

Hokusei Jo Gakko-related Matters in the Minutes of the Meetings of
the Japan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1887-1910

James E. ALLISON

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[Abstract]

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During the years that Sarah C. Smith and other missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America were leading in establishing and developing Hokusei Jo Gakko, these founders' sponsoring organization held regular business meetings at which matters pertinent to the school were decided. The minutes of these meetings shed light on the priorities guiding the group, the processes by which it made decisions, the various programs through which it conducted its work, and the personalities who influenced the directions in which it chose to go. This article provides an overview of these records' historical background, the format in which they are arranged in microfilm form, and summaries of the contents of particularly notable years, followed by analysis and discussion. The period covered in this examination is 1887 through 1910.

Introduction

Among the various groupings of English language historical records containing data on life at Hokusei Jo Gakko (North Star Girls' School, 北星女学校) in the years of its formation and early development, the one shedding the most light on the school's interactions with its parent organization is the proceedings of the business meetings of the Japan Mission. This article provides an overview of the minutes of those meetings published from the school's establishment in 1887 to 1910, during which time Hokkaido missionaries belonged to the Tokyo Station of that Mission. A future article will cover the period from 1911, when the Hokkaido Station was established, to the return of Hokusei's founder, Sarah C. Smith, to her home country in 1931.

The following discussion is an examination of the letters containing records of the meetings of this Mission, which was operated by the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA). Of the years in

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which the Eastern Japan Mission (or East Japan Mission) was organized separately from the Western Japan Mission (or West Japan Mission), 1890 to 1910, only records of the Eastern Japan Mission are discussed here. Also, attention is focused on the parts of the meetings dealing with Hokusei Jo Gakko in particular.

The records described in this article and many other materials related to Hokusei Jo Gakko may be accessed in the Gale Cengage Learning (Primary Source Media, formerly Scholarly Resources) microfilm sets at Hokusei Gakuen University and other locations. Generally speaking, these documents are copies of hand-written letters sent from the Secretary of the Eastern Japan Mission to the Secretary of the BFM.

The minutes of these meetings served the ordinary functions of facilitating an orderly handling of business matters and keeping informed the stakeholders in the Mission's work during the years they were written. Today they make a unique contribution to a more complete and accurate understanding of the historical roots from which Hokusei Gakuen has grown. They reveal many of the organizational, administrative, and business decisions which directed the course of the development of Hokusei Jo Gakko, and thus the Hokusei Gakuen school system as a whole. Many relate to personnel matters, such as where new missionaries will be located and which needs should be given priority in placing requests with the BFM to commission new workers. Other issues requiring decisions of the Mission are financial ones, including which programs and organizations will receive what portion of the budget allocated to the Japan Mission and which future needs to ask the Board to meet ahead of others. In other words, the organization under which Hokusei Gakuen was established functioned in a manner typical of many professional bodies. While it upheld its lofty ideals and enjoyed a degree of success in achieving its stated purposes, it also demonstrated its share of competing interests, conflicting goals, and clashing personalities. In each of these ways, it helped form the particular character which has defined the school system growing out of Hokusei Jo Gakko.

These records also provide for the reader considerable data on the mission activities of the PCUSA Japan Mission throughout eastern Japan. Likewise, they from time to time furnish information on the Japanese partner church organization with which Sarah Smith's school cooperated, that is, the Church of Christ in Japan (日本基督教会),¹ as well as the other Japan Mission-affiliated schools. They thus facilitate an understanding of the historical context in which Hokusei Gakuen has its origins.

Historical Background

That context included the organization of the PCUSA Japan Mission, which had been established in 1859. Though a small group primarily in the Kanto area during the early

years when travel by non-Japanese was limited through a strict system of domestic pass-
port requirements, as regulations were relaxed and the number of missionaries grew, the
Mission separated in 1890 into the Eastern Japan Mission and Western Japan Mission.
When Sarah Smith joined the Japan Mission in 1880, it had 23 members. When it was
separated into Eastern and Western sections 10 years later, it had 71 missionaries. By the
time the two Missions re-joined in 1911, membership had grown to 75. It would later in-
crease to 94 by the year Smith retired in 1922 and fall again to 69 by her return to the
U.S. in 1931.

Smith was the first missionary in her organization to serve in Hokkaido. The vast dis-
tances separating Sapporo from Kanto and the great time required to travel between them
meant that she was quite isolated from the others in her group. Nevertheless, her work
fell into the administrative grouping of the Tokyo Station of the Eastern Japan Mission.
In practical terms, this meant that she and those who later joined her in the work were
unable to attend regular Mission Meetings, though all significant decisions had to pass
through the hands of the organization's members. It was comprised of Tokyo Station and
until 1903 Yokohama Station missionaries. Their number ranged from 34 in 1890 to 27 in
1910. Those serving in Hokkaido communicated with other voting members typically by
letter and occasionally by telegram. Now and then a member traveling through Tokyo
was able to attend a Mission Meeting in person. The practical difficulties involved in such
an arrangement were considerable, such as the constant potential for miscommunication
and being forced by time constraints to make decisions based on partial information rather
than enjoying the benefits of face-to-face dialogue.

Mission Meetings were held once monthly, generally speaking, during the early portion
of the time under consideration. In 1898, the group decided to limit the meetings to once
each two months. These gatherings were typically held in the home of a member. There
was an Annual Mission Meeting, as well, often in the resort area of Karuizawa, which no
doubt provided a cool respite from the hot Tokyo summers. Other meetings in which mis-
sionaries participated besides the one of this Mission were sometimes scheduled just before
or after it in the same location, for the sake of convenience. Though from 1911 on the
Mission had its regular session only once per year, with the Executive Committee handling
business which could not wait until the next Meeting, before that time the Mission met
relatively frequently and handled matters more on an as-the-need-emerged basis.

A variety of Mission Secretaries submitted the minutes from year to year. They in-
cluded H. M. Landis, Theodore M. MacNair, William M. Imbrie, and August K. Reischauer.
The BFM Secretaries to whom these records were sent were John Gillespie and Robert
E. Speer. Besides the business to which the Mission attended, at Mission Meetings there
were reports from individual missionaries and organizations (schools, churches, etc.).

Before 1911 there existed no hard and fast requirement for missionaries to report on their work, though such updates were often part of Mission Meeting (PCUSA, *Annual Meeting*, 1911, p. 12). The Mission Secretary customarily prepared an annual letter, or summary of the Mission's work, which along with the minutes was submitted to the BFM (MacNair, February 3, 1906, p. 3; Imbrie, June 4, 1907, p. 1). Though these reports contain valuable information submitted by individual missionaries and schools on their work in the past year, they lie outside the scope of this discussion and are not included in it.

Besides the Western Japan Mission and the Church of Christ in Japan, the Mission under which Hokusei Jo Gakko was managed functioned in cooperation with other Christian denominations, particularly those of the Reformed tradition. Kojo Jo Gakuin in Yamaguchi (later called Shimonoseki Baiko Jo Gakuin), for instance, was operated jointly with organizations related to the Reformed Church in America. Churches and church-sponsored schools cooperated across denominational lines in evangelical bodies such as the Council of Missions and events, for example the Forward Movement soon after the turn of the century. These lateral links with similar groups gave indirect yet significant support to Hokusei Jo Gakko as it labored to establish itself.

The institutions that gave probably the strongest influence were the other girls' schools which the Japan Mission sponsored to differing degrees. These included Hokuriku Jo Gakko, Joshi Gakuin, Seishu Jo Gakko, Kojo Jo Gakuin, and Wilmina Jo Gakko.²

These schools shared not only educational ideals, a sense of mission, and a parent organization. On a practical level, they also cooperated in filling teaching positions as needs and opportunities arose. Numerous single female missionaries, including Sarah Smith and Clara Rose, spent their first years in Japan teaching at Joshi Gakuin before moving out of the capitol into the provinces to serve there. On more than one occasion, missionaries at Hokusei developed health problems related to Hokkaido's climate and as a result were transferred to other girls' schools in areas with more favorable conditions. The presence of affiliated schools made a variety of arrangements possible for replacing these instructors.

Further, on a personal level, their common experiences serving in Japan Mission girls' schools became the occasion for forming lifelong friendships. In Sarah Smith's case, Gertrude and Florence Bigelow, who served at Kojo Jo Gakuin and Shimonoseki Baiko Jo Gakuin, remained close friends, choosing to live in the same city of Pasadena, California, after retirement and eventually being buried next to each other.

Also, teachers trained at Joshi Gakuin not infrequently were hired by Mission-affiliated schools. In turn, after Tokyo Woman's Christian College was founded in 1918, all five girls' schools had a clear goal toward which they could work of sending graduates to continue

their education in a Christian environment. A relationship of mutual support between the girls' high schools and women's college was gradually built. Many of the routine administrative decisions of the Mission related to developing and maintaining these ties between member organizations.

The extent to which individual institutions such as Hokusei Jo Gakko and local churches cooperating with it depended on the Mission to carry on their work is worth noting. For instance, in 1893 when the Mission agreed to support the construction of a church in Sapporo, two missionaries from Tokyo, Mr. Knox and Mr. Landis, were appointed as a committee to lay plans for the church and oversee its construction. Landis himself notes the limits of possibility in performing such a task from Tokyo, aware of the great challenges of communication and transportation of that time. Yet the Mission was willing to undertake such tasks as this, apparently seeing them as in line with the role it was there to play (Landis, April 17, 1893, p. 2).

Finances of the particular Station to which each missionary belonged were overseen by the Mission. In the area of managing Hokusei Jo Gakko, Smith and Rose found it necessary to go through the process of requesting such things as that the Mission ask the Board to give a pay raise (20 yen per month) to Hokusei teachers (Landis, May 11, 1894, p. 6). In another instance, it required a Mission decision for money to be appropriated for a fence around the home of the Johnson mission family in Sapporo (PCUSA, *Annual Meeting*, 1911, p. 46).

The organization inside which Hokusei Jo Gakko operated was structured in such a way that decisions made by the group as a whole often had specific though sometimes indirect impacts on the school. For instance, the Mission at one point placed a request to the Board for 12 more families and 21 single women to be sent to serve in Japan. In the end, 3 single ladies were actually sent, 2 of them filling existing vacancies (PCUSA, *Annual Meeting*, 1911, p. 45). As this example demonstrates, the power of the Mission was far from absolute, yet many requests from individual schools had to rise up through its organizational structure before they would be considered on the Board level.

Despite these difficulties, the minutes of Mission Meetings indicate the state of the girls' schools under the organization's care to be quite healthy. Each had been established between 1870 and 1895, then struggled yet managed to take root and grow. By 1920, all with the exception of Seishu Jo Gakko (see note 2D) were reported as flourishing, generally speaking. They had a total of approximately 1300 students enrolled, 800 of these in Joshi Gakuin in Tokyo. The student population in almost all cases was higher than it had ever been. All had financial problems, and some were raising tuition to cover costs (PCUSA, *Annual Meeting*, 1920, p. 49). In short, these meeting records depict Hokusei Jo Gakko as

developing in a context of a family of schools going through ups and downs but managing to thrive.

Format

The minutes of Japan Mission Meetings are part of a 295-roll microfilm set (see p. 42) which documents the world mission activities of the PCUSA's Board of Foreign Missions (1859-1911). Sections dealing with Japan Mission Meetings are in 23 of these rolls. Although there is an extensive index, or calendar, providing an overview of the microfilmed materials, they are not arranged precisely in chronological order. Not all the documents appear in the index, and some are listed which do not actually appear in the microfilmed rolls. Others are identified incorrectly. For instance, at least one Hokusei Jo Gakko document appears in the Hokuriku Jo Gakko section with Western Japan Mission materials. The copy quality of some is much higher than others, ranging from practically unreadable to completely clear. Of the thousands of documents in this collection, most in the years up to 1910 are hand-written. More and more produced after that time are typed, reflecting the changing technology of those years.

The length of letters containing Mission Meeting minutes varies greatly. Some are 1 to 2 pages, whereas others run almost 10. Taken as a whole, the various sections related specifically to Hokusei Jo Gakko comprise roughly 100 pages in the 1887-1910 section. The Hokusei-specific parts of the minutes for each year probably make up less than 5% of the total number of pages.

However, those written before 1911 are in general much briefer than the records published in book form from that year on. The key reasons appear to be that beginning in 1911 there was only one regular Mission Meeting per year, and the number of missionaries in the organization was growing steadily. Handling that amount of business covering a year's work in a single set of minutes meant records over 50 pages long, then over 75, then over 100 near the time Sarah Smith was retiring as missionary in 1922.

The Mission Meeting minutes recorded up to 1911 in general are arranged more in the writing style of the Mission Secretary who happened to be penning them and follow somewhat less of a set pattern than those published in later years. The records from all the years Sarah Smith was in Japan do, however, typically include many of the same types of information, though ordered and described in various ways. They contain, besides (a) the date the minutes were written, (b) the BFM Secretary to whom they are submitted, (c) the date and place the meeting being reported on was held, (d) a note of whether the meeting was a regular one (monthly, bi-monthly, or annual) or called for special reasons, (e) a list of those present and absent, (f) a note of which missionary led in the devotional

exercises which always preceded the meeting itself, (g) a description of the items on the agenda, the discussion related to them, and decisions made, (h) confirmation that the minutes were read and approved, and (i) mention of who gave the closing prayer.

In the category of agenda items, one issue which frequently emerges is handling new missionaries. They ideally would be allowed a certain period of time to focus their energies on the acquisition of language and culture. Yet due to the urgent nature of the needs for them to fill a vacant position, they at times would be asked to begin the work itself and pursue these studies at a later time. Numerous Mission Meeting decisions thus relate to the particulars of new workers' assignments, including when they have mastered the language adequately to begin their work and where they will be assigned to serve.

Among other staffing-related issues which often surfaced at Mission Meeting was how to handle furloughs. Missionaries regularly were rotated back to their home country every several years for a period typically of one year. This allowed them to maintain health, family relationships, and other aspects of personal life, while also reporting to and strengthening ties with the churches who had sent them and supported their work. The Mission gave permission on a case-by-case basis for missionaries to leave their labors in Japan for furlough. Providing workers necessary to cover for them in their absence also required temporary transfers of teachers from one school to another or other arrangements.

The Mission frequently made appeals to the Board for increased staffing and replacements for missionaries who could no longer serve. Though over time the total number of missionaries did increase considerably, with new appointments contingent primarily on adequate funding through offerings from churches and other sources, the Mission's requests were often delayed or not granted. These circumstances necessitated many discussions at Mission Meeting as to which requests for missionaries would be given priority and, in the case of calls for replacements, how the work would be maintained until they were obtained.

Though the reports of individual missionaries and organizations, as noted above, are recorded separately from the minutes, when relevant to the discussion at hand, they are included in the business meeting records. For instance, among items frequently appearing are figures on amounts of budget appropriations allotted to individual missionaries' programs and organizations in the past year and amounts planned for the coming year. They are broken down according to who is set to handle the funds and the purposes for the expenditures. Finance-related matters which commonly become agenda items to discuss involve hiring teachers to increase staff size, making cost of living adjustments to salaries, purchasing property, keeping facilities in repair, and upgrading the campus with new construction.

When the various authors of the Mission's minutes refer to a particular year, it is not always with the same beginning and ending point in mind. The academic year of Hokusei Jo Gakko starts and finishes at different points during this period, and the church year and business year of the Mission can be different again. In this article, the references to years indicate calendar years, January to December.

Overview of Contents

The following summarizes the official decisions of the Japan Mission related to Hokusei Jo Gakko for the years 1887–1910. Not all the records of these proceedings remain, and there was no business particularly related to the school in some years. The list below is not an exhaustive account but reflects the information currently accessed for particularly noteworthy years.

1890. Salaries for the 34 missionaries of the Mission are listed, including Misses Smith and Light at Hokusei. Light's salary is the standard 600 yen for single women. Smith's appears to be 450, though the reason for the low rate is unstated (anonymous, p. 1). The expenses for women missionaries in Sapporo include scholarships, assistants, and Bible women (anonymous, p. 3).³

1891. The Mission resolves to request that Miss Light's salary be extended for the coming year at the current rate. The decision is based on Miss Smith's description of the current needs of the work (Landis, February 12, 1891, p. 3).

1893. In personnel matters, the Mission agrees to Miss Smith's request and decides to send Miss Carrie Rose to Sapporo to work alongside her (Landis, June 8, 1893, p. 2). George P. Pierson, a missionary who has recently arrived in Japan, states his intention to locate in Otaru to undertake his work. He apparently is given a great deal of freedom in making this choice (Landis, Dec. 7, 1893, p. 1). Later, he will lend administrative support to Hokusei in a variety of forms, and his future wife, Ida G. Pierson, will take charge of the school while Smith is on furlough.

An agreement is made to use Mission funds to purchase land for a church in Sapporo (Landis, April 17, 1893, p. 2). This church and others in the community will serve as organizations cooperating with Hokusei in its mission of Christian education. Students will be encouraged to become members, and the school will sponsor Sunday school activities and others which in turn support the life of the church. The Mission agrees to send the funds for the purchase through Smith (Landis, November 11, 1893, p. 1).

1894. Misses Smith and Rose have been in communication with the Mission, making a request for a pay raise for teachers at Hokusei. The Mission agrees to ask the Board for these funds. There is also an appeal for an advance on budget resources to be used to build a house for the Hokusei missionaries. Along with it, they offer a specific proposal as to how to locate other money needed for this purpose (Landis, May 11, 1894, p. 6).⁴

1897. This year's minutes reveal the Mission's handling of three significant issues related to Hokusei Jo Gakko. The first is financial. According to the author of the records, Smith seems to have failed to understand until recently that she is obligated to report to the Mission the income (tuition fees, etc.) Hokusei has received. This problem has arisen at a time of a drastic cut in the Mission's operating budget. As per the Mission's manual, Miss Smith is requested to file these reports in the future. In the current case, Hokusei has been running a deficit which requires the Mission's assistance. The Mission agrees to pay the debt (MacNair, June 8, 1897, p. 3).

The second matter is another financial one. A new house for Hokusei is purchased with a combination of contributions the school has received, a loan from the Mission, and borrowing from friends. An agreement on its use has been reached as follows. The Mission will own the house, with the land to be leased rent-free for 12 years and another 12 after that possible, subject to agreement. The Mission holds a receipt to guarantee the loan it has made and will talk with Hokusei trustees after two more years about terms of repayment. "Miss Smith is a good manager," Mr. Pierson asserts in a letter included in the minutes, noting that she obtained over 200 yen in funds beyond the Mission grant of 500 yen (Pierson, n.d., p. 1, MacNair, March 30, 1897, p. 2).

The third issue centers on staffing for Hokusei. Though Carrie Rose came to work with Smith at their mutual agreement, at this point both insist on working separately, although the New York Women's Board of Foreign Missions has requested Rose to remain in her position assigned to Hokusei. Smith says the following of Rose (MacNair, July 24, 1897, p. 1).

Her policies and mine are so entirely different that it is impossible for the two of us to carry on the school successfully together. The Sapporo school has never been in so promising a condition as now --- If Miss Rose must be returned to the Sapporo school, following the suggestion of the Board, then I must refuse to be held responsible for the whole school.

What Smith means by policy-related differences becomes clearer in Rose's requests regarding the school she is establishing in Otaru, Seishu Jo Gakko. After some rather dramatic reversals in the hopes she has expressed regarding her school (MacNair, April 1 and

3, 1897, pp. 1-3), she settles on the proposal that it be placed under Japanese control yet with the Mission to continue supporting it. Doing so would put the school on a different basis than the other girls' schools connected with the Mission, including Hokusei, which are controlled and supported more fully by the Mission (MacNair, June 9, 1897, p. 1).

The Mission agrees that in light of these circumstances, it will be better for Rose to develop her own school in Otaru, including a kindergarten but not a boarding school. The Mission will not provide funds for this school and forbids her from receiving outside funding other than her own salary. The Mission also refuses to support the idea being considered of more than eight pupils' living together with her in her residence (MacNair, April 1, 1897, pp. 1-2).

As for Hokusei's short-term staffing needs, Miss Smith along with Mr. Pierson requests the Mission to ask the Board to send a teacher to assist in her work. The Mission agrees in general terms (MacNair, c. April 1, 1897, p. 3), then several weeks later receives a more specific request from the Hokkaido missionaries. They ask for a member of the Japan Mission, Miss Davis, to join the Hokusei staff after she returns from furlough. The Mission chooses to delay until the health condition of Miss Thompson becomes clear. She has been vacationing in Hokkaido and has shown willingness to remain after that break rather than returning to service in western Japan (MacNair, June 8, 1897, p. 3).

After further discussion, the Mission approves Smith's proposal that Mr. and Mrs. Pierson continue in their assignment in Sapporo two more years, with Mrs. Pierson covering for Smith while she is on furlough. Mr. Pierson will continue his evangelistic work in the city. The Mission recognizes the need for a permanent worker to continue serving at the school after Smith's furlough. It also notes that Mrs. Pierson needs another worker to provide support during Smith's absence (MacNair, July 24, 1897, pp. 1-3).

However, regarding a longer-term solution to the staffing shortage, no concrete plans are laid. In addition to the possibility of transferring a missionary from within the Mission, Hokusei's hiring someone from the outside is discussed (though it would be paid for with BFM funds). Neither of these ideas gains adequate support, and funding is not apparently available to commission a full-time missionary. The matter is left as is for the present (MacNair, April 3, 1897, p. 2).

The Mission addresses its organization-wide staffing needs by agreeing to request that the Board appoint six new missionaries, including three women, in addition to replacing those lost in the past year. Among the three ladies will likely be one or more to serve at Hokusei in combination with those at other girls' schools as various needs arise (MacNair, January 17, 1898, pp. 2-3).

1898. Hokusei has been requesting increased staffing for Hokusei Jo Gakko to be supplied from either inside or outside Japan. The Eastern Japan Mission has asked the Western Japan Mission to loan either Miss Garvin or Miss Settlemeier to assist Mrs. Pierson in covering for Miss Smith during her furlough (MacNair, July 28, 1898, p. 1). However, these missionaries do not feel it their duty to serve outside that Mission, and the Western Japan Mission supports them in this (Imbrie, c. September 24, 1898, p. 2).

Though Hokkaido missionaries typically do not attend Mission Meeting, on one occasion Smith does so, apparently in the Tokyo area on her way to the U.S. on furlough (Imbrie, c. September 24, 1898, p. 3).

Miss Smith, who was present, expressed to the Mission her entire willingness to leave the work in Sapporo permanently in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Pierson. In that case she desires to devote herself to evangelistic work in a warmer part of this island. If however it be thought best that she resume the care of her work in Sapporo, on her return to America, she strongly insists upon the necessity of a lady to be associated with her.

Records indicate Smith requesting that a decision be made before she returns to Japan from furlough.

1903. This year's transactions relate primarily to upgrading Hokusei Jo Gakko's facilities and secondarily to staffing changes. First, through a letter, Miss Smith calls on the Mission to ask the Board to allocate funds for the purchase of desks and seats. It responds that the request is not necessary because the members have adopted a resolution at the last meeting that in cases like this a school would use a part of the tuition for operating expenses such as desks and chairs. A recent letter from the Secretary of the Board has also authorized Hokusei to use its own funds for school upkeep (Imbrie, February 6, 1903, pp. 1-3).

Later in the year, in addition to the upgrade of Hokusei's facilities which is already underway, the Mission's Executive Committee decides to request a 40% increase in appropriations for the project. The plans in place one year ago seemed reasonable then, but upon more careful investigation, the school and Executive Committee have now agreed to seek the supplemental funds. The Mission describes the need and plans in detail (Landis, June 24, 1903, pp. 1-2).⁵

Second, regarding staffing, Miss Wells has found it necessary for health reasons (Smith, 1903-1904, p. 2) to leave Hokkaido's climate, and she is joining the Western Japan Mission. The Eastern Japan Mission has requested a replacement for her (Imbrie, June 6, 1903, pp.

2-3), and the two Missions agree on Miss Ward. There is also talk once again of the transfer of Miss Settlemyer from the Western to the Eastern Japan Mission to work at Hokusei. The Western Mission strongly prefers to keep her, with the plan already in place for Miss Ward to be sent to Sapporo (Imbrie, December 5, 1903, pp. 2-3,5).⁶

1904. Records from this year indicate recent staffing decisions the Mission has taken. Though Sarah Smith continues to be in charge of Hokusei, Isabella M. Ward and Mary B. Sherman have also been sent to teach at the school and Miss Sherman to do Japanese language study, as well. Mr. and Mrs. Weston T. Johnson have been assigned to primarily evangelical work in Sapporo (PCUSA, *Annual Report, 1904*, pp. 4-5), though later records show that they will support Hokusei Jo Gakko in various capacities (Allison, 2008, pp. 10-11).

1905. As of this year, at least some of the Mission members from Hokkaido are attending the Annual Meeting: Mr. and Mrs. Pierson and Miss Sherman. Sherman is having health difficulties. The Mission receives a statement from a medical doctor regarding the advisability of her returning to Hokkaido in light of her condition. Miss Milliken has written offering to relieve Miss Sherman at Hokusei. The physician has advised Sherman to come to Tokyo, where she can see a doctor directly and receive treatment, then return to Sapporo temporarily if requested to do so. The Mission agrees for her to follow the doctor's advice, planning to evaluate the decision again at next year's Mission meeting. If necessary, consideration will be given at that time to supplying an appropriate teacher to fill the position at Hokusei (MacNair, August 1905, pp. 1-2).

1906. The Mission, having recently experienced problems with missionaries leaving the work in Sapporo because of health issues, requests its members from Hokkaido to write about health conditions there. The hope is that these facts can inform the Board in the future with regard to appointing missionaries (MacNair, February 3, 1906, p. 4).

The Eastern Japan Mission responds to a letter from the Western Japan Mission requesting the official transfer of Miss Sherman to the Western Mission. She has already been serving in Yamaguchi temporarily and found the climate much more agreeable than Sapporo's. The letter notes that she has rendered valuable assistance in the work of the school in Yamaguchi, even while focusing on Japanese language studies. The Eastern Japan Mission agrees to the request for relocation. It mentions her medical advice, which has been that even if she should be assigned to another place such as Tokyo, its climate would not likely be much more helpful for her than Hokkaido's (Imbrie, August 25, 1906, p. 12).

The Mission agrees to request that the Board provide traveling expenses and allowance for Miss Smith. She is preparing for furlough (Imbrie, August 25, 1906, p. 14).

Miss Alice Monk had been studying the Japanese language and working at Joshi Gakuin (PCUSA, *Annual Report, 1904*, p. 2). She was sent to Hokusei on a temporary basis at the strong urging of missionaries in Hokkaido in 1905 to meet staffing needs there. Now they are maintaining that she should stay permanently. After discussion, the Mission agrees at this point that she must remain until Miss Smith returns from furlough (Imbrie, December 29, 1906, pp. 5-6).⁷

1907. A contingent of Hokkaido missionaries has written a letter, which is read at a Mission Meeting, earnestly urging that Miss Monk be permanently assigned to Hokusei. The other members of the Mission prefer to delay a decision on the matter (Imbrie, June 4, 1907, p. 1).

1908. A letter from the Japan Mission representative to that of the BFM describes several aspects of a matter on which the Mission must take action in coordination with Hokusei. Miss Ward has returned to the U.S. Miss Smith has delayed her furlough to deal with the loss of this teacher but will leave Japan by October. Miss Monk will have charge of 160 girls and be overloaded unless help is sent.

Mrs. McCauley, a member of this Mission, has a cousin, Miss Miller, who is now on a visit to Japan and working part-time at Hokusei for 35 yen per month. However, she is not enjoying excellent health, and the approaching winter looks forbidding. A replacement will be needed at least when Smith goes on furlough. There is also a lady in Tokyo who is teaching in the school for foreign children, named Miss Nivling. She is willing to move to Sapporo to serve at Hokusei, and the teachers there want her to come. Salary and transportation expenses will be needed (Imbrie, June 15, 1908, p. 1).⁸

1910. William Imbrie is appointed by the Mission to write on Hokusei's behalf to the Board. In this correspondence, he appeals for another missionary teacher and scholarships for Hokusei students. He gives reasons the scholarships are perceived as necessary and another woman missionary is needed. In explaining, he gives a good overview of the ministry of the school, emphasizing its effectiveness and thus the value of providing further support. Most of the Japanese teachers are young and stay a relatively short time, commonly until they marry. In that context, the need for a career missionary is clear. It is much preferable that she be a college graduate and able to give instruction and leadership in music, Imbrie states (November 19, 1910, pp. 1-5).

The Mission agrees to request that the Board use money from what would have been another missionary's salary to pay a teacher at Hokusei. The group likewise resolves to put compensation for a Hokusei instructor in the financial estimates for the coming year (Reischauer, December 26, 1910, p. 4).

Analysis and Discussion of Contents

Comparing the Japan Mission Meeting minutes with other Hokusei-related historical materials, two aspects stand out. First, the records of these proceedings reveal, probably more than any other extant materials, the mechanics of how the school's formation occurred. The descriptions of the decision-making process, while not on the whole colorful or dramatic, do succeed in providing a direct perspective on real life happenings in a way that other accounts do not.

Second, in detailing the step-by-step unfolding of events, these accounts allow the reader to see how things could have turned out differently. In describing the way actions were actually taken, these records make clear in many cases the disconnect between those happenings and what missionaries intended and attempted. Pointing out the other possibilities that existed and options that were available at the time, provides an opportunity to view these past occurrences from more of a present tense perspective.

The fact that Hokusei Gakuen's founder in 1898 was willing to leave the work permanently may be an indication of how stressful she experienced it to be without what she considered adequate support, particularly in staffing. The reference to moving to a warmer area in Honshu (see p. 51) could suggest that her health-related difficulties, exacerbated by Hokkaido's cold climate, had grown more significant since she chose to locate there 14 years earlier. It is also possible that her motivation for locating in Hokkaido in the first place did not have as much to do with the similarity of the island's climate to that of her childhood home as was suggested at the time (PCUSA, *Our Mission Field*, Vol. 3, p. 46). She in fact later left Hokkaido for periods of time and returned to the same Tokyo area to recover her health (Smith, 1902, p. 34). Smith's willingness to part with her educational ministry in order to undertake evangelistic work sheds light on her personal values, as well as the range of strengths and abilities she saw herself as having (Imbrie, c. September 24, 1898, p. 3).

Reports appear from time to time of problems apparently stemming from inadequate comprehension or misunderstanding on the part of those at Hokusei Jo Gakko of Mission rules and decisions reached. Examples include Smith's failing to (a) report to the Mission the income Hokusei has received, which in 1897 ends up having an adverse impact on the budget of the Mission as a whole, and (b) follow the rules for purchases of items such as

desks and seats, which became an issue in the 1903 Meeting. These problems may be a reflection of the great logistical difficulties ever-present in operating a Mission whose members in far-flung Hokkaido could rarely attend meetings. Being forced to carry on business largely through exchanging letters in the postal system meant a slow communication process fraught with the possibility of members understanding each other only partially or incorrectly. Reports appear to reveal the practical need for the establishing of a Station in Hokkaido rather than maintaining the dependence on the Tokyo-based Eastern Japan Mission. The formation of Hokkaido Station in 1911 no doubt solved or avoided a great many problems.

The information in the Japan Mission Meeting minutes taken as a whole lends strong support to the representations of the school's formation and growth presented in other historical records. Data on such matters as maintenance and expansion of campus facilities, as well as the names and numbers of staff members, are generally in harmony with other data sets. The records of the decisions taken by the Mission tell a story essentially consistent with the accounts of events which appear in reports to the PCUSA General Assembly, *Sumisu Koumu Nenshi*, reports to the BFM's Japan Mission, *Woman's Work for Woman*, and elsewhere.

Conclusion

One may from time to time hear statements such as "Sarah Smith labored diligently and succeeded in establishing Hokusei Gakuen." While accurate in some respects, thumbnail summaries of this type can easily fail to give the more thorough, layered, and complicated picture which the minutes of Japan Mission Meetings present. The process of Hokusei Jo Gakko's establishment and development described in these records is more of a group effort than a heroic endeavor by Smith as an individual. Though it focuses on the U.S. missionaries at Hokusei, behind it is a story of teamwork with a staff composed of far more Japanese counterparts than non-Japanese. Sarah Smith appears not as an invincible figure driven constantly by single-minded devotion but a human being who acted at some times out of deep commitment, and at others perhaps out of resignation, loneliness, or fatigue. Life at the school she founded was marked not only by cooperation but at times by conflict and controversy, as well.

The proceedings of the Japan Mission Meetings are almost by definition limited to the business side of the organization's activities. They thus cannot and are not intended to give a comprehensive account of its missionaries' interactions with the people they came to Japan to serve. Nevertheless, these reports do provide a perspective not found elsewhere on the strengths, weaknesses, successes, and failures of the people whose co-laborers started Hokusei Gakuen down the path it has walked to today.

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Notes

- (1) The PCUSA today maintains an ecumenical partnership with Hokusei Gakuen through the school system's affiliation with the United Church of Christ in Japan (日本基督教団).
- (2) The six girls' high schools affiliated with the PCUSA included the following.
 - A. Hokuriku Jo Gakko (北陸女学校) in Kanazawa
 - B. Hokusei Jo Gakko (北星女学校) in Sapporo
 - C. Joshi Gakuin (女子学院, formerly Shinsakae Jo Gakko [新栄女学校], or Graham Seminary) in Tokyo
 - D. Seishu Jo Gakko (静修女学校, closed after Clara Rose's death in 1914 with only the Kindergarten remaining) in Otaru
 - E. Shimonoseki Baiko Jo Gakuin (下関梅光女学院, former names of its components including Kojo Jo Gakuin [光城女学院], Sturges Seminary, and Umegasaki Jo Gakko [梅香崎女学校]) earlier

in Yamaguchi and later Shimonoseki

- F. Wilmina Jo Gakko (ウキルミナ女学校, which formerly included Naniwa Jo Gakko [浪華女学校], the union of the schools later to be called Osaka Jogakuin Koto Gakko [大阪女学院高等学校]) in Osaka
- (3) Though women were generally not allowed to serve as pastors in these days, it was common for females from the local culture to serve with the separate title of Bible Woman. These ladies did a great deal of the less official but crucial work of the church, including teaching, praying, counseling, and organizing activities.
 - (4) The following year, the Mission Secretary writes (not in meeting records but a separate letter) that the request from the Hokusei missionaries has not been placed properly, creating confusion and slowing the process of accessing the funding. He attempts to provide the facts needed to make a decision on the matter in coordination with the BFM and the New York Women's Board of Foreign Missions, a women's mission organization inside the Board of Foreign Missions structure. It served as a direct sponsor of Sarah Smith's work (Landis, February 28, 1895, pp. 3-4).
 - (5) Despite the budget over-run, the completion of the building project brought great joy to the school, as the 1904 Mission Meeting report indicates (PCUSA, p. 13).
 - (6) Miss Settlemyer is serving as a short-term missionary. The Mission a few years later decides it is unwise to appoint her as a permanent-status worker (Imbrie, December 29, 1906, p. 1).
 - (7) In actuality, this will not happen until almost three years have passed (Smith, 1908-1909, p. 95; PCUSA, *Women's Work*, Vol. 24, November, p. 261).
 - (8) Misses Miller and Moore do in fact come to Hokusei and fill the vacancies in the teaching staff (Smith, 1908-1909, p. 1.)

