

EDUCATION IN THE MODERN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

A Study of the Extent, Significance, and Purpose of
Education in the Modern Missionary Work of the Protestant
Churches

by

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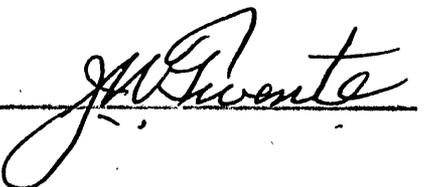
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INTRODUCTION

Religion has been one of the major social institutions in the history of the human race and there are some who even hold that its influence on society has been greater than that of any other single social force. As Professor Panunzio has said,

"The religious system has had a profound influence on associated living. It has set a stamp upon sex practices, marriage, the family, and the economic system; it has virtually molded education and recreation; it has influenced government, law and the courts, and at times, notably in the Hebraic commonwealth and during the Middle Ages, it has constituted government. There is, in fact, scarcely a human activity on which the religious institution has not placed its imprint."¹

During the last two centuries world movements have developed under several categories: Cultural Interaction, the impact of the Occident on the Orient and the interpretation of the Orient to the Occident; Social Reform, the anti-slavery movement, breakdown of such ancient social evils as the Hindu Caste system, the struggle against political imperialism and economic exploitation; the development of nationalistic and independence movements and efforts to establish democratic institutions; the development of modern education and the fight against illiteracy, ignorance and superstition; the expansion of social welfare with increase of medical and hospital

facilities, care of unfortunates, and other forms of philanthropy; interracial good will, international cooperation, world peace and a United Nations Organization.

Whether we think in terms of one or another of these important phases of world change and, let us hope, progress, or whether we think only of the expansion of Christianity itself, probably no other social institution has wielded an influence comparable in world-wide reach and significance to that of the Christian Church through its modern missionary movement.

What Dennis wrote about it in 1906 still remains true, that

"there is no really great or useful feature of the contemporary progress of the world about which so little is known by the average man as the missionary enterprise."²

The forty years intervening since he wrote have added much to the evidences he had accumulated in his standard three-volume work on Christian Missions and Social Progress,³ showing how vast and varied has been the contribution of this enterprise. Yet it is possible for a professor of political science writing thirty-four pages in International Conciliation, No. 404, October, 1944, on "China Today," and professing to be giving a description of

"China's long and difficult struggle to transform her long-lived, deeply-rooted civilization into a democratic, industrialized nation-state,"

to make only one casual reference to Christian Missions.

He notes that

"into Eastern Asia, as into the Americas and Africa, came the explorers and colonizers of Portugal, Spain, Holland, France and England. They reached China in the 16th and 17th centuries. Commerce and missionary activities developed side by side."⁴

Ts'ui Chi, definitely a severe critic of Christian Missions and especially of Protestant Missions of the 19th century, is none the less compelled by the facts to conclude that

"the arrival of Western knowledge, which proved a blessing nourished with pain, came through Christian missionaries,"

and regarding the Jesuit missionaries of the 16th century he writes that they

"brought many benefits in the form of Western science and educational principles."⁵

The "average man" of whom Dennis wrote, with many otherwise well-informed persons, has very largely thought of missions as a propagandizing project engaged largely, if not entirely, in the task of persuading individuals to leave other religions and become Christian. This program of the evangelization of individuals until all men have become followers of Christ has held a large place in the enterprise, and has completely absorbed the attention of some missionaries and some Mission organizations. But it does not tell the whole story. The social influence of Christian missions has been present from the beginning and

there are indications that, both within and without mission circles, it must be reckoned as one of the most important contributions Missions have made, and can make, to the life of the world. Regarding Carey, Judson, Morrison, and Livingston, W. E. Hocking writes that "their vision included the saving of individual souls and also the renovation of societies."⁶ What was true of these pioneers and of many others was not true of all, to be sure, but Hocking continues,

"A new turn has appeared in the history of the modern mission--a turn that has been apparent since 1921 to all closely engaged in the task. The meaning of that turn we are still occupied in interpreting; but part of it is certainly this, that the problems of the mission are strongly felt by the Church to be an integral part of the problem of the Church at home, and also, an integral part of the entire impact of people upon people and culture upon culture."⁶

Christian Missions share with geographical exploration, political expansion, economic exploitation, industry and trade, tourist travel, films, the press, and radio in being phases of the impact of modern Western civilization on the rest of the world.

"Both in the total financial expenditure involved and also in the number and character of the personnel engaged in the work, it (contemporary Protestant Missions of the United States) is comparable in importance with commercial interests,--in some countries, indeed, it exceeds in these particulars other interests of American citizens. In its influence, as affecting the welfare of other peoples and in gaining

their good-will, and also as contributing to the knowledge that Americans have of other lands and their interest in them, this work is considered by many as first among all the forces that bear constructively upon international relations."⁷

It may well be that Christian Missions, despite all the justifiable criticisms that may be lodged against them, will prove to be the agency through which the best of the West has been shared with the peoples of other cultures. It is pertinent to ask what the cumulative effect of the other phases of this impact would have been on Africa, Asia and Oceania had there been no modern missionary enterprise.

For varying reasons, from the time of the earliest of modern missionaries--Francis Xavier of the Roman Catholic Church and Christian Friedrich Schwartz of the Protestant Churches--non-evangelistic activities were introduced. Chief among these were education; production of literature; printing; medical work and other forms of philanthropy; research into the customs, classics, religions, etc. of the peoples; economic and social movements; and, in some places, scientific development of written languages and grammars. Admittedly an underlying motive was often that these activities would indirectly aid and ultimately insure the evangelistic purpose of missions. To this we shall give some attention later, but here it is sufficient to indicate that increasingly missions became involved in many types

of activities which were defended by those who shared in them although their contribution to the direct evangelistic program was slight. This has both accompanied and produced an enlarging of the conception of the missionary enterprise and its basic aims.

Education, in its institutional forms and through many non-institutional means, rapidly became the largest non-evangelistic phase of the missionary enterprise until in its demands on personnel, both missionary and indigenous, and on finance, it has assumed larger proportions than the evangelistic program of missions. Dennis said that one

"function of missions of fundamental import and touching the deep springs of social progress is the establishment and promotion of education. This is one of the noblest sociological aspects of missionary effort. It illumines, vivifies, and inspires the intellectual nature of man and brings it to the arena of social struggle equipped for service."⁸

It is, therefore, important to those interested in missions, or in education, to know what part education has in the missionary enterprise; whether or not it is a major aspect of international education and intercultural relations; what it has achieved in tangible outcomes; what motives or purposes have inspired those who administer or support it; and what are the problems that confront those who are concerned with its further development.

The opportunity of spending six weeks of special study in the Missionary Research Library, New York, gave

the author access to what is probably the largest and most complete collection of materials, published and unpublished, dealing with Christian Missions. Previous graduate study at the University of Chicago and the University of Kansas during three furlough periods was in the field of Education. Three terms of service in India, totalling eighteen years, were spent in educational work participating in the missionary program of The Methodist Church. During these years of experience and study questions regarding the purpose, significance, outcomes, and difficulties of educational missions have arisen. The major purpose of the research in the Missionary Research Library and the last semester's study at the University of Kansas was to discover the answer to some of these questions. An effort is made here to present the data which have been discovered and the author's conclusions and suggestions drawn from these data.

After his first two years in India, the writer has had frequently to resist efforts to transfer him to "evangelistic" work. His conviction that education has a distinct and important contribution to make which no other agency can duplicate, and that it is worthy of an individual's whole-hearted services has been difficult for some of his friends to understand. This is not to be interpreted as disbelief in the important place of the evangelistic phase of Christian missions when rightly under-

stood and conducted in a Christian manner. Indeed, through many of the years in India the author has, in spite of heavy school responsibilities, given freely of his time as a minister of the Church in pastoral and administrative capacities.

The chapter dealing with "Purposes" will show that in the comprehensive program of Christian Missions as an effort to make this world the kind of place it ought to become--as commonly understood in the phrase, "Kingdom of God"--the evangelist, the educator, the physician, the industrial and agricultural expert, the social engineer, the author and publisher, all have their several places and none can complete the task without the cooperative help of the others. It may be illustrated by the homely figure of a heavy load drawn by six horses. It is conceivable that they might be hitched single file like a string of arctic sledge dogs, in pairs like a "coach and six," or abreast as when pulling a header or combine in a wheat field. The significance is not in the order, but in the fact that each horse is pulling its share of the load without which assistance the work cannot be fully accomplished. The Christian missionary enterprise has often moved forward too slowly because one department has pulled at cross purposes to another, or has attempted alone to accomplish a task that is impossible except through united effort.

Because some have held the opinion that the concern of Christian Missions should be only, or chiefly, with individual evangelism, it will be necessary to give considerable attention to the relation of education to evangelism. Less attention will be given to the importance of medical missions, agricultural missions, and other phases. This should not be interpreted as indicating lesser value to these aspects. It only means that this study deals primarily with educational missions and the relation they bear to the total task.

The chapter headings indicate the course of the investigation: 1 and 2, The Significance of Education in the Missionary Enterprise, dealing with the historical importance, the financial investment, the variety or types of educational institutions found in missions, the results that have been achieved, and the extent of non-institutional mission work of an educational nature; 3, The Purposes and Objectives of Education in Missions, dealing with a study of the place of education in statements of general mission objectives, purposes as expressly stated and those implied in the actual practices, with an attempt to relate and evaluate any conflicts and variations; 4, Special Problems Confronting Education in Missions, wherein will be discussed those problems that relate to conflicts within the total mission enterprise because of diverse aims--those related

to general educational developments, those growing out of relations to governmental and political forces, and those arising through personnel difficulties; 5, A chapter in which the author will summarize the data and present the conclusions and suggestions that have come from his own experience and from this study.

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Chapter 1.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION IN THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

There are a number of directions from which one may approach the question of how large and how important a part education has had, and does have, in modern Protestant missions. It may be considered from the standpoint of history: How early and general was the introduction of education? How nearly has education coincided with the geographical outreach of the missionary movement? It may be considered from the standpoint of finance: What proportion of the mission budget has gone into the educational work? The richness of the offerings and variety of institutions and programs which the missionary enterprise has developed provides another way in which its importance and extent may be measured. Again, the significance of education may be seen through a study of the outcomes and achievements to which it may justly lay claim. And, lastly, it may be possible to estimate to what extent those phases of mission work, generally considered non-education--evangelism; medical and health programs; rural, and other social, reconstruction; philanthropy--have been influenced by the educational program or theory. In this and the succeeding chapter an attempt is made to gather the data dealing with each of

these aspects of education's relation to missions and to determine its significance as a part of the enterprise.

William Carey, largely responsible for the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society of England in 1792 and its first missionary to India, has been generally accepted as the Founder of Modern Protestant Missions.

George Smith reports that

"up to 1794, when at Mudnabati he (Carey) opened the first primary school worthy of the name in all India at his own costs, and daily superintended it, there had been only one attempt to improve upon the indigenous schools which taught the children of the trading castes only to keep rude accounts, or upon the tols in which the Brahmans instructed their disciples one-half the year, while for the other half they lived by begging. That attempt was made by Schwartz at Combaconum."¹

Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-1798) had been the greatest among the German Protestant missionaries of the Danish-Halle Mission, working in South India from 1706. Schwartz's educational efforts in South India had been blocked by the strife between the East India Company and the Mysore State, but Dennis records that when Carey landed in Calcutta in 1793 he found there a school established by one of these Danish missionaries.²

The historical significance of the above for this study is that Carey helped found the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, landed in Calcutta, as its first missionary,

on November 11, 1793, and by 1794 had established a school. After a few years, when he moved to Serampore and was joined by Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Marshman (who may be called the first "educational missionaries"), education received far greater emphasis.

"He and his colleagues had founded and supervised, by the year 1818, no fewer than 126 native schools, containing some 10,000 boys,"³

and in that year founded a college with departments in Oriental Classics; English;

"science, philosophy and history in the learned and vernacular languages of the east; a normal department to train native teachers and professors; and a theological institute to equip the Eurasian and native Christian students, by a quite unsectarian course of study, in apologetics, exegetics, and the Bible languages, to be the missionaries to the Brahmanical classes."

This Serampore College is still one of the leading Christian institutions of higher education in India.

Dennis also credits these missionaries with interest in the education of girls, with the statement that,

"Mrs. Hannah Marshman, of Serampore, as early as 1800, was the first woman actually to attempt female education in India,"

at first for Eurasian girls, but,

"in 1807, she began to include native girls within the scope of her school work."⁵

Henry Martyn had gone to India as a Chaplain of the East India Company when that Company had refused to admit him as a missionary of the London Missionary Society. Though chiefly remembered as the translator of the Bible into Urdu and Persian, yet, during his short stay in India--1805 to 1810--he founded schools for the children of the lower castes at Dinapore, Patna, and Cawnpore.⁶

The London Missionary Society, originally an undenominational society but later associated with the Congregational Churches, had been founded in 1795. In the South Indian state of Travancore

"the pioneer of the L.M.S. was Ringeltaube, who reached the country in 1806 . . . Education was developed and the L.M.S. became the pioneer of modern schools in the state."

"Led my Robert May of the L.M.S., long active in promoting native education in the environs of Calcutta, a group of English and native residents had banded themselves together to form the Calcutta School Society in 1819."⁸

But the London Missionary Society had selected Polynesia as the scene of its first missionary effort, sending a group of thirty men to Tahiti in 1797. Only four of these were ordained ministers, of whom only one, John Jefferson, became an outstanding leader. William Henry, and Henry Bicknell, carpenters, and Henry Nott, a brick layer, shared with Jefferson in being the real founders of the

mission. On December 31, 1798, Jefferson records in the Mission Journal,

"The teaching their children letters in their present state of uncivilization and paganism will, we fear, be also insurmountable; for the spirit of their youth can brook no opposition, no restriction, no correction; like the wild ass in the wilderness, they delight in scenting the air of brutal uncontrolled freedom."⁹

Yet that same Journal for 1815 reports on educational progress thus:

"The school . . . has prospered exceedingly, and continues to prosper. . . there are at least 3000 people who have books and can make use of them. Many hundreds can read well."¹⁰

Lovett reports the arrival of eight new missionaries in 1817 with the comment that "it now became possible to carry on more vigorously the educational and evangelistic work already so pressing."¹¹ Rarotonga, in the Hervey group, was entered in 1827-8 by Aaron Buzacott, who established a Normal School in 1839, regarding which Lovett quotes from a missionary's journal:

"since that year the work has been carried on up to the present time (1893), and 490 men and women have been trained there."¹²

Of Samoa, visited first in 1830, and where regular work was started in 1836, Lovett reports that, "the natives were eager to be taught and it was computed that by 1838 not less than 23,000 were under instruction."¹³

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, like the London Missionary Society, was first an undenominational society but later associated with the Congregational Churches. Organized in 1810, its first group of missionaries found it impossible to settle in or near Calcutta for two reasons: the traditional opposition of the East India Company to missions, and the War of 1812. Two of the original group, Gordon Hall and Samuel Nott, reached Bombay on February 11, 1813, and on the following day wrote the Governor:

"The undersigned . . . have come to this country with a desire to be useful, by translating the Scriptures, by aiding in the education of children, and ultimately by making known the gospel to some who are now ignorant of it."

On September 22nd they again wrote:

"It is still our highest wish to remain here and render ourselves useful as instructors of youth and preachers of the gospel."¹⁴

The report of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners to the annual meeting of the Board, September 20-22, 1815, quotes from a letter received from the Bombay missionaries regarding a school already opened which they hoped would "become a boarding school of considerable importance to the mission."¹⁵ The report of the annual meeting, September, 1818, notes that new missionaries had been appointed to Mahim and Tanna,

which "will afford new and great facilities for multiplying the number of schools."¹⁶ One of the original group, denied entrance at Calcutta, proceeded to Ceylon. There five new missionaries joined him in 1816, reaching Jaffna in July, September, and October and

"early in December, they established a school (at Tillipally) for the instruction of native youth and children, both in English and Tamul, and another at Mallaguni, and. . . they were making preparation for establishing a third school at Millette, and a fourth at Panditeripo."¹⁷

The American Board was "the third Society to enter Liberia (Africa) in the memorable year 1833." The first missionary was J. Leighton Wilson who remained seven years. Du Plessis, a leading authority on African missions, records that

"in addition to the head station with its school, boarding establishment and printing press, seven other stations were founded with day-schools and regular religious services."¹⁸

The Missionary Society of the Church of Scotland, formally organized in 1825, sent John Wilson to Bombay in 1829 and Alexander Duff to Calcutta in 1830.

"Almost immediately he (Wilson) plunged energetically into educational operations, organizing an English school in the Mission some years before Macaulay's Minute was penned."¹⁹

Within a year or two of his arrival in Calcutta, Duff had established the college in which English was first used as the medium of instruction, and, as Latourette points out,

"showed what could be done with education through the medium of English and probably contributed toward the adoption of that tongue in schools maintained by the British raj."²⁰

Few other individuals have influenced education in their respective provinces more than these two missionaries and Duff was able to play a leading role in shaping modern education, and especially higher education, for the whole of India. (See pp. 58, 183-184) Duff's emphasis was upon English as the medium of instruction, while Wilson gave more attention to the vernacular in lower standards, but the secondary and higher institutions which they established made significant contributions to education in these provinces. Wilson College in Bombay has continued through all the intervening years as a leading educational institution of the Bombay Presidency, under Wilson's successors, Principals D. MacKichan and John MacKenzie, the latter retiring recently. Madras Christian College, founded by John Anderson in 1837, was from 1862 to 1907 the center of William Miller's important educational work. Hislop College, Nagpur, named for its founder, also has a long record of educational achievement. These institutions are among the evidences of the attention education has received in the Scottish Mission throughout its history.

John Ross and John Bennie, a lay missionary, reached Africa in 1820, missionaries of the Glasgow Mission (founded in 1800, but having, prior to the arrival of Ross

in Africa, a record of "failure and disappointment").

"It fell to the lot of Ross and Bennie . . . to lay the foundations, in 1824, of a new station some eight miles from the Chumie (River), and to it they gave the name of Lovedale. . . Lovedale was from the very first identified with special educational effort on behalf of the natives."²¹

This institution, soon transferred to the Church of Scotland Society, has maintained a continuing importance in the development of Africa. Du Plessis also reports that the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland shared in the establishment of a new Mission in Nyasaland, Africa, founded in memory of David Livingstone and called Livingstonia in his honor. Despite the climatic conditions that caused the death of thirteen and the withdrawal of 22 missionaries within fifteen years, one of the original group remained to lead the Mission for many years. Of him Du Plessis writes that

"Dr. Laws' dream was to build up a great central institution, which should be a kind of educational and technical university for Nyasaland, and to the realization of this dream he steadily addressed himself during more than thirty years."²²

Thus in Africa and India and wherever the missions of the Church of Scotland have gone education has had an early place.

In order to understand the early place of education in the missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church it is necessary to go further back in the history

of that Church than the beginning of the "foreign" aspect of its Missions. For many years after the organization of the Society in 1819, its chief center of attention was work among the American Indians. Charles Elliot arrived among the Wyandots on October 5, 1822. He reported to the officers of the Society, in a statement dated December 2 of the same year, that,

"our school commenced on October 22nd . . . and we now have 37 scholars . . . It is needless to insist that the instruction of these children is of great importance, as this must appear to every person of consideration."²³

The Methodist Episcopal Church sent its first missionary to India in 1856, but the Sepoy Rebellion interrupted the work until late in 1858. One of the first activities attempted was the opening of simple elementary schools. Bishop Thoburn, with over thirty years experience as a missionary in India, was of the opinion that "the mission-school in some form is inseparable from ordinary missionary work."²⁴ By 1887 two colleges in Lucknow, one for boys and the other for girls, had been affiliated with the Universities and have since remained the higher department of an extensive educational program of this Church, from kindergarten to college. This writer has been associated, since 1921, with the administration of a considerable part of this program. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church sent

its first two missionaries to India in 1870. Of these Professor Latourette writes:

"In India Miss Thoburn gave herself chiefly to the education of her sex. She founded and long headed a school for girls at Lucknow which eventually grew into a college that was given her name and which was a notable pioneer in higher education for the women of India. . . . With Miss Thoburn on her first trip to India there came, as the other initial appointee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, a physician, Clara Swain, who as a pioneer in the medical care of the women of India by women, was to give many years to the land of her adoption."²⁵

(Table No. 1 shows the growth of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church--after 1939, The Methodist Church--from its beginning in 1819 to 1945.)

TABLE 1

GROWTH IN INCOME

BOARD OF MISSIONS (founded 1819)

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (after 1939, THE METHODIST CHURCH)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1820	\$ 823	1885	\$ 826,828
1825	4,140	1890	1,131,071
1830	13,128	1895	1,238,009
1835	30,492	1900	1,319,727
1840	136,410	1905	1,768,692
1845	94,562	1910	1,477,699
1850	104,579	1915	1,700,573
1855	218,204	1920	6,166,989
1860	256,722	1925	3,193,403
1865	631,740	1930	3,198,639
1870	594,743	1935	1,258,027
1875	662,485	1940	1,231,271
1880	557,371	1945	2,732,379

Sources:

1820-1905, Annual Report (1911), Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church. pp. 488-492.

1910-1925, Annual Report (1925), Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 506.

1930-1945, Personal letter from Treasurer, Division of Foreign Missions, The Methodist Church, dated April 12, 1946.

The Church Missionary Society, founded 1799, sent its first missionaries to India in 1814 and had already opened work in Sierra Leone, West Africa. In both places education was immediately introduced. By 1816,

"the peninsula (of Sierra Leona) was divided into parishes, and the Society undertook to provide ministers and schoolmasters, Government giving considerable pecuniary aid. A central boarding-school, called the Christian Institution, was established on Leicester Mt., above Freetown."²⁶

Stock also informs us that from the beginning the Society made use of

"three methods of missionary work: . . . (1) Press, (2) Schools, and (3) what they called Missionary Establishments, i.e., stations with ordained missionaries. . . . At this time the Society had a plan for establishing in all its Missions what was called 'Christian Institutions', by which was meant a seminary for the preparation of Native teachers, with mission-house, church, printing-office, etc., all in one compound."²⁷

(Table No. 2 shows the financial growth of the Church Missionary Society from 1804 to 1944.)

TABLE 2
GROWTH IN INCOME
CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount in Pounds</u>
1804	492
1813	3,000
1818	13,200
1837	61,000
1843	115,000
1861	127,000
1872	150,000
1882	190,000
1892	243,444
1903	340,810
1911	383,350
1925	463,261
1938	378,757
1944	400,239

Statistics for 1804-1882 -- Stock, Eugene, History of Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 476f., 485; Vol. III, pp. 50f.

Statistics for 1892-1944 -- Church Missionary Society, 145th Annual Report (1943-1944).

The Wesleyan Methodist Church did not formally organize a missionary society until 1813 although previously work had been carried on in the colonies and among the African slaves.

"In 1811 George Waran embarked at Liverpool for West Africa, accompanied by three young men, Rayner, Healy, and Hirst, as school-masters."²⁸

In writing of the development of Mission work in Ceylon, Latourette writes that

"In 1814 came the Wesleyans. . . Before long schools were opened, preaching was begun, and converts came, some from the Buddhist priesthood. . . Much emphasis was placed on schools, primary, industrial, and higher."²⁹

In his book, *Education of the South African Native*, C. T. Loram quotes from the London Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, that all of the Societies, beginning with the Moravians in 1792, working in the Union of South Africa,

"interested themselves in the education of the Coloured races. . . . In almost every village, we are told, a branch of one or other society existed, by means of which the education of Coloured people, both children and adults, was fostered. Stations also had been founded, such as Lovedale in 1824, which afterward came to be almost exclusively educational in character."³⁰

In a description of the United Presbyterian Church in North Africa, which appeared in the *Missionary Review of the World* for December, 1892, D. L. Leonard records the

founding of the Mission in 1854, the arrival of the educational leader, Dr. Lansing, in 1857, and the fact that, "as soon as possible schools were opened for boys and girls," and schools already started by some "certain Scottish disciples. . . were soon turned over to his care and direction."³¹

Most of the Missions to which reference has been made were at work in other parts of the world before China was opened to missionary, or other western, contacts. In 1807 the London Missionary Society sent Robert Morrison as its first missionary to China, where he worked at Canton as a Translator for the East India Company and planned the Anglo-Chinese College.³² From that time most Protestant Missions have felt compelled, as had the Jesuits in the 16th and 17th centuries, to give early attention to education in the beginnings of work in China. When Morrison died, his friends considered the most appropriate memorial they could establish would be the formation, in 1835, of the "Morrison Education Society to conduct schools which would teach the learning of the Occident and the Christian faith."

Sam R. Brown, who arrived in China in 1839 as a teacher under this memorial foundation, established a school at Macao, later removed to Hongkong, which had a large share in the introduction of Western learning into China.³³ William Milne had arrived in China in 1813 to

work with Morrison but had been denied permission to remain permanently in either Macao or Canton, the only two places open to Morrison. Morrison decided to establish "preparatory" missions in places outside China, but where Chinese lived in considerable numbers. After studying Chinese for some time Milne proceeded to Malacca and on August 5, 1815, opened there a school for Chinese children.³⁴ This institution was expanded in 1818 into the Anglo-Chinese College of Morrison's dream. James Legge, a missionary of the London Missionary Society to China from 1839, was in charge of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca and, in 1843, moved with it to Hongkong, where he became an important figure in educational development, both in introducing Western scholarship to China and in interpreting to the Western world the Confucian classics, many of which he translated into English.³⁵

During these early and difficult years of Protestant Missions in China when evangelistic work was forbidden, most of the missionaries gave much of their time to educational and literary work. One of these was Elijah C. Bridgeman, the first missionary sent to China by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Arriving in 1829 and restricted to Canton and Macao, where he found Robert Morrison the only other Protestant missionary,

"his chief work was that of a pioneer organizer, educator, and translator. On the formation of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in November, 1834, he was chosen joint secretary, with Dr. Charles Gutzlaff. He was active in founding the Morrison Education Society."³⁶

Yet this educational emphasis did not end when the treaty of 1841 opened China to the work of direct evangelism, for men like Wm. A. P. Martin and Calvin W. Mateer, Presbyterian missionaries who began their work in China in 1850 and 1863 respectively, are best known for their contributions in the educational and literary fields. Both men founded colleges and engaged in extensive literary work, Martin in the field of international law and Mateer in the field of the Chinese languages and literature.

The history of Missions in Japan tells a similar story. Guido H. F. Verbeck, because of his Dutch background, was sent by the Reformed Church of America and reached Japan in 1859. His first work was to establish a school in Nagasaki and, throughout a long career, while exerting a strong influence on all forms of education like Martin in China, he specialized in the field of constitutional and international law.³⁷ In the same year Dr. J. C. Hepburn, American Presbyterian missionary, began a service extending through several decades, with work in medicine, education, and the production of literature. His wife opened what is said to have been the first school of Western type for Japanese girls.³⁸

Gustav Warneck, in an authoritative history of Protestant Missions published in 1906, calls attention to the significant fact that the beginnings of the modern Protestant Missions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries coincided

"with the general interest in the heathen world across the sea, which was aroused by the geographical discoveries in the last quarter of the 18th century."³⁹

This was also the era of the American and French Revolutions, and when Wilberforce and others were engaged in the movement to end human slavery. The missionary movement with its interest in common humanity and the relief of the unfortunate as well as its sense of mission under the "Great Commission" was prepared to cooperate with these geographic discoveries in furthering its work. Warneck quotes Livingston, himself the outstanding example of the missionary-explorer, as saying that "the end of the work of geography has become the beginning of missionary enterprise," and Warneck adds that "conversely, missions have rendered valuable service to geography."⁴⁰ The rapid geographical spread of modern missions is one of the amazing phenomena of their history.

John Eliot, early in the 17th century, had become the first Evangelical missionary, giving his life to missionary work among the American Indians; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

(Church of England) had been organized in 1701 to send clergymen to the British colonies; the Danish-Halle Mission had, during the 18th century, opened its mission in India where Schwartz and others made a notable record; and Thomas Coke had been shipwrecked on the West Indies in 1786 and had begun work among the negroes and the natives. But for the generally accepted beginning of modern Protestant Missions we find William Carey sailing for India in 1793. Within a generation mission work was being carried on in every continent and many of the Pacific Islands by the Protestant denominations, some through their own and others through inter-denominational societies. As we have seen wherever missions went educational work of some type was undertaken. In other chapters the underlying motives and the results will be discussed. Suffice it to say here that geographically Protestant missions have spread through most of the world.

Work among the underprivileged urban and rural peoples of Europe and America, known as Home Missions, although an important part of the humanitarian work of the Christian Church is not a part of this study. What is commonly known as "Foreign Missions" is that part of the enterprise carried on chiefly in Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America. Table 3, by bringing together data concerning the number and enrollment of different types

of schools, shows something of the geographical distribution in these four areas. These data are found in the statistical surveys of 1900, 1925, and 1938, as indicated in the Table. The totals in 1938 for each area have been computed and are as follows:

	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
Asia	21,416	1,290,774
Africa	28,475	1,514,881
Oceania	5,341	289,660
Latin America	1,570	164,611

This account has traced something of the beginnings of modern Protestant missions, starting with the efforts of William Carey to establish the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 and his first trip to India the following year. Evidence has also been presented concerning the work of twelve other societies organized within the half century that followed. These organizations have participated in the beginnings of Protestant missions in India, China, Japan or other Asiatic countries, in Africa, in the Islands of the Pacific, and in Latin America. In each instance the establishment of educational institutions followed almost immediately upon commencement of the work. The data presented show that missions have early introduced education as an important part of their work in the countries to which they have gone. The statistical reports also show that educational institutions in large numbers are to be found

in the areas to which Protestant Churches have gone during the century and a half of the modern missionary era. Historically and geographically, education has been a large part of the work of Protestant missions.

TABLE 3
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MISSION SCHOOLS

Year	Type of School	Asia		Africa	
		Number	Enrollment	Number	Enrollment
1900	Kindergarten	68	2,002	7	152
1925	"	588	22,098	53	1,686
1938	"	722	36,727	37	2,381
1903	Elementary	12,653	506,363	6,528	369,650
1925	"	24,205	932,147	16,516	899,482
1938	"	18,756	1,017,048	27,905	1,481,692
1900	High & Middle	636	60,631	84	10,818
1925	"	1,154	161,648	175	15,021
1938	"	791	160,693	248	18,175
1900	Industrial, etc.	82	5,810	58	2,383
1925	"	154	5,652	92	2,248
1938	"	599	28,842	67	1,712
1900	Col. & Univ.	76	29,431	9	2,223
1925	"	89	20,476	4	1,391
1938	"	80	27,733	7	1,769
1900	Theological & Teacher Tr.	240	7,344	70	2,576
1925	"	442	12,490	187	6,909
1938	"	468	19,731	211	9,152

Year	Type of School	Australasia (Oceania)		Latin America	
		Number	Enrollment	Number	Enrollment
1900	Kindergarten	11	596		
1925	"	7	360	81	2,658
1938	"	61	1,494	16	546
1903	Elementary	3,245	96,047	892	80,735
1925	"	4,164	159,158	1,487	166,322
1938	"	5,141	280,059	1,344	144,966
1900	High & Middle	14	852	50	5,110
1925	"	48	4,212	99	6,360
1938	"	65	3,862	112	16,378
1900	Industrial, etc.	4	163	5	75
1925	"	21	1,679	22	619
1938	"	17	1,031	20	776
1900	Col. & Univ.	2	75	5	1,105
1925	"	1	23	5	452
1938	"	4	541	7	637
1900	Theological & Teacher Tr.	16	927	5	211
1925	"	68	2,179	60	1,203
1938	"	53	2,673	71	1,308

1900 Statistics from Report of Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900.

1925 Statistics from World Missionary Atlas, 1925. (I.S.R.R.)

1903 and 1938 Statistics from Statistical Survey, 1938. (I.M.C.)

Education and the Use of Field Personnel and Funds

Attempts have been made at irregular intervals to gather into a single report statistical information covering the whole Protestant missionary movement. The Bibliography includes such reports for the years 1861, 1872, 1886, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1916, 1925, and 1938, all of which have been examined. The arrangement of data, the classifications and nomenclature, and the types of material included vary in many respects. In the accompanying charts (see Tables 4 and 5) the available material pertinent to this study has been arranged in tabular form. It will be noted at once that many of the columns are incomplete so that the accurate detailed comparison desired is not always possible.

It should also be kept in mind that a frequent comment made by those gathering the statistical data from the many sources involved is to the effect that it is impossible to get the complete totals. This is often due to difficulties of communication but sometimes to a lack of concern for complete and accurate statistics shown by missionaries or nationals in charge of work. It is probable, therefore, that, despite any tendency on the part of some to make their statistical reports as favorable as possible, the net result is a grand total showing less than the complete statistical picture of the missionary enterprise.

TABLE 4

WORLD TOTALS - PROTESTANT MISSIONS (A)

GENERAL INFORMATION

Year	Income		Foreign Missionaries					National Workers		
	Home	Field	Ordained	Lay	Wives	Single Women	Total	Ordained	Lay	Total
1861 (a)	\$ 4,243,365						1,788	579	6,984	7,563
1872 (b)	8,134,310						2,097			21,971
1886 (c)	12,157,700		4,420	712	2,550	1,950	9,332	2,826	29,331	32,157
1900 (d)	15,481,565	1,833,961	4,738	3,409	4,650	3,422	16,218	5,263		62,366
1900 (e)	19,598,823	1,500,476	6,027	711	3,478	3,496		4,096	73,057	
1905 (d)	19,661,885	3,516,015	5,905	2,567	5,061	4,306	17,839	4,353		89,335
1910 (d)	26,890,104	5,249,405	6,637	3,287	6,785	4,791	21,248	6,159		91,513
1910 (f)	24,676,580		5,522	3,023	5,406	5,329	19,280	5,045	92,918	98,388 (1)
1911 (g)	30,378,489		6,388	3,608	5,934	5,377	21,307	5,799	97,184	103,066 (1)
1916 (h)	41,749,173		7,041	3,283	6,992	6,727	24,043	7,430	85,086	109,099 (1)
1925 (i)	70,051,617	7,324,433	7,625	4,203	8,619	9,125	29,188(3)	10,493	139,097	151,735 (1)
1938 (j)	30,938,450 (2)	28,738,790			7,394		27,483	17,789	185,679	203,468

(1) Some reporting missions give only total, so this is more than sum of two columns.

(2) Does not include Administrative and Cultivation Expenses in home Boards.

(3) Includes 1,178 working in Alaska and American Indian fields.

Year	Christian Community				Schools	
	Communicants (Full Members)	Other Baptised Members	Adherents	Total	Number	Enrollment
1861 (a)	262,795				4,014	232,316
1872 (b)	394,061				7,431	330,594
1886 (c)	757,647					500,000
1900 (d)	1,370,545		3,556,140		20,196	1,035,724
1900 (e)	1,531,889			4,514,592	20,485	1,051,466
1905 (d)	1,754,182		4,072,088		27,835	1,246,127
1910 (d)	2,222,892		4,951,325		30,215	1,562,039
1910 (f)	1,925,205	3,006,373	350,293	5,281,871	31,462	1,374,872
1911 (g)	2,346,086	3,447,790	1,043,860	6,837,736	32,913	1,500,082
1916 (h)	2,408,900	1,313,022	1,423,314	5,145,236	39,954	1,975,249
1925 (i)	3,614,154	2,783,494	1,680,116	8,342,378	49,833	2,331,963
1938 (j)					56,891	3,263,985

- (a) Statistics of Protestant Missionary Societies, 1861 (W.B.B.) pp. 77ff.
(b) Statistics of Protestant Missionary Societies, 1872-3 (W.B.B.) pp. VI, XXIV.
(c) Short History of Christian Missions, George Smith, pp. 200ff.
(d) "The Year 1910 in Missions," J. Richter, in Missionary Review of World, Vol. 34:1, Jan. 1911, (opp. p. 8).
(e) Statistical Survey of Foreign Missions, 1902, J. S. Dennis, pp. 261-267.
(f) Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions, 1910, World Missionary Conference, pp. 58-63.
(g) World Atlas of Christian Missions, 1911, Student Volunteer Movement, pp. 78-84.
(h) World Statistics of Christian Missions, 1916, Beach & St. John, pp. 54-60.
(i) World Missionary Atlas, Institute of Social & Religious Research, pp. 69-79.
(j) Statistical Survey, International Missionary Council, pp. 17-34, 243, 249.

TABLE 5

WORLD TOTALS - PROTESTANT MISSIONS (B)

SCHOOL INFORMATION

Year	Universities-Colleges		Theological & Normal		Boarding & High		Industrial & Special	
	No.	Enrollment	No.	Enrollment	No.	Enrollment	No.	Enrollment
1900 (e)	94	35,539	375	11,965	879	85,091	179	9,074
1910 (f)	81	7,991	489	12,543	1,594	155,522	284	28,901
1911 (g)	86	8,628	522	12,761	1,714	166,447	292	16,292
1916 (h)	109	15,636	(T) 406	10,588	2,114	218,207	201	10,125
			(N) 240	7,504				
1925 (i)	101	22,827	(T) 461	11,363	1,482	188,250	289	10,198
			(N) 297	11,442				
1938 (j)	102	31,463	(T) 543	18,228	1,218	199,314	705	32,496
			(N) 260	14,636				

Year	Medical and Nursing		Elementary		Kindergarten		Total	
	No.	Enrollment	No.	Enrollment	No.	Enrollment	No.	Enrollment
1900 (e)	67	651	18,742	904,442	122	4,704	20,458	1,051,466
1910 (f)			28,901	1,165,212	113	4,703	31,462	1,374,872
1911 (g)			30,185	1,290,357	115	5,547	32,913	1,500,082
1916 (h)	30	819	36,478	1,699,775	376	12,596	39,954	1,975,249
1925 (i)	(M) 19	914	46,381	2,158,010	731	26,802	49,833	2,331,963
	(N) 72	2,157						
1938 (j)	14	1,284	53,158	2,925,134	891	41,430	56,891	3,263,985

For Key see "World Totals - Protestant Missions (A)"

We have noted in the preceding section that schools were founded soon after the establishment of missions. The statistical reports show that by 1861 Protestant Missions reported a total of 4,014 schools with 232,316 students enrolled, and that this was followed by a continuous growth until in 1938 there were 56,891 institutions and an enrollment of 3,263,985. (See Table 4) Table 6 gives a study of the national workers employed in 1938 by fourteen selected British and American Missionary Societies, showing the number engaged in evangelistic, educational, and medical work, and also the totals for all Protestant Missions.⁴¹ Totals for the fourteen Missions, whose individual figures are given in this table, have been computed by the author and do not appear in the Statistical Survey quoted. An examination of this table will reveal that the mission society of the Church of Scotland emphasizes education by using 83.4% of its national personnel in school work, while the Christian and Missionary Alliance which stresses evangelism, uses only 13.7% of its national personnel in education. Generally speaking the larger, major Protestant denominations have found it desirable to depend to a larger extent on educational techniques while the independent, so-called "Faith Missions" and smaller "Fundamentalist" denominations have preferred to depend chiefly on evangelistic techniques. Further reference to this difference will be made in a later chapter.

TABLE 6
NATIONAL WORKERS
 From 1938 Report

Mission	Evangelists	Teachers	Medical Workers	Totals
Methodist (Am.)	6,673 (48.4%)	6,651 (48.3%)	451 (3.3%)	13,775
Presbyterian (U.S.A.)	2,830 (36%)	4,518 (57.5%)	510 (6.5%)	7,858
Congregational (A.B.C.F.M.)	1,220 (23%)	3,896 (73.4%)	190 (3.6%)	5,306
Protestant Episcopal	346 (20.4%)	977 (57.5%)	376 (22.1%)	1,699
Baptist (Am.) (Northern)	3,150 (31.4%)	6,696 (66.8%)	179 (1.8%)	10,025
Baptist (Br.)	2,801 (53.7%)	2,366 (45.3%)	50 (1.%)	5,217
Congregational (L.M.S.)	4,664 (56.8%)	3,061 (37.3%)	483 (5.9%)	8,208
Methodist (Br.)	4,116 (36.6%)	6,943 (61.8%)	165 (1.6%)	11,224
Church of England (C.M.S.)	7,351 (34.8%)	13,602 (64.3%)	178 (0.9%)	21,131
Church of England (S.P.G.)	1,276 (75.3%)	356 (21.5%)	63 (3.2%)	1,695
Church of Scotland	1,001 (14.7%)	5,700 (83.4%)	131 (1.9%)	6,832
Irish Presbyterian Church	366 (39.2%)	542 (58%)	25 (2.8%)	933
China Inland Mission	1,504 (74.3%)	451 (22.3%)	69 (3.4%)	2,024
Christian & Missionary Alliance	1,288 (86.3%)	215 (13.7%)		1,503
Totals of Above Missions	38,586 (39.7%)	55,974 (57.4%)	2,870 (2.9%)	97,430
Totals, All Protestant Missions	97,044 (47.2%)	100,886 (49.1%)	5,538 (3.7%)	203,468

More significant for the immediate discussion is the discovery that, out of a total of 203,468 national workers of all departments reported in the 1938 survey, 100,886 were engaged in educational work. This represents 49.1 per cent of the total and exceeds the number employed in evangelistic work by 3,842. (See Table 7) Reports for 1943 or 1944 are available for some of these fourteen societies. Not all societies have given the detailed data regarding national workers, but from six of them the number of educational workers and the total have been recorded. (See Table 8) The percentage of educational workers to the total varies somewhat from the 1938 reports but not enough to warrant the conclusion that there has been any change in the policy of using for educational work a major portion of the nationals employed.

The Statistics for Protestant Missionary Societies, 1861⁴², reported a total for that year of 9,930 missionary and national workers. It indicates that of these 1,788 were "foreign missionaries," 579 were "native missionaries," (no doubt meaning ordained nationals), and 3,043 were teachers. The remaining 4,520 national workers may be presumed to have been evangelists and some few medical or other workers. The number of these who were not evangelists would probably not exceed the number of "native missionaries" so we may conclude that in 1861

TABLE 7

NATIONAL EVANGELISTS AND TEACHERS

From 1938 Report

Mission	Evangelists		Teachers		Total
Methodist	6,673	(50.1%)	6,651	(49.9%)	13,324
Presbyterian (U.S.A.)	2,830	(38.5%)	4,518	(61.5%)	7,348
Congregational (A.B.C.F.M.)	1,220	(23.8%)	3,896	(76.2%)	5,116
Protestant Episcopal	346	(26.1%)	977	(73.9%)	1,323
Baptist (Am.) (Northern)	3,150	(31.9%)	6,695	(68.1%)	9,846
Baptist (Bn)	2,801	(54.2%)	2,366	(45.8%)	5,167
Congregational (L.M.S.)	4,664	(60.3%)	3,061	(39.7%)	7,725
Methodist (Br.)	4,116	(37.2%)	6,943	(62.8%)	11,059
Church of England (C.M.S.)	7,351	(35.1%)	13,602	(64.9%)	20,953
Church of England (S.P.G.)	1,276	(78.2%)	356	(21.8%)	1,632
Church of Scotland	1,001	(15.%)	5,700	(85.%)	6,701
Irish Presbyterian Church	366	(40.3%)	542	(59.7%)	908
China Inland Mission	1,504	(76.9%)	451	(23.1%)	1,955
Christian & Missionary Alliance	1,288	(85.7%)	215	(14.3%)	1,503
Total of Above Missions	38,586	(40.8%)	55,974	(59.2%)	94,560
Total, All Protestant Missions	97,044	(49.%)	100,886	(51.%)	197,930

TABLE 8

National Educational Workers

1943-1944

Mission	Teachers - % of Total	All Other Workers - % of Total	Total
Church of Scotland (1)	5,954 73.2	2,180 26.8	8,134
Church of England (C.M.S.) (2)	16,502 56.7	12,598 43.3	29,101
Baptist (British) (3)	2,444 41.9	3,397 58.1	5,841
Methodist (British) (4)	7,079 61.4	4,457 38.6	11,536
Baptist, Northern, (American) (5)	6,488 64.8	3,514 35.2	10,002
Congregational (A.B.C.F.M.) (6)	3,643 60.6	2,365 39.4	6,009

- (1) Church of Scotland, Report of Foreign Missions Committee for 1943
 (2) Church Missionary Society, Annual Report 145th Year, 1943-4
 (3) Baptist Missionary Society, 152nd Report (1943-4)
 (4) Methodist Missionary Society, Doors of Daring (Report, 1944)
 (5) American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Along Kingdom Highways (Report of Work for 1943)
 (6) American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, In Him We Live (1944 Report)

the relative number of evangelists was approximately 4,520 to 3,043 teachers. The same report gives the number of schools as 4,014 (See Table 4) and we appear to be justified in concluding that many simple village schools were being taught by men who were reported as evangelists.

Using the totals for Evangelists and Teachers from the surveys of 1861 and 1938, we find that 59.7 per cent were reported as evangelists and 40.3 per cent as teachers in 1861 whereas 48.17 per cent were reported as evangelists and 51.3 per cent as teachers in 1938. (See Table 9)

It will be clear that in both years, as throughout the history of Protestant missions, education has drawn heavily on the services of the national workers and their support has been a large item in the field budgets.

The difficulty of obtaining complete and accurate information concerning the total number of schools and teachers involved in mission education has been indicated. It is far more difficult to get statistical data regarding the proportion of funds raised on the field and used for education. As indicated by Table 4, a number of the statistical surveys gave no information concerning the total amounts raised on the field. Of those reporting this item all but one gave only the total figure. The report for 1938⁴³ breaks down the total of \$28,738,790 for "Field Income" into: Church - \$8,305,495 (28.8 per cent),

TABLE 9

NATIONAL WORKERS IN PROTESTANT MISSIONS

	1861	---	1938
	<u>1861</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent of Total</u>
Evangelists		4,520	59.7
Teachers		3,043	40.3
Total		7,563	
	<u>1938</u>		
Evangelists		97,044	48.7
Teachers		100,886	51.3
Total		197,930	

Education - \$11,358,644 (39.5 per cent), Medicine - \$5,865,061 (20.3 per cent), and Other Work - \$3,209,590 (11.4 per cent).

Annual reports of the Missionary Societies rarely give these detailed financial data. The Church of Scotland does report that for 1943 the field income for that mission was as follows: Grants-in-Aid - £ 208,772, School Fees - £ 135,616, making the Educational Income - £ 344,388 (70.6 per cent), Medical Work - £ 68,115 (13.9 per cent), Church Collections - £ 60,098 (12.3 per cent) and Other Work - £ 14,941 (3.2 per cent), Grand Total - £ 487,542 or approximately \$1,940,000.

A study of the Church and National Christian Council reports published for specific fields will give some further information regarding the large part education has in the field budgets. The Directory of Christian Missions for India, 1938-1939, despite incomplete returns, lists mission educational institutions for that country as consisting of 34 colleges, 301 high schools, 464 middle schools, 14,655 primary schools, 215 special schools, 67 teacher training schools, 31 theological schools, 86 Bible schools and 3 medical schools. There are also 266 hospitals, many of which are training schools for nurses, and 510 dispensaries included in the list.

For the same year the Field Income is reported to be \$5,834,511 and Foreign Appropriations \$8,961,542.⁴⁵

For the Methodist Church of Southern Asia, covering the same territory, we find that 622 schools of all grades with 1,976 teachers and 38,070 students have a total income budget of Rupees 2,835,938 (\$945,313 at exchange rate of 3 to 1). Of this amount \$273,961 were received through appropriations from the American Church while \$671,352 were raised on the field from fees, government grants and other sources. During the same year the Church on the field raised a total of \$108,166 for the regular support of the Church.⁴⁶ The Methodist Church of Eastern Asia (China) reports for the year 1937 a total of \$1,141,930 (Chinese National Currency) as the income for its educational program of 224 Primary Schools and 44 Middle (High) Schools with a total enrollment of 25,261 pupils. Of this amount only \$182,667 (C.N.C.) came through appropriations from America while \$959,263 (C.N.C.) was from fees, contributions and other sources in China.⁴⁷

From study of the statistical reports for Protestant missions it is seen that in 1861 a total of 40.3 per cent of the national personnel of all Protestant missions were in educational and 59.7 per cent in evangelistic work. By the year 1938 the percentage of

all national workers engaged in educational work had reached 49.1. In 1938 the income for all Protestant missions raised on the mission fields was reported to be \$28,738,790. Of this amount 39.5 per cent was for educational, 28.8 per cent for evangelistic, 20.3 per cent for medical, and 11.4 per cent for all other work. The 1938-1939 report for all Protestant missions in India shows that 15,856 schools and 266 hospitals, with their nurses training programs, had a total field income of \$5,834,511. For 622 schools The Methodist Church raised \$671,352 in India during a recent year in which only \$108,166 were raised for the regular Church work and 84 per cent of the total budget for 268 schools in China under the same mission was field income. Education therefore may be said to draw heavily upon the field resources of the missions, both in the number of national workers employed in the schools and in the use of monies raised entirely on the mission fields.

Education and Property Investments

In 1935 Fahs and Davis⁴⁸ made a study for the International Missionary Council of cooperative and union projects carried on by missionary agencies. The information concerning union colleges and universities includes evaluation or cost of the property built by the co-operating missions. The amounts given are not always in American currency but where other currencies are used the equivalent in dollars is computed at the normal rate of exchange. The following gives the Property Investment for only twenty of these union institutions:

Medical College, Vellore, India	\$ 500,000
Forman Christian College, Lahore, India	215,000
Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, India	315,000
Christian College, Madras, India	256,000
Christian College, Serampore, India	186,000
Wilson College, Bombay, India	666,000
Woman's Christian College, Madras, India	390,000
Hackett Medical College, China	300,000
Woman's Medical College, Shanghai, China	500,000
Cheeloo University, Shantung, China	943,800
Fukien Christian College, China	430,000
Ginling College, Nanking, China	500,000
Nanking University, China	1,000,000
Shanghai University, China	663,000
West China Union University, China	341,450
Yenching University, China	2,562,200
Moukden Medical College, Manchuria	490,000
Kwansie Gakuin, Japan	500,000
Woman's Christian College, Japan	750,000
S. Africa Native College, Africa	212,000

Total

\$12,220,450

The statistical survey of the International Missionary Council for 1938 (See Table 3) reports that the

Protestant missionary enterprise for that year included 102 colleges and universities, 543 theological schools, 260 normal training schools, 1,218 boarding and high schools, 705 industrial and special schools, 14 medical and nursing schools, 53,158 elementary schools, and 891 kindergartens. Any one familiar with missions knows that many of the elementary schools are housed in rented or relatively inexpensive village property. But on the other hand some of them are Central Primary Schools occupying more elaborate, mission-owned property. It will be recognized at once that this list of 2,842 institutions of Junior High grade or above and the 891 kindergartens, practically all of which occupy mission property, added to the large number of elementary schools, represents a very large property investment.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America in 1930 included in its membership 88 missionary societies of Canada and the United States. On the basis of statistical figures for 1925, the work of these societies

"is carried on in plants which, with equipment, are estimated to have cost \$200,000,000, and include 377 hospitals, 51 universities and colleges, 16,448 elementary schools, which, with other types of educational institutions, have enrolled more than 785,500 students."⁴⁹

These "other types" included 228 Theological Schools, 8 Medical Schools, 48 Nurses Training Schools, 798 Middle

and High Schools and 548 Kindergartens, making a total of 18,343 schools of all kinds.⁵⁰ But the World Missionary Atlas for 1925 reports that there were in that year 380 Principal Societies, 66 Auxiliary Societies, connected with them, 273 Cooperating and Collecting Societies and 48 Independent Missions, making a total of 826 Missionary Organizations.⁵¹

From this Atlas, the figures in Tables 4 and 5 show that in 1925 there were 49,833 educational institutions of all types with 2,331,963 students enrolled. Judging, from these data, that the 88 Societies associated with the Foreign Missions Conference include between one-third and one-half of the total Protestant missionary work, it would not be unreasonable to estimate that in 1925 the physical plant and equipment involved represented an investment of not less than \$500,000,000. By far the largest portion of this was for educational work.

If the total amount of permanent endowments held in behalf of all mission educational institutions could be computed, the resulting figure would be much larger. Fahs and Davis⁵² report the endowments of only a few of the Union institutions. Some of these are: Cheeloo University, China, \$385,200; Fukien Christian University, China, \$363,000; University of Nanking, China, \$1,400,000; West China Union University, China, \$550,000; Yenching University, China, \$2,597,600; and Kwansie Gakuin, Japan,

\$185,000. In an account of the American University at Beirut, Penrose describes that institution as having in 1938-9 a campus of 80 acres, 49 buildings, a library of 67,704 volumes, a faculty of 286 members, a student body of 1,938, and an endowment of \$6,340,000. However interesting it might be, it is not necessary here to gather the complete data regarding these endowments, for these few illustrations will clearly show that they add a very considerable amount to the total capital investment for educational missions and that property and endowments together have drawn heavily on the available funds for the missionary enterprise.

The annual reports of the Treasurers of Boards and Societies most frequently deal with matters such as Administration and Cultivation, Missionary Support, and Field Appropriations, and seldom give details concerning what share of the appropriations to the field may be for evangelistic, educational, medical, or other work. To secure these details it would be necessary to have access to innumerable reports from Conferences, Presbyteries, Synods, and other Mission and Church organizations around the world. Such a study would provide more complete information regarding the relative expenditure for the various phases of mission work and would, no doubt, be very illuminating, but is not here necessary.

From the foregoing it is seen that the buildings and equipment of twenty mission universities or colleges cost over \$12,000,000. The 18,343 schools, under control of 88 of the Mission Boards of Canada and the United States, had in 1925 physical properties valued at \$200,000,000, while in the same year there were 49,833 schools under all Protestant societies. This number had in 1938 increased to 56,891 and the property investment involved may be estimated at over \$500,000,000. Although the amount of endowment of all mission institutions can be ascertained only with great difficulty, it is found that seven of the largest universities or colleges, located in China, Japan and Syria, have a total endowment of \$11,820,800. Even though the amounts necessary for the maintenance of these extensive properties and for the operation of all these schools are not listed separately in budget reports of the mission societies, it is evident that these amounts are large. It is possible, therefore, on the basis of these data to conclude that a large portion of the annual expenditures of missionary societies through the years has gone into erection and maintenance of an elaborate educational enterprise.

Education and the Work of Missionaries

A complete understanding of the total share of mission expenditure going into educational work would also demand a study of the number of missionaries engaged primarily in that branch of the enterprise. Unfortunately, here also Board and Society reports frequently give no clear data. And the problem is complicated by the fact that missionaries often find themselves transferred from educational to evangelistic work, or the converse, and, more often still, are compelled to give attention to both departments. Three of the 1943-4 annual reports that have been examined give fairly complete information regarding the number of educational missionaries in these societies. The Church Missionary Society had in that year 811 missionaries, not including wives, of whom 328 were engaged in educational work.⁵³ The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society had 115 educators among 284 missionaries, again not counting wives.⁵⁴ The Church of Scotland Missionary Society reported 479 missionaries classified as follows: (a) Men: Clerical 119, Medical 49, Lay Educational 59, Industrial 26; (b) Women: Medical 66, Teachers and General Workers 160.⁵⁵ Certainly some of the clerical and medical missionaries were engaged in educational work, and what proportion of the last group were "General Workers" is uncertain, but the total number of educators could not have been less than 200.

Other sources of data are also available.

Paul Monroe made a study in 1922 of 14 Mission Colleges in China and found that there were at that time 265 foreign teachers working in these institutions alone.⁵⁶ In 1931 a Committee of Appraisal, with Professor W. E. Hocking as chairman, conducted a Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry. The report of this Committee is authority for the statement that 1,100 of the 5,000 missionaries in India were in educational work.⁵⁷ J. E. Fisher, in a Teachers College publication on Democracy and Mission Education in Korea, reports that at the time of his study there were in that small country alone more than 200 missionaries giving their time to education.⁵⁸

The conclusion, that a relatively large proportion of the missionary personnel through the years has been assigned to the promotion of education, is confirmed by missionary biography. This source reveals the additional fact that a large number of those who have devoted a full life-time to foreign mission work have served in educational work. It is possible here to mention only a few of these as illustrations of the many. In India we begin with William Carey, (1793-1834)*, who was the father of modern vernacular education in India, founder of Serampore College,

* Dates in parentheses here and in the following cases represent the years of mission service.

and from 1801 to 1831 professor of Oriental Languages in Calcutta University. Associated with Carey was Joshua Marshman (1799-1837) who gave most of those years to founding and administering Serampore College and establishing the first newspaper in India. Alexander Duff (1830-1878) was the founder of Duff College in Calcutta and father of modern English higher education in India. Wilson College in Bombay is in reality the history of three missionaries, John Wilson (1829-1875) the founder, Dugald MacKichan, who succeeded him in the Principalship and gave 45 years to educational work in Bombay, and John MacKenzie, who retired in 1944 after 40 years of exceptional service to education in India, and with whom it has been the author's privilege to be associated in inter-mission educational work. John Wilson was the first vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, organized in 1857, and both MacKichan and MacKenzie also served with distinction in the same capacity in addition to their work in the Mission College. William Miller (1862-1907) was associated throughout his long and brilliant career with the Madras Christian College. Isabella Thoburn (1869-1901) was founder and Principal of the Woman's College in Lucknow, later named in her honor, and was associated with many other projects for the education of Indian womanhood. James C. R. Ewing (1879-1918) was associated with Forman Christian College, Lahore and, in addition, was Dean of the Arts Faculty of the Punjab

University 1890-1907 and vice-Chancellor of that University 1910-1917. Arthur Ewing, reaching India for work about the beginning of this century, made his chief contribution through the Christian College at Allahabad and especially emphasized the importance to India of vocational and technical education. Sam Higginbottom (1903-1944) was founder and Principal of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, a companion institution of the Ewing Christian College at Allahabad.

From among those who have served China are the following: Elijah G. Bridgeman (1829-1861), Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and active in the founding of the memorial Morrison Education Society; Wm. A. P. Martin (1850-1916), contributing much from 1868 to 1911 to establishing and strengthening Government educational work as well as a leader of mission education; Samuel Schereschewski (1859-1897, and in Japan 1897-1907), founder of St. John's University, Shanghai; Calvin W. Mateer (1863-1908), founder of Shantung Christian College (later Cheeloo University) and its President until 1895. Guido F. Verbeck (1859-1898) organized the first western school in Japan and in 1869 founded the first modern college in that country. George Washburn (1859-1908) was associated with the magnificent educational work of Roberts College in Turkey and its president from 1878 to 1903. Daniel Bliss was released

from other missionary duties in 1864 to become the president and builder of Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, and remained in that position until 1902.

Andrew Watson gave his major attention in Egypt (1861-1916) to educational work, in 1864 helping found the Theological College in which he served as teacher until 1892 and as President from that year until his death. James Stewart, "who more than any other man has fostered the progress of education among the South African natives,"⁵⁹ gave forty years (1867-1907) to work in and through the great educational center at Lovedale where departments in industrial, vocational, agricultural, and normal training were added to the usual literary and Bible courses offered. These twenty educational missionaries gave over 850 years of service or an average of approximately 42 years each.

In conclusion it may be said that in three societies whose work has been analyzed approximately 40 per cent of the missionary staff was engaged in educational work. Those societies that give more attention to higher education have used proportionately larger portions of their missionary personnel in the schools. In Korea, a relatively small field, over 200 missionaries were in educational work prior to the war, whereas in India about 1,100 of the 5,000 missionaries were thus employed. Consideration has been given to the records of twenty

missionaries whose entire service, totalling 850 years, was educational. Attention has been called to the fact that many mission boards and societies do not give detailed statistics showing the number of men and women giving full time to education. It is also impossible to discover how many are giving part of their time to school work. In spite of this difficulty it seems clear that, judged by the time and effort of the missionaries, education has been an important phase of the total mission enterprise.

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Chapter 2.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION IN THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE
(Cont'd)

There are three aspects of the relation of education to modern missions, other than those studied in Chapter 1, that need to be considered before its real significance can be determined. These may be expressed in the form of questions. How broad and varied have been the types of educational program offered by the missions? What have been the significant outcomes of this program? To what extent, other than through institutions, has education influenced missionary activities?

Educational Institutions

Table 5 reveals that through the years educational institutions have been reported under eight classifications. Those, with the number of schools in each, reported for 1938 were: Kindergarten 891, Elementary 53,158, High 1,218, Industrial and Special 705, Theological 543, Normal 260, Medical 14, and Universities and Colleges 102. The number of Nurses' Training Schools was not included in the 1938 report but had been reported as 72 in 1925. This general classification cannot possibly tell the whole story. In many forms of specialized education missions have pioneered and later have seen other private or governmental agencies

take up the work. Special schools for the underprivileged-- for the girls and outcastes of India, for the natives of Africa--were first established by missions. The Means School in Angola, West Africa; the Training College for Women at Godhra, India; the Woman's Christian College, Madras; the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow (the Woman's division of the Lucknow University); the Medical Colleges at Ludhiana and Vellore, India; Ginling College, Nanking, China; and the Woman's Christian College, Japan, are but a few of the institutions that have made the education of girls a possibility in lands where they have been denied formal education through centuries.

Missions have pioneered in Africa, India, and China in the development of schools adapted more closely to the needs of rural peoples because, despite recent industrialization, these countries are, as they long have been, predominantly rural. The Training School for Village Teachers at Moga, India, is a well-known example of this type of school, with the curriculum built around a group of projects all based on the village environment into which the teachers will normally go after completing the course.¹ These projects relate to the village home and its furnishings, the people and their relationships, village recreations, work and industries (farming, spinning, weaving, poultry keeping and crafts), and other things customarily found in the village or necessary to

its improvement. A visit to this Moga institution is one of the pleasant and profitable memories of the author's years in India.

Reference is made to schools for rural populations in Volume VI of the Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council.² Among those mentioned are schools at Bhimpur, Jalna, Asansol, Sangli, Etah, Chittoor, Vellore, Dornakal, Moradabad and Medak in India; Mariannahill Institute in South Africa, Mbereshi Girl's School, Northern Rhodesia, Moyamba Girl's School, Onitsha Training School, Nigeria, and the Achimota School, in Africa; "Rural demonstration School at Shentsehmen Village near Nanking," and the Middle Schols for Girls, Chengtu, in China. The same report refers to the "Agricultural Bias Schools, Bombay Presidency." The author has had the privilege of knowing quite intimately the work done in two of these: the Agricultural Bias Middle School, Prantij, and the Vocational Training School, Anklesvar. These schools are dedicated primarily to the purpose of making high-grade Christian education available for those who expect to live and work in village India. "Education and Village Improvement" is the title of a book by Dr. I. Moomaw, growing out of his experiences as principal of the school at Anklesvar, and pointing the way in which education may contribute to the improvement of village life.

Agricultural education on the college level has also been an important part, though too small, in educational missions. Sam Higginbottom has been largely responsible for building up the Allahabad Agricultural Institute in India where training is given on a farm of over 600 acres in departments dealing with crops and soils, agricultural engineering, dairying, animal husbandry, agricultural economics, horticulture, research and extension. A similar Agricultural School for China is the College of Agriculture and Forestry at the University of Nanking, with departments in agricultural economics, agronomy, botany, horticulture, forestry, rural education, sericulture and extension. J. H. Reisner, for many years the Dean of this College, in 1930 became Executive Secretary of "Agricultural Missions Foundation" (later renamed "Agricultural Missions Inc.") which is an interdenominational organization promoting agricultural education and improved rural conditions in all countries and special training for missionaries working among rural peoples. The Jerusalem Meeting took note of five such Agricultural Colleges, the two mentioned above, two others in China and one in The Philippines. They are said to be,

"few in number but large in influence, whose province seems to be threefold; the development of agricultural leaders, . . . extension work, . . . and research."³

Industrial education has played a large part in the work of missions, especially in Africa where manual labor and industry were lacking among the natives, and in India where the caste system had condemned the lower classes to unpleasant and unprofitable forms of labor and closed the door to other existing forms of more profitable employment. Almost universally missionary educators in Africa insisted that any form of literary education for the primitive African tribes should be accompanied by manual labor. Outstanding among these educational centers is Lovedale with girls' and boys' industrial departments, agricultural and teacher training departments as well as elementary, high, and Bible schools. The Currie Institute for Boys at Dondi, Angola, West Africa, provides classroom instruction in the morning and industrial training in the afternoon.

"The trades include brick and tile making, masonry, carpentry, road-making and tailoring. . . Farming is regarded as one of the industries, every student receiving some training on the land, with cattle, dairying, and the use of machinery. . . The Means School is a training institution similar to the Currie Institute, but with adaptations of education to the needs of African womanhood."⁴

J. T. Gracey records that in 1903 there were at least 98 mission stations in India where industrial training was being given. The type of training and the number of schools in which each was given are: carpentry (40); weaving and

blacksmithing (23 each); printing (19); lace making and embroidering (13 each); tailoring (12); shoe making (10); agriculture (9); book binding (7); rug making (6); tile making and foundry work (5 each); cabinet work and tin smithing (4 each); sewing and dairying (3 each); brick making, gardening, road making, leather work and spinning (2 each); pottery making, lithographing, baking, basket making, mat making, lime burning, masonry, rope making, knitting, wood engraving, and silk work (1 each).⁵

One especially interesting school with this vocational emphasis adapted to village conditions was developed at Asansol, Bengal, India, by Dr. and Mrs. F. G. Williams. Courses offered to boys included carpentry, weaving, agriculture, printing, book binding, motor mechanics, brick masonry, and plastering; and to the girls included weaving, sewing, embroidery work, cooking, home making, and gardening. It was arranged that students taking the High School course for University entrance could elect some of these industrial courses. A special feature of this school was a "Short Course in Sanitation," designed to prepare "sanitary engineers" trained to install septic tanks or other simple sanitary systems in village homes and to teach the villagers sanitary "methods of sewage disposal adaptable to village conditions."⁷ The institution, through this special course and in its total program, has addressed itself to some of the most pressing

economic and health problems of village India. Latourette reports that by 1897 several schools for special trades and professions and at least one Industrial School had been started in China, the Hinghua Anglo-Chinese High School having started industrial work in 1895.⁶

One of the more recent and important developments in educational work of Protestant missions has been the emphasis on Research and Extension, affecting a more intimate relationship between the higher schools (Colleges, Theological and Teacher Training Schools) and the industrial or rural life of the people and the growing Christian Church. This new department was also expected to provide opportunities for real service in helping discover economic and social problems and assist in their solution. The reports on Christian Higher Education⁸ were instrumental in arousing interest in the research and extension work, although both had long had some part in mission education.

The types of extension work included are: publication of journals, such as The Moga Journal for Village Teachers, The Allahabad Farmer; sponsoring rural centers for medical, educational, economic, or other work; holding institutes and conferences; planning short courses for teachers, village farmers, and other groups; lecture courses; demonstrations in farming, weaving, irrigation,

or other industry; village recreational or sanitary projects; fairs and exhibits; broadcasting; and distribution of improved seeds and stock.

A Bulletin of the Nanking Theological Seminary⁹ describes the work which that institution is doing at a Rural Training Center where they seek to answer the questions: "What can the Christian Church do for the rural community?" and "What is the Christian contribution to rural rebuilding?" The center has a Health Station which

"includes the following: 1. Clinic treatments, 2. Preventive medicine, 3. Public health, 4. School health, 5. Village health, 6. Baby welfare, 7. Service to mothers and infants."

Demonstration of seeds and nursery plants, social work, recreation, aid in irrigation, road building and sanitation are other projects of this center. Illustrative of the extension service of the Moga Training School for Village Teachers through the Moga Journal are the leading articles in the January and February issues for 1945. The former discussed "Chimneys" for use in village houses and the latter "Manure Pits."¹⁰ Each of these articles deals with a theme closely related to the health, beauty and general improvement of the village.

The Allahabad Agricultural Institute has a long record of fruitful research that has made a unique contribution to agricultural improvement. The improvement of

dairy and draft cattle, better yokes for oxen, steel plows and other simple implements adapted to local conditions, and the production of better seeds and fruits,--these are but a few of the achievements recorded. The form which such research takes may be seen in a statement by Sam Higginbottom:

"In April (1943) we began a piece of research to take two years for the Central Council of Agricultural Research for which it gives a grant to cover most of the expenses. We provide the facilities and the skilled personnel. What we hope to find out is: (a) What kind of yoke or harness permits an ox to exert his maximum pull? . . . (b) What type of ox is best suited for draft purposes?"¹¹

The colleges of India and China have carried on research studies dealing with problems of population, village social and economic conditions and needs, growing industrial opportunities, employment, wages, improvement of home conditions, literacy and adult education, Oriental studies and older cultures, and many other subjects related to rural and urban life and the development of the Christian Church in the areas served by these colleges. It has been the author's privilege to know a number of the professors of Wilson College, Bombay, Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow, and Forman Christian College, Lahore, who have carried on research in problems such as those listed.

One of the Chinese Christian Universities in exile in Szechwan Province has a research department

called "The Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies," which is making special research in

"A. Carved Stones, B. Han Dynasty Bricks with Decorative Designs, C. Frescoes, D. The Pottery and Procelain Products from the Kiln of Chin Chow."

"In addition to active research, the Institute has also employed its resources in the purchase of books of historical interest in Szechwan with an emphasis on art and archeology."¹²

The Kavirondo Native Welfare Association, of Kenya Colony, Africa, is an example of this type of extension service to the larger community. "Started by a missionary," but developed with the cooperation of missions, government, and the people, there were at the time of the report,

"70 locations of the Association in Kavirondo and about 5,000 persons in touch with it. Its objects are to encourage the natives to provide better food, better clothing, better housing, better education, and better hygiene."¹³

The Ingraham Institute, Ghaziabad, India, where agricultural and teacher training have been carried on since 1926, has recently received an enlarged endowment making possible an expansion of its program.

"In general, the program calls for improving the Teacher Training Department, the development of the Institute as a rural reconstruction center to give assistance to the surrounding community in matters of agriculture, rural handicrafts and a simple village industries, with a health center and public health visitors and the extension of adult literacy."¹⁴

The writer has been in consultation with those in charge of this institution as this plan for extending the influence of education is being developed.

Adapted to the peculiar need of the South African natives has been the "central mission training school," which the Phelps-Stokes Commission called "the most unique, the most interesting, and the most effective institution in Africa."¹⁵ In these training schools promising candidates from the village schools are given

"a general education and varying amounts of training for teaching, for religious work, for rudimentary medicine and sanitary practice, for mechanical and agricultural pursuits. . . they go back to their villages and to other villages as 'missionaries' of the Gospel, of the school, of the clinic, of the better garden and of the more sanitary home."¹⁶

The report of the General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in India, Burma, and Ceylon for 1943-45 calls attention to a specific educational achievement in its service not often associated with the missionary enterprise, but which in its own right and through its pioneering example has meant much to India. The achievement indicated is the work of the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, Madras. It has

"completed its twenty-fifth year of continuous service in training physical directors for India. The total number trained to the end of the academic year, April, 1945, is 1,633. Co-education has been a feature of the work of the college

since the inauguration of the Physical Education Teacher Training Course for Women in 1940. Since that time 136 women have been trained."¹⁷

About the time this college was beginning its work in South India, E. W. Mumby, became Athletic Director at the Lucknow Christian College and began there the development of a Department of Physical Education. These two institutions have provided the best physical education leaders to be found in India, who are in great demand by schools, Boy Scout organizations and governmental agencies. These schools have been centers of training for the Olympic sports and Mumby accompanied the Indian athletes to the Los Angeles Olympic Games. The service they have been able to render in the interest of health, sportsmanship, and the general welfare of India, is incalculable.

Another significant aspect of the educational accomplishment of Missions has been through those institutions planned for the care and instruction of unfortunates. Missions throughout the Orient made early response to the appeal for help that was evident in the terrible plight of lepers.

"Dr. Carey in 1812 witnessed the burning of a leper, and was so impressed by the need of some interposition on behalf of this class of sufferers that he established probably the first leper hospital in India."¹⁸

The first institutional concern for the relief of these

sufferers, for study of cause and cure, for prevention of contamination of children born to lepers, and for providing educational and industrial training for these people, especially where the progress of the disease had been checked, came through the Mission colonies for lepers. Dennis reported that in 1900 there were 100 mission centers for work among lepers, including hospitals, asylums and homes for untainted children. These were caring for a total of 7,523 persons.¹⁹ In addition to the work carried on by the individual missions, two special organizations--Mission to Lepers, Inc., London, and American Mission to Lepers--give especial attention to this group.

In 1938 the Mission to Lepers, Inc., had a total of 45 stations and were also contributing help to 48 stations operated by other missions. This involved the lives of 16,860 lepers and 1,364 untainted children.²⁰ Their 1939 report shows that their "ministrations were given in 106 leper colonies in 45 countries."²¹ Although a large portion of the work done in these colonies and for the healthy children is medical and preventive rather than educational in the commonly accepted sense, yet much of formal literary and vocational or industrial training is included and the whole program is an important educational project in the field of health education and occupational therapy. As a pioneering demonstration of

what is possible in service to those once considered incurably afflicted, the educational value of this work is immeasurable.

Another area in which educational opportunity has been made available to unfortunate groups is indicated in the work done for the blind and deaf. W. H. Murray, from 1871 an agent in China of the National Bible Society of Scotland, became interested in the blind there, prepared an adapted "Braille System" for reading Mandarin, and started a school in which this system was taught along with instruction in vocational techniques enabling the blind to earn their own support.²² Other schools were started in this period until, as Dennis reports, in 1900 there were 30 schools caring for 533 blind children.²³ Regarding education of the deaf, Latourette finds that "the first serious attempt to educate the deaf was instituted in 1887 by Mrs. C. R. Mills of the American Presbyterian Mission."²⁴ The Institution for the Chinese Blind, Shanghai, founded in 1911 by John Fryer, with a "separate school for Chinese deaf boys and girls" founded in 1927, was for many years a notable example of this type of institution. In normal times it had a staff of twenty or more, of whom in 1932 ten were themselves blind. Its five departments were Literary, Musical, Industrial, Physical, Domestic. Associated with it was a Normal School "where both seeing and blind young men and women are prepared

to become teachers and workers among the blind."²⁵

Bulletins published by the Institution for the Chinese Blind in 1944 and 1945 refer to the Sun Laap School for the Blind, Shin-Hing, South China, the Ming Sun School, Canton, and Schools for the Blind at Hinghwa, Changsha, Foochow, and Chengtu, all being assisted by funds raised by the "Institution" founding the Shanghai school.²⁶ This expansion of the work is noted in the 1944 Report, showing that the "Institution for the Chinese Blind" has become a central foundation providing help to 27 blind and 1 deaf school instead of the original Shanghai School, (and the report) tells of the difficulties of war and occupation despite which the Canton school cared for 112 girls. Also the Chengtu school had been selected as a center for an experimental project "for the development of new methods and materials in teaching the blind." "Christian missions have pointed the way, which Chinese national agencies are following, in the training of these unfortunate people for useful living."²⁷

Reference should also be made to the "boarding school" as another important aspect of the educational work of Christian missions. In "A History of Christian Missions in South Africa," Du Plessis writes that as early as 1805 in the London Missionary Society mission at Bethelsdrop, Mrs. Smith began the education of African girls in knitting and other crafts as well as in the regular

school courses. Very soon the girls began to be taken from the classes by parents to arrange their employment.

Mrs. Smith

"procured at her own expense corn, meat, peas, beans, pumpkins--in a word, every kind of necessary food for the maintenance of her scholars."²⁸

Thus she had concluded, as had Carey and Marshman in India, that arrangements for housing and feeding the pupils could contribute to the total process of education. Though frequently subjected to severe criticism, the Boarding School has continued down to the present time. The widely scattered homes of the students in villages where other school opportunity was limited and often did not exist, the inadequate financial resources of the parents, and the higher standard of training program possible in a consolidated "boarding school" situation; these were among the reasons behind the founding and the continuance of the Boarding School project. It developed into one of the most effective techniques of training, giving the institution complete control or oversight over the pupils' life, making possible a control of environing conditions not otherwise possible, and providing for the supervision of work, play and recreation, study, and leisure time activities of the pupils. It had its faults and its dangers but has contributed much to the education of many of the strongest products of mission education.

The comprehensive nature of the program of educational missions will therefore be clear from this survey of the types of schools established through the years. By 1938 Protestant missions had 56,891 schools from Kindergarten to University with 3,263,985 students enrolled. Through these institutions the first educational opportunity in the history of these lands had come to the underprivileged and handicapped. Among these were the women and outcasts of India, the primitive groups of Africa and Oceania, lepers and their untainted children, and the blind and deaf. Through these schools missions pioneered in western education, vocational and industrial training, "rural biased" and agricultural schools, colleges of physical education, research and extension departments, and professional training. The boarding school feature in central mission stations made it possible for many village or other poor children to continue their training beyond the facilities otherwise available to them. In thus reaching through the years so large a number of students, with so varied an educational offering, educational missions have been a significant part of the total work of Protestant missions.

Achievements of Educational Institutions

We must now turn our attention to the outcomes and achievements of Mission Education. It will be recognized at once that much that has already been written might well be considered descriptive of outcomes. The introduction of modern education to the whole of the non-Western world; the first schools for women and girls; the introduction of medical and nurses' training; the first schools for unfortunates, the blind and deaf, the leper, the outcaste; pioneering in agricultural, industrial, and physical education; the creation of magnificent campuses and buildings and an annual program of education touching the lives of hundreds of thousands of boys and girls and young people around the world; and carrying through such an educational program continuously since the dawn of modern missions, though depending entirely on the voluntary contributions of money and lives; these indicate something of the significant outcomes that must be credited to educational missions as a major phase of the total missionary enterprise. In 1902 Dennis, in Volume III of his *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, gives ninety pages to illustrations of the educational results drawn from all parts of the world.²⁹ In the third volume--*Christian Education*--of the Report of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, Chapter IX deals with "Results of

Missionary Education."³⁰ Very much more has been written before and since Dennis' work appeared and every important Missionary Conference has discussed the question of outcomes. A fairly wide reading in this literature, supplemented by extended experience within the enterprise, has led to the following conclusion regarding achievements. Although many, possibly all, of the outcomes could legitimately be considered as of benefit to individuals in their personal living and growth, yet they will rather be classified on the basis of their contribution to the religious, social, cultural and educational improvement of the groups concerned. It will also be evident to the reader that, since most of the achievements have contributed to more than one or to all of these phases of life, considerable overlapping cannot be avoided. Nevertheless there appears to be value in attempting to make this classification.

During the whole period of modern Protestant Missions strong defenders have maintained that educational missions should be evaluated entirely on the basis of the contribution made to the religious development of the students enrolled. Consideration in some detail will be given to this in a later chapter. Others have attached greater importance to the results that have been made in the direction of social, cultural and educational improvement for the peoples of many religions and only indirectly,

if at all, related to any possible modification of religious beliefs. It is important here to recognize first, that no small share of the directly religious or "evangelistic" achievement of modern missions has to be credited to the educational program, and secondly, that these religious results represent only a fraction, though by no means a small fraction, of the total accomplishment of missions. It is the intention in this chapter to record the significant outcomes of all kinds, as they have been observed in experience and reading. Since religious motivation has been predominant, it is appropriate to consider first the results that may definitely be classed as religious.

The history of missions, as indicated in the previous chapter, abounds with evidence that both among the people of the highly developed cultures of India and China, and those of the more primitive tribes of Africa and Oceania, or the Depressed and Aboriginal groups of India, the introduction of modern education provided opportunity for the entrance of missions into areas that were hostile to direct evangelism and often forbade it. Seldom has this been more frankly expressed and rejoiced in than in the Centenary Conference held in London in 1888.

"Nothing puts down opposition, disarms hostile criticism, and obtains for him (the village evangelist) the good will of the people as soon as the opening of

a school in their midst. But this gain. . . is small compared with the direct influence for good exerted upon the pupils, and through them upon the families from which they come. . . In the case of young men who have studied for some years in a high school or college, the results are more marked. The majority of them lose faith in Hinduism. Their prejudices against Christian missionaries change to respect and esteem, and in not a few cases to warm affection. . . The number of secret disciples from among such young men can never be known. . . I am convinced that a very large proportion of the converts in and around the city of Madras (excluding mass village movements) have their first desire to embrace Christianity in some Mission School."³¹

Another speaker at the 1888 Conference, referring to one of the largest missions in South India, said,

"We have scarcely had a single convert in our whole Mission from the upper castes who has not been a direct result of our Mission School."³²

The World Missionary Conference of 1910 had a somewhat different word to say regarding this direct evangelistic result.

"No doubt in the past--as under the influence of Dr. Duff--direct conversions have been due very largely to mission schools and colleges. And still some of our correspondents speak of primary schools as leading directly to baptisms. . . But, on the whole, the constant and most spontaneous witness of our correspondents does not seem to give direct conversion as the immediate result of education in Christian schools and colleges the place that would have been formerly given to it . . . so far as prejudice against Christ

and Christianity has been broken down,-- it is to the education given in mission schools and colleges that a great part of this good result is attributed by a convergence of testimony."³³

And again,

"a very large proportion of the best moral and spiritual influences of missions have emanated from the schools."³⁴

A later testimony comes from Professor Latourette:

"Such institutions as Christian schools and hospitals usually bring about the formal conversion and baptism of only a small portion of the non-Christians who pass through them. They result, rather, in a certain leavening of the professedly non-Christian culture about them with Christian ideals--in the recognition of the worth of Christian ethical and religious standards and in a partial approximation to them in practice."³⁵

Another definite contribution of mission schools to the religious and Church program in all countries has been the preparation of evangelistic and pastoral leaders for the growing Christian Church. Missions have invariably been compelled to establish schools for the training of their catechists, evangelists, agents, or other workers. Sometimes this training is in special schools of very meager educational standards, but increasingly evidence appears of the need of these leaders for a general high school or college preparation, in addition to professional training. Among the large number of ordained ministers, "local preachers," and evangelists I have known in twenty-

four years of missionary service, I cannot now recall a single instance in which the education was in other than a mission school. The fact is that indigenous leadership has been possible because education has been a part of the mission program. The further fact is that the very splendid type of national leadership rapidly taking over places of high responsibility in all the younger Churches testifies to this significant contribution of education to the religious life of these growing Churches. Among the many "firsts" credited to the "Serampore Mission" founded by Carey, Marshman and Ward, was "the first college to train native ministers."³⁶ This is today the only Theological College in India with a charter permitting the granting of a B. D. degree, and for granting the degree other high grade theological colleges are affiliated to it. William Miller reported to the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 that

"there are Christian schools and colleges which have done much, and much that is visible to every unprejudiced observer, in the way of building up the Christian community and supplying it with not unworthy leaders."³⁷

The International Review of Missions, in its 1944 Survey of China, calls attention to the thought now being given "to the needs of the senior Christian middle schools, which have proved highly productive of future Christian leadership."³⁸

It is impossible to evaluate the extent to which the educational program of missions has contributed to two other but perhaps more intangible outcomes, both of which relate to this religious aspect. One of these is found in the increasingly large number of literate and better educated people in the younger Churches who have been enabled to participate more intelligently and completely in their religious observances and especially in Christian worship. Not that illiterate persons, Christian or non-Christian, do not participate in the practices of their groups, but such participation can take on an entirely different quality when one is freed from the superstitions and limitations to thought that accompany illiteracy. The religious response to the claims of Christianity respecting spiritual attitudes, moral conduct and unselfish service can not be complete or permanently adequate on the basis of emotional behavior alone but requires intelligent insight and reasoning. Christian education in Mission schools has given to countless thousands the intellectual tools which have helped them to religious understandings, attitudes, and behavior, of which they would otherwise have remained incapable.

The other of these more intangible outcomes, observable but not easily measured, is that the total educational program of Christian missions stands as a continuous testimony to the practical or service aspect

of the religion of which it is an expression. In areas where religion has so long and so effectively been divorced from the idea of ministry to the individual and social needs of mankind, the philanthropic and educational efforts to relieve suffering, to improve conditions of underprivileged persons, to provide educational opportunity for the unenlightened, have served to commend the Christian religion to the minds of many. To give but one illustration of this we again quote from the report of the Edinburgh Conference;

"Missionary education of the outcaste classes has had results which have produced more impression than anything else that Christianity has done upon the imagination of the most thoughtful and patriotic Indians."³⁹

The social and cultural results of such service cannot be overemphasized but the essentially religious import as an expression of the mind and teaching of Jesus should also not be overlooked. "In as much as ye did it unto the least" remains at the heart of the Christian religion, which can not make its complete and highest religious contribution to the world without this program of social service.

There are other outcomes of the modern missionary movement, more obviously social than religious, for which its educational phase has been largely responsible. It may even be presumed that without educational missions these achievements, in all probability, would have been greatly delayed or entirely impossible. There is here no intention

to deny that other forces aside from Christian missions have also been at work to aid in the introduction of, and working toward, social progress, but it is still possible to agree with Dennis that the

"work of missions is a factor in the social progress of the world which it would be intellectual dishonesty to ignore and philosophic treason to deny."⁴⁰

The Chinese Year Book for 1940-41 has this to say regarding the Protestant work in that country.

"From the early days the movement in China has been interested in social service. It initiated, or participated with non-Christians in such reforms as anti-foot-binding, anti-girl-slavery, anti-opium, anti-concubinage, famine relief, and so forth."⁴¹

Professor Latourette maintains that Japanese non-Christian authorities are convinced

"that the idea of personality, its dignity and meaning in social life, and the practice of monogamy in aristocratic families were from Occidental influence which, in turn, was indirectly due to Christianity. . . . Christianity was by no means completely transforming the country, but was having effects upon the social, political, and economic life of the empire."⁴²

The world has seen the tragic results of this incompleteness.

It will be readily apparent that the social changes taking place in a highly developed social and cultural environment such as India or Japan will differ

greatly from that which appears among the primitive peoples of Oceania or tropical Africa. But in all these places one outstanding result has appeared in the changed status of woman.

"In this forward movement of Eastern women, Christian missions have played a significant role, a fact admitted without reserve by leaders of the Orient like Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, who repeatedly voices the feeling that 'the women of Asia have been placed under a deep debt of gratitude to the missionary agencies for their valuable contribution to the educational uplift of Indian women.'"⁴³

The movements throughout Africa and Asia to free womanhood from the "purdah-system," infant marriage, foot-binding and other forms of compelled inferiority and bondage have been originated or sponsored by Christian missions through the education of men and women.

Another and equally desired improvement that may be attributed chiefly to educational missions is the release that multitudes have had from age-old social customs that have been objectionable from every rational point of view. Cannibalism, infanticide, the witch-doctor, self-torture and self-immolation have passed or are passing from the scene. The impact of Western scientific education, contributed to India first and in large measure by Christian missions, has been the greatest single factor leading to the disintegration of the Hindu caste system which has stigmatized a large portion of the people with the status

of outcastes and condemned every Hindu to an unchangeable place in the social structure.

Reference has already been made to the rural emphasis in much of the educational work of modern missions in countries where the population is predominately rural. This has not only contributed directly to rural reconstruction and improved conditions but has aroused an interest in the condition of these neglected folk that is far wider than the Christian community and those enrolled in the mission schools. Provincial, colonial, and independent state governments have become concerned and are directing toward the solution of rural social and economic problems an attention in funds and effort far beyond that which missions alone could command. But frequently mission institutions like those at Allahabad, Moga, Nanking, Beirut, and Lovedale remain experimental demonstration centers pointing the way to newer plans and techniques. Other economic improvements include the benefits of Industrial Training Schools where training has been received in new industrial trades, such as motor mechanics; increased income from better seeds, farm stock, bees, chickens, etc.; and the Mission Industries in which thousands have found remunerative employment.

It is unnecessary to give detailed consideration to the contribution of mission education to the political life of the peoples to whom it has been made available.

Here again many other influences have been at work and the accurate evaluation of the share each should have in the credit is beyond the purpose of this discussion. Protestant missions in the modern era grew out of that historic period which produced the American and French Revolutions, Wilberforce and his associates in the struggle against human slavery, and prison reform. These all were based on a new upsurge of concern for human personality and the rights of man. It is not surprising, then, that Missions should make a contribution to the struggle of peoples everywhere for greater liberty. Tsui Chi writes of the period in China following the defeat by Japan in 1894, that

"the Chinese masses, whom an autocratic government kept deliberately uneducated, heard little of all this, except that even heavier taxes were levied on them to pay war indemnities to Japan. But the students and intellectuals, especially those of the south who had studied in missionary schools and colleges, and had made enough contact with Western learning to realize the backwardness and inefficiency of their government, now began to organize themselves into secret political societies."⁴⁴

H. S. Singha, writing in "Christian Education in Africa and the East," notes that

"To Duff, India owes a tremendous debt of gratitude, and to the founders of Wilson College, Bombay; the Madras Christian College; the Forman College in Lahore; the St. Stephen's College, Delhi; St. John's, Agra, modern India

has not been sufficiently thankful. These colleges have given us not only a new awakening in the political sphere, but a moral stimulus of service."⁴⁵

The opposition of "colonials" in Africa to the work of missions has grown very largely from a fear that an enlightened native population would prove to be economically, socially, and politically difficult. Further consideration of this will appear in a later chapter dealing with problems confronting educational missions.

The Mission school has exercised considerable influence in the area of international relationships. It has provided an opportunity for those of different nations, races and creeds to work together in a cooperative learning situation. Examine the work of the American College at Beirut, Syria. Its student body contains Syrian, Turk, Tartar, Persian, Indian and Egyptian, according to national classification, and Moslem, Druze, Jew, Bahai, and the several Christian denominational groups, according to religion. The teachers represent both East and West. Penrose says that the result is

"a psychological climate from whose influence no student can escape,"

and wherever this student goes

"he makes it easier to foster education, to overturn tyranny, to soften fanaticism, to promote freedom in state and church. The story of Bulgaria and Turkey and China and Japan and India amply attests this."⁴⁶

The Peace Conference of 1919 appointed the King-Crane Commission to discover the wishes of the population of Syria, Palestine and Iraq regarding the country to hold mandate over them under the League of Nations. George Antonius quotes the recommendations of this Commission in an appendix to "The Arab Awakening."

"Our survey left no room for doubt of the choice of the majority of the Syrian people. . . America was the first choice of 1,152 of the petitions presented--more than 60%--while no other Power had as much as 15% of first choices."

Among the reasons given were

"the spirit revealed in American educational institutions in Syria, especially the College at Beirut, with its well-known and constant encouragement of Syrian national sentiment."⁴⁷

In the development of an international outlook and spirit, which it is hoped will insure the successful operation of a United Nations Organization, the influence of a widespread fellowship in education that has crossed racial and national barriers, bringing opportunity to multitudes, should not be overlooked.

Not the least of Educational Mission's contributions of great social significance has been the production of gifted leadership in many fields of activity. It is particularly tempting to a missionary to emphasize the leadership of outstanding Christians who have graduated

from the Mission Schools. China has depended upon an exceptionally large number of such in recent years.

"Through Sun Yat-sen and his warm friend and supporter Charles Jones Soong, together with some less prominent leaders, Christianity contributed largely to the political reshaping of China."⁴⁸

The distinguished children of Charles J. Soong--the Soong Sisters, one of whom is Madame Sun Yat-sen and another Madame Chaing Kai Shek, and T. V. Soong--T. Z. Koo, and Wellington Koo, are only a few of those internationally known. In Japan, despite war's tragedy, Dr. T. Kagawa remains an exceptionally strong religious and social leader. From the schools of India have come men like K. T. Paul, Bishop V. S. Azaraih, Maharaj Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir George Thomas, E. Ahmed Shah. And from among the village lads of Africa came J. K. Aggery through the mission village school, the teacher training school and, later, American Higher education to a distinguished place among the sons of Africa and "one of the most notable members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission."⁴⁹

A study made of the alumni of the American University, Beirut, in 1928 revealed that 635 were in private medical practice and 120 in the medical service of seven of the Near East states; 119 were in private educational service and 53 in government education; and 56 in Civil Service positions, including cabinet ministers

and heads of departments.⁵⁰ Not all of these are Christian but the leadership in profession and society has been influenced by the contacts and training in the mission school. Dennis found that up to 1900,

"from the Malna Institution (in the South Sea Islands), founded in 1844, over 1,200 men and women have gone forth on this kind of service (pastors and teachers). . . There are over 300 towns in Fiji, and in every one a native pastor and schoolmaster, supported by residents of the town. . . It is here that one meets with that striking social anomaly--'a quiet and cultured gentleman, agreeable in manners, unexceptionable in his behavior, and upright in his character, whose father, never-the-less, was a cannibal.'"⁵¹

In the movements across the Oriental world for the uplift of peoples, whether political, economic, social, religious or educational, there will be found men and women of many religions whose lives have been directed into fields of social service because of the ideals and motives inspired while studying in Christian schools or in other educational institutions which have sought to capture for themselves and their students the same unselfish objectives that have been evidenced in educational missions at their best.

Other outcomes resulting from the educational work of the modern missionary movement have been cultural rather than religious or social in their major characteristics. It is necessary to associate with the schools in this cultural contribution the scholarly work done in the

field of literature by missionaries and Christian nationals, many of whom have not been actively associated with institutional forms of education. This literary activity is itself essentially educational. It has included the creation of many written alphabets, grammars and vernacular literature (Biblical, religious, and scientific); preparation of textbooks in all subjects and languages; study of Oriental cultures and literatures with translations into western languages and with interpretative commentaries.

Much of the understanding the Western world has of the history, religions, philosophies, classics, customs, music and art of Oriental peoples has resulted from the painstaking research and literary productions of missionaries. To be sure, not all missionary interpretation of Oriental cultures has been sympathetic and objective, but what other source of Occidental contacts with the Orient has given a more factual or objective report and interpretation? Since the early geographical explorations contacts between the Western, or "white," peoples and the Eastern, or so-called "colored," peoples have been through agencies that have been military and political, economic and commercial, or religious, educational and philanthropic. Which of these types of contact has provided each of these peoples with the best contributions of the other? Most of the educational and

philanthropic contacts have been directly or indirectly missionary.

As has been seen missions have brought schools and hospitals, the beginnings of economic and, perhaps, political freedom, and release from primitive fears and customs.

"With all its faults, and they are many, the modern missionary movement has been an outpouring of the life of the Churches of Europe and America which is counting on the side of making the pressure of the West on non-Western peoples a blessing and not an unmitigated curse."⁵²

Du Plessis quotes Winwood Reade, a "very incisive critic of missions" and not a professing Christian, who had seen Africa, yet wrote:

I do not understand at all how the changes at Cameroons and Victoria have been brought about. Old, sanguinary customs have to a large extent been abolished; witchcraft hides itself in the forest; the fetish superstition of the people is derided by young and old; and well built houses are springing up on every hand. . . From actual cannibals many have become honest, intelligent, well-skilled artisans.

An elementary literature has been established and the whole Bible translated into their own tongue, hitherto an unwritten one. There must be something abnormal about this."⁵³

There remain, however, many evidences of the older primitive customs and conditions and the temptation is strong to deplore the slowness and unevenness of the

progress when one looks upon the world situation. In a discussion of this aspect of the problem in Africa

M. S. Evans feels that

"a sudden conversion of the people contemporaneous with the influx of Europeans and the vast changes wrought thereby, might have brought to pass a position difficult for both black and white, and adjustment might only have been possible through blood and tears. Progress, great progress, has been made; the difference between 1836 and 1910 is immense, incalculable, but it has been such as to enable an essentially conservative people to assimilate it."54

For many peoples of very primitive and unwholesome cultures there is in the process of creation what might well be called a new civilization and culture even though into it some of the old is being incorporated.

But Christian missions found in some places very old and well established cultures of a very high order, which to surplant would be a tragic loss, if it were possible. Already we have seen how these are being modified by the permeating influences of modern scientific education and Christian thought. Regarding the influence of missions and higher education in the Near East, Penrose says that

"the American influence on the development of the Arabic language and literature, both in content and style, has been of enormous importance to the revival of Arab culture."55

Antonious brings a similar testimony in a reference to the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut.

"When account is taken of its contribution to the diffusion of knowledge, of the impetus it gave to literature and science, and of the achievements of its graduates, it may justly be said that its influence on the Arab revival, at any rate in the earlier stage, was greater than that of any other institution. The educational activities of the American missionaries in that early period had, among many virtues, one outstanding merit, they gave the pride of place to Arabic, and . . . put their shoulders with vigour to the task of providing an adequate literature. In that they were pioneers; and because of that, the intellectual effervescence which marked the first stirrings of the Arab revival owes most to their labours."⁵⁶

Ram Mohan Roy was an exceptional leader of Hinduism in the early nineteenth century, associated with Duff in urging the use of English in higher education in India, intimately versed in the teachings of Christianity and friendly to missions, but never a convert. He founded the reform movement within Hinduism known as the Brahma Samaj which Warneck calls

"a characteristic symptom of the religious ferment which the Christian leaven, along with Western education, had begun to stir among the Hindus."⁵⁷

William Miller, for half a century associated with Madras Christian College felt that one of the vital achievements of mission schools was "in developing high character in

hundreds, or it may be thousands, of the non-Christians whom they have trained."⁵⁸

It is true that Duff, as much as any one individual influencing higher education in India, helped make English the medium of instruction, precipitating a debate that has continued to the present. Yet it is also true that the development of the modern languages of India owes much to the educational missionary. At a time when existing Indian education used the classical Sanskrit or Persian, Carey began an emphasis on the use of vernaculars. He was for thirty years Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit in the College of Fort William (later Calcutta University). He prepared both grammar and dictionary in Bengali, translated, among other works, the Sanskrit classics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, into both Bengali and English, wrote, or encouraged others to write, college textbooks in Bengali and Marathi as well as Sanskrit, and might well be called the father of modern Bengali literature.⁵⁹

Martyn, in the Urdu and Hindustani languages, Wilson, in the Marathi, and others in every language of India, like Carey in the Bengali, have been "responsible for either the inception of a literature or gave to vernacular literature a marked impetus."⁶⁰ In many countries the languages or dialects were first reduced to writing by the missionaries. T. V. Soong, Minister of

Foreign Affairs in the Republic of China, in a reference to the University of Nanking, is quoted as saying that

"too few have realized the really important part that missionary schools, among the foremost of which the University of Nanking may be counted, have played in the modernization of China."⁶¹

It would be contrary to fact to claim that the impact made upon Asia and Africa by the political, economic, or scientific forces of the West has been totally bad or to say that the missionary impact has been totally good. They have all combined to bring a period of transition that has seemed to threaten the very life of existing cultures. This "mass-modification" of Oriental cultures would have been entirely different had there been no Christian missions, or had that enterprise been limited to a narrow evangelism. The outcomes of the educational, medical, agricultural, industrial, and philanthropic phases of the missionary movement make up the most hopeful cultural aspects of this "mass-modification" of the East by the West, or what Dr. Baker refers to as the "cross fertilization of cultures."⁶² Professor Latourette, than whom there is probably no greater living authority on Missions, says of the Christian share of this "mass-modification" that

"at the present moment it is the most striking and widespread fruit of the 19th century missions, and especially of Protestant missions. In its extent

it is unique in the history of Christianity. For magnitude it has no parallel in the record of any religion or any set of ideas. It is approached only by the influence of Buddhism in China and by the percolation of scientific attitudes, of democracy, and perhaps of Marxism through the modern world."⁶³

The relation of missionary education to general education is one of the questions that arise constantly to perplex those engaged in it, and will be discussed in Chapter 4, dealing with "The Problems of Education in Missions." But some of the achievements of the mission school have been preeminently educational. These may already have been implied or mentioned in other connections but will be gathered together here in a summary statement. Mission education has made the first and most significant attack on illiteracy in lands where there were no schools or where such as existed were available only to a favored few. It has advocated and supported the ideal of educational opportunity for all, including girls, African natives, outcastes and adults. It has introduced the mother tongue where previously available schools used the classics.

Mission education has pioneered in medical, health, physical and scientific education in spite of tremendous emphasis on literary curricula. It has led the way throughout the Orient in the introduction of research, in such fields as the study of unwritten

languages, the Oriental classics and social and economic problems. It has contributed immeasurably to the world's best knowledge of history, geography, science, languages and cultures and fostered a high standard of international education. It has made available to education everywhere its own research in educational technique and, in common with "home mission" schools like Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in the United States has led the way in the training of hand as well as head, in recognizing the out-of-school, extra-curricular responsibility of education, and in relating the school to the needs of the community it serves.⁶⁴ And, finally, educational missions have held constantly to the position that the results in character--moral, ethical or religious--are not less important in the learning process than are the results in skills and knowledge.

These specific outcomes of educational missions, in addition to those suggested by the previous description of opportunities for training not otherwise available in many countries, may now be summarized. Schools have assisted in presenting Christianity to peoples of other religious cultures as the highest ethical and religious contribution the West could offer them, at a time when other impacts of the West upon the Orient--military, political, economical--have often appeared to be less worthy in aims and consequences. Through the Schools an

increasingly large body of well-trained nationals have been prepared to take over an ever larger responsibility as leaders of the growing Christian Church. Educational missions have borne witness to the peculiar quality of Christianity's concern for the unfortunate and the poor, and have thereby made a profound impression on many observers.

Christian missions, through this educational program, have shared (1) in the introduction of many social reforms, such as relieving womenhood, outcastes, and illiterates of many disabilities and restrictions; (2) in the movement to adapt education to the needs of rural peoples who make up the vast majority of Orientals; (3) in stimulating the sense of the worth of individuals and an understanding of the democratic ideal which have made political and social reform possible. Many international, inter-racial, and inter-cultural contacts have been made possible in and through mission education, and numerous outstanding leaders of the political and cultural life of Oriental lands have received their training in mission schools. These are among the social outcomes.

The languages of preliterate peoples have been reduced to writing; grammars and literatures have been created or encouraged. Translations have been made of ancient Oriental literatures. Missionary research has

brought to the Western world much source material for an understanding of non-Western cultures, religions and philosophies. In places such as Polynesia the older primitive cultures have been largely replaced by Christian culture. The older, more highly developed cultures have been stimulated into new life, and significant inter-cultural cross-fertilization has been evident. Such are the cultural outcomes attributable largely to the efforts of educational missions.

Important contributions have been noted in attacks made on illiteracy; in supporting the ideal of education for all classes; in the introduction of the vernacular in primary education; in the pioneer work in many fields such as medical, scientific, and physical education; in the information regarding world geography, history, cultures and languages made available to all peoples; in experimentation and research in educational theories and techniques; and in emphasis on the character-training phase of education. These are outcomes that may be termed educational. It is thus possible to conclude that, when judged on the basis of religious, social, cultural and educational outcomes, the part which education has played in mission work is highly significant.

Other Educational Outcomes of Missions

A discussion of the educational achievements of missions would be incomplete without consideration of many activities of the missionary and his national colleagues which are carried on outside of educational institutions. There is no inclination on the part of this writer to equate education with the work of those institutions, commonly called educational. On the contrary, a far more compatible position is to think of educational method and technique as the basic pattern of all effective mission work, therefore making a contribution through all mission work to the extent that it follows this pattern. Even the approach to the non-Christian with an evangelistic purpose and message must take account of educational psychology, sound pedagogical organization of curriculum, and method of procedure if it is to accomplish its purpose.

An illustration of the wide variety of non-institutional, but definitely educational work of missions is found in a striking statement of George Smith regarding the pioneering efforts of modern Protestant missions established at Serampore, India, by that remarkably versatile William Carey and his associates. In a paragraph describing the "Results of Serampore Missions" Smith mentions among many things the following:

"The first complete or partial translations of the Bible, printed in 40 languages and dialects of India, China, Central Asia and neighboring lands; . . . the first prose work and vernacular newspaper in Bengalee, the language of seventy millions of human beings; the first printing press on an organized scale, papermill, and steam engine seen in India; . . . the first private garden, and Society for the improvement of native and European Agriculture and Horticulture in India; the first Savings Bank in India; the first translations into English of the great Sanskrit epics, the Ramayan and Mahabharat, and the first translation of the Bible into Sanskrit."65

To this formidable list may be added such other types of work as the geographical explorations of David Livingston, the ministry of Father Damien among the Lepers, the activities of men like Martin and Verbeck translating standard works on constitutional and international law into Chinese and Japanese, and James Yen's and Frank Laubach's programs for adult education. Participation in the efforts to control flood and famine and helping relieve the suffering victims of both; promoting summer camps, scouting, physical training and sports; organizing or sharing in the organizations for the improvement of home-life, village and farm conditions; planning pre- and post-natal care of infants and their mothers; establishing cooperative credit societies, industries and farm colonies; these all and other projects have commanded the attention of missions and have contributed, to the extent

that they have followed sound basic principles, to the cultural, economic, social and religious development of many peoples. Since the introduction of such projects involves the continuous process of training persons to understand and accept them and to become participants in and leaders of them, and since educational psychology, valid teaching and evaluating techniques, and teacher-learner relationships are involved in the "sound basic principles" above referred to, it would appear obvious that education has had a major share in those projects that have succeeded in their purposes.

One of the most significant non-institutional contributions of education to missions has come through the long series of international and interdenominational conferences and the important agencies that have grown from them. Since 1854, when groups met in the first two conferences, one in New York and the other in London, others have been held in Liverpool (1860), London (1878), London (1888), New York (1900), Edinburgh (1910), Jerusalem (1928), and Tambaram, Madras, India (1938). (See Table 10.) In preparation for these conferences surveys and investigations of World Missions have been made such as some of those from which the statistical tables accompanying this study have been taken. An exchange of experience and evaluation of procedures, not

TABLE 10

WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCES

Date	Place	Number Present	Societies Represented	Countries Represented
1854 May 4-5	New York	150		
1854 Oct. 12-13	London		"All Principal"	
1860 Mar. 19-23	Liverpool	126		
1878 Oct. 21-26	London	158*	34	
1888 June 9-19	London	1,494*	140	
1900 Apr. 21- May 1	New York	1,700*	115	48
1910 (1) June 14-23	Edinburgh	1,196*	159	
1928 (2) Mar. 18 - Apr. 8	Jerusalem	240*	26#	52
1938 (3) Dec. 12-29	Madras	471*		69

* Delegates representing Societies or organizations.

National or international missionary organizations.

Sources:

- (1) World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. IX, History and Records, pp. 3ff. (Also for all preceding Conferences.)
- (2) Corey, S.J., "Jerusalem 1928," World Call, Vol. X, No. 6, pp. 13-15.
- (3) International Missionary Council, World Mission of Church, 1939; p. 5.

possible, have resulted in many changes and improvements in the work carried on throughout the mission fields, in the activities of controlling Boards and Societies, in wider and more intelligent participation of the older Churches, and in the organization of many cooperative agencies designed to secure a more effective leadership in the Protestant Missionary Movement.

The purpose here will be served as well by the mention of some of these developing cooperative organizations and activities with no attempt at an exhaustive listing. Perhaps the most important of all has been the work, following the Edinburgh Conference, of setting up a system of Provincial, National and International Missionary Councils throughout the missionary world, for fellowship, study, suggestions and counsel, in which most of the Protestant missions and Churches have cooperated. With the growing emphasis on the work of the younger Churches rather than on the "missions," and in recognition of the larger place the national leaders are taking in the younger Churches these organizations have evolved into Provincial and National Christian Councils and the new "World Council of Churches."

Following the Jerusalem Conference there came into being the International Missionary Council's Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel, which

has conducted numerous scientific studies into the economic factors affecting the lives of peoples in the countries of the younger Churches and the growth of those Churches. About the same time the Agricultural Missions Foundation was organized in order "to coordinate and encourage efforts on behalf of rural populations."⁶⁶

This was in large measure due to the educational value of Dr. K. L. Butterfield's extensive visit to Asia and Africa, which in turn grew out of the special attention given at Jerusalem to rural problems. Writing in the 1933 Educational Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers College, Butterfield refers to the close relationship between the rural problem and education in these words,

"Possibly it is not exaggerating to assert that the agricultural cooperative society is the outstanding single mark of an adequate rural civilization. Education should be especially keen about this institution, for the reason that all educational endeavor is largely dissipated unless the farmers can pool their individual strength in some form of collective action,"

and

"the mention of the cooperative society in its character-building aspects leads to another rural need, that of educating to the cooperative way of life."⁶⁶

Latourette records that "the years after 1914 and especially after 1918 saw marked growth in such

specialized activities."⁶⁷ One of the most interesting of these, both in its spectacular appeal and in its essentially educational nature, has to do with adult literacy. Reference has already been made to the leadership given in China by James Yen, following his experience in Y.M.C.A. work during the War of 1914-18 with the education of Chinese troops, and to the work in the Philippines by Frank Laubach. Under the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, a Committee on "World Literacy and Christian Literature" has been formed with 86 members representing thirty of the affiliated Churches. "A major activity of the Committee in the field of literacy has been the literacy tour of Dr. F. C. Laubach touching thirteen countries."⁶⁸ By a similar cooperative arrangement of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, Dr. Laubach has assisted in the preparation of Adult Literacy materials for several of the language areas of India. The present writer has seen much of this work in Gujarat, the section of West India in which his own work has been. Laubach has also generously shared with others the techniques he had evolved in the Philippines whereby illiterate adults may within a month be taught to read.

Reference has been made to the technical training received in Industrial Schools and Mission Industries developed in connection with them. There have been other

industrial or agricultural projects associated with no formal education but through which many persons have received a very important part of their training. These latter include printing establishments, such as the Scottish Mission Industries Co., Poona and the Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, both in India and from which continuous streams of literature have come; factories for the manufacture of furniture, vehicles, farm machinery and other things; and mills producing large quantities of high grade yarn, cloth, clothing, etc. Both in Africa and India the Basel Mission has excelled in this type of economic and social leadership, pioneering in the production of tiles, quality cloth and furniture, among other things. It was Haller, one of the "Master-weavers" of the Basel Mission Industries in India "who discovered the fast-brown dye to which he gave the Kanarese name khaki."⁶⁹

"Their mechanical shops trained and employed a large number of Natives as journeymen. It is probable that these shops prepared more mechanics than any other mission agency in Africa, and rivalled even the Public Works Department of Government."⁷⁰

The Mission Tablet Industry of Bowringpet, South India, has been developed by a medical missionary and is supplying high grade medicines at reasonable cost to every part of India, thus helping meet one of her greatest needs. "Farm Colonies" have been successfully operated by the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Western India where in one small

area they have "22 colonies, comprising 3,700 acres and supporting a population of nearly four hundred families."⁷¹ Other groups in like manner make provision for Christians of low economic status to own and farm their own land and to gain an economic and social standing their forebears have never known. Similarly, cooperative credit societies and banks have provided relief from excessive interest rates demanded by landlord or money-lender. The opportunities for employment which these projects represent, the differences in conditions of labor and wages, and the educational values that accompany them have made no small contribution to the social welfare of very many and provide patterns which are being widely copied.

That Christian Churches, with indigenous leadership, are developing among the formerly preliterate peoples of Africa and Oceania and among the illiterate depressed groups of India, is evidence of a great amount of non-institutional education. Programs for the religious training of the young, classes for candidates for baptism and communicant membership, worship plans, administration of the sacraments, transaction of business in the local congregation and Church assembly or conference, are almost entirely in the hands of members of the younger Churches and missionary control is rapidly diminishing. Preparation for this must, in part, be

credited to class instruction in the mission school and college, especially the Theological College, but cannot entirely be so credited. There are many informal Church organizations, all of them employing educational techniques, good or bad, in their work, which are providing the training that is making this transfer of responsibility possible. That it has been too slow a process must, in some measure, be due to the inadequacy of the training because of poor educational procedures or to failure to recognize the educational opportunity involved. The Provincial and National Christian Councils already referred to are such informal educational organizations. Others include Committees that handle Church finance, publication, youth work, and religious education; Church sessions or "official boards"; District or Diocesan Councils, Conferences or Assemblies; lay and ministerial leadership training conferences; institutes and conventions; and all such work carried on by the younger Churches. The effectiveness of any or all of these will depend, in large part, upon whether they have been organized on educational principles so as to provide true learning situations.

The evidence seems to show that education has contributed much to the missionary enterprise and the peoples it has served through indirect ways apart from the educational institutions. Some of these ways that have been noted are here briefly summarized. The maximum good

can be accomplished in all of the work of missions-- evangelism, healing, philanthropy, developing new Churches-- with an understanding of psychology and educational principles. The production of literature, in many languages and dealing with a wide variety of subjects, has been an educational service of missions. The geographical explorations and reports of missionaries, such as David Livingston, have added to world knowledge.

Adult literacy and community educational programs have been carried on among many peoples. Rural reconstruction centers, with religious, educational, medical, and agricultural emphases, have been established. International and interdenominational conferences have been held periodically, bringing together people from many countries for interchange of experience and thought, and for development of plans and programs for the improvement and extension of mission work.

Mission presses, factories, and other industrial agencies in mission fields have provided vocational training for the young. Development of younger Churches, with local and denominational organizations and study programs and with provincial and national inter-Church councils, has provided opportunities for training Church members and leaders. These have been an important phase of the educational process throughout the mission enterprise.

General Summary

This study has thus far been concerned with an examination of the evidence regarding the part education has played in the total modern missionary enterprise of the Protestant Churches. In Chapter 1 four aspects of the problem were considered with the following conclusions:

(1) With few exceptions the boards and societies of the Protestant Churches have, soon after beginning mission work, opened educational institutions. These have been maintained through the years and in 1938 the total number of such institutions reached the figure of 56,891. (2)

Throughout mission history education has drawn heavily on the use of personnel recruited and funds raised in mission lands. By 1938, education was using 49.1 per cent of all national workers and 39.5 per cent of all local funds, in both instances a larger proportion than any other single phase of missions.

(3) Although complete statistics are unavailable, it is evident that a large portion of the annual budgets of the Protestant mission societies has gone into educational plants, equipment, and endowments, and the current expenditures necessary for maintenance and operation of these institutions. (4) The development and administration of educational missions have absorbed a large share of the time and work of foreign missionaries throughout the

missionary era, apart from the definitely educational contribution of many others who have not been associated with institutions.

In Chapter 2 consideration of three other aspects of this problem leads to further conclusions: (5) Missions have developed a program covering education from Kindergarten to University and Professional School--56,891 institutions enrolling 3,263,981 students. Special pioneering effort has gone into schools for unfortunates, handicapped, and oppressed groups, and into special types of modern, scientific education related to the specific needs and conditions of the peoples concerned. (6) The significant results of this total enterprise have been seen in the large number of children, young persons and adults who could have received an education through no other existing agency. The extent and importance of these results are also seen through study of the contributions educational missions have made to the religious, social, cultural, and educational improvement of the peoples of the countries to which Christian missions have gone.

(7) The process of education has not been confined to institutional work. It has been a part of much that has been called evangelism, church building, medicine, philanthropy or social reconstruction. This has been true (a) in educational method as underlying all

effective work done among backward, primitive, or immature peoples; (b) in geographical and cultural research and literary production; (c) in the organization of Churches and mission groups with international and intercultural contacts; (d) in opportunities provided for employment and leadership in the growing younger Churches; and in many other ways. Education has been continuous, extensive, and varied and an increasingly significant part of the modern missionary enterprise.

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Chapter 3.

PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION IN THE
MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

The foregoing discussion has suggested the relatively large part education has had in the development of the missionary program in modern times and has indicated its significant contribution to the many peoples to whom missions have ministered. The significance of education in the missionary effort cannot be fully appreciated, however, without an understanding of the basic purposes that have motivated those who have brought education into the enterprise and the objectives toward which they have striven.

Through the entire period under study there has been close association between the educational and other phases of missionary work. In only occasional instances, and those largely limited to the field of higher education, have separate organizations been set up for the promotion of educational missions. The same mission boards or Church councils administering the general missionary task have also worked out the educational plans. On the Boards of management directing the work of special educational projects, such as the Medical College at Vellore, India, the regular mission societies are abundantly represented, if not dominant, in the membership, and the

close relationship is maintained. This will suggest the obvious fact that the purposes according to which the mission schools are operated must of necessity be studied in the light of the underlying aims and purposes upon which the whole enterprise is based. Or if we can discover what the aims of any mission group are, we can know with considerable accuracy what it desires to accomplish through its educational endeavors. In this chapter an attempt will be made to present the data concerning prevailing missionary motives and how these have influenced the procedure in educational missions.

It is possible to discern three distinct, yet sometimes overlapping or conflicting, classes into which missionary motives fall. It is difficult to say that any one antedates the other, for from the time of Carey all three have appeared in the records. Some missions have been organized predominantly, if not entirely, in support of one of these, whereas most of the mission boards or societies representing the larger denominations have counted among their members and missionaries those whose work was motivated by differing purposes. Arranged in ascending order on the basis of breadth of social vision, these three classes may briefly be stated as follows: (1) Purposes which include direct and individual evangelism and possibly, though not necessarily, the building of a Church; (2) Purposes which include direct and indirect individual

evangelism and the establishment of a Church; (3) Purposes which include evangelism, individual and social, the establishment of a Church, and the greatest possible help to all needy humanity. It is not the purpose here to enter into theological discussion, yet it is necessary to point out that the theological interpretations of any individual or group largely determine which class of motives will be supported, and that classes (1) and (2) are supported by those who are respectively of an extremely conservative or relatively conservative theological outlook, whereas class (3) is generally supported by those of more liberal theological views and social vision. There are some groups as well as individuals that cannot be so neatly typed, but who have combined elements of different classes within their statements of motives and objectives. There are also groups and individuals whose position has been modified so that at later periods they have found previously held motives inadequate or untenable. These facts must be kept in mind during the discussion.

When the Missionary Motive is Evangelism

In its original meaning the slogan for many years associated with the Student Volunteer Movement--The Evangelization of the World in this Generation--describes the first class of motives. Warneck refers to Dr. A. T. Pierson, for many years editor of the Missionary Review of the World, as defining evangelism to mean "preaching and testimony." In the same connection Warneck describes the China Inland Mission, founded by Hudson Taylor in 1865, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, founded by A. B. Simpson in 1887, and the Student Volunteer Movement, founded in 1886, as representing this narrower conception of evangelism.¹ The immediacy of the "Second Coming" and the belief that it can be hastened by rapid completion of the task of "preaching the gospel to every creature" which was assigned by the founder of Christianity, are two of the chief determining theological factors. The extent to which this motive can influence mission programs can be illustrated by the history of both these missions. Of the Christian and Missionary Alliance Warneck writes,

"It is altogether under this last point of view (belief in an early Second Coming) that the work of missions is placed, their task being simply to make known the message of the Gospel in the world, and, in order that it may be accomplished as quickly as possible, to send forth great hosts of evangelists. The idea was, with the help of 20,000 missionaries, to evangelize the world before the end of 1900."²

In an article by J. Hudson Taylor entitled "To Every Creature," which appeared in the Missionary Review, is found the following statement:

"If, in addition to the workers now in the field, one thousand whole hearted evangelists, male and female, were set free and kept free for this special work, they might reach the whole number of China's millions before the end of 1895, and this allowing two years of the five for study of the language and preparation for the work. Estimating the population of China as we do at 250,000,000, there will be about fifty million of families; if fifty families were reached daily for one thousand days by each of the thousand evangelists, every creature in China could be reached in three years time, leaving the evangelists two or three Sundays for rest each month."³

The growing number of national adherents to these missions has compelled some modification of the original exclusively evangelistic program. Some of their missionaries have seen the need for a broader educational program and for giving more attention to the foundations upon which a stable Church can be built. I have had opportunity to observe the difficulties they have encountered because of the limits set by the major emphasis of the Mission as a whole. The 1943 report of the China Inland Mission shows an emphasis of the "Church" which is new for that Mission, but all the 86 pages of that report deal with evangelism, with the conclusion stated thus:

"Our part is to cooperate with them (the national Christians), ever more closely and more humbly, in evangelism,

in Bible teaching, and in the training of Chinese workers."⁴

That this direct evangelistic motive was strong in the thinking and planning that led to the founding of the earlier Protestant missionary societies cannot be doubted. William Carey's "Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens" published a few years before he led in founding the Baptist Missionary Society in 1793, based that obligation on the command "to preach the Gospel to every creature." And the present constitution of that Society states its object as "the diffusion of the knowledge of Jesus Christ throughout the whole world, beyond the British Isles."⁵ Gracey finds this the major if not the only reason for the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, which

"exists for the purpose of assisting in the fulfillment by the Church of its Lord's last great command, to evangelize the world. Not to convert the world-- that is not man's part--but to proclaim the Gospel to the world. 'This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.'"⁶

But both the Baptist and the Church Missionary Societies were almost at once involved in many activities that were not direct evangelism. Carey and his associates at Serampore, as has been seen, were soon engaged in translating and printing religious, scientific and educational materials, in organizing and administering

educational institutions, hospitals, and leper colonies, in establishing a young Church and training the nationals to administer its sacraments, and in numerous other activities many of which appeared to be entirely secular. This has been true of most of the Societies representing the major Protestant denominations. The missionaries came face to face in all fields with appalling human need for medical, educational, economic or social relief. To a considerable extent the efforts in missionary time and money made to meet these needs were justified by the indirect contributions they were supposed to make to the primary purpose. But the value of these secondary activities as offering any substantial help to this primary evangelism has frequently been doubted and heatedly debated. Alexander Duff, often called the "founder of educational missions," vindicated his emphasis on higher education by the door it opened for evangelistic work among the higher classes.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions favorably received the report of their early missionaries in Ceylon that they were establishing schools, because they were "one of the most promising methods of disseminating a knowledge of the Bible."⁷ In the correspondence between the American Board's first missionaries in Bombay and the Governor of that Presidency appears the statement, "Our great and general object is the

diffusion of Christian knowledge and Christian morals,"⁸ and education was one of the means by which they hoped to accomplish this object. But a deputation sent out in 1855 from America to visit the work of that Board in India, reported "in a sense adverse to educational work."⁹ This criticism was not then new nor has it yet ended; it was that secondary matters were receiving a disproportionate share of the attention of the missionaries.

In 1890 James Johnston contributed an article to the *Missionary Review*, entitled, "Education as an Evangelistic Agency." Influenced to become a missionary by the work of Duff and Anderson, who at Calcutta and Madras had developed great mission schools, and granted full authority to establish similar educational work in China, Johnston

"abandoned the cherished idea on discovering that, at that time, there was neither a call nor opening for an educational mission; which is not the normal form of missionary agency and is only justifiable in exceptional conditions of society."¹⁰

His justification of Duff's system was that "it is strictly evangelistic in its aim and methods."¹⁰ Continuing, he wrote that

"Dr. Duff never meant his system to form more than a fractional part of the missionary work of the Church even in India. As for the rapid revolution, no system of missionary effort has ever been more stoutly opposed both at home and in India. It was not until the year

1879, forty-five years after its introduction, that it received in Bangalore anything like an unanimous approval from any missionary conference."¹¹

And Johnston's conclusion was that

"so long as Educational Missions only divert one in ten of the foreign missionaries from the purely evangelistic work, which must ever be the great characteristic feature, no man who really knows India will call in question the wisdom of setting apart this tithe for education."¹²

The Laymen's Inquiry found this conflict still unresolved in 1931 and so reported in their findings.

"For the idea that the missionary's task not only begins with the proclamation of the message, but also ends there, has remained solidly entrenched in the minds of many missionaries. . . . As funds are drawn into these channels (educational or philanthropic), there are those who feel that the place of the central business of missions has been usurped and its resources impoverished by something--important, indeed, but less important. And as missionaries give their energies to humanitarian tasks, there are those who feel that even the central aim of missions is being forgotten."¹³

The author has encountered this attitude in the form of the question: When are you going to get out of school work and into real missionary work? Perhaps there was something of this thought that "the central aim of missions is being forgotten," in those words of William Paton, whose place in the missionary movement has been both large

and valuable, when he wrote:

"The missionary movement is that aspect of the world-wide Christian community which is concerned with the evangelization of the world. . . What I wish to urge most earnestly is that everything, literally everything, depends upon the realization that the Word must be preached."¹⁴

It has been much easier to understand how Churches and training schools for pastors and evangelists can make a contribution to the direct program of evangelism than to see how general education, hospitals, rural reconstruction or other projects concerned with human well-being can contribute to the same end. It is not surprising then that only in exceptional cases do we find a mission or a missionary hesitating to give attention to building the younger Churches. The history of the China Inland Mission and the Christian and Missionary Alliance shows that where the greatest emphasis is upon "pure" evangelism the growth of a Church may not seem important at first, but eventually its importance cannot be escaped. In those missions where indirect means of evangelism are accepted or emphasized it is natural that greater thought may be given to building strong younger Churches which may then become additional means of evangelism. The very obvious impossibility of securing and supporting enough foreign missionary evangelists to accomplish the task in any near future is a compelling urge to create this indigenous evangelistic agency.

On the basis of material presented in this section the following conclusions may be summarized:

(1) Emphasis upon direct, personal evangelism in some missions has resulted in the restriction of education to religious teaching and the training of workers or Christian children.

(2) Personal evangelism as the major or only motive for missionary work influenced the founding of the earliest Protestant societies.

(3) When the earlier missionaries felt compelled by conditions of the peoples to whom they went to introduce non-evangelistic activities, these were often justified to the home committees because of their indirect contribution to personal evangelistic work.

(4) Under such justification education was assigned a secondary place. It was permitted on condition that it contributed to evangelism and that it use only a small fraction of mission resources.

(5) The indirect service of education to evangelism was through giving religious instruction to enrolled students, in providing access into the homes of students, through breaking down prejudices against the missionary and his work, and in imbuing non-Christian groups with Christian ideals and attitudes making them dissatisfied with other religions.

(6) Programs of general or professional education, especially for non-Christians, are still opposed by some missions and by individual missionaries on the ground that the primary or real task of missions is evangelism.

When Missionary Motives Include Other Human
and Social Values

There are, however, evidences that a portion of the missionary enterprise is based upon motives that reach beyond the concepts discussed in the foregoing section, to include philanthropic and social aims directed toward the betterment of individual and social living.

Those who acknowledge these larger and wider claims do not necessarily admit thereby that they deny the importance of evangelism or the Church. There doubtless can be found some engaged in educational, medical or other philanthropic missions who give inadequate attention to evangelistic work, just as there are some in evangelistic work who ignore educational or medical missions. Both such unbalanced emphases are wrong and to be deplored. It is probable that the latter has been both more numerous and more vocal, and therefore more of a problem to the ongoing work of the whole Christian enterprise.

This broader-based motivation is perhaps the least known phase of missionary theory, since the evangelistic emphasis has seemed to hold the more popular appeal. But this more inclusive motive has been evident in missions through the years, more often in the work undertaken than in the statements of mission purpose and policy. Here also the thinking of individual missionaries and of mission groups has been in process of evolution.

That this philanthropic and social emphasis has not been absent from statements of policy can be illustrated. The first appeal addressed to the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church by its Missionary Society and published in 1819, stated its objective to be "the general good of mankind, by the extension of experimental and practical godliness."¹⁵ When this Society secured a revised Act of Incorporation in 1859, the purpose as set forth in Article 3 definitely included this wider aim:

"The objects of the said corporation are charitable and religious; designed to diffuse more generally the blessings of education and Christianity, and to promote and support missionary schools and Christian missions throughout the United States, and the continent of America and also in foreign countries."¹⁶

This statement of objectives continued with slight modification until the Union of three Methodist bodies in 1939, at which time a new statement was prepared, and is the official pronouncement of The Methodist Church. It in no way recedes from the position held through the years and declares that

"The supreme aim of Missions is to make the Lord Jesus Christ known to all peoples in all lands as their Divine Savior, to persuade them to become His disciples, and to gather these disciples into Christian Churches; to enlist them in the building of the Kingdom of God; to cooperate with these Churches; to promote world Christian fellowship, and to bring to bear on all human life the spirit and principles of Christ."¹⁷

The new Charter for the Division of Foreign Missions of the United Church only slightly modified the 1859 statement and that in the direction of greater breadth. It now reads:

"The objects of said corporation are religious, philanthropic and educational, designed to diffuse more generally the blessings of Christianity and education, and to promote and support Christian missions, missionary schools and all phases of religious activity in foreign countries."¹⁸

The Church of Scotland has recently expressed broad missionary aims in these words:

"The Church seeks to set the Incarnate, Crucified and Risen Lord amid the realities of social, economic and public life, and therefore works for and profits by the opportunity afforded by Government to extend her activities in education, preventive medicine, youth welfare, agricultural economic, and social development."¹⁹

It is possible to discover a definite trend toward this wider purpose in the reports of the great Missionary Conferences. (See Table No. 10) Those held in 1854, 1860, 1878, and 1888, gave primary attention to the evangelistic achievements and program. But by the time of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in 1900 much more thought was being given to the philanthropic and educational work of missions and to their value apart from any previously held ideas of indirect relationship to evangelism. More was being said about the social

implications of the teachings of Christ; Walter Rauschenbush was in his prime and James S. Dennis had published the first and second volumes of his Christian Missions and Social Progress. One of the purposes of the 1900 Conference was to bring together "thoughtful Christian men and women who were working out the many sided problems of human progress."²⁰ This trend continued and in the report of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 one speaker states that,

"the end aimed at remains: not only to bring the gospel of peace to individuals and communities, but to enable whole nations to develop their peculiar gifts under the influence of Christianity, and to take their independent position in the process of mankind's development toward God."²¹

The comprehensive aim of missions was declared by this same Conference to be "full Christianization of the life of the nation."²²

The social emphasis was stronger at the Jerusalem Conference in 1928:

"The one inclusive purpose of the missionary enterprise is to present Jesus Christ to men and women the world over as their Redeemer, and to win them for entrance into the joy of His discipleship. In this endeavor we realize that man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions--physical, mental and social. We are therefore desirous that the program of missionary work among all peoples may be sufficiently

comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships."²³

It was in this era that the most rapid development of industrial, agricultural and medical missions was taking place, and, as already noted, following the Jerusalem Conference the Agricultural Missions, Inc., the Department of Research and Extension of the International Missionary Council, and other specialized programs were emphasized and social and economic reconstruction became a major objective.

Although by no means returning to the narrow evangelistic conception of the China Inland Mission, never-the-less it seems clear that the International Missionary Council, meeting at Tambaram, India, in 1938, undertook to state the purpose of missions in terms of evangelism.

"The Council believes that every part of the Christian enterprise must be saturated with and controlled by the conscious evangelistic purpose, and that this should be true of the whole range of the Churches' practical activities. Works of healing, education, the distribution of the Bible and Christian literature, rural uplift and social betterment hold their place for the varying ways in which they express the spirit of Christian love and compassion and interpret Christ to man."²⁴

And again,

All the Church's activities, whether social service, education, the

spreading of Christian literature, the healing of body and mind, or any other work undertaken by man, follow from the essential task (proclaiming His Kingdom) committed to it. They are signposts pointing to Christ as the Savior of men and of human society."²⁵

It would be easy to become confused by the different meanings that are given to the word "evangelism." The use of a phrase like "conscious evangelistic purpose" might readily be interpreted to place the Tambaram Conference in Class 2 of this chapter's analysis, as determining the value of all the "Church's practical activity" on the basis of the "evangelistic" returns therefrom. Yet this would not, it seems to the writer, represent the true thought of Tambaram. There were representatives there who favored such an interpretation and who believed that the Church should remain aloof from the social and economic problems, giving its attention to the primary business of the Church, that is, to evangelism. But this point of view did not prevail. It seems clear that the Tambaram Conference meant neither to deny a place to the activities of the Church that seek to serve the social, cultural, economic or physical needs of man-king, nor to evaluate these services on the basis of conversions alone. Just as the term "social gospel" was used in an earlier period to correct the exclusive emphasis on an "individual gospel," so it seems that a "social evangelism" must be added to the older, and often exclusive,

"individual evangelism," if the full function of missions is to be expressed.

That man is significantly and intricately related to his social culture has not always been recognized by those whose concern was for the individual. Consequently, the social purpose of missions has been ignored in many instances. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America has recently pointed out this changing concept and its importance to missions.

"Through years of experience missionary thought and policy in respect to conserving social cultures of other peoples has expanded and changed. The feelings, thoughts, and conscious needs of the population must be known and met."²⁶

It is possible, then, to conclude that important mission groups are increasingly recognizing this broader purpose of man's social, economic, physical, and humanitarian problems.

Strong individual voices have been raised to commend this broader concept, based on the principle, above quoted from the Jerusalem Conference, that "man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions." W. E. Hocking and his associates in the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry express the aim thus:

"To seek with people of other lands a true knowledge and love of God, expressing in life and word what we have learned through Jesus Christ, and endeavoring to give effect to his spirit in the life of the world."²⁷

This

"aim of missions is single: it has to do with the religious life of mankind. When the mission engages in philanthropic activity, it does so, as Jesus did, because it sees this as an integral part of its religious work."²⁸

Professor J. E. Fisher emphasizes this fundamental unity of man's nature and his essentially social relationship as the reason why missions have almost invariably been compelled to "enter so many fields of activity besides the distinctly religious," and "become involved in problems of nationalism, imperialism, and racial equality." He continues,

"in fact, we are having it more and more impressed upon us that man cannot be 'saved' religiously speaking, unless he is saved in all other ways at the same time. The very nature of man and the conditions under which he lives have forced this truth upon the minds of missionaries in all parts of the world."²⁹

Professor A. G. Baker places the social aims on par with the individual aims as he seeks for a better world on a Christian pattern.

The abiding and all inclusive objective of missions is then the development of personality to its highest possibilities, the building of a more perfect form of society, and the enhancing of the values of life as they find expression in a world culture.³⁰

Latourette found, after a study of missions perhaps as extensive as any ever made, that, holding a

common objective, both Catholics and Protestants have "sought the salvation of souls and the growth of the Church." But the Protestants have, to an extent not equalled by the Catholics,

"divided their energies between this objective, the remoulding of the empire and its culture as a whole, and meeting what seemed to them to be human need regardless of whether it led to formal conversion to the Christian faith."³¹

Contributing a chapter to the book, *The Christian Message for the World Today*, E. Stanley Jones refers to a social as well as an individual "conversion" that is desired by missions.

"It demands conversion both of the soul and of the social system. . . The motive of Christian Missions must encompass both. The end would mean not social service alone, but social reconstruction,"

and,

"the motive and aim, then, of Christian missions is the production of Christ-like character in individual and society."³²

T. Jesse Jones, chairman of the African Education Commission certifies from extensive observation of the work of missions among the natives of Africa that

"missions have shown their broad comprehension of religion in the large support which they have given to every phase of human development. The majority of Missionaries in Africa have shown by their teachings

and much more by their lives that religion includes all that contributes to the welfare of mankind."³³

In the same report Dr. Jones says that

"the belief of the missionaries in service to humanity as a fundamental principle of life, and their teaching of this principle as it has been revealed to the world through Jesus Christ, is the most vital element in the development of Africa and the African."³⁴

M. S. Evans, observing the work among the same peoples commends the efforts of the missionary to supply those things essential to real human welfare, for, says he,

"their work has gone far beyond the preaching of the Gospel and such literary instruction as would enable their disciples to read the Bible. They have entered into the life of the people, have taught trades, encouraged thrift and industry, made efforts to teach better methods of agriculture, induced them to build better homes and use furniture and, among the women have given instruction in house and laundry work and taught them some simple industries."³⁵

In this section further examination of the literature has revealed evidence of missionary purpose that includes more than individual evangelism. This evidence has come from statements of policy by certain missions. It has also been seen in our study of trends that have found expression in international missionary conferences, culminating in the Jerusalem Conference statement of 1928, that the mission program should be

"sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationship." This broader motive is also implied by the activities in which missions have been engaged, through their expanding agricultural, industrial, medical, and educational programs.

Much confusion in the use of the word evangelism has been noted, since it is used by some as having an individual and spiritual connotation and by others as having an added social meaning to include the improvement of man's physical and intellectual as well as spiritual life. There is disagreement as to the relative value of the social and the individual meaning of evangelism and a tendency to make the individual aspect primary and the social secondary.

The offers of education and other non-evangelistic services to non-Christians, to serve as "bait" or inducement to accept the evangelistic message has been severely criticized and condemned by many writers. There is an increasing tendency to recognize the importance of social welfare and humanitarian work among needy peoples irrespective of their religious affiliations, and to approve such work as a valid part of missions.

A Record of Conflicting Educational Motives

It will be seen, then, that the importance of education in the total program of any missionary or mission agency will depend to a very large extent upon the missionary objectives and aims held. Wherever the aim is limited to direct evangelism, education has a correspondingly limited place. In the most extreme cases where the growth of a Church is not an important part, no educational work is really necessary. The missionary evangelist carries the entire responsibility. But there are relatively few such extreme groups. Several types of educational work are nearly always found, such as Bible schools for the preparation of evangelists and pastors to assist the missionary; elementary schools so the people may learn to read the Bible; simple trade schools to provide for converts who may no longer be able to follow traditional occupations; training schools for village teachers; and, often, higher schools for the training of Christian leaders. The reader will at once note that all these have primary concern for the Christian community or the growing Church, for it has been almost unanimously agreed that the Christian groups, whether coming from primitive culture or from highly developed culture groups, require special training in Christian ethics, tenets, and mores.

Latourette refers to a period in the history

of the Congregational (American Board) work when Rufus Anderson, leader of the deputation earlier mentioned, "maintained that education should be limited to the children of the Christian community and should be largely in the vernacular,"³⁶ and almost succeeded in establishing such a policy in that Church. But, in addition to special schools for training Christian leaders and developing the Christian community, most missions have opened schools for non-Christians or have admitted non-Christians into their schools for Christians. These schools are looked upon as opportunities to carry on evangelistic work, so that a missionary from India could address the Student Volunteer Convention of 1906 on the theme, "Elementary Education in Mission Work" and say,

"first, in evangelization we use the primary school as we do all other schools in India, as great evangelizing centers, so that in the Island of Ceylon 65% of the converts in the Wesleyan Mission are said to have been won through the medium of educational work."³⁷

The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, summarized the functions of education in mission work under four heads; the order in which they are given probably indicating both the evaluation placed upon them at that time, as well as the historical sequence of their development. These four heads are:

"(a) Education may be conducted primarily with an evangelistic purpose, being

viewed either as an attractive force to bring the youth under the influence of Christianity or as itself an evangelizing agency. (b) Education may be primarily edificatory, in so far as the school has for its object the development of the Christian community through the enlightenment and training of its members. (c) Education may be leavening, in so far as through it the life of the nation is gradually permeated with the principles of truth. . . In all these ways and probably others Christian education tends both to the elevation of the life of the nation and to preparation for its ultimate acceptance of Christianity. (d) The motive of missionary education may include the philanthropic desire to promote the general welfare of the people."³⁹

In the discussion of (d) special occasions are suggested as sometimes making necessary an emphasis on education to meet the needs of people and to stress "things that have to do with economic or educational conditions." But this has been recognized by many as exceptional and temporary, and always subordinate to "the ultimate aim of Christian missions, the full Christianization of the life of the nation." A strong minority at Edinburgh sought to limit the statement to three motives, and the form of the fourth clearly shows that it is something which may be included but need not be considered as vital to the program of educational missions. The Conference did note that there is a place for Christian charity or philanthropy in the life of the

Church and therefore mission education is

"to apply to the members of a non-Christian nation the principle which we in obedience to the spirit of Christ constantly apply to members of our own nation, whether Christian or non-Christian. Christian missionaries have always recognized this in practice, even when Missionary Societies have not done so in theory."³⁹

But the Edinburgh Conference calls attention pointedly to the major emphasis throughout mission history on the first motive, saying,

"The chief aim of the pioneers in missionary education, including Dr. Duff, was the conversion of individuals and pupils, and the great majority of our correspondents agree in emphasizing this as the end which is sought by educational effort among non-Christians."⁴⁰

Dr. Mackichan, one of the greatest missionary educators in India, is quoted as having written, "I cannot conceive of the Church of Christ having any other conscious, deliberate aim than this in its educational work."⁴¹ And the report clearly states: "We of this Commission are concerned with education considered only as a means, direct or indirect, towards this aim."⁴²

W. E. Hocking thinks that

"partly because of the disappointing number of formal conversions resulting from their efforts, and partly because of a broadening vision"

educational missionaries have tended to shift the emphasis from direct evangelism to "permeation of their students

and through the students the community," while the training of Christians and Christian leaders has continuously been emphasized.⁴³ But there has been, says Hocking,

"a growing tendency to stress the opportunity and privilege of the Christians of America, in the spirit of Jesus, to express their friendship and goodwill by stimulating and aiding the people of the Orient to provide for the higher education of their youth."⁴⁴

The Edinburgh Conference marks the point at which the fourth educational aim begins to make real progress in missions. A number of causes combine to make this true and among them must be reckoned these: growth of the social service emphasis in the Church; increased study of comparative religions; a new concept of the function of the Church in social relationships under a broader "Kingdom of God" idea; the progressive education movement; development of government or other educational programs in most mission fields with which mission education was forced to relate itself; the rising national movements; and, a desire to understand, appreciate, and help develop the good in other cultures. As was seen in the study of general missionary aims, here also the history shows that this primary educational, as contrasted with evangelistic, motive has long been present in the thinking of some missionary individuals and societies. American missionaries

in Bombay wrote in 1819:

"To increase the proportion of people in a community who are furnished with the art of reading, writing and arithmetic, is to raise that community in the scale of intellectual being; and as charity schools for the education of the poor and destitute obviously effect this, they certainly claim the approbation and patronage of every friend of humanity."⁴⁵

Regarding Timothy Richards, English missionary in China from 1870, Latourette writes that

"he especially sought out the scholars. He wished to introduce Western science, for he felt that this would bring enlightenment, would help to avert the recurrence of famine, and would raise the standards of living of the masses above the chronic grinding poverty."⁴⁶

But he had difficulty with his Society and resigned to become Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge. Addressing the Student Volunteer Convention in 1906, George Robson of Edinburgh gave three ways by which Christ is made known: missionary preaching, missionary life, and missionary beneficence.

Regarding the third, he said,

"The dispensary, the hospital, the school, the production of Christian literature, the industrial institution, the manifold influences that create pure homes and social order and peaceful well-being-- these have their place in the missionary enterprise simply because they are inseparable from the spirit of Christ living and working in His servants who are face to face with the needs of heathendom."⁴⁷

But during these years when much was being said about the evangelistic motives that should be first in all educational work, many professional, agricultural, vocational, and other special schools, the purpose of which could scarcely be called evangelistic, were to be found in mission fields. The purpose was to minister to educational, economic, and humanitarian needs. As a consequence the work of education has often seemed to emphasize the so-called secondary rather than the primary aims.

It is true that much has been done to raise the intellectual level of the younger Churches. Christian teachers and pastors have been trained, Christians have been trained in trades and professions and have been brought to places of leadership in the Christian community and in the life of the lands in which they live. The extent of the service thus rendered by mission schools is immeasurable.

As has already been seen in Chapter 2, some of the most significant outcomes have been in the fields of social, economic, industrial and rural research and improvement, in study of non-Christian cultures and customs, in giving education to tens of thousands who would otherwise have remained unlearned, but who never have become Christians; in influencing the educational patterns of many countries; in examples of unselfish

service in training the blind, deaf, and other unfortunates; in stimulating high grade technical and professional education. It is definitely not in keeping with the facts to include all these outcomes of Christian education under a loosely defined phrase, "indirect evangelism." It is true, however, that the Christian religion may commend its truth and value to others as they see the unselfish service to underprivileged peoples, as Hocking suggests,

"it will have converts in view, not in the sense of plying its students with direct appeal, but in the sense that it hopes, by the power of its interpretation of life, to recommend itself to the community."⁴⁸

For, says Hocking in another place,

"the truest type of education takes for granted that the spiritual quality should be interfused with every step of the educational process--interfused, not superadded."⁴⁹

The Tambaram Conference concluded that

"education is and must always be a major concern of the Church. This statement is confirmed by the large place which it holds in the life of the older and younger churches today. In the present century it has acquired an importance which is even yet not fully understood. Modern discoveries and developments have so perfected its techniques that it has become the most potent instrument for forming the ideas, determining the outlook and moulding the character of individuals and peoples."⁵⁰

The 1941 Annual Report of the Women's Work of the Methodist Missionary Society states that "education

for Church leadership and education for life; this is the two-fold aim of our schools."⁵¹ Kramer calls attention to the fact that "religious, moral, cultural, and social education" are necessary if Christian missions are to help secure the "moral and spiritual regeneration, so sorely needed in this time of disintegration." But it must be with a "desire to serve the true interests of the people," not to serve some ulterior aim of the mission.

The difference between serving the "true interests of the people" and "some ulterior aim" in the use of hospital, school or research station has provided considerable substantiation for the charge that "missions are often accused of offering these things as bait."⁵² J. E. Fisher adds his support to this wider purpose and finds that

"an increasing number of those who are interested in missions and who are contributing toward their support, do not look upon missions as an opportunity for Christian propaganda primarily, but as an opportunity to render human service, and to aid other people in their own intrinsic development. . . . The main purpose in contributing to mission educational enterprises is more and more coming to be to provide a richer and fuller life for those educated."⁵³

The African Education Commission with T. Jesse Jones as chairman, made a survey of education in Africa in 1921-1922. The Commission report commended the educational work of Christian missions in Africa and expressed itself as "deeply sympathetic with all missions that 'give life

and give it more abundantly' to the Natives."⁵⁴ The members of this Commission were convinced that this "life abundant" involved more than the evangelistic implication of education and could not be evaluated merely by evangelistic outcomes.

"The various types of Christian missions in the world thus reveal the essentials of Christian education. These essentials are first, the appreciation of the spirit of Jesus Christ, and second, the application of this spirit to the needs of the individual and the community."⁵⁵

K. L. Butterfield calls attention to the fact that actual practice often precedes revised statement of purpose. He writes:

"At the beginning, education under mission control was designed primarily to gain adherents to the Christian faith. . . In actual practice, however, and increasingly in main purpose, the Christian educational establishment is designed to serve as a supplement to public education. The argument for such aid is two-fold: First, the humanitarian, that is to say, the East has such a huge problem in developing a modern system of education that the West has both a duty and a privilege to aid. Second, the religious, which carries with it the deep conviction that schools and colleges with Christian teachers, permeated with the Christian spirit, loyal both to the Christian philosophy and the Christian ethics, have a contribution to civilization in any country and particularly in the Orient."⁵⁶

The Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, says,

"It is our aim to make the College largely a home for honours and post-graduate students, thus promoting scholarship in a Christian atmosphere."⁵⁷

In a context dealing with agriculture, but equally true of education in the mission, is another statement of this higher motive growing out of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry,

"Nearly all the agricultural missionaries whom we came to know held the view that 'we do agricultural missionary work because we are Christians, not because we want to make Christians.' Done in this spirit, it exemplifies the life and teachings of Jesus, and is, in and of itself, mission work of a high order. The whole endeavor loses its true meaning, however, if carried on as a bait to draw people into the Church, or primarily to provide a basis for the self-support of the Church. Such motives as these would not deserve the approving words, 'In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me.'"⁵⁸

Professor Baker calls this phase of the missionary enterprise "a cooperative effort for human good, on a world wide scale."⁵⁹

It will not be fair to any of these writers to conclude that because they would question the validity of any purposes which would lead to the use of education as "bait" to secure some ulterior gain, they therefore deny that mission education should be fundamentally Christian. It is when mission education has been both true to its highest Christian principles and at the same time obedient to the best educational principles that its achievements have been greatest. As Paul Monroe expresses it,

"To formulate and work out a comprehensive scheme of education which shall include essential elements of culture and personality which are apt to be minimized or neglected in the mass education controlled by the public, is the function of education inspired by the religious motive. To serve these purposes abroad in much more difficult situations is the function of education under mission auspices."⁶⁰

Some of these "essential elements" emphasized by educational missions--not always, but when at their best--include

"those fundamental conceptions of God, the world and human life which the Universal Church holds as trustee for a world that seems bent on turning its back on them; a belief in the unity and majesty of truth, high standards of character and conduct; a passion for intellectual and moral freedom, fortitude in face of opposition, respect for the views of minorities, a sense of fellowship with all mankind."⁶¹

It will be seen from the discussion in this section that there has not been a clear-cut, chronological development from the limited evangelistic motive in education to a broader humanitarian emphasis. Rather, the records indicate continuous existence of three points of view. Most missions have had schools, but the type developed and the emphasis placed upon education has depended on the concept of missionary purpose which has been held by those in charge.

If the purpose is limited to direct evangelism--a desire to make converts--schools have had less significance.

They are simple institutions designed primarily to overcome illiteracy, teach the Bible, and train workers. If the motive includes an added desire to establish and strengthen the Church, the function of education is enlarged to include higher education for the provision of trained leaders, vocational training to improve the economic life of Church members, and perhaps schools for non-Christians to enlarge the indirect evangelistic influence of the mission. Under such circumstances, the educational services of a mission will be secondary to evangelism.

Where the missionary motive has been further expanded to include the social and economic welfare of all peoples, the educational program experiences no limits save the existing needs of the people and the financial resources of the mission. Evangelism, building the Church, education, healing, and philanthropy are all coordinated means to a common end--a Christian World Order--and each has its own part and significance in the total program.

As one or another of these three statements of purpose has been dominant, the attitude toward education has varied, but the recent trend seems to be to think of education as chiefly concerned with the third, and that, if it be true to its purpose in this sphere, its

achievements will include both notable contribution to the growth of the Church and significant guidance in religious living for countless individuals. This emphasis has been strengthened by the many circumstances that have combined to impress upon the Church its social and world responsibility in a confused world situation and by a re-affirmation of the principle enunciated and demonstrated by Jesus, that service for the welfare of humanity does not require an evangelistic purpose or outcome to insure its validity.

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Chapter 4

SPECIAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING EDUCATION IN
THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

An understanding of the significance and purpose of education in the missionary enterprise requires consideration of those special problems that have had to be faced through all the history of educational missions. The acuteness of each problem has varied with time and circumstance in different countries. There are five major problem areas which call for detailed treatment. The first, and in some respects the most difficult, has already been anticipated in much that has been written in previous chapters, and arises out of education's relation to evangelistic missionary work. The second of these major problem areas is that involving the relation of mission education to the government educational systems of the countries in which it is carried on; the third area concerns educational mission's relation to the developing theory and practice of general education; the fourth deals with problems arising from the nature of the political situation that has obtained in mission lands, both in the independent and in the colonial or dependent countries; and the fifth problem area is that of personnel, both missionary and national.

Education's Relation to Evangelism

It will already have become obvious that the conflict arising from different conceptions of the purpose of education is often very serious. Where the aim of a mission is definitely "evangelistic" and a missionary, keenly sensitive to a human need, desires to carry on an educational program, difficult financial problems arise and often a long-distance controversy with a Board takes place before the project is approved or, as sometimes is the case, abandoned. In budget committees it is frequently more difficult to care adequately for educational needs and, when finances are reduced, retrenchment in educational programs often seems to cause less distress than in evangelistic work. It must be admitted that the demands on mission funds to provide sufficient materials and equipment, obtain suitable school quarters and hire well-qualified teachers are very heavy. It is also true that well-trained teachers cannot be secured for salaries such as are often paid to village evangelists.

On the other hand it ought also to be evident that an inefficient school of any grade from village primary to university is a denial of those Christian standards and ideals it is supposed to represent and may very definitely misrepresent the "Good News" which it is expected, by those who insist on its evangelistic purpose, to proclaim. Where professional incompetence, inefficiency,

laziness, lack of interest in community needs, and indifference to pupil progress are prominent features, one cannot think of a school as bearing positive Christian witness. Yet I have known such schools to be defended because they provide an excuse for keeping an "evangelist" in the village.

The author spent seven years as Director of a group of more than one hundred village schools in India. During that time most of the opposition to efforts made to improve the administration, equipment, and efficiency of these schools was based on a claim that the "evangelistic" work done in the villages was being reduced. But the experience of these years does not bear out that claim. The point stressed here is that any message--"evangel" or "good news"--conveyed through the school will be conditioned by the degree to which its program represents the Christian spirit, for what the school is will have more weight than what the teacher says.

W. A. Brown calls attention to the Lindsay Commission's report regarding Higher Education in India where the point is urged, that, unless the institution is considered "as itself a laboratory in which the principles of Christian living can be illustrated in practice," its witness will be ineffectual.¹ It may be interesting to note the testimony of a non-Christian to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in India.

"The greatness and the nobility of the Y.M.C.A. consist in this that while being professedly Christian it has not set itself up as a proselytizing body, offering eternal heaven for baptism; its object is to serve humanity, even as Christ served and exhorted others to serve. . . not preaching, but doing, not teaching by words but by action. . . Its only motive is to serve, and because it seeks to serve as Christ served, it is justified in calling itself Christian."²

Something has already been said against using education as a bait for evangelistic work. E. Stanley Jones writes a decisive "No" to such a use of education and adds,

"The whole thing must be open and frank and unashamed, or not at all. We believe that real education and healing are of themselves parts of the program of the Kingdom of God. They have a right to exist in and of themselves apart from any other purpose or motive."³

With this the writer is in complete agreement. This seems clear for two paramount reasons, quite apart from the moral question involved in "bait." First, Evangelism alone does not, and cannot, reveal the total purpose, program, and spirit of the founder of Christianity. The mission enterprise does not find its validity in the final command of Jesus, "Go ye into all the world." This simply climaxes it and puts it in graphic form. The validity of the missionary movement would not have been

impaired had these words not been spoken for it is based on the whole of Christ's life revealed in deed and spirit as well as word. His care for the sick, the ignorant, the poor, the unfortunate, was without qualification of any kind, expressing a concern for needy humanity regardless of race or creed.

The second reason is that Evangelism alone can never accomplish the total purpose and program of Christianity. Only when the evangelistic program of Christian missions--the value and importance of which are not here under discussion--is supplemented by an unselfish concern to meet every human need will the Church be fulfilling its Christian mission. And that human need may be for education, healing, social or economic uplift or for relief from any of the ills that blight life.

Regarding the work of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, in helping provide more and better food for India's hungry millions, in training Indian farmers, in improving the quality of the milk, and regarding the care given the sick in the School hospital, Dr. Sam Higginbottom wrote in a letter of February 13, 1941,

"We are linking healing and evangelism (he might have added "education") as Jesus did. I have the feeling that all our work is evangelistic in the deepest sense in that it is revealing to our Indian neighbors that God is the Creator of all men everywhere, and loves His children, and wants them to have all His good gifts."

The first underlying principle of the missionary enterprise should be, says Hocking,

"that the welfare of the individual's soul or directing self cannot be secured in complete independence of the welfare of his body, his mind, his general social context."⁴

This position is supported by Professor Soper as revealing the spirit of Christ, who "did not heal because it gave him an opportunity to preach but because men and women were in dire need."⁵

Writing in *The Chinese Recorder*, on *The New Evangelism*, Miss N. M. Senger says,

"The old method of evangelism has lost its challenge for the modern mind and no longer can hold the greatest and most resourceful personalities. Evangelism, as a department of soul culture, all independent of material social needs, is no longer needed or wanted. Village evangelism must cope with social and economic problems and bring separate individuals with separate interests to think collectively in terms of the highest social and spiritual good of the group."⁶

In the same manner, the agencies of evangelism, education, healing, philanthropy and relief should no longer be considered as separate one from the other, as competing or conflicting one with another, as superior or inferior one to others, as more or less essential one than another, but should be considered as complementary, coordinated

means to one more comprehensive end: Human society as Jesus envisaged it, morally, spiritually, and physically whole.

A Chinese Christian leader, writing in The Chinese Recorder to rural workers, contrasts these two concepts. He says,

"There are two approaches to the tackling of rural problems. The first approach considers evangelism, education, agricultural improvement, health, etc., as separate pieces of rural work, unrelated and under separate agencies. . . . The second approach builds up a comprehensive program to serve the needs of the whole man, family or community. It may begin with one or more lines of service according to available resources and men, but this is well recognized at the very start as part of the whole and as means for the larger whole."⁷

It has already been pointed out that the word "evangelism" is, in the minds of some, taking on a wider meaning and is being used to indicate this "comprehensive program to serve the needs of the whole man, family or community." This makes it sometimes difficult to determine the exact meaning given to it by some authors. Bishop Moore acknowledges this change of meaning in a very recent statement regarding home missions, but bearing a truth applicable as well to foreign missions. Indeed, its implications relate to every phase of the total program of the Christian Church.

"The task of home missions is essentially evangelistic; its aim

is the total Christianization of the nation. The definition of evangelism has broadened through the years, and it now includes far more than the conversion of the individual soul."⁸

"Ministry to the secular needs of men in the spirit of Christ, moreover, is evangelism, in the right sense of the word,"

is the emphatic manner in which Hocking urges this newer understanding of the term.⁹

Both the Jerusalem and the Tambaram meetings of the International Missionary Council gave thought to this responsibility of the Church for, and its relationship to, those phases of missionary work not involved in the narrower evangelism. This relationship is obvious and the responsibility inescapable if the purposes of Christ are rightly understood. They indicate the utter futility of trying to "evangelize the world in this generation," and suggest that the mission of the Church is "not a task of decades or generations but of centuries, perhaps milleniums,"¹⁰ and that "it is incumbent on Christ's followers to labor to create the environment in which alone the whole man can be free."¹¹ Under this conception of the Church's ministry to the whole man, individually and socially,

"international and inter-racial contact may reach its highest level. The missionary comes as a friend, not a ruler

or exploiter. Disinterested service makes plain God's love for all, particularly the underprivileged and despised."¹²

Increased importance is given to these non-evangelistic phases of the work by the Tambaram Conference, to be sure, but that they are still subordinate to "evangelism" is no less certain. In the chapter on The Place of the Church in Evangelism, the Council definitely states its belief that

"every part of the Christian enterprise must be saturated with and controlled by the conscious evangelistic purpose and that this should be true of the whole range of the Churches' practical activities. . . . Those who take part in such activities find themselves constantly challenged by the need of winning men for Christ. Without this their witness to and interpretation of Christ would be incomplete."¹³

Is it not just as obviously true that if the Church should succeed in "winning (all) men for Christ," in the evangelistic meaning of that expression, but should leave their minds unenlightened and their bodies unhealed, their hunger and nakedness unrelieved, that still "their witness to and interpretation of Christ would be incomplete"?

The conflict regarding the subordinate relation of education to evangelism, as was indicated during the discussion of motives and purposes, has continued during

most of the history of modern missions but has been less evident in the actual conduct of mission work than in the official pronouncements of most mission agencies. It is gratifying to note that, in those earlier years when the literature indicated education to be generally recognized as secondary and to be used only for direct or indirect evangelistic purposes, there were capable advocates of the sounder policy. Such an advocate was Donald Fraser, speaking to the Student Volunteer Convention of 1906,

"I cannot bring myself to think that any hospitals are started merely as a means of getting men to come in where we may day by day preach to them. I cannot even bring myself to think that schools are started that day by day scholars may be compelled to listen to Bible stories. I rather think that when Jesus Christ comes into a man's heart, he creates such a spirit of brotherhood with the whole world that we cannot bear to see suffering and ignorance without an attempt to relieve that suffering and enlighten that ignorance."¹⁴

In 1869, the Baptist Missionary Society sent its Secretary, E. B. Underhill, to Africa to examine into complaints by some of the missionaries that under Alfred Saker,

"the spiritual work of the mission was suffering serious detriment because Saker devoted too much time and attention to temporal interests, to agriculture, industrial work, bricklaying, printing, etc."

Saker's reply was,

"The work of a missionary is not, it seems to me, to stand book in hand under a tree here and a shed there, and preach to the people; but to visit the man in his home, to sympathize with his sorrows and cares, and thus to get at the heart of the individual; for so the Master wrought."

Mr. Underhill reported to his Board that he found Saker "among the greatest of modern missionaries."¹⁵

The facts do not as yet seem to warrant the conclusion that the Christian Church, or its missionary leaders, accepts generally the position that education, philanthropy, or social service are as much parts of the mission enterprise as is evangelism. In an article on The Future of the Missionary Enterprise, written in 1942, William Paton raises the question:

"What of the activities of missions less immediately concerned with the growth of the Church but yet of great value in many fields--education, medicine, social service?"

While admitting the difficulties in stating general principles, he continues,

"It is perhaps enough to say that Christian education for Christians is so vital that everything possible should be done to preserve it, and that if Christian education for non-Christians can only be carried on in virtually a secular form it ceases to be a proper sphere for the employment of missionary resources. But if a situation should arise in the eastern countries in which suspicion is stilled and a common purpose is

acknowledged in view of which foreign as well as indigenous help is welcomed, let us not forget the immense importance for the evangelistic purposes of the Church, conceived in its widest way, that there should be opportunity for setting forth the Christian philosophy of life vis-a-vis the competing world views of our time."16

Thus the problem is brought down to date: Does the Christian mission fundamentally and genuinely involve a concern for the physical, economical and social welfare, as well as the moral and spiritual welfare, or are these phases of the work optional and secondary to the main purpose?

In answer to the above question, factors which favor a genuine concern for physical, economic, and social as well as spiritual welfare may here be summarized. Where evangelistic emphasis predominates education is often limited or neglected. Inefficiency in the schools and lack of creditable educational accomplishments, often condoned as long as evangelistic results appear, have tended to discredit missions and to negate an evangelism that claims to be interested in the welfare of persons.

Grave doubts have been expressed regarding the use of education as a device for attracting or compelling persons of other religions, especially immature students, to give attention to the evangelistic message. Evangelism alone cannot accomplish the total task which missions have

undertaken, since achievement of indigenous leadership and support, and effective service to the peoples about them, presuppose highly educated leaders and members in the younger Churches.

There seems to be a definite trend toward acceptance by leaders of Churches and missions of three principles that imply a broader conception of missionary purpose and method:

(1) Spiritual welfare cannot be secured and maintained independently of physical, mental and social welfare.

(2) A comprehensive program of missionary work concerned with man's total needs should include the use of every worthy means to meet the needs.

(3) Responsibility for the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of mankind rests upon the Church in association with other social institutions.

Mission Education and Government Educational Systems

A second type of question that has arisen in many fields, in some places earlier and in others later, grows out of the relation of the mission educational program to that sponsored by the governments of the countries concerned. The history of the educational missionary movement reveals that it has been responsible for providing the first educational opportunity available to the native peoples of Africa and Australasia, to the Aborigines and depressed classes of India, and to many of the poorer and rural peoples of all the Asiatic countries. To it also must be credited the introduction of modern general education of the Western type to the peoples of the older classical cultures of India, China, Japan, Egypt, Arabia, Turkey and other of the countries commonly called the Mission Fields. The debt of these countries to Missions for educational opportunity has been enormous. Never-the-less, problems have arisen. The missions were foreign in origin, leadership and finance. The type of education was foreign and tended to turn the educational product away from his own indigenous culture and to "denationalize" him, especially in the earlier years of the enterprise. How much should the local language and customs be replaced by English, German or French, and foreign manners and customs? Were the industries and trades

introduced in manual education to be those imported from the West?

Very soon after the introduction of mission schools into Japan, and relatively soon in India and China, Government school systems on Western lines were begun in these countries. The American Government undertook to provide education in the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, where Protestant Missions also were interested in educational work. Even in Africa, where until about 1930 mission schools provided practically all the educational facilities for the natives, the colonial governments now have developed programs looking toward the state control of education for these peoples.

It was natural that problems should arise under such circumstances. How much control should Government educational authorities exercise over management, curriculum, teaching techniques, religious instruction, and enrollment in these mission schools? How should these mission schools be geared into the total educational system? How much inspection and supervisory oversight should be given them? Should the Governments reserve any portion of the educational system to themselves? Such questions have not been easily or uniformly answered and have often created complicated and critical situations.

It needs to be kept in mind that in the development of government educational systems throughout most of the

countries considered in this study, missionaries played an important and often conspicuous part. In India, Carey, Marshman and Duff in Calcutta, Anderson and Miller in Madras, Wilson and MacKichan in Bombay, Hislop in Nagpur, J. C. R. Ewing in Lahore, Isabella Thoburn in Lucknow, and many others made major contributions, not only to mission but also to public or government education in their respective provinces. In China, Morrison, Mateer, Legge, Martin, Brown and Bridgeman, among others, helped develop Western education under the government as well as under the missions. Verbeck and Hepburn in Japan, Washburn in Turkey, Bliss in Syria, Judson in Burma, Buzacott in the South Sea Islands, carried similar responsibilities in their respective fields. In Africa the colonial Governments were willing to allow the mission schools, developed by such educators as Stewart and Laws, to provide technical, literary and religious training for the natives.

Some of the historical evidence, indicating the large share such missionary educators as these had in the field of government education, has been reviewed in the sections dealing with the historical place of education in missions in Chapter 1, and with outcomes in Chapter 2. Mention needs to be made here of only a few other typical references. George Smith, biographer of William Carey and Henry Martyn, referred frequently to Carey's primary schools and regarding them wrote: "Here we see the now vast edu-

cational system of Bengal in the birth."¹⁷ But his influence was not limited to primary education. The College of Fort William, Calcutta, was founded in 1800, and in the following year Carey was appointed Professor of Bengali and Sanskrit. "He continued until 1831 to be the most notable figure in the College of Fort William."¹⁸ Wilson was the first vice-chancellor of Bombay University and MacKichan occupied the same position for four terms.

James Johnston wrote in 1890 that

"when engaged as Secretary of the 'Council on Education in India' it was my privilege to come into frequent and intimate intercourse with the late Lord Halifax, the author of the Education Despatch of 1854, well called the Magna Charta of Indian education. He repeatedly told me that, but for the practical demonstration of the possibility and the advantage of the education given in Duff's schools and colleges, they could not have attempted the introduction of such a scheme."¹⁹

This Despatch of 1854, upon which the present educational system of India largely rests, was prepared by Lord Halifax "after prolonged conferences with Dr. Duff and Mr. John Clark Marshman, who was the son of Carey's associate."²⁰ James Legge "was largely responsible for the founding and programme of the educational system of the colony (Hong Kong)."²¹

G. H. F. Verbeck was in educational work in Japan and conducting a Government school for interpreters at Nagasaki before the Restoration.

"Very soon after the restoration, in 1868, he was invited to Tokyo to have charge of educational matters there. . In March 1869, he went to Tokyo, and organized the Kaisaijo, which was the first college in Japan, and the embryo of the present Tokyo University."²²

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"was also president and teacher of international law in the T'ung Wen Kuan, an institution organized under the Tsungli Yamen, or foreign office of China, in an attempt to acquaint prospective Chinese officials with the ways of the West. Later, he was the first president of the Imperial University in Peking."²³

At the time when Occidental influences were stimulating the Orient to desire education on the Western pattern, the existing schools, available to a very select few and limited to a study of the ancient classics, were unable to provide national educators trained to introduce and direct the new schools. Missions had already made a beginning in educational work and were able to provide the "practical demonstration" of Western education and the educators who could assist in the government programs.

It is but natural that the governments should have turned to the missions for help. Had these men and their un-named associates not participated so freely in the government education through the years, there is little doubt that the problems would have been far greater and the government schools probably much inferior. This cooperation has been one of the major social contributions

of missions to the Eastern countries.

"The recent Calcutta University Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler, which included distinguished representatives of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities, bears emphatic testimony to the contribution of Christian missionaries to education in India. 'Their insight and practical experience are of the utmost value to the whole educational system; their example, a source of much strength; their aspirations, an enrichment of its ideals. What they and their foregoers have accomplished in the field of education has been an inestimable boon to the country.'"²⁴

But all missionary education has not been so exemplary. One of the problems arising from relation to government education has to do with the standards of work done and the certification of teachers. The "bush" schools of Africa and the village primary schools of India and China have often fallen below acceptable Western standards of education. The temptation to condone low standards is for many reasons both very real and very great: the restricted financial resources; the desire to offer educational opportunity to as many as possible; the feeling that returns, acknowledged to be inadequate on the basis of an exacting educational standard, are still under the circumstances a creditable achievement; the view of many mission leaders that the evangelistic work takes precedence over educational efficiency; missions are not as careful as they should be to provide qualified

educators to administer educational work. These are some of the reasons.

As a consequence, primary education as a whole, and especially in village and rural situations, has probably suffered more from untrained teachers and unqualified administrators than from any other cause. In some instances Governments have had to put pressure on missions to make them provide trained teachers for all recognized or registered schools, despite the fact that missions should always be dissatisfied with anything less than the highest possible standards and attainments.

That 56,891 mission schools, with an enrollment of 3,263,985, existed in 1938 (see Table 5) indicates that the governments of Oriental countries recognize a present-day place for missionary education. That they may continue to have a place seems very probable since in India the "Sargent Plan" of educational development to provide free and compulsory education for all does not deny to missions the opportunity to share in that development. China's plans for the future growth of education in that country provide place for help through educational missions. The colonial educational departments in Africa are asking the cooperation of missions in extending and improving the education of African natives. New opportunities have been created in liberated Korea

and there is every reason to believe that educational missions may play an important part in the post-war readjustments of education in the Japanese Empire. But, aside from possible developments in Japan, it should be recognized that the place of educational missions, wherever they now exist, is conditioned by increasing government control.

C. T. Loram pointed out that the education of South African natives was almost entirely in the hands of missions. He used Natal as an example where despite legislation in 1856 which had provided for government schools as well as aided private schools, as late as 1917 no government schools were in existence. This

"Government control over Native education is exercised through the following agencies: 1. Financial grants-in-aid. 2. The certification of teachers. 3. Courses of study. 4. Inspection of schools and examination of pupils."²⁵

Fisher also discussed Government control and registration in "Democracy and Mission Education in Korea," and shows that

"in the first place, it required certain standards as to qualified teachers . . . In the second place, it required a standardization of equipment, buildings, grounds, which for some schools meant a very considerable financial expenditure. In the third place, and probably most important, there was the feeling that government recognition would secularize the schools to such an extent that the

teaching of the Bible and the propagating of Christianity would be so limited or interfered with that it would sink to a very subordinate place in the school."²⁶

The problem of religious instruction has caused concern in all countries. In 1914 a new educational law was passed by Turkey, of which Penrose writes that

"among the restrictive provisions the Syrian Protestant College was forbidden to give religious instruction to any students except those of the Protestant denomination, or to permit the attendance of any but Protestants at any religious exercises."²⁷

With the aid of the United States Ambassador, the restrictions were relaxed to permit compulsory attendance of all Christians and voluntary attendance of non-Christians.

The 1944 annual report of the London Missionary Society refers to the recent action of the Travancore State in South India, suggesting that religious teaching of non-Christians be only at the request of the parents. That this might not greatly affect the situation is seen in the fact that "in the school which provided a test case on the matter nearly 99% of the Hindu parents signed such request."²⁸

But this same State

"has also decided to make primary education free and compulsory throughout the state in the next ten years. In pursuit of that policy it will take over all primary schools, thus driving Christian missions and churches and other private agencies out of the field of primary education. . . Roman Catholics, who form the majority of the Christian population of Travancore,

are talking of opposing the proposed measure as an invasion of the rights of Catholic parents to provide instruction in the Catholic religion for their children. Protestants are inclined to think that if religious instruction is banned from the schools, they will simply have to strengthen greatly the present Sunday Schools and other voluntary agencies for religious education."²⁹

In a later report Mr. Philip suggests that "what is happening in Travancore is likely to happen throughout India when national governments come into power."³⁰

Many years ago India passed the "Conscience Clause" in the provinces, whereby religious instruction of non-Christian students must be optional to the parents concerned. India has also insisted in most, if not all, provinces that such instruction be outside the regular school time schedule. During 1943, a Christian College in Bombay was subjected to severe public criticism and threatened with the cancellation of its University affiliation by the Bombay University Senate because of the conversion of a non-Christian student who had been attending classes in the Christian religion. Only the intervention of the Governor prevented loss of recognition and it is difficult to see how he could have prevented it had not the previous resignation of the popularly-elected cabinet on the war issue created a situation where the Governor carried emergency powers. In the letter which conveyed the verdict appears the statement that the

Government "shares the Senate's reprobation of any activity in affiliated colleges aiming at the conversion of students from one religion to another."³¹

A survey of the work in Egypt during 1943 calls attention to the same problem confronting the mission schools there and records "the possibility of the provision of a 'conscience clause' by the Christian schools" there. The years 1924-26 in China, when anti-Western agitation was prominent, saw three new requirements applied: Mission schools must submit to Government registration and inspection, must be administered by nationals, and the "conscience clause" must be applied in religious instruction.

Opinion in missionary circles has been divided regarding the position that should be taken with reference to government control of mission schools, especially over religious teaching. Latourette shows that in China,

"Chinese Christian educators were almost solidly in favor of the voluntary principle, foreign educators were divided; some sided with their Chinese colleagues, but others contended that to yield would sacrifice the essential character of the schools and preferred closing to compromise."³²

Fisher reports that of the missionaries in Korea many felt "that if the Bible and Christianity could not be taught then, better by far, close the schools,"³³ and many schools were consequently closed.

Both the Jerusalem and the Tambaram meetings

of the International Missionary Council dealt with this difficult issue. At Jerusalem in 1928 it was decided that

"in most cases where religious instruction in the narrower sense has been altogether excluded, the missionary bodies may have to consider whether a sphere still remains for them in which they can profitably continue their efforts. . . It (the Council) would urge mission boards to give full weight to the value of carrying on their schools and colleges under Christian leaders, even though there be no adequate opportunity for definite religious teaching."³⁴

Ten years later the Council at Tambaram took the position that

"if the state makes the prohibition of religion a condition of the receipt of grants-in-aid, the Church must seek to maintain such schools as it can out of its own resources, at least for its own children. Where the State prohibits the teaching of religion in all schools, public and private, the position is more grave. In some circumstances it may be wise to retain a few schools even under these conditions, so as to keep a footing in the educational system; but for the true values of Christian education the Church will have to make provision elsewhere."³⁶

The history of the Christian Church in both Europe and America provides a pattern of development in regard to many aspects of education, medicine, social reform, and philanthropy which is similar to that now appearing in the missions which we are studying. The major details of the pattern appear to be as follows.

(1) The Church is the active agent in inaugurating a movement for the good of humanity.

(2) Other social agencies, recognizing the value of the project, enter the field with similar programs and a period of rivalry or competition follows.

(3) During a period in which the superiority of the Church institutions in performance and perhaps in numbers is generally recognizable, steady expansion of the other institutions takes place.

(4) There follows a period of decline of the relative importance and domination of the Church in the field.

(5) In the end the work may pass largely if not entirely out of the hands of the Church.

The attitude of the Church has sometimes been one of opposition to this trend, and efforts have been made to prevent other agencies from taking over the enterprises. The importance of the Church in this pioneering work is confirmed when other groups with larger resources have replaced it in directing the movement.

A summary of the foregoing discussion of mission education in relation to government will show that this general pattern has been followed. Western education was introduced into the so-called mission lands by the Church, and its schools became the demonstration centers after which other school systems have been patterned. The governments of Oriental countries, both independent and colonial, are planning to take over increasingly the major responsibility for education. These governments, through

their educational departments, are raising the standards of all education to which missions are finding it difficult to conform. These Eastern countries are less and less inclined to permit any of the education of their citizens to be controlled or dominated by foreign or Western powers. The rise of nationalism has stimulated the desire of governments to use their educational systems for the maintenance and development of national cultures. These governments, where Christianity is a minority religion, are disinclined to permit any part of the education of the youth to be used for religious proselytism.

Mission agencies and missionaries have not been able to develop a common policy regulating their attitude toward increased governmental control over education or toward the place of religious instruction in the mission school. Protestant Churches in America have maintained a very strong and almost unanimous position against Government aid to parochial schools. They have supported the thesis that primary responsibility for a "common school" education of all the children within the state rests upon the government. Educational missions can achieve a wholesome relationship to national systems of education throughout the Orient by recognizing and co-operating in this pattern of development and by adopting a consistent policy as pioneering leaders in emphasizing a vital concern for human welfare.

Mission Education and General Education

In the third place, educational missions have encountered problems through relationship to the general educational movement as well as to specific governmental systems of education. Evolving educational theories and newer insights into techniques and curricular emphases have troubled the missionary as well as all other educators. How he has met these problems has been conditioned by his own basic educational purpose and the aims of the Mission in which he works, by the social and political environment within which he works, by his financial resources, and by his determination (or lack of it) to keep himself abreast of new developments in the field of education.

Missions undertook the introduction of modern education into Oriental lands at a time when the emphasis was on a literary curriculum. The problem of language in education has remained a persistent one. The language of the missionary, in most instances English, the vernacular of the people, their classical languages, and, sometimes, other languages were considered essential to a liberal education. In a country like India where efforts are being made to establish a common language for the whole country and where Muslim students desire Persian, Hindu students desire Sanskrit, Jain students Pali, and

where the student enrollment represents several vernaculars, the problem of language is terrific. Occasionally two foreign languages are included, as in Korea where Japanese was compulsory before the war and in French Colonial Africa where the French language is compulsory. In some places missionaries have had to reduce the language to writing and prepare grammars and literature. In India the heavy language requirement in the High School demands that approximately half of the school time be spent on three languages. How this retards efforts to provide a more satisfactory curriculum must be obvious. Substituting the vernaculars for English as the medium of instruction in High School can only partially solve the problem since English is still required for college work and many students desire to have a knowledge of English.

Another problem has grown out of the Western, and especially American, desire to make education available to all children. By and large, the education of girls was unknown and other large blocks of the population, such as the Natives of Africa, the "Untouchables" of India, and other peasant and laboring classes, had been denied educational opportunity. Missions in India have had frequently to face the difficulties attendant upon the withdrawal of students from the higher social classes when children from the lower castes were enrolled.

Parents would not permit their daughters to attend "boys' schools" and the cost of separate boys' and girls' schools has absorbed capital and current expenditures thus preventing educational progress in many respects. The full meaning of a democratic educational opportunity has been imperfectly apprehended in the so-called democratic countries and to achieve such a system in the mission "fields" has certainly not been without many difficulties. The testimony of the records is clear that educational missions have sought to put the education of girls on par with that of boys in mission fields and that the problem of co-education is being solved in some part with missions often contributing to leadership in the solution. Regarding the problem of making educational opportunity available to the underprivileged and backward groups, probably no other agency has exceeded the efforts of Christian missions. The extent to which government schools and other private institutions are admitting children from these groups is a tribute to Mission leadership in this regard.

The missions had scarcely begun their work of education when the need for something more than a literary education became obvious and industrial and agricultural training was seen to be a necessity. This was particularly true in Africa where the primitive life of the native Africans did not provide the trades and professions that

a Christian group would desire. Training teachers for the new schools and pastors or catechists for the new Church was to be expected, but preparing for a settled life with normal occupations and trades had not seemed to many to form part of the educational work of the missionary. The caste system of India created a somewhat similar situation in that Christians from the Depressed Class groups were not welcomed in trades associated with other castes. Therefore special training in vocations suited to the new conditions became a part of mission education. These included, among other things, carpentry and constructional work, spinning and weaving, simple agricultural work, various mechanical skills, especially motor mechanics with the introduction of that industry, sewing and tailoring, lace making.

Two problems arose through the years to complicate the efforts at providing for economic improvement through such training. The natural desire of the students, and their parents, to complete the high school and possibly the college, looking forward to the increased social and cultural prestige and position it would provide as well as opportunity for a more desirable type of employment, made it exceedingly difficult to persuade students to select vocational training. A missionary or national educator who suggested such a training was thought to be working against the best interest of the student even though

natural aptitudes and abilities clearly pointed in that direction. As a consequence, anyone familiar with mission schools can point out numerous cases where repeated failures in a literary course have preceded transfer to a vocational school, and cases where parents have preferred taking a son out of school rather than have him study for a trade.

The other problem is prominent in Africa, though not peculiar to that country. It arises from a desire on the part of certain influential classes to prevent the cultural rise of other, so-called inferior, classes. Loram describes the manner in which this has affected the policy of education for the native Africans in colonies dominated by the white settlers.

"The difficulties confronting the missionary educator can easily be appreciated, for, while his own inclinations, for the most part, and the teachings of his religion, urge him to give to the native an education which would fit the black man for complete equality with the whites, He finds himself compelled by government policy and by the pressure of his white co-religionists to embark on an educational program which would keep the native in a subordinate position."³⁶

Even in vocational training, efforts are made to prevent the training "in the industrial arts in places where they come into economic competition with the Europeans."³⁷ Schools like Lovedale in Africa; Moga, Allahabad, and Asansol in India; Nanking in China; as

also Hampton Road and Tuskegee in America testify to the efforts made by missions to adapt the curricula to the social and economic needs of the people served. I. L. Kandel criticizes educational missions for having failed to adapt "educational ideals and practices to the local environment" but admits that they are

"on the whole not to blame for this failure, since the educational theory which emphasizes adaptation to local environments is but a recent development."³⁸

Although beyond the purpose of this study, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent the modern educational theory of educating the whole child for the maximum life of which he is capable in his community, has been inspired and pioneered by educational missions.

Reference has already been made in another connection to the place of religious instruction in the program of mission education. This raises the larger and related question of the place of religious instruction in education generally. Although formal education in its origins was a function of the religious institution and was fundamentally for religious education and through the medium of religious literature, the control of religion over education has been almost completely broken and a tendency to deny religion any part in general education has become evident. In America the separation of Church

and State has been the basis for the opinion, often strongly held, not only that the Church should have no concern with the schools, but also that religion should be kept completely separate from general education. Some state laws prevent the inclusion of any form of religious exercises or teaching, while others restrict it to brief formal exercises or permit the use of school time but only for out-of-school religious education under separate administration. Even the latter has been opposed, and was made the subject of court action recently in Illinois.

A similar trend is observed in Great Britain where a strong fight has been waged against the inclusion of religion in the curriculum under the proposed legislation for the reorganization of education in that country. In discussing *The Church Overseas and Colonial Education*, W. B. Walker associates this question with that of Christian education in mission schools under government control, for they both deal with the related problems of the right of government to control education and the place of religion in state controlled education. Regarding the new British Educational Bill, Walker writes,

"As there is active and organized criticism of the home Church and its activities in education, and the definite public opinion that education is essentially the concern of the State, the question can be asked as to when similar judgment will be made of the functions and place of the Church overseas in tropical education." 39

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association gave the year 1931-32 to a study of "Character Education," with the findings presented in its Tenth Year Book. This group expressed the dilemma thus;

"Our society today awaits a new integration of knowledge, aspiration, and human purpose which will take into account the findings of science, the theory of evolution, the advance of technology, the fact of material abundance, and the growing power of laboring classes, as well as the influence of great spiritual leaders. Until such an integration is forthcoming, the present condition of moral chaos is likely to continue and the more fundamental problems of character education will defy solution. Whether this is the task of the Church or some other agency we cannot say today; but it would seem to be a task that is essentially religious in nature."⁴⁰

It is obviously impossible to attempt in this discussion a solution of the problems involved here, but it is significant to note that educational missions have insisted on the responsibility of education to deal with the whole life of the learner, have continuously stressed the character objective in education, and have recognized the relation of the moral and religious to the development of wholesome character. Among the suggestions approved by the Central Conference of The Methodist Church in Southern Asia in formulating the Educational Policy upon which programs should be based were two with special significance here;

"The goal of Christian education shall be the achievement of that maturity and integration of personality which is Christian character,"

and

"To make use of hand skills, physical education, citizenship and social relationships for the development, integration and maturing of the whole man."⁴¹

This may be taken as fairly representative of many mission groups; and how to achieve that essential moral stability in human character if religion is not to be included in education remains a very important problem in all countries.

It will be seen then that educational missions have faced some of the problems that confront the whole educational movement. In many places a serious problem arises from the fact that three or four languages compete for place in the upper primary and secondary school curricula. A partial solution, often under nationalist pressure, has been possible by reducing the place given to Western languages.

Separate boys' and girls' schools in an expanding educational program lead to excessive cost. Pioneering in co-education has pointed the way to a solution of this difficulty and at the same time provided more wholesome social relations of the sexes. In relating education to the needs of the learners and their social groups, mission schools have contributed much by emphasizing vocational, agricultural, and other training programs. Mission schools have insisted upon the important part moral and religious

training have in character development and have maintained that the education of the whole personality is impossible if religion is divorced from education.

Mission Education and Political Movements

Some of the most difficult problems educational missions have had to face have been created by or related to political situations existing in Asia, Africa and Australasia. This problem area, of which full treatment is impossible within the limits of this discussion, will be reviewed briefly. The countries where missions are at work have had their histories complicated by Western imperialism and political domination, by industrial and economic exploitation, by rising nationalisms, and by strong racial antagonisms between the Eastern or Oriental races and the dominant White race. Because Western Churches were stimulated to missionary activity by the same reports of geographical explorations that aroused political and economic ambitions has led to the persistent and, often, popular opinion that the mission was the forerunner of exploitation, or that the Westerner came into the East with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other.

Tsui Chi presents this point of view saying that the Christian missionaries

"at first brought useful learning, but subsequently began to meddle in politics and to pave the way for the imperialist ambitions of the countries they represented."⁴²

But missions were denied admittance into the territories of the East India Company in India from 1600 to 1813 and most other European Trading Companies or Colonial administrators were, with the notable exception of the Government of Denmark, which early lost out in the political struggle, either indifferent or antagonistic to Christian missions.

It is true that rulers and traders were not adverse to using the aid of the missionary for interpretation of the languages or understanding the customs of the peoples, when missionaries were available. It is also true that missionaries have sometimes made use of the presence of Western power, both economic and political, for protection of life or project. The presence of a foreign Western power has sometimes, perhaps frequently, made it possible for missions to operate in places not otherwise available to them, or to carry on work which might be prohibited under an independent regime. Thoughtful missionaries recognize this without thereby admitting any "unholy" alliance with Western imperialism. But as Fisher points out, with large sections of the population of these countries

"the whole mission enterprise is classed with these other movements as a part of the scheme of Western 'Christian' nations to dominate the Eastern non-Christian peoples."⁴³

That these suspicions and attitudes concerning the participation of missions in imperialistic and exploiting activities exist can neither be denied nor ignored.

"It is the part of wisdom for us, who believe in the essential value of mission work, to examine our attitudes and activities in the light of these principles of democracy, and see if there are any grounds for the accusations which are being made."⁴⁴

The problem of mission work and its relation to Eastern governmental authority is complicated by the wide variety represented in these governments. In Asia six distinct types of government control are to be found. Japan and Turkey represent a complete political independence (until Japan's recent defeat). China has had her independence restricted by extra-territorial rule over some ports or commercial areas and by control of customs. The Indian States have internal autonomy but owe allegiance to a paramount Western power. British India, Burma, Java, Indo-China are parts of European Empires in varying stages of development toward "dominion status". Singapore and Hongkong are colonial possessions. Korea and Manchuria have been, until recently liberated, colonial possessions of Oriental, rather than Western, imperialism. Most of the Pacific Islands have been annexed to one or another of the European Empires or the United States. Although the Philippines have received the grant of complete independence

the others are, in varying degrees, subject territory. Four different types are found in Africa: Independent states such as Liberia and Abyssinia; restricted states like Egypt; the self-governing Dominion of South Africa; and the colonial possessions of the European empires. The range is from complete independence to almost complete subjection and indicates the intricate variety of political life and problem to which missions have had to adjust.

Throughout the East strong national movements have developed, coinciding in time with the second half of the modern missionary period. The two World Wars of the present century have greatly influenced the growth of these movements, and there have been correspondingly increased offers of self-government by the governments concerned. It would be difficult to judge to what extent missions, and especially educational missions, have shared in arousing and extending this desire for independence. Sun Yat Sen and those associated with him in the Chinese Revolution owed much to mission education. George Antonius insists that

"the first organized effort in the Arab national movement can be traced back to the year 1875--two years before Abdul Hamid's accession--when five young men who had been educated at the Syrian Protestant College in Bairut formed a secret society."⁴⁵

From 1799 when Van der Kemp, the first missionary to South Africa, completely identified himself with the

Hottentots, and aroused the prejudice and opposition of the white settlers, the missionaries have often been accused of fostering the national ambitions of the natives.⁴⁶ Always indirectly through the implications of the work done and often directly, missionaries have shared with general scientific education, increased facility of communication, wars and other forces in aiding the peoples of the Orient in their progress toward national self-rule.

At the same time conspicuous acts of racial discrimination against the peoples of Asia and Africa have helped to increase the intensity of the national spirit. The treatment of native Africans and Indians in South Africa and the Oriental Exclusion Act of the United States are examples of this sort of discrimination. The missionary movement has naturally been affected by these developments both through the increased stimulus to independence or "devolution" within the Church and mission, and through the tendency to direct anti-foreign, or anti-Western agitation against the Mission and missionary as well as against the foreign government and ruler.

Problems have arisen in this area of national aspirations and movements during the history of modern missions. In this section reference has been made to several contributory causes. (1) Missions have proceeded from Western, white countries to Oriental, so-called colored

peoples during the time when political domination and economic exploitation of these same peoples has occurred. An alliance between Western States and Western Churches to effect and perpetuate this imperialism has been suspected. (2) Rising national movements have therefore been expressed in forms which appear sometimes to be anti-mission as well as anti-government. (3) Race antagonisms, aggravated by discriminations in the Western countries, have been aroused by white supremacy, from which the Church unfortunately has not always been free. (4) Non-Christians have quite naturally been disturbed by the threat of Christianity to their ancient religions. Thus legitimate desires for independence have been complicated by racial and religious feelings.

However, something may be said on the other side. Missions have aided in stimulating the desire for independence through emphasis on individual worth and human rights and through service to the oppressed. Leaders of national movements have sometimes been educated in mission schools and, until recently, the only educational opportunities available to native Africans have been those sponsored by Christian missions. Missions have had to adjust to political conditions, varying from complete independence to almost complete subjection. Leaders of missions have been critical of and opposed to the evils of imperialism and to race discrimination, probably with more vigor and persistence than any other Western group.

Mission Education and the Problem of Personnel

The fifth area in which major problems or difficulties arise is that of personnel. The manner in which the growth of significant institutional achievements can be associated with the life and work of strong leaders and the fluctuations that frequently occur with the change of educational leadership are reminders of this.

Through the earlier years of modern missions the problem was one of missionary leadership, but in all countries it has now become one of both missionary and national leadership. Not every missionary is either by training or temperament an educationalist, yet many who have neither of these qualifications have found themselves assigned to administer an educational program. On the other hand some who have lacked the training but possessed all the natural qualifications of a teacher have been discovered by such assignment and have developed with experience. But in numerous other instances the work has definitely suffered from such a policy.

Such an assignment policy may be justified occasionally on account of the exigencies of health or other emergency unexpectedly removing an administrator, or because of limited personnel. It may also be due to inadequate planning, both on the field and in the mission headquarters, for the requirements of furlough and

retirement or to an inadequate appreciation of the need for trained educational leadership in mission schools.

Statistical reports of Mission organizations do not give information concerning the number of missionaries who have had training for educational work. But they do reveal large emphasis placed on theological preparation. There are a number of ordained men in educational work and some of these have been trained for it. There also are doctors, printers, business men and others who are not educationists included under "Laymen" in the reports. However, it is interesting to compare the number of "Ordained men" and "Laymen" in the statistical table (2). This shows the relative number as follows:

	Ordained	Laymen
1866	4120	712
1910	6637	3287
1916	7041	3283
1925	7625	4203

Through these years the number of "Single women" in the missionary group has been steadily increasing and many of these are highly trained educationists. But the fact remains that although educational work has become in extent more than half of the total work of missions, not nearly half of the missionary personnel has the educational training they should have to administer it.

One of the speakers at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900 stated that

"the board in this country that is foremost in educational work on mission soil, reports that among 539 missionaries, 33 have taken distinctively normal courses of training."⁴⁷

This situation called forth a strong statement by the World Missionary Conference of 1910:

"In view of the necessity of maintaining a high standard of efficiency in all mission educational work, and of the help needed by native teachers and students in the art of teaching, the Commission would urge upon all home Boards and Societies the importance of a sound educational training for all missionaries sent out from home lands to supervise or take part in such work."⁴⁸

This Conference also agreed that

"the home Church must, in the future, pay a great deal more attention than it has in the past to the training of those who are to go abroad to teach. We feel sure that the staff of each mission needs to be equipped with a larger proportion of trained teachers than it has had hitherto."⁴⁹

Twenty years later, both the study made by the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry⁵⁰ and the International Institute of Teachers College⁵¹ called attention to the handicap in educational missions arising from educationally untrained leadership. The Foreign Mission Conference of North America emphasizes that the request of the Younger Churches is for well qualified missionaries,

"to assist, (1) in training of ministers and teachers, (2) in directing the large and complex task of Christian education, (3) in developing a Christian social welfare program especially in rural

communities and new industrial centers, and (4) in pioneering among new groups, classes and areas. While the personnel desired continues to include evangelists, physicians, educators, increasingly there are calls for scientists, technical experts, and other specialists, themselves products of Christian culture and qualified by experience to help the younger churches to deal with their diverse and pressing problems."⁵²

The teaching force in mission schools has been composed almost entirely of nationals throughout most of modern missionary history except on the collegiate and professional level. The number of these teachers has increased from 3,043 in 1861 to 100,886 in 1938, which, in the latter year, was 3,842 more than the number engaged in evangelistic work (see Table No. 9). Again the records do not reveal the number that have received normal training, but it is appallingly low.

The work of The Methodist Church in Western India, where the writer has been associated with educational work, may not vary far from a typical situation. The primary and secondary schools located in the larger mission centers and under constant supervision have a higher proportion of trained teachers than the village primary schools where teachers are left almost entirely to their own initiative and resources. In 1937, when a survey of the work was made, not more than five trained teachers could be found among the total number caring for 140 schools. A definite program was instituted

reducing the number of schools to 103, and working toward a 100% trained teaching staff.

Since 53,158 out of the total number of 56,891 Protestant mission schools reported in 1938 were elementary and most of these are village schools, the seriousness of the problem of trained personnel is evident. Since the quality and effectiveness of the school depend in such large measure on the character and training of teachers the need for them to be well qualified becomes evident. As the administration of educational work is now increasingly placed upon nationals, the lack of highly qualified and professionally trained teachers becomes a more acute problem.

Some of the most difficult personnel problems of educational as well as all mission work are met in the efforts to find the correct adjustment between the missionary and the national in leadership of the enterprise and to make the most rapid transfer from missionary to national leadership while at the same time conserving the best interests of the work. The temptation to solve these problems on an emotional basis in the light of racial or national interests is very real both to the missionary and the national.

Some have suggested that missionaries should put all administrative responsibilities into the hands of national leaders. Political conditions may sometimes

make it necessary to follow such a suggestion. For a missionary to express the judgment that in other situations this does not seem to be sound advice may be misunderstood. There are reasons which seem to the writer to support such a judgment. The records clearly indicate that not all missionaries should administer educational projects, however capable in other lines and however well-intentioned they may be. This is equally true of national workers. The interests of the institution,--that it should be as efficiently managed as possible, that it should give as high a quality, rather than quantity, of education as possible, that its administration should be in keeping with the purposes of the mission with regard to character training and moral example,--demand the best qualified leadership available, irrespective of race. So long as missions are interracial, international cooperative Christian projects, in which both East and West are vitally concerned with contributions of lives and funds, neither the foreign nor the national worker should be made to feel that he is being denied place or responsibility on the sole grounds of racial or national background.

The normal expansion of the work and the relatively decreased number of foreign missionaries are providing accelerated opportunity to put nationals in places of responsible administrative leadership. The primary motivation in seeking mission service for both missionary

and national should be in keeping with the ideals and teachings of the founder of Christianity. Even when such principles as these are kept in mind and sympathetic, thoughtful consideration has been given to particular situations there will still be problems--human nature being what it is--that are not easily solved. No heavier single responsibility rests on Christian educational missions than to provide this trained national personnel.

The serious educational difficulties associated with mission personnel result from three causes which have been considered in this section.

(1) Educational work has been a large part since the beginning of missions and now composes approximately one-half of the total Protestant missionary enterprise. Despite warnings from international conferences, the number of missionaries trained and well-qualified to administer this educational work has never been adequately large. Schools have often suffered from this lack of qualified missionary educators.

(2) By 1938, the number of national workers employed in Protestant missions as teachers exceeded the number of national evangelists by 3,842. The program for the training of these teachers has been inadequate and many schools are taught by unqualified teachers. As nationals replace missionaries in school administrative positions, the difficulties from lack of professional training increase.

(3) The inter-racial nature of the missionary enterprise causes problems of relationship between missionary and national worker which frequently create friction and disrupt the work. The feeling of nationalism adds a complicating factor to this relationship.

Many other problems have arisen and will arise, some of which are: financial uncertainty; adaptation of Western, or use of national styles of building architecture; co-operation of the several mission agencies in union educational projects; the relative value of the large "central boarding" school or "day" school, and the smaller rural boarding school; the economic competition of higher income offered in non-Mission employ. The consideration of each of these and many others will be necessary by those who participate in the work. They do not seem to rank in fundamental importance with those problems arising in the five areas just discussed. A brief summary of these will conclude the chapter.

(1) The conflict between education and a narrow conception of evangelism has led some missions to use schools as an agency secondary to evangelism, neglecting education's capacity for broader service to the personal, economic and social development of those to whom missions have gone. Attempts to give education--as is true also of healing, philanthropy and social reconstruction--co-ordinated status with evangelism in the task of missions have been opposed despite the fact that education plays a larger part in the use of funds and personnel. Evangelism alone cannot complete the work of missions since each individual's spiritual development is conditioned by

physical, economic and social welfare, nor can an individual be helped adequately in isolation from his group. The Church must therefore serve the whole man, in all his relationships.

(2) Missions have inaugurated systems of education wherever they have gone. The governments of these countries have established parallel systems and have extended their authority over mission schools. In teacher training, examinations, curricular matters, especially religious teaching, and financial aid, governmental control has been exercised. Some states have undertaken the responsibility for all primary education. Problems have therefore arisen regarding the relation of mission to government education, the place of religious training in the mission school, the continuance of educational work by the mission, and the type of program which missions are best suited to continue.

(3) Problems that concern education in general have been met by those engaged in mission education. Among these are the following: the place of Western languages, the vernaculars, and literary subjects in the curricula; co-education in countries that have maintained separate schools for boys and girls, and the cost involved in duplicating plant, equipment and staff; training the whole learner through emphasis on vocational, agricultural

or other special courses; relating education to the economic, social and environmental needs of the community; and character development through moral and religious instruction.

(4) National movements for independence from Western imperialism and exploitation, involving serious racial and religious antagonisms, have suspected missions of sharing in the evils from which they seek freedom. Missions, through their educational program and the teaching of Christian ideas regarding human personality, have contributed to the ambitions and desires behind these movements. The leaders in many instances have been educated in mission schools. Direct participation in political movements has been avoided by mission organizations and most missionaries.

(5) Neither foreign missionaries nor national workers have been professionally trained for educational work in numbers adequate for the program that missions have been carrying on. Consequently schools often suffer from inferior administration and teaching. Personnel problems also arise from the racial factors involved in the foreign missionary's presence and position, especially when nationalism is strong.

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Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

It seems desirable to devote a concluding chapter, first, to a summary statement of the conclusions which have been reached on the basis of the data examined, and, secondly, to offer such suggestions as may have value in interpreting and utilizing these conclusions for a continually improved educational program throughout the missionary enterprise.

Conclusions

(1) People in many parts of the world have learned to know of the Christian religion, medical science, modern education, philanthropic care of the afflicted and unfortunate, and the basic rights of men in a democratic society through the share missions have had in conveying Western culture to the non-Western world. Contrasted with the economic exploitation and political domination that have characterized many of the contacts of West and East, and in which missions have sometimes been accused in sharing, its influence has consistently been in the direction of service to the physical, mental and spiritual needs of mankind everywhere. Although some of this service has lacked the highest degree of unselfishness, nevertheless much of it has stood the most critical tests in this regard.

(2) In this expanding missionary movement of the modern period, education early assumed and successfully maintained an important place. With few exceptions, mission organizations opened schools as one of their first activities. Education's share in the budgets, for buildings and current work and for the support of personnel on the fields, has increased steadily until in many missions it represents the largest single type of mission endeavor. These conclusions, based on statistical reports, are confirmed by the historical and biographical literature which deals generously with the growth of many and varied types of educational work and with the significant number of missionaries, especially those who have contributed a full life-time to missions, who have made their major contribution in the field of education.

(3) The evidence shows that educational institutions supported by missions have included technical and professional schools; higher education in science and agriculture; schools of physical education; research in economic, social and rural problems; research in the ancient non-Christian cultures and classical literatures; experimentation in methods of teacher-training for rural and other special schools; experimental schools to develop techniques for teaching and training the blind and deaf, the leper, and other unfortunates; the development of "Rural Reconstruction Centers" where school, dispensary

(or small hospital) and Church cooperate in a program of social and economic uplift of rural life; social service centers in large urban industrial communities; new emphasis on adult literacy and other forms of adult education; and a number of other types of school or program.

(4) An examination of the records reveals a number of outcomes of educational missions that represent important contributions to the welfare of Oriental peoples. A list of these include: the significant cultural development of primitive peoples of the Pacific Islands and Africa; the emancipation of womanhood through educational opportunity, the breakdown of restrictive customs such as foot-binding in China, child widowhood and the seclusion of "purdah" in India; the increasingly rapid disintegration of caste; the elimination of cannibalism and infanticide; the stimulation of interest in democratic ideals, political ambitions and national independence; increased effort to ameliorate the suffering and misery of those physically and mentally afflicted; attempts to improve economic and social conditions of rural peoples; the development of the vernaculars and literatures of many peoples; the removal of illiteracy; a more thorough understanding and appreciation of the older cultures and literatures of the Orient. These are but a few of the many developments that have taken place

or are in process throughout the world, and with which mission education has been intimately associated.

Without questioning the contribution of other agencies to the progress that has been made in these efforts at social or cultural improvement, it is possible to say that the work of missions, through their very considerable share in starting and carrying on such social movements, represents a very large part of their educational outcomes. These outcomes have resulted from both the "institutional" and the "non-institutional" educational programs of missions, and indicate how very far missions have gone beyond any narrow individualistic and evangelistic motives.

(5) There has been no marked chronological development of mission purposes but, instead a continuous rivalry between three points of view concerning the purpose: (a) direct and personal evangelism; (b) direct and personal evangelism aided by whatever secondary agencies, such as education and medicine, that will overcome the prejudices of peoples or indirectly permeate their minds with Christian thought; (c) personal and social evangelism and reconstruction, including the use of every means available for the spiritual, mental, physical and social welfare of all peoples. Some missions have emphasized one purpose to the exclusion of others, and within some missions emphasis has shifted from one to another at different periods.

The use of education has varied with the purpose. Under the first, elementary schools for Bible teaching and the training of workers are found. Those who hold the second purpose make more use of education both for Christians and non-Christians, but consider it inferior and secondary to direct evangelism. Where the third purpose prevails, education and other agencies--evangelism, healing, social reconstruction, philanthropy, literature--are co-ordinated means to a common objective, the salvation of the whole of life and the whole of society.

(6) During the history of educational missions, perplexing and persistent difficulties that have arisen have been in five areas, two of which are within the mission enterprise itself and three are due to the stress arising from its relationship to other contemporarily developing movements.

It is but natural that the ideological questions concerning the aims of missions should set certain broad conceptions of education's place in opposition to certain restricted conceptions of evangelism. This antagonism has also influenced attitudes toward school efficiency, administration, and personnel. Where there should always be fullest cooperation between evangelism and education, both seeking to achieve a common objective, there has

often appeared indifference; and sometimes enmity has existed between those who are responsible for each.

Some of the reasons that other difficulties have arisen in the area of missionary and national personnel are: the small number of missionaries, many of whom are overburdened with administrative duties; frequent transfers to varied kinds of work; too scant attention given to the educational qualifications and training of missionaries assigned to educational work; and inadequate provision for the professional preparation of national educators.

The three areas of major difficulty and stress that lie without the mission enterprise have to do with the existing governments of the lands in which educational work is carried on, the national or independence movements that are becoming increasingly important in all the colonial or dependent areas of the world, and the constantly improved research in the fields of general educational techniques and philosophy. In view of mission education's vital relationship to each of these three complex and changing movements, and considering the maze of racial and national boundaries that have been crossed in building up modern educational missions, it will be obvious that conflicts between different governmental, national and educational theories cannot be avoided. In facing these difficulties frankly and thoughtfully mission

education may be in a position, because of its world-wide, international and inter-racial character, to make a significant contribution to the solution of these problems.

Comments and Suggestions

Before attempting to express his own conception of what the aim and program of mission education should be, the author desires to make a further brief comment on the relationship between the existing educational enterprise and the purposes that have been discovered in this study.

The variety of regular and specialized educational institutions and the philanthropic and social outcomes of mission education are two aspects revealed in this study. They have special significance as evidence of a program broader than either a "direct" or an "indirect" use of schools for proselytizing or evangelizing purposes only. These purposes could well be satisfied with a simpler program of literary and religious education. If the missionary motives for education were limited to either or both of these, it would be entirely impossible to explain the intricate expansion and the variety of educational programs that have appeared. It would be difficult to understand why the results in terms of these motives--the conversion of individuals--have been so

meager. It is only when the purpose is broadened that modern mission education can be justified.

This enhanced purpose must include new meaning for the individual through philanthropic and unselfish service in providing educational opportunity for underprivileged persons. It must also include new meaning for society in recognizing that a major function of education, and especially of Christian education, is to assist in improving living conditions so that individuals may have satisfactory relationship within their groups and so that the groups may provide them with opportunity for individual and social achievements and for an adequate standard of living.

This does not mean that missions can, or are expected to, abdicate their responsibility for the Christian training of Christian children in order to provide for permanence and stable growth of the Christian Church. It does not deny the mission's responsibility for presenting an adequate interpretation of Christian truth to peoples of other religions or of no religious faith. It may mean that many Christians, and not a few missionary leaders, have not yet comprehended the total purpose which should be held by those participating in mission education; and that education has far greater significance in the program of individual and social redemption than some have thought.

It seems clear that most missions today recognize, in practice if not in statement, the more comprehensive purpose of their educational work. Perhaps this is an indication that all Christian missions are to acknowledge the sociological principle of individual development within group relationships. Whenever missions have sought to deal with individuals isolated from the group life and without concern for what happens in and to the group, they have failed to achieve their maximum service. On the contrary, they may have contributed by this completely individualistic approach to the creation of social conditions that have retarded the growth of world community. This will not be evident to, or give concern to, those who hold that Christianity's program is not for this world.

It is not easy to include in one brief paragraph all the essential elements of a valid statement of mission educational aim. The aim is not single but must include all those multiple features that account for the great number of different institutions, any one of which may have been established to accomplish but a fraction of the total purpose.

There are some countries where much of the educational program is being cared for by the state or other agencies and it would be unwise and wasteful for the Church to attempt duplication or competition in such circumstances. There has never been a time when missions

did not feel the handicap of insufficient funds and there are no evidences that this condition will be removed. It would seem, therefore, that a complete statement of purpose should include much that is unattainable with present income. None-the-less an attempt is made to enumerate those matters for which Christian missions should have concern, and which could be achieved were adequate educational facilities possible. The best wisdom of educational leaders must determine, in the light of existing conditions, to which phase of the total purpose the use of such funds as are received shall be directed. The author offers the following statement.

Christian missions should seek to include in their educational program those formal and informal activities which will, within the limits of their means, most efficiently help (1) to provide opportunity for literary, scientific, technical, and professional training for all growing persons; (2) to make possible the fullest development of individuals into matured, integrated, socially adjusted personalities; (3) to provide opportunity for learners to understand the values of morality and religion, especially those found in Christianity, and to utilize these in the processes of individual-social relationships and development; (4) to assist learners in achieving their maximum capacities for critical thought, intelligent evaluation and penetrating

insight; (5) to develop understanding and appreciation of other cultural and social groups, their literatures, customs and aspirations; (6) to extend learning beyond the school-going years through a program of adult education including all phases of life and all interests of the community; (7) to train the people in the techniques of modifying and improving social, economic, industrial, and agricultural conditions in order that better living may be achieved; (8) to counteract the hurtful emphases on racism, nationalism and creeds that tend to make divisions and conflicts in society by a demonstration of inter-racial, international and inter-religious fellowship in learning and working together; (9) to prepare young people for leadership in state, community and Church; (10) to maintain a continuing attitude of research and adjustment with regard to the best and latest studies of educational aims, procedures, techniques and outcomes; (11) to provide the educational program with the most carefully selected and professionally trained leadership possible; and (12) to cooperate with other agencies, inside and outside of the Church and mission, in the accomplishment of any or all of the aspects of this program.

The reader will, doubtless, have additions he would care to make to the above, or he may desire to discard it and write his own. It is offered for its

suggestive value, out of the experience and study of some years. It may be objected that nothing has been said of evangelism. The contribution which wholesome evangelism can make to individuals or to society will be less hindered by education at its best than by an inefficient educational program. This is true also of medical missions, the publication of literature, or any of the other ways by which the Church has sought to serve humanity.

Education, so it seems to the author, is no more complete if religion is left out than it would be if mathematics or science were omitted, and, when education is carried on by the Church, a primary concern is to see that this important phase of culture is not overlooked. This emphasis is indicated in (3) of the above statement. The Church does not escape this responsibility in those situations where religion is excluded from formal government-controlled education, but has to meet it in other ways. But this responsibility and the use of mission educational institutions as direct evangelistic or proselytizing agencies are entirely different matters.

Offering education to those who have little or no other available opportunity for it, with the unexpressed intention of using it as "bait" seems a very questionable, if not unethical and unChristian, procedure. The influence of the school should be exerted through the

wholehearted and above-board service to needy persons and immature learners, through the demonstration of Christian living by teachers and Christian students, and through the general Christian atmosphere pervading the school; with no planned program of evangelism. This has no reference to the part that teachers or others related to educational institutions may have in the evangelistic work of the Church outside of the schools.

Perhaps a description of educational missions exercising a religious influence in the performance of its educational work can not better be given than in the words of H. S. Coffin regarding the American University of Beirut, Syria.

"The institution has had for its task to give the best form of American education together with an emphasis on Arabic culture, and to accompany this education with an interpretation of the Spirit of Christ and an effort to make this spirit dominant in the lives of its students. It has not sought to proselytize, but to inspire all who come under its influence with the mind of Christ."¹

There need be no conflict between evangelism and education or philanthropy. If the spirit of Christ permeates the mission enterprise it can not be "either. . . or," it must be "both . . . and." Neither can do the work of the other and where either is wanting the program of missions remains incomplete. As the essential inter-relatedness of the mind, spirit, and body of man, and of

the individual and his social environment, becomes better understood, the Church will increasingly doubt the efficacy of any mission program that attempts to "evangelize" the soul without giving attention to mind and body and to the social problems and conditions affecting the lives of men. Nor can the younger Churches attain the position of competence and self reliance they should reach, with their own leaders taking a respected and effective place in the life of their own community and nation, unless the most complete educational program possible gives them the opportunity to develop their capacities for such leadership. No amount of evangelism alone can achieve this preparation for leadership, which is one of the most urgent requirements of the Christian movement in all countries.

Having attempted to frame a statement of purpose for mission education, the question arises as to what, on the basis of this statement, are the essential elements of a satisfactory program of educational missions. There is no need here to repeat the entire list of institutions from kindergarten to university and professional school. Any or all of these, and the special schools to meet peculiar needs, may, on occasion, have proper place in the program. It will be the concern of the Church, through missionary agencies (home or foreign), to discover what educational opportunities are not already

available to its own, or other people, and to undertake, within the limits of its resources, to supply the lack. That the quality of the education may reach a standard of unselfish service worthy of the spirit of Christ and at the same time meet the high standard of educational efficiency (which may be two ways of saying the same thing) the number of schools may have to be limited. But for these the mission will need to provide adequate expenditure for physical equipment, qualified administrative supervision, trained teachers, and well recognized requirements for high scholarship.

There will need to be a greatly enlarged program of teacher training, with major emphasis on the significance of the personality, character, and professional training for all teachers who are the most essential single factor of a successful educational system anywhere and especially under a Christian mission. With teacher training there should be a continuing program of research and experimentation for the discovery of improved means of relating the training program to the actual conditions under which the teachers shall work, and the school to the needs of the learners and their community life. There will also be need for the discovery of methods for the continuous in-service training of teachers and for a program of research in, and re-organization of, the curriculum.

In the preparation of teachers, in the curriculum, and in the organization of all school work, the literary, cultural and aesthetic needs of the learners are to be considered. The development of skills and attitudes related to the manual and physical, economic and social aspects of life also need to be considered so that the learner may be equipped to handle and improve his environment. This educational program, to be satisfactory, will require an inter-mission educational policy on local, provincial and national levels to avoid over-lapping, duplication and competition between missions. Such policy will carry forward the present trends toward union institutions in the field of higher and theological education and extend it to include every possible educational situation. The trend toward co-education should be encouraged and hastened. Christian missions after having been so largely responsible for beginning the movement to give womanhood a status equal to that of man in so many countries could not fail to feel keen embarrassment were government or other non-mission schools to outstrip the missions in the development of co-education.

There will also be a responsibility of educational missions, that no non-Christian educational program can be expected to carry, for the preparation of effective leadership of the Church's ministry and worship. This

preparation must be of the best, and available only to very carefully selected students. The obligation will also rightly be upon this program for the religious instruction of all Christians and bringing them to an intelligent understanding of the Christian religion and its relationship to other religious systems.

At no point in the whole enterprise is there occasion for greater emphasis on the careful selection and preparation of teachers than in the case of those charged with responsibility for religious education. Such education may be in the mission school or may be carried on in cooperation with "Church Schools" or classes outside of formal education. It may well be made available to non-Christian students and friends but should always be, for them, on the basis of voluntary attendance. This policy should apply also to attendance at Christian worship services and other exercises. It is necessary to keep in mind that religious instruction cannot be adequate apart from an educational program that raises the level of general intelligence.

However simple the process of becoming a Christian may be, and without any reflection on those who have lived as well as possible in spite of limited education, it seems true that considerable intellectual development is indispensable for any fairly complete understanding of Christian thought and life. How

necessary a reasonable approximation of this complete understanding is in the younger Churches, surrounded as they are by non-Christian environments, can not escape a thoughtful observer.

Finally, such an educational program should give large place, in cooperation with every other available agency, to a well-planned and well-directed program of community education, including all members of the community, with the curriculum consisting of those materials of health, sanitation, recreation, economic improvement, leisure time occupations, cooperative living, family life and all other areas of live pertinent to the individual and the group.

Missionary education has made a notable contribution to the welfare of mankind in many countries through the years of the modern missionary movement. It faces many serious difficulties in these days of post-war readjustments and changing political situations. It has often suffered from a tendency to remain static, failing to adjust itself to changing conditions, and it has sometimes been handicapped and retarded because of leadership that lacked essential professional training. But its achievements, on the whole good, have been in many instances outstanding. We who have participated in it are among those who recognize its limitations and regret its inadequacies. There will be modifications and

adjustments, sometimes difficult to make, and restrictions will be put on some parts of its program in the years that lie ahead. But there seems to be no reason why this program should not continue and expand through many years of further service as one important factor in increasing intercultural and international understanding, in increasing educational opportunity to many underprivileged peoples, in helping improve social and economic conditions, in demonstrating throughout the world the worth of unselfish service and effective cooperation for the enlightenment and enrichment of the lives of others, in maintaining an emphasis on character development and the growth of the total personality as essential to a complete education.

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