

CHAPTER THREE

RMG'S VIEW OF EDUCATION

The Rhenish Mission (RMG) was founded in Barmen, Germany on September 23, 1828 as a merger of several mission bodies. As was the case with other mission groups as well, the RMG was a product of the spirit of Pietism joined with the English revivalistic and evangelistic movements. In addition, there were several other theological and philosophical currents which influenced and coloured the views of RMG personnel, including their views on education.

In this chapter first of all we shall discuss the educational views and practices of selected teachers from the RMG seminary who tended to be involved in the leadership of the RMG as well, together with the theological and missiological thought which undergirded their educational ideas. Along with that, we shall endeavour to see the degree to which the views of certain leaders in German Reformation, theology and philosophy of education impacted upon the RMG seminary teachers and how these educators in turn communicated those ideas to their students. Further we shall examine other factors which played a part in supporting the development of the RMG's educational views and practices.

Hopefully, based on this brief observation we shall obtain a clarification of the question why the RMG carried out its educational ministry in the Batakland from the beginning of its witness there, the character and design of the educational ideas which they brought with them and then developed further among the Bataks. As we shall see later, their views were not always the same from period to period, rather they continued to develop; moreover there were differences of opinions among the missionaries themselves which meant that the RMG's educational effort developed and became coloured by those different ideas.

Even though we mention the RMG's educational views, and the influence of various kinds of educational thought and philosophy which were influential, nevertheless it can be said that when the RMG began its educational work in the Batak area it did not as yet have a clear idea of

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education. Views held by the Barmen seminary teachers could not be validated as a matter of course on the mission field where the situation and needs differed so greatly from those in Europe. RMG missionaries in the Batakland built their educational views and systems within the process of carrying out their educational ministries. Even so, various educational philosophies and ideas of the leaders had been and continued to be disseminated among the missionaries in Batakland. We shall try to identify those views when we discuss the RMG/Batakmission educators in section A of this chapter and in Chapters Four to Six afterwards.

A. The Barmen Seminary

1. Views of Its Teachers

As is usually the case with Christian missions, including the RMG, their seminaries formed their heart and soul. Among the more than 100 missionaries who were sent to the Batakland, almost all of them were educated at Barmen, either entirely or for part of their training.¹

Guided by the approach of Schreiner², our analysis will focus on several teachers of the Barmen seminary, while at the same time relating their ideas to its development and the period of each teacher's ministry. In this way, we shall see the development of their educational views within the RMG during the period of our analysis. Within it, we shall see differences in the teachers'

¹ According to the list of the RMG, 163 missionaries were sent to the Batak area during the term specified in our research (1861-1940) in addition to doctors and women evangelists. But among these were also tens of Dutch teachers, most of whom were sent directly to the Batakmission (especially during the third period, Chapter Six) without going through Barmen, while a small number such as Chr. Leipoldt who later became a teacher in the School for Catechists at Parau Sorat, and J.H. Meerwaldt who became a teacher in the Pansur Napitu and Narumonda Seminary, obtained orientation or supplemental training at the Barmen Seminary. In addition, there was another class of missionaries who did not take courses at Barmen, namely those who were graduates of theological faculties.

² L. Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium* (1972), pp. 33-85: Theology of the Spiritual Fathers and the Teachers in the RMG Seminary.

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views which will be evident in the approaches taken later by those whom they taught and sent to the Batak area.

(a) J.H. Richter (1799-1846)

Richter taught at the Barmen seminary from 1827-1846, and also served as the first inspector for the RMG.³ Therefore, none of his students became Batak missionaries. Even so, he was one of those laying Barmen's theological foundations. His theological and educational views were rooted in the Pietism of Francke (1663-1727) and Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Thus, the core of his instruction was a basic knowledge and understanding of the Bible, and its teaching of salvation.

This core was embodied in the seminary's three-year curriculum consisting of the following courses: "An Introduction to Biblical Knowledge", "History of the Kingdom of God", "Christian Faith and Life", "History of the Christian Church", "Geography", "Physics", "English" and "Dutch", "Pedagogy", and "Public Speaking". In brief, theological knowledge was supplemented with general knowledge, but all were studied in the light of a literal understanding of the Bible.

Outside of the lecture hours which were scheduled three days per week, the students were required to work beyond the seminary campus, or to be involved in working with their hands within the seminary in order to fulfil their daily needs or for personal discipline. They had to teach in elementary schools and for that purpose they studied pedagogy. As a matter of fact, before Richter taught at Barmen, he had been a teacher of education at Halle, and strongly emphasized its importance for the missionary. After Richter's time, in short, missionary candidates were prepared to become teachers in the mission field.

For Richter, all educational activity at the seminary, in fact the whole effort of the Christian Mission, was for the purpose of building up the Kingdom of God. He understood the history of the

³ The highest daily leadership of the RMG was called the Inspector. In the beginning there was but one inspector, but after the work of the RMG developed further, there were two inspectors: the First Inspector (*Erster Inspektor*) and the Second Inspector (*Zweiter Inspektor*).

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world within this context. This understanding of history infused with Pietism would be developed further by others, notably Von Rohden, Fabri and Warneck.

(b) J. C. Wallmann (1811-1865)

Wallmann served as a teacher at the seminary and was also the RMG inspector from 1848-1857. Even though only two of the Batak missionaries (Nommensen and Johannsen) had the opportunity to be his students, nevertheless his influence both as a theologian and pastor (*Seelsorger*) continued to be felt by succeeding missionary generations. Moreover, he is considered to be the one who laid the cornerstone of RMG theology⁴, one characterized as "a theology of redemption originating out of the revival movement"⁵ which emphasized the needs of persons for redemption, repentance and salvation.

Holding such a theological view, he understood the religions of indigenous communities to be evangelized as proof of the darkness of paganism, and the Gospel as the light which overcomes that darkness through conversion of the practitioners of paganism. Although such a view reflected the general tenor of his age, nevertheless in distinction from general views of his time, Wallmann never idolized Western civilization or identified it with Christianity. As an almost pure pietist, he did not rely upon the trappings of Western civilization to support the spreading of the Gospel. This was why he hoped that his students would "be filled with enough patience to seek conversion free from any tendency to Europeanize non-Christian persons."⁶

As a pietist and Lutheran conservative, Wallmann was faced with the fact that many churchmen of the Rhineland church followed theological liberalism or were influenced by it. Even

⁴ Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵ Ed. Kriele, *Die Rheinische Mission in der Heimat* [The Rhenish Mission at Home] (1928), p. 110.

⁶ Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Wallmann's understanding is referred to also in O. Marcks, *Die Neue Zeit in unserer Missionsarbeit auf Sumatera* [The New Age for our Missionwork in Sumatera] (1919), pp. 31f.

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so, he never considered separating the mission from the church. On the contrary, he was emphatic in stressing the unity of both, so that each missionary would have his basic relationship in the church without questioning the church's theological convictions.⁷ This of course was in accord with the ecumenical atmosphere and design which the Barmen seminary had fostered since its founding. Therefore, it did not put much emphasis upon theoretical differences, but instead stressed practical and useful teachings for all churches and congregations. In this way, too, each missionary was related to the church; he was confirmed and commissioned for that ministry by a congregation or church before departing for the mission field.

The period of Wallmann's ministry at the Barmen seminary could be stamped as 'spartan' because he had so many positions to fill which mused him to combine discipline and order with an atmosphere of family life in the seminary. This same combination continued after the period of his ministry, and echoes of it were felt in the seminaries of the Batakmission later.

During the time of Wallmann's ministry, Hebrew, Greek and Latin began to be studied to the end that the students would be able to read the Bible and theological books in their original languages, and also so that they could translate the Bible into the languages of the people they were evangelizing. But apparently the amount of language study was insufficient because its purpose was not attained. Only during the period of Fabri's leadership later would the hours devoted to classical languages be increased and the students' abilities heightened in their usage.

(c) *G.L. von Rohden (1817-1889)*⁸

Von Rohden had the longest service as teacher in the Barmen seminary (1846-1889) which meant that he shared teaching duties with nearly all the seminary teachers mentioned here; then too

⁷ Kriele, *op. cit.*, p. 114, and Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The view of the unity between mission and church was also prominent in the views of Fabri and Gustav Warneck (see below).

⁸ Most of this section has been summarized from Kriele, *op. cit.*, pp. 182ff, Schreiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-82, and G. Menzel, *Die Rheinische Mission* (1978), pp. 209-213.

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the majority of the Batakmission missionaries of the last century were also his students. Throughout the extensive period of his Barmen ministry, Von Rohden almost never stepped outside the seminary itself, a fact which earned him the title of "Home Secretary of the RMG". As a result, his personal impact on his students was impressive, although Fabri's theological influence will be seen to have been greater. The characters of these two teachers were very different, yet their personal differences tended to be mutually complementary resulting in a positive impact upon their students.

Von Rohden taught almost all courses beginning in the *Vorschule*, founded in 1858, the one-year matriculation or preparatory section before students began their actual seminary studies. However, his main specialty was history which included geography, ethnography, and the history of religions. His view of history was characteristically pietistic and was expressed most clearly in his *opus magnum: Leitfaden der Weltgeschichte* (An Introduction to World History), 1859.⁹ With the Book of Revelation understood literally as his point of departure, he endeavoured to explain history from the creation to the Second Coming of Christ. For him, world history and church history were of one piece and illustrated the history of the Kingdom of God. When he discussed the significance of the Reformation, he pointed to it as the special function of the German people who took over the function of Israel in the history of salvation: "The German people were elected long before as the protector and maintainer of the divine treasury of grace".¹⁰ In short, von Rohden was a follower of German national-Protestantism in a way similar to that of Fabri and Warneck, a position rooted in the Romanticism taught by J.C. Herder (1744-1803).

⁹ Von Rohden intended this book to be used primarily in the upper class of the *Protestant Gymnasium and Realschule* (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 211), but it was also used in the Barmen Seminary. Nevertheless it is unclear why the work of J.C. Andre: *Weltgeschichte* rather than this book was translated by P.H. Johannsen for use in the seminary at Pansur Napitu; see the bibliography in R. Wegner (ed.), *Rheinische Missionsarbeit 1828-1903* (1903), p. 276.

¹⁰ Von Rohden, *Leitfaden*, p. 3.

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Reminiscent of Wallmann's approach, Von Rohden strongly emphasized discipline and orderliness without losing the sense of being part of a family, even though he tended to be paternalistic. We have seen such an understanding of discipline in German educators in earlier times who filled the educational treasury and who shared in forming the consciousness of German educators up to the 19th century. In turn, thought such as that and the influence of the Barmen seminary of Rohden's period were greatly felt in the Pansur Napitu seminary in northern Sumatra under the teaching of P.H. Johannsen (see Chapter Four), a former student of Wallmann and Von Rohden. With reference to the relationship between evangelization and civilization, Rohden stressed that although missionaries participated as a civilizing force, nevertheless this had to be grounded in obedience to the Lord. It must be remembered that it is faith which makes the Gospel triumph over pagan (*Heiden*) society rather than culture or civilization.¹¹

(d) F.G.K.E. Fabri (1824-1891)

Fabri began his ministry as RMG inspector and seminary teacher in 1857. Although the amount of time which could be budgeted for teaching in the seminary was relatively meagre because of his involvement beyond the campus, even so, his writings, the steps which he outlined for the renewal of the seminary, and his appearances beyond the RMG resulted in his being a very important figure in its history, especially in the Netherlands. These outside activities caused him to be dubbed the RMG's "Minister of Foreign Affairs".

(i) Fabri's Theological Views¹²

Basically, Fabri was a thorough-going pietist, since he emphasized personal piety and a literal

¹¹ *BRMG* 1887, p. 304 and 1888, p. 300.

¹² We are mentioning only that part of Fabri's theological view which is related to his view of education. For a complete analysis of Fabri's theology see W. R. Schmidt, *Mission, Kirche und Reich Gottes bei Friedrich Fabri*, Wuppertal-Barmen Verlag Rheinischen Mission, 1965.

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understanding of the Bible. These principles of pietism were combined with theosophy¹³ which issued in a special understanding of history, mankind or ethnic groups, and the Christian Mission.

As a follower and contributor to a theology of the Kingdom of God (*Reichstheologie*) Fabri saw three kinds of kingdoms: the Kingdom of God, world kingdoms, and the devil's kingdom. World history was looked upon as the arena for the struggle between the God's Kingdom and the devil's. Because in the final analysis, the Kingdom of God is the victor, world history is concurrently the revelation of the history of salvation. At the same time, two forces are struggling in each individual since each is a part of those two kingdoms. One of them is the *sensus communis*, the organ of revelation found in each person which directs him towards the Kingdom of God or salvation, and the second is sin which drives him towards the kingdom of the devil, or destruction.

He explained 'heathenism' from this perspective.¹⁴ Although humankind fell into sin, it continued to have a consciousness of God and the world. But through the Tower of Babel event (Genesis 11), that consciousness was destroyed and humankind experienced degeneration. This caused the concurrent emergence of various polytheistic and pagan people.

This disaster was total, which meant that it comprehended all human ethical-intellectual and physical sides. Paganism began with the separation of people and languages; the period of monotheism was replaced by a time of paganism. Therefore, pagans are those people whose consciousness of God has been lost.¹⁵

But by God's decision, the destiny of all the people scattered due to the Babel event, i.e. Noah's descendants, was not the same. Japheth's descendants became the Europeans (white race) and received God's blessing in the form of recovery of God's knowledge through Christianity and a high civilization. But Ham's descendants are the dark-skinned people who remain in the same kind

¹³ Oetinger, the pioneer in theosophy, also calls it *philosophia sacra*, which is more or less a mixture of philosophy and theology.

¹⁴ F. Fabri, *Die Entstehung des Heidenthums und die Aufgabe der Heidenmission* [The Origin of Heathenism and the Task of the Mission to the Heathen], 1859.

¹⁵ Schmidt's summary *op. cit.*, p. 102 of Fabri's *Die Entstehung*, pp. 24-31, and 58.

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of darkness as their skin colour.¹⁶ But these latter had not totally lost their *sensus communis*; even though very dim, a small trace of it still remained to form a preparation for the gospel (*preparatio evangelica*) for them.¹⁷

Therefore the *mission task* is to communicate the Gospel from the white race, including Germanic peoples, to the dark-skinned pagans, and at the same time to spread a higher civilization. Because evangelism must run parallel with civilization, white-skinned western people who are already Christian with a high civilization become the bearers of civilization for the whole of humankind; if others wish to advance, they must follow the lead of the white race.¹⁸

When all people have heard the Gospel (Matt. 24:14), the Kingdom of God will be evident and will coincide with the Return of Christ. This is the case because even though the Kingdom of God has been present in world history since the Tower of Babel event, it continues to be something invisible, internal or intellectual, and exists only in spirit within human consciousness. Therefore, all visible institutions including church and states calling themselves Christian are not yet pure embodiments of the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, these institutions must endeavour to evangelize pagan people in a most serious manner, in order for history to reach its glorious goal most rapidly when the Kingdom of God will be clear in all of its fullness. Because the visible church is not the fullest embodiment of the Kingdom of God, the genuine church is not identical with one people or nation, but rather it is a collection of elected individuals who have gone through

¹⁶ A similar understanding circulated in the Netherlands at the end of the 1850s as well; for example see Multatuli, who in his famous novel *Max Havelaar* (1860) puts it into the mouth of the reverend Wawelaar.

¹⁷ Fabri, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 3841 and 100; cf. J.C. Hoekendijk, *Kerk en Volk in de duitse Zendingwetenschap* [Church and People in German Mission Thought] (1948), pp. 54f.

¹⁸ Fabri, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Cf. Kamma, *Ajaib di Mata Kita* [This Wonderful Work; translated from *Di Wonderlijke Werk*], I, pp. 12f. According to Schreiner, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Fabri's view of the *sensus communis* and *preparatio evangelica* was very influential among the missionaries of the Batak Mission.

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a personal conversion. Therefore, the conversion hoped for from pagans as the fruit of evangelization is not a mass experience but rather a conversion of individuals. Various peoples have lost the power of original life needed to obtain salvation together and to build a church which involves all ethnic groups in it. In other words, for Fabri, mass Christianization is rebellion against the progress of the history of the Kingdom of God. Its consequence for mission education is that education is but a means or method to bring pupils to personal conversion.

Although Fabri was not optimistic and satisfied with the visible church, yet with Wallmann, he stressed the unity of the mission and church, "the mission must be an ecclesiastical institution and mission work is one of the tasks of the church."¹⁹

(ii) Relationship Between Mission and Colonialism

Fabri has been dubbed "The Father of German Colonialism" because he pressured the German government under the leadership of Chancellor Bismarck to engage in colonialism too. This was evident especially through his work of 1879, *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (Does Germany Need Colonies?). Such urging was based upon an understanding of the Kingdom of God as advanced above. As a matter of fact, the German government did embark on colonialization beginning during the 1880s.

As indicated in the previous section, Fabri saw the Christian mission as a carrier of the Gospel as well as western civilization. Evangelization must go hand in hand with civilizing because the Gospel has been united with the culture of western people since the Middle Ages and has achieved a superior religious culture in harmony with the essence of the Gospel as "... a cultural principle which must be possessed by all people".²⁰ Furthermore, a *sensus communis* present among pagan people causes them to receive both the Gospel and western civilization. In order for the mission effort to be more productive, the German government as the government of a Christian nation has

¹⁹ Expressed by Fabri at the RMG festival 1884, found in *BRMG* 1884, p. 263.

²⁰ Fabri, *Die Entstehung*, p. 101.

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an obligation to support the Christian mission. In accomplishing colonialization, the German government together with mission institutions engages in evangelization and civilizing. The theory of cooperation between government and mission is called "Engagement", and forms an indication of Divine Providence.²¹

Fabri's theory of engagement was proposed in relation to German colonization in Africa. But thought about the necessity for colonial governments to support the Christian mission long preceded his proposal, and it involved the Dutch Indies, especially after the murder of several RMG missionaries in Kalimantan in 1859. In his address in Utrecht in 1865²², he criticized the Dutch Indies government because it did not give support and freedom to the mission, specifically the RMG. For him, the kind of support most expected from the government was moral rather than financial, and freedom of movement and protection for mission personnel.

In a way parallel to government support, according to Fabri, the mission ought to receive support from commercial bodies, both giving sympathetic support to the mission work, and also endeavouring to uplift the socio-economic life of the society being evangelized, although the latter aspect was secondary.²³ Even so, for Fabri the colonial government, commercial institutions and

²¹ Cf. Fabri's essay at the 6th Continental Mission Conference, 1884, "Die Bedeutung geordneter politischer Zustände für die Mission" [The Meaning of Disciplined Political Conditions for Mission], in *EMM* 1884, p. 304: "Europe's continuing cultural triumph is also the beginning of the Christianization of the nations."

²² F. Fabri, "Rede am 25 April 1865 in der General-Versammlung der Utrechtschen Missionsgesellschaft" [April 25, 1865 Address before the General Assembly of the Utrecht Mission Society], in *BRMG* 1865, pp. 295-303.

²³ Later, the RMG founded the *Rheinische Handelsmission* in 1869, and pioneered the *Missions-Handels-Aktien-Gesellschaft* [Mission Trading Company] in 1870. See *BRMG* 1891, p. 263. However, later on a substantial part of this business network became bankrupt, and this was an unspoken reason why Fabri resigned from the RMG in 1884. Even so, this network was maintained until the 20th century and played a role in the financial support of the first and second period of the Batak Mission; see Chapter Four, B.3.

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effort towards civilizing are but means to achieve the main goal, i.e. the communication of the Gospel and the conversion of individuals.

(iii) *Education of Indigenous Persons for Employment: Erziehung zur Arbeit*²⁴

This subject was advanced by Fabri in connection with Germany's colonial effort, particularly in Africa. In his writings espousing ideas about the German colonizing project²⁵, he stressed that one program to be undertaken jointly between missionaries and the government was that of educating the indigenous society to be able to work, especially with reference to the various projects and firms connected with the German colonies. He saw this program as part of a German cultural and humanistic responsibility. Raising the cultural level through education would also raise the economic condition of indigenous society.

The educational task must be shared according to its specific dimensions. The government and entrepreneurs should handle external education, *aussere Erziehung*, such as the communication of knowledge and skills, whereas the mission would deal with internal upbuilding, *innere Umbildung*, i.e. building up of the inner person through character education and the communication of religious and moral values.

Apparently Fabri's view invited a great amount of criticism, for example that in practice it would hardly be possible to distinguish between education for work and forced labour, *Zwangsarbeit*. Along this same line, critics admonished that as spiritual and religious educators missionaries did not need to involve themselves in political and commercial affairs. It would be sufficient for them to undertake direct evangelization.

In any case, Fabri had tried to place the educational effort in the context of cooperative

²⁴ This section is a summary of two of K.J. Bade's writings, *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus in der Bismarckzeit* (1975), pp. 257-267 and "Zwischen Mission und Kolonialbewegung" in K.J. Bade, *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission* (1982), pp. 103-112.

²⁵ *Bedarf Deutschland der Kolonien?* (1879) and *Koloniale Aufgaben* (1885).

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cultural ventures with various elements in German society even though all of them were merely tools to achieve a more noble end, the repentance of individuals and the embodiment of the Kingdom of God.

(iv) *The Renewal of the Seminary Curriculum*

In 1858, barely a year after Fabri took office in the RMG, he announced sweeping changes in the seminary curriculum. First of all, he established a *Vorschule* (a preparatory class) of one year to provide a stronger basis in general knowledge and language including the Biblical languages, so that the total length of study became four years.²⁶ Proficiency in Biblical languages was demanded of the students so that as missionaries later they would be able to translate the Bible into the language of the people they were evangelizing. At the same time general knowledge was elevated in importance which meant increasing the total class hours. In brief, Fabri endeavoured to make the seminary more academic because he believed that scholarly study was a tool for increased ability in the spiritual realm.

But he seems to have limited the validity of the scholarly dimension to non-Biblical subjects which were intended to enable the students just to communicate Biblical content itself. His slogan was, "Education with and through the Bible". As an authentic pietist, Fabri rejected textual criticism of the Bible (cf. Von Rohden), and he was reluctant to give too great a place to dogmatics as a source of teaching; for him the Bible was sufficient.

In addition to improving the quality of the curriculum, Fabri also emphasized increasing the total student body. He saw that both the content of the curriculum and the number of students must be oriented towards the mission field. In addition to improved ability of the missionaries, there must be sufficient numbers of them so that they would be roughly proportional to the population of the society to be evangelized. Just a handful of missionaries in the midst of hundreds of millions of people, especially if missionary work were based on individual conversions, would not achieve

²⁶ After 1871 the *Vorschule* study period was 2 years and the

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much of significance. Therefore, during the time of his leadership, the seminary capacity was greatly increased. Of course, this had an immediate impact on the seminary finances, and became one of the primary causes for the financial difficulties, actually deficit spending, which continued to be experienced during the years he presided over the seminary.

(e) *Gustav Warneck (1834-1910)*

Actually G. Warneck served as teacher in the Barmen seminary for just a few years (1871-1874), but he was also an RMG inspector.²⁷ As a consequence of health problems, he was compelled to limit his speaking and to devote his energy to writing. As he worked from behind his writing desk, his ideas caused him to be called the architect of young churches.²⁸ And one of the young churches to feel his leadership and receive his special attention was the Batak church.²⁹

Seminary 4 years, or a total period of 6 years.

²⁷ The presence of G. Warneck in the RMG was the result of a series of efforts to recruit several theologians to its staff, something already begun with Fabri in 1857 and Schreiber in 1866, because the RMG felt the need to raise the quality of its work and ideas. Even so, in general, those theologians came from pietistic circles, especially from Halle, whereas those from universities where the influence of theological liberalism was stronger, generally found it difficult to adjust themselves to the Mission leadership's views which were rooted in pietism. Cf. for example Ed. Kriele, "Professor D. Dr. G. Warneck zum Gedächtnis" [In Memory of Professor D. Dr. G. Warneck] in *BRMG* 1911, pp. 25ff.

²⁸ Ed. Kriele, *Die Rheinische Mission*, p. 245; P. Beyerhaus, *Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem* [Autonomy of the Younger Churches As A Mission Problem] (1956), p. 78.

²⁹ The attention of G. Warneck towards the Batak Mission was evident since the publication of his *Nacht und Morgen auf Sumatra* [Night and Morning in Sumatra] (1872). This was to be seen as well in his various articles and editorial views found in the *AMZ* journal which he pioneered in publishing in 1874. But his attention was most clear in his main work, *Evangelische Missionslehre* [Protestant Missiology] (3 volumes, 5 books; 1892-1903). O.G. Myklebust in his book, *The Study of Mission in Theological Education*, 1955, p. 289, wrote that he considered this to be the first book on missiology and one without peer up

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In connection with our main topic, three matters were stressed while Warneck was a teacher in the Barmen seminary. First of all, he emphasized the importance of the science of education. As a student at the university of Halle he had already realized that pedagogy was closely related to missiology.³⁰ Secondly, he saw the study of missionary practice as a separate field within theology, i.e. missiology, which was closely related to all branches of theology and needed the support of a number of non-theological sciences such as anthropology, the science of religions, etc. Thirdly, he supported the unity between the ministry of mission, church, and school because of his understanding that God, church and mission are educators and that in essence evangelization is an effort to teach. But before we take up Warneck's educational position in detail, we must consider his theological and missiological views.

(i) *Warneck's Theology*³¹

Warneck, too, belongs to the circle of neo-pietist and biblicists, as was the case with most of the theologians of his time. Therefore, he rejected liberal and rationalistic theology, although a line of rationalistic thought is sufficiently clear within his theology. Even though there are various strands within pietism, nevertheless there are characteristics held in common such as a literal and conservative exegesis of the Bible, and a dualistic understanding of reality (Warneck endeavoured

the 1950s. G. Warneck personally presented a copy of his magnum opus to his son, Johannes Warneck who served as a missionary among the Bataks beginning in 1893. In Myklebust's book, the Batakmission and the Batak Church are seen as a *Leitbild* (model) of the RMG's success in giving form to Warneck's views and ideas.

³⁰ Kriele, *op. cit.*, p. 243; J. Dürr, *Sendende und werdende Kirche in der Missionstheologie Gustav Warnecks* [The Sending and the Becoming Church in the Mission Theology of Gustav Warneck] (1947), p. 22.

³¹ In the main, this section gives the essence of S.I. Teinonen, *Gustav Warneck In Varhaisen Lahetisteorian Teologiset Perusteet* (1959), pp. 238-258, (which contains the English summary, "The Theological Basis of Gustav Warneck's Early Theory of Missions"). Teinonen tries to reconstruct the foundation of Warneck's theology based upon his works up until 1883.

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to bridge the gap between the two sides; see below).

The basis of his theological view was *life*. We meet with various key terms in his writings (nature, natural law, laws of growth, fruit, seed, sprout, energy, organism, mature, etc.) all of which are centred in life. Warneck saw Christianity as that life which penetrates human orders and fills human fellowship with its spirit. Religion is one form of life; Christianity differs from other religions because it has life, whereas other religions do not. The Gospel is a form of divine life and Christ is the principle of new life which radiates to all forms of life. Salvation means the entrance of the life of God into the life of persons, creating new life. Having knowledge about God means having eternal life.

Only Christians who are alive, in distinction from nominal Christians, have knowledge of God which equals life eternal. Even so, among followers of paganism and of non-Christian religions, there is a remnant of "general religion" which contains the *logos spermatikos* (cf. the *sensus communis* of Fabri). In other words, non-Christians are not totally dead spiritually since a spark of life is found in them, although not of sufficient power to attain life eternal. For this purpose, the Gospel has come to complete their knowledge so they might receive eternal life.

On the basis of this understanding of *life*, Warneck explained the significance of *nature and history*. Reality is divided into two realms, the realm of nature and of the realm of "grace" (*spirit*). Issues of history, humankind and the world are comprehended under the first realm, whereas under the second are grouped issues of salvation, church, Kingdom of God, and other spiritual matters. Although "nature" in itself is unsatisfactory as a means to obtain eternal life, nevertheless it is not totally evil or negative, provided that it is used to serve grace or spiritual ends. Therefore, within processes occurring through "the laws of growth" or "laws of gradual development" such as in the metaphor of the mustard seed, "nature" obtains perfection which permits it to enter into the realm of the spirit. In a parallel way, "history" consists of two kinds: world history and the history of the Kingdom of God. However, the two need not be opposed to one another because world history moves towards the Kingdom of God and serves it. World

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history is a precondition for the history of the Kingdom of God; contrariwise, the history of the Kingdom of God is the fulfilment of world history.

Warneck tried to explain *humankind* and *world* while remaining within a dualistic thought structure, yet he attempts to bridge the distance the two poles. Humankind is divided into two groups: those within the realm of salvation, i.e. "Christians who are alive", and those who are outside of this realm. Those of the second group who only have natural spirituality or general religion are able to enter into the first realm provided that they become Christians who are alive. There they experience "being born again" and receive "grace" or spirit. But there is no need for this new experience to negate the element of "nature" which was possessed before, rather it completes it. A similar situation is found with the world. Although the world has been damaged by sin, God still guides it towards true development, for example through the ordered way of the state because governmental authority has its origin in God. Other elements or institutions too, including western civilization, are used by God to prepare a way for His Kingdom. In other words, all of them are ministers of the realm of the "spirit".

The *church* is understood in two ways also: there is the true church made up of Christians who are alive, who truly have received salvation. These are the ones called "the church of the saints", the church of believers. But this church is not totally outside the peoples' church or national church, or even the fellowship of nominal Christians, but rather within all of these, as a kind of tower of a great cathedral (*Dom*). In other words, it is an *ecclesiola in ecclesiae*.³² This *ecclesiola* is a reflection of the ideal church of the New Testament and does not necessarily negate folk church systems, either in Europe or on the mission field. Consistent with the law of gradual development which is valid for the church also, at the parousia the church will reach perfection and then the Kingdom of God will be manifest in its fullness; at that time there will be no longer any

³² G. Warneck rejected Fabri's and his followers' idea of a congregation of the elect (*Auswahlgemeinde*) which was separated from the people's church. See Warneck's *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen* [A Summary of the History of Protestant Missions] (1882).

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place for *ecclesiola in ecclesiae*. For this reason, too, in evangelizing pagan societies, the mission institution must originate within the church.

(ii) *Warneck's Missiological View*

In essence, evangelization is a spiritual task to channel the life of the church or of genuine Christians to the pagan world. This is accomplished in stages: sending of mission-aries, instructing indigenous workers, and finally, Christianizing the entire ethnic group. The mission actor or subject is the church, because in principle the church must be a missionary community. But because this fulfilment cannot be expected from a folk church or national church in the western sense, the one doing this must be the core of the church (*ecclesiola*) within the folk or national church. In contrast, the objects of mission include all nations³³ in harmony with the message of the Bible, for example Matthew 28:19 and Romans 11:25ff.

The nations must be Christianized within their organic structures; their distinctive characteristics (*Volkstum*), for example adat and social structures, must not be lost or destroyed because the *logos spermatikos* found within them forms the point of contact with that genuine life found in the Gospel. Nevertheless, it must be realized that all the nations cannot be Christianized at one time, but on the contrary it occurs only gradually beginning with individuals, families, and finally the whole ethnic group. For this reason, the idea of the conversion of the individual may be joined with and carried on along with the Christianizing of a whole people (*Volkschristianisierung*). These two approaches were not in mutual opposition as assumed by their separated defenders, rather they stood side by side and were also joined together.

The task of mission (*Missionsaufgabe*) is the Christianizing of all the nations (*Volkschristianisierung*), whereas the ultimate goal is the formation of a self-sufficient people's church. This

³³ Warneck followed the categorization of peoples which was common at that period, i.e. as uncivilized (*Naturvölker*) and as highly cultured people (*Kulturvölker*) but who do not have genuine life; see his *Evangelische Missionslehre* (EML) III/I, pp. 57ff.

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self-sufficiency does not only entail fulfilling "the Three-Self"³⁴, but more than that, because it has the meaning of Christian influence penetrating into and dominating the whole life of a people. When this has been embodied into the whole world, then the parousia will happen, consistent with Matthew 24:14.³⁵

With reference to the means and methods of doing mission, there is direct and indirect development as Warneck explains in a manner parallel to that of the development of the Kingdom of God. Indirect development or expansion is supported by indirect means, such as political, economic and other 'natural' means, but direct development is supported by direct methods: verbal proclamation using purely spiritual means, especially baptism and instructing. With all this we arrive at the next subject.

(iii) *Warneck's Educational Views*

Warneck discussed the place and function of education within the framework of Matthew 28:19, especially the term *didaskontes*, "Go teach".³⁶ For him, this term was not exactly identical with *schulmeistern*, to teach or to be a teacher in a school. Although the mission functions as "the mother of the school", and in agreement with the Reformation principle as the "educator of nations" (*die Lehrerin der Völker*)³⁷, this did not mean that just as soon as missionaries arrived on the field, they involved themselves immediately in the task of providing schools. Instead, based on

³⁴ Warneck had many contacts with the proponents of the Three-Self theory, i.e. Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson, and learned from them. But his understanding of the deepest significance of church independence differed from them. This has been explained by Beyerhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 81ff.

³⁵ This text became the motto of the magazine, *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (AMZ) which was initiated by Warneck.

³⁶ G. Warneck, "Der Missionsbefehl" [The Great Commission] in *AMZ* 1874, pp. 377-392.

³⁷ G. Warneck, "Reformation und Heidenmission" in *AMZ* 1883, especially p. 439. Here Warneck labels Mission as "the Daughter of the Reformation".

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the Great Commission, the first step must be the direct proclamation of the Gospel, followed by baptism, and only afterwards would they teach those already baptized. Schools would be provided especially for children who had been baptized.

But this does not mean that the educational ministry is unimportant or that it must be separated from evangelization; on the contrary both are intimately related to each other. In his writings since 1879, Warneck stressed:

Schooling activity is an important result from the working structure of the Christian mission, and is a significant condition of mission methodology. Indeed, missionaries must place the Bible in the hands of those converted but in order for these to understand the Bible, missionaries must teach them to read and to understand the meaning of the content of the Bible first of all At the present we cannot imagine mission work without teaching in schools or school baptisms.³⁸

In his writing, *Mission in der Schule* and his principal work, *Evangelische Missionslehre* Warneck expounded the vital function of schooling in a more systematic and basic way within the framework of fulfilling the mission task, i.e. the Christianization of a people. In his *Mission in der Schule*, he firmly stressed:

Mission and school have always stood side by side in a very close cooperative relationship. Of course we can mention the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19 as the basic command for the Christian school and at the same time a commission to baptize. "Make disciples of all nations, baptizing and teaching them." With this one commission, our Lord Jesus Christ in an incomparable way integrates three Christian institutions: Mission, Baptism and School. All three are most directly significant for the whole religious, moral and spiritual development of humankind.

As to the *means* through which the Holy Founder of the Christian Mission wanted to make all people His disciples, He determined very explicitly these to be *baptism and teaching*. Of course, the teaching task is already comprehended in the proclamation of the Gospel itself and in the founding of the church and in provision for its care. Even though Jesus did not bring the school into being suddenly in the form it has at the present day, yet we can say with full confidence that the Christian Mission which He called to be the teacher of the nations has become the Mother of the School In all places where our missionaries have carried on evangelization, there too they founded schools with a specific understanding, i.e. as the teacher of the nations. Without the schools, there would be no mission at the present time, or at the very least there would be no Protestant mission. The Protestant mission placed the Bible in the hands of persons coming from paganism to the Christian faith; the missionaries definitely wanted the Bible to be read, and this meant that they had to found schools In this

³⁸ G. Warneck, *Die Gegenseitigen Beziehungen der modernen Mission und Cultur*, 1879, (English edition: *Modern Mission and Culture*, trans. Th. Smith, 1883), pp. 133f.

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way young pagans had to be brought under the influence of the Gospel, which meant teaching them in religious, moral and spiritual matters, something which could only occur through the mission schools.³⁹

In *EML* he stressed that schooling, especially elementary schools, formed the main supporting structure for the formation of the people's church:

Christian schools are the practical continuation of the baptism of children. Although the home is the guarantee of Christian education, yet that guarantee is not carried out sufficiently in most homes. Therefore the Christian mission must endeavour to carry out such teaching. There will always be difficulties if the founding of institutions for instruction is postponed because of hindrances which have not been overcome. But that in itself is not the main consideration for the church to carry out its responsibility to baptized children, namely making Christian mission schools available to them. No, these schools are especially meant as a net cast out to the young members of society. The young who are moving towards adulthood are the future of a people, and as such are the seedbed for future harvest.

Education of the community (*Volksbildung*) is impossible without elementary schools. As is the case in the present, without Christian schools Christian character will not be attained, so without these schools too there will be no christianizing of society (*Volkschristianisierung*).

If the mission wishes to establish christianization which issues in the maturation of the life of the community, then it must begin with the schools. This is intended also so that Christians who have come out of paganism will stand out gradually in their spiritual leadership in the community because of their behaviour and superior education.⁴⁰

Although in principle, Warneck held that the school was the subsequent step after baptism of the child, yet he did not shut the door entirely for unbaptized children to enjoy education in mission schools. For these latter, schooling was a means of preparation toward the goal of conversion and baptism. What is more, Warneck was not in agreement with hurried or pressured conversion:

The Christian mission is a work of patience and the planting of many seeds for the future. Direct conversion is not the main goal of mission schools Those schools must prepare children for conversion and if that is accomplished, then there will be abundant proofs of its reality, even though preparation for conversion through the schools is difficult to be enumerated statistically.⁴¹

In other words, he was stressing that mission schools were not means for proselytizing.

Along with the principle that evangelization may not negate or damage distinctive

³⁹ G. Warneck, *Mission in der Schule*, pp. 1ff.

⁴⁰ *EML* III/1, pp. 274f; III/2, p. 134; III/2, p. 143.

⁴¹ *EML* III/2, p. 156.

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characteristics of a people (*Volkstum*), Warneck opposed conducting mission-school teaching in a foreign language; instead he stressed the use of the regional language as the language of instruction. Because the main objective of teaching in the elementary schools was to enable students to read the Bible, the principal subjects were reading and writing. Even so, 'secular' subjects were also essential, for example arithmetic, general history, geography, etc. These subjects were significant as support for communicating spiritual knowledge, as well as for character education of the pupils and the society from which the pupils originated.

In addition to academic subjects, Warneck emphasized the necessity of learning to work with hands. Such an emphasis was congruent with both his understanding of elements of "nature" as servants of the "spiritual" realm and his understanding of culture as something positive, which could be a support for evangelization provided that it became infused with the Gospel beforehand. For Warneck, the Gospel and Christendom were most authentic, fundamental and inspirational cultural factors. Furthermore, the Christian mission of the present day was a cultural force as well.

Nevertheless, Warneck was conscious also that within culture both Eastern and Western, there were many elements opposed to the Gospel, especially so if a culture had deteriorated in meaning to such an extent that it was no more than another name for civilization. The latter meant material and intellectual culture which were no longer pure and able to exert an influence towards the ennobling of persons and bringing happiness to them. This was the reason why he disagreed with the view that mission-schooling could be mere duplication of western education, which in his view was already too materialistic and intellectual. Such copying could be no more than a caricature of culture (*Kulturkarikaturen*).

Through closely linking the communication of the Gospel with the development of culture within the educational enterprise, the goal of the mission would be attained more quickly, i.e. the forming of a self-sustaining church.

In this connection, mission interests were most closely linked with cultural ones. For a cultural education of society to be significant, primary effort would need to be directed towards enabling indigenous Christians to become independent and self-supporting in the

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shortest possible time.⁴²

In addition to general education for the whole society, especially children and young people, one of the preconditions for forming a self-sustaining folk church was education for national church workers, whom it was hoped would become church leaders of good character. He stressed the imperative of educating indigenous personnel for the church:

Without quality indigenous pastors of mature Christian character fashioned by missionary educators in terms of general knowledge and theology received from the treasury of older Christendom, one cannot imagine a self-sustaining church made up of former pagans.⁴³

In terms of teaching indigenous personnel, Warneck held that they must not be uprooted from their life in society (*Volksleben*). Furthermore, by remaining a part of society, it was hoped that these persons would endeavour to uplift it (*Volkshebung*) towards becoming autonomous.

Although Warneck stressed the imperative of organizing educated indigenous leaders for a self-sustaining folk church, he was also quick to point out that this would not occur within a short period of time. The process of attaining "religious, moral and spiritual maturity" of the indigenous leaders, as well as the whole folk church, would take a long time because of their weak racial character. Such character could only be strengthened and made mature in harmony with the laws of gradual development. Therefore, before the indigenous pastors reached maturity, they could not hold leadership in the church which in the meantime must be held by western missionaries. If this did not occur, then the folk church would not only never arrive at self-sufficiency, it would actually face the danger of retrogression.

Several interconnected reasons caused Warneck to arrive at that position. First of all, as we have seen earlier, his understanding of reality was based on his view of "the law of gradual development", which was valid as well for the church and church workers on the mission field. Secondly, he saw the missionary sending church and the becoming church (mission field church) not only in a subject-object or mother-daughter relationship, but also a teacher-pupil relationship. It

⁴² Warneck, *Modern Mission*, p. 151.

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was the character of the latter which was dominant in his *EML*:

Warneck's whole *Missionslehre* ... was dominated by his thought about education. That prominent work (*kat' exochen*) was a missionary and ecclesiastical book on the science of education. For him, the New Testament was a teacher in education (*Lehrmeisterin der Erziehung*), and church history and mission history were divine pedagogues, in the same way that Warneck himself was "A Teacher of the Church to Do Mission".⁴⁴

Thirdly, Warneck thoroughly absorbed the spirit of German Protestant nationalism and idealism; along with other German national-idealists (comp. Fichte, Schelling, and others) this caused him to see the German people as possessing a superiority in race, culture and religion in comparison with 'pagan' people. Warneck's above view of autonomy for an indigenous church and Christian community, including factors supporting autonomy, caused some critics to doubt whether he in fact seriously desired a mature and self-sufficient folk church as a fruit of missionary endeavour, or whether on the contrary he wanted to defend western paternalism through the Christian mission. Dürr levels such a criticism:

In matters needed to guarantee church autonomy, Warneck was more sceptical and anxious compared to others, because he ... was too firmly convinced that indigenous personnel were "not yet sufficiently mature" to bear the heavy responsibility of auto-nomy. The basis of this view was centred in his position on "racial inferiority". Indigenous Christians, most of whom resided in the tropics, did not have that authentic quality of character which must be present for the growth and leadership of a healthy church.⁴⁵

As we have touched on above, Warneck's theological, missiological and educational views, especially as articulated in his main work, were directed towards the Batakmission, which of course was his model. Not infrequently, his views were echoed on the Batak field (see Chapter Five in particular). In connection with this fact, the question arises: Were Warneck's views the theoretical-conceptual underpinning for the missionaries in Batakland, especially with reference to education, or were they the crystallization and systematization of the practical experience of missionaries there? Or on the other hand, was there a mutual relationship between Warneck's

⁴³ *EML* III/3, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Dürr, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 232f.

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views and those of the missionaries serving the Bataks? If so, this would mean that Warneck fashioned his ideas based on field experience, and later his views were picked up again on the field to become guides for the missionaries.

In his writings, Warneck acknowledged that his views were based upon the views of persons who lived and worked prior to him. With reference to the schools as a main teaching tool for the formation of Christian life and character, he pointed to Luther and Francke.⁴⁶ In terms of the unity of church, society and school, he pointed to J.H. Pestalozzi (1746-1827).⁴⁷ Concerning his rather romantic understanding of non-European people, various writers conclude that Warneck was greatly influenced by Herder, the philosopher of romanticism.⁴⁸ In any case, without Warneck pointing explicitly to them, we yet sense their influence or hear echoes of other thinkers or currents of thought in his views, for example Comenius' use of the mother tongue of the elementary school child, and the view of German nationalists and idealists concerning national education and the superiority of European races, especially the German race.

But in addition, as Warneck acknowledged in his foreword to his *EML*, his thought was the result of a reworking of and a reflecting on mission field practice, since for him theory and practice were interknit and must proceed together. The theory of mission must be built on the basis of field practice, and on the other hand, field practice should be guided by mission theory. At the same time, J. Warneck, the son of G. Warneck, noted that since the publication of his father's missiological works, missionary preparation at the Barmen seminary improved, specifically in the sense that candidates became more equipped in missiological theory and skills, including the

⁴⁶ *EML* 111/2, p. 138.

⁴⁷ G. Warneck, "Pflanzung und Pflege des Missionslebens in Gemeinde und Schule" [Establishment and Maintenance of the Life of Mission in Congregation and School] in *AMZ* 1887, pp. 390ff.

⁴⁸ For example, J. Eggert, "Missionsschule und sozialer Wandel in Ostafrika" [Mission School and Social Change in East Africa] (1970), p. 43, and G. Rosenkrantz, *Die christliche Mission* (1977), p. 231.

experience of teaching in schools.⁴⁹

If all this is the case, then we may conclude for the moment that the thought and work of Warneck reflected the encounter between the Christian Mission, including the RMG, and the realities of the field, including the Batakland. For example, the mission board sent out its missionaries with the idea of working for individual conversion, but it became evident that this idea was incompatible with the spiritual character and social structure of the people encountered on the field. Therefore, the missionaries turned away from this idea and reported the change to their mission headquarters. As a result, after reflecting on that experience, mission leaders such as G. Warneck developed a new theory as found for example in his *EML*. This problem will be looked at again in Chapter Five C.1.

This approach was also the case in the function of schooling with relationship to conversion and baptism. As a matter of principle, at the beginning Warneck stressed that schooling must follow baptism, but because sometimes the field situation required just the reverse, he opened the possibility for the school to admit those who were not yet baptized. Therefore, the school could function as a means to prepare pupils for baptism. In other words, within Warneck himself or his views there was development and flexibility congruent with the development and demands of both his own country and the mission field. Nevertheless, there were certain principles to which he held tenaciously: the Christian mission was an educator, and basically all of its activities were educational. In his thought and work, education (*Erziehung*) was a sacred word.

(f) A. Schreiber (1839-1903)

Schreiber succeeded G. Warneck at Barmen in 1874. From 1867-1873, he was a missionary and chairperson, *praeses*, of the Batakmission and instructor in the school for teachers of the catechism at Parausorat (see Chapter Four; a pioneering seminary was opened there in 1868). He

⁴⁹ J. Warneck, *Werfet eure Netze aus!* (an autobiography), 1938, p. 67.

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was the first RMG missionary who was a university graduate in theology, and later became the first inspector or director of the RMG to come from the mission field.

As with other RMG personnel in general, and other mission bodies too, Schreiber was taught in educational institutions strongly coloured by pietism and revivalistic theology (*Erweckungstheologie*).⁵⁰ In basic agreement with both schools, Schreiber saw 'heathenism' as a *preparatio evangelica*. Along with Warneck, he strongly emphasized the christianization of a whole people, the formation of an autonomous folk church, and the education of indigenous workers as an absolute precondition towards that objective.

But with reference to the place and role of indigenous personnel in church leadership, Schreiber differed somewhat from Warneck. For the latter, the leadership of the church should not be given too quickly to indigenous persons, rather there must be a sufficient waiting period for them to demonstrate their maturity. In contrast, Schreiber emphasized that church leadership should be handed over in stages as quickly as possible to indigenous workers.⁵¹ To be sure, he shared Warneck's view that 'pagans' were made up of both 'primitive' and 'civilized' tribes.⁵² With special reference to 'primitives', he was of the opinion that "they are indeed our brothers and sisters, but they are still children who must be taught".⁵³ Even so, he firmly upheld the rights of

⁵⁰ Schreiber studied in Halle, under the guidance of Tholuck, among others, a prominent pietist at that time, and in Erlangen, a university which strongly stressed "character education" which was identical with "being enthusiastic, pious, joyful and free". A.W. Schreiber, *Tole! Vorwärts!* (Biography of A. Schreiber, 1939), pp. 14ff.

⁵¹ His view was influenced rather extensively by the theory of mission as developed in England and America during his time of study in England, 1864-1865, especially the Three-Self theory of Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. He often referred to this theory in his writings (cf. Warneck, above, footnote 34).

⁵² A. Schreiber, *Cultur und Mission in ihrem Einfluss auf die Naturvölker* [Culture and Mission in their Influence on Primitive People] (1882), pp. 1ff.

⁵³ Quoted by A.W. Schreiber (*op. cit.*, p. 79) from a lecture by A. Schreiber at the First German Colonial Congress, 1902.

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indigenous people, including the right to leadership in their church. On the basis of that view of Schreiber, Schreiner concluded that although Schreiber, too, was a German Christian who embraced nationalism and idealism, he did not promulgate those views as extensively as Fabri and Warneck. From the earliest time of his career, he stressed the necessity of adapting the Three-Self Principle to the mission field in order for a folk church to be formed as quickly as possible.⁵⁴ The difference between Schreiber and Warneck will be reflected again among the missionaries of the Batak mission.

Schreiber differed also from other German mission leaders of his time with reference to the relationship between the Christian mission and colonialism. If there were many among the mission (Fabri, for example) who urged the development of close relationships between the mission and the colonial government, there was also a Schreiber who emphasized that mission work must be separated from colonialization, although he did not reject totally any kind of cooperation between the mission and the colonial government, including in education.

Mission and colonization may not exist together ... Mission and colonization must be clearly separated from each other because each's point of departure and objectives are completely different.⁵⁵

In this connection, Schreiber criticized colonial authorities who brought western civilization into the midst of indigenous societies, without accompanying these activities with evangelization. According to Schreiber, "If primitive people have too close a contact with our civilization without at the same time being influenced by the Christian mission, their societies will collapse."⁵⁶ In this vein also, he criticized the attitude and view of certain westerners who thoroughly denigrated

⁵⁴ Schreiner, *Adat und Evangelium*, p. 79. According to Schreiber, the Three-Self theory with slight variations was not entirely new to the RMG. (Author's note: This principle was proposed by Wallman in 1849 but was not quickly validated on the field.)

⁵⁵ A. Schreiber, *Mission und Kolonisation* (1885), p. 16.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10; cf. Schreiber, *Cultur und Mission*, pp. 11ff and 17.

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primitive culture and in turn took steps to destroy it through bringing in western culture and civilization. However, along with Warneck, he did not completely reject the communication of western culture, but that did not mean destroying primitive culture. Instead, the latter must be elevated, respected and purified. This was the reason Schreiber stressed the mission function so emphatically as a force of control over against colonization, including commerce, in order to guarantee the rights of primitive society and to protect its culture.

On the basis of Schreiber's observations of the school reality in various colonies, including the Dutch Indies, he acknowledged that mission schools provided much support for concerns of the colonial government. But on the other hand, the colonial government very often failed to support the mission in its schooling effort, which was a part of evangelization. Instead the colonial government founded its own schools in competition with those of the mission, adopted a position of religious neutrality and did not require payment of school tuition. However, just this latter, that is, tuition payment was required in the interest of moving the indigenous church, such as the Batak folk church, towards self-sufficiency.

According to Schreiber, even though the government subsidized mission schools, that did not mean this was done for the sake of the mission, but rather for the sake of the government itself as a way of fulfilling its task of providing schools for the people of colonized countries. Furthermore, Schreiber perceived the danger behind the subsidies to the freedom of the mission from the very beginning. Therefore, he emphasized that "the mission ought not seek direct support from the side of any colonial government whatsoever."⁵⁷ What was important for him was not material support but rather "friendly and benevolent appreciation".⁵⁸

One side of education to which Schreiber gave much attention was education for girls.⁵⁹ Here

⁵⁷ Schreiber, *Mission und Kolonisation*, p. 21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁹ See, for example, A. Schreiber, "Die Arbeit an den heidnischen Frauen und Mädchen" [Work among pagan women and girls], in *AMZ* 1891, pp. 277-287.

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he acknowledged having learned from English and American mission boards, and specifically from Alexander Duff.⁶⁰ Beginning in the 1880s, Schreiber called for women teachers (*Schwester*) to propagate support for the education of gifts, and afterwards he was able to send a number of them to the German mission field. The impact of this step on Batak women will be seen in the chapters which follow.

2. Barmen Seminary Entrance Requirements

The theological and educational views of the Barmen seminary teachers just discussed played a great part in defining entrance requirements comprising the intellectual, psychological and spiritual qualifications to be met by student applicants. Here we shall just discuss those requirements which were directly related to educational activities of the RMG through Barmen's missionary graduates on the mission field later.

The first requirement was contained in the 1866 "General Requirements for Acceptance into the Barmen Mission House" (*Allgemeine Vorbedingungen zur Aufnahme in das Missionshaus zu Barmen*) and specified spiritual suitability (*geistliche Eignung*) of the applicant. This first one remained unchanged until the 1930 edition:

The first and absolute requirement for acceptance into the seminary (mission-house) is native intelligence which is renewed by faith and love of Christ, and praiseworthy behaviour which is indicative of such spiritual renewal.

⁶⁰ In his paper presented at the Continental Mission Conference of 1880, "*Was können wir von den Amerikanern und Engländern für Theorie und Praxis der Missionsarbeit lernen?*" [What can we learn from the Americans and English for the Theory and Praxis of Mission work?], Schreiber stressed that there were at least three matters to be learned from them: (1) They nurture indigenous people more thoroughly; (2) Especially in America, they distinguish between cultural and mission work, and do not see Mission as a cultural force; (3) For quite some time, they have involved physicians and women missionaries in the work of mission. Particularly with reference to the latter, they are in no way inferior to male missionaries, according to Schreiber; moreover they are more capable in certain kinds of work especially in nurturing and teaching women.

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There is no need for us to discuss how or by what criteria the seminary teachers and RMG leadership determined that a candidate had experienced "spiritual renewal". What we can see is that this entrance requirement carried the stamp of pietism which reigned in the whole history of the Barmen seminary up to the 1930s, and was of the same cut of cloth as "the biblical-pietistic robe worn by the RMG until the present".⁶¹

The second requirement involved the candidate's intellectual qualification (*geistige Eignung*). The 1866 edition specified that the candidate must possess intellectual capability (*geistige Begabung*), even though it was not until the 1907 edition that the candidate must have been graduated from the elementary school (*Volksschule*) at a minimum. In addition, he must have had certain experiences and skills, such as needed for a manual labourer, teacher, merchant, etc., unless he had had higher schooling than the elementary, such as general highschool (*Realschule*), Latin highschool (*Gymnasium*), vocational highschool (*Aufbau-schule*). This requirement was linked to the age limitation for candidates, i.e. 18-25 years. Through specifying such an age limitation, it was hoped that the candidate had broad experience or skills beyond the primary school, or that he had more extensive schooling and had satisfactory mental maturity.

Candidates who had only been graduated from the elementary school were required to enrol in the *Vorschule*, whereas for those holding a higher diploma and who had survived the selection process were admitted directly into the seminary proper (the 1858 curriculum was three years, four years for the 1873 curriculum).

The entrance requirement specified in the 1926 edition included both the seminary curriculum and the related learning process.⁶² On the basis of all of this, we see that each seminary graduate

⁶¹ The conclusion of Hoffmann in *BRMG* 1939, p. 239.

⁶² The 1926 curriculum lists in detail the subjects to be taught: A. *Vorschule*: Biblical Knowledge, Catechism, History, Mathematics, Physics, Geography, Bookkeeping, Church Music, German, English, Greek and Hebrew languages; 29 hours total per week. B. *Seminary*: Exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, Church History, History of the Kingdom of God, Old and New Testament Theology, Missiology, Foreign Languages (including

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possessed abilities which involved theological, missiological and educational subjects in addition to certain skills and experiences. As will become apparent later, all of these were put into practice on the field.

The 1910 edition included the necessary mental or psychological attitude of the candidate both before and during the time of his study:

During the time of their residence in the seminary, the students must show evidence of character and ability which would permit them to be entrusted later with the responsibility-filled office of missionary. This will be indicated through the entirety of their appearance, their behaviour, their alertness and their diligence, all above reproach.

The requirements found in the 1926 and 1930 editions showed development as follows:

During the time of their residence in the seminary, the students must show evidence of character and ability which would permit them to be entrusted later with the responsibility-filled office of missionary. This will be indicated through the entirety of their appearance both within and beyond the complex, through pious intelligence, moral seriousness and impeccable behaviour, alertness, faithfulness, industriousness, and obedience.

In the 1930 edition there was appended the words: "There will be guidance also towards serious self-examination for all persons who choose the missionary vocation." Thus each candidate was asked to examine himself whether he were truly called to proclaim the Gospel, whether he demonstrated love and obedience to Christ, whether he had truly experienced conversion and been born again, and to what extent he had provided himself with the spiritual knowledge necessary for undertaking his holy office.

The spiritual and intellectual capabilities required needed to be demonstrated not only while in the seminary but especially on the field later. And in turn, the missionaries would demand the same qualities in their Batak seminary students later.

3. Instruction of Missionaries

The RMG equipped each seminary graduate with a body of instruction related to the work he would be doing as a missionary on the mission field. Here we shall limit ourselves to the

Malay for those going to the Dutch Indies), German Literature

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instruction related to educational matters.

Section 1 of the edition of "General Directions of 1869" dealt with Mission Objectives. After outlining the biblical foundations there followed what the missionary had to do to attain those objectives:

You ought to have the opportunity to communicate practical matters to the indigenous people through various means, and perhaps your European science, skills and equipment will be more readily welcomed than the Word of the Cross itself; but be careful so that all those capabilities are used to please the Lord, rather than to please people, whereas the Lord and His concerns are neglected.

In Section 2, "General Directions", each missionary was instructed to undertake evangelization as a primary task, regardless of his function or office in the field later, including that of a school teacher. In addition, this article included directions to the missionary about how to effect good relationships with the headmen as quickly as possible, and also how to avoid involving themselves in activities which would clearly hinder the proclamation of the Gospel, such as engaging in commercial ventures and participating in inter-tribal wars.

Section 3, "The Lord's Congregation in the midst of Paganism", stressed that one step towards the formation of the church within 'pagan' society was to undertake schooling, especially for baptized children:

One important task for building a congregation of the Lord among pagans is to carry on schooling and catechizing. It has not been without purpose that you have been prepared to be teachers of religion. Collect several children as soon as possible to teach them in their language to read, write and to do arithmetic. But most importantly teach them the principle truths of the Gospel. Go seek these children with all friendliness and filled with love to come to you; your first Christian instruction should be the telling of the Lord's story and His parables. In a similar way also, you should carry out instruction of adults, beginning with the catechism. Preach to them; your message ought to be brief based upon a text from the Bible which is very dear and expresses the central point of the Gospel. Seek out several children as rapidly as possible too in order to teach them to become your assistants and co-workers. Matthew 9:37-38.

The 1900 edition, one more practical in its composition and editing, stressed that all activities of missionaries must be directed towards one target, "winning souls for the Lord". Therefore, as

and German Seminar.

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indicated in the 1869 edition also, they must not engage in activities (such as business and industry) other than the proclamation of the Gospel, unless a conference of missionaries specified a special ministry, such as serving as a teacher in the seminary, or other tasks which were deemed helpful to advance the cause of evangelism, and in agreement with the desires of the congregation concerned. Apparently, collateral official duties given by the government and mission, such as school inspector, translator, government commissioner and commissioner in commercial bodies working in a cooperative relationship with the mission, were not viewed as "special tasks" and therefore were not in conflict with the principal objective listed above. This brings to mind the number of RMG persons, led by Fabri, who viewed national and colonial government, and commercial bodies cooperating with the mission as supporters of evangelism. Because the school was a main means of support for evangelism and building up of the congregation, the 1900 edition specified that:

Each missionary must be energetic in his endeavour to found a school which would be available at his station and the surrounding territory so that baptized children especially would not grow up without Christian instruction. At each regional mission conference, the missionaries must commission one or more of their number to organize education for indigenous teachers or assistant pastors, or to lead a seminary, so that missionary colleagues might be given the opportunity to undertake literary work, the organizing and translating of useful books.

The same directive touched too on the status of buildings erected in the field by the mission, including school buildings:

Houses which were built with the aid of funds from the mission treasury remain property of the mission corporation. In all places, church and school buildings ought to be made available by each congregation, including their repairs and maintenance. Those buildings continue to remain property of the congregations.

We must pay attention to this matter, because many problems about the status of school buildings were to surface later on, both before and after 1940 (see Chapter Six and Seven).

In the same directive, there were regulations for the disciplined life of missionaries, and sanctions for their violation, such as those who demonstrated "a fondness for conflict, who were disobedient, and lazy". The directive also stressed that the missionaries' daily activities and behaviour, such as related to morality, manners and style of work, etc., must support and reflect

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the presence of the Kingdom of God. It was hoped that all of these would be models for church members, school pupils and indigenous workers.

It is important to note, in addition, that the special directive of about 1920 to the Ephorus of the Batakmission confirmed that "the whole matter of schooling was under the supervision and leadership of the Ephorus". This directive was given because "the RMG's main emphasis was placed on the maintenance of schools for indigenous people". There, too, was spelled out the task and responsibilities of the Ephorus in the field of schooling at all levels, including government relations, which were connected with educational policies, either directly or through mission representatives.

B. RMG Relationships with Various Mission-Oriented Bodies in the West

In addition to the views and policies of the Barmen seminary teachers just presented, there were other factors which influenced the views and actions of missionaries to the Bataks, particularly in the field of education. One of these which we consider very important was the relationship of the RMG to various bodies or personnel in their own countries, i.e. the western world. This relationship provided input and support for the RMG's theological-missiological and pedagogical ideas, and financial support for personnel and literature. Among the various interlocking networks of relationships with the RMG, we shall choose two important items: relationships with various Dutch mission circles, and relationships with other mission bodies through participating in various international mission conferences.

1. Relationships with Various Dutch Circles

Because the Batak area was a part of the Dutch East Indies, it was natural for the RMG to connect with many Dutch institutions and persons in the interest of achieving success in its work. At the same time, many within the Dutch circles were sympathetic to the RMG and gave their support to it since its personnel had dedicated themselves so tirelessly "to our colony, the Dutch

East Indies".⁶³

As a matter of fact, relationships between Barmen and the Dutch had begun even before 1826, two years before the founding of the Barmen Seminary, and long before it began work in the Indies, i.e. when several Barmen graduates had been sent to the Netherlands in order to be commissioned by the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) to service in the Indies. At the time of Fabri's administration (beginning in 1857) relationships with various Dutch mission boards, and RMG friends in the Netherlands (churches, individuals, and non-mission organizations) were steadily increased along with the dissemination of Fabri's theological views there. The beginning presence of the RMG in the Batakland as well cannot be separated from the relationships of the RMG, with its friends in the Netherlands, particularly through Fabri. This was also the case with RMG missionaries, especially those who would become teachers in the various educational institutions which had been organized by the Batakmission. Before they went to the Batak area, many of them had obtained their education in the Netherlands, first of all, or supplemented their education there. In fact, many RMG missionaries, too, were recruited from among the Dutch themselves (see Chapter Five and Six).

In order to inform the Dutch community about the work of the RMG in the Dutch East Indies, it began to publish a magazine in Dutch in 1883, *De Rijnsche Zending*. Moreover, in 1884, there was founded the *Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Belangen van bet Rijnsche Zending Genootschap te Barmen* (Union for the Furthering of Concerns of the Rhenish Mission Society in Barmen) which endeavoured to stimulate support (especially funds) for the RMG work in the Dutch East Indies. The formation of this body cannot be separated from A. Schreiber's boundless energy manifested during the time of his leadership in establishing relationships with friends of the RMG in the Netherlands. After the *Samenwerkende Zendingcorporaties* (SZC, Cooperating Mission

⁶³ This phrase is commonly found in the documents of the Dutch missions and colonial government. See, for example, in *RZ* 1870, pp. 6ff and in the letter of the board of *SZC* to Rev. P. Groote (the editor of *RZ*) in *ZB*'s file, no. K.71/D.3.

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Societies) was formed in Oegstgeest (1905), the *Zendingsconsulaat* (Mission Consulate) in the Dutch Indies was founded (1906) to represent the various mission boards' interests with the colonial government. The *Zendingsconsulaat* was a great help to the RMG in managing its concerns in the Indies. Furthermore, a special body was formed within the SZC in 1917 with the objective of helping the RMG overcome the shortage of funds for its work in the Dutch Indies: *Steuncomite voor de Rijnsche Zending in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (The Support Committee for the Rhenish Mission in the Dutch East Indies).

The main force behind the institutions in the Netherlands supporting the RMG was J.W. Gunning. In addition to holding the office of director in the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) and one of the leaders of the SZC, he was entrusted by the RMG with the task of looking after its interests in the Netherlands. Gunning's role, along with other mission leaders in the Netherlands, was not only connected with the task of overcoming the RMG's financial difficulties, but also with contributing his views to undergird mission work in general, and the work of the RMG in particular, including its work in education. As we shall see in Chapter Six, the RMG was frequently involved in conflict with the Dutch government over its policies which the RMG considered prejudicial to its mission work. In this situation Gunning along with his colleagues gave support to the RMG in conceptualizing its policies, even though sometimes there was a difference of opinion between himself and RMG officials in Barmen.

In addition to mission organizations or those affiliated with mission societies, there were also non-missionary or non-religious institutions which supported the RMG work among the Bataks, either directly or indirectly. One of these was *Het Bataksche Instituut* based in Leiden specializing in "Batakology", founded by several former missionaries and colonial government officials. It published tens of books or brochures on the details of the Batak people and society. In addition, its leaders wrote articles for various magazines about the Bataks, either under their own names or the name of the institute itself. Its directors were also engaged in the Netherlands in promoting the work of the Batakmission. Moreover, it was involved in helping the RMG overcome its financial

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difficulties during the first two decades of the 20th century, because its leaders believed that the RMG rendered praiseworthy service in doing research among the Bataks, caring for and advancing their social and cultural life.

Another non-mission organization was *Het Indische Genootschap* (The Indies Society), i.e. an association of former Dutch Indies colonial officials. In various ways, this institution called upon the Dutch government to initiate good relationships with mission circles, including the RMG, and to increase financial support for the work of the Batakmission, especially in the field of education. The basis of its appeal to the government rested on the consideration that the mission greatly helped the government advance conditions in the Batak area. The relationship of the RMG with various groups in the Netherlands was multi-faceted, and included the Dutch government. This makes it impossible for us to discuss the RMG apart from the context of Dutch mission thought and activities. At the same time, views developed by the RMG, obtained a place in Dutch mission circles. The success of the RMG/ Batakmission, including its achievement in education, was written up in mission literature and was praised as an excellent example to be emulated. In brief, the history of the RMG in the Dutch Indies is a part of the history of the work of Dutch mission organizations, and very much the history of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia as well.

2. Relationships with Other Mission Bodies through Conferences

In addition to forming a network of relationships with Dutch mission organizations, the RMG reached out to mission bodies within and outside of Germany. In a concrete way, these relationships were evident in the various conferences which took place during the second half of the last century. These conferences became a forum for exchanging ideas and presenting papers by mission representatives and other conference participants and through discussions which analyzed the issues presented in the papers. Those conferences provided new input for the RMG to be reworked and utilized to accomplish its mission tasks, and at the same time to present its own mission views. Here we shall discuss just a few of those conferences related to the RMG

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educational views and efforts, together with some of the content of papers presented.

(a) Series of Continental European Conferences

This series of conferences were always held in Bremen and began in 1866 at the initiative of Fabri. Participants were delegates from German mission bodies and other mission bodies on the continent of Europe, but the presenters of papers were generally from German mission societies.

Here we shall present a summary of several papers prepared by persons outside of the RMG but related to the problem of education in order to show the contribution of their thought to the RMG. Views from the RMG which were presented at those conferences have been reflected in our discussion of the views of RMG figures in section A, i.e. Fabri, Warneck and Schreiber.

(i) E. Reichel: Establishing a National, Autonomous Church as the Goal of Protestant Mission Efforts (1872)

In agreement with Fabri, Reichel saw the main objective of the Protestant Mission as "to bring pagans to a personal confession of the truth". But after each person was baptized, that objective must be followed immediately by another, i.e. gathering of the converted into congregations, bringing the congregations to self-sufficiency and forming them into a national church. For Reichel, self-sufficiency involved "autonomy in finances and stewardship". To reach self-sufficiency, mission personnel must initiate training of indigenous church leaders from the very beginning.

Reichel's ideas about striving for a self-sufficient church and training of indigenous church leaders were not something new to Christian mission thought. But his joining the idea of individual conversion with the formation of a national church reminds us of Warneck's merging of the two strategies in his *Evangelische Missionslehre* later, an idea which was influential in the Batak mission.

(ii) C.H.C. Plath: Preserving National Elements through the Christian Mission

First of all, Plath's paper summarized the role or contribution of certain ethnic groups

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(Jewish, Greek, Roman and German) toward the spreading of the Gospel and the development of Christianity without losing each group's individual nationality and distinctive culture. Moreover, after cleansing by the Gospel the cultures of ethnic groups made significant contributions to Christianity, toward the support of the formation of "Christian Culture".

Therefore, when non-Christian people were evangelized, each ethnic group's distinctive characteristics in culture, language, etc., must not be lost or damaged, but rather cleansed and ennobled by the Gospel which became united with that particular Christian culture. Consciousness of this necessity must be planted beforehand in the mission seminary students. There they must be taught to become "the best teachers or instructors" (*die besten Lehr-meister*) for the non-Christian people, which meant that they were to endeavour to join their culture with the culture of the indigenous people in order to attain a richer Christian culture. Of course, there would be sin within the "national configuration" (*Nationalgestaltung*) of ethnic groups, but just this aspect must be made clean by the missionaries through applying the Gospel and Christian culture to it.

In tracing Plath's way of thought, we are reminded of Hoekendijk's analysis and conclusion that Plath was a communicator of *Kulturpropaganda*. Plath saw that evangelistic activities were not only a part of the history of the Kingdom of God, but also a part of the history of culture, because the Gospel merged into the culture of ethnic groups. Therefore, the Gospel and culture must be communicated together to non-Christians. In evangelism's relationship to colonization, the former must go hand in hand with the latter (cf. Fabfi!), because colonization was a means for communicating culture as well. Because the mission functions as a teacher of the nations (cf. Warneck), in a parallel way, the Gospel and culture needed to be taught together in order to form a new religiosity and culture in the midst of the people being evangelized. In other words "culture propaganda" means folk education as well.

According to Hoekendijk, Plath's view was characterized by *cultuur-optimisme* and was

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influential in German mission circles until 1914.⁶⁴ Certainly, the RMG, and especially the Batakmission, could not be exceptions. As shall be seen in Chapter Five, echoes of Plath's view which was rooted basically in German idealism and nationalism, would be heard in missionary circles of the Batakmission as those missionaries wrestled with the relationship between the Christian mission and culture, including education.⁶⁵ In fact, J. Warneck, one the most important figures in the Batakmission, acknowledged that Plath's view was very influential on his own thought.⁶⁶

(iii) *L. Hesse: The School in the Mission Structure (1884)*

In choosing the mission educational venture in India as the context for his analysis (including education accomplished by Duff), Hesse investigated the subject of missionary education from the standpoint of this principle: the Christian mission is a function of the church. Therefore, the goal of the mission is "to plant the church in the whole world and bring non-Christian people into it, not to convert individuals, but to found the church". Because of this, whatever was done by the church in the country of the missionary's origin must also be done by missionaries on the field. Because the sending church was engaged in schooling, the mission institution must be engaged in educational work as well as a method and principal means to attain the goal mentioned above. Certainly the specific goals of church and mission would differ because the parish school in Europe had the goal of nurturing the faith of children already baptized, whereas mission schools were the means to proclaim the Gospel for the purpose of conversion. This was true even though pupils in mission schools did not reach the point of being baptized, nevertheless they had been penetrated by

⁶⁴ Hoekendijk, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁶⁵ Echoes of Plath's views were certainly felt in D. Oehler's article, "Mission und Kultur" in *EMM* 1908, pp. 49-57, even though Oehler, too, was critical of Plath. At the suggestion of the RMG Central Committee, this article became a main reference for E. Wagner's use in his paper delivered at the missionary conference of the Batakmission, 1909. See Chapter Five C.1. below.

⁶⁶ J. Warneck: *Werfet*, p. 59.

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the Gospel at the very least (cf. G. Warneck).

With reference to the specific objective of the mission school, it was not necessary for the pupils to be directed to conversion, and missionaries should not be polemical towards the pupils' original religion. These should not be thought of as pagan, Hindu, Muslim children, etc., but rather as human beings. According to Hesse, this view was in harmony with the principle motivation of Christian missions, i.e. to communicate the love of God and persons, rather than to engage in proselyting.

In terms of the motive and objective of mission education, mission schools should teach not only knowledge about heaven, but also about the world. This would not mean grafting the system of Western education (which is rooted in Western culture) *in toto* on to the indigenous culture, or using western education to wipe it out. In sum, mission schools must bring spiritual and physical blessings to the society being taught, but there was no necessity to do this rapidly.

Hesse's paper received much opposition, especially from persons holding to the idea of individual conversion. Critics mentioned many examples of the failure of various mission schools to christianize and bring pupils into the church because from the beginning of those missionaries' educational ministry, they had stressed the communication of Christian values without putting a major thrust on formal conversion. Debate about Hesse's paper indicated differences within the missionary community itself about the function and goal of mission education. For a part of the missionary community, including part of the RMG, Hesse's thought was something very new, perhaps even foreign and non-evangelical in the sense of treating the communities being evangelized as simply people without consideration of their original religious beliefs. That idea was totally at variance with the spirit of pietism which had dominated mission circles at the time, yet, as we shall see, it became an alternative to be weighed by the RMG during the final decades of their work in the Batakland.

(iv) *Schüller: How May Mission Schools Find a Place for Secular Matters in the Structure of their Education?*

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In agreement with the approach of mission leaders in general, Schüller emphasized that increasing worldly progress and "education for worldly work" (*Erziehung zum indischen Beruf*) was not the main objective of mission schools. First of all and primarily, mission schools were the means for religious education, with fostering secular progress but a secondary goal.

Even so, mission schools did not forbid *in toto* the teaching of knowledge and expertise needed to attain progress in ordinary life. Indeed, in essence, the school embodied a purpose in that direction already:

Mission schools should teach pupils to view, pay attention to and to express themselves, build up spiritual abilities, teach obedience, orderliness, accuracy, cleanliness, raise their vision of life, etc.⁶⁷

In other words, even though upgrading progress in secular matters was a supplemental objective, nevertheless if the pupils in mission schools studied their lessons as they should, then this would automatically teach and prepare them to work diligently to fulfil the needs of daily life.

Schüller realized that there were two dangers which might arise if mission schools "educated for secular work". In the first place, the 'pagan' society would centre only on the external benefit to be obtained through mission schools, rather than upon the spiritual or evangelical values which were emphasized there. Secondly, the pupils would be estranged to a certain extent from their surroundings, because they would have entered into a context which was European-centred. This introduced them to necessities of life which were still considered luxuries by their own society. However, neither danger must be considered a reason for the mission not to engage in education. On the contrary, the Christian Mission must make every effort to overcome those dangers. Even though the mission schools did not succeed in converting many pupils, missionaries should not be too disappointed because they had fulfilled a part of their responsibility already; they had taught the students to work diligently and honestly in non-church affairs (cf. with Hesse!).

We note a development of understanding in the above cases about the function and objective of

⁶⁷ AMZ 1889 Appendix, p. 9.

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mission schools. Initially, they were held to be merely conversion tools. Later, mission schools were considered means for planting Christian values and equipping persons for life and work, although admittedly, these functions and goals continued to play more secondary roles. We shall note a similar type of development later in the Batakmission field.

(b) Other Mission Conferences

RMG representatives participated in international mission conferences beyond the European continent as well. It was represented by A. Schreiber at both the London Conference of 1888, and the New York Conference of 1900. Various aspects of mission development and problems growing out of mission involvement in education were discussed at both conferences. Schreiber himself neither talked about those problems, nor did he take part in sections which had discussed them. Therefore, we can not conclude in any explicit and detailed way just what contribution and impact was made by the ideas developed at both conferences on the RMG understanding of the educational mission. Even so, in a general way and along with what had been proposed by Schreiber in his writings which we have discussed above, it can be said that various benefits had been drawn by European mission groups, including the RMG, from their contact with British and American mission circles, such as emphasis upon autonomous churches and education of girls. In terms of the latter, Schreiber approached several English mission leaders about obtaining women evangelists (*Schwester*).

At the *World Missionary Conference* in Edinburgh, 1910, the RMG was represented by J. Warneck. In the section which studied the topic, "Special Missionary Preparation", it was concluded that each missionary needed to be equipped with knowledge in five areas: History of Evangelism, World Religions, Sociology, the Science of Education, and Languages. With special reference to education, the delegates concluded that all missionaries were educators. It was hoped that they would communicate new ideas and endeavour to lay the foundations for a new design to tap the intelligence of the pupils. In their statement too, readers were reminded that not all missionaries had a natural talent as teachers. Therefore they must study educational science which

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included psychology, in order to function as educators.

In discussing the significance of the science of education for mission work, J. Warneck contributed the following thought:

Pedagogy is one important side of missionary education. How unfortunate it will be if we do not devote much effort in education through the missionaries. We do not ask of them to know merely the history of education, regardless of how important that is, but rather we ask for a more profound understanding of psychology in its relationship to pedagogy. Missionaries are educators in the true sense of the word. All of their work is educational. A fundamental introduction to the science of education will help the missionary on the field avoid many diversions and disappointments.⁶⁸

From this statement we can sense the strong influence of the thought of his father, Gustav Warneck, and perhaps Plath also, on J. Warneck himself.

The International Missionary Conference of 1928 in Jerusalem discussed various aspects of mission education. The conference was attended by G. K. Simon as a representative of the RMG. He had been missionary to the Bataks. But Simon did not participate in the section which studied this topic, nor did he discuss it. Because the year 1928 was near to the end of the RMG's work among the Bataks, and because mission education was not a prominent topic of the conference, we can assume that the conference itself did not give any new input for the RMG's educational effort.

This was also the case for the IMC's meeting in Tambaram, 1938. Although this conference discussed various problems of mission education, especially in relationship to its main issues, i.e. relations between religions, and between followers of various religions, and the formation of a self-sustaining church in the mission field, yet it too did not give any new input for RMG education among the Bataks. Just the reverse, at this conference the Batak church itself was pointed to as a model of an independent church as the fruit of mission endeavour, one which in a large part was a result of its educational ministry.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *The Report of the World Missionary Conference (1910); "Report of Commission V", p. 174.*

⁶⁹ *The Tambaram Series, vol. H (The Growing Church), pp. 132-135 and vol. V (The Economic Basis of the Church), pp. 415-458.*

C. Conclusion

After viewing the theological, missiological and pedagogical views of RMG figures and other mission bodies on and beyond the European continent, we conclude that in carrying out its educational effort among the Bataks, the RMG did not begin without any relationship to other views, movements and thinkers. As we shall see in the next chapter, the RMG or Batakmission did not begin its educational ministry only after having previously developed an educational view and an orderly and sophisticated educational system; on the contrary, the educational work was begun and developed while organizing schools and teaching children. Or to borrow Jongeling's expression, practice preceded reflection.⁷⁰ In the writings of teachers in the Barmen seminary as well as in reports from missionaries working among the Bataks, we did not encounter many explicit references to the writings or views of German educators except to those of Luther and various pietists. But from the Barmen seminary teachers' writings and expressed views, we hear echoes of the ideas of the great educators mentioned, whether in agreement or disagreement with them, because their views had become part of public discourse. Or it can be said also that the role of those educators was that of sharing in the formation of a general consciousness with reference to German education up to the end of the 19th century, although that influence differed for each person, including RMG leaders.

In terms of the dominant theological foundation or background, or principal influence on the RMG, it can be concluded that there were three major theologies: Lutheran, pietistic and revivalist. This type of theology was gathered from various theological and philosophical currents present in the Germany of the 19th century, such as Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, the theology of the Kingdom of God, the philosophy of German idealism and nationalism, theosophy and romanticism.⁷¹ The mixture of those various theological and philosophical currents resulted in a

⁷⁰ M.C. Jongeling, *Het Zendingsconsulaat* (1966), p. 86.

⁷¹ L. Schreiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-85, summarizes the influence of various currents and theologians and philosophers

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feeling of religious, cultural, and Christian superiority so that the German people were certain that their religion, nation, culture and civilization were superior to those possessed by indigenous societies which German missionaries hoped to evangelize. Even though there was a critical attitude towards European culture, nevertheless, to the degree that various sides of German culture had been infused by the Gospel, evangelization of indigenous societies must go hand in hand with the enculturation of German civilization. Within this structure of understanding, and an understanding of history as the evolutionary development of the Kingdom of God, the RMG agreed and therefore endeavoured to cooperate with the colonial government which was viewed as having been placed there as a servant of that Kingdom of God.

In consequence, such a theological and philosophical understanding played a role in the RMG's evangelism and educational program. RMG missionaries came from a 'Christian nation' to evangelize 'pagan people' with the objective of Christianizing and forming them into a folk church. The idea or method of seeking conversion of individuals shifted to the idea of Christianizing a whole people. Education, too, was the evangelistic means or method for winning a whole people or society for Christendom, and to *build up* their spirituality and civilization in order for them to gradually approach (although never come to equal it) the level of spirituality and civilization of the German people, in particular, and the European in general. Education was the vehicle for communicating what "I" have (religious and cultural values, knowledge and skills) to my "fellow men", although "I" remain the subject, and my "fellow men" remain the object of this educational process.

Thus, various motivations can be seen which prompted the RMG to engage in education: the motivation of being obedient to God's commission, the motivation of pity for pagan people who remained in darkness, as well as cultural and humanistic motivation. The degree and kind of motivation found in each RMG worker, whether in the home country or on the mission field,

on RMG personnel.

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would differ according to the different degrees of influence from various theological, philosophical and educational understandings on each of them. But in general those various motivations were found in each RMG worker.

To speak specifically about the motivation of obedience, this would have been obedience to God earlier, later this developed to become obedience to God and to leaders, or to the sponsoring organization. The attitude of obedience to leaders and to the mission organization was planted in each missionary candidate while studying in the Barmen seminary. A similar type of obedience was demanded of the Bataks later, i.e. seminary students, indigenous church workers, and from all the new Christians. Maintenance of discipline by the RMG workers within the framework of character formation (a slogan expressed repeatedly by the German educators whom we discussed) was intended as obedience to sets of regulations and ordered life. It was also intended to issue in the forming of persons who were copies of revered persons within the RMG, especially those from the Barmen seminary, and those from without the RMG, especially pietists and revivalists. Of course, more than all of these, the person to be imitated was Christ Himself, in harmony with one of pietism's own slogans, *imitatio Christi*.

The motivation of pity was closely linked with the feeling of Westerners' sense of cultural superiority, a sense which did not negate entirely an appreciation for the cultural and personal heritage, or distinctive characteristics of indigenous persons. But of course, the Western spiritual, cultural, and scientific heritage was valued much higher. Appreciation for persons in the 'mission' lands tended to increase with evangelism and education taking place on the field, a fact reflected in the RMG leaders later.