CHIANGMAI COEDUCATIONAL CENTER

An Administrative History

1949 - 1979

By: Herbert R. Swanson

Manuscript Division
Payap College
1980
I: INTRODUCTION

The value of any historical study is partly determined by the limits it sets for itself or which are set for it. This study of the history of CCC was conducted under the pressure of time thus limiting the kinds and the quantity of records that were consulted by it. Within the time limitation, it sought to serve two functions: first of all, it sought to provide some basic historical data that was not readily available to the principal of the school, Betty Edmonds; secondly, it sought to tell the story of the school citing sources so as to be useful to those wanting to know about the past of the school and about resources for studying that past.

This study is primarily an administrative history of CCC. It is a view of CCC as a "political" institution caught in certain relationships with other groups and institutions. Thus, there are many aspects of the history of the school which are neglected primarily because there was not time to delve into them. The Parent-Teacher Group (PTG), the teaching staff, the boarding house, and to some extent even the students are largely ignored. The central role of CCC in the Chiangmai foreign community receives no study. In sum, a great deal that "should" be included in a "complete" history is not found here.

On the other hand, one of the truly unique elements making CCC the school that it has become is just the administrative and "political" challenges that have faced the school. Before one can appreciate the CCC teaching situation or its role in the Chiangmai foreign community or any of the other topics relevant to CCC, one has to understand how the school came to be and why it has been run the way it has been. Therefore, this study, like most historical studies, it preliminary in nature. It is a starting point.

Prior to this study, the history of CCC existed only in records and files and the living memories of people involved in it. It may be truly said that, in general, the history of CCC was unknown. And most of what was known was handed down through "oral traditions," which were not always so accurate. Three major sources of records were consulted for this study:
1) The records and files of the CCC at the school. These date from roughly 1952 to the present and are in general good condition although kept in an order that is not always easily used; 2) The Records of the Board of Directors
of the CCC, 1954-1975, a small records group but one filled with valuable
information; and 3) The Records of the American Presbyterian Mission, 1845-1979,
containing a small amount of material on CCC esp. for earlier periods. In
addition, the as yet unprocessed records of the American Baptist Mission
dating from the early 1950s to the early 1970s were also consulted briefly.
Other than the files of the CCC itself, all of these records groups were
consulted at the Manuscript Division of Payap College.

My "qualifications" for writing this history include nearly four
years residence on the grounds of the school with my wife, Warumee Swanson,
a teacher at the school. As Head of the Manuscript Division of Payap
College and an ordained Presbyterian clergyman, I have had the advantage
of being familiar with the available records and with the Presbyterian
"system" of which CCC was a part. These "qualifications" also make me
something less than an unbiased observer experience in my experience I
have found CCC to be a very good little school giving a unique educational
environment in which its students can reach.

It should also be said that I did not write this history of CCC with
the intention of producing a "regular" history. Rather, this study is for
the use of people connected with the school who need or want to know its
history and for those researchers who want some idea of the history of the
school either as a starting point for their own research or as a time-saver
for those who cannot undertake their own research.

II: ONE STEP FORWARD, ONE STEP BACK  1949-1951

The history of the Chiangmai Coeducational Center properly begins
with the years immediately after World War II. It also begins with the
American Presbyterian Mission that was trying to re-establish its work in
Thailand in those years after having abandoned Thailand to the Japanese
during the War.

To go back a little, The Presbyterian Church in the United States
of America began its work in Siam in 1840. In a short time, it became the
largest and most influential of the Protestant missions located in Siam.
In 1867, the Rev. Daniel McGillvary and his family opened the first mission
station in northern Thailand when they arrived in Chiangmai. From very
humble beginnings, the Chiangmai Station soon expanded into a full-fledged mission of its own with a total of six stations including one in Yunnan Province, China. This mission was known variously as the North Laos Mission, the Laos Mission, or the North Siam Mission until finally in 1920 it was merged with the South Siam Mission, centered on Bangkok, into one American Presbyterian Mission for the entire country.

World War II proved to be an era-shattering experience for the Presbyterian Mission in Thailand. The missionaries in the North had warning enough after the Japanese invasion in the early hours of December 8, 1941, and they were able to flee the country by way of Burma and India. The missionaries in Bangkok did not escape and underwent a period of internment prior to their return to the United States. The War years marked the first time in over one hundred years that there was no American missionary presence in Thailand. Things were bound to change. They did.

With the end of the War, the Church of Christ in Thailand sent an official request to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church asking that the Presbyterian missionaries return to Thailand. This invitation was quickly accepted, and in the last years of the 1940s the American Presbyterian Mission went about the task of reconstruction. Among the changes taking place during this period was the fact that the mission force was increasingly made up of younger couples who had not been in Thailand previously. The older generation of missionaries either did not return at all or did not last very long. People such as the Paul Eakins', John Eakins', Herbert Stewarts, and Dr. and Mrs. Cort were all gone from Thailand by the early 1950s. The bulk of the missionaries were younger people just starting their careers and their families.

The question of education for the children of the Presbyterian Mission soon arose. The early correspondence indicates that the first thought of those returning to the newly recovered mission field was to go back to doing things the way they had been done before the War. There had been no school for mission children in Thailand. Children had either been taught at home or at some school in the Asian region or sent back to the United States. Many children struggled through a combination of these types of education. There is no evidence that prior to 1941 there had been any thought given to changing this education strategy for mission children.

* Error: consult one 7/90 for description of predecessor to CCC. Mars 1/91
Thus, the first reaction of the returning missionaries was to search for a school in the Southeast Asia region that would be acceptable for their children. Hong Kong, the Philippines, and other locations were considered. However, most serious consideration was given to Kingswood School at Kalaw, Burma, reputed to be a very good school in an excellent location. A member of the Presbyterian mission, Sinclair Thompson, visited the school and sent back a very favorable report. Problems soon arose even though the children of the Forrest Travaille did attend Kingswood School in 1948. Burmese independence brought with it political changes that closed that country to Presbyterian missionaries in Thailand.

In the meantime, the problem of educating children of the Presbyterian Mission was growing more serious. An undated report written in 1947 or 1948 suggested that the problem would only become more critical with time. It also pointed out that no effort had been made to do anything to correct the situation. At that time, the mission had thirty-five children under the age of eleven, and the report urged that the mission consider establishing a school on Doi Sutep, the mountain at Chiangmai, for these children. A staff of one couple plus one other teacher would be needed for such a school.

The first official step aimed at solving the problem raised by that report was taken in July, 1948, when the Executive Committee of the American Presbyterian Mission voted to establish a committee to look into the need for a school. Margareta Wells, a veteran of the mission who first came to Thailand in 1927, was appointed chairman of the committee. The Executive Committee suggested that the school should be in Chiangmai and that the old house of Dr. McGilvary was available.

In October, 1948, the Wells committee reported back to the Executive Committee that a school would be opened in Chiangmai beginning in January, 1949, and the committee also reported that this school would be using the Calvert Course curriculum which was generally used by mission families in their homes.

Mrs. Wells' committee was officially known as the Committee on the School for Missionary Children and was responsible for the school during its short existence. The school did begin classes in January, 1949, with Mrs. Wells teaching senior highs and Miss Amala Rose Wood teaching the
younger children. There were only five children involved when the school opened, these being two children of Mrs. Wells herself plus three children from the Travaille family. (7)

Relatively little is known about the School for Missionary Children. It is clear that the school operated through 1949 and 1950 as a further report given by Mrs. Wells at the end of 1950 portrays an active program for that year including the addition of four non-mission children to the school. Plans were clearly being made for 1951, and mission reports show that the Committee for the school was elected in the regular way for 1951 with Mrs. Helen Welles elected chairman for that year. (8) To what extent these plans were carried out is not clear. The report does mention that the school would be losing the services of Miss Wood, however replacements had already been made. (9)

What is certain is that the School for Missionary Children did not continue into 1952 having ceased operation sometime during 1951. It is not difficult to surmise as to the causes of the demise of the school. The immediate cause was that both the Wells' and the Travailles' were due to leave on furlough at the end of 1950. This meant that all of the original children of the school plus the founder and driving force behind it, Mrs. Wells, would be gone from the field. Add to this the loss of Miss Wood, and it hard to believe that the school could have possibly operated for very long in 1951 if it did at all. In a more general sense, it seems that while there were many Presbyterian children few of these were of school age, thus there was not an immediate need for the school beyond the Wells' and Travailles' families. The pressing need would not come for two or three more years.

It is difficult to measure the impact of this first attempt at a school for the mission's children. The reports we have suggest that it was not envisioned to be as great as an enterprise as the later CCC was expected to be. There is no mention of permanent facilities or full-time missionary staff for the school.

And yet, it is important to note that the Committee on the School for Missionary Children continued to be the regularly appointed mission committee responsible for mission education. Although its school in Chiangmai closed sometime in 1951, it work continued uninterrupted, and we know from mission
records that the Committee was working on plans for opening another school as early as 1952. By that time the chairmanship of the Committee had passed to Mrs. Mary Chaffee. (10) There are also some striking parallels between the first little school and the later school which became CCC. Miss Amelia Wood was the original teacher in both. Both used the old McGilvary house. Both based their course of instruction on the Calvert School Course. Both were products of the same mission committee. To what degree the later founders of CCC learned from the examples of the first school is now impossible to say, but it would be very surprising if there was no carry-over of experience from the Wells' school to the latter school.

What can be said is that the need for taking measures to educate the children of the Presbyterian Mission did not end with the school for mission children established by Mrs. Wells. The need for such a school was growing even greater. We might also say that the School for Missionary Children underlined the original need for such a school and suggested the manner in which the need could be met.

III. ORIGINS: GATHERING BY THE RIVER (1952-1954)

The first school was not long gone when plans for a more permanent school began. Attached to the Minutes of the Executive Committee for August 13-15, 1952, was a report by the Committee on the Education of Missionary Children (CEMC), the old Committee by another name. This report noted that the 1952 Annual Mission Meeting had voted to establish a mission center in or near Chiangmai, which center was for the furthering of the education of mission children. The report called on the Executive Committee to take the necessary steps towards establishing such a center including asking the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church for the necessary funds and personnel. This report foresaw opening a school by May, 1954 noting that prior to that time there was only one Presbyterian child in need of schooling. (11)

Attached as part of the CEMC report was a further report of the "Site Committee" of the CEMC. This committee agreed that the permanent site for the school should be on Doi Sutep where it would have a cool, insect-free location that was safe from malaria. The site of the school would be close to the Buddhist temple. As to a temporary site, several mission compounds
in Chiangmai were considered including the river site of the McGilvary house. (12)

A report presented earlier in the year had shown that the need for the school would be pressing as there were forty-one mission children under the age of nine in May, 1952. (13) 1953 saw steady movement toward solving this problem and meeting the need. Among other actions, the Executive Committee made its initial request for funds from the Board of Foreign Missions as well as approving the plans for the school as drawn up by the CEMC. Those plans were being refined. Miss Wood was contacted and agreed to be the teacher for the school at a salary of between 2100 and 2500 baht per month. The school calendar for 1954 was set up with the opening date moved back to June 1st. There were to be three terms for 1954-55, and they were organized around the Thai school year. Some equipment purchases were considered, and the location for the school was temporarily designated as the porch of the Thompson house (on Old Doi Saket Road). Tuition was set at 4100 baht per year. (14)

In the history of CCC, there has been relatively little debate about the purpose of the school. The need has generally been so self-evident to those involved that debate over "reasons" for its existence just did not occur. There was to be much concern centred over the legal and the institutional connections of the school, but the school itself has continued to exist simply because it met a perceived need. Definitions of purpose do not abound nor do they seem to have been taken particularly seriously. However, at this early stage the Committee on the Education of Missionary Children did undertake a preliminary statement of the purpose of the school saying that it was to, "provide a Christian surrounding and education similar to that obtained in our 'prep' schools in America that students may qualify for the N.Y. Regents." (15)

This statement, tentative though it was, does capture the basic functions of the school that informed its work for years to come. It was to be Christian. It was to be American. It was to be preparatory to further education. In short, it would be, like its founders and clientele, a middle class American school. In light of this statement of purpose, it is of some note that the school that evolved would throughout most of its history up to 1979 resist and squirm out of attempts to make it essentially a Christian school. Such institutions as Bible classes and required chapel were occasional and often
ineffective. That is to say, that in terms of observed forms the school actually showed few of the marks of a religious institution especially after a few years had passed. It can be argued that "Christian influences" were to be very important to the school in less easily seen ways. At the same time, it must also be noted that the school fell easily and permanently into the mold of an American school.

1952 and 1953 were the years of prelude and planning. 1954 brought the prelude years to fruition, and the pace of preparation picked up ever more quickly as the months moved on toward June and opening day. The problems facing the people involved were numerous and not easily solved. Some of these problems were related to the overcoming of inertia which is a part of the founding of any new organization. Other issues were related to the unique situation of the about-to-be school and would not be solved for years to come if ever.

As plans moved forward, the people involved in the school learned to solve the complex, often inter-locking issues before them on a practical, problem-by-problem basis. Little attempt was made to establish long-run strategies in advance. Policies seemed to involve learning by experience and evolved out of those experiences. Only in the general areas of site and of leadership did there seem to be long-range planning, and even there changes were numerous and thinking often nebulous at best.

In January, 1954, the number of students for June was uncertain. In fact, it was not even clear as to what groups would or would not be considered for admission to the school. On the one hand, there was some contact made with a Seventh Day Adventist family to see whether their children would be interested. This contact produced no results. At the same time, the CEKC and its chairman, Mary Chaffee, was facing the problem of an application for special consideration and scholarship aid from a family belonging to a small fundamentalist mission. The problem was two-fold: could the school afford to be giving financial aid to students at that time? Secondly, would it be wise to allow fundamentalist groups to send their children to the Presbyterian School as there could be tension and dissatisfac- tion on both sides? In this case, money proved to be the more crucial issue and the family in question had to be told that the school simply could not give scholarship assistance in its early, fragile state of development.
These two inter-related problems are indicative of how some issues facing the school in 1954 were inherent in its situation while others were simply initial problems. The question of how many students will there be next year was a constant one for CCC. Enrollment figures could be erratic and extremely uncertain as the nature of the Chiangmai foreign community changed in response to political and economic events in Southeast Asia. There was little that the school could do but try to respond in absorbing both rapid increases and decreases in enrollment.

On the other hand, although the question of admitting ultra-fundamentalist mission children would come up again, in general the school was to follow the policy of admitting anyone who could afford the tuition. The question of scholarships would not become a serious problem until later in the 1960s when tuition rates were to skyrocket.

Other problems arose as doubts reared their ugly little heads over yet another facet of establishing the new school, that of curriculum. Here too, there were twin concerns, the one being greater than the other. There was some concern expressed about Miss Wood and her teaching methods. Her training and inclinations were thoroughly British. The parents and the Committee on the Education of Missionary Children were concerned that the school provide the best American education possible. It was nearly inevitable that there would be some tension. (18) Jean Thompson, one of the most active of the founders of the school, was one of those that expressed the concern that Miss Wood was likely to use English books and outmoded methods that did not compare favorably with American books and methods. Although this kind of attitude would cause a few hard feelings a little later, it does not seem to have lasted long. Miss Wood's record at CCC indicates that this initial fear was basically unfounded. (19) The greater concern over curriculum was related to the Calvert School Course which was to be used by the school. Even before the school opened some were worried about the quality of the Calvert materials, and as we shall see Calvert became a burning issue by 1955. (20)

Mary Chaffee was a key person in these pre-June, 1954, events serving as Chairman of the CESM. Her contribution is all the more impressive as she herself lived in Bangkok and would seem to have therefore had no immediate nor pressing concern about the school. Bangkok already had an English language school. It is evident that she put a great deal of effort into the founding
of the school. (21) However, just prior to the opening of the school she had to return to the United States to care for her ill mother. At that time she wrote to the members of the CEMC about the needs of the school. The heart of her presentation was that there was a serious need for developing some policy for the school. What groups should be included? Were any special tuition considerations to be made? Would Presbyterian parents send their children to a mountain school? (22) Minola Buler, who took over the chairmanship for Mary Chaffee, echoed these same questions some six weeks after the school had opened. She saw a pressing need for policy development at two levels: on the one, the Board of Foreign Missions needed to have a policy in regard to the school; on the other, the CEMC needed to have its own set of policy guidelines regarding such things as whether Presbyterian children should be required to attend under penalty of loss of financial support for their education if they did not. (23) In spite of such calls for policy statements, no recorded actions were taken during 1954, and the development of policy continued to depend on what sorts of cases arose.

In the case of the Board of Foreign Missions, there would not be throughout the history of CCC a clear policy regarding CCC nor even a clear institutional relationship between the Board and the school.

Related to the question of policy was that of leadership. Prior to its birth and during its infancy, the school was under the direct control of the CEMC which was a committee of the Presbyterian Mission and under the authority of the Mission and its Executive Committee. The CEMC was concerned with the total educational needs of Presbyterian mission children and not just the running of the school in Chiangmai. It was also involved in sending older children overseas, arranging for student housing, and working with the developing international school in Bangkok. Its membership was drawn from mission stations throughout the country. Thus, the Committee was a cumbersome mechanism for administering a local school especially since all of the members of the committee had other missionary responsibilities and could not devote full-time to the school.

The result was a leadership problem of serious dimensions. All major decisions required heavy correspondence and meetings. Lines of responsibility were unclear. Minola Buler, while chairman of the Committee, felt this weakness and urged that steps be taken to form a committee for the school.
Either the Chiangmai school should have its own committee and budget or a school "council" should be formed in Chiangmai under the aegis of the CEMC. (24) Nothing happened. As best as can be told from the records, no permanent and effective local committee was set up in Chiangmai until sometime in 1958.

The need for a local committee had not been generally perceived prior to the opening of the school. The need for full-time leadership in the school itself was recognized very early. Back in 1952, the CEMC listed among its requests to the Executive Committee one that the Board of Foreign Missions send out personnel for the school. (25) This request soon became more specific: the Committee wanted the Board to send out "a couple" who could be both boarding house parents and serve as principal and teacher in the school. (26) Repeated requests from the CEMC would be frustrated by events until some three years later.

Issues and problems and distances notwithstanding, the school did meet its June 1, 1954, deadline. The cooperative effort to start the school underlined the essentially volunteer flavor of the early years of CCC. Only Amala Wood, the full-time teacher, received a regular salary. Thus, CCC was an organization dependent upon volunteer labor and as such experienced some of the confusion and lack of coordination that often goes hand-in-hand with volunteer-run institutions. At the same time, however, there was an air of enthusiasm and adventure in getting ready for and opening the school, the flavor of which was best captured by Miss Wood herself. She wrote:

"There was no school when I arrived in the middle of May of this year. The morning after arrival, Mr. and Mrs. Thompson and I went to inspect the third riverside bungalow, which had once been the home of the Rev. Dr. Campbell. Mrs. Grether came with us. We chose the north wing of the house...and with Dr. Boker's approval the partition were [sic] pulled down, making one large room. The walls were painted a cool, apple green, and later, the ceiling was painted white to reflect the light, after it was found that the children complained of headaches. That first day, the furniture, the books, the supplies had not arrived. The day before school opened, there were crowds of parents, children, and friends all assisting in getting the classrooms ready. Furniture was being unwrapped and mended, shelves being painted, books being put away, supplies being carried up, cupboard doors being made to fit, sweeping, dusting and polishing! It looked like an impossible rehearsal for a play, in which one hoped that it would all be all right on the day!.........We opened on June 1st, with a thrilled and excited class of children, who were delighted with their schoolroom which they had themselves helped to assemble, and would be continuing to create throughout their young school days....We have worked on Calvert School system...basically,
but allowed for more time for crafts, constructional play, dramatics, music and art, then laid down in the Calvert daily work program. A P.T.A. meeting with Mrs. Smith, the wife of the American Consul, presiding, closed our first semester. We have a really lovely selection of books... and you should see our doll house, made by Mr. Thompson! The children have been making furniture and drapes. There's a sand tray also for Nature and Geography projects... And now I must read through tomorrow's story and check the flannelgraph material. And I must think of what I shall tell the missionaries at Mission Meeting. Wish that they could all visit us."

Miss Wood's description is also the only real indication of the activities of the school in its first months.

The house referred to by Miss Wood as the "home of the Rev. Campbell" was, in fact, the McGillvary house which had been used by the former School for Missionary Children. The old house was steeped in history and was still in good condition in 1954. In a sense, the old house gave CCC roots into the first age of the missionaries in North Thailand. The site of the house was originally chosen by the Prince of Chiangmai in 1868 for the house of Dr. McGillvary and family. The house itself was the first missionary structure in the North and most likely the first western-style building in the region. Because it was the first such building, there were problems involved in construction as local workmen were unfamiliar with the skills necessary to build such a house. It took years to complete the building which was finally ready in 1875.

By the end of 1954, the school had developed to the point where once again there was felt a need to do more on long-range planning. The CEMC appointed a "Study Commission on Curricula and Teaching Methods" for the school. Its purpose was to set policy and make plans and to act in an advisory capacity to Miss Wood who served as its chairman. Sinclair Thompson and Doris Bradburn served with her. The school also took on a more settled look as a permanent set of officers was selected for it. Mrs. Betsy Guyer served as the first treasurer of the school. Dr. Ed McDaniel was the first duly appointed manager. And Jean Thompson was selected as librarian, a job she had already filled unofficially and proficiently. All three positions were, quite naturally, volunteer.

The CEMC Report to the Presbyterian Mission for 1954 noted the progress that had been made during the first year while once again asserting the need for the school by saying that the mission then had a total of
sixty-six children on the field only seven of whom were over the age of ten. Forty-five were under five years of age, and forty-five lived outside of Bangkok. Minola Bucker then reported to the mission that the school opened on June 1st using the north side of the Mcgilvary house. There were eight children on opening day, four being Presbyterian mission children; by the end of the year, three more children had been added raising the total number of Presbyterians to six and also including one Baptist child, three children of American diplomats, and one child of a businessman. In light of later developments, these figures are enlightening as they show that the school was never to be more Presbyterian nor more church-oriented than in its earliest years.

Mrs. Bucker reported that the library had ordered or had received in donations a total of 649 books. Financially the school had spent a total of 72,240.21 baht or some $3,612 (2 baht to the U.S. dollar) from January to September, 1954. It might be added here that finances do not seem to have been a problem in the early stages of the school. At least, Horace Ryburn, Field Administrator of the Presbyterian Mission, reported to the Board of Foreign Missions that the mission had enough funds for the school in its first year.

With the close of 1954, CCC had begun to take definite shape and was moving out of its initial stage. From 1952 to 1954 the school had been translated from an idea to a reality. Great measures of time and concern were expended by people who were seeking the best education they could find for their children. This parental concern was the great strength of the school in this first stage even though it was also a source of friction. It is also obvious that the ideas and dreams of those working with the school did not end with its founding. Although the school was still loosely structured and depended on volunteer services to a great extent, there was still a strong vision of what the school could and should become. That vision included building good facilities at a compatible site as well as securing professional, full-time missionary teachers. It was this vision that would serve as a springboard for the later development of the school.

IV: THE EARLY YEARS: FROM HOPE TO HOPE (1955-1957)

1955 marked the first full year for the new school. The school continued taking shape as the problems it faced became more familiar if no
less complex. 1955 was the year of great hopes dashed and renewed, and the most persistent and insistent theme of the year was the longing for "the couple" that would come and put the school on solid ground. The year began and ended on this theme.

January found Mary Chaffee writing to Jean Thompson that word had not yet come about a couple for the school. Chaffee was concerned that the parents would be disappointed if there was no couple in the near future and that this would make things far more difficult for Miss Wood. Great hope was invested in "the couple." It is evident from Mary Chaffee's concern for Miss Wood that there was a somewhat impatient hope on the part of the people in Chiangmai. Chaffee herself shared this hope feeling that when the new couple came it would mean that "we shall take our second real step forward in the progress of the School."(36) The school was being held in a kind of suspended animation waiting the arrival of permanent leadership. By 1957 there would be an air of almost messianic expectation.

This hope was almost false. In 1955 when, in April, word came that the Board would be sending the Richard Covington family for the school.(37) Their credentials sounded excellent including both educational and pastoral experience for the Rev. Mr. Covington.(38) The excitement didn't last long. By mid-May, further news came that the Covingtons' decided not to come to Thailand at that time. The immediate reaction in Thailand was to renew the plea for a couple urging the immediate need for help in providing a good education for the mission's children.(39) By December, Chaffee was again in correspondence with New York about possible couples for the school, and it was at this time that the name of the Charles D. Massingers' was first mentioned.(40)

In the meantime, the school was growing, and there was concern that Miss Wood could not handle the entire load of full-time teaching even with the assistance of various specialized people such as Carolyn Kingshill who was teaching music. 1955 had opened with twelve students. After considering several alternatives, it was finally decided that Jean Johnson, a parent already deeply involved in the school, would be asked to help. Although Johnson was termed an "assistant," she actually became a full-time teacher for the Third and Fourth Grades and had her own classroom. Wood became the de facto principal although a title of "coordinator" might have
been more accurate. The staff now included three regular teachers counting
Carolyn Kingshill in music.(41)

One of the most serious issues of the early years was that of the
curriculum. The school was using as the basis of its courses the Calvert
School Course which was produced by the Calvert School in Baltimore. This
home course study included materials for Kindergarten through Grade Nine
and was designed specifically for use by parents who had to teach their
children at home. It was the course of study generally used by Presby-
terian missionaries in Thailand for teaching their children who had no
access to a western school. One of its main features was that the Calvert
Course was approved and accredited by the Department of Education of Maryland.(42)

The concern over Calvert was held both by teachers and by parents, and
there is some indication that there was something of a contest of wills
involved. Mary Chaffee seems to have been the primary promoter of the
Calvert materials feeling that using such materials gave the school some
standards. She herself saw the limitations of the curriculum but felt
that the school was too new to try to develop its own curriculum.(43)
Chaffee's counsel to those who did not like Calvert was to keep that
unqueasiness quiet as it might undermine the confidence of the parents.
Jean Johnson responded with the feeling that Mary Chaffee was "sold on
Calvert.(44)

Jean Johnson did not like Calvert. She felt that Miss Wood was also
drifting away from it.(45) But what is most apparent is that the parents
themselves had strong misgivings about the school curriculum and the
quality of the education of the new school. In March, 1955 and again in
January, 1956, meetings were held with the parents about the school curriculum.
Although the March meeting does not seem to have focused on Calvert as such;
it was obvious that there was dissatisfaction. The parents expressed the
feeling that their children were not getting enough education and that the
mothers wanted to be able to visit the school more often in order to see
how things were going.(46) The dissatisfaction of the parents did not
lessen during the year, and Chaffee herself reports having heard that the
Presbyterian parents were unhappy with the school.(47) The issues became
more clearly expressed in the January, 1956 meeting which was led by a
panel of school leaders.
It was at this point that goals became a concern, and the panel outlined three major goals for the school: 1) sound educational standards; 2) developing the social "fitness" of students; and 3) developing the "awareness" of spiritual realities of the students. Many questions about Calvert were raised, and it was acknowledged that Calvert was getting out of date, that it was using outdated teaching methods, that it was too rigid in its approach, and that it was geared to individual rather than classroom instruction. To the question, why use it? the only answers given were that the school had developed that way and that it did give a basis to instruction.

However, the panel did insist that the fundamentals of a good education were being taught. Other resources were being used to supplement Calvert, and not all of Calvert was being used where it was irrelevant. To the question, can the parents be assured that their children are getting the basics, the reply was given that there is never any assurance anywhere. Parents who taught their children at home had none. But the parents did know what the school was trying to accomplish and with cooperation at home much could be done.

Available records do not indicate whether or not this meeting proved satisfactory to those unhappy with Calvert and the teaching standards of the school. However, after this time there is far less mention regarding the curriculum of the school. We may infer that a consensus emerged from the ferment over Calvert in which it became generally understood that Calvert was a temporary expedience that had to be lived with in the short term. Given the slender resources of the school during these early years, it is doubtful that any other approach would have been possible.

It is important to note, however, that those working in the school were swimming in a kind of fish bowl. Parents and others with an interest in the school maintained a critical approach and do not seem to have been reticent in expressing concerns. It should also be noted that the debate over curriculum did not extend to the quality of Miss Wood's teaching. In fact, over the years there was to be relatively little complaint about Amala Wood (or, in fact, as she was called in later years). There was a growing appreciation for her role in the school and her importance to it.

She was a particularly creative individual. Children liked her and parents
trusted her. She seems to have left her stamp on the school most especially in her love of drama and plays and artistic activities that were to become an important part of a CCC education.

Long-range planning for the school emphasized finding permanent, trained leadership and establishing a permanent site for the school. The hopes for a couple remained unfulfilled in 1955, and the plans for a permanent site had to be changed twice in the course of the year. First came the news that the mountain site was no longer possible: a Presbyterian official in New York argued against the site for reasons that are not recorded, and the government was reluctant to renew the lease for the land. It was decided by March that the compound containing the Mcgilvary house would become the permanent site for the school.

Before the end of the year, site plans were changed again. After contacting Herb and Joanne Grether and obtaining their approval, the Committee on the Education of Missionary Children voted to request that the Executive Committee make the Grether compound the permanent home of the school. There were two primary reasons given for choosing the Grether compound over the River site: in the first place, the latter property was in a location too conspicuous; and, secondly, there was not adequate room for expansion if and when the school grew to be 40 to 60 students in size. Whereas, at the Grether property that old mission house could be used for the boarding house while there was plenty of room for building a school building. The Grether house, as it was then called, was actually built sometime around the turn of the century by Dr. James W. McKeen, then head of the McCormick Hospital and later founder of the Chiangmai Leprosarium eventually known as McKeen Hospital.

The question of the relationship of other missions to the school had already been brought up. It was an issue that would not die easily. In 1955, there was some discussion about bringing both the United Christian Missionary Society (UCMS - Disciples) and the American Baptist Mission into partnership with the school. Both mission groups were approached informally, but it was decided that for the time-being the two missions might join the school as "related missions" but that the time was not right for full cooperating partnership. None of the three missions took any action toward establishing even a "related" mission
status. This would be a pattern followed in latter years particularly with the Disciples. Eventually, the Baptists would become closely involved in the work of CCC as a "junior" partner in its work, however, at no time did the Presbyterians give up their status as owners and "senior" partners.

1955 marks the origins of another theme that would be woven through the history of CCC over the years. For the first time but not the last, Horace Ryburn, Field Administrator of the Presbyterian Mission, called for fiscal responsibility on the part of those in charge of the school. In this instance, his concern was for the total budget of the CEMC, and he urged that the committee understand its budget structure and keep strictly within the budget. (55) It seems that Ryburn chose for himself the role of fiscal watchdog in relation to the school, but it would not be until nearly ten years later that this role would have its full impact.

And what of the little school itself amid all of this razzle-dazzle? One might note that slowly it was taking on the name of Chiangmai Children's Center although it was still not the CCC it would soon become. (56) Supplies were being ordered. Procedures were being refined. And the still meager facilities of the school were being improved thanks to the efforts of Dr. McDaniol, school manager. (57) By the end of 1955, the school consisted of two classrooms, a library, and a music and worship room. Bible and Christian Education were regular courses in the curriculum. Four afternoons each week were devoted to special classes including Thai conversation, carpentry, rhythm band, film programs, and a class period entitled "Our Friendship Group" which was led by Acharn SeeThong Ariawongse and provided a time to learn Thai songs, dancing, and meet with Thai children. (58)

In spite of the problems encountered in the founding of the school, rapid progress had been made, and the school was beginning to stabilize. In a letter to Miss Wood, Mary Chaffee sounded an optimistic note saying that the school had progressed far more rapidly than the CEMC had expected from the survey it conducted before the school opened. (59) Perhaps the best indication of the initial success of the school was Miss Wood's own feelings. In spite of some of the tensions, her first year had been a happy and satisfactory one, and she had indicated her desire to continue with the school for at least four more years. (60)

The January, 1956 meeting of the CEMC underscored this progress
suggested that out of all of the concern about the Calvert Course some sense of a mutual understanding had, indeed, been worked out. Calvert did remain the basic element of the curriculum, but there were modifications and supplementary material was used. The CEMC was able to make a stab at outlining an eight-point policy statement. Building plans were moving ahead, and the Committee was pondering the possibilities of adding a Kindergarten to the school. The Committee also noted that during December of 1955 the school had put on three different Christmas programs. The school seems to have continued with some variation in much this same manner throughout 1956 and early 1957. In that period the fourth grade had to be dropped as there was only one student and no teacher for the grade. The duties of treasurer were transferred from Betsy Guyor to Jane Arp. The library books were cataloged and arranged in a more orderly fashion now numbering some 2500 volumes. Plans were made for introducing Thai language instruction into the curriculum on a more formal basis. Jean Thompson was to be approached after her furlough in regards to teaching. *(61)*

February, 1957 marked the end of Mary Shaffee's leadership in the school as she was soon to be leaving on furlough. *(62)* Among the founders of CCC, she was certainly a key individual. Her role is all the more impressive as she was removed geographically from the school living as she did in Bangkok. Her correspondence reflected a genuine, positive, and active concern for the school. Her place was taken by Fran Hamlin.

The distinguishing characteristic of 1956 and of 1957 was the sense of expectancy as the school awaited the arrival of "the couple." In January, 1956, there were three couples who were mentioned as possible leaders for the school, among them the Charles D. Messingers. *(63)* It was the Messingers, a young couple recently out of theological seminary with two children, who were finally accepted by the Board for the job of principal-teachers-house-parents of CCC.

Although the correspondence between the Messingers and the people in Chiangmai abounded with enthusiasm and the Messingers certainly looked forward eagerly to coming out to Thailand, in retrospect it is evident that they were going into a situation where they would be asked to do great wonders and that on meager resources. The school had never had a full-time principal before. There was a strong expectation on the part
of the Chiangmai people that the new principal and his wife would be the
answer to all of their questions, the cure-all for every ache and pain.

Mary Chaffee said it for everyone when she wrote to the Messingers
that,

"We have purposely called the work to date that of a
"temporary center", because we want the couple that comes
to build for us both a fine educational center and a wholesome family boarding situation that will provide for the
physical and spiritual needs of the children."(64)

In the same letter, Chaffee referred to the expected missionary couple as
"our great need."(65)

The Messingers' were expected to take the lead in the school's
expansion program, to work toward the involvement of other missions in the
school, and to open the boarding department putting it on a stable,
permanent base. They were expected to take over the administration of
the school, to set up a full-rounded educational program, and to revise
the entire curriculum of the school. In short, the Messingers' were
expected to turn the temporary center into a permanent school.(66)

The result was something of a misapprehension on the part of the
Messingers'. The whole weight of the correspondence they were receiving
from Thailand led them to the conclusion that they were going to Chiangmai
to open a school. It was almost as if the first three years of the school
did not exist, as if nothing had been done at all.(67)

Whether this misunderstanding was a source of later tensions is not
clear. What is clear, however, is that the period 1955 down to the time
in 1957 when the Messingers' arrived was very much a period of development
during which solid achievements were made. The facts of the school's
continued existence and its continued expansion argue for the accomplishments
of the period. Things had happened.

V: NEW DAY A' DAWNIN' (1957-1960)

One of the most striking features of the history of CCC is that
its development almost always entailed a price. One would not expect such
a small institution to have such a rocky, interesting past. The years of
the Messingers' would be a prime example of the way in which the school
has lumbered from crisis to crisis, problem to problem. These were
unhappy years, and yet they marked a period of important change that
saw the school become stronger and take on an increasingly permanent aspect just as those who called the Messingers' to Chiangmai hoped it would.

1956 and much of 1957 were, in a sense, a period of prelude to September, 1957 when the school was opened with a full-time principal for the first time. The correspondence was filled with the details of preparation by the Messingers' for coming to Thailand and by the Chiangmai people to receive them. After the Messingers' arrived, plans and changes moved along on several fronts. The plans for the new buildings were approved. Messinger began to plan for the step-by-step replacement of Calvert beginning with Grade One. Messinger also began to establish systematic records for each child that included regular testing. Plans also moved ahead for the occupation of the Boarding House, that is the Grether house itself, which was scheduled for August 1, 1957. The problem of finding enough teachers for the 1957-58 school year had to be dealt with, and the Baptists agreed to allow Mr. Cecil Carter to teach.

One of the significant changes in this period was the regularizing of the financial situation of the school. The new treasurer, Jane Arp, initiated the process of bringing all of the finances of the school under the control of one person and setting up a new account for CCC set up with Khun Suty Gunanukara, treasurer for the mission. One of the problems Arp had encountered was that there were too many people ordering things without coordinating the situation. Another problem had been the confusing of CCC charges with those of the larger CEMC. Thus, CCC was given its own account under Arp. She summarized the situation best when she wrote,

The school started as a very small things, and the accounts were kept in a little notebook, without much system. That was all right then, but we feel now that there should be something better set up, and more business-like methods used in the school.

As CCC approached its 1957-58 school year, the theme sounded by Arp about the growth of the school became more and more a reality. Fran Hamlin, now chairman of the Committee, also noted that there was a need to get things established in a more "business-like" way as CCC was "growing into quite an institution."

And CCC was growing. Its September, 1957 enrollment numbered 22, a jump of just over 50% from 1956-57, the largest single increase percentage-wise in the history of the school. The school was forced to hire its
second full-time teacher with salary, Joy Jacobs-Larcum, who taught Fourth and Fifth Grades for one term. 1957-58 was also the first school year that the school opened all eight grades. 1957 marked the first time that CCC had a boy scout troop sponsored by the school. (74)

Chuck Messinger, being a young man and just out of seminary, needed to have a sense of accomplishment and worth that is typical of such men. The role of CCC was important to him, and he felt strongly at that time that his work at CCC was "fulfilling a great need" because it freed missionary mothers to work and gave mission fathers "peace of mind." (75)

There is evidence that he was not far from wrong in his estimation of CCC's role although he may have over stated the case slightly. The Rev. Dick Bryant, commenting on his family life as a missionary family in Chiangmai in the 1950s and early 1960s, reflected his feeling that the school played an important and very positive part in that life. The school provided not only an education but also a community for children and the opportunity for a nearly "normal" American environment for children that would one day have to live in the United States. (76) The primary role, then, of CCC at that date was that of support mechanism for the work of the Presbyterian missionaries in Thailand. It was still primarily a mission school.

The "Messinger Years" extended from 1957 to March, 1961. These were years of rapid growth and of tension as well. The school emerged from its "temporary" shell into a state of near permanence. From temporary quarters, a stop-gap curriculum, a financial maze, and an ill-defined administrative hierarchy, the school moved into permanent quarters, and developed its own curriculum, regularized financial procedures, and established a committee specifically responsible for the school.

Several important themes run through this four year period. Important among these was the basic but confusing question of just who was responsible to what degree for the school. Until sometime in 1958, the CEFMC was the committee most directly responsible for CCC. The problem was that it was a national committee with wider responsibilities. It had been recognized since 1954 that the school should have some kind of committee responsible for it and it alone. Thus, was born eventually the Sub-Committee for CCC of the CEFMC. Just when and how the committee came into being is not clear.
The first reference to the sub-committee was in October, 1958. In that month, Messinger presented a report to the sub-committee which discussed various policy and other needs of the school.(77) Shortly thereafter Roberta Lewis, CEPMC chairman, wrote a letter to Messinger and Betsy Guyer in which she referred to the work of the sub-committee. Since this letter was addressed to Guyer it has to be assumed in the absence of other evidence that she was already chairman of the sub-committee at that time.(78)

But what was the sub-committee? In its initial stages, the role of the sub-committee was unclear.79 By August, 1959, chairman Betsy Guyer said that the CEPMC felt that the sub-committee was to be something like a school board in the U.S.(80) This concept seems to have been fairly widely accepted by 1961.(81) However, in that year there developed a serious controversy between the original sub-committee and those that were elected to take their places in 1961. The problem that arose was that some felt that the sub-committee should be an advisory board while others felt that it had to be a managing board. Fran Haalin, chairman from 1961, reflected the first view while Sinclair Thompson held the second.(82) The controversy between these two views came when the generally new sub-committee decided to formulate clearly the authority of the sub-committee. They attempted to lay down a policy that would make it essentially advisory in nature. The old group who were now off the committee felt that their right to make the decisions they had made was being questioned. They also felt that the sub-committee had to be more active.(83)

What both sides should have realized was that the actual situation of the school defined the role of the sub-committee in ways that made policy controversies irrelevant. The situation of CCC was that the least mobile, least transient office was that of sub-committee chairman. In the twenty year period from 1958 to 1978 only five persons would hold that position, all of them long-term Presbyterian missionaries with close connections to the school. In that same period, thirteen individuals would assume the duties of principal.(84) Teacher turnover would be very rapid. The turnover in the community would also be great. Authority came to the sub-committee and esp. its chairman simply because it was the only organization related to the school that could effectively use it.(85)

The clarity of the role of the sub-committee worked itself out with
with the years. The relationship between CCC and the Presbyterian Church would never become clear. In February, 1960, Dick Bryant, then President of the PTA of the CCC, visited the New York offices of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations (COEMAR) of the United Presbyterian Church. (86)

The result of his discussions with COEMAR officials was that they agreed that the COEMAR-CCC relationship was unclear. The general sense of the meeting was that COEMAR did have a responsibility to provide personnel for CCC, but it was up to the Fraternal Workers Affairs Committee in Thailand to make requests for personnel and to define the Presbyterian relationship to CCC. (87)

Perhaps the most unhappy story of the period was the story of the Messingers themselves. A letter Roberta Lewis wrote to Chuck Messinger and to Betsy Guyer suggests the problem. Lewis had spoken with Rev. Ernest Fogg, Acting Field Representative, about CCC, Messinger, and the development of the school. As a result of the conversation, Lewis urged Messinger to be more "relaxed" and "self-assured." She says that he has accomplished a great deal in a short time. Fogg, she said, had expressed his own admiration for what was being done, and Fogg hoped that the project would "get over feeling on the defensive." (89)

Messinger was insecure, but the problem seems to have gone even deeper. Both Chuck and Marge felt overwhelmed by the responsibilities hanging over them. They felt themselves to be working too hard. They felt that they had too many different things to do thus feeling a conflict in priorities. (90) There is also some evidence that their Presbyterian missionary cohorts were also a source of unhappiness for them. It was a small community in Chiangmai where everyone could peer over the shoulders of everyone else. The principal of CCC was bound to be in the limelight. The Messingers felt that they came in for a great deal of criticism much of it unfounded and lacking in "Christian charity." (91) It came to the point where they believed themselves to be subject to malicious and unfounded gossip and were caught between power groups. (92) The tragedy of their situation was compounded by their desire (esp. on the part of Chuck) to get out and work with the Thai people. It came to the place where Chuck got involved in work at Fang and was making plans for working full time there upon their return from furlough. (93)

However, it turned out that the Messingers had no future in Thailand.
By December, 1960 Ryburn had decided that Messinger should not be called back to Thailand, and he had notified the Messingers of this decision. Ryburn felt that Chuck had not found himself in terms of either his vocation or his personal maturity. Thus, by March of 1961 the Messingers had left both the school and Thailand. (94)

However, it must be noted that the Messingers, whatever their faults, did make a lasting and significant contribution to CCC. They had been put in a situation without precedent, and when they left in 1961 they left behind them a fully developed curriculum that was to remain generally intact for years to come. They left a sound system of testing and records keeping. They showed some flexibility in their teaching methods and definitely saw to the improvement of teaching standards. They put in a great deal of time and effort into improving the boarding house physically. They moved the school into new facilities in 1958. (95) Perhaps they could have done more. Perhaps they should have tried to do less. Perhaps they could have done things in a better way. There is plenty of room for speculation. But the fact remains that in 1956 the Chiangmai people were looking for a couple who would put the school on a permanent footing, and Messingers did just that.

By 1961, the teaching staff included four full-time teachers: Edith Fagerbourg, a short-term Presbyterian missionary who arrived in 1959; Edythe McCary, an American Baptist missionary; Mrs. Jean Thompson of the Presbyterian Mission; and, the ever faithful Miss Wood who was now generally known by her middle name, Rose. It was a good staff. Miss Fagerbourg was the first person sent out specifically for the school since the Messingers. She enjoyed her work very much and was an excellent teacher. Her music program continued the traditions of the school that had started with Carolyn Kingshill, and on the whole she made a very strong contribution to CCC. (96) Edythe McCary came to CCC in 1960 as the first Baptist missionary appointed full-time to CCC. She too was a fine teacher and added greatly to the program of the school (97), but she was soon bitten by the bug that had hit Chuck Messinger so hard, the I-want-to-be-a-real-missionary bug. She enjoyed her work and stayed with CCC the full term, but she really wanted to also get out and work with the local churches. (98)

By 1961 the school had moved to a "departmental" structure for grades three to eight. Grade One had its own teacher, and Grades Two and Three.
were taught as one class by Miss Wood. The entire curriculum had been re-done and included various standard American curricula such as Scott-Foresman, Houghton-Mifflin, and the like. Thai language was required from second grade up, and German had been taught to the sixth and seventh grades in 1960-61. The greatest weakness was in the area of Bible where Messinger had never been able to establish a good program.(99)

One of the most important dates in the history of CCC came in June, 1958 when the school moved out of the McGilvary house and into new quarters at the Grether compound. The plans for the two new buildings were drawn up by Acharn An in 1957. At first it had been thought that the buildings would be constructed of brick or construction blocks, but the cost of these materials proved to be prohibitively high with the result that wooden structures were built instead. They were expected to last twenty-five years.(100) The building program was completed at a cost of 420,000 baht, and the school moved during its eight-term break, June 17-24.

The dedication of the new buildings took place on August 13, 1958.(101)

The "Messinger Years" have other themes that can be mentioned only in passing. 1958 marked the beginning of semi-formal Baptist involvement in the school that would bring a number of teachers to CCC.(102) The next year found the CCC staff embroiled in its first serious test over discipline in the case of a particularly rowdy, ill-mannered boy who was eventually dismissed from the school.(103) By 1960, the Boarding House, important as it was to the school, was beginning to be a serious financial drain.(104)

The year that the Messingers arrived in Thailand CCC had an enrollment of just 14 students. Their last school year saw this enrollment jump to 37. It is the mark of accomplishment of those four years that the school was able to adjust to an ever growing student body.

VI: TRANSITIONS (1961-1964)

The years from 1961 to 1964 mark the years of Doug Stubblefield as principal, but if any one person was dominant it would have been Fran Hamlin who served as chairman of the Sub-committee. This is not to detract from the contribution of both Doug and Helen Stubblefield. But it does underscore the personality differences between the Stubblefields who tended to be quiet, behind-the-scenes people and the Messingers who had been more
visible.

The Stubblefields were appointed as missionaries to serve at CCC in September of 1960. They came highly recommended by the people in New York. They had been living in Louisville where they were attending the Presbyterian seminary, and unlike the Messingers who had two children, they had no children. (105) The changes of the past few years at CCC can be seen in the contrast between the messianic expectations of 1956–57 and the more measured reaction to the coming of the Stubblefields. People were now ready to ask more searching questions, and they did. (106)

The Stubblefields arrived in July, 1961, and they were soon to lay to rest the concerns of some about their qualifications and to prove their worth to the school. Fran Hamlin writing two years later credited them with doing fine work. The boarding house and the school were in excellent condition as were the grounds which looked very good. (107) Through the years, their most particular contribution was in the boarding house where they provided an exceptional home base for the children who stayed with them. (108) As professional educators, their role was that of consolidating the gains made in previous years. In the great battles and issues of these years, their voices are generally quiet.

It was not a quiet period. Battles were waged. Tempers were frayed. And some of the fundamental assumptions upon which the school rested were called into question.

The most important single event of the years 1961–1963 was the attempt by the school to register itself as a legal entity with the Thai government. (109) The story may be summarized quickly. Prior to 1961 the question of registering the school had been explored from time to time, but nothing was done about it. There seems to have been a verbal understanding with local officials that sufficed. (110) Sinclair Thompson had begun to look into legalization when he was killed in a train accident in July, 1961. Fran Hamlin with the assistance initially of Acharn Kua of the Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT) and later Acharn Musak of Prince Royal’s College (PRC) in Chiangmai carried out the process. It was a long, complex procedure which extended over two year’s time. The result was that in July, 1963, the formal CCC request to become a legal school was turned down. (111) Of importance to the school second only to that of registration was the
"Battle of the Budget" that exploded into a mini-war between the CCC leadership and Horace Ryburn. Events began quietly enough in the early 1960s reaching a climax in 1964 and then receding again. The heart of the matter was deceptively simple: who would pay for CCC?

In its first years, the school was entirely dependent on New York money for its existence. The Presbyterians paid for the new buildings. They provided staff. The bulk of "tuition" was paid by the Board for Presbyterian children, and only a very small amount came from non-mission sources. For example, budget estimates for 1957-58 put CCC's total expected income at 126,560 baht of which 108,560 baht or just over 85% came from the Presbyterian mission. (112)

The school was an expensive investment. It was Ryburn's concern to put the school on an entirely self-supporting basis as soon as possible. A major step in this direction was taken when Edith Fagerbourg came out. Although she was a special-term Presbyterian missionary, her "field salary" was the responsibility of CCC to be covered from its own income. (113) By 1962 it had become the avowed policy of the school itself to become fully self-supporting. (114)

While the school accepted the goal, the pressure for reaching it clearly came from Horace Ryburn. He wrote to New York in February, 1963, that "we are putting the project on a cost basis..." saying that the missionary replacement for Fagerbourg would be fully paid for from CCC income including travel and other benefits. (115) It was in 1963 that all overt grants from COE MAR came to an end. The result was that the school had to raise its tuition rates to meet costs, and it also adjusted its schedule of rates so that Presbyterians no longer received special consideration. (116)

The "battle" broke out in June, 1964, when Ryburn wrote to Doug Stubbsfield regarding the CCC budget and future expenses. The details are complex, but in short, the school was expected to pay the full costs of Peggy Powell, about-to-arrive Presbyterian, for the Baptist replacement for Edythe McCarty, and for the Stubbsfields when they return from their furlough in 1965. Ryburn closed by saying that CCC tuition would have to be raised sharply. Fran Hamlin was fit to be tied. Ryburn's tone and demands were in her eyes unkind, unreasonable, and his whole letter was "horrible." (117)
Ryburn responded. He demanded that the school make up a budget that showed its actual costs. He demanded that the non-Presbyterian families pay their fair share. The previously prepared budget including tuition rates was totally inadequate and would have to be re-done. Ryburn's letter was so sharp and uncompromising as to be virtually imperious. From this point on the correspondence flew quick, thick, and heavy. New York soon became involved. Ryburn made it clear that the school was still under the thumb of the FWAC. Hamlin argued that the school could not be entirely self-supporting yet because of the high cost of the boarding house. She was particularly upset about the Stubblefields because their primary contribution after 1965 would be in the boarding house. It was not fair to non-boarding families to have to pay for the expenses of the boarders. Ryburn ignored the argument and continued to demand a new budget.

The issue dribbled to a finale. In September, Hamlin went home on furlough and Charlotte McDaniel took her place. The change in personalities helped as McDaniel did not engage in the confrontational style of Fran Hamlin. Support from New York came to the assistance of the school showing that Ryburn had over-stepped his bounds on this one. Ted Romig wrote that COEMAR would continue to carry the expenses of the Stubblefields thus lifting one real financial burden off of the school. Charlotte McDaniel played it cool, showing in detail all of the problems that Ryburn was not taking into account and asking his advice about how to solve those problems. The school had made certain commitments that could not really be broken or changed, especially its signed contract with the Joint United States Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG). Ryburn continued to sputter about the inadequate, poorly thought out budget and to demand tuition increases. Eventually it turned out that CCC had to pay only part of the cost of its missionary teachers, Presbyterian and Baptist.

The most troubling aspect of this confrontation was the attitude in Bangkok that the FWAC was fully in charge but was not about to pay for anything. The extensive correspondence also indicates that the school itself really was self-supporting but that the problem was with the boarding department which occupied an old building, used a large staff, and had a relatively small clientele, many of whom were still Presbyterian children. Ryburn never showed that he understood the problem. He
certainly was not sympathetic. And his hang-the-door-down, damn-the-torpedoes approach failed to accomplish what he was after: CCC self-sufficiency.

The Hamlin-Stubblefield years were filled with issues to be confronted and problems to be solved. Many things were still working themselves out, and the school had not taken on an air of stability quite equal to its permanence as an institution.

At the core of many of the issues and problems was the changing nature of the school and its increasingly rapid growth numerically. By 1964, CCC was becoming less of a "missionary school" and more of a school for the international, primarily American, community. (123) Enrollment was also expanding, as is shown in that enrollment in September, 1960, stood at 22 while in July, 1963, it reached 486, an increasing of nearly 140%. The results of this increase was a teacher shortage and over-crowding. Both of these problems were reaching near-crisis proportions. (124)

Additions to the building became imperative, and in 1962 one classroom was added to the school, while in 1963 the auditorium was added. (125) Perhaps no one thing more aptly describes the adaptive but somewhat piecemeal characteristics of CCC any more clearly than its physical plant. In a period of less than twenty years, four major additions and several minor alterations were made. CCC has seldom planned its reactions to changes or even been aware that they were coming, and yet it has managed to react and adapt in ways fitting to the problems confronting it.

Prior to the 1960s, CCC's institutional relationships were tied entirely to the Presbyterian Church. But in the first years after 1960 there was a quiet shift towards widening relationships primarily with the U.S. government. CCC signed its first contract to educate American military children in 1960, and it was in that year that two members of JUSNAG made a private contribution to the school to help improve the water filtration system of the school. (126) Aid-in-kind began in 1963 when the school received various educational equipment and teaching materials after the school had been inspected by AID representatives and found worthy of such aid. The school again received aid-in-kind amounting to $1,500 in 1964. (127)

The years 1961-1964 brought other changes. In 1962, Kru Patraporn
became the Head Teacher and Thai language teacher of the school. In later years she would also help with the office work staying with the school until the early 1970s. In 1963, the first CCC yearbook, The Chiangmai Clarion Call, was published by the Eight Grade class. The Clarion Call for 1964 included the first dedication, most appropriately it was to Miss Wood and written by the "last of the original CCC students," Pam Bradburn. The 1964 Clarion Call also included the school emblem which was designed in that year by Mr. W. A. R. Wood, father of Miss Wood and long-time British Consul in Chiangmai. The motto for the school was "Ora et Labora" or "Work and Pray."

1963 was also the year that the Kindergarten became a mini-issue. It was being run by a group of mothers but on CCC grounds. It had become a real nuisance, and after some debate a new agreement with more stringent rules was worked out. The school did allow the Kindergarten to be run on school grounds, but it was not yet a part of the regular school program. (128)

Finally, the period brought one more lasting change, and that was in the name of the school itself. The school had developed its name in the days when it went only up to Fifth Grade. But the older students disliked the name "Children" arguing that they certainly were not children! By 1964, the school was so generally known by its initials that even the local people referred to it as "Rongrien SeeSeeSee" (i.e. CCC School). After some casting about, it was decided to change the name of the school to the "Chiangmai Coeducational Center" thus preserving the all-important middle-C of CCC. (129)

VII: THE LITTLE SCHOOL THAT COULD 1964 - 1968

The themes of this period are continuations from the years before. What marks these four years off is that they encompassed both a period of extreme challenge and of quite remarkable achievement. September, 1964, began with a new principal and a temporary sub-committee chairman. The school plunged into a time of crisis that saw enrollment soar leading to a critival shortage of space, of teachers, and of funds. The irregularities of CCC's institution situation continued to produce tensions and strange paradoxes. Yet, by September, 1968, the school had achieved a high degree of stability and managed to handle most of its problems deftly.

1965 was a crisis year in enrollment. As we have noted previously,
enrollment at CCC was only 22 in September, 1960. By September, 1965, the school numbered 103 students or an increase of some 370%. It was an increase of just under 100% over July, 1963. The buildings and the grounds were bursting at the seams. Traffic actually became such a problem that the school had to build a second gate to provide an exit for all the cars. The classrooms had to be expanded to include what had been porches adjoining them. It was beyond the wildest dreams of those who had known the school over the years. And even with the building adjustments classrooms remained jamed.

Nearly as critical was the rapidly changing nature of the enrollment which had begun in the previous period but now accelerated rapidly. The school by 1965 was not a mission children's school. Of these 103 students only 23 belonged to the Presbyterian, Baptist, or Disciples missions. It was in 1965 that the change became so clear that it could not be ignored. It forced CCC and others to begin to rethink the basic premises upon which the school had been founded.

There was bound to be tension. One is reminded of the classic experiments with laboratory mice forced to live in over-crowded conditions. Perhaps the major point of tension was between the largely American foreign community and the mission people who still ran the school and the Board. The "community" felt alienated from the school because it had no voice in the decisions made there. The "community" was also critical of the fact that the missionaries could not provide enough qualified teachers to meet the needs of the school. The Board felt somewhat critical themselves feeling that COEMAR was not helping them handle the crisis they faced in providing a good education at CCC. The situation became so bad at one point that the principal of the school felt it necessary to send a letter home to parents asking them to refrain from criticizing teachers behind their backs. She asserted that the school had lost two good teachers because of such back-biting.

Another point of friction developed over the school calendar which had traditionally been patterned after that of the Thai schools. This made sense when the bulk of families were mission related and the parents themselves working in Thai situations. However, as the school became more frankly American with people coming and going on the basis of the American
school year, tension arose. Although some of the missionaries disliked the change, the Board finally had to accede, changing the calendar to begin with the 1967-68 school year.(136)

One cosmetic change was made to try to strengthen the position of the Sub-committee. Both the FWAC and COEMAR agreed to allow the Sub-Committee to be renamed "The Board of Directors." However, it was made clear to the newly-named Board that its position relative to FWAC and the Commission in New York had not changed.(137)

And this led to the paradox facing the CCC: institutionally it still had to conform to all of the forms of being a mission school while at the same time it was educating a largely non-mission clientele. In 1965, a few questioned the viability of the situation, and by 1968 nearly everyone agreed that "something had to be done." It is clear that there was a shift in thinking by the Presbyterians. In 1965, Betty Jo Potter, chairman of the increasingly unimportant CEFMC, wrote that other than Konrad Kingshill and herself everyone on the Committee wanted to keep CCC church-related. The Committee was not ready to take seriously the changes in the community in Chiangmai.(138) She strongly felt that it was time for the Presbyterians to quit trying to run CCC as a Christian school.(139)

Two alternatives were proposed. Dr. Ken Wells, acting field representative, made contacts with them in the person of Dr. Carlisle H. Kramer, and he found that ISB was willing to consider making CCC a part of ISB. Wells saw this as a good opportunity to permanently solve the CCC problem and urged the Board to look into the matter. Nothing came of the proposal.(140)

The second strategy was the brain-child of Steve Dobrenchuk, U.S. Consul in Chiangmai. Beginning in 1965, he began to press the U.S. government to build an international school in Chiangmai, one that would have its own grounds in a location more central to the American community. Whether the U.S. government would have carried through on such a project is a matter of conjecture since the whole plan floundered on the thorny problem of land. Dobrenchuk couldn't find any. And the Presbyterians were not willing to consider permanently leasing the CCC ground to the U.S. government.(141)

The first attempt at "ISC" failed.

A less ambitious, more easily carried out solution was found to the community-school problem. Community people were put on the Board. Robert
Lodwick in the COEMAR education office put the proposition to Betsy 
Guyer, Board Chairman, and after some correspondence, FWAC and COEMAR 
agreed to increasing the Board by two representatives. In February, 1967, 
the Board voted to add two members to its number, one to be selected from 
the "official American community" and the second from the school Parent-
Teacher Group (PTG).(142) The first two individuals so selected were 
Marie Wilson for the PTG and Harry Amesbury for the U.S. official community.(143) 
The practicality of this modest solution is indicated by the fact that 
from this date to 1980 no basic change was made in the way in which the 
Board was constituted. It is also shown by later events—that the school-
community relationships were good by mid-1968.(144) 

The years 1964-1968 saw CCC go through three principals. The first was 
Miss Lorena McNutt (1964-1965), a Baptist missionary, sent out specifically 
for CCC. Miss McNutt did not last very long. She was a capable individual, 
but she was one who delegated authority poorly, worried a great deal, and 
refused to have anything to do with people she did not like. After 
agonizing over a decision whether to stay a second year, she finally resigned 
just before the beginning of school in September, 1965.(145) Leaving as 
she did in the midst of the crisis-laden situation of CCC made the situation 
all the more difficult for her replacement, Peggy Powell. Powell was a 
Presbyterian short-termer who came to be a teacher and not the principal, 
but there was virtually no one else to take over from McNutt. Peggy Powell 
certainly felt the pressure she was under. Because of the teacher shortage 
she had to teach, and within a few months she was writing, "I am not 
superhuman..."(146) Nevertheless, she seems to have done a very creditable 
job, and her successor, Vera Braham, was very complimentary about her work.(147) 

Vera Braham came out as a volunteer under COEMAR. She took over mid-way 
through the 1966-1967 school year and made an immediate impression upon the 
school. She was an excellent principal. Betsy Guyer gave her a high 
compliment in saying that the school was in excellent shape in 1968 when 
Braham had to leave. It is evident that Braham herself did not want to 
leave CCC although it was necessary for personal reasons that she do so.(148) 
Betsy Guyer described her as a pleasant person with a wealth of experience. 
(149) Strangely enough, in the history of CCC to that date, she was the 
first principal of the school with previous experience as a principal.
The change over of principles three times in four years is symbolic of the whole teacher situation at CCC. It verged on chaotic at times. However, by 1968, there was a dramatic change as the teachers' situation improved rapidly. Through 1965, 1966, and into 1967, correspondence shows that there were not enough teachers and that they turned over rapidly. The matter became so acute that teachers that were needed in a matter of a week or two had still not been found.

The causes of this situation seem to have been a very low salary scale, the rapid growth of the student body, and the inability of the Baptist and Presbyterian home offices to supply the full needs of the school. While the school had no control over the growth of the foreign community in Chiangmai, it was able to take two steps to correct the teacher shortage problem, steps that proved quite effective.

In the first place, the school adopted new salary policies that gave full-time teachers regular monthly salaries rather than salaries based on an hourly wage. At the same time, tuition was raised in order to finance the increases in teacher salary rates. The second step taken was to request an American government aid grant for teachers' salaries. Although the school was church-related, the U.S. government was willing to grant it aid because such a large number of its students were children of government employees. The grant was a two-year grant totaling US$18,300 for the employment of two teachers. It was signed on May 29, 1967 to take effect in the 1968-69 school year.

Unfortunately, the U.S. grant was to become a bone of contention between COEMAR and CCC. Upon hearing from Betsy Guyer that CCC had already signed the U.S. AID contract, Robert Ledwick of COEMAR immediately wrote back to her that no such grants were to be signed without the express approval of the Commission. The problem was essentially one of the relationship between Church and State which under the American Constitution were carefully separated from each other. Since the contract was already signed, Ledwick could do nothing more than describe the policy CCC had already violated. This was not the last time the U.S. grants issue would come up.

In dealing with the problem of finding teachers, 1967 seems to have been the transition year. Tuition was raised. The U.S. grant was signed. IN a letter to Ken Wells, written in June, 1967, Betsy Guyer described the problems CCC had been having most particularly in hiring and keeping teachers. She noted that COEMAR had not been able to do anything for the school. The change by mid-1968 was truly dramatic. In April, Vera Brahman reported actually turning down applicants for teaching, and a month later she reported that the teaching staff for the next school year was already set. The staff for 1968-69 would include three COEMAR teachers two of which were volunteers, one World Evangelism Crusade (WEC) teacher, two teachers hired through International Schools Service (ISS), and five local-hire people.

The period of 1964 to 1968 saw several other changes which will be mentioned only in passing. In 1965, the boarding house was separated from the operation of the school coming under a general committee that was responsible for the operation of a mission hostel in Bangkok and the CCC
hostel in Chiangmai. (157) For CCC this was an excellent arrangement as it freed the school from the financial liabilities of the boarding house. The Stubblefields upon returning to the hostel after their furlough worked primarily with the hostel and were supported by it. In 1965, the Kindergarten became a part of the regular program of the school. (158) In 1966, Mrs. Ruth Seely was asked to become treasurer and to help in the school office. (159) Thus began a period of some ten years during which Mrs. Seely gave quiet, efficient, and dedicated service to the school. She does not appear very often in the documentary records of the school, and thus might be considered an outstanding example of the many people who gave their time and talents to the school without receiving any particular recognition for their contributions. In 1968, the WEC Mission closed down their own little school and joined with CCC adding one teacher to the staff. The WEC Mission maintained its own hostel behind CCC for a period of some eight years. (160) 1968 was also the year in which the school changed over to 220 v. electricity supplied by the City of Chiangmai. The entire school was re-wired for the change-over. (161)

The years 1961 to 1968 marked a period of transition in the history of the school equal in importance to the Messenger years. After 1961, the school experienced a series of crises and problems which taken together challenged the very reason for being of the school. With the single outstanding exception of legalizing the school, the school was able to find practical solutions to its most pressing challenges. By 1968, the school was on solid ground financially and educationally and had generally good relationships with the foreign community it served. It was very much different from what its founders had envisioned for it, and it is hard to believe that it was only a span of twelve years between 1954 when the little school of eight pupils and one teacher started at the McGilvary house and 1968 when a staff of nearly twenty full-time and part-time teachers were serving a student body of 115 or more.

VII: STABILITY ACHIEVED (1968 - 1973)

By the late 1960s, CCC was no longer a pioneering effort. It had assumed a lasting shape. The great issues surrounding its existence had all been asked and several had been resolved. The school had lost the volunteer nature of many organizations in their infancy and had instead taken on a professional nature. Increasing enrollment was no longer a threat. Faculty turn-over was maintained with reasonable bounds. The school continued to have problems with Horace Ryburn, but they did not have the immediacy of the great Battle of the Budget in 1964. Everyone wanted to change the fundamental nature of CCC so that it would be an "independent" or an "international" or a "community" school instead of a mission school. But nothing much really happened, and the school continued along its way.

The greatest threat to the school during these years was that of the increasingly tight visa regulations of the Thai government. Even in the time of Lorene McHutt visa regulations and immigration laws had begun to be a nuisance for the school, but now they became a serious matter. The basic
problem was that being illegal the school could not help its teachers with visas as could ISB in Bangkok. Estella Baldwin, successor to Vera Brahman as principal, indicated the extent of the problem when she wrote:

"Hence, next year we will have nine teachers at CCC. Of this number all will have to go out of the country regularly except Miss Boylan, Miss Gusman (a new COEMAR teacher), an Australian teacher, and myself. I think you know that it takes a week every time this happens. Substitutes teachers are very difficult to get and it is always costly both to CCC and to the faculty member....It isn't as simple as if we lived in Bangkok where our teachers could still teach during the waiting period in getting all the papers together. But we sometimes must spend days down there just waiting and generally speaking it takes a full week away from school to process this whole thing. That multiplied by five or six becomes almost unbearable here. Certainly this is no way to operate an accredited [sic] school." (162)

1969 and 1970 seem to have been the two worst years for visa problems. Even Estella Baldwin and Miss Boylan, who were volunteers sent out by COEMAR and receiving visa assistance from Ryburn, had to leave the country. (163)

Since CCC teachers were not guaranteed visas, several of them were leaving the country at intervals as frequent as every three months. As the above quotation indicates, this introduced an element of uncertainty into the teaching schedule and, in general, wasted a great deal of time and money for the school. The only avenue of assistance was Ryburn’s office in Bangkok, and he did make an effort to provide certain CCC teachers with visas. However, in 1969 there had been a misunderstanding between Ryburn and the school due primarily to a failure on his part to communicate that led to a more restricted policy on assistance by him. (164) Ryburn’s office would help only those who came under COEMAR sponsorship. (165)

1971 was an easier year as CCC teachers were in some cases able to get visas through the Department of Religious Affairs. (166) However, the problem was never fully resolved as the experience of Dale Bashaw, principal in 1972-73 showed. Bashaw was not hired through COEMAR, and even though Ryburn’s office made a great effort to get a long-term visa for him they were not successful. (167)

By the middle and late 1970s, CCC had worked out a partial if not entirely satisfactory solution to the visa problem by coming to depend more than previously upon people who had no visa problems, primarily spouses of diplomats and government contract workers and in a few cases Thai citizens. In two cases, it hired Thais whose teaching experience and/or qualifications matched those of the school—they were hired as full-time teachers of regular classes and not Thai language classes. However, visas were a constraint on the school that could not be removed as long as the school remained unregistered with the Thai government.

As we have seen, CCC made application for legalization in 1961-62 and was turned down. In the years after the January, 1963, letter denying permission, virtually nothing was done to register the school with the government. Various other schemes for changing the status of the school never got off the ground. In late 1970, Betsy Guyer, uneasy over the legal status of the school, carefully explored the possibilities.
visited officials on the local and the national level and also paid a
visit to the American embassy. All of the signals she received warned her
that nothing could or should be done at that time. (168)

CCC's relationship with Bangkok and with COEMAR were not much more
productive at this period. In late 1968, the school decided to try to
request another U.S. grant for teacher's salaries. In a letter to Ryburn,
Betsy Guyer argued that the original grant had already given the school
higher quality teaching and greater staff stability. Other Christian
schools both in the U.S. and in Asia received U.S. government aid. Why
should CCC be left out in the cold? (169) COEMAR "requested" that CCC with-
draw its application. And the school complied with the request. (170) The
reasons given to CCC were that COEMAR was afraid it would be stuck with
financial responsibility for government-supported teachers at CCC in the
case of an emergency. This had happened in Egypt. More to the point, it
was afraid of being tagged a "tool" of the U.S. government. (171)

The school did not give up. Every year between 1970 and 1973 the
question of U.S. aid grants came up. The solution for CCC was that it began
to receive "unsolicited" government grants that did not appear in the
regular budget but rather were a return to the older aid-in-kind gifts of
earlier years. For example, in 1972 the school received $5,000 from the
U.S. government for the purchase of equipment. (172) In this particular
instance, CCC's relationship to COEMAR was a real liability. Whatever
benefits there may have been do not seem to offset such liabilities.

The liabilities can also be discerned in CCC's vain attempts to get
a regularized Constitution for the school. In 1965, the Board had produced
a Constitution which it then sent to Ken Wells and the FWAC for approval.
It did come before FWAC and a variety of changes were proposed. But nothing
came of the attempt. (173) In early 1969, another entirely new Constitution
prepared by a committee headed up by Mrs. Jinny Judd, was sent to FWAC
for approval. While it was FWAC that "amended" the proposed Constitution
it was actually Horace Ryburn that made several alterations that the CCC
Board could not accept. A lot of heat was generated. Ryburn wanted non-
Chiangmai people included on the Board. He wanted a statement included that
CCC would give discounts to no one. The Baptists were drawn into the fray
as they had one representative on the Board. But they were not inclined
to get overly worked up over the controversy as they had only limited interest in CCC. This constitution died in labor. Again, one of the factors that made this attempt to put the school on a clear base abortive was the sharp, unsympathetic, I-give-the-orders-around-here tone Ryburn took in his correspondence.(174)

Betsy Guyer sounded out the contradiction that had come to stand at the hear of CCC's relationship with COEMAR and its officer in Bangkok. CCC was supposed to be self-supporting, but COEMAR still wanted to have veto power on decisions made by the Board.(175) This was a blunt but realistic re-statement of what both Ryburn and COEMAR officers themselves said in 1968 when the renewal of the U.S. grant was being discussed. Ryburn, with his characteristic directness said of CCC, "We control it absolutely."

He went on to say that COEMAR reserved final decision and judgment and that self-support did not mean that CCC did not belong to COEMAR.(176) COEMAR itself was a little more tactful, saying that the CCC Board had full authority to run the school but that COEMAR was accountable for ultimate financial responsibility for the school.(175) As Betsy said, they wanted the school to be no bother but to still be under COEMAR's thumb.

In balance, it must also be pointed out that both COEMAR and Horace Ryburn were anxious to be rid of CCC altogether. In 1968, officers of COEMAR made it clear that they preferred the school to be fully independent and run by an independent school board. In 1972, Khun Suty, treasurer for the Presbyterians and very close colleague of Ryburn, gave voice to a suggestion made some years earlier by Ryburn himself among others that CCC be given over to ISB.(178)

It should be mentioned in passing that this period in the history of CCC marked the very real decline of the Committee on the Education of Fraternal Worker Children to the extent that it ceased to have any meaning for CCC and simply faded into the sunset. As the Presbyterian mission showed a steady decline over the years, adding few career missionaries to its numbers, and as its children grew progressively older, there came to be less and less need for the CEPWC.(179) However, that committee must be credited with both the founding and the sustaining of CCC through its early years. Through the mid-1960s its chairmen remained interested in
and supportive of the school including several individuals who should be mentioned here: Helen Wells, Betty Downs, Roberta Lewis, Jeanne Norlander, Betty Jo Potter, and Anita Youkin. CEFMC chairmen spent hours in meetings and more hours in correspondence about the school and were clearly important to its early survival.

The period 1968-1973 did not see the office of principal stabilize as much as might have been hoped. Estella Baldwin was appointed in April, 1968 and arrived in Chippewa in time for the 1968-69 school year. She was by all accounts an efficient, well-organized individual with very good qualifications for her position. She does not, however, seem to have generated the affection and enthusiasm of Vera Braham, her immediate predecessor and perhaps most outstanding individual to hold the office of CCC principal. (180) Certainly Baldwin herself enjoyed her work at CCC and continued to upgrade the quality of the school in several ways such as in curriculum. (181)

Baldwin served as principal from 1968 to 1971. Both she and Alice Ralston, who followed her for one year, 1971-72, were sent out through COSMAR although Baldwin had been originally contacted through other means. Alice Ralston and her successor, Dale Bashaw, each served for only one year and thus seem to have made little lasting impression on the school. CCC presented some unusual pressures for principals including those from parents who were strongly interested in their children's education, those of the unique institutional status of the school, those from visa problems, and those from the inter-cultural make-up of the school. Betty Edmonds, herself a principal who knew the school very well and knew its pressures, felt that neither Ralston nor Bashaw were able to fully adjust to the situation. (182)

Continuity at CCC did not reside in the office of principal but rather, as we have noted, in the position of Chairman of the Board. In fact, the chairman through these years functioned as a superintendent of schools in an unofficial way. In the period 1961 to 1971 the school was fortunate in having two strong persons hold that position. Fran Hamlin we have already mentioned. It remains to discuss the contribution of Betsy Geyer to CCC. Her role was important and positive. Betsy's quali-
fications for chairman were excellent: she was a Presbyterian missionary who knew the mission well having been in Thailand since the mid-1950s. She served CCC as its first treasurer back in 1954 and had also taught in the school on occasion. Her own children attended CCC. She had also been chairman of the CCC Sub-committee, seemingly from its inception, for a period of over two years during 1958 to 1961. When Betsy "retired" in 1971 she had served, then, for a total of more than eight years as the chairman of CCC's Sub-committee and Board giving her the longest stint at that job of any individual in CCC's history down to 1979.

The valuable role Betsy Guyer played must, of necessity, be inferred from the documentary evidence at hand as she so dominated it and did not seem interested in self-adulation. Ken Wells, when he served as acting field representative, certainly appreciated her role, noting that in 1965 she had "done marvelously in getting CCC started amid such extraordinary difficulties."(183) Over a year later, Vera Braham also had praise for Betsy's work in keeping the school in "good order."(184)

Betsy had a quality the historian appreciates: she knew the value of the old files as historical records and tried to use them. She also worried about keeping the records as complete as possible. In 1965, when she took over she soon started using the Board files for setting strategy. In 1970, when she wanted to get the school registered she again went back into the files first to see what had been done.(185) She was a well-organized person who tried to tackle the problems of the school and not let them slide. This can be seen from her concern over getting a constitution for the school which was key to both the 1965 and the 1969 efforts made in that direction.(186) It may also be seen in the volumes of correspondence she wrote to Ryburn, to Cecil Carder, to COEMAR, and to other agencies in regard to getting teachers for the school. It may also be seen in her willingness to continue to push for some kind of US grants even in the face of opposition from New York and Bangkok on the matter.

Back in 1964 Fran Hamlin seems to have been losing her value for CCC because of her willingness to have it out with Horace Ryburn, giving as good as she got. Betsy's approach was more cool, and on the whole she seems to have maintained good relationships all the way around. She was
able to control herself even in the face of what she saw as provocation from Horace.(187)

Betsy certainly did not win all of the battles she fought, but in the fighting she helped to improve the situation of the school immensely. She did not get a constitution, but under her leadership the Sub-committee became a Board and included community representation for the first time. She did not resolve all of the problems about getting teachers, but when she gave up her position in 1971 the situation had changed very much for the better from 1965. On the whole, Betsy Gayer must stand out as one of the key individuals in the history of CCC along with such people as Rose Wood, the Stubblefields, and Mary Chaffee.

Enrollment at CCC peaked in February, 1970 at 133 students. This was the crest. From this point on, the waves would begin to slowly recede. Interestingly enough, the looming threat of increasing enrollments was directly responsible for improving the physical plant of the school. In 1970, three new classrooms were added by putting on a second story to the school. In 1972, the library was greatly expanded and a science room added.(188) These were the last major improvements to be made in the physical plant in the 1970s. Thanks to the continued care of Doug Stubblefield, the CCC grounds continued to be a relaxing, shady place giving the school a very pleasant educational environment.

Other events crowded the years. In 1966, the infamous shooting incident took place in which the CCC nightwatchman shot a prowler, thereby landing himself in jail for possession of an illegal fire-arm. The prowler went to the hospital, and CCC ended up paying for his medical expenses as well as the bail for the watchman.(189) It might have been worth the expense, however, as CCC does not seem to have been much bothered by "kanoy"(thieves) since. 1970 brought about an end to an era as Miss Rose Wood handed in her resignation which was accepted by the Board in May. Her last years with the school had been difficult as she and her parents had adopted a small child to which Rose wanted to devote as much time as possible. One of CCC's important links to its past was cut with the leaving of Miss Wood.(190) Yet another change was the decline of the hostel. By 1970-71, the hostel's budget was 500,000 baht of which fully two-thirds
was for the salary of the Stubblefields. With fewer and fewer residents
the future of the hostel was increasingly doubtful. In 1973, the Stubble-
fields were due for furlough, and it was uncertain whether or not they
could return. It looked like there might not be enough residents to pay
for the operation. (191) As it turned out, they did return for one further
stint of two years. The hostel was closed "temporarily" in 1976 and as
of 1979 was still being rented out to a family. With the leaving of the
Stubblefields and the closing of the hostel. More links with the past were
lost.

The 1971 issue of the Clarion Call included how long each teacher
and each eighth grade student had been in the school. The comparison is
startling. If one excludes the Thai teaching staff which was part-time
but does include Doug Stubblefield who was listed as having taught for
ten years, the 14 Western teachers at CCC had a total of 29½ teaching
"years" at CCC for an average of just over two years per teacher. If Doug
Stubblefield is excluded, 13 teachers had a total of 19½ years or exactly
1½ years per teacher. The nine eighth graders had studied at CCC for a
total of 24½ years or nearly 2 and 1/4th years per student. Five of those
nine had been in CCC as long or longer than Principal Baldwin.

The kids were senior to the teachers. And they had their own
traditions one of which became something of a bother, at least from the
teachers' point of view. The 1970 Clarion Call had a brief historical
article written by Miss Wood in which she attributes two CCC traditions to
Edythe McCarty, namely Sport's Day and prison ball. The latter was a
mixed blessing at best. Prison ball is a game in which two outside teams
try to eliminate an inside team by hitting each of them with a ball. At
CCC prison ball became more than a fad; it was a tradition and a mania.
In 1968, a faculty notice called for a lessening of the amount of time
spent on the game. In 1969, a notice to parents and students reduced
prison ball playing time so that the kids would prepare for Sport's Day.
In 1970, smaller children had to be kept from playing with the older kids
because injuries were occurring from hard-thrown balls. (192) Since Miss
McCarty left CCC in the early 1960s, and the game was still being played
when my wife and I came in the mid-1970s, here was a student tradition of
some fifteen years duration that had still not died out even by 1979.
Estella Baldwin's demands that "If the game is to continue it MUST be
played with moderation."(193) sounds more like a desperate plea than any-
thing else.

1968-1970 were the years of the Chiangmai Chit Chat, a most creative
effort at a school newspaper. Earlier attempts at a newspaper went back
at least to 1964, and there were good school newspapers in the years after
1970, but the Chit Chat was outstanding. Janet Turnbull was editor of the
first issue which came out in September, 1968. It included "hard" news,
interviews (with Miss Wood), and even fashion news: Coulottes, hip huggers,
and mini-skirts were "in" at CCC, but pierced ears had not caught on yet.
And then there were riddles: What was the biggest moving job ever done?
Answer: Wheeling, West Virginia.(194) Typical of all issues was the
January, 1969 issue which had an interview with "Aunt Fran" Hamlin, a
squibble contest, WEC Hostel news, class news, stories and poetry by the
students, and the inevitable riddles. Even news from the Board of Directors
was included as was news from the principal.(195)

CCC had other traditions involving the chilred. These included the
Halloween Party which was quite a big affair often with elaborate costumes.
There was also Sports' Day in which intra-mural games, primarily field and
track, were played much after the fashion of neighboring PRC's similar day
although less elaborately so. Also notable were the traditional Christmas
plays that were often very good and in former years included puppet plays
produced by Miss Wood. Another "unofficial" tradition dating back at least
to 1970 and most likely earlier was the noon lunch at the kao soy shop,
kao soy being a spicy noodle dish.

The parents' information bulletins put out during 1970-1971 give
insight into the range of activities available in this "little" school.
The Girl Guides, Cub Scouts, and Boy Scouts all had programs running.
Special bowling activities were listed for those who wanted them. There
was to be a tribal night celebration that families of CCC were invited to
(this was not at the school). Thanksgiving and Christmas activities were
described. Among other events in 1970-71, Harry Norlander came to give a
ventriloquist program, a graduate of Juilliard who was a concert pianist in
Japan gave a program, and CCC had a soccer team that played other schools. 1971 was also the year that the children had to be warned to keep their Mexican YoYo playing outside the building. (196)

VIII: DOWN-HILL PROGRESS (1972 - 1979)

One might just as easily label this final six years in this history of CCC the "Turnbull-Edmonds Era" or the "Yankees Want Home Era." Or these years might even be called without exaggeration, "The Tame Years."

COEMAR receded into the distance. The last vestiges of its authority over CCC seems to have been a 1974 request from Ryburn for a list of CCC Board members that he could present to FWAC for filling Board vacancies. (197) FWAC itself was soon dissolved as Ryburn's position was changed to that of being an officer of the Church of Christ in Thailand and all missionary committees were scrapped. Ryburn himself retired in early 1976 thus cutting, as far as CCC was concerned, virtually all of its Presbyterian connections. For all practical purposes the CCC Board became fully autonomous. And the great battles over budget, over "ultimate responsibility," and over constitutions became little more than distant echoes. The Board was self-perpetuating as it elected those who became its members. For all of that, there was little challenge to its authority.

Administratively, there was a gradual shift in emphasis as the office of principal achieved a modicum of stability. Dorothy (Dot) Turnbull, Presbyterian missionary formerly in Egypt before coming to Thailand, became principal in 1973. Of all of the CCC principals, she seems to have been one of unique concerns and demanding standards, and the records show her to be quite unlike those who came before. Her dual concerns were for service and for communication. She brought a more visible Christian concern to her work as she sought to teach children how to serve. The Bible was more in evidence in her own perception of her work. And her reports showed a real desire for excellence in education. It might also be said that Dot at times pressed too hard and that some found her standards hard to obtain. (198)

It was Dot Turnbull who also made the third major attempt to do something about the uncertain legal status of the school. In June, 1974, Dot and Steve Yates, President of the Parent-Teacher Group, met with Norman Jenkins and Dr. Stuart S. Phillips, Board Chairman and Superintendent respectively of
International School-Bangkok (ISB), to talk about CCC and ISB. They were well received, and the ISB officials indicated that they would be willing to consider some kind of loose ISB-CCC relationship. From this discussion, the Board eventually hired a Bangkok law firm, Gunsha Law Office, to explore the possibility of legalizing the school. There were results much like those of previous inquiries: they were not promising, and the whole matter was dropped without any official application being made.(199)

The shift in administrative emphasis continued when Betty Edmonds, an Australian Baptist with previous experience in South Asia and Third World situations, became principal in 1975. Edmonds had a dual distinction: she was the first non-American to assume a leadership role in the school; and she was the first non-Presbyterian to last in the job for more than a year. The distinguishing marks of her years at CCC were a stern emphasis on discipline that occasionally brought her into conflict with parents and less often with staff, and what Konrad Kingshill approvingly called a "no nonsense" approach to all of her work.(200) By June, 1980, Betty Edmonds would add another distinction, that of having served in the post of principal longer than any other person in CCC history: a full four years.

As a result of this general stability in the office of principal from 1973, and as a result of the presence of two strong personalities in that office, Konrad Kingshill, chairman of the Board from 1974, discreetly championed a reduction in the role of the Board that had not been possible in earlier years. While it did retain final authority for running the school, more actual authority accrued to principals who were in office long enough to begin to know the ropes.(201) The minutes of the Board reflect this lessening role as does the reduced frequency of Board meetings.(202)

At the very end of the period 1973 to 1979, the Board was again exploring means to regularize its operations. It had been understood for some time that CCC needed an institutional connection of some sort especially in view of its legal status problems. Betsy Guyer had observed just ten years previously that CCC felt a need for some kind of relationship with COEMAR just because the school was not recognized by the Thai government nor could it be accredited with any U.S. educational body.(203) By mid-1979, plans were afoot to have the Church of Christ in Thailand become the "parent"
body for CCC especially since legally the CCT had owned the CCC property
ince the 1962 registration attempt. The idea was that the CCT would appoint
some members of the CCC Board and that CCC would thus be part of the CCT.(204)
At the close of 1979, the outcome of these moves was not yet certain.

However, the biggest changes in the years after 1973 were not adminis-
trative nor constitutional. They were demographic. It has been an assumption
underlying nearly everything written in this study that CCC was first, last,
and essentially an American institution. Its curriculum, its school calendar,
the holidays it celebrated, and its staff were all strongly American. It
was founded by Americans and all of its first year’s students were Americans.
Until 1975, its leadership was entirely American and predominantly Presbyterian.
The student body was only a little less American. In October, 1968 the
school had a total enrollment of 116 of which 91 or 80% were Americans.
The influx of students from 1965 to the early 1970s was due to the increased
American military and diplomatic presence in Thailand. Even as late as
1974-75 when that presence had begun to drop some 60% of the student body
was still American.

1975 was the year of change. The September enrollment of that year
showed the enrollment of the school declining by 27 students and dropping
below the 100 mark for the first time in ten years. The number of American
students, however, dropped by 33, thus showing an increase of non-Americans
of six over the previous year. 1977 showed another sharp drop so that
American children formed only 32%, less than one-third, of the total
student body.(205)

The school remained primarily English-speaking in background with
increasing numbers of students from Britain, Australia, and Rhodesia
(Zimbabwe). For instance, in 1973 the school showed only four Australian
children on its rolls but in 1977 that number had increased to twelve,
being the second largest national group. But even before the American
drop of 1975, the school was showing itself to be truly international with
seventeen nationalities represented in the student body in 1973-74 and
fifteen in 1974-75. One resulting problem for the school was that it had
to begin to run a regular TESOL program for a number of its students who
could not speak English when they came to CCC.(206)
The teaching staff showed an equally dramatic change. In 1971-72, out of a full-time and part-time staff of eighteen, only two individuals were not Americans. It was not until 1977-78 that non-Americans formed an absolute majority on the staff. But in 1978-79 out of a staff numbering thirteen, there was only one American represented. And for several months in late 1979, there were, for the first time, no American on the staff. (207)

Of equal significance to the school was a decline in its overall enrollment which was, in the main, caused by this American withdrawal from the region. By 1978, the school was actually beginning to be the moderate sized little school that the missionaries of twenty years previously had expected it to be.

In order to maintain financial stability and pay its teachers, the school was forced to raise its tuition time and again. Obviously, inflation was a problem for CCC as for the world at large, but on the whole it seems that receding enrollment forced those who remained to pay a higher proportion of the costs. In the period from 1971 to 1979, tuition at CCC doubled with five increases in tuition being made in those eight years. (208) While complaints from parents had to be expected, the school was able to maintain itself financially and present a generally viable financial picture. (209)

Another set of statistics show just how far CCC had drifted away from its original purpose, that of being a school for Presbyterian mission children. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the school played this role educating as many as eighteen Presbyterian children at one time in 1969. But by the 1970s, the great need perceived in 1952 and 1953 had largely passed. Those children were in high school or beyond. And the Presbyterians were not, by the 1960s, adding much to their numbers so that fewer and fewer Presbyterian children were around to be educated. Something of a nadir was reached in September, 1977 when there was only one Presbyterian child left in the school. There were more Presbyterians on the Board! Statistics, for example, in 1974-75 showed that the school remained partly missionary in character as some fifty-six children or over 50% of the school were from mission families. Significant numbers of these children were from the more right-wing, fundamentalist missions. (210)

In a sense, these figures have a certain irrelevancy as the CCC never did really have a blantly religious character inspite of its origins.
Bible classes were always more or less the orphans of the curriculum. Required chapel in the 1960s lasted all of fifteen minutes. Perhaps in the very early years there was a definite religious tone to the school, but in latter years that diminished greatly. The presence or lack of Presbyterian or other mission children was not as important a determining factor in the superficial make-up of the school as was the national origin of children and leaders.

However, Betty Edmonds noted that the Christian heritage of the school was to be found at a deeper and more significant level. The level of dedication of teachers and Board members and most of those connected with the school was very high. There was always a concern for a well-rounded, meaningful education that touched the whole person. (211) Statistics cannot be devised to measure this type of heritage. And yet, I, at least, in working with the records of the CCC have been deeply impressed with the thousands and thousands of volunteer hours that have gone into the school. My own personal contacts with people such as the Stubblefields, Ruth Seely, Betsy Guyer, and many of the teachers and staff reinforce an impression that personal commitment to the school and dedication to doing high quality work abounds. If I might venture a subjective opinion based on personal insight from the records and personal contacts, it seems that there is a very real "caring tradition" that makes CCC truly unique.

CCC had been using educational testing with its students since the time of the Messingers. Unfortunately, the school never kept records of the results over the years thus it is impossible to get any kind of accurate reading for the relative ability of CCC students as compared with the "average" American student. However, the following chart, based on February, 1979 data does give some indication as to the ability of CCC students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>native language</th>
<th>percentile rankings of Third and Fourth Grade, Feb., 1979(212)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A total of 41 students took the test, and of these twelve or just under 30% tested in the top ten percent according to Iowa Basic Skills ranking. A total of 23 or 56% tested in the upper thirty percent. Of native language speakers (of English) two-thirds of CCC students (18 out of 27) tested in the upper thirtieth percentile.

These results are in and of themselves inconclusive, but they do give some weight to the general impression that CCC students are an above average group of children. Their parents are generally professionals and specialists, people recruited for work in Thailand. Thus, CCC children come from educationally advantaged backgrounds to begin with and from families where education is generally held to be important.

Back in 1959, Chuck Messenger wrote with some pride about the quality of some of his students. He mentioned that Eddie McDaniel, both of whose parents were active in CCC work, tested 95% and above on all of his Iowa Basic Skills tests with most of the scores being in the mid-90% range. Bobby Grether and Pamela Bradburn also from CCC-active families, also tested very well with Pamela testing at an average of 97% over-all.(213)

Thus, there is some justification to the impression that CCC students are a generally intelligent group of children that come from families concerned about their children's education.

A reading of parent notices, student notices, and calendars for the school from over the years leaves one with the distinct feeling that not only are CCC teachers and leaders unusually dedicated and CCC students unusually bright but also this mix of student and teacher-leader works itself out in an unusually fertile educational environment. People with special talents are always on their way "through" Chiangmai and they can be prevailed upon to give demonstrations or programs at the school. Many individuals from the foreign community are talented people in their own right and give classes or programs for the school. (214)

Dot Turnbull noted another facet of the CCC educational experience when she wrote:

"The international nature of our enrollment in itself offers an opportunity for development of appreciation and understanding of people. Also the low teacher-pupil ration is an advantage not found in other schools."(215)
IX: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Dot Turnbull's observation regarding the nature of CCC is insightful and helpful to understanding its past. For taken on the whole, CCC does provide a unique and stimulating education environment that more than offsets any disadvantages it might have because of its small size. In general, its clientele, the parents, have appreciated this fact to the point that there have been only two periods when there was general dissatisfaction with CCC educational standards. Each of these periods was marked by particular and peculiar problems: in 1954-55, the school was still new and trying to find itself. Neither parents nor staff knew quite what should be expected. In 1965, when dissatisfaction grew again, the problem was directly related to the rapid and unexpected rise in enrollment.

Thus, with a retrospective glance we may conclude that on the whole the educational experience children have had at CCC has been a positive one despite of the many problems that have had to be overcome by the school itself. Beyond this general statement, maybe other general conclusions of a somewhat more specific nature may also be made:

1. CCC exists primarily because it fulfills a need. Given the problems and uncertainties it has had to face over the years, CCC could not have continued to exist unless a relatively large number of people saw a need for it. Nor would the small Chiangmai foreign community continue to support such a costly operation did they not feel that the educational results were worth the expense of sending their children to the school.

2. CCC would not exist were it not for a very deep commitment on the part of many volunteers who gave both time and effort without material return to the maintenance of the school. This is another way of expressing the perceived need for the school we have already mentioned.

3. The institutional relations of CCC have on the whole been surprisingly negative. The Thai government has yet to recognize the school although it has been willing to tolerate its existence unofficially. The United Presbyterian Church proved to be remarkably cool, sometimes hostile parent that after a few years came to be a burden rather than a benefit to the school. That it need not have been that way is shown by the very helpful attitude of Dr. Ken Wells during those periods when he had charge temporarily.
of Presbyterian work. At times the most supportive institutions as far as
CCC was concerned were the American and British Consulates in Chiangmai
who were closest to and most aware of the needs of the school.

However, it needs also to be remembered that if the Thai government
did not display any enthusiasm about the school at the same time it did
continue to allow its existence. And in the case of the Presbyterian Church,
it was another agency of the Church, its mission committee on education of
missionary children in Thailand, that was instrumental in both founding and
sustaining the school through its early years.

4. CCC is a highly successful experiment in international relations at
the personal level. This is not to say that there are not tensions. One
still hears the whispers of complaints: The Brit doesn't like the Yank's
curriculum; the Yank is worried about the Aussie's teaching qualifications;
the Rhodesian is worried upon finding out the teacher is a "native;" the
Thai resents insinuations of national inferiority by the farang. These
kinds of elements are present. National styles sometimes grind more than
they mesh — but only sometimes. Inspite of these problems, the school
works and generally works well. And because of these differences the world
of CCC children is far wider and richer than that of the average kid in
the average school in the U.S. or Australia or Germany or wherever.

5. CCC has largely ignored its Thai cultural surroundings. In a very
real sense, CCC children are cut off from the larger Thai social context and
live in a mini-world of their own. Since the children of Thai citizens
are not allowed to study at CCC (for reasons of policy relationship with
the government and to avoid actually breaking Thai law), CCC students during
their school hours receive only superficial contact with that larger outside
world. From time to time attempts are made to correct the situation, but
they are never turned into lasting programs — other than the teaching of
Thai language.

This study of CCC history was written in response to yet another crisis
at the school. In early 1980, the Thai government issued an order or statement
to the school that it must become legal or close. How this came about remains
obscure to this writer as those involved have been tight-mouthed about it.
Rumors have abounded. By mid-1980 the crisis seemed to have past, but once
more the future of the school was thrown into some doubt. The need for
putting it on a solid institutional basis was more clearly seen than ever.
Negotiations with the CCT seemed by mid-1980 to be bearing fruit, and the
"word" was that CCC would become an institution of the CCT. What this might
mean legally was still unclear. Therefore, the legal status of CCC remains
the big, shadowy question mark — the question that seems almost irrelevant
until sudden order come dropping in from Bangkok.

Another question mark for the years from 1980 was that of leadership.
Betty Edmonds announced at the end of the 1979-1980 school year that she
would not be returning. It eventually turned out that she had marriage
plans scotching rumors that she might return after a year or two of study
in Australia. What patterns of leadership would now emerge? Would the
school return to the old principal-year routine? Or would Rosemary
Manis, designated successor to Edmonds, continue to the stability in leader-
ship of the Turnbull-Edmonds years?

And what of the role of the full-time Thai staff? In 1979-1980 two
Thai citizens were regular teachers, one Thai was full-time Thai language
teacher, and one Thai was the business manager. One of the teachers
announced her resignation at of 1980. Would the partial trend to greater
participation in the school by Thai citizens continue? Or was that an
abortive coincidence when several full-time Thais ended up on the regular
teaching and leadership staff at the same time?

The largest question marks for the school were in an area that we have
not even tried to deal with here: the role of the foreign national in
Thailand. CCC depends entirely upon the presence of a foreign community in
Chiangmai. That is what its reason-for-being was. And that was a future
more shadowy than any other.

Thus, the 1980 future of the school stood wrapped in uncertainty.
The school, seemingly, would continue from year to year much as it had,
awaiting the future. And it would most likely continue to meet the future
according to its set pattern, that of finding a way through or around each
problem as it arose. CCC is embodied in its building: jerry-rigged,
piecemeal, and esthetically very pleasing.
The following abbreviations are used to indicate the records groups used as sources:

1. APN Records of the American Presbyterian Mission
2. CCC Office files of the Chiangmai Coeducational Center
3. Board Records of the Board of Directors of the Chiangmai Coeducational Center
4. ABM Records of the American Baptist Mission

With the exception of the CCC office files, all of these records groups were consulted at the Manuscript Division of Payap College.

Footnotes:

1 see Schmucker to Chrisman, October 22, 1948 (APM) and Gibb to Zimmerman, September 28, 1947 (APM).

2Sinclair Thompson to Horace W. Ryburn (hereafter cited as HRW), February 26, 1948 (APM).

3Minutes of the Executive Committee, American Presbyterian Mission, December 29-31, 1948 (APM), and Mrs. & Mrs. Forrest Mulvaney, Oral History Interview OHE 1/78 at the Manuscript Division, Payap College.

4"Thoughts Regarding a Mission School, American," undat. (APM).

5Minutes of the Executive Committee, APN, July 7-14, 1948 (APM).

6Minutes of the Executive Committee, APN, October 16-20, 1948 (APM).

7Margaret Wells to Executive Committee, June 5, 1949, and Wells, "Report on the school for Missionary children January 1949 - November 1949" (APM).

8Minutes, Meeting of the Thailand Mission, May 30-31, June 4-7, 1952 (APM), and Minutes of the Executive Committee, APN, August 13-15, 1952 (APM).


12Ibid.

13Report of the Committee on the Education of Missionary Children (hereafter cited as CEMC), 1952 (APM). Of this number, four were "expected" meaning unborn babies of pregnant mothers.

14Minutes of the Executive Committee, APN, January, 1953 (CCC), and Minutes of CEMC, September 29-30, 1953 (CCC).

15Ibid.

16Jean Thompson to Mary Chaffee, January 3, 1954 (CCC).

17see Thompson to Chaffee, February 7, 1954 (CCC); Chaffee to Thompson, February 14, 1954 (CCC); and, Chaffee to Robert L. Otten, April 9, 1954 (CCC).

18see Konrad Kingshil in Oral History Interview OHE 2/80 at the Manuscript Division of Payap College.

19Thompson to Chaffee (CCC).
20. Thompson to Chaffee, ibid.

21. See Chaffee, Report of CEMC (CCC) where she writes, "The establishment of our Center in Chiangmai was the result of many meetings, much correspondence, and considerable effort on the part of every member of the Committee."


29. ibid., pp. 140-141.

30. Chaffee to Dorsey Bradburn, October 26, 1954 (CCC).


33. ibid.

34. HWR to Paul Cassat, April 8, 1955 (CCC).

35. Chaffee to Thompson, January 25, 1955 (CCC).

36. Chaffee to CEMC, March 2, 1955 (CCC).


38. Chaffee to CEMC, April 10, 1955 (Board).


40. Chaffee to Paul Cassat, December 31, 1955 (CCC).

41. Chaffee to CEMC, April 1, 1955, and Jean Johnson to Jean Thompson, April 17, 1955, and Chaffee to CEMC, April 1, 1955 (Board).

42. see Calvert Course materials in (CCC).

43. Chaffee to Dorsey Bradburn, July 2, 1955 (CCC).

44. see Chaffee to Jean Johnson, November 9, 1955, and Johnson to Charles D. Messinger [hereafter cited as CDMJ, December 15, 1956 (CCC).

45. Johnson to CDMJ, ibid.

46. Minutes of CEMC, March 14, 1955 (Board).

47. Chaffee to Johnson, November 9, 1955 (CCC).


49. see Oral History Interview OHE 2/80 at the Manuscript Division. Chaffee to Thompson, April 3, 1955, and Report of CEMC, September 25, 1955 (CCC). Also see the Chiangmai Clarion Call for 1970.
50 Minutes of the CEMC, March 14-15, 1955 (Board).
51 Chaffee to Jean and Herb Grether, July 7, 1955 (CCC), and Minutes of CEMC, July 26-28, 1955 (Board).
53 Minutes of CEMC, March 14-15, 1955 (Board), and Chaffee to CEMC, April 1, 1955 (Board).
55 HWR to Chaffee, October 14, 1955 (CCC).
56 There is no record of anyone actually giving the school the name "Chiangmai Children's Center" as far as I could discover. The name was used in this form once in 1954 and again in 1955. The origin of the name may be guessed at and probably simply evolved in usage, but it is not certain exactly how the name came about. See Appendix "A" and Report of CEMC, September 25, 1955 (CCC).
58 ibid.
59 Mary Chaffee to Amala Wood, September 26, 1955 (CCC).
60 Chaffee to CEMC, April 1, 1955 (CCC).
61 Minutes of the Committee on the Education of Fraternal Worker Children hereafter cited as CEFWC, February 21-22, 1957 (CCC). CEFWC as simply the Committee on the Education of Missionary Children with its name changed.
62 ibid.
63 Minutes of CEMC, January 23-31, 1956 (Board).
64 Chaffee to Mr. and Mrs. CDN, undated. [1956] (CCC).
65 ibid.
66 ibid., HWR to CDN, August 7, 1956 (APM), and Chaffee to Mr. and Mrs. CDN, September 20, 1956 (APM).
67 CDN to Roy, October 12, 1956, and CDN to the Harmonic Reed Corporation, December 4, 1956 (CCC).
68 Minutes of CEMC, June 25, 1957 (CCC).
69 Frances J. Hamlin to Konrad Kingshill, June 18, 1957 (CCC).
70 Minutes of CEMC, June 25, 1957 (CCC). There is no evidence that Mrs. Carder ever actually taught in the school.
71 ibid., Jane Arp to Suty G., July 5, 1957, and Suty to Arp, July 12, 1957 (CCC).
72 Arp to Suty, May 26, 1957 (CCC).
73 Hamlin to HWR, September 8, 1957 (CCC).
74 ibid., and CDN to Rev. J. Stewart Kunkle, undated. [1957] (CCC).
75 CDN to Dr. Lamott, undated. [1957] (CCC).
76 Richard W. Bryant, Oral History Interview OHE 7/79 and Dorothy Turnbull, Oral History Interview OHE 8/80 at the Manuscript Division.
77 CDN, Report to the Sub-committee, October 10, 1958 (CCC).
Footnotes - p. 4

78 Roberta Lewis to CDM and Betsy Guyer, October 24, 1958 (CCC).

79 Minutes, CEFWC, July 20, 1959 (Board).

80 Minutes, CCC Staff Meeting, August 21, 1959 (CCC).

81 Minutes, CCC Sub-Committee, May 17, 1961 (Board).

82 Hamlin to Helen Welles, May 17, 1961 (Board).

83 ibid.

84 see Appendix "B" and Appendix "C".

85 see Oral History Interview OHE 2/60 at the Manuscript Division.

86 In 1958, the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America merged to form the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The old Board of Foreign Missions became the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations (hereafter cited as COEMAR).

87 In 1957, the AFM was dissolved and its fraternal workers (missionaries) came under the Church of Christ in Thailand. However, the Fraternal Workers Affairs Committee (hereafter cited as FWAC) was established in place of the old Mission Executive Committee in order to take care of certain Presbyterian missionary business. COEMAR came under the FWAC.

88 R. W. Bryant to Guyer, et al., February 12, 1960 (Board).

89 R. Lewis to CEDM and Guyer, October 24, 1958 (CCC).


91 CDM to Jeanne Norlander, October 1, 1960 (Board).

92 Marge Nessinger to Dr. Ralph Lewis, Dec. 5, 1960 (AFM).

93 ibid. also see CDM, MWR, April 11, 1960 (AFM).


95 See CDM to Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Stubblefield, February 27, 1961 (Board).

96 See Edith Fagerbourg, "Term Report Sept-Dec," December 12, 1959; also Hamlin to Gertrude Nyce (COEMAR), January 6, 1959; Hamlin to MWR, June 8, 1963; Hamlin to Betty Down, June 7, 1963; and Hamlin to Mr. and Mrs. David Hobbie, December 1, 1963. (Board).

97 Hamlin to Cecil Carder, January 8, 1964 (Board).

98 E. McCarty to Carl Capen, September 18, 1961 (ABM).

99 CDM to Mr. and Mrs. D. Stubblefield, February 27, 1961 (Board).

100 Minutes of the CEFWC, May 13, 1957 (CCC).

101 See CDM Memo, June 2, 1958 (CCC); CDM to Arp, October 1, 1958 (CCC).


103 Minutes, CCC Sub-committee, July 7, 1959 and November 14, 1959 (Board).

104 Minutes, CCC Sub-committee, August 15, 1959 (Board).

105 MWR to Betsy Guyer (hereafter cited as BG), September 9, 1960 (Board).

106 BG to Betty Downs, June 7, 1963 (Board).

107 Hamling to Downs, June 7, 1963 (Board).

108 Oral History Interview OHE 2/60 at the Manuscript Division.
see Appendix "A" for a chronological description of registration correspondence 1953-1978.

110 Hamlin to Ach. Musak Chaiangkarn, August 15, 1961 (Board).

111 Vibul Intrasse to Church of Christ in Thailand, January 22, 2963 (CCC).

112 "Working Paper for Budget for September, 1957 to September, 1958" (CCC).

113 HWR to Reina Wasta (CCC treasurer), October 13, 1959 (Board).

114 H. Welles to Dr. John B. Wilf, November 21, 1962 (Board).

115 HWR to Weir, February 14, 1963 (Board).

116 Hamlin to B. Downs, June 7, 1963 (Board).

117 HWR to Stubblefield, June 16, 1964 (Board); Hamlin to HWR, June 21, 1964 (Board); and, Hamlin to Downs, June 21, 1964 (Board).

118 HWR to Hamlin, June 25, 1964 (Board).

119 Hamlin to Downs, June 30, 1964; HWR to Forrest Travaille, July 22, 1964; and HWR to Hamlin, July 1, 1964 (Board).

120 HWR to Charolette McDaniel, September 30, 1964; McDaniel to HWR, et al., August 30, 1964; HWR to McDaniel, September 15, 1964; and HWR to McDaniel, December 31, 1964 (Board).

121 see HWR to F. Travaille, July 22, 1964 (Board).

122 Minutes of CCC Sub-committee, February 20, 1964 (Board).

123 see BG to Betty Jo Potter, April 3, 1965 (Board); cf. Fagerbourg, Annual Report, November 27, 1964 (CCC).

124 Minutes of CEFWC, July 16, 1962 (CCC); and F. Hamlin to Gertrude NYCE January 1, 1963 (Board).

125 Minutes of CEFWC, September 10, 1962 (Board); and Minutes of the CCC Sub-committee, January 21, 1963 (Board).

126 USTMAG Contracts File (CCC); and CDW to HWR, May 1, 1960 (CCC).

127 Hamlin to Downs, June 7, 1963 (Board).

128 see Minutes of CEFWC and CCC Sub-committee, July 24, 1963 (Board); and "Suggested Agreement for the Kindergarten," August 5, 1963 (CCC).

129 Minutes of CCC Sub-committee, February 20, 1964 (Board); and Hamlin, Sub-committee Report, January 23, 2963 (Board).

130 BG to Dr. Ken Wells, et al., September 8, 1965 (Board).

131 BG to Stubblefields, April 4, 1965 (Board).

132 BG to Wells, et al., September 8, 1965 (Board).

133 Robert Bradburn to the Guviers, May 25, 1966; and Robert C. Lodwick to BG, October 25, 1966 (Board).

134 Bradburn to Jean Norlander, May 17, 1966 (Board).

135 Peggy Fowell to Parents, September 13, 1965 (CCC).

136 Minutes of the Board of Directors, March 13, 1967 (Board).

137 B. J. Potter to BG, July 12, 1965 (Board).
138. Ibid.

139. Potter to BG, August 19, 1965 (Board).

140. K. Wells to BG, August 18, 1965 (Board).

141. Minutes of the Board, September 6, 1965; Minutes, March 16, 1966; R. Bradburn to K. Wells, March 27, 1966; and Wells to Bradburn, April 2, 1966 (Board).


143. Minutes of the Board, March 13, 1967 (Board).

144. BG to Lodwick, May 24, 1968 (Board).

145. see the Lorene McNutt file (ARM); and BG to Wells, September 2, 1965 (CCC).


148. BG to Wells, January 16, 1967; BG to HWR, February 11, 1968; and BG to HWR, March 30, 1968 (Board).

149. BG to R. Lodwick, May 30, 1967 (Board).


152. Powell to BG, January 18, 1966 (CCC).

153. BG to Carder, May 30, 1967 (Board); and BG to Lodwick, May 30, 1967 (Board).

154. Lodwick to BG, June 8, 1967 (Board).

155. BG to Wells, June 10, 1967 (Board).

156. Braham to BG, April 19, 1968; and Braham to G. Nyce, May 7, 1968 (Board).

157. B. J. Potter to BG, July 22, 1968 (Board).

158. Potter to BG and McDaniel, September 6, 1965 (Board).

159. Minutes, Board of Directors, September 12, 1966 (Board).

160. Braham to BG, April 18, 1968; and Minutes of the Board, June 10, 1968 (Board).


163. see CCC student newspaper, the Chiang Mai Chit Chat, vol II, #5 (Feb. 1970).

164. see HWR to Baldwin, April 2, 1969; and BG to HWR, April 10, 1969. (Board).

165. HWR to BG, February 6, 1970 (Board).

166. Minutes of the Board, November 11, 1971 (Board).


168. see Appendix "A".
169 BG to HWR, October 15, 1968 (Board).

170 HWR to BG, November 4, 1968 (Board); and BG to Mr. Don Ellison, November 13, 1968 (Board).

171 Donald McIlvride to BG, November 21, 1968 (Board).

172 Minutes of the Board, April 5, 1972 (Board); and Anita Younkin to HWR, November 9, 1972 (CCC).

173 see Minutes of CCC Sub-committee, July 2, 1965; and Potter to BG, July 12, 1965. (Board).

174 BG to HWR, January 10, 1968; Minutes of the Board, February 10, 1969; V. Judd to HWR, February 27, 1969; and HWR to Judd, May 8, 1969. (Board).

175 BG to Yen Whitney December 4, 1969. (Board).

176 HWR to BG, April 30, 1968 (Board).

177 McIlvride to BG, November 21, 1968 (Board).

178 ibid.; and A. Younkin to HWR, November 9, 1972 (CCC).

179 see, for example, Minutes of CEFMC for 1968 and 1970 (Board).

180 HWR tp BG, April 30, 1968; and BG to HWR, October 5, 1968 (Board).

181 Baldwin to Alice Ralston, March 15, 1971 (CCC).

182 see Oral History Interview OHE 2/80 at the Manuscript Division.

183 Wells to BG, September 6, 1968 (Board).

184 Graham to R. Lodwick, December 28, 1966 (CCC).

185 BG to B. J. Potter, August 15, 1965; and BG, "Resume of the CCC Registration situation," March, 1971. (Board).

186 BG to Walls, September 2, 1965; and Younkin to BG, November 18, 1968. (Board).

187 BG to Younkin, April 11, 1969 (Board).

188 BG to Y. Whitney, March 9, 1970; and Minutes, Board of Directors, September 15, 1972. (Board).

189 Minutes of the Board, October 14, 1968 (Board).

190 Minutes of the Board, May 12, 1970 (Board).

191 HWR to Stubblefield, February 2, 1973 (CCC).


193 Faculty Notice, January 12, 1970 (CCC).


196 see Parent's Bulletins 1970-71 file (CCC).

197 HWR to Turnbull, July 25, 1974 (CCC).

198 Turnbull, Report to the Board, October 24, 1973; Note to Teachers, September 25, 1973; notes for Teachers' Meeting, September 10, 1973; and Letter to Parents, December 11, 1973. (CCC), also see Oral History Interview OHE 2/80 at the Manuscript Division.
199 see Appendix "A"

200 These comments are based primarily on personal observation and supplemented by Oral History Interview OHE 2/80 at the Manuscript Division. One of the problems in research for the period 1973 to 1979 is the drastic drop in available documentary resources since CCC's connections with Bangkok and New York largely disappeared.

201 OHE 2/80, Oral History Interview.

202 see Minutes of the Board for 1974 to 1979 (CCC).

203 SG to Y. Whitney, December 4, 1969 (Board).

204 P. Victor McAnallen to B. Edmonds, July 21, 1979; and K. Kingshill to Vibul Phattarathemas, August 10, 1979 (CCC).

205 see Appendices "D," "E," and "F."

206 see Minutes of the Board, March 14, 1977 (CCC).

207 see Appendix "F."

208 ibid.

209 see Budgets, 1975–1980 (CCC).

210 see Appendix "D"

211 Oral History Interview OHE 2/80, at the Manuscript Division.

212 "Grade 3-4 Iowa Basic Test Percentile Rankings, February, 1979," prepared by B. Edmonds.

213 CDM to Samuel R. Burgoyne, October 30, 1959; and CDM to Burgoyne, December 3, 1959 (CCC).

214 see Parent's Bulletins and Teachers' Bulletins files from 1960s to 1979 (CCC).

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF RECORDS RELATING TO THE REGISTRATION OF C.C.C.

This listing and description of documents related to the various attempts to register the Chiangmai Coeducational Center as a legally recognized school by the Thai Government includes the relevant documents contained in the following records groups:

1. The Records of the American Presbyterian Mission (APM)
2. The Records of the Board of Directors of the Chiangmai Coeducational Center (Board)
3. The Records of the Chiangmai Coeducational Center (CCC)

The source for each document listed is indicated by the abbreviation found in parentheses.

1. October 14, 1953 Mary Chaffee to Horace W. Ryburn (HWR) (APM)

Walter Zimmerman, "chairman of the Board for International School and Mary Chaffee plan to call on Aaron Brown at the U.S. Embassy to acquaint him with the plans for the school at Chiangmai.

"Tommy Sinclair Thompson7 and Dick Bryant7 are satisfied that Chiangmai officials look favorably upon the Center and will cause no trouble - as to our lease - or our purpose."

2. October 26, 1953 Chaffee to HWR (APM)

Chaffee reports on the meeting with Aaron Brown. He was sympathetic but said that officially he declined any attempt to open a school in Chiangmai. It would grow too big and the government would close it down and then close down International School as well.

This stance was disconcerting to Chaffee and she wrote to HWR for advice. Should they go ahead and hope for the best? If HWR wants any plans changed he should let them know immediately.

3. October, 1954 Minutes of the Committee on Education of Missionary Children (CCC) October 19-21, 1954 (Board)

"Mrs. Chaffee reported that a new step has been taken toward achieving full legal status for the International Center in Bangkok, and whatever improved status is secured there will automatically apply to the Chiangmai Children's Center as well." Loophole in Thai law which exempts from attendance at the public schools those who because of "health or mental shortcomings" are unable to attend. Foreigners are mentally unequipped to attend Thai schools.

4. December 19, 1957 Minutes of the CCNE (CCC)

"The subject of registration of C.C.C. was discussed and no action taken. It will be further discussed with Mr. Thompson upon his return."

5. July 20, 1959 Memorandum from Sinclair Thompson to the CCNE (Board)

Thompson summarized the CCC registration situation:
1. CCC was not registered because it did not teach in Thai nor conform to Ministry of Education regulations in administration and reporting;
2. Thus, CCC called itself a center and did not accept Thai children so as not to contravene Thai law regarding Thai students;
3. The Educational Ministry has specified that groups of less than seven students need not register as a school; CCC has interpreted this to mean seven in a class. This could be challenged;
4. International Children's Center in Bangkok has been legally registered as a "coaching school" for those preparing for study overseas;
5. ICC is the only registered school, but its accreditation may open the way for eventual legalizing of our own school."

A CCC representative should contact ICC about this and cautiously
5. continued
    explore the possibilities of a similar status with the Ministry of Education.

6. July 20, 1959 Minutes of the Committee on the Education of Fraternal Workers' Children (CEFWC) (Board)
    "W.J.S. Thompson's report on the legal status of CCC was read. Betsy Guyer will investigate the matter further."

7. June 8, 1961 Minutes of the Sub-committee of the CEFWC (Board)
    Thompson reported that he had not yet made any progress on registration and that he would go to the Ministry of Education in July. It was voted to ask him to do so.

8. July 12, 1961 Mrs. Frances Hamlin to Acharn Kua (Head of the Department of Education of the Church of Christ in Thailand) (Board)
    Thompson was going to check on registration when he died in a train accident. Hamlin was sorry to have to burden Acharn Kua with the chore. She sent A. Kua various minutes and emphasized that it was important to get the school properly registered as someday the government would check. Helen Welles will do the actual running around. Thompson was going to check with A. Kua as to the best way to approach the Ministry of Education.

9. July 16, 1961 F. Hamlin to Helen Welles (Chairman, CEFWC) (Board)
    Ach. Kua took it upon herself to go to the Ministry of Education. She met with the Minister and he said that the Ministry would give permission for CCC when the papers came in. The school will have to have a Thai owner, Thai manager, and Thai head teacher. Hamlin then mentioned possible persons to hold those positions. She commented that it would be good to get this cleared up and not have to live with the fear of being closed.

10. July 17, 1961 Minutes of the Sub-committee of CEFWC (Board)
    A. Kua reported that the Minister of Education was "very sympathetic" and said that the school should be registered like the American children's schools at Tak and Yarnhee. It should have a Thai owner, manager, and head teacher.
    the CEFWC wondered if the fact that the missionaries were permanent residents of Thailand would be a problem as the school was supposed to be for non-residents.
    A letter should be written to A. Kua asking for several points to be clarified. Also it was decided that Ach Sanglam, Ach. Tawat, and Kru Soi would be approached for the positions of owner, manager, and head teacher respectively.

11. July 18, 1961 Fran Hamlin to A. Kua (Board)
    Hamlin asked for clarification about missionaries being permanent residents and also about salaries, government-required paperwork, Thai holidays to be observed, and school participation in Thai school athletic events - all related to the legalizing of the school.

12. July 27, 1961 H. Welles to F. Hamlin (Board)
    Welles had not yet heard from A. Kua who was in Phetchaburi for a week. Welles talked with Dr. Kenneth Wells (acting Field Representative for the Presbyterians) about the registration problems:
    The three people we suggested for the Thai positions are OK. If we have to raise salaries or add more salaried staff that is no problem even if CCC has to run into a deficit. The local Sub-committee has the full power to decide such things as salaries. The most important thing is to keep good relations with the Thai school commissioner in Chiangmai.
13. August 5, 1961 H. Welles to F. Hamlin

A. Kua was anxious that Hamlin fill out the forms that had been sent her. A. Kua had gone to the Ministry and they were ready to close down the school. She told them that CCC wanted to register so that they would hold off. The school can admit only foreign children, but there is no problem about the missionaries as they return home every so often. About the other questions there were no problems.


The provincial education people were not too interested in CCC. The Yarnhee school was set up as a department of a local school and didn't have a head teacher. Hamlin went to see Ach. Muak at Prince Royal's College (PRC), and he will make contacts at the Ministry of Education in Bangkok. A. Muak said not to be in any great hurry. CCC can't fill out forms that were sent because it has no head teacher, and Kru Soi does not have the required teacher's certificate to be one.

15. August 15, 1961 F. Hamlin to A. Muak

CCC has permission to function as a tutoring school. This is only verbal permission as the school never registered.

16. September 8, 1961 Minutes of the Sub-committee of CEFWC

In the Thompson Memorial Minute it was noted that he was working on registration at the time of his death.

Progress on registration: the forms were being filled out; Ach. Muak named manager; Ach. Sngiam named owner. CCC was registering as a "special school" with the Amphur Chiangmai under the "Rules and Regulations for Schools in Thailand." CCC could not be compared with any other school in Thailand (e.g. Yarnhee).

17. September 10, 1961 F. Hamlin to H. Welles & H. Welles

Registration was a slow and tedious process. It was taking time because all the forms had to be filled out in Thai. A. Muak and the PRC staff were helping, and were old hands at it. Kru Chalerm, the brother-in-law of Muak was also helping. The Amphur people were upset because CCC had gone over their heads and Muak soothed their feelings. They said CCC should be registered under them as a special school and that it was not like ISS or Yarnhee. CCC will not need a Thai head teacher. The Amphur people were very helpful.

18. February 28, 1962 Memo by H. Welles

HRW says that Khun Sngiam should sign the ownership papers in the name of the Church in Thailand (CCT) and not as personal owner.

19. July 20, 1962 Minutes of the Sub-committee CEFWC

"It was reported that all the procedure for registering the CCC as a special school had been completed with the exception of the procurement of a full-time Thai Head Teacher." There was discussion about the qualifications of such a person and it was voted that Konrad Kingshill should write a letter advertising the need.


Norlander had discussed CCC with the head of the Private Schools Division, Ministry of Education. The head had heard that CCC was operating illegally. He said that steps should be taken to clear up the matter. This was an "off the cuff" discussion.

21. July 30, F. Hamlin to H. Norlander

We're working on it. Bangkok does not know what is going on. The papers are all completed.

Note to H. Welles: Why can't people tend to their own affairs? We can't take final step until we have head teacher. We are looking. Norlander doesn't have to know all of this.
22. **August 7, 1962**  
**HWR to F. Hamlin**  
(Board)

HWR wanted to be brought up to date. Disturbed. He did not remember that he knew any of the details.

"At any rate, I suggest that no actual registration be made in Chiangmai until, first, we have cleared the matter in Bangkok and know exactly what we are doing."

"Please, then, do not sign any papers or conclude any registration, temporary or otherwise, until you have checked with us here."

23. **August 8, 1962**  
**F. Hamlin to E. Stubblefield**  
(Board)

The school could have either a man or woman head teacher so Muak was going ahead and seeing the woman who was available.  
(This was after a visit to the Amphur). There were more problems with the forms. We needed more photos and copies of diplomas.

24. **August 13, 1962**  
**F. Hamlin to HWR**  
(Board)

This is an angry reply to HWR's letter of August 7th. Hamlin lists the ways in which HWR had been kept informed (letters, copies of letters, minutes).

Everything was proceeding normally. They had a Christian woman for Thai head teacher. Her papers had been sent in. There was nothing ready to sign. The school has to register or it will be closed. If HWR was going to stop them he should have done so long before. They had been checking with him all along. They will not be signing away anything.

25. **August 28, 1962**  
**B.E. 2505**  
**Transferred Ownership**  
(CCC)

The following is a rough translation of the original:

By this letter I, Nai Horace W. Hyburn, Representative of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America or which is also called the "American Presbyterian Mission" present to the Foundation of the Church of Christ in Thailand in the person of Nang Sqiem Chaw, Singanatre ownership of land of the American Presbyterian Mission, that is Number 768, Tombon Pahnam, Amphur Muang, Changwat Chiangmai which consists of 10 rai, 80 wa (16,320 square meters), with no provisions excepting only that of the cessation of the school. From the day announced in this letter on, we have signed our names and put our seals before witnesses as shown below.

(signed)

Horace W. Hyburn, presenting
Sqiem Chaw. Singanatre, receiving
Suty Gunamukara, witness
Muak Chailangkarn, witness

26. **January 21, 1963**  
**Minutes of the Sub-committee CEFWC**  
(Board)

"The Chairman of the sub-committee reported concerning the registration of the CCC as a special school. Though a formal refusal has not been received, the Governor wrote a note informing Acharn Sqiem that he understands it will be impossible to register CCC under the Ministry of Education." Muak was going to Bangkok and would discuss the situation with HWR and Carl Capen (Baptists).

27. **January 21, 1963**  
**F. Hamlin to Betty Downs**  
(Board)

The Ministry of Education will refuse registration according to the Governor of Chiangmai. The Governor suggested trying the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Larry Pickering of the U.S. Consulate in Chiangmai said that this had to go through the U.S. Embassy.

28. **January 22, 1963**  
**F. Hamlin to A. Muak**  
(Board)

Hamlin asks Muak to help make HWR understand that the school is larger than a Center and must be made legal. The next step would be to go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Muak is asked to see Capen and explain the situation to him. The American and British consuls are both making a survey of the North to see what the need for CCC actually is.
29. January 22, 1963 (B.E. 2506) Vibul Intrasri to CCT Foundation (CCC)

The following is a rough translation of the original:

Number 171/2506

Amphur Chiangmai
22 January 2506

Re: Request to establish a private school
To: Foundation of the Church of Christ in Thailand

Enclosed: Documents requesting the establishment of a school and
Raw. 8 Kraw. Number 36402

Since the Foundation of the Church of Christ in Thailand presented a request to establish a private school (temporary) under the special education category using one one-story building at 13 Chetupon Road, Tombon Watgate, Amphur Muang, Chiangmai with the name of the school being Chiangmai Children's Center, the Amphur presented this request to the Changwad for their examination.

Now we have received a letter numbered 719/2506 dated 16 January 2506 which states that the Ministry of Education examined the request. Since the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have an agreement that there is to be only one school of this type, namely International School, Changwad Pranakorn, therefore permission to establish the requested school is denied.

This letter is sent to inform you and the documents requesting permission are enclosed.

Respectfully yours,

(signed)
Nai Vibul Intrasri
Nai Amphur Muang Chiangmai

30. January 25, 1963 Charlotte Kubenial to H. Welles (Board)

"The subcommittee and staff met on Monday." All seemed to feel that nothing further could be done until a formal refusal is received. In other words, as long as we haveno official reply from the Ministry of Education our application is still pending. Since apparently they do not desire to refuse us, but simply do not have a category that we fit under, they may let things go as they are for some time."

31. February 25, 1963 B. Downs to F. Hamlin (Board)

a handwritten post script:
"Horace says to leave the business of getting legal status in his lap. He doesn't want any of us to do anything. Good, says I. He knows the ropes as he has been on Int'l School.board for eons."

32. February 26, 1963 F. Hamlin to B. Downs (Board)

Pickering, the American Consul, sent information about the number of American children in the North. The Chiangmai Governor had asked for this information. The Governor also asked that we apply through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs saying that he was ready to do anything he could to help.

Pickering talked to U.S. Ambassador Young who says it will be up to you to consult with and work through HWR. If it is suggested that CCC become a branch of International School, Bangkok (ISB) you will have to handle it there. Hamlin emphasizes that it is important to put CCC on an orderly, legal basis. The school had permission to be a center but it became too large for that.

33. July 16, 1964 Minutes of the CEPWC and Sub-Committee (Board)

The name of the school was changed to Chiangmai Coeducational Center. "Since the school is registered as CCC, there is no need to change the registration." [Betty Jo Potter, Recording Sec.]
34. July 2, 1965 Minutes of the CCC Sub-committee

About the question of having a Kindergarten; if having it would not adversely affect the request for official recognition of the C.C.C. as a school by the Thai government... and if other factors allowed, the school would have a Kindergarten.

35. August 18, 1965 Dr. Wells to Betsy Guyer

Wells wrote to see Dr. Carlisle H. Kramer of ISB about CCC. Kramer saw the U.S. community in Chiangmai continuing to grow. Wells comments that CCC now has 30 mission children and 75 American community children. "We are not in Thailand to run a school for the American community."

Dr. Kramer said that he was willing to see Chiangmai set up with a branch of ISB which has government recognition and resources from the U.S. government. Wells urged that the CCC Sub-committee should look into this. A new school could be set up near the center of the American community and the present CCC could become a hostel for missionary children. U.S. government money and personnel could do wonders for a school in Chiangmai. This matter is urgent. John Sams (Disciples) agrees.

36. August 19, 1965 Betty Jo Potter to B. Guyer

Potter is in general agreement with Wells. Wells was against leasing CCC itself. The school could grow to 500 and there wouldn't be room. It would be better for the school to have its own land in a new location. CCC might have to lease its land to a new school for a year.

37. April 24, 1968 B. Guyer to Robert C. Ludwick

"We spent three years trying to register our school with the government, but there is no legal way in which it can be done. However local and national officials have said privately that as long as it is an mission property, and does not accept Thai nationals, they have no objection to the school. Our request for registration was turned down, but we were not ordered to close the school, so we continue on a rather tenuous, but amicable ground."

38. August 2, 1970 B. Guyer to Weaver Gim (American Consul)

Guyer was going to Bangkok at the end of the month to see the Minister of Education. Did Gim have any suggestions?

39. August 18, 1970 W. Gim to B. Guyer

Guyer should check closely with ISB about the present state of their negotiations over the same matter. Mr. Donald Trembley of the Consulate in Bangkok (a vice-consult) had followed these matters and Guyer could talk with him if she wanted to.

39. March, 1971 "Resume of the CCC Registration situation" by B. Guyer

Noted letter of January 22, 1963 turning down the CCC request. People came to feel that things should be left the way they were.

In the fall, 1970, Guyer reviewed the files on registration. Nothing had been done and visas were getting harder to obtain. She contacted A.C. Muak first. Then she went to see the head of education for the province. In Dec., 1970, Dr. Jumroon took her to see the Director of the Private Schools Division. He said that CCC should go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and convince them to change their agreement with the Ministry of Education about ISB. He was not optimistic. Although other schools had obtained registration, he felt that Foreign Affairs would not be interested. Guyer also visited the head of the Special Education Department with no results.

She then visited Maurice Trout at the Education Department of the U.S. Embassy. There were problems with ISB, and the embassy would not want to get involved with CCC. He was not optimistic anyway.
39. continued

Trout also hinted that the Embassy's relations with Foreign Ministry were not very good just then.

"So the situation as of 1971 has changed very little. Officials know unofficially that CCC is here, but we are a small school on Mission property, and we are not creating any problems for the Thai government. We obey as many laws as we can... There is nothing more to be done at the present. As long as we maintain cordial relationships with the government officials at an unofficial level, we can probably go on as we have been for several more years."

40. April 28, 1971 B Guyer to Robert C. Lodwick (Board)

CCC was not registered. ISB had a special agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education to be the only school for English-speaking children. The U.S. Embassy did not want to push things.

41. July 4, 1971 "School Must be Open at All," Bangkok Post, p. 2

A highly inaccurate article that said that application had been made to open a school for missionary children as a branch of FRC. This was turned down because it discriminated against others.

42. July 4, 1971 B. Guyer to HWR (Board)

Guyer was surprised by the article. No proposal had been made since the 1962 application. In December, 1970, Dr. Jamoon had taken her to see some Bangkok officials that were friends of his. This was done on the advice of the Buksitagan Chiangmai. Nothing was done in writing. It would be best to do nothing about the article.

43. December 22, 1971 Konrad Kingshill to HWR (Board)

"The question of legalizing has come up again." Kingshill felt that there was a special opportunity to make a high-level approach to the NEC. The NEC would be in power only until February, 1972, and they had the power before then to cut through the red-tape of registration.

44. December 22, 1971 HWR to Kingshill (Board)

"I take a dim view of any effort on our part to legalize the CCC." There was no pressure and had not been any. "All we can say is that our experience of practically twenty years indicates that we can operate the school indefinitely as we are operating it now." There would be no advantage to legalizing the school. HWR suggested that it might be wise to try to turn CCC over to ISB.

45. November 9, 1972 Anita Younkin to HWR (APM)

Khun Suty had suggested to Younkin that CCC should approach ISB to take over CCC. Younkin found several people in favor of the move, but Doughstubblefield, "who has given his life to that situation," was very opposed and she dropped the matter.

46. May 14, 1974 Dorothy Turnbull (CCC principal) to Norman Jenkins (Chairman of ISB) (CCC)

Turnbull wants to talk to Jenkins about the CCC situation.

47. May 23, 1974 Jenkins to Turnbull (CCC)

Jenkins agreed to meet Turnbull and sets the date as Wednesday, June 5th at 9:00 a.m. at his Esso office.

48. May 30, 1974 Turnbull to Jenkins (CCC)

Turnbull agreed to the time and wrote that Steve Yates, President of the PNC and a member of the Board would come as well.
49. June 5, 1974 D. Turnbull Notes on a meeting with Dr. Stuart S. Phillips, ISB Superintendent and Jenkins (CCC)

They discussed the official recognition of CCC. Phillips suggested that CCC would have to figure out a way the Educational Ministry can recognize both ISB and CCC under the present charter. ISB was willing to see a charter revision that would allow for an international school in Chiangmai. Neither ISB nor the proposed "ISC" would be under the same jurisdiction as there would be problems of distance that would make administration awkward. CCC would also want to preserve its "provincial" nature with its lower fees and salaries. ISB already had enough administrative problems as it was.

Turnbull outlined the procedures to follow from that point as:
- organize a Parent-Teacher Association to increase parental support
- enlarge the Board to include parents who would work hard
- make contacts with Thai government circles, present the problem, and ask for help from Governor of Chiangmai, Rector of Chiangmai Univ.
- include a land lease arrangement and price in the 1974-5 budget
- get a lawyer to study the ISB charter and make plans for CCC and for a land lease arrangement like ISB's

Jenkins was willing to help in any way.

50. June 21, 1974 Minutes of the Board of Directors (Board)

"Mrs. Turnbull reported on her visit to International School, Bangkok, and her consultation with various school personnel. Dr. Phillips, ISB Superintendent, felt that the distance between the two schools prohibited their active involvement in the CCC. He recommended that we secure the services of a good lawyer to ascertain how CCC might come under the same charter as ISB. Mr. Jenkins, Chairman of the ISB Board, offered to help make connections with appropriate officials in Bangkok."

McBain was asked to contact Khun Kraisri N. for help in securing a lawyer.

51. September 25, 1974 D. Turnbull to Malcolm McBain (British Consul) (CCC)

Turnbull reviewed her conservation with the ISB people.

52. September 26, 1974 M. McBain to D. Turnbull (CCC)

McBain thanked Turnbull for the documents (enclosed in the Sept 26th letter) and said he would go to Bangkok to see what could be done.

53. October 29, 1974 D. Turnbull to HWR (CCC)

Discussions had been held in 1971 and 1973 with Fred Wilson and on many occasions by the CCC Board itself about legalizing the school and changing the agency responsible for it.

On June 24th Turnbull and Yates met with Phillips and Jenkins. They were very helpful. They suggested legal counsel was needed and that if necessary the two schools could come under a common figure-head Board. McBain was asked to find a lawyer and last week he retained a firm. They were to be in touch with HWR. Turnbull asks HWR's help in securing information.

54. November 1, 1974 Andrew Wynne (Quasha Law Office) to McBain (CCC)

Quasha made inquiries into the procedures for registering CCC. They contacted Ministry of Education officials, and at first they were told that registration was impossible. This was the standard reaction of lower echelon officials in a situation with little precedent. There is no Thai legislation dealing with the education of foreign children in Thailand. Any decision would probably have to be made by the Minister and the cabinet.

In some respects CCC may be assumed to be a "private elementary school" under the Private Schools Act. The procedure would be to apply to the Governor of the Changwat for verification and then send it on to the Minister of Education for his recommendation.
54. continued
However since CCC told Quasha that the Governor knows the CCC situation and was not willing to take the initiative and since the situation for aliens is more sensitive, no decision will be made without the Minister of Education and the cabinet. Thus, no action should be taken until a new government has been elected next year. Then CCC should approach the new Minister with as much diplomatic and ecclesiastical support as possible in a bid to win his support.

55. June 20, 1975 Wynne to McBain (CCC)
Enclosed is information about the Private Schools Act (No. 2) B.E. 2518 which replaced the older Act. This Act established a Private Education Board to promote school education and to advise the Minister of Education concerning educational problems. The problems of foreign children might be of some interest to this Board.

56. November 12, 1975 Minutes of the Board of Directors (CCC)
"G. Bailey moved and A. Scholtze seconded that nothing should be done about legalization."

57. January 21, 1976 Minutes of the Board of Directors (CCC)
"Regarding the legal status of the school: It has been suggested by the General Secretary of the Thai Church that the school simply carry on without causing a stir."

58. June 2, 1976 Minutes of the Board of Directors (CCC)
K. Kinghill mentioned the possibility of getting an English language school recognized in Chiangmai.

59. May 17, 1978 Minutes of the Board of Directors (CCC)
CCC was officially inspected by the Ministry of Education. "CCC can now be considered in the position of 'definitive recognition' rather than floating." Three officials came. The Head of the Department of Special Education was very impressed.
APPENDIX D

ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR C.C.C. 1954-1979

The accuracy of enrollment figures for CCC are limited by the fact of the transient nature of the student body. The CCC Annual Report for 1969 noted that in the first semester, 1969-1970, some 26% (34 out of 131) of the students studied only a part of the semester at CCC. A second limiting factor is that enrollment figures were often communicated by word-of-mouth introducing a possibility of error. No official set of enrollment figures has been kept.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total Enroll</th>
<th>Prsby</th>
<th>Bapts</th>
<th>Disc</th>
<th>Other Missans</th>
<th>U.S. Govt</th>
<th>Other Nations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1954</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1955</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1956</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1956</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1957</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-1959</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1959</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1960</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1963</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1965</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>P-B-D = 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1965</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1966</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1967</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1967</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1967</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1968</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1968</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1968</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1969</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1969</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1969</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1970</td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall, 1970</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1970</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1971</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1972</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1973</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-1974</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-1975</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1977</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall, 1979</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX E

DATA FROM C.C.C. FACT SHEETS 1971-1979
Prepared for the U.S. State Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>113 students***</td>
<td>6000 baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>69 Americans</td>
<td>11000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 American</td>
<td>44 other</td>
<td>12000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Thai</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 other</td>
<td></td>
<td>13000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>103 students</td>
<td>6000 baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>69 Americans</td>
<td>12000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Thai</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 other</td>
<td></td>
<td>13000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>110 students</td>
<td>same as 1973-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>65 Americans</td>
<td>12000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Thai</td>
<td>(22 U.S. Govnmt)</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 other</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>93 students</td>
<td>7000 baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32 Americans</td>
<td>13000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Thai</td>
<td>(10 U.S. Govnmt)</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 other</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95 students</td>
<td>9000 baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42 Americans</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Thai</td>
<td>(9 U.S. Govnmt)</td>
<td>17000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 other</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>72 students</td>
<td>same as 1976-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23 Americans</td>
<td>13000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Thai</td>
<td>(9 U.S. Govnmt)</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 other</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FACULTY*</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>TUITION**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>70 students</td>
<td>12000 baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26 Americans</td>
<td>24000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 American</td>
<td>(11 U.S. Govnmt)</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Thai</td>
<td></td>
<td>24000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For 1975-76, 1977-78, and 1978-79 includes librarian and business manager
** All rates are yearly @ 20 baht to US$1.00
*** Enrollment figures for 1970-1971
### APPENDIX F

**ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR C.C.C.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compiled by Betty Edmonds