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It is inevitable that any theology that lacks a transcendent and personal God will become a void meditation or a mere social, political and economical principle. Good theology stands on an understanding of the true God. To know the triune God is to meet the enlightening and revealing Holy Spirit, then to relate that experience to the historical tradition of life and reality. The Korean evangelical Church is responsible for carrying out the historical task of re-establishing the biblical concept of God and of providing the right direction of good theology for the Church of Korea and the world. p. 150

# Protestant Mission Education In Nineteenth Century China

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A major consideration of the study of missions is the extent to which it is involved in acculturation. China in the nineteenth century provides an interesting case study for this, since during this period a resurgent industrializing Western culture, along with an activist, mission-minded Church, were making a more concerted impact on the Ching dynasty. The dynamic interaction of Western culture and Christianity with Chinese civilization provides a model of cross-cultural analysis.

Focusing on mission-provided education contributes significantly to an understanding of Western *versus* Chinese cultures because education is a socialization process. Therefore, mission schools become a means of communicating one culture to another, and in this process, the comparisons between the West and China become apparent as divergent customs and values come into proximity with one another. It was in the efforts of missionaries to propagate their religious beliefs, nurtured in their own cultural and historic traditions, that the difficulties of transplanting these beliefs into another cultural milieu became manifest. Missionary educational efforts can be used to highlight this cultural clash.

The missionary was the Western agent for this cultural interaction. John K. Fairbank stressed the importance of the missionary's role when he observed that 'in China's nineteenth-century relations with the West, Protestant missionaries are still the least studied but most significant actors in the scene', since missionaries were the only agents 'in direct contact with the common people in the two civilizations'.[1] In this regard the latter part of the nineteenth century was a period of dramatic mission growth in terms of increased numbers of mission agents, of mission stations, of Chinese converts, of literature translated into Chinese, and of humanitarian endeavours, such as hospitals, p. 151 dispensaries, orphanages, and schools. In relation to this last endearour, schools, Fairbank (again) noted its special significance in indigenizing Christianity into China,

[1] John K. Fairbank, 'Introduction: The Place of Protestant Writings in China's Cultural History', in *Christianity in China* edited by Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John K. Fairbank, p. 2.

when he observed that 'in the end the Christian influence was probably strongest in education'.[2]

With all this mission growth comes the need to evaluate the purpose of all these activities in overall mission strategy. The importance and effort expended on education made it one of the main objects of such evaluation. This resulted in a lively debate in the late nineteenth century. By the end of the century there had emerged two distinct and divergent points of view: the one emphasized education's role as an adjunct support for evangelization, and the other proposed a broader role for education with its own distinctive and function *beyond* a mainly evangelistic one. The emergence and interplay of both of these viewpoints, and their significance for the indigenization of Christianity in China, will be explored in this paper. This topic is important not only for the understanding of mission involvement in China, and for the impact of Christianity on Chinese society, but it also provides an important insight into the precedents of China's national system of education and of Western influence on general culture.

## EARLY EDUCATION

From the beginning mission work in China included some consideration and involvement with schooling. By the 1840s every mission station had some kind of school which provided training for Chinese youths.[3] Part of this motivation emanated from Chinese society itself where schooling was highly regarded as a means of propagating values and morality based upon literary study of the Confucian texts. Likewise, in their own way, missions sponsored their own schools to propagate morals they held in high esteem and, in order to appeal to their constituents, used traditional Confucian texts along with their Christian and biblical materials. Therefore the early mission model was based upon Chinese educational custom. In fact, early missionaries would often either hire non-Christian teachers to teach in their schools when Chinese Christian teachers were not available (and often P. 152 they were not, in the early period), or missionaries paid Chinese teachers to let them speak to their classes on Christian themes.[4] The point is that this early mission education grew haphazardly on an informal basis, responding to local conditions, having no overall policy upon which to draw, and no interest in higher education.[5]

There was no question that these earliest mission schools were clearly intended to aid evangelism and to provide a 'means of bringing children under the influence of the Christian message'.[6] Because Chinese schools attracted those who were most intent on preparing for the imperial government's examinations, and because of the common Chinese perception of missions as an alien influence on their society, most students for

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[2] Fairbank, 'Introduction: The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China and the United States', in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, edited by John K. Fairbank, p. 13.

[3] Evelyn S. Rawski, 'Elementary Education in Mission Enterprise', in *Christianity in China*, edited by Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John K. Fairbank, p. 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137–140.

[5] Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian College, 1850–1950*, p. 15; and Alice H. Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, pp. 15–16.

[6] China Educational Commission, 1922, p. 34.

mission schools in the nineteenth century were recruited from lower classes who aspired not to government jobs but to work as mission assistants; or who were willing to risk the social criticism of identifying with the mission in order to get an opportunity for an education, because they were not able to afford the traditional Chinese education. Other students came from families, usually of the humbler classes, identified with the mission and local church.[7] As late as 1877 at the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China in Shanghai it was still necessary, despite some movement in other directions (as we shall see), for mission education to be closely linked with the prime purpose of missions, that of evangelism.

## TYPES OF MISSION EDUCATION IN CHINA[8]

At the General Conference of 1877, American Presbyterian missionary Dr. Calvin W. Mateer made a useful distinction between two approaches to mission education which were emerging in this period. These two approaches provide a basis for the growing divergence which would continue and take on sharper definition in the coming decades.

The first approach emphasized education 'as a means of getting so many heathen boys and girls under the influence of Christian truth, in the hope that they may be converted, and especially that they may p. 153 become preachers of the Gospel'. Mateer identified this view as the one 'most commonly held'. In this view the only real objective is 'to convert as many individuals as possible' through the use of education as a direct evangelistic tool. The predominance of this viewpoint in 1877 would insure its continuance into the twentieth century, as we will see below.

The newer approach, and the one Mateer felt to be 'much nearer the truth', presented education as 'an indirect agency' (as opposed to the more direct evangelistic method) where, in his own analogy, schools are 'fitted to break up the fallow ground, and prepare the way for the good seed of divine truth'. In this situation students are educated 'mentally, morally and religiously, not only that they may be converted, but that being converted they may become effective agents in the hands of God, for defending and advancing the cause of truth'. Such schools were intended to teach Western science and civilization and thus provide an added dimension to the development of a distinctive Christian community in China, so as to 'subdue the nations as a whole to Christ, to pull down the fortifications of heathenism, destroy the faith which supports it, and summon its emancipated votaries to submit to the captain of our salvation'.

This debate between the two approaches confined through the nineteenth century, with strong advocates on both sides and with neither one superseding the other. Both views had their advocates in individuals and societies, and each provided a contrasting model for the indigenization of Christianity in China.

## THE DIRECT APPROACH: EDUCATION AS A MEANS TO EVANGELIZATION

The response to Mateer's characterization of education's subservience to evangelism was quick and pointed. It occurred during the discussion period following his 1877 address.

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[7] Lutz, p. 38.

[8] *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries in China, Shanghai, May 10–14, 1877*, pp. 172–173. Hereafter referred to as Shanghai (1877).

One of Mateer's fellow American Presbyterian missionaries, Revd J. Butler, criticized him as linking religion and the necessity for education without recognizing 'the truth that religion in its natural order comes first, that the human mind takes in religious knowledge first and easiest of all'.[9] Another stressed that 'education is the outgrowth of Christianity' and that the 'danger' he feared from Mateer's opinion was the possibility that 'Christianity be looked for as the outgrowth of education'.[10] Still P. 154 another expressed reservations based on recent experience that 'secular education did not of itself bring men nearer to Christ' and 'even made conversions more difficult'.[11]

Well into the 1890s similar views were still commonly expressed. One stated that every teacher and missionary should 'look upon each little boy who enters school as a sacred trust committed into his hands by him who gave his life for all mankind'. Therefore the objective is to teach students to read and write and to understand salvation.[12] In 1894 a person identified only as a member of the Educational Association of China wrote a letter which condemned the view that missionaries 'simply give "a good education under the most thorough Christian influences" ' because, the writer asserted, their role was to bring to Chinese 'the Gospel of the Son of God and make Christian disciples of them', and to make every school 'a powerful factor for the evangelization of China' and to make every scholar come under 'the Christian influence'.[13]

It should also be noted that some missionaries found educational work and evangelistic work incompatible, and schools a diversion of time and resources from a missionary's primary task of evangelism. This view was expressed in 1868 when efforts for missions schools were characterized as 'to a great extent lost labour'.[14] Even in 1894 one missionary observed that educational work was a hindrance and too great a secularizer.[15]

But most missionaries advocated education as a means of evangelism, and were especially favourable to the village day-school (or primary school) as strategic in achieving their objectives. One of the most comprehensive defences of the day-school as an 'evangelizing agency' came in 1897 in an article listing ten rationales for these schools' contribution as 'distinctly Christian schools' which are not involved in 'merely secular education'. The advantages of primary village schools included the following ten factors:

> (1) They are a thoroughly Chinese institution, and as such are not liable p. 155 to be objected to as foreign agencies foisted upon the people against their long established customs.

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[12] C. F. Kupfer, 'Dangers and Advantages of Day-Schools', *Chinese Recorder*, XXIV:3 (March, 1893), p. 110. Hereafter referred to as *CR*.

[13] *CR*, XXV:1 (January, 1894), pp. 40–41. As late as May, 1897 an article in *CR* by T. W. Houston expressed similar sentiments in an article entitled 'The Highest Efficiency of the Educational Branch of Mission Work Dependent upon the Co-operation of the Evangelistic Branch', pp. 229–231.

[14] L. B. Peet, 'On Mission Schools', *CR*, 1:7 (November, 1868), p. 135.

[15] A. J. Gordon, 'Education and Missions', *CR*, XXV (February, 1894), p. 71.

(2) In many parts of China they are the only means of obtaining an education.

(3) They afford an admirable means of spreading a knowledge of the Gospel among the masses of the people and of opening new places to Gospel effort [especially the families of the students].

(4) They enable us to reach the children at the earliest or formative period of their lives, whilst they at the same time withdraw the children, for a large portion of each day, from the influence of heathen surroundings.

(5) They are less expensive than boarding-schools, and not open to the objection that naturally lies against the latter that they train the pupils to ideas of dependence on the church for support.

(6) They store the minds of children with Christian truth that may some time germinate and bear fruit in renewed lives.

(7) They are recruiting camps for candiates for higher education, if such education be desirable.

(8) They form a nucleus, around which a Christian congregation may be gathered.

(9) If, as is often the case in small villages, they supplant the heathen schools entirely, it gives Christianity a leading place in that neighbourhood.

(10) They supply a felt need, especially in the country districts. Schools in villages of from one to two hundred peole are the exception rather than the rule. Thousands of children will grow up in complete illiteracy unles we give them this opportunity to learn.[16]

Certain mission societies were more prone to advocate this direct connection of education with evangelism. The China Inland Mission, by 1900 the single largest mission in China with about a quarter of all missionaries in China and 77 stations in 14 provinces,[17] stressed its primarily evangelistic work into the countryside through 'itinerations'. In 1896 CIM stated its school policy and situation thus:

> The character of the Mission being evangelistic, only elementary education has been attempted. The little that has been undertaken by boarding and day-schools has been chiefly with a view (1) to influence parents through the children; (2) to win girls to Christ, who may become useful Christian wives, and to qualify them for future usefulness; and (3) to provide a simple Christian education for the children of converts.
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> The Mission had in 1893, in eight of the provinces, 11 boarding-schools p. 156 (containing 133 children), all but one being exclusively for girls; 29 day-schools, with an attendance of 416 boys and girls. Sunday schools for both adults and children are common.[18]

This indeed was a very meagre educational programme for so large a mission organization; however, their emphasis was on converting all of China by establishing a Christian witness first in the provincial capital, then in prefectural cities, and finally in subordinate cities until the Gospel was 'diffused throughout the whole extent of a province'.[19] As late as 1909 the CIM expressed concern that over half of all the missionaries in China are involved in institutional work like hospitals, schools and

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[16] D. N. Lyon, 'Mission Day-Schools for the Chinese', *CR*, XXVIII:1 (january, 1897), pp. 1–3. See J. E. Walker, 'The Relation of the Education of Chinese Youth in our Boarding Schools to the Evangelization of the Fuhkien Province', *CR* XlX:12 (December, 1888), pp. 554–566 for a similar defence.

[17] Alvyn Austin, *Saving China*, p. 14.

[18] *China Mission Hand-Book*, Part II, pp. 147–148.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

philanthropic work and that 'the time has come when *direct evangelism* must be given the first place'.[20]

Baptist groups including the British, American, and Southern, tended to follow the same pattern as CIM with an emphasis on evangelism and primary education to support it. In 1896 an English Baptist missionary stated that their goal was 'to make our schools evangelistic agencies, and we estimate their success not merely by examination results, but by their influence in securing obedience to Christ'. Similar views continued well into the twentieth century.[21]

The purpose of Baptist missions as it related to education was perhaps best summed up by William Ashmore when he stated that education is to be the natural outgrowth of evangelism with the education designed to serve the evangelization process and not the secular interests of society. He said, 'Our schools follow our churches.'[22] With such a view the educational approach of the Baptists was very practical, stressing mastery of the vernacular languages, Bible studies and memorization of Scripture, preaching and evangelism, and learn-by-doing techniques.[23] Thus the objective of Baptist mission work in China and the role of education in that plan were carefully correlated.

The main motivating force for Baptist mission education was the feeling that 'an illiterate church would soon drift back to idolatry' and 'besides the children of Christians have an inherent claim to be p. 157 educated' giving special attention to 'character-building'[24] which consisted of training in Christian morals and ethics as missionaries understood it in late nineteenth century culture. Thus Baptist mission education was perceived as a means of strengthening the indigenous church, a means to which they felt the Chinese Christians responded positively.[25]

The educational programme of the Baptists was formulated on four levels: primary day-schools, boarding schools for boys and girls, theolgoical training, and informal schools for 'Bible women'. The curriculum was always essentially the same. The Bible was the main text. The students' responsibility was to master reading and writing in the vernacular and to learn basic doctrines from a catechism and the teacher.[26] The Baptists were practical in their curricular approach and thus desired to avoid an educational programme oriented to the liberal arts in literary subjects and sciences. Their objective was to provide leadership training for their parishioners.

The Baptists did not have any secondary schools until after 1900 because their emphasis on evangelism left little time, strength, or inclination for this kind of higher education. Yet after 1870 the pressure from Chinese Baptist converts for training for government service and professional leadership in their country, like that provided by the

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[20] Quote from *China's Millions* [CIM's magazinel in 1909 from Shao-yang Lin, *A Chinese Appeal to Christendom*, p. 44. Italics mine.

[21] A. G. Shorrock, 'Shensi Mission Annual Report, 1985', *CR*, XXVII:6 (June, 1896), p. 269. H. R. Williamson, *British Baptists in China*, p. 223.

[22] *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, LIX:8 (August, 1879), pp. 294–295. Hereafter referred to as *BMM*.

[23] Samuel H. Leger, *Education of Christian Ministers in China*, pp. 13–15.

[24] Henry C. Vedder, *A Short History of Baptist Missions*, p. 176.

[25] Robert G. Torbet, *Venture of Faith*, p. 169.

[26] *Annual Report of the A.B.F.M.S.* for 1879, pp. 58.

Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, was increasing; and the Baptists realized they were in danger of losing converts over this issue.[27] But the policy of Baptist mission boards and the lack of money and adequate staff delayed their higher education facilities until the twentieth century.

There is one major area where the Baptists, both American and English, refused to westernize. They did not use English as the medium of teaching. Their reasons were basically threefold. First, a knowledge of English by the Chinese 'opened the doors to temptation'; in other words they were more prone to go to work for the traders than to stay in mission work. Second, the missionaries wanted Christianity to be presented as naturally in Chinese as in English, thus emphasizing the idea that Christianity is a world religion which can be expressed in various cultures.[28] This view resulted in a vast literature in the p. 158 colloquial languages which, although disliked by the Chinese *literati*, did facilitate the work of Bible women and preachers. Teaching was in the vernacular with the Bible as the main text. Lastly, although English was needed most in the teaching of science, the Baptists did not emphasize science in their schools namely because they thought it was too westernizing, and so they insisted on the vernacular. For these reasons the Baptists did not in the nineteenth century employ English either as a subject in their schools or as a medium of instruction. English was considered a hindrance to the overall purposes of their work.

In fact, in their own way, these societies expressed a sincere and protective, perhaps even a paternalistic, interest in traditional Chinese culture. As early as 1850 the instructions of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union espoused this when they informed their new missionaries both (a) to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ and not Western science, art, and culture, and (b) never to let translation or educational work take too much time from evangelization.[29] Here again, the emphasis on evangelism is preeminent and it is also coupled with a desire to limit Western influences. The intent, however difficult to attain, was to preserve as much of the indigenous culture as possible and to make Christianity an integral part of that culture without a wholesale inculcation of Western influences. The emphasis on evangelism and on training Chinese to undertake this evangelization of their own people, was a conscious endeavour to make Christianity a natural, religiously transforming force in Chinese society.

Two other societies, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the London Missionary Society, followed similar approaches to the CIM and Baptist groups. Throughout the nineteenth century most ABCFM missionaries took the position that evangelism was 'vastly more important than education' and that education was mainly to train church workers and members.[30] The LMS did not supply funds for its schools until well into the nineteenth century, and also were later in starting schools of

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[27] Torbet, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[28] Mary Raleigh Anderson, *Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China*, p. 282.

[29] *Annual Report of the A.B.F.M.S.* for 1850, pp. 224–225.

[30] Janet Elaine Heininger, 'The American Board in China', pp. 47–48.

higher education.[31] For the LMS, schools were not a 'department of special interest' and often the schools which did exist had disappointing results.[32] p. 159

In conclusion, the point to be made here is that this position on making education serve direct evangelistic purposes is the traditional view inherent in the earliest missionary endeavours in China. And this view has a strong base of support in key and large mission societies throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In other words, while new views will emerge, this position of putting education in a subservient position did not disappear, but maintained itself as a clearly stated and practised approach by major mission societies in China. By 1900 it still was a widely-held approach to education in China.

## TRANSITION TO ANOTHER APPROACH

The divisions on the issue emerged when it was proposed to separate mission education from a 'purely' evangelistic or support arm of the church to a more general role in the westernizing of Chinese society and in the creating of a new leadership for a modernizing China irrespective of a specific evangelistic function. In this new disparity the primacy of individual salvation now gives way to the goal of Christianizing the nation[33] and to 'long-run conversion and good works'.[34]

The documentary evidence for the beginning of this transition goes back to the Shanghai Conference of 1877 and Calvin Mateer's paper, previously mentioned, which represents a shift to more of an acceptance of secular education and to a more critical attitude to the 'superficial view' that education is really 'not to educate them [the pupils] but to Christianize them'. Mateer's point was not to deny the need for evangelism and personal conversion, but rather to question the use of education as a prime means, 'a mere cat's-paw' in his words, to achieve this end. To Mateer, 'the school is the direct means for conversion, but it affords an admirable opportunity to secure that result'.[35] These views made Mateer a 'forward-looking conservative'[36] who was expressing views which, even he admitted, ran counter to the prevailing opinions. One practical outgrowth of Mateer's efforts and the 1877 Conference was the creation of the School and Textbook p. 160 Series Committee which was commissioned to translate textbooks and materials on secular subjects into Chinese. By 1890 this group was responsible for the translation of 84 books and 40 maps and charts.[37]

In 1877 Mateer's position was opposed by the American Board's Devello Z. Sheffield, but by 1889, when he founded the North China College in Tungchow which he headed for

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[31] L. B. Peet, *op. cit.*, and Griffith John, 'London Mission Work in Hunan and Hupeh', *CR*, XXX:3 (March, 1900), p. 137.

[32] *China Hand-Book*, p. 13.

[33] *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 112. Hereafter referred to as Ecumenical Conference, (1900).

[34] Rawski, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[35] Shanghai (1877), p. 172.

[36] William Purviance Fenn, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China*, p. 26.

[37] Irwin T. Hyatt, 'Protestant Missions in China, 1877–1890: The Institutionalization of Good Works', in *American Missionaries in China*, edited by Kwang-Ching Liu, p. 98.

twenty years, Sheffield had moved to a 'middle-of-the-road position'.[38] To him it seemed that education must be 'Christo-centric, and that such education can be made the very fountain-head of the best evangelistic life of the Church'.[39] Accordingly, he put education and evangelism on a par with one another and, furthermore, claimed that they were closely interconnected. In his own words:

> Thus it appears that the ultimate aims of Christian evangelism and of Christian education are essentially one, the development of true manhood, that no life may have been lived in vain. Thus, teaching and preaching, if animated by the same spirit, have the same end in view; they are but the right and left hand that minister to the needs of the same body. Christianity, in its broadest application, may be regarded as a system of divine education.
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> The object of this paper is to urge the importance of education as a *missionary agency*, and to warn against that excessive zeal for evangelistic effort which forgets the part which education must have in building up Christian character, without which evangelistic efforts will be crowned with but partial, and often with disappointing results.[40]

Thus the stage was set for moving education out of its subservience to evangelism and giving education, including a new emphasis on higher education, a greater role as an 'indirect agency' in Protestant mission strategy.

Throughout the nineteenth century opposition to greater emphasis on educational work gradually declined; however, missionary educators, as opposed to missionary evangelists, were still generally on the defensive. But by 1900 'the majority seems to have accepted education as a legitimate responsibility of Christian missions', and every major mission centre included a primary school, while many p. 161 had secondary schools and a few even had colleges or universities.[41] At this time the educational and evangelistic roles tended to be intertwined. In 1896 it was noted that 'most of the so-called educational work is avowedly evangelistic, and much of what is called evangelistic work is really educational'.[42]

This new acceptance of education's function resulted in a marked increase in schools and students. In 1877 there were 193 schools with over 3,000 pupils and by 1899 the number of schools had increased to 1,766 with over 30,000 students.[43] American Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists operated over half of these mission schools in China and it was these mission societies who participated more directly in this transition to greater emphasis on the role of mission education.[44]

## THE INDIRECT APPROACH: EDUCATION AS A CHRISTIANIZING FORCE IN SOCIETY

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[38] Lutz, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[39] D. Z. Sheffield, 'Christian Education; its [sic] Place in Mission Work', *CR*, XXVIII:3 (March, 1897), p. 126.

[40] D. Z. Sheffield, 'The Relation of Christian Education to other Branches of Mission Work', *CR*, XXI:6 (June 1890), pp. 247 and 257. Author's italics.

[41] Lutz, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 24.

[42] L. N. B. Smith, 'The Purpose of Mission Schools', *CR*, XXVII:3 (March, 1896), p. 138.

[43] Rawski, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[44] Hyatt, *op. cit.*, p. 98 and Lutz, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Gradually education was given, by some, a new role to play in missions and in Chinese society. The object was not to emphasize schools 'as a proselytizing agency' but rather to have education 'Cluster around the children of our native Christians and to give these children an opportunity for advancement in life'. These schools must train students' 'consciences as well as their intellects'.[45] Such a purpose served both to educate Christians for important roles in Chinese society and to give the Church a more prominent place in China. This linkage is summarized as late as 1900 in the following statement:

> But the school, thus necessary for the growth of the Church itself, will always be a strong evangelizing agency, it is a matter of universal experience that sooner or later the value of the Western education becomes evident to the outside world. The youth of non-Christian lands, high-caste or artistocratic though he may be, is soon found wishful to sit on benches in the missionary school, even at the price of sitting by the pariah and submitting to the foreigner. He recognizes the justice of the theory of education which counts morality an integral factor, and he makes no objection to the Scripture p. 162 lesson. To him there is nothing higher under heaven than the teacher, and he has placed in that venerated seat the missionary, the preacher of the creed of Christ. The fact is eloquent of a whole world of change. What an opportunity is thus gained! How eagerly does every true evangelist seize this strategic position![46]

Thus was made the identification of Church with education. In other words:

> Western education is Christian education; it is ever aiming to reproduce the manliness of Christ and nothing else will satisfy … Western science and civilization cannot be taught apart from the teachings of Christian faith.
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> Christian education is a constant moral training.[47]

It was during the later nineteenth century that these views were promoted by the Educational Association of China and its regular reports in the *Chinese Recorder*.

This new stress on education called for missions to provide the very best in education so that the 'Christian school must stand so high as a giver of knowledge that no secular institution can afford to point the finger of scorn at its equipment or its alumni' nor should the secular subjects 'be thrown in as a bribe to secure an opportunity for adding a Bible lesson'.[48] The desire now is for Christian schools which provide an excellent education by any, especially Western, standards. Now the purpose goes well beyond individual salvation to the end of providing 'light and leaven' to all society as well as the Church. This innovative approach was already expressed at the 1877 Conference:

> Therefore let us by all the means in our power provide, *and help the Native Church* to provide, a liberal *Christian* education for the children now growing up in the Church. The better instructed, the more intelligent the Church is, the greater will be her power to influence for good the whole nation. We are not working simply for the present generation. Let us keep in view the growth and extension of the Church throughout all China, and now at the commencement do what we can to provide for the spread of general

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[45] 'Missionary Conference held at Ku-ling, Central China, August 22nd to 25th, 1988', *CR*, XXIX:12 (December, 1898), pp. 583 and 587.

[46] Ecumenical Conference (1900), p. 115.

[47] Bishop Graves, 'The Moral Influence of Christian Education in China', *CR*, XXIV:7 (July, 1893), pp. 325 and 327.

[48] Ecumenical Conference (1900), p. 114.

> knowledge (that kind of knowledge in which the Chinese are miserably lacking) *within the Church as it is now growing up*. We shall thus help to fit it for becoming a beneficent power and the source of *Christian* civilization and enlightenment to the whole land.[49] p. 163

Here a 'liberal education' becomes an asset to both the maturing 'Native Church' and the 'good of the whole nation' for all of China. Christian civilization in its broadest sense is being imparted to China. Christian schools thus become the vanguard of the best of Western culture and of the building up of a strong and intelligent Church which will lead in this process. The end result is intended to be the permeation of the non-Christian community with Christian concepts and knowledge. Likewise the stimulation of Chinese intellectual life, it was believed, would make the Chinese more receptive to Christianity because Western learning was a means of Christianizing China, and especially of reaching Chinese who were not influenced by proselytizing. The Western learning that was particularly promoted inlcuded geography, mathematics, history and science. Science was given a priority because it both demonstrated the superiority of Western learning but also counteracted the superstition of Chinese religion and showed the enlightened nature of Christianity. It was said in 1900 that 'sooner or later the value of Western education becomes evident'.[50]

In many ways the Chinese demand for Western education stimulated mission agencies to provide this schooling as an opportunity to appeal to the Chinese in their curricular desires whiile at the same time providing a Christian context. This desired education could be obtained in places like Hong Kong, Shanghai or Japan, but the mission agencies had the ability to provide it more generally throughout China under their own auspices, especially in higher education.

This approach to education appealed to the creation of a Chinese educated elite where the Christian schools and colleges were the primary mediators of Western civilization. This view was eloquently stated in 1900 when it was said that Christian education was 'a great reconciler, and affords a platform upon which the leaders among the Chinese and the leaders of the Christian Church can stand together'.[51] In other words, 'a first-class Christian school should give a first-class Chinese education with the direct object of making first-class Christian scholars'.[52] This appeal for a quality, Christian educational system resulted in the demand for mission boards to send missionaries who were trained educators and not just ordained preachers who saw evangelism as their main function. p. 164

The heightened consciousness and the furore over educational matters raised many new issues of debate as the twentieth century opened. Some of these issues were enumerated in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1900 when an appeal was made to solicit missionary educators' views on continuing issues of concern.

> Surely the last word has not yet been said upon, 'Courses of Study', 'Text Books', 'Discipline', 'Manual Training', 'Self-support', or 'English in Mission schools', or the more general themes of the 'Relation of the New Learning to the State', 'The New Learning and

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[49] Shanghai (1877), p. 203. Author's italics.

[50] Ecumenical Conference (1900), p. 116.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[52] J. C. Ferguson, 'How shall we teach the Chinese Language and Literature in our Christian Schools and Colleges', *CR*, XXXI:2 (February, 1900), p. 88.

> Social Reforms', 'Religion in the School', and 'The Place of Science in Mission Schools'. Upon these or any other living topics the editor will be pleased to receive contributions.[53]

The topics were a considerable distance from the earlier watershed of the relation of education to evangelism. In addition there was a considerable discussion on whether or not teachers in Christian schools had to be Christian, or whether 'heathen' teachers could be used at all; and if they were employed, whether it should just be temporarily until Christian teachers were found.

The language issue was also a major concern. Some believed that only Chinese could be used because it was necessary to indigenize Western learning into the local language, and thus give the Chinese the ability to express modern culture and learning in their own idiom. It also would keep Chinese from being seen to be too much influenced by foreigners. But the lack of curricular materials in Chinese proved a serious hindrance. Others asserted that modern scholarship was best expressed in English; English was the language of the international, educated elite and also would serve to protect modern learning from being poorly or incorrectly expressed in another language—by which they meant Chinese. Some high claims were made for English as containing the 'treasures of spiritual and scientific truth'.[54] And in addition:

> If the people of China could be led to adopt and speak the English language, they would, by so doing, unite their destiny, so far as civilization is concerned, with the English speaking races. The gain to China would be incalculable. The inexhaustible mine of our marvellous English literature would be opened to this people and would pour its store of wealth into the lap of the nation.[55] p. 165

The fact of the matter is that by the early twentieth century English was taught in nearly all boarding schools and many day-schools.[56]

## CONCLUSION: EDUCATION AND INDIGENIZATION

And so two divergent but clearly defined approaches to the role of Protestant mission education had emerged and sustained themselves through the course of the nineteenth century. It was not a matter of one supplanting the other, because both had their missionary advocates and mission boards tended to follow one or the other approach, although variations among people within mission organizations could be found. Also, it needs to be stated that the impetus for schools, and thus for mission educational policy, originated with the Chinese situation and was not an educational system imposed from the outside.

The two approaches—direct and indirect—had major theoretcial differences as described above. But their differences in practice, especially on the local level and over an extended period of time, are more difficult to ascertain. The Chinese environment and

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[53] E. T. Williams, 'A Word to Teachers', *CR*, XXXI:4 (April, 1900), pp. 199–200.

[54] Ecumenical Conference (1900), p. 135.

[55] D. C. McCoy, 'How Far Should the Curriculums of Western Schools and the Western Methods of Education be Adopted In China', *CR*, XIV:4 (July–August, 1883), p. 250.

[56] J. A. Silsby, 'Teaching English in China', *CR*, XXXIV:1 (January, 1903), p. 35. See World Missionary Conference, 1910, pp. 92–93 for a discussion of the pros and cons of using English as a medium of education.

church communities tended to establish the expectations for mission education. This point was understood and succinctly stated when it was observed that 'whatever may be *our* aims, the character and aims of the pupils will determine the actual character of the schools'.[57] But the question remains: what do these two approaches indicate about the indigenization of Christianity into Chinese culture? What are the implications of educational theory for the rooting of Christianity in China?

The direct approach has its own method of indigenizing Christianity where the emphasis is on the local village and the local church, because their priority is on evangelization on the broadest possible geographical level and among the greatest number of people. The immediacy of this motivation meant that the local language was used as much as possible, as were local Chinese people, in the capacity of teachers, preachers and evangelists. There was no effort to retain these jobs for the missionary because the objective was to prepare local agents. Even the missionary had to learn the local language and dialect p. 166 and sometimes, as with the CIM, was expected to dress like the Chinese. Here the aim was for the missionary to identify with the local populace and to produce a Chinese church leadership which would be the primary teaching and preaching agents. Supplementing this objective was the creation of an indigenous Christian literature which was meant to minimize the 'foreign' taint of Christianity.[58] Education should include Chinese literature as a means 'of approach to the minds and hearts of the people'. This was essential to indigenization:

> The Chinese classics occupy an honoured place in all Christian schools in China. In Christian academies and colleges a general statement would be that one-fourth of the curriculum is given to the study of the Chinese classics, one-fourth to Christian studies, and one-half to English and western science. So long as elementary Christian schools exist in China and pursue this policy, they will act as a check upon any tendency to create a non-indigenous or foreign type of Christianity, or to detach Christians from the great Chinese world of thought and movement.[59]

The end result was to be the reading, writing, and speaking of the Christian message in the Chinese language and idiom in both rural and urban areas. The priority on evangelism meant that the focus of attention was on the locale and involvement with the local culture. Of course, almost by definition, all mission work results in some separation of national Christians from their traditional culture. Those following the direct approach did try consciously to minimize this process to some extent by emphasizing the expression of Christianity in the Chinese language (and its dialects) and within the local Chinese community through the use of an active Chinese leadership in their churches and schools by both lay and ordained leaders.

The indirect educational approach had its own approach to indigenization. This philosophy put its priority on providing an education based upon the teaching of an essentially Western curriculum especially in literary and scientific areas. The purpose here was to train an educated elite which could lead the church, take positions of prominence in society such as in business and government, and provide moral and social leadership to changing Chinese society. Training this leadership necessitated a highly developed school system from the primary to collegiate level and often meant the

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[57] J. E. Walker, 'The Relation of the Education of Chinese Youth in our Boarding Schools to the Evangelization of Fuhkien Province', *CR*, XIX:12 (December, 1888), p. 560.

[58] World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, *Report of Commission III*, p. 252.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 249 and 248.

extensive use of English as the medium of instruction. This schooling p. 167 was intended to be of a quality equal to the best available in the West and consistent with the moral precepts of Christianity. In the twentieth century these schools would provide models for new Chinese policies in education. One illustration of this approach contained the analogy of grafting elements of the Western system onto the ancient trunk of Chinese culture, not with the purpose to

> denationalize the Chinese. In giving them a better civilization we would not do so by sapping the foundations of institutions which have long been revered for their local and national associations, and which, without material change, may be made the best elements of the new system.[60]

This was a more conscious effort to reform Chinese society, while at the same time protecting the integrity of Chinese culture in an era of change and modernization.

The next decades would bring new pressures and influences on mission education and modifications would need to be made. But they were made on the basis of the divergent mission educational philosophies that had emerged and been formulated in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

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# Training Missionaries in Asia

Titus Loong

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Here in Asia, for the last twenty years, churches have started to see their part in preaching the gospel to all nations by crossing cultural and linguistic barriers. Mission-minded Christians realize the value of learning new languages and the significance of planting churches cross-culturally. They also recognize how Christian professionals can become strategic tentmakers in some countries.

Asian mission is new. Churches and sending agencies are still working hard to improve areas such as orientation and training, children's education and care for missionaries' parents. Many Asians start their missionary services hardly prepared to face the conditions. Asian missionaries are in some aspects quite different from Western missionaries. Though some Asians may be well supported financially and prayerfully, they often lack adequate pastoral care from their churches. Unlike their Western co-workers, Asian missionaries are often 'first generation' Christians. Their missions awareness comes from hearing talks and reading books about current world mission

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[60] McCoy, *op. cit.*, p. 253.