OF MISSION BOARDS AND MISSIONARIES:
THE ORGANIZATION OF AN ANNUAL CONFERENCE
IN JAPAN

by John W. Krummel

A mission board administrator once remarked in my hearing that
the conduct of foreign missions would be made much simpler if only
there were some way to get rid of the missionaries. Such feelings were
probably shared by his counterparts in the chapter of mission history
to be outlined below. The achievement of the semi-autonomous status
of an annual conference by the Japan Mission of the Methodist
Protestant Church was the fruit of not only twelve years of
evangelization by the missionaries but also of a great deal of frustration
experienced during that period by the administrators of the supporting
board in America. That the various points of contention have a
familiar ring even today but illustrates that the possibilities for
misunderstanding and mutual irritation remain much the same.

The Japan Mission of the Methodist Protestant Church founded
in 1880 was organized into an annual conference in 1892. By this time
the Mission had established schools and churches in Yokohama and
Nagoya and pioneer work was being done in Shizuoka. The church
had been planted and taken root. Moreover, Japanese society had
emerged from a period of intense fascination with all things Western
and was in a mood for self-assertive nationalism. These were factors
behind the organization of the annual conference. However, it is one of
the ironies of history that frustration and irritation often play a
significant role in pushing humans into the future. So it was in this
case. A major factor in the organization of this annual conference was
the unhappy confrontation between the Board of Foreign Missions at
home and the missionaries on the field during the 1888-1892
quadrennium.

From the beginning of the Mission in 1880 there had been a
continuing stream of misunderstanding between the missionaries and
the sending agencies (the Board and the Woman's Foreign Missionary
Society) as well as among the missionaries themselves. To some extent
these were the result of inexperience on both sides of the Pacific, this
being the first foreign missionary endeavor of the Methodist Protestant
In 1888 the General Conference re-organized the church’s mission efforts by separating the home and foreign concerns. The new board was composed of six clergymen and three laymen, and employed a full-time corresponding secretary, Francis Thomas Tagg who had served in the same capacity under the old Board of Home and Foreign Missions since the spring of 1885. According to the articles of incorporation,

Said corporation is formed for the purpose of receiving, holding, investing and disbursing any and all money or other property received by it on behalf of the Methodist Protestant Church, to be devoted and applied to the education and improvement of the heathen of foreign lands by the introduction to, and among them of the Gospel and by other means meeting the approval of said corporation.²

During this quadrennium Fred Klein was co-superintendent of the Mission and headed the work in Nagoya. His co-workers there were Lemuel Lee Albright who had been sent out in July 1887 and returned to America in June 1892, Edward Howard Van Dyke who arrived in February 1890, and Tsune Hirata, a Japanese educated by the Board at Western Maryland College and returned to the field as a missionary in the fall of 1890. The other co-superintendent was Thomas Henry Colhouer who arrived at the end of May 1887 to head the work in Yokohama. Other Board missionaries in that city at this time were Harriet Emma Crittenden who returned to America in 1889, Nettie Horton who was on the field from April 1888 to December 1889, and A. R. Morgan who came to Japan in August 1889.

²I have dealt in other articles with the problems between the Board and the WFMS in relation to the first missionary sent to Japan, Harriett Brittan, the controversy between her and Fred C. Klein who was sent out to superintend the Mission in 1883, and his own troubles with the Board. See my articles “Methodist Protestant Beginnings in Japan,” Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku Ippan Kyoiku Ronshu No. 13 (1972); “The Methodist Protestant Church in Japan: The Early Years in Yokohama: 1880-1887,” Ronshu No. 14 (1973); “Harriett Gertrude Brittan and Frederick Charles Klein: Methodist Protestant Missionaries to Japan,” Ronshu No. 16 (1975); and “Fred Klein: The Yokohama Years: 1883-1887,” Ronshu No. 17 (1976).

²All references to the Board and its executive committee, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the manuscript journal of the Board which is in the MPC Board of Missions File, Records Collection No. 37, in the archives of the Commission on Archives and History of The United Methodist Church, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the staff of the archives and library there for their unfailing helpfulness to me through the years. Members of the 1888 Board were T. B. Graham who had served as president since 1882; O. V. W. Chandler, a member from 1884 and appointed recording secretary in 1888; G. B. McElroy, a member from 1884 and treasurer since 1886; L. W. Bates, a member from 1880; W. L. Wells and T. J. Ogburn both new members; and laymen William White, a member from 1880; W. W. McCaslin, a member from 1884; and C. J. Yingling a new appointee. See the Methodist Protestant Yearbook 1889, p. 15.
The Senders and the Sent

Klein had never been satisfied with the foreign concession in Yokohama as a base for mission work in Japan. In 1885 an opportunity presented itself for him to become the first foreign missionary resident in the castle town of Nagoya. During the coming months he implored the Board to find a replacement for the Yokohama work. On January 12, 1887, the executive committee appointed one of the Board members, Colhouer, to Yokohama as co-superintendent of the Mission. Klein was disappointed to say the least. Colhouer had the previous year published an article, "Qualifications for Missionaries," which was an implicit attack on Klein. Moreover, Colhouer and his wife were partisans of the WFMS in a controversy concerning the relations of the Board and the WFMS work in Yokohama which had involved Klein and Crittenden as antagonists of the WFMS. Klein complained that the Colhouers were too old. He was fifty-nine and she was fifty-four. He regretted that they were so closely identified with the WFMS, opposed to school work, and filled with pre-conceived notions which would lead to friction. He insisted that the Board clarify the lines of authority in the administration of the Mission, and impress upon Colhouer his responsibility to assist in the school teaching. The Board attempted to satisfy Klein. The executive committee clarified that each co-superintendent was to have authority only in his own station and that Klein was to be "chairman" of the whole Mission.

Klein responded on March 7, 1887, to a letter of inquiry from Colhouer about what preparations to make for the trip to Japan, with advice about supplies to be brought out, and an abundance of warnings about the physical and psychological dangers facing missionaries in Japan, the problems of preaching through an interpreter, assuming that Colhouer was too old to learn the language, and the exorbitant cost of living. He also pointed out that educational work was the heart of the Mission and must be supported fully.

In spite of their own personal reservations the Kleins received the Colhouers most graciously when they arrived on May 31, 1887, held a reception for all the missionaries in Yokohama to welcome them, and did all they could to acquaint them not only with the Methodist Protestant work but that of other Protestant missions as well in the Yokohama-Tokyo area. Klein was gratified with the Colhouers' response and felt

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3Methodist Protestant (MP), May 22, 1886, p. 1.
4These sentiments were expressed in a number of letters Klein wrote during the early months of 1887. The letters are in the Klein File, Records Collection No. 36, in the UMC Archives, Lake Junaluska. See particularly his letters to the Board and to Tagg dated February 22, 1887. All other references to Klein's correspondence in this article, unless otherwise documented, are to letters in this file.
they were having some of their misconceptions corrected. He wrote to Tagg on June 2 that they were on the best of terms.

He has unbent very much indeed, and is doing more than I expected in yielding to our plans etc. He realizes he is in a new world and needs a guide at first. He does not seem over inclined to teach, but think he will come to it when we all get together and read our contracts, instructions, etc. . . . Mrs. Colhouer has had a whole afternoon's talk with Miss Crittenden and sees things as she never did, and is writing home to Mrs. Miller [president of the WFMS] a clear statement of all matters so that they will be set straight...

Unfortunately, the Klein-Colhouer honeymoon did not last long. A competitive spirit was evident from the day they separated to take up their respective posts in Nagoya and Yokohama. This is revealed in correspondence between Klein and Crittenden from July through October 1887. Klein had been head of the boys' school in Yokohama until he left for Nagoya. He was followed in that post by Crittenden but she seems to have been poorly prepared for the responsibility and often turned to Klein for advice during the next half year. Colhouer refused to carry a fair share of the teaching and his wife gave most of her time to helping the WFMS sponsored girls' school. On the other hand, Colhouer was putting more effort than Klein had into evangelism and he was getting results. On October 11, 1887, Klein wrote to L.W. Bates, one of the Board members, a letter which reveals a shade of jealousy.

Yokohama is "boomin" I hear and if it ever will it should be now. our [Nagoya] Sab. services equals doubtless exceeding theirs in numbers, and we are so young . . . [Colhouer] is pushing things in the religious line. I hope he is exercising due caution with the natives. They are to be tested. He is quick. The Mrs. [Colhouer] is having the highest class of girls school [WFMS sponsored] go to the Home [Board property and site of its boys school] and she teaches them Bible lesson, and also teaches girls downtown in a Japanese school conducted by member of our church. She is head and ears in the Women's work which takes time she ought to give to the Board. Ah, she has a head of her own and lets you know it . . .

Whether as a result of such letters as this or not the Board at its meeting in August 1888 passed some motions Colhouer took as an implied censure. He was scolded for putting the Board in debt in a church building program in Yokohama, and "most earnestly requested to decline the ordinance of baptism to any applicant . . . who has not the confidence and recommendation expressed by vote of the official members of the Church as to genuineness and thoroughness of his conversion to Christianity." He was also urged to give more personal attention to pastoral work. Moreover, he took offense at the following resolution adopted by the Board. "Resolved — that Miss Horton as assistant in the school is entitled to vote in all questions of discipline arising in the government of the same." She had but recently arrived on the field. Evidently, Colhouer opposed giving her any voice in the administration of the school. She left Japan "for health reasons" in December 1889.
Colhouer protested to the Board. On November 8, 1888, the executive committee of the Board responded to Colhouer stating that it could do nothing to change the motions since they were made in a meeting of the full Board. It further commented,

We cordially commend the earnestness of Bro. Colhouer and the indefatigable activity manifested by him . . . And we are fully persuaded that if any error has been made it has been one of the head, rather than the heart. We sincerely regret that any misunderstanding has arisen, or has seemed to have arisen between him and others with whom he is officially related, and we think that a full understanding of the rights and privileges of all parties will result in perfect unanimity of feeling and harmony of work.

This did not satisfy Colhouer. Another letter of protest from him was read at the annual Board meeting on May 7, 1889, at which Klein was present. A committee considered the problem but refused to reconsider the positions taken in August 1888, saying that no censure was intended, “and we exceedingly regret that there existed in the wording of said action any seeming justification of the strong and repeated statements of Bro. Colhouer on the subject.” Moreover, the Board directed that he, as to have no more authority in the school than any other teacher — a rather amazing action in light of the fact that he was head of all the work in Yokohama. The Board added further fuel to the fires of Colhouer’s dissatisfaction by taking action which was a clear censure of Mrs. Colhouer’s almost full time involvement in the WFMS work in Yokohama.

We would further beg leave to state that it is our conviction and understanding that the work of the wives of our missionaries is due to the Board, and that under existing circumstances it is not desirable or politic for any of them to make arrangements for work with any other Board or Society without the consent of the Board.

Colhouer continued to press his case and the 1890 annual meeting of the Board reconsidered the whole matter. It moved to rescind the motions of the August 1888 meeting which implied censure on him with respect to the discipline of the school and in the matter of pastoral duties. However, the reprimand in regard to incurring a debt in the church building was allowed to stand.5

Yokohama or Nagoya

Friction between the missionaries in Nagoya and those in Yokohama reached such a state at one point that the executive committee adopted the following.

We cannot but deprecate the apparent unkindly feeling that exists between our missionaries at Nagoya and Yokohama. We prefer not to hear criticisms from in-

5Minutes of the May 1890 meeting in the Board journal; see also MP. June 4, 1890, p. 4.
individual missionaries but believe that a proper Christian spirit can be promoted by charity and a due appreciation of the work of each. So far as we are concerned we are just as much interested in the missionary work and success of one station as the other and are bound by every consideration of honesty, justice, and conscientiousness to duty to do what we believe is necessary for the success of each.

The first official point of contention between Klein and Colhouer involved the conflicting claims of the work in Nagoya and Yokohama for personnel. Albright arrived on the field July 28, 1887, appointed by the executive committee to Yokohama until needed in Nagoya. Tagg had written that Klein and Colhouer were to assign him as they wished. Klein wanted Albright in Nagoya immediately to take up an English teaching position in one of the government schools, to help with the Mission's own fledgling school effort, and to train him to take over the work when Klein left for furlough in 1888. Colhouer wanted to avoid teaching in the Mission's Yokohama school if at all possible. It would not be possible if Albright went to Nagoya. Klein was forced to act on his own as chairman of the Mission and Albright was in Nagoya before the end of August. The executive committee of the Board confirmed this action at its November 8, 1887, meeting.

Klein believed that Nagoya should be made the center for Methodist Protestant work in Japan. He tried to convince all concerned — Board and WFMS, Colhouer and other missionaries — that the entire operation in Yokohama should be sold out and the money invested in rebuilding on a grand scale in Nagoya. However, Calhouer was determined to maintain the Yokohama work. He took steps soon after his arrival to establish the WFMS work there even more firmly. The girls school had been operating in rented quarters. Colhouer aided the WFMS missionaries in finding land on the Bluff and supervising a building program there for them — all without Klein's knowledge.

Between 1888 and 1892 it became clear that the Board could not support two schools for young men in Japan. The question then was whether the school in Nagoya or that in Yokohama would prevail. In 1891 Colhouer sent a letter to the church papers in America arguing the case for Yokohama as a location for the school. The Bluff was good for health. Yokohama was near the nation's capital, had all modern conveniences, and was a commercial center experiencing rapid growth. Moreover, the Methodist Protestant enterprise was the only Christian boys' school in the city. It was an important feeder to the church — eighty-five of its students and teachers having become church members.

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6 Board journal entry for July 15, 1890.
7 Based on entries in the Board's journal and letters from Klein to Crittenden (August 4, 8, 13, and 20), to Colhouer (August 5, 12, and September 26), to Albright (August 8), to Bates (August 9), to Tagg (August 9), to McElroy (August 13) and to the Board (August 18).
8 Klein's letter to Tagg, November 7, 1887.
during its short history. He also made the point that there was perfect
security in holding property in the foreign concession which was not the
case in Nagoya where property was held by Japanese trustees. This was
followed by a letter from Van Dyke published in the church papers in­
sisting that the Methodist Protestants should get out of the unnatural
confines of the foreign concession and go to where the people were,
Nagoya. A few months after this Morgan, who served in the Yokohama
school but supported the move out of the concession, sent a long letter to
the church papers dealing with the matter of holding property through
trustees. He not only demonstrated that it was safe but also, citing the
experience of other denominations, vindicated the wisdom of moving out
of the concession for the sake of evangelism and church growth.

Education or Evangelism

Another point of controversy during the quadrennium was the
relative emphasis to be given to educational work as over against direct
evangelism in the Mission. The Board from the beginning had chosen
the strategy of first establishing schools and through them winning
converts to become the core of the new church. However, there had
always been those in the church at home, including Colhouer, who
questioned this. Nevertheless, by the time he left Japan in 1892 he was
convinced of the importance of the schools. In the meantime, other
missionaries began to doubt the evangelistic effectiveness of the school
work.

J. McLain Brown, a Methodist Protestant preacher who made an
evangelistic tour of Japan from 1890 to 1891, visited Nagoya in the
spring of 1891. The three ordained missionaries there were giving most
of their time and energy to the school. Brown wrote to America
stressing the need for more emphasis on evangelism and suggesting
that a layman be sent out to take over the school work. The annual
meeting of the missionaries in Japan concurred with this opinion in a
report published in the Methodist Protestant on September 9, 1891.
“Individual members of the Mission have believed for a long while
that we were doing far too much school teaching and far too little
preaching of the Word. This belief found united, clear and strong
expression.” In the letter from Van Dyke mentioned above con­
cerning the location of the school Van Dyke stressed that education

9MP, October 21, 1891, p. 4.
10MP, November 18, 1891, p. 4.
11MP, April 27, 1892, p. 4.
12Missionary Bulletin (MB), July 1, 1891, p. 3.
13p. 4.
was no longer as effective an evangelizing agent as it had been in the past. In the years immediately following the opening of Japan young men had to go to the open ports to study English. However, now most of them could get the same education in government schools which had been opened in the provinces. Four years before the Yokohama boys' school had had fifty boarders. At this point there were but a handful. However, the bulk of converts had always come from among the boarders. For many years it had been impossible for missionaries to live in the interior unless they had some school connection. This was no longer the case. He argued that while the school work should be continued, it ought to be trimmed to current circumstances and more effort put into evangelism. This was published in the church papers in mid-November. A few days later John Scott, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, published a call to the Board to cut back the educational work and increase the evangelistic. "It should not be the object, and it is not the object of Christian missions to teach the English language . . . but to convert and save the souls of men."¹⁴

As a matter of fact, the Board had already begun to have second thoughts about its policy. At its annual meeting on May 6, 1890, among other admonitions addressed to the missionaries was the following.

> We recommend that our missionaries in Nagoya be earnestly requested to engage in evangelistic work, inasmuch as they are not sent simply to teach but to *preach* the gospel. And to be effective preachers we cannot fail to urge them to acquire the Japanese language as speedily as possible.¹⁵

Unfortunately, Tagg, the corresponding secretary, took the articles of Van Dyke and Scott as criticisms of the Board, and responded in print by blaming the missionaries for the current state of affairs.

> It is proper to say in justification of the Board, that it has always held the views so strongly urged . . . But heretofore the missionaries have insisted on establishing schools. Now that the schools are organized they tell us they must evangelize. But to do evangelistic work they must have more money, or give up the schools. The Board is unwilling to close our schools and dispose of our property, and it has no more money to appropriate.¹⁶

Klein was not one to let this sort of thing go unanswered and he sent a long article (dated January 30, 1892) for publication in the church papers in which he pointed out that the schools were established by the order of the Board and not because missionaries "insisted on" it. In fact the *Discipline* stated, "In every place where a mission is, or may be established there shall be a school for boys and young men . . ." Klein

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¹⁴*Methodist Recorder*, November 21, 1891, p. 3.
¹⁵MB, June 1, 1890, p. 2.
¹⁶MB, January 1, 1892, p. 1.
wrote that Tagg’s assertion that the missionaries want “to give up the schools” was a misinterpretation of action taken in the annual missionary meeting, the intent of which was not to close the schools but to be free to establish further mission stations without schools. The schools in Nagoya and Yokohama were operating in the red. It was clear that the church at home could not support them. The missionaries’ suggestion was to strengthen one of them as a collegiate level institution and to down-grade the other. This would free men and money for evangelism. The annual missionary meeting had intended no reflection on the Board, and the missionaries felt there should be no reflection on themselves.17

In the meantime, Colhouer sent off a letter to the church papers describing a tour he had made of mission schools of other denominations in Nagasaki, Kobe, and Kyoto. He described their regimen of chapel, prayer meetings, and Bible study in detail and concluded, “I am fully convinced of the great BENEFIT OF CHRISTIAN MISSION SCHOOLS, as a powerful agency in aiding the evangelistic work of missions ... providing they are conducted by missionaries and teachers who are full of faith, and the Holy Ghost.”18

As a result of all this the Board in its annual meeting, May 17-18, 1892, took steps to consolidate the educational work and to strengthen evangelism. Van Dyke was released from the school in Nagoya for pioneer evangelism in Shizuoka. The school at Yokohama was to be converted into an English night school. The one missionary there was directed to give the major portion of his time to evangelism and church work. He was authorized to employ a Japanese to assist him in developing something like YMCA work among young men and in running the night school. The Nagoya school was directed to take all steps necessary to strengthen itself as a college level institution, and its appropriation was doubled. However, only one of the missionaries was to be assigned to full-time work in it. Klein was appointed its president but only until the Board could find a layman to send out and thus release him for evangelistic work.19

Of Books and Beds, Language and Letters

Many of the problems that came up between the missionaries and the Board as outlined here are familiar enough to missionaries even today. The problems of missionary support, housing and furnishings, communication with the church at home, and public expression of dissent from board policy are still matters which engage the attention of

17MP, March 9, 1892, p. 3.
18MP, March 30, 1892, p. 3; MP, April 27, 1892, p. 4. Emphasis is Colhouer’s.
19MB, June 1, 1892, p. 2; see also Board’s journal for May 1892.
missionaries and board administrators.

The Colhouers were inconvenienced on their arrival in Yokohama because the Kleins had taken some furniture and books from the Mission Home for use in Nagoya. Colhouer wrote directly to the Board. On November 9, the executive committee agreed to furnish books for the Colhouers’ language study. It also pointed out that such books were the property of the Mission. It further ordered “that any furniture purchased for any mission home or station shall not be removed . . . without the consent of the Board.” The minutes of the committee meeting were sent to Klein without comment. He was incensed. Colhouers had said nothing to him about their discontent, nor had the executive committee made any attempt to hear his side of the story before acting. Nor was this the first time that Klein had suffered because of the propensity of the Board to take action without full information from the field, as he pointed out to them in a letter dated December 16, 1887.

A long time since I was secretly defamed to the W.F.M. Society by Miss Brittan, and the lady of the Soc. [probably Mary A. Miller] sent those defamatory statements to the then Sec. of the Board . . . and he forthwith accepted them as true and proceeded to chastize me officially in a way as insulting to my manhood as it was unjust on his part. My prompt refutations of the statements I demanded should be laid before the Board, and myself and work endorsed by the Board but he declined to do so, and so in several directions I have been misrepresented. I recall this to show that what has now occurred tends not to lessen the burden I have to bear.

In his response Klein reminds the executive committee that when he bought the language study books he had stated in writing that they would be Mission property and for the use of all missionaries. They had been so stamped and so used, and he had pointed this out to Colhouer. Klein had left some of the books for Colhouer’s use, but asks,

What is the difference between bringing here the old books I used in Yokohama and letting Bro. Colhouer buy new ones -- and buying new ones for my use and letting Bro. Colhouer use my old ones. I preferred to use those I had and was familiar with, and I deemed it more courteous to let Brother Colhouer buy new ones for his use.

His reasoning was the same in regard to the furniture. When the Kleins first arrived on the field in 1883 they had been assigned to unfurnished rooms in the Home in Yokohama. He then had requested and received from the Board a grant for furniture with the clear understanding that this furniture was the property of the Board. Klein had taken some of these things to Nagoya but had left enough to tide the Colhouers over until they could buy new furnishings with the allowance the Board had provided for them.

The Board was feeling its way on such matters during the first decade of the new mission. It acted on a case by case basis, often forgetting precedents which it had set and which were still alive in the

20Letter to Crittenden, December 15, 1887.
minds of the missionaries. In an action on February 13, 1888, the executive committee approved a furniture allowance for Albright’s room in the house he shared with the Kleins in Nagoya. They left for America that fall and Albright and his new bride occupied the Klein house until they returned in the spring of 1890. At that time the Albrights moved to another house and requested a further furnishings allowance. The Board in annual meeting on May 6, 1890, refused this request, and also declined to pay for furniture which the Van Dykes, who had but recently arrived, had already purchased. A protest from the field pointing out established precedents forced the executive committee on July 15, 1890, to reverse this decision. There also seems to have been some altercation between the Colhouers and the Misses Crittenden and Horton over the use of the Home in Yokohama. In August 1888 the Board adopted the following.

Resolved — That if at all convenient and by mutual agreement a portion of the building now occupied in common as a residence for all the missionaries in Yokohama be set apart for the exclusive use of Mr. and Mrs. Colhouer and their servants . . . furniture and the fixtures of the building be divided amicably in view of their respective needs.

Earlier that spring, on March 19, in his final appearance at an executive committee meeting before returning to Japan, Klein had raised the question of whether or not transient missionaries were privileged to use the Home in Yokohama and the one to be built in Nagoya. The committee replied that this must be left to the judgement “and Christian spirit of the missionaries.” When Klein and his wife disembarked at Yokohama at the end of that month they proceeded directly to the train station and took train to Nagoya without stopping at the Mission Home.

Other matters aggravated the relations between the Board and the missionaries. In the fall of 1887 Klein appointed Albright treasurer for the Nagoya work. The executive committee rejected this, probably because they thought Albright too inexperienced. Klein, however, was insistent that Albright be allowed to do this as a preparation for Klein’s absence on furlough. Albright himself took the executive committee action as a personal affront. The committee refused to back down. Nevertheless, Klein left the treasury in Albright’s hands.21

Board actions in May 1890 further exacerbated the situation. An admonition to the Nagoya missionaries to learn Japanese as fast as possible was particularly bitter to them. Klein had been preaching in Japanese for years. Albright was able to preach in Japanese within a year of his arrival. Van Dyke had been on the field only three months. As a matter of fact it was the missionaries in Yokohama, Colhouer and

21Klein’s letter to McElroy, board treasurer, December 26, 1887.
Morgan, who had to preach through interpreters. The Board also scolded the Nagoya missionaries for financial extravagance. For example, it questioned the necessity of employing four Japanese teachers and an assistant in a school of only thirty-six students when there were already three foreign teachers. This, however, followed an admonition to the three men to give more time to evangelism. Moreover it overlooked the facts that Klein was also serving as pastor of the church, Albright was also involved in the work of a large English night school sponsored by the Mission, and that Van Dyke was supposed to be giving full-time to language study. The meticulousness of the Board is revealed in its comments on the financial report which had been submitted by Albright.

We have examined the report ... and recommend the payment of the indebtedness of the mission: but we are anxious to know what the item called “shogies” means, for which several charges are made. We wish also to inquire what the item — subscription of Rev. F.C. Klein to the Christian Advocate amounting to $28.25 means. We notice an item of 4.60 for Christmas entertainments which we think ought to be paid by the Church and not charged to the Board. We also disapprove the charges for balls, bats, footballs, and purely personal telegrams which are in no way legitimate expenses of the Board. We cannot permit our missionaries to go beyond the appropriation in their expenditures, and in case of such increased expenditures in the future the Board will under no circumstances become responsible for the payment.

As a matter of fact a letter of explanation had been sent from the field in mid-April but failed to reach the Board in time for the annual meeting. That plus a protest from Nagoya caused the executive committee meeting on July 15, 1890, to make a number of changes in the actions taken in May. Its first order of business, however, was to refuse to accept the letter of resignation which Klein had submitted. Among other things, the executive committee also composed the following remarks to the Nagoya missionaries.

Greetings. Your communication from the monthly meeting came to hand and it is unnecessarily sharp and severe and not justified either by the spirit, temper, or action of the Board. We have no desire to call into question your integrity, conscientiousness, or fidelity, and we think that our character and official station in the Church, justify us in expecting credit for an equal conscientiousness and fidelity at your hands.

They also responded to a personal letter from Albright saying that they had intended to give him the same consideration given to all other missionaries, and cautioning him to be more courteous in language and demeanor toward his elders and his superiors. When his term ended in 1892 the Board refused to rehire him.

The Board was under financial pressure these years and on occasion was forced to borrow money to make the quarterly missionary salary.

22See the report of the second annual meeting of the missionaries in MP, September 9, 1891, p. 4.
payments. This probably accounts for the action of the executive committee on November 10, 1891, ordering Klein to stop sending pictures of the Japan Mission work for distribution in America at the Board’s expense.

The exchange of letters across the Pacific increased in quantity during the years but the quality of communication deteriorated proportionately. The further challenge of interpreting the work in Japan to the church at home brought the missionaries and the Board into conflict. In August 1889, Tagg, corresponding secretary for the Board, began to publish a quarterly Missionary Bulletin for distribution through the church. This was enlarged and made a monthly in July 1890. One result of this was that the official church papers, the Methodist Protestant and the Methodist Recorder, which together had a much larger circulation than the Bulletin, decreased their coverage of the Japan Mission. For example, the Protestant, with a total of sixteen pages with four columns per page, was in 1890 devoting on the average one full page each week to temperance concerns but only one column to foreign missions and that mostly quotes from the mission journals of other denominations.

A continuing complaint of the missionaries was that the corresponding secretary did not respond promptly to their letters. At their annual meeting in September 1890 they passed a resolution requesting him to answer mail as soon as he received it. He used the pages of the Bulletin to point out that his post required him to travel a great deal for the Board. Consequently, it was impossible for him to satisfy the missionaries on this point. He also used the pages of the Bulletin to register complaints such as the following against the missionaries.

When the one continuous cry of missionaries is, “Send us more money! Send us more money! We cannot do anything without more money.” there seems to be a grave deficiency somewhere. When missionaries are provided with comfortable salaries, and houses in which to live, and then can do nothing without more money, it looks as if they had missed their calling and got into the wrong place. They have neither the confidence of the Board, their church, nor the people to whom they are sent.

The missionaries did not let such outbursts go unanswered but Tagg refused to publish their responses in the Bulletin and protested when they were carried in the church papers. In regard to the exchange over the question of evangelism or education discussed above, Tagg commented in the April 1, 1892, Bulletin,

We have a paper from Rev. F.C. Klein, in reply to a squib which appeared in the January Bulletin. It is a long paper, and has been published in the Protestant and the Recorder . . . We do not, therefore, think it necessary to republish it in the Bulletin,

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23 MB, February 1, 1891, p. 1.
24 MB, March 1, 1892, p. 2.
nor do we intend to use the columns of this paper for a reply. We have no space for controversy.

Nevertheless, in this same issue Tagg took the editors of the church papers to task for not being more discriminating about what they published from the missionaries.

Some of these letters have been full of criticism and unkindly suggestions of the Board and its members. Neither the officers nor members of the Board have deemed it wise to reply, because they regarded it as safer for the Church and as less afflicting to the readers of the papers, to be silent. Yet every member of the Board is personally known to both editors, and it seems to us that at times the severity of the criticism was such as not to justify its endorsement, even to the extent of giving it publication. Men who love the Church much, often endure silently rather than reply, and thereby do injury to the interests with which they are allied. Critics are not always the men who love the Church most.25

The editor of the Protestant, Edward J. Drinkhouse, replied that he thought it a service to the church to give full airing to controversy. He also remarked that the Bulletin was a superfluous publication. Mission news would be better circulated in the two church papers.26

At its annual meeting in May 1892 the Board passed a resolution prohibiting missionaries from sending letters to the church papers and requiring all communications pertaining to the mission work to be sent to the corresponding secretary. “Any criticism of the Board or its work cannot be made to any person, paper, or Conference, except through the Corresponding Secretary, without becoming subject to the censure of the Board.” This same month, the General Conference elected Tagg to the post of editor of the Protestant. Drinkhouse was retiring in order to write a history of the Methodist Protestant Church.27 Although Tagg was replaced as corresponding secretary, he was elected to the Board and made a member of its executive committee. The Missionary Bulletin ceased publication that summer.

The Board Sends a Deputy to the Field

Not once since the founding of the Mission in 1880 had any Methodist Protestant observer been sent by either the Board or the WFMS to inspect the work in Japan. For over a decade both bodies operated on the basis of their own limited knowledge and reports from their missionaries. As early as May 1888 the General Conference appointed Thomas Hamilton Lewis, president of Western Maryland

25MB, April 1, 1892, p. 2.
26MP, April 6, 1892, p. 8.
27History of Methodist Reform Synoptical of General Methodism 1703 to 1898: with special and comprehensive reference to its most salient exhibition in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church (Baltimore and Pittsburgh: Board of Publication of the MPC, 1899, 2 vols.)
College, to visit the work in Japan as part of a world tour he was planning. The executive committee on August 6, 1891, further commissioned him as their representative, and offered to pay one-half his expenses in Japan, for a detailed report on the Mission there. Lewis arrived in Japan at Yokohama on October 29, 1891, just one day after the Great Nobi Earthquake which had devastated the Nagoya area and disrupted the mission work there. He spent the next several weeks inspecting not only Methodist Protestant but also the work of other denominations in the Yokohama-Tokyo area. He went to Nagoya on November 17 and spent two weeks there. After short visits in Kyota, Kobe, and Nagasaki he left Japan on December 3 and arrived back in America on February 9, 1892.

Lewis attended the March 15, 1892, executive committee meeting and presented his report. This was subsequently published in a pamphlet of twenty-three pages (27,000 words), and sold for ten cents. Unfortunately, I have never been able to find a copy of it. However, the Methodist Protestant (April 6, 1892) published a summary so we have some idea of what his recommendations were and how closely they were followed by the Board. Lewis recommended more emphasis on evangelism and less on educational work, as well as centralization of the educational work at Nagoya. He stressed the necessity of the missionaries learning the language. He had found no antagonism between Board missionaries and WFMS missionaries, and felt that if the two sending bodies in America would leave them alone they could work out any problems that might come up between them on the field. Further, he emphasized that the Board ought to leave the details of operating the Mission to the missionaries. He cautioned against sending anyone over forty years old or under twenty-five as missionaries, and urged the Board to send only those who were willing to commit themselves for life. This report was very influential in setting the course of the Japan Mission henceforth.

Conclusion: Pulling It All Together

As early as 1887 Klein had suggested the organization of an annual conference on the field to strengthen and unify the work. During his furlough in America from September 1888 to March 1890 he attempted to influence the Board in this direction. Consequently, the Board in May

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28 Accounts of the trip are published in MP, December 2, 1891, p. 8; MP, December 16, 1891, p. 4; MP, January 13, 1892, p. 4; MP, January 20, 1892, p. 4; MB, October 1, 1891; MB, February 1, 1892, p. 1; MB, March 1, 1892, p. 1. Drinkhouse, vol. 2, p. 649, is wrong about the dates of Lewis’ tour.

29 Letter to Bates, December 26, 1887.
1889 recommended quarterly and annual mission meetings in Japan. Moreover, the executive committee meeting on December 26, 1889, at which Klein was present, directed that reports from the field were not to be sent to the Board until they had been read, discussed, and corrected in these meetings. Japanese co-workers recommended by the missionaries and approved by the Board were made full members of these meetings. In addition to setting the stage for the future organization of an annual conference, another purpose of the proposed annual meeting was to bring the Yokohama and Nagoya missionaries together.30

The first annual meeting was held from Wednesday, September 3, 1890, to Friday, September 4, at the Mission Home, 120A Bluff, Yokohama, with Klein and Colhouer sharing the chair. Present from Yokohama were Colhouer, Morgan, Toku Tamura, and Takashi Ishii; from Nagoya, Klein, Albright, Van Dyke, Gen Maruyama, and Kazuo Toyoda-Inuuma. Morgan was elected secretary and Van Dyke made his assistant. The chief event of the first day was the ordination of Morgan, who had been elected to elder’s orders by the North Carolina Conference. Colhouer conducted the ceremony assisted by the other missionaries.31

The next day the meeting called on the church in America to hold a self-denial Christmas to raise money for the Japan Mission. It also passed a resolution expressing sympathy and promising co-operation with the Board, as well as one deprecating anything tending to make a breach between the foreign missionaries and the Japanese co-workers and pledging each to mutual forbearance. A letter from the Methodist Episcopal Conference concerning a union Methodist publication for Japan was presented. The meeting expressed sympathy for the project but felt the Mission could not obligate itself financially. A ministerial education society was formed to give financial aid to theological students under training in the Mission -- four at that time. To receive aid a student had to pledge himself to five years of service in the Mission after completing his studies. The aid was set at fifty dollars per year per student with six years as the limit. The problem of the apparent indifference to Christianity on the part of many students in the schools and the falling away from the church of many others after they left school was also discussed. On Thursday evening a public service was held in the Yokohama church at which Maruyama preached on Romans 8:28. Toyoda-Inuuma, Albright, and Van Dyke also spoke.

On Friday a committee composed of Morgan, Ishii, and Maruyama was appointed to assist Klein in preparing a course of language study for the missionaries. This day they adopted an official Japanese name for the

30MP, April 30, 1890, p. 9.
31Detailed reports of the first annual meeting were carried in MP, November 12, 1890, p. 4; and MB, December 1, 1890, p. 3.
Methodist Protestant Church in Japan. The name adopted was Mi Fu Kyokwai. The Chinese characters mi (meaning beautiful and pronounced as the first person pronoun) and fu (meaning general or universal and pronounced as foo in foolish) were chosen not only for their meaning but also for their similarity in sound with the initials M and P. Kyokwai was the Japanese word for church. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Japan was known as the Mi Ii Kyokwai, the character ii having the meaning of unsurpassed and being pronounced as the letter E. At one point in the history of the Mission the Methodist Protestants had used the words Mi Shin Kyokwai, the Chinese character shin (pronounced sheen) having the meaning of new and sometimes being used for Protestant as distinguished from Catholic (the “old”) Christianity in Japan.\footnote{Klein’s letter to Colhouer, November 29, 1887; MB, March 1, 1892.}

After the meeting the secretary reported “...there was a great divergence of thought in reference to the ways and means of carrying on the great work of missions ... yet ... but one object and purpose in the heart of every member ... an ardent desire to disseminate the gospel.”\footnote{MP, October 15, 1890, p. 9.}

The second annual meeting was held in July 1891 at the Methodist Protestant Anglo-Japanese College in Nagoya with the same officers as the previous year. Other members were also the same with the addition of Miss Tsune Hirata who had in the meantime returned from studies in America under the appointment of the Board. The most significant action of this meeting was the adoption of a petition to the 1892 General Conference for the organization of an annual conference in Japan. The memorial read in part as follows:

The organization of a mission conference in Japan is highly important. First because our young church ... should be thoroughly instructed and grounded in the principles and polity of the Methodist Protestant Church; and the only way to do this is by means of an Annual Conference ... Second, we have now arrived at that stage of development that enables us to have our native pastors. There is no law clearly applicable to their case as we are at present organized ... We want our first native preachers, when the church shall have grown older and stronger, to be able to look back to the perfect regularity of their ordinations.\footnote{MP, September 9, 1891, p. 4.}

The Organization of the Annual Conference

The executive committee of the Board on November 10, 1891, referred the question of establishing an annual conference in Japan to the annual meeting of the Board with its own recommendation for such a step. The Board on May 17, 1892, recommended the organization of a mission annual conference for Japan. At the General Conference, held May 20-31, 1892, in Westminster, Maryland, the Committee on Foreign
Missions of which T.H. Lewis was a member, seconded this recommendation.\textsuperscript{35} The General Conference subsequently charged the Board of Foreign Missions with the duty of organizing an annual conference according to the provisions of the Discipline except in the following points.

1. All missionaries sent out by the Board or by the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society, shall be entitled to membership in the Conference; but this shall not include the wives of the missionaries.

2. If there be more than one missionary laboring at a point where there is but one church, the church shall have power to elect a lay delegate for each missionary and minister within its bounds.

3. The Board of Missions shall appoint the President of the Conference, until the next General Conference, and determine his duties. He may be given larger power than the Discipline recognizes, if the Board consider it necessary provided, that all acts performed under this grant be reported to the next General Conference.

The Annual Conference shall report their proceedings to the Board of Missions, and all questions of interpretation shall be finally decided by the Board.\textsuperscript{36}

On September 15, 1892, the Japan Mission Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church was organized at 120A Bluff, Yokohama. Accredited lay delegates were Daiichi Tokida from Nagoya and Takashi Ishii from Yokohama. Ministerial delegates were the three missionaries then on the field -- Van Dyke, Morgan, and Klein who was elected president pro tempore pending the Board’s confirmation. Morgan was named secretary. Gen Maruyama was ordained and made a member in full connection. Iyota Inanuma, Junzo Hata, Toku Tamura, and M. Hara were received on trial.\textsuperscript{37} Contrary to the instructions of the General Conference WFMS missionaries were not included as members, nor was

\textsuperscript{35}MP, June 1, 1892, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{36}Journal of the Sixteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church....1892, p. 70.

\textsuperscript{37}MP, October 26, 1892, p. 4. Douglas R. Chandler in “The Methodist Protestant Church: 1865-1900,” in The History of American Methodism (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), vol. 2, p. 408, gives the membership of this conference as three missionaries and one Japanese. However, this is only the ministerial membership after the ordination of Maruyama. Drinkhouse, vol. 1, p. 596, says five Japanese preachers were admitted on probation in addition to Maruyama. The report in MP gives the names of only four. However, MP, November 16, 1892, p. 1, reports receiving a picture of the recently organized conference in which there are the three missionaries and eight Japanese. This lends credence to Drinkhouse. I’ve never seen the picture and am not able to account for the fifth Japanese. It may have been T. Mitani. (See below.) Unfortunately, I’ve never been able to find copies of the minutes for the 1892, 1893, or 1894 sessions of the conference. There is nothing in subsequent minutes to shed any light on this. Tokujiro Matsunaga in Nihon Mifu Kyokai Nempu [A Chronology of the Japan Methodist Church] (Tokyo: Shinai Shadan, 1967), p. 6, is in error in listing Hata and Inanuma as being ordained at this first session of the Conference. Hata was ordained in 1893, Inanuma in 1894, and Tamura in 1896. Hara was never ordained. He dropped out sometime during the 1894-1895 conference year.
its clear intention for a balance between lay and clergy membership honored.

Aggressive evangelism was a special emphasis of the first session of the Conference. The territory between Yokohama and Nagoya, a stretch of over two hundred miles, was divided into three districts. Morgan was named chairman of the Yokohama district and appointed head of the school and pastor of the church. His assistant was Inanuma. Tamura was appointed pastor for the Matsuda Mission circuit, and a Yoshizo Sakuma was appointed to the North Yokohama Mission. A South Yokohama Mission and Kitagawa Mission were left to be supplied. In Nagoya, Klein was chairman and president of the college. Maruyama was appointed to pastor the Nagoya Church; M. Hara to serve the Nagoya Mission circuit, and Hata to serve the Inuyama Mission circuit. Van Dyke was made chairman of the Shizuoka district with Toyokichi Mitani, who had been a theological student in the Nagoya college, as his assistant. At this time there were 225 church members, 34 probationers, and over 400 Sunday school pupils. The church in America reported 1,485 itinerant ministers, 1,125 unstationed ministers, 141,271 members, and 4,120 probationers in 1892.

Corresponding secretary Tagg wrote after the General Conference that the organization of the annual conference was intended to relieve the Board of some of the details involved in operating the Japan Mission. "It is plain that, at a distance of thousands of miles, a Board is incompetent to manage the affairs in its mission churches and schools, except in a general way, and missionaries will appreciate the responsibility of uniting their wisdom in the control of affairs." There was a past of frustration and contention behind this bland statement. The future would prove the wisdom of the act. The text of a sermon Maruyama preached during the first annual mission meeting in 1890, seems an appropriate conclusion for this article. It was Romans 8:28. "We know that in all things God works for good with those who love him, those whom he has called according to his purpose."

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38 Sakuma, a lay member of the Yokohama Church, had opened in 1890 a preaching place at 6-chome, Uchida-cho. *Maita Kyokai Nanajunen Shi Nempyo* [A Chronology of the Seventy-year History of the Maita Church] (Yokohama: Maita Church, 1965), p. 15. However, he was never ordained.

39 MB, June 1, 1892, p. 1.