

**Hokusei Jo Gakko-related Matters in the Minutes of the  
Meetings of the Japan  
Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1922-1931**

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### [Abstract]

From the year Sarah Smith officially retired as a missionary in 1922 through her return to the U.S. in 1931, the sponsoring organization of Hokusei Gakuen's founder held regular business meetings at which matters pertinent to the school were decided. The minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Japan Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America reveal the Mission's priorities, processes, programs, and personalities, each of which significantly influenced Hokusei's development. Key occurrences during this period include (a) the school's response to the Great Kanto Earthquake, (b) the relocation and expansion of the Hokusei campus, (c) the struggle in paying for this improvement in severe financial conditions, and (d) the movement toward the school's independence from the Mission financially and organizationally. This article presents (a) an overview of how these records reflect their historical and organizational contexts, (b) year-by-year summaries of their contents, and (c) analysis and discussion of them.

### Introduction

Volumes 52 and 53 of this publication contain articles examining the 1887 through 1921 portion of the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Japan Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) which relate to Hokusei Jo Gakko (North Star Girls' School, 北星女学校). The reader may refer to these sections of this three-part article for more information on the earliest years of the school's establishment, its subsequent development, and the collection of minutes from this period as a whole. The following is a continuation covering 1922 to 1931. It deals with the sections of the minutes which provide relevant information on the decisions directing the paths Hokusei Jo Gakko would take.

These records make clearer the place the school which would give birth to Hokusei Gakuen held within the BFM Japan Mission, the larger PCUSA organization of which it was a part, the work of the Christian church in Japan, and Japanese and American societies generally. They help illuminate the processes by which Hokusei Jo Gakko sought to

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Key words : Board of Foreign Missions, Japan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Hokusei Gakuen, Sarah C. Smith

develop into a stable, more firmly established institution in the context of stresses in international relations, growing competition in the educational field, and economic crisis.

## Historical Background

Key among the conditions under which Hokusei Jo Gakko enters the phase of its development reflected in the Mission Meeting records being considered here is the dilapidated state of its buildings and cramped space in which it operates. Although the relocation and expansion of the campus will require a great expenditure of effort and a marathon struggle to repay the debts incurred, the overwhelming sense at the outset of the project is that there is simply no alternative to a major reworking of the school plant.

Mounting competition with other schools also forms part of the backdrop of this period. Although the population of Sapporo is growing over the course of the 1920s, the number of schools from which young women can choose to pursue an education is also rising. By 1925 Fuji has opened a Catholic school with similar educational goals, which represents at once both a type of kindred spirit and a competitor.

Various occurrences and trends during these years in the broader Japanese and American societies also impact Hokusei Jo Gakko indirectly yet significantly. Developments in technology, for example, are bringing changes to the mission field. The Japan Mission's Committee on Mission-owned Cars describes in 1930 the advantages and problems associated with maintaining automobiles. The Mission requests one for Hokkaido Station, which may reflect a greater need in this region than others due to Hokkaido's geographical size (pp. 80-81). However, due to the great cost involved, the organization discourages requests for them except where the need is great.

Political matters likewise help form the context of these years in Hokusei's development. The Mission takes a stance on the issue of immigration in the U.S. amid a widespread perception of racial discrimination against Japanese. It adopts a resolution opposing the U.S. government's new immigration laws in 1924, calling them racist and un-Christian (pp. 67-68). Miss Monk's prayer at the 1929 Mission Meeting includes a request that God help America present a positive testimony to the world (see p. 2). Men and women who in practice represent both the Christian faith and U.S. culture as missionaries often note during these years feeling distressed at anti-Asian and -Japanese sentiment in their home country, which serves to both damage the reputation of their nation and often result in a poorer reception for the message of Christ. The PCUSA missionaries cable the U.S. government in 1930, "Japanese Mission Presbyterian Church strongly favors quota basis Japanese immigration" (pp. 82-83).

The effects of the worldwide Great Depression beginning in 1929 appear in the records at various points, such as the reference in the 1931 report to the “financial anxiety” the Board is experiencing and the resulting request that the Mission not seek increased budget for the coming year (p. 33). These conditions substantially impact the BFM’s capacity to send missionary reinforcements.

The educational programs at Mission-affiliated schools<sup>1</sup> during these years incorporate elements reflecting the hardships of the times, such as the following (1931, pp. 36-37).

At Hokusei High School for Girls, in addition to collecting money for benevolence, a part of which was sent to aid a government effort to provide two meals a day for 300 unemployed men, the pupils knitted garments and put used garments which they had collected for distribution among poor families.

Of 60 new BFM missionaries to be appointed in 1932, only 2 are to be sent to Japan. More belt-tightening by stations is requested, as well (p. 10). The Board asks if savings can be made by closing some of the work. The Mission replies that it has already done so three years earlier (p. 13). Its Executive Committee recommends that all Mission members make contributions of 5% of their salary to the organization’s work, along with other financial sacrifices (pp. 17-18). A note from the same year’s report seems to reflect the severity of conditions for at least some students. “In winter, undernourished girls of Hokusei Girls’ School are given, at morning recess, a banana or a bottle of milk” (p. 36).

Despite these adversities, the Mission continues to view the girls’ high schools affiliated with it as generally prosperous and able to face the considerable challenges before them. It remains committed to (a) upgrading facilities, (b) providing financial and other support from the U.S. as progress toward local self-sufficiency is made, and (c) maintaining a clear Christian identity, even as competition from other schools increases.

## Overview of Contents

The number of pages of Annual Mission Meeting minutes has grown rapidly from a few or several in Hokusei’s early years to over 100 by 1920. Though it is reduced to double digits after the reorganization of the BFM in the early 1920s, it swells again beyond 100 up through 1932, with a high of more than 150 in 1929.

Mission Meetings during these days are held in a warm time of the year, and reports on them are based on the months since the preceding annual gathering. Sarah Smith returned to live in the U.S. well after the 1931 Meeting. Therefore, in order to include a

description of the entire time she was in Sapporo, a summary of the 1932 minutes appears below, along with the others.

As noted in previous sections of this article, although the order and proportionate length of the constituent parts varies considerably from year to year, the basic types of information recorded in the minutes remain relatively consistent. In the 1922–1931 period, they include (a) preliminary items (title pages, a table of contents, etc.), (b) a list of members present and absent, (c) names of officers, delegates, and directors/trustees, (d) calendar and schedule items, (e) the report of the Mission Secretary, including announcements of activities and business conducted since the last Annual Mission Meeting, as well as correspondence, (f) the report of the Business Committee, (g) announcements of appointments by the Moderator, (h) the report of the Mission Treasurer, (i) reports of Standing Committees (Executive, Arrangements and Program, Auditing, Building and Repairs, Education, Evangelism, Junior Missionaries, Outlook, Personnel, Relief of Japanese Mission Workers, Publicity, and Reception), (j) reports of Delegates and Representatives, (k) reports of Trustees and Directors, (l) reports of Special Committees (Mission and Church Relations, Hokusei Girls' School Land Sales, Statistical Banks, Tracts, Bills and Overtures, Nominations, Standing Rules, Resolutions, and others functioning for various lengths of time), (m) the report of the Statistician, (n) the report of the Pastor of the Informal Church,<sup>2</sup> (o) business items presently requiring Mission decisions (involving various matters but routinely including election of officers and committee members, approval of the minutes, etc.), and (p) appendices (statistics, mailing lists, and other items).<sup>3</sup>

The Annual Meeting during these years does not have a report from each regional Station as it did before the recent reorganization of the BFM. As a result, specific information on happenings at Hokusei and other parts of the Hokkaido Station work appears from this time on only when there is a specific reason to announce or bring it up for discussion.

The minutes summarized below sometimes note issues raised and handled in some form (discussion, referral to committee, decision to make a request to the Board, etc.) at the Meeting but not yet brought to a final resolution. In some cases, later minutes reveal a clear decision eventually reached (for example either by the whole Mission at the next Meeting or by the Executive Committee between one Annual Meeting and the next). In others, no indication of how these matters were ultimately handled is apparent. The following represents the Hokusei-related subjects appearing in the records, both those on which neat follow-up records are provided and those on which they are not.

**1922.** Miss Dunlop is re-located to Tokyo to work at Woman's Christian College. Miss A. Evelyn Ensign will take her place at Hokusei (p. 34).<sup>4</sup> Miss Curtis is cleared to go on furlough anytime after November 1, 1923 (pp. 64–65).

The missionaries continue developing policies for handling retiring workers such as Sarah Smith. They intend from now on to ask colleagues anticipating retirement whether they wish to live in Japan or their home country, then take that request to the Board so that it will respond with a plan (p. 24).

Payment is authorized for a residence for single lady missionaries in Sapporo (pp. 9, 17), as per the decision made at last Mission Meeting (1921, pp. 21-22).

As for the upgrade to the Hokusei campus being discussed, the Mission agrees to change the request to the Board from the ¥50,000 Hokusei has proposed to ¥100,000. It also plans to ask the Board to permit the sale of Hokusei property in the city so that the school can afford to move to the outskirts of Sapporo. The group proposes that Miss Evans, now on furlough in the U.S., be authorized to obtain the funds for this purchase directly if possible (pp. 15-16). The campus expansion project is currently third on the list of priority items to ask the Board to provide (p. 33).

The Mission moves to set standards for the girls' high schools under its care. Members vote to approve the recommendation of the Education Committee that the average size of these schools be 350, with none exceeding 400. Each is to have five classes, with 40-50 students per section in the first year, 30-40 in the second through fourth, and 25-35 in the fifth year (p. 10). The Education Committee is discussing a uniform pension scheme for all Mission-affiliated girls' high schools, as well (p. 42).

**1923.** Miss Ensign has resigned to get married (p. 75). Hokkaido Station requests that it be allowed to hire Miss Miriam Heckleman to fill a short-term teaching position at Hokusei on an emergency basis. The Mission refers the matter to the Locations Committee (p. 29). Discussions on hiring temporary workers are continued at various levels; however, no records indicate that this teacher was employed. Miss Davidson is cleared for a six-month furlough beginning in the summer of the coming year. The Mission decides to advance the starting date of Miss Curtis' furlough (see 1922 summary) from November 1, 1923, to June 1, 1923. The reasons are that this will (a) allow her a full year's study while on furlough and (b) be more convenient to Hokusei than having her go next year. Some vote against the decision and ask that their names go on record against it (pp. 68-69).

The following sentiment is expressed by the Mission in a telegram to Sarah Smith after she receives recognition from the Emperor of Japan for her many years of service in education to the people of the nation. "Mission congratulates you upon your Imperial decoration, and sends warm greetings" (p. 70).

Six missionaries, including Miss Smith, have chosen to remain in the area served by the

Japan Mission after being honorably retired. The Mission asks the Board to recognize this (p. 12). Honorably Retired missionaries are given authorization to live in residences of the Mission, as long as they are not needed by other missionaries. This decision has gone into effect on October 1, 1922 (p. 12). Hokkaido Station has requested that Smith be required to pay only ¥25 per month for rent of the Mission house in Sapporo (rather than the monthly ¥50 typically required by Mission policy). The Executive Committee has given permission. Terms of the agreement have been set to include that rental will begin October 1, 1922, and she will occupy the home until August 15, 1923 (pp. 12, 23).

As for her housing after that, Smith agrees with the Mission to the arrangement described in the following (p. 30).

In view of the fact that Miss S. C. Smith is making a liberal gift to the Mission of a house to be erected on Shadan property in Sapporo, it is hereby understood that Miss Smith is to have the free use of this house, and of the land on which it stands, so long as she may desire to live in it, and that she is to assume all expenses for repairs, upkeep, and all taxes.

Some funds designated for the single ladies' residence in Sapporo (see 1922 summary) remain after the project's completion. The Mission decides to re-purpose the money for use by Wakayama Station (p. 14).

The group approves an increase in the amount requested by Hokusei for expansion of its campus from ¥50,000 to ¥80,000 (p. 26). This is ¥20,000 smaller than the increase proposed in the previous year.

The Mission sets two policies related to all girls' schools under its care. First, it gives its approval of the pension plan at Baiko Jo Gakuin (pp. 83-85) and recommends it for all girls' schools. Under this arrangement, the employee and the school pay regularly into a fund from which the employee upon retirement receives a one-time allowance and a monthly pension. Second, it revises its rules on the constitution for girls' high schools to require that each of the five of them be operated by the school's Board of Directors. Five members of this governing body are to be missionaries appointed by the Mission, with not more than two of these being teachers at that school. In addition, the Mission may designate a member from among the Christians at that school. The school's alumni association may likewise name one of its members who is a Christian and not drawing salary from the school. Also, the Mission accepts Hokusei's plan to begin offering supplementary courses in religious education and household science (pp. 45-46).

1924. Miss Curtis, who has taught at Hokusei from 1920 to 1922 and is now in the

U.S. on a health-related furlough, receives authorization to study in New York (p. 6). Her condition will not improve enough for her to be cleared to return to Japan. Miss Davidson, whose furlough has been delayed, receives permission to take leave beginning July 1, 1925 (p. 35).

In order to pay for its planned campus expansion program, Hokusei is authorized to sell its current property for not less than ¥250,000 (pp. 9-10). A committee tasked with handling the sale of Hokusei property is formed (p. 69). The Mission agrees to request the Board's consent to use proceeds of a land sale in Tokyo (Tsukiji) in part to complete payment for the new site of Hokusei's campus, unless funds are secured from some other source (p. 21). The missionaries also decide to seek ¥90,000 for moving Hokusei to the Minami 4-jo Nishi 18-chome location (p. 21). The Building Committee has inspected plans for various of its buildings around the nation, and the Mission approves all but Hokusei's current construction project (p. 34). Nevertheless, agreement is finally reached, as the new campus site in Yamahana is purchased for ¥84,000 (p. 74-75).

As for Sarah Smith's residence, the group gives her permission to live in a Mission house in Sapporo until the Lake family returns from furlough (p. 9). Then a two-story missionary residence is constructed at Kita 7 Jo, Nishi 6-chome. Its cost (¥5,000) is paid by a gift from her (pp. 63, 74-75).

The Mission has requested a short-term worker for each girls' school, but the Board has not yet been able to comply. Rather than continue waiting, the Mission decides to ask for approval to hire non-Japanese teachers to replace those who have resigned, using funds which had been going to these teachers (p. 11). The Mission eventually receives not this authorization but a promise that the Board will release funds for employing teachers at girls' schools. Though they are not in time to use by the beginning of the current school year, Hokusei receives a portion of the amount (p. 34).

Agreement is reached among the missionaries that funding and staffing should be provided in order to add a higher level course to Hokusei's curriculum (p. 43). When it is eventually set in place, this advanced studies program allows students to continue their education with content similar to that of a junior college.

The Mission states its position on the matter of exactly who has responsibility for and authority over girls' schools. The group says that, as described in the Standing Rules of the Mission, the Stations provide operating funds and missionaries, but each school is otherwise under the management of its Board of Directors (p. 25).

1925. B. Elizabeth Gillilan is assigned to serve at Hokusei for one year. In addition,

a short-term teacher for Hokusei is placed on the Urgent List of Reinforcements. The missionaries also make a strong request to the Board to send others to help if it expects the work in Japan to move ahead or even be maintained. Recent losses to retirement, the small number of replacements, and especially the growth of schools have created an expanding need (pp. 40-42).

This year more detailed plans for Hokusei's relocation project are approved, including for the site, the buildings, and the appointment of a supervisory committee (p. 38). Part of the money from the sale of property in Tokyo's Tsukiji area (noted above) is designated by the Mission for the purchase of land for Hokusei (p. 14). It also gives the school permission to build temporary housing while construction is being done (p. 16). It resolves to make the completion of payment for the ongoing project at Hokusei a priority, placing it on the Preferred Property List to submit to the Board (p. 37). An appeal from Hokusei for funding in providing two residences for ladies is rejected as impractical (pp. 29, 36-37). The Mission has recently committed considerable funds to other Hokusei appropriations. No note is made of whether or how this fact impacts the decision to decline the request.

The Mission affirms proposed changes in Hokusei's constitution in line with curriculum changes which the missionaries have already approved. Also, a committee is formed to lead in setting policies for girls' schools in the areas of self-support, endowment, and property ownership (pp. 45-46).

1926. Miss Susannah M. Riker, who is welcomed as a new missionary, is to be located in Hokkaido to work at Hokusei until next Mission Meeting (p. 15). Miss Virginia M. Mackenzie is also assigned to Hokkaido Station and Hokusei (p. 47). Miss Evans is given authorization to go to the U.S. on furlough anytime after July 15, 1927, for six months.

Miss Gillilan has been given language study funds in a manner not in accordance with the BFM Manual, which the Mission is obligated to follow. As a result, the decision is reversed and corrected (p. 9).

Hokusei's expansion project, including a ladies' residence (known today as the Centennial Memorial Hall, or 創立百周年記念館) and student dormitory, receives a good deal of attention this year. The work is underway (pp. 40-41).

There has been some interest shown in purchasing the property on the old campus site, but no firm offers have yet been made. The Mission votes to request the Board to allow unused Earthquake Relief funds to be redirected toward the purchase of Hokusei property (p. 9). The group also reaffirms that money from the sale of property in Tokyo

(Tsukiji) will be used to help pay for the Hokusei expansion project, along with five additional special appropriations (pp. 34, 36). At this point, over 75% of the needed budget has been obtained, but the Executive Committee puts the remaining funds on the Preferred Property List (p. 36).

The Mission also authorizes Hokkaido Station to negotiate the sale, exchange, or purchase of a portion of Hokusei's property in order to protect it, provided that there is no cost to the Board (p. 29). This may relate to the decision made the following year to give 190 *tsubo* of Hokusei land to the City of Sapporo for the widening of streets on both sides of Hokusei's property (pp. 7, 77).

Miss Monk raises issues for consideration regarding Mission-supported schools' relationships to the Christian church (p. 71). After discussion, the Mission adopts a statement on its policy which relates to Hokusei Jo Gakko in general yet significant ways. It states the Mission's intent to transfer all work under its care (including educational) into hands of the Japanese church. It makes a call for a shift to the self-propagation of all ministries it has begun. Everything is to be placed under the Japanese church's sponsorship within a year, and Mission financial support will be phased out within 10 years (pp. 51-52, 80-81).

There is likewise discussion of the leadership structures at Mission-affiliated girls' schools. Two of the four now directly under the Mission's care have a Japanese person serving as Principal, and three of the four have at least two Japanese serving on the Boards of Directors or Trustees (p. x). This seems to indicate progress toward entrusting leadership to cultural insiders. However, the Mission also recommends that the girls' schools amend their constitutions so that their Boards will in the future "when necessary" nominate a successor to the missionary who founded the institution. This nomination will come through the Mission's Education Committee and be subject to approval by the Mission as a whole (p. 42).

Mission-related schools' financial structures are also being considered. The possibility is examined of forming scholarship funds rather than financing secondary schools from regular BFM appropriations. The Education Committee voices opposition to the idea, for the reason that these schools operate under close control of Japanese government, including in setting tuition rates. The Committee perceives a danger that structuring the schools' finances in this way would result in the flooding of Mission-supported schools with students of lower academic quality (pp. 41-42).

1927. Miss Gillilan is forced by her health condition to leave Hokusei and return to the U.S. (p. 6). The Mission has tried to address the chronic difficulties in obtaining adequate staffing for schools in various ways. One is by requesting the transfer of four single

women from the BFM's China Mission (p. 23). Miriam Null, a teacher living in Nanking, China, but now in Unzen, Japan, has indicated her willingness to teach at Hokusei for a year. Discussion of the matter is to be carried forward with the appropriate parties (p. 39).

Four members of Hokkaido Station have made a request regarding Isabelle M. Ward, an ex-Hokusei teacher who resigned amid great difficulties in getting along with fellow missionaries.<sup>5</sup> The Mission declines the proposal that she be reappointed to Japan, thinking it unwise (pp. 24, 39).

The Urgent List of Reinforcements to be given to the Board includes two women teachers for Hokusei. They would teach subjects including domestic science and English, as well as do evangelistic work at Hokusei (p. 39).

The Hokusei Girls' School Land Sales Committee continues meeting with the same members as in the past year (Miss Monk, Mr. Lake, and Mr. Pierson). Some interest has been expressed in making the purchase, but no one as yet has been willing to pay the price asked. Therefore, the Committee recommends that either it be instructed to persist in its work into the coming year or the current members be replaced (p. 56). The Mission keeps the same group assigned to its task.

How to pay for the Hokusei expansion project now underway is an issue of considerable concern this year. The cost of land for the new campus (totaling around ¥89,000) has been paid with a grant from the BFM (p. 69). Hokkaido Station has proposed renting the residence for women at the former site of the school and using the funds toward the new building project. The Mission votes it inadvisable to rent the building (p. 9). Hokusei is receiving a contribution (which may reach ¥17,000) for the project from alumnae, students, and teachers. The Mission agrees to ask the Board for permission to apply this money toward expenses, with the understanding that one building will be designated as a gift from alumnae and teachers (p. 9).

A significant cut in the Mission budget is forcing reconsideration of evangelism policies and plans. The group agrees to discontinue the plan of Cooperation begun 20 years ago (under which it agreed on a system for sharing leadership with Japanese partner churches) and move more energetically toward complete self-support by local churches (pp. 42-45).

1928. The Mission sends a telegram of greeting to Sarah Smith and other missionaries, both current and Honorably Retired, who are in Japan but not in attendance (p. 4). Miss Monk is given authorization to go on a furlough of one year, beginning any time after July 1, 1929 (p. 44).

While still in the 1927 calendar year, the group requests the Board to supply the equivalent of the salary for a single woman teacher so that a vacant position at Hokusei can be filled by the Mission. It urges the Board to continue until that instructor is secured and requests a telegram response (p. 12). The Mission later agrees that Miss Wills from Shimonoseki will teach at Hokusei and requests the BFM to provide her salary. Miss Monk is to communicate with the Board on this matter (p. 15).

At Mission Meeting time, Hokusei still needs the two teachers, requested the previous year, to begin serving September 1, 1928. The Mission asks that if the Board cannot send these missionaries, it provide funds and authority to hire from the field.

Two needs at Hokusei are given the highest priority in this year's Preferred Property List. The requests are for funds for a heating plant for a teachers' residence and money to add to the revenue from the sale of old property to make payment for the current campus expansion project possible (pp. 7, 32, 34-35). Also, some money from the sale of property under the care of the Mission's Kyoto Station is to be used to pay part of the expenses of the Hokusei campus expansion (p. 69). Funds for repairs of a chimney at Hokusei are approved, as well (p. 14).

A Promoting Committee of university professors and businessmen has been meeting in Sapporo to plan toward finding a buyer for the Hokusei land and buildings of its former campus. None has been found so far, and Mr. Pierson is retiring. The Moderator appoints Miss McCrory to replace him as the group's work continues (p. 67).

Current Standing Rules of the Mission limit the number of Japanese on a girls' school Board of Directors to two. The Mission agrees to raising the number to three (p. 37).

**1929.** George P. and Ida G. Pierson, long-time Hokusei supporters, have now retired and are living in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Miss Monk, whose furlough has been delayed, is cleared to be away for a year beginning April 1, 1930, if it is not possible to go earlier (p. 60). Miss Aimee Howard is to be located in Sapporo to teach at Hokusei (p. 12). The Executive Committee interprets Board Letter 144 to mean that Hokusei is authorized to hire one teacher in addition to Miss Howard (pp. 14-15). The Mission approves a request for a leave of absence due to health problems for Miss Virginia Mackenzie, who has been serving at Hokusei since 1926 (p. 59).

A prayer calendar lists Hokkaido missionaries, for whom readers are requested to pray on Saturday of each week. Among these workers is Janet Smith, an "Employed Teacher" (pp. xv-xvi), who has been hired in connection with the difficulty the Board continues to have in providing support and preparation for regular-status missionaries to commission.

The Mission decides to place a request to the Board for a woman to teach English at Hokusei, with qualifications to teach domestic science, as well (p. 61).

Miss Monk leads the Mission in prayer for the Board (particularly its officers) and the home churches who support the BFM work. They pray for the progress of the Gospel and, as part of it, actions on the part of America which would encourage and not discourage that progress (p. 2).

This year the Hokusei Girls' School Land Sales Committee reports no sale as of yet, though one offer has been made before negotiations failed (p. 79). The government has approved a plan to buy the land of the old campus, though a delay is involved (p. 50). The committee is tasked with continuing its work (pp. ix, 79).

The Preferred Property List is still headed by Hokusei with a request for funds to relieve the remaining debt for the campus relocation and renovation. The Mission agrees to ask the Board to advance ¥150,000 from the Harkness Fund or some other source to complete payment (p. 37). The Board refuses the appeal, so the Mission is praying for the money to be provided from some source before year's end (p. 50). The Mission points to the deplorable conditions at Hokusei which made the building project necessary in the first place, warns of the dangers of further delays, and restates its plea for an appropriation adequate to meet current needs (p. 91).

The Mission continues adjusting its policy regarding the constituency of Boards of Directors at three girls' schools: Wilmina, Hokuriku, and Hokusei. It now requires that membership be made of five people from the Japan Mission and either two or three belonging to the school, including one alumna chosen by the Alumni Association, and the remainder from the Christian constituency of the school, appointed by the Mission (p. 7). This arrangement continues to place authority over these schools to a large extent in the hands of the Mission.

1930. A Service of Appreciation is held at this Mission Meeting for Sarah Smith and Gertrude S. Bigelow. These ladies' ministries in young women's education in Japan have overlapped at many points, and the two will remain close friends in Pasadena, California, after retirement. "Both Miss Smith and Miss Bigelow gave interesting reminiscences of their long and interesting missionary careers" (p. 3). The group accepts the request from Yamaguchi Station for Miss Mackenzie to be transferred there from Hokusei (p. 49). Though no reasons are stated here, a personal report indicates that chronic health issues which her doctors suspect relate to Hokkaido's climate are to blame (letter to "friends," January 1, 1930). The John C. Smith family has been assigned to Tokyo for language

study for the present, with plans for them to work in Hokkaido afterward (pp. 14, 24-25). He will serve on Hokusei's Board of Directors.

An advisor system is now in place for senior missionaries to provide guidance and support for their junior partners. Miss Evans is working with Aimee Howard (p. 20).

The Mission agrees to request that the Board (a) send one full-time teacher for Hokusei who can teach English and has special qualifications to teach domestic science, (b) assign Miss C. Irene Walling to work at Hokusei this year, with the understanding that she will do language study the second year, and (c) continue the salary of Miss Janet Smith until the summer of 1931 (pp. 50-51).

The issue of repaying the debt incurred in upgrading Hokusei Jo Gakko facilities continues to be a troublesome one. Payments have been made in the past year for cellars for the Hokusei dormitory, as well as for missionary residences. The new campus work has been finished, with celebrations described as follows (pp. 42-43).

The completion of the new building of the Hokusei Girls' School brought joy to the hearts of those who have dreamed of it for the past ten years. . . . Three days of dedication services were successfully held in January. . . . A fine spirit of love and thankfulness for the splendid and beautiful building continues among the girls and faculty.

However, the old property has still not been sold (p. 42). There has been discussion of the possibility of striking a deal with the Railway Bureau, but that does not now appear possible. The school's Patrons' Association has worked with the Hokusei Girls' School Land Sales Committee and made great effort to sell the land, without success. The price of ¥85 per *tsubo* seems too high. A more likely price is ¥60, given the recent steep decline in commodity prices, the Committee thinks (pp. 74-75).

The Board has given authorization for a loan to be used to pay for the building project. The Mission now responds that using the sum the Board has authorized solely for that purpose would make a great hardship on the other segments of the work in Japan. So it asks the Board to say whether or not it will give permission to sell the old property at a price lower than has been authorized in order to repay the loan (p. 30).

An attempt at a partial solution to the debt relief problem comes when the Mission approves a request from Hokkaido Station, which calls for the sale of property in Nokkeushi. Under this plan, the funds will be used to pay Mr. Pierson for his interest in property in Asahigawa, and the remaining amount will be directed toward completing the Hokusei building project repayment (pp. 9-10).

The Mission votes to do necessary repairs on the basement and foundation of Smith's house. Though the agreement made in 1923 was for her to be responsible for necessary repairs, this decision takes into account the fact that the property will become the Mission's after she finishes living there (p. 10).

1931. Miss Howard has decided to return to the U.S. after receiving a request from her father to do so when her mother fell ill and died. Howard has completed two years of a three-year contract at this point. The Mission agrees to pay part of the travel expenses for her return (p. 7). Miss Dena Nettinga is sent to Hokusei to take her place (p. 8). Nettinga and C. Irene Walling, who will join Hokusei's staff together with her, are introduced as new members of the Mission (p. 3). Miss Margaret Barr has been assigned to Hokusei for the coming year (p. 44). John Smith brings greetings to the Mission from Sarah Smith (p. 3).

Continuing with the Smith theme, Janet F. Smith is made a corresponding member of the Mission for the 1931 Meeting (p. 3), then later an affiliated member with no time limit on this status (p. 28). However, the Board has replied to an earlier contact from the Japan missionaries by declining to pay salaries to teachers in her category. The group decides to send a response urgently requesting the Board to reconsider, the explanation to be made by Elizabeth Evans. It also requests a cable response from the Board and permission to continue paying Smith's salary from the unused portion of the appropriation for Miss Howard's (p. 8). Janet Smith's status of employment under the Mission's proposal would be either the same as her current one (teacher hired on the field) or short-term missionary. The group also agrees to ask the Board to appoint one other teacher to Hokusei (p. 22).

The Board requests girls' schools affiliated with it to file a special report on their work and announces that it is considering cutting missionary staff. The Mission recognizes this as an ultimate goal of mission educational policy but says it is unwise at this point. Miss Monk is designated as one of three missionary educators to write a cover letter for the response to the Board (p. 38).

Difficulties in securing missionary teachers is impacting newcomers' opportunity to acquire Japanese language skills. This year the Mission recognizes the need which new missionaries have to complete the three-year language course. It urges Stations to make work assignments with the understanding that language acquisition takes top priority during that time (p. 43). However, for short-term appointees such as Miss Barr, filling teaching needs takes an even higher priority. The Mission recommends that "if Miss Barr . . . desire[s] to learn a little of the language," Hokkaido Station "make some arrangements for language study . . ." (p. 44).

The Hokusei Girls' School Land Sales Committee is continuing its work. The group reports making unspecified progress (p. 58).

The BFM grants funds for various needs at Hokusei. They include repairs on the old property and a septic tank for one of the residences (pp. 34-35).

1932. A letter of greeting from Sarah Smith is read, after which prayer is offered for her and other Honorably Retired missionaries. Miss Monk is requested to express the greetings and good wishes of the Mission to Miss Smith (p. 2).

The following is quoted from correspondence of September 16, 1931 (p. 3), with the title, "Return of Miss Smith to America."

The Executive Committee, having learned that Miss Sarah C. Smith, H. R. [Honorably Retired] had decided to return to the U. S. A., and to spend the rest of her days there, voted to appoint a committee composed of H. D. Hannaford and Miss Lila Halsey, to express to Miss Smith on her departure from Japan, the Mission's appreciation of her long years of faithful and loyal service to the cause of Christ in Japan, and to assure her of our continued love for her, and of our earnest prayers that she may be given many more years of service in witnessing for our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, where ever she may be.

Margaret Barr is introduced to the Mission as a new member (p. 2). Miss Evans receives permission to spend the summer in the U.S. due to the serious health condition of her father (p. 26). Consideration is being given to hiring Miss Lucy Monday, who years before was set to serve at Hokusei but had to return to the U.S. for health and other reasons. The Mission states that she has done satisfactorily before but as there has not been contact with her since that time, the group cannot give an opinion regarding her fitness for service (p. 44). Arrangements have been made for Miss Viola Christianson to be sent to work at Hokusei (p. 44). Miss Nettinga is transferred to serve in Hokuriku, and Miss Walling is relocated to Joshi Gakuin (p. 45).

The J. C. Smith family has gone to Tokyo on doctor's advice for health reasons. The Mission requests Hokkaido Station to allow them to stay there and if necessary transfer to Tokyo Station (p. 44). They will leave Sapporo this year, and Hokusei will lose the support of the man who will later go on to a career as an influential leader in the PCUSA denomination. He will also serve as President of the World Council of Churches.

The Hokusei Girls' School Land Sales Committee continues to meet, as there has still been no buyer (p. vi). The repayment of the debt for the Hokusei campus upgrade is

given top priority in the Preferred Property List (p. 27). The Mission agrees to loan the Board US\$2500 to pay interest on the outstanding Hokusei debt, with the understanding that the Board later will return those funds to the Mission's Chapel Loan Fund (p. 19). All the buildings from the former campus have now been sold except the missionary teachers' residence. Because of the low prices in the current market, it seems unwise to sell the land. The Committee is charged with continuing its work (p. 66).

The section of the Executive Committee report which Miss Evans writes includes comments on the need for better-qualified staff. It also expresses the desire for greater participation by Japanese nationals in the Christian literature ministry (p. 14).

The Mission accepts the proposal of Hokusei's Board of Directors to change the school's constitution to make its curriculum correspond to the five-year government Jo Gakko system. In this program pupils will have two additional years of work in Bible, literature, and domestic science (pp. 18-19, see 1924 summary).

## **Analysis and Discussion of Contents**

The reports summarized above point to a number of key aspects of Hokusei Jo Gakko's development, assets it enjoyed, obstacles it faced, and how it struggled to overcome them. These features considered together form a picture of how Hokusei, at the point Sarah Smith returned to her home country in 1931, was positioned to enter the turbulent pre-War years which lay ahead.

Notable events during this time which impacted Hokusei Jo Gakko's development included the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. In addition to the shock to the economy of the nation as a whole which this disaster delivered, it provided those in the Hokusei community a challenge and an opportunity to live out its Christian educational mission in practical ways, giving students learning experiences through conducting humanitarian relief activities.

Primary assets which Hokusei Jo Gakko enjoyed—aside from the rich spiritual, intellectual, and social life which many at the school experienced—on the organizational level included especially strong programs in language and music. The international make-up of the teaching and administrative staff not only provided a sense of the school's tradition but also gave it one competitive advantage in attracting students. Having the services of the missionaries without the necessity of paying their salaries, along with the funding from the PCUSA churches—on which the school continued to rely in part—were beneficial, as well.

On the other hand, adversities appeared in the school's financial situation, two notably. First, in 1927 a significant budget cut was forced on the Mission, necessitated by steep cost of living increases. Second, the Great Depression beginning in 1929 created economic stress worldwide, first in the U.S., where the Japan Mission's source of offering funds lay. These disruptions to the flow of support served to push the Mission to seek more actively ways of underwriting its work which depended on local forms of backing rather than overseas gifts.

A key local economic issue was the difficulty Hokusei experienced in selling property from the old campus in order to pay for the relocation and construction already underway on the new one. This led to the struggle to handle the problem through the complicated internal structure of the BFM and its Japan Mission. The constant scarcity of funds from the U.S. and the fact that they depended largely on offerings freely given from church members combined with the cumbersome, multi-layered organization through which requests for funding had to pass before approval. On a practical level all this made financial planning for an institution such as Hokusei remarkably difficult.

The move toward independence from the Mission on the part of Hokusei and other similar organizations grew in part out of such difficulties as these. As the 1920s progressed, names of members appointed to Hokusei's Board of Directors began to include Japanese leaders well after those of other girls' schools affiliated with the same Mission. As of 1927, of the four girls' high schools whose Principals were nominated by the Japan Mission, three had Japanese heads in this position. Hokusei Jo Gakko was the only one with a non-Japanese filling the role (p. x). The Mission's desire in 1926 to maintain the right to approve a successor to the founder of a girls' school even decades after its founding suggests that missionaries wanted to keep a substantial degree of control over the work (p. 42). Despite the bold declaration of the transfer of Mission-related work to the hands of the Japanese church, plans also included each missionary's having a Japanese co-worker responsible only to the Mission. In practice, the Mission was adopting this policy in a way which would take considerable time and a wide variety of detailed choices in order to implement fully (pp. 51-52).

Despite the financial, organizational, and other challenges outlined above, Hokusei managed not only to survive but in certain respects thrive. In addition to maintaining the routines of admitting, developing, and graduating students with a solid academic grounding and many opportunities for spiritual formation, the school also saw advances institutionally. For instance, the seeds of the academic programs which were later to grow into Hokusei Gakuen Women's Junior College were planted during this time.

## Conclusion

Nearly a decade after the period discussed in this article, even as the gathering clouds of war were creating a great sense of tension and uncertainty at Hokusei and throughout Japan, Alice Monk was able to write, “We here are going on happily in our work, rejoicing in every added day of fellowship . . .” (November 4, 1940). The fact that it was possible for her to make such a statement was due in large part to the changes the school struggled through in the 1920s and early 1930s. Particularly the upgrading of the campus, facilities, and curriculum, along with maintaining the necessary student population, faculty, and staff amid significant financial stress, all contributed to the degree of prosperity and success Hokusei Jo Gakko enjoyed in the decade before World War II. That it was able to continue to meet the educational needs of many young Hokkaido women without sacrificing the integrity of its educational ideals or identity as a Christian school is even more remarkable.

The minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Japan Mission represent an indispensable tool for understanding how it was possible for Hokusei to complete this part of its journey. Taken as a whole, the sections which overlap with those appearing in other historical documents serve to reinforce the reliability of those sources, and the portions which are unique to these records shed their own light on the path the school walked during these years.

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### [Notes]

- (1) The six girls' high schools affiliated with the PCUSA during these years 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, formed from schools including Shinsakae Jo Gakko [新栄女学校], or Graham Seminary) in Tokyo
  - D. 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
  - E. 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
- (2) Though their official membership was normally in a formally organized church, missionaries regularly held activities among themselves at Mission Meeting which included worship, prayer, baptisms, and Communion, or the Lord's Supper.
- (3) Beyond these recurring topics of discussion at Mission Meeting, some minor items appear which are omitted from the summaries on pages 129-142. They include (a) updates on the progress of each new missionary's language studies, (b) the various assignments given to missionaries in their work before and after serving at Hokusei, (c) specific amounts of budget allocated to particular programs and activities, and (d) the mechanics of the decision-making process (adopting proposals from various committees, etc.).
- (4) Except where otherwise noted, page numbers in parentheses refer to the minutes of the Mission Meeting of the year being summarized.
- (5) See the 1919 summary in the section of this article in Volume 53 of this publication.

