

Missionaries Who Worked with Sarah C. Smith (Part I)

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Introduction

Both research and public descriptions of the establishment and development of Hokusei Gakuen have tended to focus strongly on its founder, Sarah C. Smith. However, over the 35 years she served this institution and the 51 years between her arrival in Japan and return to the United States, she received the assistance of a wide variety of individuals, particularly Japanese educators and fellow-missionaries.

This paper introduces Smith's missionary coworkers, many of whose personnel files have been made accessible to the public in recent years. Clearly, their Japanese counterparts contributed significantly to the formation and growth of the school system, and its development would not have been possible without their commitment and cooperation. However, this discussion will be confined to the missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) who worked with Smith. Hopefully more data will be accessed in the future which will make possible an examination of the Japanese teachers, administrators, and others who, teamed with the missionaries, played indispensable roles in the foundation and operation of the school system which has grown into today's Hokusei Gakuen.

Key Words : Hokusei Jo Gakko, Sarah C. Smith, Hokusei Gakuen, Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

Smith's Coworkers before 1887

Sarah Smith had relatively short experiences of working together with several missionaries in the formative years of her career in Japan. Her interaction with each one impacted her life and work to a greater or lesser degree.

George W. Knox



Though George William Knox did not work with Sarah Smith directly in any of the school or church contexts in which she served, his professional ministry played a significant role in her life work as a whole. Born in 1853, Knox came to Japan in 1877, three years before Smith, at a time his father was the pastor of Smith's home church, First Presbyterian Church of Elmira, New York. The younger Knox sent a letter to Elmira in the course of reporting on and seeking support for his work in Japan. This letter inspired Smith to respond to the call for people to be sent as missionaries.

During her years in Tokyo (1880-1884), Sarah Smith no doubt had regular contact with Knox and his family. He was in charge of the PCUSA-affiliated church in Yokohama and assisted in leading the theological seminary which was later to become part of the formation of Meiji Gakuin in Tokyo. He was elected as a permanent member of the faculty of this institution in 1884 and published works in Japanese on theology and homiletics. He occupied for a time the Chair of Philosophy and Ethics in Teikoku Daigaku (Imperial University, 帝国大学), afterwards re-named Tokyo Daigaku (the University of Tokyo, 東京大学).

Knox resigned his positions in Japan due to "exigencies in his family" (PCUSA General Assembly, 1894,¹ Vol. 2, p. 166). No more specific information as to the

reasons for this move is available. However, after returning to the United States, he served as pastor of a church for several years and then joined the faculty of one of the most prestigious schools of theology in his home country, Union Theological Seminary, in New York. Here he began a career teaching primarily apologetics, philosophy, and the history of religion. After establishing a reputation as a distinguished scholar and one of the most effective speakers of his day, Knox died suddenly while traveling in Seoul, Korea, in 1912.

Marie C. True

Marie True was one of the missionary ladies with whom Sarah Smith worked upon her arrival in Japan in 1880. These women shared responsibilities in leading the girls' school Shinsakae Jo Gakko (Shinsakae Girls' School, 新栄女学校), or Graham Seminary (located in Tsukiji in Tokyo). Among them were Misses Corolyn Eldred and Frances Gulick, both of whom resigned after being married in the 1880-1881 school year. Miss Mary L. Reede also served the school in 1882-1883. As the time these single ladies spent with Smith was relatively short and no notable information on their dealings with her remains, this introduction will deal with them no further.

True had served at the school previously and returned around the time the two ladies were married, in a part-time capacity for this year only. The arrangement was likely intended to shore up the school's leadership in the absence of an experienced administrator. She had already founded the school for girls located in Bancho in Tokyo after arriving in Japan in 1876 (having been transferred from Peking, China). True was regarded as an able administrator, and she was instrumental in the organization and development of the school later known as Joshi Gakuin. She was highly regarded by those who knew her, well-loved, and no doubt influential to some extent in Sarah Smith's personal and professional development in her early days in Japan. True died of an illness in 1896.

Lena Leete

Another of Smith's colleagues in her first assignment was Lena Leete. She was a niece of Mrs. James C. Hepburn, whose maiden name was Clarissa Leete. The Hepburns had played a prominent role in the development of relations between Meiji Japan and the outside world as some of the first Protestant missionaries to arrive there after the opening of the country. This well-known couple had been in country since 1859 and led the PCUSA Japan Mission in many of its activities, from his medical work, Bible translation, and church development, to her leadership in the establishment of the first Christian school for girls in Japan.

Lena Leete had been living with the Hepburns. She had been hired as an employee of the Japan Mission of the BFM but was not on full career missionary status for her first year, beginning in 1879. After working with Smith at Shinsakae Jo Gakko, Leete continued to serve there through academic 1885, apparently retiring at that time, a year after Smith relocated to Hokkaido.

Isabella A. Leete

Born in 1830, Isabella Leete arrived in Japan in 1881 and undertook her mission career at age 51. She was teamed with the younger Smith, then 29, and Lena Leete, her niece (see above). Though little information on her is available now, she also was related to the Hepburns.

As noted on p. 3, Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn figured prominently in Meiji Japan Protestant mission work, and thus, the couple wielded a great deal of influence inside their mission organization. To work beside two colleagues linked by blood to the mission's senior members, meant that Smith was working in their shadow, in a sense. Also, at least two of the four who continued leading the school during Smith's years there were significantly older than she. To a person with the kind of independent, pioneer spirit she was to display later in life, it may have seemed confining to work under the indirect, or direct, control of these several different people. There appears to have been some personal friction between Smith and Dr. Hepburn, which could have colored her dealings with others related to him, as well. The stated reason for Smith's leaving Tokyo for Hokkaido was her health (*Woman's Work*, Vol. 3, p. 46), and it was hoped the Hokkaido climate would be conducive to health since it was more like that of her home, New York. However, a desire to work in a freer environment of her own choosing may have constituted another contributing factor in her choice. This seems all the more likely in light of the fact that she later returned from Hokkaido to spend at least one winter in Tokyo specifically in order to recover from the effects of her inflammatory rheumatism (Smith, 1900).

Though only scant information is available as to what actually took place in the years Smith worked in cooperation with the Leetes at Shinsakae Jo Gakko, it appears that the school on the whole was thriving. It succeeded in attracting enough students of sufficient academic quality, and a large portion of them became Christians even before they completed their studies there. For instance, Mrs. True reported that, of the 40 pupils in the 1880 academic year, 20 were Christians (PCUSA General Assembly, 1881, Vol. 2, p. 82).

After Sarah Smith left Shinsakae Jo Gakko, Isabella Leete remained, along with Lena Leete.² Isabella continue serving as a PCUSA missionary until her retirement in 1898 at age 68.

Smith's Coworkers after 1887

After settling in Sapporo for what would become her lifework, Sarah Smith worked in cooperation with a variety of missionaries. Most were single women younger than herself, on whom she depended for support in developing the school she had founded. Some teamed up with her and adjusted to the rugged Hokkaido environment more successfully than others. Yet each contributed to the process of the school's formation in her or his own way, and Smith likewise influenced many of them to varying degrees as a mentor in their development as missionaries.

Katherine B. Light

Miss Katherine³ Light, a contract rather than permanent-status missionary, substituted at the school during Smith's furlough in the United States in 1889-1890. This was Sarah Smith's first time away from Japan in nine years. While she spent the year in places including Elmira, New York, Light was in Sapporo, performing the teaching duties as well as holding a women's class in the afternoons. The 1891 report to the PCUSA indicates that Light was to stay on at Smith's school after her return to Japan, the work having outgrown the capacity of one missionary to handle it all. However, Miss Light resigned her position and left even before the term of her original contract had expired. Though the primary reason she gave was her engagement to be married, there was also a problem which she declined to discuss with her superiors, judging that it would do no good to talk about it (Ogino, 1995, pp. 28-29).

Losing her apparently was a disappointment to Smith, particularly as it came during the years anti-foreign sentiment spreading across Japan was reaching Hokkaido. The 1893 BFM report to the PCUSA indicates that one Japanese minister had been attacked, another received threatening letters, a prominent Christian's home was mobbed when he had tried to introduce a political reform. The agricultural college, suspected of being a Christian college supported by the government, had its budget allocation cut by ¥10,000. The perception of Christianity as a loathsome foreign religion created an environment which must have been stressful to both Japanese Christians and Smith, particularly after losing her missionary coworker. The 1893 BFM report states, "Miss Smith greatly needs the fellowship and support of another missionary lady" (PCUSA General Assembly, Vol. 2, p. 134).

Clara H. Rose



Sarah Smith finally received the co-laborer she had wanted for so long when the mission sent Clara Rose to join her in 1894. Having been commissioned to Japan from the same church in the same town in the United States as Smith, First Presbyterian Church of Elmira in New York, Rose had arrived in Japan in 1885 (see note 2). Again like Smith, she built on the teaching experience she had gained in the United States by helping lead Shinsakae Jo Gakko in Tokyo for several years.

Rose was transferred to Sapporo to team up with Smith in supervising the school. The two appear to have functioned effectively together for a time. Rose focused on teaching and Smith did primarily administrative work. The school, named Hokusei Jo Gakko (北星女学校、Northern Star Girls' School, as missionaries typically called it) as of 1895, was more prosperous than it had ever been, according to the Japan Mission Report on academic 1896.

However, in less than three years, Rose would leave Hokusei to develop a school in Otaru which she had begun on her own. Her motivations for leaving appear to have included not only the desire to address the needs of the children of Otaru for a Christian education. They also seem to have related to an antipathy which had developed between Smith and her. Rose felt that Smith had suddenly and without justification turned against her (Ogino, 1995, pp. 49-50).

Smith accused her of an inappropriate relationship with a missionary, George P. Pierson (see p. 7). She brought the problem before their mission organization and sought to have Rose removed from her position. Though proof of this relationship never came to light, the mission did agree that it would be best for Smith and Rose to work separately. They did so from then on, despite the geographical proximity of their schools.

The school Clara Rose established in Otaru, Seishu Jo Gakko (静修女学校、Cultivate Quietly Girls' School, as Miss Rose called it), was designed, in contrast to Hokusei Jo Gakko, to provide education for children of poorer families in particular. Rose sought to relate to her pupils and others in a respectful and cooperative way rather than with the stern, demanding air she suggested Smith did at Hokusei (Ogino, p. 64).

Rose's school grew, supported in significant measure by her private financial donations, until her sudden death on June 14, 1914. She died at home, apparently of heart failure, while writing a report on her work. The work she began, however, has survived until today as Rose Yochien (Rose Kindergarten, ロース幼稚園).

George P. and Ida G. Pierson

George Peck and Ida Goepp Pierson, though engaged primarily in evangelistic rather than educational work, were co-laborers with Sarah Smith for many years in that they spent approximately 40 years in Hokkaido, essentially at the same time as Smith, and thus were often in contact with her. To what extent their relationship with her was colored by the allegations she made regarding Mr. Pierson and Clara Rose (see p. 6) is now unclear. However, they apparently found a way to cooperate professionally despite the strained relations they may have had on the personal level.

Mr. Pierson began serving as a single missionary in Japan during the 1888-1889 year and ministered in connection with Meiji Gakuin, then doing evangelism in Chiba Prefecture, Morioka, and again in Tokyo. He married Miss Ida Geopp, already in place in Japan as a missionary of the Episcopal Church, in 1895, and the couple located in Otaru.

Their work in Hokkaido included Rev. Pierson's preaching in Sapporo and the couple's covering for Sarah Smith at Hokusei Jo Gakko while she was on her second furlough from August of 1898 to September of 1899. Mrs. Pierson apparently carried the major responsibility for operating the school day to day, with Mr. Pierson less directly involved.

They had to deal with two significant problems in Smith's absence. One was a flood which devastated the Ishikari Valley soon before school opened in September of 1898. It led to a sharp decline in school attendance. Another stressful development was a strike by eight students from February 1 to April 10 of 1899. The act of protest was apparently directed particularly at some of the women teachers. The students all eventually returned and were received into the school after apologizing. One

of them even became a teacher at Hokusei later. The conflict nevertheless damaged the reputation of the school and created strife among local church members, some of whom had taken the side of the students.

Perhaps due in part to the Piersons' experiences of this year, the Japan Mission came to recognize the urgent need for more leadership at the school than one missionary could provide. The BFM decided to send a new missionary with Smith on her return to Sapporo.

The Piersons' work in ensuing years consisted primarily of church planting and development all across Hokkaido, with them living in Asahikawa and Nokkeushi (today's Kitami). Mr. Pierson focused on spreading the gospel of Christ to as many people as possible, often those he met on public transportation en route to PCUSA-affiliated mission points. Others attended the talks he gave at train stations or stopped to read the Bible he had constantly on display for those who passed by the Bible House in Asahikawa. In addition to more direct evangelical work, Mrs. Pierson ran both a school and Sunday school for Ainu children, took part in the work of the Hakodate Rescue Home for girls who had fallen into various types of trouble, and took a leading role in a signature-gathering campaign for a petition opposing licensed prostitution.

Lillian A. Wells



The missionary sent to fill the urgent need for a missionary teacher at Hokusei Jo Gakko, noted above, was Lillian Anna Wells. She was born in Moline, Illinois, in 1872 and educated in New York at the same school where Smith had studied, Brockport State Normal School, among other places. She arrived in Japan in August of 1900, a year later than originally planned, and began her first assignment immediately, foregoing until she had left Hokusei the time allotted to her for language and culture acquisition.

However, almost from the beginning, Wells found the climate disagreeable, developing persistent throat problems. After her first Hokkaido winter, she needed to be persuaded to try it one more year before deciding about remaining. She lasted until July of 1903, less than three years, when her continuing throat ailment led to her being re-assigned to a position in the warmer climate of Matsuyama.

After relocating, Miss Wells began what turned out to be a 62-year experience in Honshu, in the name of Christ working with the Japanese people there and after retiring living among them. She served in Matsuyama, Tokuyama, Yamaguchi, Shimonoseki, and Tokyo. Her ministry focused on students and women, involving both education and evangelism. It included oversight of Myojo Yochien (the Morning Star Kindergarten, 明星幼稚園) in Yamaguchi for 26 years.

When World War II began and Lillian Wells was to be deported, a washed out railroad rendered her police escort unable to deliver her to an expatriation ship being loaded with non-Japanese (Young, p. 1). Wells ended up being interned and remaining in Japan throughout the war.⁴ She was moved from location to location, including Koshikawaku Camp and Sekiguchi Camp, and forced to flee the Allied air raids on Tokyo. Despite these hardships, she had many kind words regarding the treatment she received from the Japanese military officials in charge of the prisoners.

Also, because she had remained in Japan, when the war's end came, she was able for particularly the next five years to be of great practical help in facilitating communication between Japanese and Allied officials as they labored to rebuild the country. This work included helping acquire food for pastors and their families. She also reported to her mission on conditions at the PCUSA-affiliated schools in Japan as it prepared to resume work after the war. Regarding Hokusei Jo Gakko, she commented,

Hokusei Jo Gakko (Northern Star Girls' School): The saddest of all. Buildings safe, but the principal, Mr. Mizoue, has made a mess of things there, so that after the present classes graduate, the school will be discontinued. At present part of the buildings are being used by the Women's Medical College of Japan (personal communication, September 2, 1945, p. 2).

Though Miss Wells' time at Hokusei Jo Gakko was short, she maintained contact with Sarah Smith. After meeting Smith on a summer vacation visit to Hokkaido three years after the Hokusei founder's retirement, she wrote, "Miss Sarah C. Smith looked remarkably well, last summer, and hardly a day older than when I cam [sic] to Japan, twenty-five (25) years ago" (personal communication, January 28, 1926, p. 1).

Lillian Wells lived many years beyond her retirement in Tokyo with her long-time friend, Miss Shige Nishi. She was apparently the same Miss Nishi with whom Wells had taught at Hokusei, and whom Wells took with her in departing Sapporo. Miss Wells died in Tokyo in 1965 at 92 years of age.

The Weston T. Johnson Family

Soon after Lillian Wells' departure from Hokusei, the family of Weston T. and Sarah Young (maiden name MacLeod) Johnson located in Sapporo as PCUSA missionaries. Though not assigned primarily to Hokusei, they moved into the missionary residence with the ladies in the fall of 1903, according to Smith because they were unable to find a suitable home of their own.

Weston Johnson had been born and educated in Michigan, then later in New Jersey at Princeton Theological Seminary and Princeton University. Sarah, hailing from Michigan and educated there, as well, came with her husband to Japan in 1902. After a brief time in Asahikawa, they made Sapporo their home and base of their evangelistic and educational work throughout southern Hokkaido (PCUSA General Assembly, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 233). Their time in direct connection with Hokusei was only a year; they moved out in autumn 1904 when the school was able to purchase some adjacent property, apparently prompting a change of plans for the use of the missionary residence (Smith, 1904-1905).

Nevertheless, the Johnsons made a significant contribution to the life of Hokusei Jo Gakko. Weston took a turn teaching Bible and English grammar classes at Hokusei on a one-year basis soon after Miss Sherman arrived in Sapporo, which allowed her to devote more time to learning the language. He was to relinquish the classes when Miss Ward (see p. 12) was sent to Hokusei (PCUSA General Assembly, 1904, Vol. 2, p. 183).

On an early spring evening in 1905, a kitchen fire broke out in the missionary teachers' house when a cooking utensil was placed too close to a wall. Mr. Johnson, who for whatever reason was there that night,⁵ rushed to extinguish the flame, but in the process a good coat of his was ruined. Gladly, no serious damage to the building occurred. It was the fourth time the campus had been endangered by fire (Smith, 1904-1905).

Though the Johnson family's official ties to Hokusei were short-lived, they no doubt had a good deal of contact with Sarah Smith and other local missionaries. Mr. Johnson lectured at the imperial agricultural school in Sapporo (called beginning 1907

Sapporo Noka Daigaku, Sapporo Agricultural College, 札幌農科大学), as well as doing work in a hospital for the poor. Mrs. Johnson, in addition to raising four boys, enjoyed hosting in their home both Japanese and non-Japanese friends, likely including Hokusei missionaries.

Tragedy struck, however, when she fell ill and died in 1915. The Johnsons departed Sapporo at this point, Mr. Johnson taking the boys, ages approximately two to twelve, to the United States on furlough. By the time barely a year had passed, he had remarried, this time with Miss Louise Emilie (Lucy) Frees of Detroit. The new family returned to resume mission work, this time in Tokyo. Despite these efforts, they were unable to continue life in Japan for long, as unspecified health problems developed in the family which forced them to return to the United States in 1918.

Mr. Johnson did continue mission work in another form when he was elected District Secretary of the PCUSA Board of Foreign Missions. He served in this capacity until 1938, responsible for work in the western states, including handling many incoming and out-going missionaries to Pacific countries. Dr. Johnson also lent his services to the Navy Department as a Japanese expert in World War II. Both Weston and Lucy died at different times in 1954 in San Francisco, where they had by then lived for many years.

Mary B. Sherman

Mary Belle Sherman came to Hokusei as a replacement for Lillian Wells. Born in 1867 in East Thompson, Connecticut, and educated in New York and Illinois, she was sent to Japan in 1902. After a brief stint at Joshi Gakuin in Tokyo, she was transferred to Sapporo in the winter of 1903. Like her predecessor, Miss Wells, however, Sherman developed throat problems which hampered her work. Concluding that her constitution was not suited to the climate of Sapporo, she left in the fall of 1904 after less than two years.

She located in Yamaguchi, where she continued ministering in the field of education of girls. She also undertook more directly evangelistic work in Tsu and Matsuyama. Sherman appears to have been particularly effective with children and young men. However, she suffered from an incurable disease of which her friends were ignorant, as well as a weak heart. Apparently after over-exerting herself in helping a friend, she died of heart failure in 1918 in Matsuyama at age 50.

As was typical with PCUSA missionaries, Mary Sherman recorded many of her personal beliefs on the application form she submitted for being commissioned as a

missionary. She stated there that she held the Bible's Old and New Testaments to be the word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Though raised in the Methodist Episcopal church rather than the Presbyterian, as far as she understood the PCUSA's confession of faith, she affirmed it as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Bible. She studied the Bible daily and took as her motto this commitment to follow God's leading for her life: "His will; nothing more, nothing less; nothing else." Sherman believed that personal effort to lead souls to Christ was the paramount duty of every missionary, and she agreed to make such an effort the chief feature of her missionary career. These expressions of her convictions appear to represent the faith on which she stood and the force which guided her ministry to Japanese people through the course of over 15 years.

Isabelle M. Ward

Like Miss Sherman, Isabelle⁶ Mae Ward was assigned to Hokusei Jo Gakko soon after Lillian Wells' departure and at a time Sarah Smith's rheumatic problems were making it difficult for her to carry the workload she had in the past. The hope was that, despite losing Miss Wells, with two replacements and Smith's return to greater health, the school might be stronger than ever in the years to come.

Born in 1875 in Channahon, Illinois, and educated there and in Missouri, Ward arrived in Japan in 1901. After serving for approximately three years in Osaka at Naniwa Jo Gakko, she was transferred to Sapporo in 1904. Under her leadership, Hokusei students gave a benefit concert, the proceeds of which went to support the soldiers fighting in the Russo-Japanese War. Specifically, the money became part of the school's overall contribution, which included preparing bandages and "comfort bags" containing letters and various items of practical use (Smith, 1904-1905).

Ward also led students in forming the Christian Endeavor Society and Junior Endeavor Society, volunteer groups which she described as "very full of life." About them, she wrote, "They have, besides having most interesting meetings every Sunday, given money for various good causes, including the church and a sum of sixteen yen for the famine sufferers" (PCUSA General Assembly, 1906, Vol. 2, p. 216). These student organizations replaced the former King's Daughter Society and Helping Hand Society at Hokusei.

Miss Ward was viewed by some before arriving in Japan as having maturity issues. Some wrote the BFM warning that she was too selfish, egotistical, untruthful, and prone to losing her temper to be sent as a missionary (personal communication, McAfee, February 27, 1901, pp. 1-2). Nevertheless, she was commissioned, and no

records of her life after arriving in Japan reveal that these issues surfaced or interfered with her work. Miss Smith states only that Ward conducted the students in an “able” manner (Smith, 1904-1905).

Not character but, again, health proved to be the issue which took this missionary from Hokusei Jo Gakko. Though details of her maladies are not known, on the advice of her doctor, she left the school in September of 1907, returning to the United States to recover after approximately three years in Sapporo.

When she was able to return to Japan two years later, it was to Tokyo and Joshi Gakuin, where she would spend the remainder of her years in this country. There Ward taught Bible, English, gymnastics, and housekeeping. She undertook evangelical work such as visiting in a home for the sick, distributing tracts, training Sunday school teachers, and starting new Sunday school work. For unknown reasons, perhaps health-related, Miss Ward resigned in March of 1919 at age 43.

In later life, she lived in Pasadena, California, in a retirement home for Presbyterian workers which was only a few minutes’ ride from the homes where Sarah Smith lived in retirement. It is possible the two were in regular contact there. The last records regarding Miss Ward reveal her still alive in that city, though in very poor health and indigent in 1959, at age 83.

Alice M. Monk



After losing missionary after missionary due in large measure to health problems, Sarah Smith at last found the one who would endure and eventually take her place as head of Hokusei Jo Gakko, Alice Maude Monk. Ironically, Monk had been rejected for health reasons after applying to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed

Church in America, due to their doubt that she could stand the physical demands of life in one of the hot climate countries to which they sent all their workers. Nevertheless, she was commissioned by the PCUSA and arrived in Japan in 1904.

Monk had been born in Onawa, Iowa, in 1872 and educated in Chicago, Illinois, including at Northwestern University, where she earned a Master of Arts degree (completing it on her first furlough from Japan) and was a member of the academic honor society, Phi Beta Kappa. Her father, John S. Monk, was a trial attorney well-known for his work in the homesteaders' cases of that day. Before being sent to Japan, Alice Monk spent several years teaching at various levels including college, receiving training in piano, working as Y. W. C. A. secretary, and serving as teacher and organist in her church.

When she arrived in Japan, she spent over a year at Joshi Gakuin teaching the Bible and learning Japanese. Monk was transferred to Sapporo in November 1905, beginning what would become 36 years of service at Hokusei Jo Gakko. Her service to Hokusei eventually included classroom teaching, leading in Sabbath schools, and serving as acting treasurer, principal, consultant, and director of the school. She and Sarah Smith were able to combine their talents and efforts effectively as the elder gradually passed the role of leadership to the younger.

Monk was widely regarded as a gifted scholar, a person of deep faith, and a skilled administrator who succeeded in building Hokusei Jo Gakko on the foundation which Sarah Smith had laid (PCUSA, BFM, September 16, 1952). She was able to significantly raise academic standards and expand its program structure while maintaining the school's clear-cut Christian identity. Under Monk's leadership the student population increased greatly, and the school began a two-year Higher Course junior college program, among numerous others.

As tensions between the United States and Japan mounted in the months before World War II, Alice Monk accepted the urgent advice of friends and the Hokusei Jo Gakko Board of Directors that she leave Japan. She did so in September of 1941 but did not reach her home country until the Pearl Harbor attacks and other disruptions had made her voyage a circuitous and frightening one. Just as she had reached Japan originally during the uncertainties of the 1904-1905 war with Russia, she at last reached America on Christmas Day of 1941.

Alice Monk retired the following year at age 70, making her home in Washington, DC, with her younger sister, Florence. Not long afterward, she began a steep decline in health and in a few years had become semi-invalid, suffering from Parkinson's

disease. She experienced serious financial as well as physical hardships as she became unable to care for herself or pay for the care her condition required. Alice Monk died of chronic myocarditis in July of 1952 at the age of 80. After her funeral at the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, where she had been a member, she was interned in Onawa, Iowa.

Temporary Replacement Workers

After losing Misses Wells, Sherman, and Ward in succession, Sarah Smith found herself still lacking adequate missionary staff, despite Miss Monk's joining the school. Smith was also scheduled to be away herself on furlough, though it had been delayed, no doubt due to the shortage of workers. To address the need, the mission acquired the services of various short-term missionaries. It arranged for Miss Annie M. Miller to cover for Smith in her absence. She arrived in May of 1908 but soon found the climate severe and ended up staying only until summer (Smith, 1908-1909).

Miss Margaret E. Moore was then loaned to Hokusei, with her consent, from the PCUSA's West Japan Mission. Among the short-term workers in these years, only she was in the category of full-status, career missionary. Moore began serving in September of 1908 but for unknown reasons did not continue long. By the 1910-1911 academic year, she had resigned her position as missionary (PCUSA General Assembly, 1911, Vol. 2, p. 246).

Mrs. J. B. Morgan rendered "valued assistance" during the 1908-1909 school year. She continued until November of 1909, according to Smith's records (1908-1909).

Alice Monk also received the support of her mother, Mrs. Ella Malvina Sanford Monk, who came to Japan in 1910 and helped teach at Hokusei Jo Gakko. Though how long she stayed is unknown, she also made her contribution to the life of the school.

Elizabeth M. Evans

As is the case with Alice M. Monk (Hokusei 100-Year History Committee, Vol. 1, pp. 175-177, 202-208; Driskill, pp. 133-138), a good deal has already been written regarding Elizabeth Margaret Evans, her fellow missionary at Hokusei Jo Gakko, who would later become its principal and the first president of Hokusei Gakuen Women's Junior College (Hokusei Evans Committee, 1987; Driskill, pp. 139-141). Accordingly, this paper presents only a brief overview of their lives.



Elizabeth "Betty" Evans was born in 1886 in Kilbourne, Wisconsin, and educated in Minnesota and South Dakota. She developed an interest in mission work in her childhood, growing up in the family of a pastor and missionary to American Indians. When she was sent to Japan in 1911, she began her work at Hokusei Jo Gakko and continued there, interrupted only by a year teaching in Kanazawa and regular furloughs, until 1941. Her work at Hokusei included teaching English and Bible, taking part in sports activities with students, and performing administrative duties. According to many of her former students, her spirit of genuine kindness endeared her to people at Hokusei and elsewhere. The following conversation (as cited in Driskill, 1994, p. 141) illustrates the spirit of commitment to Hokusei's mission which Evans shared with the school's founder.

Just before Sarah Smith retired, she took Betty, then a young missionary, up a mountainside which had a good view of the city and of Hokusei. Sarah said, "Betty, I have often come up here to pray for Sapporo and Hokusei. I would like to have you continue that."

Years later Betty described this request, "I felt that her mantle was falling on my shoulders and I promised to continue that custom."

When World War II prevented her from serving in Japan, Evans worked in the United States among the people of Japanese ancestry who had been forcibly interned in various inland relocation centers. She continued her work with Japanese and Japanese-Americans there until 1947, when she was allowed to return to Sapporo, the first missionary to return to this part of Japan. She served until her retirement in June 1952. The emperor and government of Japan later awarded her with the Fifth Order of the Sacred Treasure for the contribution she had made to the nation's educational work. Elizabeth Evans passed away in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1972.

Carrie H. McCrory

Carrie Henrietta McCrory arrived at Hokusei Jo Gakko a year after Evans, in 1912. She had been born in Johnson County, Iowa, in 1883 and educated in the same state. When she arrived at Hokusei, she began teaching English and studying Japanese. She teamed up with Elizabeth Evans to lead the student Christian Endeavor societies, which resulted in “a very recognizable spiritual influence in the school,” (PCUSA General Assembly, 1914, Vol. 2, p. 264).

Miss McCrory stayed at Hokusei for four years, being reassigned to Otaru after the fall mission meeting of 1916 to take the place of Carrie Rose after her death in 1914. McCrory headed the kindergarten there, by then renamed Rose Kindergarten, for the next 25 years. She operated both this school and several Sunday and weekday Bible schools held throughout the Otaru area during these years. She was forced to evacuate in 1941 as World War II approached, returning to the United States together with Alice Monk on the difficult journey described on p. 14.

During the war years, McCrory was assigned to working with the people of Japanese ancestry in the internment camp in Jerome, Arkansas, and after its closure, in the Washington, DC-Baltimore area. She retired at age 65 in 1948 and settled in Washington, DC, for a time, living nearby Alice Monk and lending valuable assistance to her former Hokusei coworker. When Miss Monk’s health deteriorated so that she needed help writing letters appealing for financial relief, McCrory helped in this way, according to John C. Smith, another former Hokusei missionary (personal communication, September 7, 1948). Miss McCrory later moved to Pasadena, California, where she lived in a Presbyterian retirement home until her death in 1974 at age 90.

Conclusion

As the preceding has made clear, a remarkably varied group of Presbyterian missionaries labored together over a period of decades with Hokusei’s founder to further establish the school which later developed into the Hokusei Gakuen system. Among themselves, they differed markedly in ability, personality, and physical stamina. In addition, each one worked with her or his full complement of varied strengths and weaknesses, good and bad points, victories and failures.

Their common points included an essential unity in matters of faith and a commitment to the education of Japanese young women, as well as a similarity of cultural background. Together, they invested many years of their lives in those of their students, all making some form or degree of sacrifice and some even dying while striving to accomplish the work they believed they were sent to do. Each made a unique contribution to the formation of Hokusei Gakuen.

Part II of this paper will focus on missionaries who worked with Sarah Smith after she passed leadership of the school to Miss Monk in 1915. It will also introduce several who were not coworkers as such but maintained contact with her before and after her retirement.

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Notes

- (1) The business years indicated in this article are that of the PCUSA, which sponsored Smith, her colleagues, and their schools and churches in large part. The PCUSA General Assembly was held in April or May each year, and reports essentially covered the 12 months since the last meeting of that organization. This business year generally equates with the academic year which Smith's school followed. In its early years Hokusei did not begin the academic year in April; however, her mission organization did, and she filed reports based on the year beginning around April for that reason.
- (2) They later were joined in running the school in the 1885 academic year by Clara H. Rose, who would go on to serve with Smith in Sapporo and found today's Rose Kindergarten in Otaru. The following year, Lena Leete was replaced by Gertrude S. Bigelow, who would begin

a career in Christian education for girls and an acquaintance with Smith which would grow into a life-long friendship.

- (3) Japan Mission reports to the PCUSA list both this spelling and “Katheryn.”
- (4) Though she lost her freedom temporarily, she did not lose her sense of humor. The only remaining PCUSA missionary, she later reported holding a formal mission business meeting, in which it was decided by a unanimous vote that she would stay in Japan.
- (5) Smith indicates (1904-1905) that the Johnson family had moved off campus several months before, so it is possible the Johnson family had simply come for a visit or some other reason this particular evening.
- (6) Though some documents refer to her as “Isabella,” when she wrote it, Miss Ward’s name appeared as “Isabelle.”
- (7) Where space considerations have made it impossible to list information sources in notes and the reference list, the data derive from missionaries’ personnel files, located in Philadelphia in the Presbyterian Historical Society, RG 360.
- (8) Most pictures appearing in this article are now public domain material. In cases in which they are not, permission to publish has been received from the copyright owner or a good-faith but unsuccessful effort made to locate the owner.

Table**PCUSA Missionaries on Staff at Hokusei Jo Gakko, Academic 1887-1931**

Year	Total	Missionaries (by Family Name)					
		(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)
1887-1888	1	Smith					
1888-1889	1	Smith					
1889-1890	1	Light					
1890-1891	1	Smith					
1891-1892	1	Smith					
1892-1893	1	Smith					
1893-1894	1	Smith					
1894-1895	2	Smith	Rose				
1895-1896	2	Smith	Rose				
1896-1897	2	Smith	Mrs. Pierson	Mr. Pierson			
1897-1898	2	Smith	Mrs. Pierson	Mr. Pierson			
1898-1899	1	Mrs. Pierson	Mr. Pierson				
1899-1900	1	Mrs. Pierson	Mr. Pierson	Smith			
1900-1901	2	Smith	Wells				
1901-1902	2	Smith	Wells				
1902-1903	2	Smith	Wells	Sherman			
1903-1904	3	Smith	Sherman	Johnson			
1904-1905	3	Smith	Sherman	Ward			
1905-1906	3	Smith	Ward	Sherman	Monk		
1906-1907	3	Smith	Ward	Monk			
1907-1908	2	Smith	Monk				
1908-1909	3	Monk	Moore	Morgan			
1909-1910	3	Monk	Moore	Morgan			
1910-1911	3	Smith	Monk	E. Monk			
1911-1912	3	Smith	Monk	Evans			
1912-1913	3	Smith	Evans	McCrory			
1913-1914	3	Smith	Monk	McCrory			
1914-1915	4	Smith	Monk	McCrory	Evans		
1915-1916	4	Smith	Monk	McCrory	Evans		
1916-1917	4	Smith	Monk	Evans	McCrory	Davidson	
1917-1918	4	Smith	Monk	Evans	Davidson		
1918-1919	3	Smith	Monk	Evans			
1919-1920	3	Smith	Monk	Evans	Davidson		
1920-1921	3	Evans	Davidson	Curtis			
1921-1922	4	Smith	Davidson	Curtis	Dunlop		
1922-1923	4	Smith	Monk	Evans	Davidson	Curtis	Ensign
1923-1924	3	Monk	Evans	Davidson			
1924-1925	3	Monk	Evans	Davidson			
1925-1926	3	Monk	Evans	Gillilan			
1926-1927	4	Monk	Evans	Gillilan	Riker	Mackenzie	
1927-1928	3	Monk	Evans	Mackenzie			
1928-1929	3	Monk	Mackenzie	Howard			
1929-1930	3	Monk	Mackenzie	Howard			
1930-1931	2	Evans	Nettinga	Walling			
1931-1932	5	Monk	Evans	Nettinga	Walling	Barr	J. Smith

Note. See the next page for explanatory notes on 1887-1915. Those on academic 1916-1931 will appear in Part II of this article.

Explanatory Notes (Table)

Note. Names do not appear in the table but only in the following if the missionary clearly served at Hokusei less than half of the academic year. Because some names in the table represent less than a full year's service, the number of names for each year is not necessarily the same as the number in the "Total" column of missionaries serving at Hokusei. Also, missionaries on furlough do not appear in the table.

- 1887-1888 Sarah Smith arrived in Sapporo with her seven pupils in January of 1887. The school was opened at that time, so the 1887-1888 academic year may actually be counted as running longer than 12 months (Smith, 1887).
- 1888-1889
- 1889-1890 Smith was in Elmira, according to the *Woman's Work for Woman and Our Mission Field* September issue, and there is no evidence that Light stayed after Smith's return to Sapporo.
- 1890-1891
- 1891-1892
- 1892-1893
- 1893-1894 Rose joined Smith at Hokusei in February of 1894 (Smith, 1894).
- 1894-1895
- 1895-1896 Rose left Hokusei in December 1896, and Mr. and Mrs. Pierson replaced her temporarily (Smith, 1896). It is unclear how soon they began at Hokusei, how long they continued, or how much assistance they were able to provide, in light of their other responsibilities. Mr. Pierson apparently was not involved much if at all in the day-to-day operation of the school in his years at Hokusei.
- 1896-1897
- 1897-1898
- 1898-1899 Smith went on furlough in August 1898 (Smith, 1898).
- 1899-1900 Smith returned from furlough in September 1899 (Smith, 1899).
- 1900-1901 Wells arrived in Sapporo in September 1900 (Smith, 1900).
- 1901-1902
- 1902-1903 Sherman arrived in the winter of 1903. She did no teaching this school year but prepared to begin in 1903-1904 (Smith, 1902-1903).
- 1903-1904 Wells left in July 1903 (Smith, 1903-1904).
- 1904-1905 Ward came to Hokusei in an unstated month in 1904-1905 (Smith, 1904-1905).
- 1905-1906 Sherman left in autumn 1905, and Monk came in the fall the same year (Smith, 1904-1905).
- 1906-1907
- 1907-1908 Ward left Hokusei in September 1907 on furlough (Smith, 1907-1908) but would not return.
- 1908-1909 Smith left for furlough September 1, 1908. Miller left by summer, and Moore began in September that year. Morgan assisted from 1908 until November 1909 (Smith, 1908-1909).
- 1909-1910 Moore resigned at the end of this school year (*Woman's Work*, Vol. 25, p. 206), and Smith left San Francisco for Sapporo in October 1909 (*Woman's Work*, Vol. 24, p. 261).
- 1910-1911
- 1911-1912
- 1912-1913 Monk was on furlough beginning in July 1912 (Personal record blank, pp. 1-3).
- 1913-1914 Monk returned from furlough in September 1913 (Personal record blank, pp. 1-3).
- 1914-1915 Records are not completely consistent as to whether Evans was in Sapporo or Asahikawa this year and the next; however, since the weight of evidence shows she served in Sapporo during this time, she appears in the staff list for these years (PCUSA General Assembly, 1915, Vol. 2, pp. 253-254; Evans' Personal record blank, pp. 2-4).
- 1915-1916 Evans' furlough began January 1, 1916 (Evans, Personal record blank, p. 2).

[Abstract]

Missionaries Who Worked with Sarah C. Smith (Part I)

James E. ALLISON

This paper introduces in chronological order the missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America who labored together with Sarah C. Smith in establishing and developing Hokusei Jo Gakko, which later grew into the Hokusei Gakuen school system. It provides an overview of the lives of the teachers, predominantly single ladies, who helped lay the foundation upon which the current Hokusei Gakuen is built. In addition, it sheds light on how various missionaries interacted with Smith up to 1915, when she handed over leadership of the school to her successor.

Key Words : Hokusei Jo Gakko, Sarah C. Smith, Hokusei Gakuen, Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America