordship but in the Evangelical-Pietist mindset of Protestant missions and their cultural background in Europe. The Basel Mission was the specifically German version of this. Consequently, studies on their specific background and involvement in Ghana are the most pertinent. Two in particular, provide interesting insights. Thorsten Altena's survey of six case studies that include the Basel Mission in Cameroon and the

40. Warren, *Social History*.

41. A relatively recent and one of the most influential critiques of missionary motivations and actions is Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*. The five volume *History of the Basel Mission* by Schlatter is an example for the Euro-centric perspective of mission history writing: Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*.

42. Etherington, *Missions and Empire*; Porter, *Religion versus Empire*; Stanley, *Bible and Flag*.

North German Mission (NMG) in Togo offers incisive analyses of the missionaries' background, their images of the African context, and their role in Africa.[43] However, like many scholars he draws direct correlations between the missionaries' context of origin and their cross-cultural engagement without giving much consideration to their training as a crucial period between. In addition, the political dynamics were different in the former Gold Coast because here the Basel Mission began work much earlier and they did not operate under German colonial government but under Danish and later British rule. The Ewe tribal area to the east where the NMG worked eventually became "German Togoland" (1884–1914). A link exists nevertheless because the NMG missionaries were trained in the BMTI. Consequently, Birgit Meyer's study of the implications of Pietist spiritual worldview on the engagement with Ewe religion offers important insights to evaluations and dynamics also prevalent in the Basel Mission encounter with African beliefs.[44]

Both of these represent the polycentric approach to mission history that I also take in this study by investigating both, the European and the African side of the story and interrelations between them. This methodology reflects the call for a global Christian history that represents a significant shift in approach to research and writing the whole history of Christianity. In part, this is a response to the unprecedented growth of Christianity in the non-Western world since the middle of the twentieth century.

Towards a Global Christian History

Traditionally, the tendency has been to talk about "Church History" when the subject of study is the development of the church in Europe and North America and "Mission History" to refer to the beginnings and growth of the church in other parts of the world, especially Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Hanciles critiques this "bifurcation of historical study" within the Western theological curriculum and rightly points out that in both "the Western experience provides the central interpretative lens."[45] *Church history* is typically confined to carefully selected "themes and developments that are deemed relevant to the Western experience"

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43. Altena, *Ein Häuflein Christen*.
44. Meyer, *Translating the Devil*.
45. Hanciles, "New Wine in Old Wineskins."

and *mission history* focuses on the impact of Western missionary initiatives, agents, and strategies on non-Western societies.

From the middle of the twentieth century the first Western scholars with extended experience in Africa began to write accounts that did not outright condemn African traditions and gave more attention to African contributions and perspectives.[46] Foster and Kimble are examples for the Ghanaian context of studies that focused on religious, social and political change induced by the missionary encounter and colonial policies.[47] Interestingly, at the same time various denominational accounts were published, while Hans Debrunner's *History of Christianity in Ghana* explicitly countered such parochialism with his ecumenical work.[48] However, these Europeans for the most part maintained the traditional focus on European agency.

Since the 1960s African scholars offered new perspectives on "mission history" that emphasized "the role and contribution of indigenous agency, . . . the rich heritage of pre-Christian past and encounters with the Christian Gospel outside the direct influence of European missionary action."[49] They also pointed out that Western authored mission histories did not constitute African Church History and called for Africans to write their own accounts.[50] Sanneh and Kalu's edited volume are examples for such histories written by Africans from African perspectives.[51] They emphasize that the history of Christian presence in Africa is a study of religious change that needs to begin with the character of the societies that engaged the new faith and focus on African agents in the process.

In the 1990s Western scholars began to add their voices in critique of the traditional historiography and called for a "global church history" in light of the "southward shift" of global Christianity.[52] The collection of

46. Most significantly: Oliver, *Missionary Factor*; Beyerhaus, *Die Selbständigkeit*; Taylor, *Growth of the Church in Buganda*; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*; Welbourn, *East African Rebels*. See also the evaluation of these early studies by Shenk. "Toward a Global Church History," 52–53.

47. Foster, *Education and Social Change*; Kimble, *Political History*.

48. Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*. For the Methodist and Presbyterian churches respectively: Bartels, *Ghana Methodism*; Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*.

49. Hanciles. "Missionaries and Revolutionaries," 146. He cites as examples Nigerian accounts: Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria*; Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*.

50. Ajayi and Ayandele, "Writing African Church History," 90.

51. Kalu, *African Christianity*; Sanneh, *West African Christianity*.

52. Robert, "Shifting Southward"; Shenk, "Global Church History"; Shenk, "A

articles that came out of a symposium of historians from all continents in 1998 still represents the most comprehensive treatment of the complex challenges involved.[53] Hanciles suggests that a "global Christian history" would include a thorough exploration of local experience and expressions of the faith, the development of new conceptual models, and new historiographical methods that allow a full view of Christian history as a whole and do not restrict it to traditional Western categories.[54] In recent publications the term "global" is used in various ways.[55] First, it depicts the effort to present a fuller retrieval of the past that includes perspectives and actors often overlooked like local agents, women, the poor, and those declared heretics. Second, new historical relationships based on new themes and insights are posited, and finally, a new presentation of the entire history of Christianity from a global perspective. The first attempt at the latter is Irvin and Sunquist's three volume work which is still in the making.[56]

African Perspectives

African critiques are most significant for this study because they address many of the attitudes and practices of Europeans and highlight African responses to the missionary encounter and African contributions to Christianity in Africa. Within the Basel Mission outstanding African individuals have attracted research; most importantly the pastor and missionary David Asante (c. 1834–1892) and the pastor and teacher Carl Christian Reindorf (1834–1817).[57] Reindorf's *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* is the "first substantial and systematic history of a region of Africa written by an African."[58] Contrary to Mobley's dismissal of it as "literature of tutelage" I agree with Hauser-Renner that it "clearly displays his intellectual independence" and selective adoption of missionary

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Global Church"; Walls, "Eusebius Tries Again."

53. Shenk, *Enlarging the Story*.

54. Hanciles, "New Wine in Old Wineskins," 377–78.

55. I follow Kollman's insightful evaluation here, in Kollman. "After Church History."

56. Irvin and Sunquist, *Earliest Christianity*; Irvin and Sunquist, *Modern Christianity*. Volume three is still forthcoming.

57. Abun-Nasr, *Afrikaner und Missionar*; Jenkins, *Recovery of the West African Past*; Hauser-Renner, "'Obstinate' Pastor."

58. Reindorf, *History*; Jenkins, *Recovery of the West African Past*, 13.

ideas.[59] Therefore Reindorf provides valuable insight into the context the Basel Missionaries entered in Ghana. Nevertheless, Mobley is a crucial study of "published critiques of Christian missionaries" by Ghanaian "intelligentsia" from 1897 to post-independence.[60]

Various collections from conferences of African Theologians beginning in 1955 reveal African responses to the missionary encounter that emphasize the continuity of African religious tradition in African Christianity, focus on a "theological and Christocentric understanding of the church," and show a "shift from missionary and nationalist genre to ecumenical historiography . . . and the emergence of a theology of political engagement."[61] An outstanding Ghanaian contribution to the development of African theology is Kwame Bediako's.[62] He generally evaluates the Basel Mission contribution positively, as does Addo-Fenning, which is in contrast to the wholesale condemnation of missionaries in Africa by other Ghanaian authors like Awoonor.[63]

Tufuoh's article on the *Relations between Christian Missions, European Administrators, and Traders in the Gold Coast* draws an interesting contrast between Methodist engagement with British government and the Basel Mission's representatives, especially Riis's hostile relationship with the Danish authorities.[64] Investigating this missionary's relationships with both colonial authorities and local African leaders more closely the articles by Daniel Antwi and Paul Jenkins provide critical insights.[65]

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59. Hauser-Renner, "'Obstinate' Pastor," 65; Mobley, *Ghanaian's Image*, 7.

60. Among the Ghanaian authors he cites, Joseph Kwame Boakye Danquah (1895–1964) is most significant because of his upbringing in the Basel Mission founded church. He was the son of Emmanuel Yaw Boakye who was a pastor in the Basel Mission church until his death in 1914. See Addo-Fenning. "From Traditionalist to Christian Evangelist and Teacher"; Mobley, *Ghanaian's Image*, 50–53. Danquah's most significant works are: Danquah, *Gold Coast*; Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*.

61. Kalu, *African Christianity*, 2. Examples of collections of conference papers are: Christian Council of the Gold Coast, *Christianity and African Culture*; Baëta, *Christianity in Tropical Africa*; Appiah-Kubi and Torres, *African Theology en Route*; Fyfe and Walls, *Christianity in Africa*.

62. Bediako, *Theology and Identity*; Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*.

63. Addo-Fenning, "Christian Missions"; Awoonor, *Ghana*.

64. Tufuoh, "Relations."

65. Antwi, "African Factor"; Antwi and Jenkins, "Moravians"; Paul Jenkins, "Scandal."

Missionaries as Participants in Two Social Histories

Like many Westerners writing on Christian history in Africa, I come to this study with the experience of extensive exposure to an African society and with a sympathetic predisposition to African perspectives.[66] I hope to counteract potential biases by employing previous studies from various fields, where possible by African scholars, in a multi-disciplinary approach. My assessment is informed by the framework of a global Christian history and both, the local and global aspects of the new historiography. While the primary focus is not on African actors, this study investigates new perspectives on foreign missionaries including African perceptions and evaluations of their practices. African environment, responses, and actions are taken into account as well as the long-term outcomes in their context.

At the same time this study pays attention to the origin of the missionaries who came to Africa, the influences upon them, and the ways their background and training affected interactions with the African context. The roots of the Basel Mission in German Pietism, especially in its Württemberg expression, are considered. This approach acknowledges the fact that cross-cultural missionaries are shaped by and contribute to (at least) two social histories, their context of origin and the ministry context.[67] Therefore I examine both, the missionaries' place in the social and religious history in Europe that influenced their ideas and actions as well as the context of the African community that received and responded to these change agents. The focus is on the interaction between the two sets

66. See Gundani's evaluation of five Western authors: Gundani. "Teaching." The more recent works he reviews are: Baur, *2000 Years*; Hastings, *Church in Africa*; Isichei, *Christianity in Africa*; Shaw, *Kingdom of God*; Sundkler and Reed, *Church in Africa*.

67. Paul Jenkins, the Basel Mission archivist for many years with nine years teaching experience in Ghana prior, stated as much when he wrote that mission history is " . . . a branch of social history—indeed, of two social histories . . . , the history of two movements. There is the movement here, made up of the people linked to a missionary society through its organization, communication network and supporters. What have been the changing social dimensions of this movement? . . . What have been the main interactions between the movement and its surrounding society . . . and how has it impacted the environing society? Parallel questions have to be asked about the movement there, in the Third World, which has developed from the contact of missionaries with a specific area or cultural group and the people who have to some degree taken on a Christian identity or have been influenced by Christian social or cultural forms." While he employed old nomenclature, his point that missionaries are influenced by and influence two social histories is important for the dynamics this research highlights. See Jenkins, "Manifesto," 199–200.

of worldview and privileged practices. What the missionaries intended and thought they were doing on the one hand, and how their actions and message were perceived and appropriated by Africans. The resonances and dissonances between these two aspects of the encounter are the clues to the intercultural competence or incapacity this study identifies.

With Dana Robert, I believe that every movement in Christianity "should be studied from within its own internal logic."[68] She relates it to the application of the label "Pentecostal" to a variety of non-Western movements, but this is just as important in relation to the Basel Mission with its roots in German Pietism and the missionary movement it spawned. This European development as well as the movement to Christianity initiated by the Basel Missionaries in Ghana need to be considered on their own terms in their specific context. Therefore it is for example not helpful or even legitimate to apply indiscriminately to Basel missionaries in Ghana categories and judgments from studies of British missionaries at a later time under the colonial control of their own government—an approach frequently taken.[69] At the very least such applications need to be made with great caution.

By contrast, to avoid Euro-centric analysis, in African historiography "the story begins among African communities that had viable structures for existence. It then delineates the permeation of Christian influence . . . attentive to the varieties of the reactions, however ambiguous, of the communities to the Christian change agent. . . . Attention shifts from the process of insertion to the process of appropriation."[70] I follow this approach by beginning with a description of the environment in Southern Ghana which the Basel Missionaries entered and through attentiveness to responses by Ghanaians to the missionary encounter.

Historical Sources and Data

The historical sources available for this enquiry are quite substantial and more comprehensive than for most contexts of comparable historical distance.

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68. Robert, "Shifting Southward," 57.

69. Most recently such indiscriminate application is offered in Quartey, *Missionary Practices.*

70. Kalu, *African Christianity*, 21.

Archival Material

The Basel Mission Archive (BMA)—located in the former Mission-House—is one of the most complete and well catalogued in existence. I spent two months in the archive from October to December 2008, took digital photographs of all the material I identified as relevant to this project, kept a detailed log, and recorded my observations.

The materials are of primary and secondary nature. First, there are letters, official documents and reports in the personnel files (PF) of individual missionaries pertaining to their application to the training institute, times spent in Europe, and correspondence regarding their children's education and after they left the mission. The "Brothers-Register" (*Brüderverzeichnis*), a directory of all missionaries, recorded basic information about places of origin, dates of entry into the BMTI, and ministry assignments. Bound books collected correspondence from the stations in Ghana (D-1 signature) and the *Komitee Protokolle* (KP) are the minutes of Board meetings. The BMA has complete copies of the published magazines; especially the *Missions-Magazin* (MM) and the *Heidenbote* (HB) contain many reports by and articles about the missionaries in Ghana and official annual reports. Furthermore, the archive holds manuscripts and publications by people involved with the mission. Most relevant for this research are writings by the mission's directors,[71] by long term missionaries in Ghana,[72] by Africans related to the mission,[73] and the in-house historical accounts of the organization.[74] Of the latter Wilhelm Schlatter's five volume work is the most thorough overview. These sources display a strongly favorable and uncritical evaluation of the mission, its personnel and proceedings. They belong to the categories of "missionary historiography" Kalu identifies[75] and are clearly representative of the Eurocentric bias described above.

This nature of the sources presents a challenge as it is no longer acceptable to restrict description and evaluation to their uncritical Eurocentric perspective. Letters and reports reflect the viewpoint of the

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71. See, for example, Blumhardt, "Geographischer Überblick"; Hoffmann, *Missionsgesellschaft*; Hoffmann, *Eilf Jahre*.

72. For example Dieterle, "30 Jahre"; Joseph Mohr, "Tagebuch."

73. For example Opoku, *Riis, the Builder*.

74. Eppler, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*; Ostertag, *Entstehungsgeschichte*; Schick, *Vorboten und Bahnbrecher*; Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*.

75. Kalu, "African Church Historiography," 15–16.

missionaries and publications are directed to their European audience. However, confidential sources like minutes of Board meetings and letters also reveal difficulties, disagreements, setbacks, doubts, and even occasional self-critique. Their existence allows for different evaluations. Eiselen, Miller, and Prodolliet are examples for judicious analyses, but they also reveal "the politics of discourse."[76] In contrast to official publications that served to justify mission policies and decisions, contemporary studies are often characterized by their own historical context that calls for a more critical approach, sometimes overly critical. Typically, this is an expression of Western postcolonial embarrassment—especially of late twentieth century secular scholarship—with previous confident Christian missionary expansion and thus constitutes again a Euro-centric perspective. In the final analysis, any historical writing is a "meaningful story of the past," meaningful for the constituency it is addressed to in the present.

My approach to the available sources is guided by missiological and educational questions of the effects of missionary training on cross-cultural engagement. Consequently, I employ particular theoretical concepts to reveal specific insights into the dynamics of the preparation processes of the Basel missionaries and their encounter with the African context. The frameworks of *communities of practice* and *trained incapacity* drive an examination which attempts to transcend the overly positive evaluations of older histories as well as the overly critical assessments of more recent studies, looks for the issues revealed in letters, reports and minutes, and seeks where accessible African perspectives of the events and missionary actions. In this I rely considerably on previous in-depth studies of specific aspects or part of the history.

Data from Other Sources

In cross-cultural contexts missionaries faced challenges they expected and many situations they were not prepared for, their activities led to outcomes they did not anticipate, and Africans often perceived things and responded differently than anticipated. The missionaries' accounts reflect their understanding of these challenges, including tensions of opinion and between personalities that arose. However, African perspectives are harder to identify because much of the evidence is either hidden in oral traditions or between the lines of European descriptions and evaluations.

76. Eiselen, "Erziehung"; Miller, *Missionary Zeal*; Prodolliet, *Schamlosigkeit*.

A praiseworthy effort at reconstructing a piece of African history from such limited sources is Kwamena-Poh's account of Akuapem state politics in 1730–1850.[77] He is of particular interest because he covers in detail the period of this study and focuses on the region where the Basel Mission first established a church, including an evaluation of the most prominent missionary of this early engagement, Andreas Riis. From the first European contacts the Asante Empire and the Akan people attracted a number of reports by diverse travelers to the region.[78] While the various biases of these authors need to be taken into account, they offer contemporary descriptions of the politics, culture, and religion of the main African society the Basel missionaries engaged in the Gold Coast. More recent anthropological studies of Akuapem by Gilbert and Middleton provide important background and Rattray's extensive research is still the most comprehensive source for religious and socio-economic traditions of the Asante.[79]

I adopted a multi-disciplinary polycentric approach that employs these and other previous studies to reconstruct a more comprehensive account of the Basel missionaries, both their background in Europe and their encounter with the African context. Like most recent discourse in the study of nineteenth-century missions, I explore specific aspects of interrelations between this movement and the general historical environment and do not attempt a comprehensive description or evaluation of the Basel Mission or its work. This study is also not a judgment of their actions by later insights, which would be anachronistic, but a description of observable sociological dynamics related to missionary training and practice, in order to gain insights for present day intercultural preparation and engagement.

Effects of Missionary Training in the Nineteenth Century

Very few scholars explore the preparation processes of nineteenth century missionaries. The most comprehensive is Stuart Piggin's analysis of training provided by the various British societies for missionaries to

77. Kwamena-Poh, *Akuapem State*.

78. Beecham, *Ashantee*; Bowdich, *Mission*; Freeman, *Journals*; Meredith, *Gold Coast*.

79. Gilbert, "Aesthetic Strategies"; Gilbert, " Executioner"; Gilbert, "Ethnic Construction"; Middleton, "Home-Town"; Middleton, "One Hundred and Fifty Years"; Rattray, *Ashanti*; Rattray, *Religion and Art*; Rattray, *Ashanti Law*.

India.[80] Many of his insights apply to Basel missionaries as well and he shows the influence of the BMTI on the British institutes. Chester Terpstra's study of David Bogue (1750–1825), a founding member of the LMS, delineates the specific focus of missionary training he developed as early as 1795.[81] Finally, two articles describe the training at the BMTI specifically; Tobias Eiselen's chapter in a book on the NMG and Haller's article in the *Missions-Magazin* from 1897.[82] Both focus on the period after 1850 when institutional regulation and supervision was considerably tightened. However, the basic emphases of the BMTI did not change; they were only more rigidly articulated and implemented under the new leadership. Haller's account represents an in-house perspective that endorses all practices uncritically which, in a way, is balanced by Eiselen's overly critical angle on anything related to order and control and his underlying tone of dismissal of Pietist spirituality and theology.

My analysis draws on insights from all these previous studies and asserts the importance of investigating the wide range of factors which influenced the preparation processes and in turn the attitudes and approaches of Basel missionaries sent to Africa. Similar to my thesis, Piggin observes an *erudite inflexibility* in many of the well-educated British missionaries in India.[83] Jon Miller's sociological investigation of internal contradictions and tensions in the Basel Mission uses cases of dismissal as starting point and highlights issues of class collaboration, social control, and organizational contradictions.[84] He cites both Piggin and sociological scholars to posit that *trained incapacity* contributed to the lack of "quick intelligence and flexibility," initiative, and creativity demanded by the ever changing challenges of the African context.[85] However, both these scholars ignore the perceptions, contributions, and responses of the non-western recipients to the missionary effort among them. My assessment of the Basel Mission training and intercultural engagement in Ghana builds on these briefly stated insights. It furthers them with a detailed analysis of the specific characteristics of the BMTI that contributed to the difficulties missionaries encountered in the cross-cultural

80. Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*.

81. Terpstra, "David Bogue."

82. Haller, "Leben im Missionshaus"; Eiselen, "Erziehung."

83. Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, 248.

84. Miller, *Missionary Zeal*.

85. Ibid., 123–59.

context. More importantly, it advances previous evaluations of Protestant missionary preparation through a global historiographical approach that assigns prime importance to the impact of European missionary praxis on the African context and to African evaluations. I regard this perspective as indispensable for a viable appraisal of the training the missionaries received.

In the following, Part I analyses the BMTI as an intentional *Community of Practice*. Chapter 1 outlines the historical background of the Basel Mission, including developments that led to its founding, and explores the cultural, socio-economic, and religious factors that influenced the community learning approach of the BMTI. It examines the roots of Protestant missions in emphases of German Pietism and preceding educational models that inspired the Basel Mission founders to establish the BMTI as an intentional community. Chapter 2 traces influences of the general European image of Africa on the Basel Mission vision of Christian foreign mission that became the shared goal—the *domain of interest*—of this community. It further identifies specific Basel Mission ideas of mission work and the kind of people it required. Chapter 3 examines the varying backgrounds of participants in the Basel Mission and how each influenced the shared practice the organization embraced. It concludes with identifying the outcomes of Basel missionary preparation by discussing the relative impact of missionaries' background and BMTI training on their religious convictions and practical emphases.

Part II examines the engagement of missionaries thus trained in the African environment. Chapter 4 reviews the early nineteenth century context in Ghana, highlighting realities that impacted on Christian missions, and then examines indications for trained incapacity among the initial group of Basel missionaries (1828–1831). Specifically, conflicts among the team, lack of collaboration, and attitudes to chaplaincy are investigated. Chapter 5 focuses on Andreas Riis, the acclaimed founder of the Basel Mission in Ghana. It examines his specific background, ways he overcame trained incapacity by revising BMTI instilled perceptions, his ambiguous relationships with Africans, and the practical and political tensions he experienced which reveal indications for trained incapacity. Chapter 6 assesses the missionary attempts of the small team in the late 1830s suggesting trained incapacity as major factor in their failure to achieve organizational goals. Individual and organizational responses illustrate the wider historical development towards Christian mission as intentional replication of European culture which entailed trained

incapacity. Finally, I offer conclusions from the historical case study, suggestions for its wider significance for preparing Christian missionaries, and some recommendations for counteracting the negative dynamic this study highlights.