"PIONEER AMERICANAS": AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1898-1910

by

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ABSTRACT

QUINN WHITTINGTON. “Pioneer Americanas”: American Protestant Missionary Women in the Philippines, 1898-1910. (Under the direction of DR. DAVID JOHNSON)

In 1898, the United States intervened in conflicts between Spain and its colonial holdings in the Pacific Ocean. The nation rationalized its actions as a humanitarian mission to free the native peoples of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam from Spanish imperial rule. At the war’s conclusion, the U.S. annexed the Pacific and Caribbean, crafting an imperial identity based in what it believed was humanitarian aid and “civilizing guidance.” Though the annexations and subsequent occupations were contentious, Protestant missionary women were proponents of the actions particularly in the Philippines as it opened the door for evangelistic work. As occupation of the Philippines continued, however, the Protestant identities of the missionary women clashed with the American imperial identity which was becoming progressively more secular. In addition, while imperialism created an avenue into the Philippines for Protestant missionary women, the women also believed it did the same for fragments of American culture such as alcohol and gambling which they deemed morally “corrupting.”.

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CHAPTER 1: AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE ASCENSION OF PROTESTANT MISSIONARY WOMEN

> You may linger a moment to get a glimpse of the ways in which past history has been standing at the helm, guiding the "ships of state" into unknown seas. Our "ship of state" has had such guiding of late, for that our glorious old flag has come to the Philippine Islands to stay is a settled fact.[1]
>
> - Alice Byram Condict, M.D., 1902

In his Farewell Address given in September 1796, George Washington recommended that the burgeoning American nation should pursue a foreign policy of non-interventionism: to not become involved in European conflicts or politics when possible.[2] Non-intervention in European affairs came to define U.S. foreign policy for nearly 100 years as the nation obtained vast swathes of territories across continental North America while staying out of the major conflicts plaguing Europe.[3] However, non-interventionist policy came to a sudden end in 1898 with the onset of the Spanish-American War, won by the U.S. within four months.[4] Fought over Spain's colonial holdings in the Pacific Ocean in response to a series of revolutions among native populations of Cuba and the Philippines, the war was a contentious topic within the American public and political spheres as non-interventionists and anti-imperialists squared off against pro-interventionists.[5] Pro-interventionists typically supported U.S. involvement in the conflicts as a humanitarian obligation to protect and support

[1] Alice Byram Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines: Notes Gathered During Professional and Missionary Work* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902): 11.
[2] George Washington, *Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004), 26-27.
[3] Whether the War of 1812 was a theatre of the Napoleonic Wars or its own separate conflict is contentious.
[4] *Treaty of Peace Between the United States and Spain; December 10, 1898*, Yale Law School, The Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sp1898.asp.
[5] Various revolutions and rebellions took place in the Philippines in the decades leading up to the final August 1896 Philippine Revolution, The Philippine Revolution was led by the Katipunan revolutionary organization who sought Filipino independence from Spain.

revolutionaries from an overbearing Spanish empire. The humanitarian rationalization of intervention quickly morphed into the very cultural identity of American imperialism as the U.S. annexed Spain's Pacific territories including the Philippines. American political leaders and pro-interventionists across the U.S. believed their mission and moral duty toward Filipinos was provisioning them with what they perceived to be humanitarian aid and political "guidance." Such aid primarily involved public works programs which created an Americanized public-school system in the islands in addition to various other infrastructural changes. The end goal of the American imperial mission in the Philippines was to create what it saw as a "civilized" people, meaning a people capable of a self-governing democracy.[6]

American Protestant missionaries were among the pro-interventionists who supported U.S. intervention in the revolutionary conflicts from the onset of the war and also the subsequent occupation.[7] Prior to Spanish-American War, Protestant missionaries were reaching the limits of new evangelistic opportunities in continental North America at the same time as the U.S. reached the limits of territorial expansion westward.[8] Native Americans had been the focus of Protestant missionaries for many previous decades on the American frontier; however, through a combination of mission saturation and perceived failures in spreading Protestant values, Protestant missionaries sought new

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[6] The mission of American imperialism is clearly racialized per the characterization of Filipinos as un-civilized and in need of civilizing. American imperialism was also highly paternalistic, shown by the frequent use of the word "guidance" or "guiding" in many sources regarding occupation of the islands.
[7] Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986): 3.
[8] Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis laments the announced end of the American frontier in the 1890 U.S. Census and that experiences gained by pioneers moving westward crafted American democracy and cultural identity. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894).

lands for religious conversion.[9] Lands within and across the Pacific Ocean, such as China, India, Japan, and Malaysia were the obvious choices considering Protestant missionaries had already started mission work in them. They did not hold any outright interest in the Philippines until the Spanish-American War, however, largely due to the dominance of Catholicism – the Spanish Empire's official religion – which inhibited Protestant mission work. Contextualized by the growing limitation on opportunities for Protestant mission work, U.S. annexation of the Philippines and promotion of religious liberty, a tenant of the U.S. Constitution, created an opening for Protestant missionaries to reach a population largely untouched by Protestantism. Thus, the annexation of the Philippines not only represented the continuation of American westward expansion, but also the expansion of Protestant mission work into the Pacific.[10]

By 1900, soon after U.S. occupation began, Protestant missionaries initiated mission work in the Philippines.[11] Though the islands were predominantly Catholic after more than 300 years of Spanish rule, missionary societies saw lucrative opportunities for religious conversion among the non-Christian populations in the mountainous regions surrounding Manila, such as northern Luzon, Mindanao, and Panay. That is not to say, however, that Protestant missionaries entirely avoided Catholic populations in the Philippines. To the contrary, Protestant missionary conflict with Catholic leaders in the

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[9] C. L. Higham notes that many Protestant missionaries viewed their work among Native Americans on the American frontier as a failure due to perceived "corrupting" influences from American pioneers. C. L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 56-57.

[10] Richard Drinnon describes American westward expansion into the Pacific as a continuation of the American frontier. Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[11] *Woman's Work for Woman* 14 (Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1899): 143; "Malaysia Conference," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 31 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900): 32-33.

islands figures prominently into this thesis. Yet mission work was not the only goal of Protestant missionary societies in the Philippines. Their religious identities quickly became intertwined with the American imperial identity perceived as humanitarianism resulting in an expansion in the necessary skills for pursuing mission work in the Philippines. Specifically, teaching and medical experiences were paramount qualities needed by Protestant missionaries, qualities which women notably had in abundance.

Protestant missionary women made up the first mission groups sent to the Philippines, playing a pivotal role in spreading Protestantism and providing what they thought of as humanitarian aid. While most head missionaries on the islands were men, women formed a backbone for the combined humanitarian and mission work by utilizing their extra-religious skills including medical training and teaching expertise to make their conversion efforts easier among more susceptible portions of the Filipino population: the young and the sick. They built up a variety of institutions to achieve both their religious conversion and "humanitarian" goals including Protestant private schools which combined religious teachings with a general curriculum; deaconess training schools which converted Filipinas into evangelists for the purpose of spreading Protestantism to their own communities; and medical facilities like hospitals and dispensaries which provided westernized medical care to Filipinos, creating an avenue through which Protestant medical missionary women could attempt religious conversion. Upon closer examination, however, the creation of separate institutions by Protestant missionary women from those of the U.S. government, in addition to two other issues, reveals disputes in the end vision of a "civilized" Philippines.

Though Protestant missionary women viewed schools as institutions through which they could perform their humanitarian and mission work effectively, the U.S. government began to create a public school system in Philippines with a secular education in mind. Believing Protestant teachings were a necessity, however, missionary women started their own religious private schools open to children and adolescents. Protestant private schools did not receive federal monetary support like public schools and, thus, typically charged admittance fees on a monthly basis to recoup costs.[12] Protestant missionaries creating separate institutions like private schools with focuses on Protestant teachings was nothing new, however the secular institutions the U.S. government established in the Philippines were contentious among many Protestant missionary women. Many of the women believed that their mission was to transform the Philippines into a Protestant nation and secularization clearly impeded their vision. While there were no institutional clashes involving deaconess training schools or medical facilities, their purposes were the same as the private schools. Consequently the addition of secularity to the American imperial identity as occupation progressed clashed with the Protestant identity of many missionary women although a complete fracture between the two never truly formed.

Catholic friars became an additional contentious issue between Protestant missionary women and the U.S. government over the problem of secularization. Friars were religiously, politically, and culturally powerful Spanish men in Filipino society who remained after American annexation. Both Protestant missionaries and the U.S. government viewed the friars as highly corrupt and that a purported animosity toward

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[12] Cornelia Chillson Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas" or First Methodist Missionaries in the Philippines* (Cornelia Chillson Moots, 1903): 23.

them by Filipinos was justified. Defining why the friars were a problem varied between the two groups, however. Perceived by Protestant missionary women as the major cause of the Philippine Revolution in 1896, the women characterized friars as spreading religious superstition among Filipinos. Protestant missionary women often defined the major goal of their mission as dispelling the perceived superstition which they believed was the major impediment to their "civilizing." The U.S. government also identified the friars as a significant issue in the Philippines. However, they defined it as a problem of political animosity among Filipinos, not a religious problem as Protestant missionary women believed. Though the U.S. government secularized the friar problem, they did nothing to resolve it to the frustration of many Protestant missionary women.

Finally, alcohol consumption and supposed immoral activities like gambling were a significant concern for many Protestant missionary women in the Philippines. Perhaps cognizant of the perceived failure of Protestant missionaries among Native Americans on the American frontier, women like Cornelia Chillson Moots saw themselves as champions of Protestant moral authority among both Filipinos and "corrupt" Americans alike. Protestant missionary women were not alone in their fears, however, as the U.S. government and military also viewed alcohol and gambling among American soldiers as a concern during the Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War which followed soon after. Though both the government and military took actions to curb such "immoral" activities among soldiers, some Protestant missionary women began to portray American empire as opening the way for what they believed to be corrupting and unsavory portions of American culture.

Current historical interpretation of Protestant missionaries in the Philippines posits that they supported American empire and its supposed humanitarian identity to "govern" the islands until "civilized" while reserving criticism for individual immoral Americans.[13] This thesis does not entirely dispute such an interpretation. Protestant missionary women did support America's imperial intervention in the Philippines because it opened the islands to Protestant mission work and because they did believe they had a moral and humanitarian duty to aid Filipinos. As occupation progressed, however, supposed corrupting forces followed and American imperial identity increasingly came to include not only humanitarianism but also secularism. Insight into the previously mentioned conflicts provides a new interpretation of Protestant mission work in the Philippines. That is, it was not simply a select few immoral Americans whom Protestant missionary women detested; rather, their Protestant identity and mission also clashed with certain fragments of American imperial identity.

Before discussing the work of Protestant missionary women in the Philippines, it is necessary to delve further into the American imperial identity and its realization in the years preceding and during the Spanish-American War. It is also important to understand how Protestant missionary women became "pioneer Americanas" in the Philippines, as one described herself and her colleagues. The remainder of this chapter will examine both and will conclude by identifying pertinent historiography, rationalizing the methodology, and identifying the sources. The second chapter will examine the work of Protestant women missionaries in the Philippines and their conflicts with American imperialism utilizing the contexts and definitions provided in this chapter.

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[13] Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

1.1. The American Imperial Identity

Defining imperialism in the American context is rife with historical debate over the country's "exceptional" nature compared to empires originating from Europe. Perhaps the simplest and most inclusive definition of imperialism is all that is required to firmly identify the U.S. as an imperial nation: that imperialism is merely an extension of a nation's power into new territories through economic, military, political, or cultural methods. By no means is American imperialism's uniqueness in question, however. Rather, what I argue is that all imperial nations have distinct cultural formations of empire which builds upon the foundational definition. Big game hunting in British-Africa and hunting literature disseminated in Britain's metropole is one such examples of the cultural formation of empire during the nineteenth-century.[14] For the U.S., Manifest Destiny – a doctrine which rationalized territorial expansion throughout North America and subsequent settler-colonialism as "destined" – embodied the pursuit of westward expansion for much of the nineteenth century. However, as early as the 1840s the Whig Party in the U.S. also defined the mission of Manifest Destiny as "one of democratic example rather than one of conquest," a minor indication of what the U.S. would later pursue in the Philippines. [15]

Exceptional theories of the U.S. lacking an imperial identity often focus on the idiosyncrasy of the American national experience compared to tradition imperial powers such as Britain, France, Germany, and Spain. Having broken away from the British Empire, the U.S. solidified a national identity in anti-imperialism: as united colonies that

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[14] Harriet Ritvo, "The Thrill of the Chase," in *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).
[15] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 706.

defeated their imperial masters. The U.S.'s notable origin does not exclude it from involvement in imperialism. Rather, its inherent anti-imperialist stance contributed to its own unique brand of imperialism contingent on philosophical ideals of freedom and liberty. In 1898, after the Spanish-American War, the U.S. faced a crisis built upon its contradictory identity as an anti-imperial empire. Politicians, literary authors, and the general American populace rationalized the acquisition of territories like the Philippines along moral and humanitarian lines, arguing that liberating the islands from imperial "bullies" and promoting social reform and public works was the moral duty of the U.S.[16] Pursuing such perceived reforms involved the employment of a wide breadth of professionals including teachers, doctors, anthropologists, and government officials all of whom became instrumental in disseminating American culture.[17] The U.S. government did not intend for occupation of the Philippines to be a permanent ordeal, however. The general assumption by both public and political spheres in the U.S. was that Filipinos would become self-dependent and "civilized" under American guidance, a belief eventually termed "the white man's burden." Originally coined in 1899 by English author Rudyard Kipling as the title of his famous poem, *The White Man's Burden* came to exemplify American imperial identity as the taking up of the humanitarian and paternalistic burden to guide and "civilize" people of color.[18] U.S. political leaders like

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[16] Earlier historiographies emphasized Yellow Journalism as the catalyst for the Spanish-American War. The current trend emphasizes perceived humanitarian identity. Nick Kapur's article is one such example of this shift: Nick Kapur, "William McKinley's Values and the Origins of the Spanish-American War: A Reinterpretation," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 2011): 18-38.

[17] Mary H. Fee was one such schoolteacher who travelled to the Philippines. She describes her experiences and those of her colleagues extensively. Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1912), 54.

[18] The title of the piece and its contents varied slightly as Kipling rewrote it for various events. He eventually titled and dedicated it specifically to the Philippine-American War. Rudyard Kipling, *The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands*, Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University, accessed November 17, 2019, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/kipling.asp.

President William McKinley, Indiana Senator and prominent imperialist Albert J. Beveridge, and then-Vice President Theodore Roosevelt all rationalized intervention, annexation, and occupation in the Philippines echoing the beliefs of Kipling's poem.[19]

Among the numerous battlegrounds for mass social reform in the islands was religion, with Protestant evangelizing becoming an important method for assimilating segments of the Filipino populace into American culture. Though the U.S. federal government did not directly send Protestant missionaries to the Philippines, adhering to a strict separation of church and state, politicians like President McKinley nevertheless supported converting the Philippines into a Protestant nation. Though missionary societies would receive no direct support from the federal government, President McKinley's assertions in his "Decision on the Philippines" acted as validation and impetus for them to join in on the broader cultural movement to assimilate Filipinos.

Defining American imperialism as unique through its "humanitarian" cultural identity does not preclude the obvious economic, military, and political purposes of American empire. The strategic advantage of the archipelago to the military notwithstanding, popular sentiment did exist which characterized the Philippines as simply a steppingstone to China.[20] Further, for many decades prior to 1898 the U.S. sought political influence as well as trade and land rights in China. Yet economic, military, political, and even cultural factors for empire are not exclusive of each other.

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[19] William McKinley, "Decision on the Philippines," 1900. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1257; Theodore Roosevelt, "Address of Vice President Roosevelt" (speech, Minnesota State Fair, Minneapolis, MN, September 2, 1901).
[20] See Appendix: Stepping-Stone to China. "And, after All, the Philippines are Only the Stepping-Stone to China," *Judge Magazine*, 1900 or 1902, from Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flohri_cartoon_about_the_Philippines_as_a_bridge_to_China.jpg.

Quite the opposite, they coalesce to form American imperialism as a whole. As such, economics and militarism do not fully explain imperialism in the Philippines. It is then necessary to understand the cultural manifestations of American empire in the islands via its asserted humanitarian rationalization, one which the U.S. government reaffirmed formally with the 1916 Jones Act and to which Protestant missionary women would prescribe.

1.2. Religious Revivals of the Nineteenth Century

The prevalence of Protestant women missionaries in American imperialism in the Philippines resulted from two religious revival movements emanating from the American South at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. The first movement, the Second Great Awakening, began around 1790 and gained momentum into the 1840s. It drew in a vast swathe of American Methodists and Baptists through a focus on enthusiastic participation in religious services and acceptance of overwhelming emotions like shame to guide belief.[21] Belief in the emotional directly contradicted orthodox religious beliefs influenced by Enlightenment ideals of rationality. Orthodox beliefs further deteriorated as the groups on the lowest rungs of America's hierarchical social ladder, including African Americans and women, started to participate in religious services, referred to as "camps."[22] The Second Great Awakening reached its peak by the 1840s, however, and while its influence nevertheless made an imprint on American

[21] Neil Meyer, "Falling for the Lord Shame, Revivalism, and the Origins of the Second Great Awakening," *Early American Studies* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 142-166.
[22] Nancy F. Cott studies the youthful origins of the Second Great Awakening and the prominence of women in the camps. Nancy F. Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. ½ (Autumn 1975): 15-29.

culture, it does not fully explain the evangelist fervor which developed in response to America's move toward overseas imperialism.

In his study of revivalist movements in the U.S., William G. McLoughlin argues that a Third Great Awakening grew in the 1850s and continued into the early twentieth century.[23] This third revival embodied progressivist ideals of global religious activism and social reform, both terms which effectively describe the sentiment missionaries held toward evangelizing in the U.S. occupied Pacific territories like the Philippines. Wesleyan Methodists were one such denomination influenced by the third revival, supporting an anti-slavery agenda and promoting abolition leading up to the American Civil War.[24] Wesleyan belief in liberty for the trodden-upon bares a stark resemblance to the U.S. imperial identity. Such humanitarian messages introduced by the Third Great Awakening were not exclusive to Wesleyan Methodists, however. Rather, they can be seen in the mission records of many Protestant denominations in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Consequently, American Protestant church leaders informed by the Third Great Awakening looked beyond the nation's continental boundaries for new missionary opportunities while bearing what they perceived as humanitarianism at the forefront.

Though the Second and Third Great Awakenings had profound effects on religion and mission work in the U.S. as a whole, women benefited disproportionately more. The Second Great Awakening resulted in the wider acceptance of women participating in

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[23] William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakening, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[24] Randall J. Stephens, "From Abolitionists to Fundamentalists: The Transformation of the Wesleyan Methodists in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *American Nineteenth Century History* 16, no. 2 (October 2015): 159-160.

religious work. Through the Third Great Awakening, many Protestant evangelistic women then looked towards mission work to find fulfillment abroad. However, the Second and Third Great Awakenings do not fully account for the ascension of women into the missionary field. It is notable that women's missionary societies only began to appear in the U.S. after the Civil War, an occurrence similarly noted by historian Jane Hunter. Hunter briefly describes an influx of single women into missionary work after the Civil War, however she stops short of adequately detailing the reasoning.[25] Whether the emergence of women into the religious workforce simply resulted from a combination of religious awakenings and social movements like first wave feminism leading up to the Progressive Era, or if events during the Civil War itself caused the change – the reasoning is not wholly clear and is beyond the purview of this thesis.[26] Nevertheless, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, women became prominent members of Protestant missionary societies in the U.S.

1.3. Historiography and Methodology

Though my primary focus is on Protestant missionary women, defining American empire and missionary women's rise in the nineteenth century has the potential to reveal significant additions to historical knowledge. This thesis draws primarily from the monographs of Kenton J. Clymer and Jane Hunter whose extensive studies on American

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[25] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 11.

[26] The reduction in population of healthy men caused by the Civil War may be an explanation for the drastic increase in women's involvement in mission work. Maris Vinovskis suggests that the war resulted in a 3% reduction in total population, an 8% reduction in white males aged 13-43, and a much larger number of amputees and those afflicted with other debilitating wounds. Connecting population reduction caused by war to greater involvement of women in the workplace is not without precedent, as shown by World War I and World War II. Such a connection, however, requires further research and would be a thesis in itself. Maris Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," in *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, edited by Maris Vinovskis (New York: Cambridge University Press), 7.

Protestant missionaries in the Philippines and China respectively at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century represent some of the only such available.[27] Though both wrote in the mid-1980s, the historiography of missionary influence in American empire, especially at the turn of the nineteenth century has remained stagnant. Study of missionary women is even more lacking. This is not to say that studies on American imperialism in the Philippines remain unchanged since their inception. Much to the opposite, in fact, the historiography is in a healthy place if we remove religious analysis from the equation. As such, this thesis, in part, aims to reinvigorate analysis of missionaries involved in American imperialism as it is clear that the current historical interpretation does not fully account for the motivations, identity, and actions of all Protestant missionaries. It also bears mentioning the notable absence of Filipino voices from this thesis. To clarify, this work is on the American perspective of their empire and not the Filipino perspective of which there is also a healthy historiography.

Clymer was, and still is, the preeminent historian on American Protestant missionaries in the Philippines with most of his work on the topic written in the 1970s and 1980s.[28] His research, while seemingly comprehensive, does not draw on nearly enough social and cultural contexts of the nineteenth century to define mission work in the Philippines and its interactions with American empire. Clymer's research remains largely contained within the context of religious movements such as the Holiness

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[27] Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines*; Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984): 27-51.
[28] Kenton J. Clymer, "Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man's Burden in the Philippines," *Pacific Historical Review* 45, No. 4 (November 1976): 495-517; Kenton J. Clymer, "Religion and American Imperialism: Methodist Missionaries in the Philippine Islands, 1899-1913," *Pacific Historical Review* 49, No. 1 (Feb. 1980): 29-50; Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

Movement and the revivals of Dwight L. Moody, and the introduction of the Social Gospel to identify missionary motivations. [29] Though he acknowledges the existence of "secondary motivations" such as the rising influence of Progressivist thought amongst evangelists, he does not pursue the topic to a great degree.[30] Further, and perhaps the most stark omission from Clymer's writing, is a lack of focus on Protestant missionary women. Instead, Clymer weaves the work of women and men together to create a homogenized historical understanding despite the experiences of not only Protestant missionary men and women, but of men and women in general being wholly distinct. Finally, though he identifies general acceptance of American empire among Protestant missionaries, Clymer's lack of a comprehensive identification of American imperial identity as based in perceived humanitarianism and later secularism creates a gap in the historical understanding of the conflicts between the two entities.

While both Hunter and Clymer rely on some social context to examine American missionaries, they tend to focus on events after the end of the American Civil War in 1865. When examining social influences on missionary and their motivations, Hunter generally draws from family experiences throughout the women's development toward adulthood.[31] Looking at Hunter's later publications – both unrelated to missionary work and focusing on family life and girlhood – indicates her personal research focus which guided her toward her conclusion on influences and motivations.[32] Clymer, on the other

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[29] Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986): 11-31.
[30] Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines*, 19-20.
[31] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984): 27-51.
[32] Jane H. Hunter, "Inscribing the Self in the Heart of the Family: Diaries and Girlhood in Late-Victorian America," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (March 1992): 51-81; Jane Hunter, *How Young Ladies became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

hand, entrenches his research within missionary societies and evangelist movements, only brushing the surface of social contexts.[33] Neither expand their studies to include a wide range of socio-cultural influences; a methodology this thesis seeks to employ.

Various historiographical fields examining American intervention in the Philippines have arisen since the 1960s with most, if not all, remaining active. Onofre D. Corpuz and Peter W. Stanley's writings from 1965 and 1974 respectively represent broad histories of occupation and nation building in the Philippines.[34] They allude to the religious beliefs of Filipinos, yet it is never their focus. Utilizing the Philippines as a case study for nation building remains an important focus in Philippine and American imperial studies.[35] Similarly, Stuart Miller Creighton wrote on the military conquest and governance of the Philippines in 1982, directly preceding Clymer's work.[36] Creighton described American imperial occupation as "benevolent assimilation," a term drawn from a proclamation made by President William McKinley to describe the goal of military action in the Philippines. Like the topic of nation building, military histories of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars are a significant mainstay in the historiography.

By the twenty-first century, the study of American occupation in the Philippines merged into general imperial histories which focused on American empire broadly. These

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[33] Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines*, 11-31.

[34] Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

[35] Annick Cizel, "Nation-Building in the Philippines: Rooseveltian Statecraft for Imperial Modernization in an Emergent Transatlantic World Order," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19, no. 4 (December 2008): 690-711; Caroline S. Hau, "Rethinking History and 'Nation-Building' in the Philippines," in *Nation-Building: Five Southeast Asian Histories*, edited by Gungwu Wang (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), 39-68. Hau's chapter is a postmodernist deconstruction of nation-building as a concept.

[36] Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

studies varied from political, to military, to racial histories such as that of Eric T. L. Love's *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900*.[37] Love's thesis posits that racial ideologies permeating American public and political consciousness, including the white man's burden, inhibited American imperialism rather than promoted it. In continuation of the military histories of the 1980s, Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine wrote an examination of American imperial wars from the annexation of the Philippines to the Vietnam War.[38] Hunt and Levine's work joins a plethora of military and wartime histories of America's imperial wars, resulting in thriving historiography not only in their broad fields, but also in studies of U.S. conflicts in the Philippines specifically.[39]

Despite the broad range of research focuses found 2000s, literary analyses dominates historiography in the 2010s. Literary historians of the American empire in the Philippines seek to understand the general American population's support and opposition to annexing the islands using literary works as lenses into the past. Meg Wesling, for instance, argues in *Empire's Proxy: American Literature and U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines* that literary studies grew out of the newly created American-led education system in the Philippines.[40] In doing so, she simultaneously suggests that literature

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[37] Eric T. L. Love, *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004). A more specific example of race and empire in the context of the Philippines is: Paul A. Kramar, *Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[38] Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine, *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
[39] Examples of additional military and war histories, to name a few, are: Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Hugh Rockoff, *America's Economic Way of War: War and the US Economy from the Spanish-American War to the First Gulf War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
[40] Meg Wesling, *Empire's Proxy: American Literature and U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

became a vehicle for American identity in school houses and that imperialism influenced the field of literary studies up to the present. Wesling's work is emblematic of the literary analytical methods that dominates modern studies of the American empire in the Philippines.

Among literary historians, Mark Twain's anti-imperialist writings regarding the Philippines influenced a following of Twain scholars.[41] Twain's writings attempted to appeal to the Christian sensibilities of his readership, indicating the importance of religion among the American populace in making political judgments. Susan K. Harris uses the writings of authors including Twain in her work *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* as a lens to gauge American popular opinion into the annexation of the Philippines.[42] Harris defines a "Christian identity" inherent to American culture which influenced support and opposition of imperial policy in the Philippines. She uses the literary works of Charles Monroe Sheldon and Ernest Howard Crosby, who wrote *In His Steps* and *Captain Jinks, Hero* respectively, as evidence of America's Christian identity in American empire.

Only recently has interest returned to the topic of American missionaries and empire with the publication of the essay collection *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*.[43] The collection represents an attempt at reigniting interest in the study of missionaries, but also

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[41] Twain studies began much earlier than the current heyday of literary analysis. An example is: Jim Zwick, *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992).
[42] Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[43] *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

introduces new dimensions to the historiography: women and gender. The editors of the collection acknowledge the lengthy absence of study on American missionaries in empire, honoring Hunter's 1984 study on missionaries in China for prompting new scholarship but further admitting that "the intersection of women's history and American foreign relations has not developed robustly since."[44] Though the collection has injected a new lifeblood into the field after nearly 30 years of silence, the essayists made very little progress on the study of women missionaries in the Philippines with only a single essay exclusively examining the role of The Woman's Board of Missions from 1902 to 1930.[45] Nevertheless, *Competing Kingdoms* represents an important step in broadening the field.

When contextualized with the religious awakenings of the nineteenth century and by the identification of American imperial identity, women's mission work in the Philippines and their motivations become more nuanced. The shift from wholehearted support for the opportunities and goals of American empire to criticism and frustration also becomes clear. Thus, this thesis follows a methodological approach which defines the social influences on American women missionaries and their motivations in the Philippines utilizing social movements and events which occurred throughout the nineteenth century. While the second chapter focuses on Protestant women's mission work from 1898 to 1910, it does so supported by the broader social context laid out in the beginning of this chapter.

Within the field of medical history, the works of Roger Cooter and William Schneider – both writing in the mid-1990s – display the effectiveness of this

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[44] *Competing Kingdoms,* 3.
[45] Laura R. Prieto, "'Stepmother America': The Woman's Board of Missions in the Philippines, 1902-1930," in *Competing Kingdoms,* edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

methodological approach to social history. Cooter, in relaying a historiographical analysis of his field, in part found that historians who studied war and medicine excluded the social and economic environment surrounding wars from their analyses.[46] In his article, "Medicine and the Goodness of War," Cooter refers to the pursuit of rationalization throughout the western world starting in the mid-1800's as an example which influenced the history of war and medicine leading up to World War I.[47] Relaying the history of blood transfusion leading up to and during World War I, William Schneider explains barriers toward innovation in Europe from 1900 to 1918 as products of social, cultural, and religious influences stemming back nearly 300 years.[48] Utilizing his approach toward long-term social history, Schneider persuasively argues against the popular causal assumption that blood transfusion innovations resulted from World War I.[49] Similarly, this thesis argues against the confinement of historical interpretation to the time period in which the missionary women conducted their mission work.

In writing this thesis, I utilize a variety of primary sources written by missionary women or for missionary women's societies between 1898 and 1910. The three major missionary publications from which I draw source material are the *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, *Woman's Work for Woman* published by the Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, and *Life and Light for Woman* published by the Woman's Board of Missions. Methodists and Presbyterians made up most of the missionary women's work

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[46] Roger Cooter, "Medicine and the Goodness of War," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical* History 7, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 155.
[47] Cooter, "Medicine and the Goodness of War," 152-154.
[48] William H. Schneider, "Blood Transfusion in Peace and War, 1900-1918," *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* 10, no. 1 (April 1997): 105-126.
[49] Schneider, "Blood Transfusion in Peace and War," 125-126.

in the Philippines between 1898 and 1910. I also utilize a select few annual reports from the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Missionary memoirs, booklets, and other writings make up the remainder of my source base. Cornelia Chillson Moots' booklet, *Pioneer "Americanas" or First Methodist Missionaries in the Philippines*, reports on her experiences as one of the first Methodist missionaries in the Philippines and is essential to any study of missionary work in the islands. In her preface, Moots, claimed to be writing for her group of four; thus, her work extends to contextualize the entire beginnings of the Methodist mission in the Philippines. Alice Byram Condict's memoir, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines: Notes Gathered During Professional and Mission Work* describes her visit to the Philippines as a Methodist missionary and is equally as valuable. Helen Barrett Montgomery's *Christus Redemptor: An Outline Study of the Island World of the Pacific* is essentially a textbook for missionaries travelling to the Pacific with a sizeable section on the Philippines which includes its history, ethnographic analysis of Filipinos, and recommendations for mission work. Finally, to provide a comparative base of U.S. governmental strategies in the Philippines, I will use the 1901 *Report of the United States Philippine Commission*. Created by President McKinley, the commission was the second of its name and reported on the general social, cultural, and economic conditions in the Philippines and provided recommendations toward "improving" the conditions. The report is a roadmap for American imperial policy and displays the contrasting motivations between the federal government and Protestant missionary women.

CHAPTER 2: PROTESTANT MISSIONARY WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1898-1910

> When Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila harbor he did more than sink the Spanish gunboats, and float the Stars and Stripes on Oriental soil, *he gave religious liberty to those beautiful islands*. For more than a hundred years had the Bible been to them a sealed book, and the brave men who had dared to take the Word of Life thither had met imprisonment and death. But 'tis God's purpose that His truth shall make men free and He has honored this Society by making us the advance guard in this blessed evangelization, and almost without our will He sent these workers out.[50]
>
> - Unknown Author

From the religious awakenings of the nineteenth century, Protestant women in the U.S. obtained the freedom to pursue religious fulfillment through mission work at home and abroad. The Second and Third Great Awakenings, spanning from the 1790s and into the twentieth century, promoted progressive social activism and evangelist fervor both domestically and overseas. As a result, women became increasingly involved in mission work in the latter half of the nineteenth century, further revealed by the creation of women's missionary organizations and publications as separate entities from the general missionary boards. Eight women founded The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston in 1869 and began publishing a periodical, *The Heathen Woman's Friend*, the same year.[51] The Christian Woman's Board of Missions and the Woman's Missionary Union followed in 1874 and 1888 respectively. *Woman's Work for Woman*, a Presbyterian missionary magazine, began monthly

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[50] "Malaysia Conference," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 31 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900): 32-33.

[51] Julia Ward Howe, et al., *Representative Women of New England* (Boston: New England Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 97-98.

publication in 1890, only eight years prior to the Spanish-American War. *Woman's Work* served as the public facing collection of missionary reports for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church based out of New York.

Prior to the sending of the first missionaries, Protestant missionary institutions realized a need for a unified organization overseeing mission work in the Philippines to avoid territory conflicts. Talks began in 1898 and by April 1901 seven mission societies had signed The Comity Agreement, forming the Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands and partitioning the islands into territories.[52] The Union made Manila available to all missionary societies but assigned the Methodists with the vast lowlands of Luzon; the Presbyterians with various regions in Visayas, Bicol, and near Manila; the United Brethren with the mountainous region in northern Luzon and the modern-day La Union province on the west coast of Luzon; and the Baptists with the western region of Visayas. Medical missionary Alice Byram Condict praised the creation of the union for its ability to enable all Protestant missions to work "with one purpose, one name, under one great head."[53] However, of the societies who committed to the agreement, Methodist and Presbyterian missionary women maintained the most significant presence in the Philippines.

By 1900, as the Comity talks progressed, the first Methodist missionaries arrived at the islands on boats originating from San Francisco.[54] Cornelia Chillson Moots and her three co-missionaries promptly settled in and conducted various types of work primarily

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[52] Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines*, 32-35.
[53] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 121.
[54] Amelia Pott Klein's description of leaving for the islands from San Francisco Bay was the typical experience for Protestant missionary women. Amelia Pott Klein, "Nursing Experiences in the Philippines," *Woman's Work for Woman* 25 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1910): 147-149.

within, or in close proximity to, the Philippines capital of Manila.[55] Just before their arrival, however, another war had erupted in the Philippines in February of 1899 after it became clear to Filipinos that the U.S. planned to continue its occupation of the islands.[56] The First Philippine Republic, a nationalist government, led Filipino forces against the American occupying army until the war ended in July of 1902. Moots and her co-missionaries, along with various missionary women colleagues from the Presbyterian Church, typically witnessed the war at a distance from the general safety of Manila.[57] Though the war was not officially over until 1902, numerous victories by American forces pushed the Filipino army into the surrounding mountainous regions which created pockets where Protestant missionary women could conduct their work, extending their influence outside of Manila and throughout the archipelago prior to the war's end.

Quickly progressing from the founding of their missionary publications after the American Civil War, Protestant missionary women became the "pioneers" of missionary efforts in the Philippines. American annexation of the Philippines opened the islands to mission work and Protestant missionary women were the first to take advantage. Despite the raging Philippine-American War limiting their movement outside of Manila, women like Moots and her colleagues began to lay the foundations of the early Protestant mission within the city while reporting on the conditions of their work and needs for its continuation. Their reports also importantly indicated overall support for American

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[55] Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines*, 5; "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 36 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1905): 120. The first four missionaries were Julia Wisner, Annie Norton, M. D., Mary Cody, and Cornelia Moots.
[56] "The Philippine American War, 1899-1902," Office of the Historian, accessed September 14, 2019, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/war.
[57] *Woman's Work for Woman* 16 (Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1901): 183; Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 94.

imperialism and the opportunities which it provided them, a consistent theme throughout American occupation.

2.1. Imperial Support

Support for American empire ran high among Protestant missionary women travelling to the Philippines. Well before the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, missionaries had reached the limit of evangelistic opportunities within U.S. continental territories and viewed their work among Native Americans as a failure, sabotaged by un-Christian frontiersmen. Some missionaries, like Baptist missionary and social reformer Helen Barrett Montgomery, while appreciative of American imperialism were also careful of which ethno-religious groups in the Philippines they suggested converting as Filipinos were predominantly Catholic. Yet when compared to mission work in parts of the world adhering to non-Abrahamic religions some Protestant missionary women viewed mission work among the Catholic Filipinos as easier, thus preferring assignment in the Philippines over other Asiatic countries.

Protestant women missionaries did pursue mission work in non-American territories such as India, China, and Japan, however numerous obstacles impeded their work. China was the holy grail for Protestant missionary work, hosting an immense population and a necessity for humanitarian work after numerous famines and colonial wars in the prior decades took their toll.[58] However, Anti-Christian sentiments ran high in China by the end of the nineteenth century resulting in dangerous and often ineffective

[58] The Second Opium War from 1856-1860; the Sino-French War from 1884-1885; and the First Sino-Japanese War from 1894-1895 are just a few of the conflicts. The Great North China Famine from 1876-1879 killed an estimated 9.5-13 million people. Another famine from 1896-1897 preceded the Boxer Rebellion. Death estimates come from: Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 245.

conversion efforts. In November of 1899, anti-foreign, anti-Christian, and anti-colonial attitudes exploded into the Boxer Rebellion, lasting until September of 1901. Anti-Christian sentiment also ran high in Japan, though freedom of religion came in the 1870s during the Meiji Restoration.[59] As a result, some women missionaries who travelled to the Philippines did so because they preferred working among the already Christianized Filipinos over Indian, Chinese, and Japanese populations. Missionary women displayed their reticence at working in "Buddhist lands" in their missionary publications, equating the adherence of peoples in China, India, and Japan to non-Abrahamic religions to being ignorant and "blank."[60] Working in the Buddhist lands, they argued, was simply too much work. In contrast, Protestant missionary women found that Filipinos having familiarity with Christianity, or at least the vernacular, helped to reach an understanding with them more quickly.

Though Protestant missionary women conducted work throughout South and Eastern Asia, they encountered difficulties resulting from lacking U.S. territorial holdings, hostile populaces, and incompatible belief systems. Thus, Protestant missionary women, and Protestant missionaries in general, lauded the U.S. annexation of the Philippines which granted them a territory to expand their work.[61] Specifically, Protestant missionary women supported American imperial precepts of religious liberty as it opened

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[59] Yoshiya Abe, "Religious Freedom under the Meiji Constitution," *Contemporary Religions in Japan* 9, no. 4 (December 1968), 268-338.

[60] *Woman's Work for Woman* 27 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1902): 191.

[61] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines,* 119; Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines,* 11; Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 5-6; "Malaysia Conference," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 31 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900): 32-33; Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor: An Outline Study of the Island World of the Pacific* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1907), 225; Frances V. Emerson, "How Are We Treating our Little Brown Brother?," *Life and Light for Woman* 37 (Woman's Board of Missions, 1907): 102.

the islands to Protestantism. To show their support, Protestant missionary women described American annexation and their freedom to pursue mission work utilizing patriotic imagery, referring to star spangled banners and planting of flags in oriental lands. Like many Americans at the time, Protestant missionary women also praised George Dewey, the American admiral who decisively won the Battle of Manila Bay against Spain in 1898. An editor for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church glorified Admiral Dewey as the bringer of religious freedom to the Philippines.[62] Similarly, Presbyterian medical missionary Amelia Pott Klein praised Dewey, exclaiming her patriotic fervor as she watched military transports sail for the Philippines through San Francisco Bay.[63] Klein directly connected her patriotic attitude to her decision to travel to the Philippines, stating that she quickly applied to work as a contract nurse and left for the islands on February 1, 1899.[64] Protestant missionary women had also displayed incredible support for annexation in the years immediately proceeding the Spanish-American War, viewing the actions of the American government as opening a door to Protestantism. One such missionary stated that though the U.S. government did not take part in organizing a national Protestant church in the islands, the occupation provided the opportunity for the founding of "the nucleus of an Evangelical Church."[65] Protestant missionary women's support and appreciation continued throughout American occupation as the U.S. began to introduce their perceived moral and humanitarian guidance onto the Filipino population.

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[62] "Malaysia Conference," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 31 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900): 32-33.
[63] Amelia Pott Klein, "Nursing Experiences in the Philippines," *Woman's Work for Woman* 25 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1910): 147-149.
[64] Amelia Pott Klein, "Nursing Experiences in the Philippines," *Woman's Work for Woman* 25 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1910): 147-149.
[65] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 119.

Beyond their initial support for annexation, Protestant missionary women supported American imperial identity and the imperial mission in the Philippines. Denouncing an “influential minority” of anti-imperialists who wanted the U.S. to immediately cede control of the islands to Filipinos, Montgomery believed that without American intervention and occupation the Philippines would be vulnerable to “evil demagogues” and a “reign of violence.”[66] Her writing reveals a paternalist attitude toward Filipinos who she saw as needing guidance and protection from both European imperial powers and from domestic threats, although she did not identify any “demagogue” specifically. This sentiment is notably the same as the American imperial “humanitarian” rationale behind occupation as defined by President McKinley in 1900 and then-Vice President Roosevelt in 1901 as well as the justifications for imperialism in the Philippines in Kipling’s poem from 1899. To further her paternalistic point, Montgomery supported an argument made by an individual named David Gray who stated that the U.S. had moral requirements to retain and govern the islands, and that to abandon them “would have the same merit as to abandon an illegitimate child.”[67] In her own words, Montgomery elevated the U.S. as a “trustee for civilization” by which she meant that occupation of the Philippines was justified until the U.S. government had completed its “civilizing” mission to promote self-governance.[68] Montgomery did not stand alone in her belief, however; viewing the U.S. as a “trustee” of the Philippines was a pervasive message throughout Protestant missionary women’s writings. Alice Byram Condict, for instance, claimed that “Old Glory” was in the Philippines to stay and to

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[66] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 239.
[67] It is not clear who David Gray was as Montgomery does not identify him beyond his name. Montgomery citing David Gray, *Christus Redemptor*, 246-247.
[68] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 239.

foster its land and people.[69] Protestant missionary women like Montgomery and Condict clearly supported American empire, viewing occupation of the Philippines as a paternalistic duty. They did not, however, indicate how they believed the U.S. government would create the supposed path toward Filipino self-governance.

To uphold their imperial mission in which they saw themselves as trustees, the U.S. government began to send doctors, nurses, and teachers among numerous other officials to promote the what they believed was humanitarian aid in the Philippines. In particular, the focus was on improving the healthcare and education of the general population in the islands through the introduction of then-modern Western medicine and the administrative structure of the American public education system. Cornelia Chillson Moots described the influx of American schoolteachers into the Philippines as an army, claiming they travelled to the islands in groups of 600.[70] Schoolteacher Mary H. Fee described the teachers as a "new army of invasion," superseding the American military as they began to withdraw.[71] Condict shared similar sentiments to Fee, describing a wave of schoolteachers arriving soon after the military began to depart.[72] Similarly, among the first Protestant institutions missionary women introduced in the Philippines were private schools which promoted a combination of standard Americanized education and religious messaging.[73] The backbone of the American imperial mission involved these schoolteachers in combination with more general infrastructural changes and health

[69] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 11.
[70] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 5.
[71] Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, 54.
[72] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 118.
[73] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 23.

improvements seen as necessary first steps for crafting the Philippines into the U.S.'s perceived ideal.

Protestant missionary women like Klein traveled to the Philippines as agents of empire, spreading American culture in an effort to restructure Filipino society into an American ideal, believing it to be their humanitarian and moral duty. As a result, many Protestant missionary women held dual roles which expanded their work beyond the purely religious and into humanitarianism. Their extra-religious work – especially as medical workers and teachers – was a boon to their mission work as it permitted easy access to susceptible Filipino children and to those in dire need of medical help who might see the modern medical care as miraculous, thus having a more receptive attitude to religious conversion. Montgomery believed that medical missionaries in particular were important agents of conversion in the Philippines, stating that, "The need of services is very great, and the reverence of the people for the healer of bodily ills is deep-seated."[74] Her understanding was correct as women who worked among the sick and injured like Dr. Rebecca Parish, Dr. Alice Byram Condict, Cornelia Chillson Moots, and Amelia Pott Klein were among the most prominent Protestant missionary women in the Philippines.

Protestant missionary women supported American imperialism and the annexation of the Philippines in its ability to make new lands available for mission work. In addition to the more obvious benefit provided by American annexation in opening the door to mission work, moral obligation and humanitarianism inherent to the American imperial identity provided an avenue through which Protestant missionary women could

[74] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 225-226.

more easily conduct their work. They utilized their extra-religious work as doctors, nurses, and schoolteachers to promote Protestantism among Filipinos who were more susceptible to religious conversion. This is not to say that Protestant medical missionary men did not exist; rather, missionary men working in medicine were typically the head doctors and had far less opportunity for individual contact with patients than women did, be they nurses or doctors themselves. Women also dominated the role of schoolteachers at this time whereas men could be found in the more prestigious positions at universities and colleges. In this way, the promotion of education and medical care in the Philippines by the U.S. resulted in a niche in which the Protestant missionary women comfortably fit. However, as occupation of the Philippines progressed and institutions like the Americanized public school system began to develop, conflicts over certain remnants of the Spanish empire and the growing secularization of imperial institutions reveals that support among Protestant missionary women was not unequivocal.

2.2. The Friar Problem and Secularization

Though Protestant missionary women overall supported American empire and the annexation of the Philippines, tensions between them and the U.S. government began to appear soon after occupation began. Perhaps the most contentious issue in the Philippines which Protestant missionaries and the U.S. government identified was that of the friars. Roman Catholic friars were a powerful group within Filipino class hierarchy, each heading a parish throughout the islands. They were wealthy landowners, were heavily involved in the social and political spheres in the Philippines, and strictly controlled

education in the islands prior to annexation.[75] Their powers stemmed from a lack of Spanish governmental presence on the islands, in part resulting from Mexican independence in 1821. Friars were often the only Spaniards in Filipino towns which afforded them incredible influence on local and national politics.[76] Growing animosity among Filipinos toward the friars and their alleged corruption was one of many motivating factors catalyzing the Philippine Revolution.[77] During the revolution, Filipino revolutionaries imprisoned many friars in Manila prior to annexation by the U.S. Upon arrival, the U.S. military released the friars from imprisonment and the prospect of their return to their parishes became a paramount concern among not only Filipinos, but also among the U.S. government and Protestant missionary women.[78]

Protestant missionary women portrayed friars as fear-mongers who held back the development of Filipinos into a civilized people through outdated educational practices, corruption, and, most importantly, superstition.[79] The accusation of superstition by Protestants aimed at Catholics was not a new concept and instead originates from the Protestant Reformation nearly 400 years prior.[80] Protestant missionary women in the Philippines typically defined superstition in the islands as resulting from the lack of vernacular Bibles in the numerous local languages. Hence, the missionaries believed that

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[75] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission*, William H. Taft, Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 23-33.
[76] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 24-27.
[77] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 28; Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas*," 22.
[78] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 23; Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 41-42.
[79] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 233.
[80] For an understanding of the accusations of superstition in the Reformation, refer to the essays collected in: *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, edited by Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Filipinos had to rely on friars and other church officials to relay the religious teachings of the book. Unlike the accusations of superstition during the Reformation, however, Protestant missionary women in the Philippines did not attack the rituals of the Roman Catholic church as spreading superstition. As will be discussed later, translating the Bible into the vernacular was a major goal among Protestant missionary women in the Philippines.

Through their proselytizing efforts, Protestant missionary women came to identify the friars as their primary enemy in the Philippines. Their motivations in the Philippines shifted from conversion efforts and humanitarian work to include reverting what they believed to be the backwardness of Filipino culture resulting from over 300 years of Catholic influence, tackling what they viewed to be rampant superstition among Filipinos, and introducing “enlightened” beliefs stemming from Protestantism. Although numerous factors contributed the Philippine Revolution in 1896 – such as anti-colonial sentiment and the introduction of concepts stemming from the French Revolution – Protestant missionary women first and foremost attributed its causes to the widespread corruption and abuses of the friars and often conflated their powers with the Spanish empire at large. Alice Byram Condict described the rebellion as a product of unification of church and state with friars representing Spanish government.[81] Such sentiments persisted throughout the Protestant mission in the Philippines. Reporting to the Woman’s Board of Missions in 1907, Frances V. Emerson claimed that the insurrection in 1896 came from “the problem of the friars and their lands.”[82] To Protestant missionary women,

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[81] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 41-42.
[82] Frances V. Emerson, “How are we Treating our Little Brown Brother?,” *Life and Light for Woman* 37 (Woman’s Board of Missions, 1907): 102.

the friars were undoubtedly one the major causes of strife in the Philippines and problem which required increasing attention.

Protestant women missionaries identified their mission as an age-old conflict with Roman Catholicism and as the rediscovering of an old adversary burrowed away toward the edges of the world. Protestant missionary women perceived the modern methods of the Roman Catholic Church found in the Philippines as the product of an age long gone, when Rome persecuted Protestant belief by burning books and heretics.[83] They characterized the education and governance by friars as "medieval," "ancient," "superstitious," and an "anachronism in 1898."[84] Condict in particular claimed that Protestant women in the U.S. prior to the annexation of the Philippines did not believe their grandmothers' stories of religious persecution in Europe hundreds of years prior and viewed their ancestor's hatred of Roman Catholicism as "bigoted." However, after witnessing the friars in the Philippines, she began to understand their point of view.

> How our Pilgrim Fathers hated everything that savored of Rome! We even blamed our ancestors, and called them narrow and bigoted. The very word "Puritanical" had come to be synonymous with over-zealousness. When, suddenly, by the entrance of our army into Manila, we were brought face to face with realities that caused us to reconsider our conclusions; we were obliged to change our minds. We found the ancient power in full working order![85]

In referring to their "Pilgrim Fathers," Condict believed, as did many of her missionary sisters, that the "hinderance" to the Filipino people's development was the same religious

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[83] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 48.
[84] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 48; Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 233, 252; Rebecca Parrish, M. D., "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 38 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908): 46-47.
[85] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 48.

dominance from which their forefathers escaped hundreds of years earlier. She equated the tyranny in the Philippines at the hands of Roman Catholicism, and of Spain as its extension, to the plight of the original European settlers of North America.

The U.S. government also identified the friars as a major problem in the region which required attention. However, it was not the alleged superstition of the Filipinos as described by the Protestant missionary women that was a concern; rather, it was the threat the friars represented to the political and social stability of the islands under American rule. U.S. governmental attitudes towards the friar problem are best illustrated by the 1901 findings of the Taft Philippine Commission.[86] Headed by then-Civilian Governor of the Philippines William Taft in addition to Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses, the commission created a series of exhaustive reports on the social, economic, and political circumstances of the islands for President McKinley and Congress. Their examination of the friar problem constituted a significant portion of the report in which they defined who the friars were, where their political and social influence came from, why the friars were an obstruction to regional stability, and their recommendations toward dealing with the problem.

The commission believed what they described as widespread animosity among Filipinos toward the friars was purely political and not at all religious, a stark difference from the allegations of Protestant missionary women who believed the friars were primarily guilty of generating superstition.[87] The commission also acknowledged that Filipinos "loved" Roman Catholicism but hated the abuses of the friars, further

[86] The Taft Philippine Commission was the second Philippine Commission. The first, called the Schurman Commission, was headed by the president of Cornell University, Dr. Jacob Shurman, in 1899. The friars were not of any significant consideration to the first commission.
[87] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 30.

secularizing the problem.[88] In identifying the friar problem, the commission believed that to do nothing would result in "lawless violence and murder" in the islands.[89] However, despite representing the friar problem as a political issue, the commission suggested a passive approach to maintain a separation from religious affairs in which they shifted the responsibility to the Catholic Church in the U.S.[90] Though the commission believed the friar problem to be political and to be of utmost importance to avoid bloodshed, they suggested that the Catholic Church in America needed to send American priests with American values to the islands, though they had heard that no such priests were available.[91] The report on the friars concluded sans any recommended course of action for the U.S. government to pursue and reaffirmed upholding separation of church and state. By adhering to the American value of religious liberty which annexation introduced, the commissioners recused themselves and the U.S. government from any responsibility in the matter.

Though the U.S. government introduced religious liberty through annexation much to the appreciation of Protestant missionary women, the women did not find federal support to combat the perceived superstition imposed by the friars. Despite President McKinley rationalizing annexation as a moral and humanitarian mission which included the spread of Protestantism, the U.S. government instead pursued the development of non-religious institutions in the islands such as a secular public education system in addition to public works projects to introduce modern infrastructure and public health. The Taft Philippine Commission believed that under Spanish rule the Philippines had

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[88] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 30.
[89] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 31.
[90] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 32-33.
[91] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 32.

lacked any effective modern public education system. In response, the commission reported on and made suggestions to improve education in the islands, viewing widespread education as paramount to "civilizing" Filipinos and guiding them toward self-governance.[92]

Prior to the introduction of American schoolteachers, the Taft Philippine Commission found that for every 4,179 Filipinos there was only one teacher.[93] In addition, the schools which did exist prior to annexation were not secular. Instead, the various religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church supervised the few school found in the Philippines, emphasizing higher education rather than primary education. The result was a select few highly educated Filipinos and a vast uneducated majority.[94] The commission further described the schools as promoting "Christian doctrine" and providing a "large amount of religious instruction."[95] At odds with the religious education found in the Philippines, the commission suggested the ideal public school as the "American standard" defined as nonsectarian grade schools with a prescribed course of study.[96] By the publication of the 1903 Philippine Commission report, the creation of a secular public education system per the recommendation of the 1901 report was a success.[97]

At first, Protestant missionary women overwhelmingly supported the separation of church and state, including in schooling, believing the combination of the two resulted

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[92] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 107.
[93] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 105.
[94] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 105.
[95] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 106.
[96] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 108.
[97] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission*, by William H. Taft, Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and James Francis Smith (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 883.

in deplorable conditions under Spanish rule in the first place.[98] However, frustrations at the separation began to develop in concert with, and exacerbated by, the friar problem. As Protestant missionary women conducted their work in the Philippines, their views on secularization became confused. Montgomery supported secularization, going so far as to praise the practice in the developing a public-school system.[99] Moots, on the other hand, voiced her concerns on the inadequacy of the secular public-school system not providing "heart culture" to Filipinos which she believed only Protestant missionaries could remedy.[100] Adhering to religious liberty, the U.S. government leaving the remaining Catholic friars in the Philippines to their own devices frustrated Protestant missionary women who believed they were the primary enemy of the imperial mission.[101] Superficially, the lack of federal action against the friars appeared to be only a minor frustration among Protestant missionary women. Nevertheless, the inaction of the U.S. government in religious matters did frustrate some Protestant missionary women who believed that Protestantism was a core value of American identity. The result was a subtle shift in the imperial identity among Protestant missionary women as they began to consider themselves the moral authorities in the "civilizing" mission in the Philippines.

As a result of the U.S. government's adherence to separation of church and state in matters regarding the friars and the supposed superstition they bred, missionary societies were on their own to bring about the vision of a Protestant nation in the Philippines. Of the Protestant missionaries examined in this thesis, Moots displayed the

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[98] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 41-42, 64; Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 241-245.
[99] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 241-245.
[100] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas*," 24.
[101] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 64-65.

most vehement mistrust of the secular American imperial identity while favoring the promotion of a Protestant variant. To bring about the Protestant vision of the Philippines, Moots implored Protestant American women to build up "every institution possible" to oppose the superstitions of Roman Catholicism and "evil Americans."[102] Further, Condict believed that the first step toward the civilizing mission was the spread of Protestantism.[103] She promoted the ideal of "Bible liberty," arguing that the translation of the Bible into the local languages of the Philippines would begin to fulfill the spread of Protestantism and that other institutions such as schools and churches, and the capability for self-governance, would follow.[104] Montgomery also pushed for Bible liberty, believing that friars withholding the text from Filipinos was the source of their superstition and, thus, the major impediment to their civilizing.[105] Similar to Montgomery, Dr. Rebecca Parrish described the importance of dispelling the superstition of the friars to make way for civilization.[106] Methodists were not alone in their concern over Bible liberty, however. By 1909, Presbyterians began to voice their own displeasure at American schoolteachers being unable to give Filipinos copies of the Bible and at supposed searches of Filipino houses by the Roman Catholic Church to find and destroy them.[107] Protestant missionary women did pursue the dissemination of vernacular Bibles during their work in the Philippines, often selling them directly to Filipinos when

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[102] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas*," 24.
[103] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 46-47; "Malaysia, Including the Philippine Islands," *Annual Report Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 34 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1903): 124-125.
[104] Condict, *Old Glory and the Gospel in the Philippines*, 64-65.
[105] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 252.
[106] Rebecca Parrish, M. D., "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 38 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908): 46-47.
[107] *Woman's Work for Woman* 24 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1909): 148-149.

possible. However, Protestant missionary women also began to expand beyond the dissemination of Bibles and into building up their own institutions like schools and medical centers, contrasting the secular variants commissioned by the U.S. government.

Protestant missionary women did not wish to antagonize the friars through direct confrontation, fearing retaliation from the U.S. government who would likely uphold the precept of religious liberty which opened the islands to Protestant mission work in the first place. Some missionary women like Montgomery were also staunch defenders of religious liberty, believing that the existence of both the Protestant and Catholic churches in the same space would provide a "richer, fuller" life to Filipinos.[108] As a result of both factors, Protestant missionary women supplemented spreading vernacular Bibles by undertaking more indirect means aimed at dispelling Catholic superstition and forming a Protestant nation. They developed three major institutions in the islands to middling success: private and Sunday schools, deaconess training schools, and medical service centers like hospitals, dispensaries, and nurse training schools.

Protestant missionary women could not work in the secular public-school system introduced by the U.S. government if they wanted to teach a religious course of study.[109] Thus, creating their own schools was their only course of action. Among the four pioneering Methodist Episcopal missionary women, the Women's Foreign Missionary Society sent Julia Wisner and Mary Cody in 1900 to start a private Methodist school for Filipinas in Manila.[110] The school taught "English, Grammar and Literature,

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[108] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 252-253.
[109] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 33, 108. As mentioned previously, the Philippine Commission explicitly sought a secular public-school system and stated that no public money should go toward religious teaching.
[110] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 23.

Mathematics, Geography, History, Writing, Drawing and Needle Work" and charged attendees between $4.50 and $6.00 per month for grades Kindergarten through High School.[111] 45 students, both Filipina and American, came to attend the school until 1901. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society provided surprisingly little support for the venture, intending for the school to be self-sufficient off tuition costs alone.[112] The school was not successful in the end and, according to Moots, the board ordered Wisner and Cody to close it and subsequently transferred Wisner to India.[113] Despite its closure, the school was one of the first private Protestant schools opened in the Philippines and represented a concerted effort to bring a Protestant education to the islands. Presbyterian missionary women began to open their own schools by 1901, starting a day school in Iloilo on the island of Panay.[114] Little is known about the school, however, and later reports do not relay any information on its operations which may indicate it also did not last. Beyond formal education, Methodist missionary women like Dr. Anna Norton and Mrs. N. M. McLaughlin, both colleagues of Moots, conducted 104 Sunday school and Bible classes by 1901, teaching between 40 to 90 women and children at each.[115] However, neither the missionary women's private schools nor Sunday schools resulted in any significant progress towards transforming the Philippines into a Protestant nation, largely due to their transiency. Sunday schools in particular did not have any permanent, physical institutional space in which they existed. Once the Protestant missionary women who ran the Sunday schools and classes left the islands, there was no impetus for their

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[111] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 23.
[112] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 24.
[113] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 24.
[114] *Woman's Work for Woman* 16 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1901): 197.
[115] "Malaysia, Including the Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 32 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1901): 147.

continuation. Private schools like the Methodist's girl's school in Manila, on the other hand, lacked financial support and quickly failed though the missionary teachers believed it was a crucial institution.

Deaconess training schools were more successful than private and Sunday schools as they lasted comparatively much longer. Winifred Spaulding opened the first in Manila in 1903, two years after the Manila Girl's School closed. [116] Named the Harris Memorial Bible Training School in 1906, women like Spaulding sought to train Filipinas to provision pastoral care to their own people and to combat perceived Roman Catholic superstition. Spaulding only had a few pupils soon after opening the school, however attendance increased to eighteen by 1905 with at least three Methodist missionary women teaching: Marguerite M. Decker, Lizzie Parks, and an M. Crabtree. Attendance further increased to 38 by 1908 and to 50 by 1910.[117] The school still exists today as Harris Memorial College having been renamed in the late 1960s. Under the guidance of Louise Stixrud, Methodist missionary women opened an additional deaconess training school in Lingayen to the north of Manila.[118] By 1910, Methodist missionary women reported that the Filipina deaconesses had begun to conduct religious work among their local communities, an indication that the schools were a limited success for the Protestant mission.[119] Protestant missionary women hoped that in training a select few Filipinas as

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[116] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 24.
[117] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 39 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908): 131; "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 41 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910): 136.
[118] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 39 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908): 132; "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 41 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910): 137.
[119] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 41 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910): 136-137.

deaconesses, they could more effectively spread Protestantism to Filipino communities who might be less receptive to a foreign stranger.

Medical work represented an effective avenue through which Protestant missionary women could pursue conversion efforts among Filipinos. Dr. Rebecca Parrish was one such medical missionary, arriving in the Philippines by 1906 and being the driving force behind the creation of the Mary J. Johnston Hospital in Manila in 1908.[120] Along with her assistant, Rose Dudley, Parrish provided a wide range of medical care to Filipinas including dispensing medicine and aiding in childbirth. She and Dudley also began to train Filipinas as nurses with fifteen students taking classes by 1909.[121] Yet as a medical missionary, Parrish identified the hospital not only as a place of healing and medical training, but a place for religious conversion. Like many of her missionary colleagues, Parrish perceived the prevalence of superstition among Filipinas, believing it was holding back their development. [122] Parrish quickly began pastoral work in addition to her routine medical work, holding religious services every Sunday in the hospital's medical ward among both her Filipina nurses and her patients whom she claimed to be receptive.[123] She continued her services into 1910, further affirming the success of her work by describing many of her patients as inquisitive and "really converted."[124] Among the Presbyterians, Amelia Pott Klein relayed her experiences as a nurse at the Sabine

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[120] Rebecca Parrish, M.D., "Philippine Island Conference," *Annual Report of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 42 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1914): 36-37.
[121] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 40 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1909): 144-145.
[122] Rebecca Parrish, M.D., "Philippine Island," *Annual Report of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 38 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908): 46-47.
[123] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 40 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1909): 144-145.
[124] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 41 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910): 137.

Haines Memorial Hospital on the island of Panay. Her work was the same as that of Parrish and Dudley, caring for and converting Filipino patients suffering from a variety of ailments and training Filipina nurses. She also, however, displayed pride toward the first Filipina graduates of the nursing school, regarding them as pioneers in their own right.[125]

Beyond their characterizations as pioneers of the Protestant mission in the Philippines, women like Julia Wisner, Winifred Spaulding, and Rebecca Parrish all began to work towards building up institutions to bring about a Protestant nation. Although the deaconess schools and the Mary J. Johnston Hospital succeeded in bringing Protestant missionary women closer to Filipinas for the purpose of conversion, their effects were limited to the areas and communities within their immediate vicinities. After 1910, the expansion of Protestant missionary women's work in Philippines largely stagnated.[126] Though the Methodists had more missionary women in the Philippines by 1915 than at any time before, they had not founded any new institutions and instead directed their efforts toward maintaining those built up in the previous decade.[127] Concern over the friar problem also dissipated over time despite the overwhelmingly negative attitude toward them among Protestant missionary women. As the U.S. government maintained a secular approach toward governance and education, the overwhelming influence of the friars – whose powers in part came from the inability of Spain to directly govern its colony – began to disappear. The Philippine Commission was correct in their determination that the animosity Filipinos held toward the friars was not religious, but rather political. As

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[125] "Nursing Experiences in the Philippines," *Woman's Work for Woman* 25 (New York: Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1910).

[126] The stagnation stemmed from women's missionary societies redirecting their focuses and resources to other lands. Jane Hunter's *The Gospel of Gentility* describes women's mission work in China increasing around 1910.

[127] "Philippine Islands," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 46 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1915): 155-157.

the issue pertained to the friars and not their religious belief in Catholicism, a large number of Filipinos split from the Roman Catholic Church in 1902 and created Philippine Independent Church, an independent Catholic sect.[128] Despite the vehement beliefs many Protestant missionary women held towards the friars early during occupation, the friars' loss of both religious and political influence resulted in their return to the periphery of consideration. In addition, though missionary women brought about various religious institutions, Protestantism never took hold in the Philippines and the Protestant nation which the women envisioned never came to be. To this day, Catholicism remains the dominant religious belief in the islands with Protestantism only representing a very minor fraction of the total population. In essence, Protestant missionary women never realized their efforts to guide Filipinos towards ascendancy into a Protestant nation, defined from secular American empire and Catholic superstition.

2.2. Sinful Temptations

In addition to combating supposed Catholic superstition, Protestant missionary women perceived certain vices as problems plaguing both Filipinos and Americans in the Philippines. Building off of social reform movements back home and likely informed by failures among Native Americans on the American frontier, missionary women often directed scathing rebukes at Filipino character. Yet Cornelia Chillson Moots directed her most pointed criticism at occupying American soldiers for their behavior and actions. Moots was an ardent advocate for the temperance movement which sought to curb alcohol consumption through social reform and, eventually, federal legislation. She was also a member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which pursued social

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[128] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 246-247.

reform in numerous arenas, including suffrage.[129] Annexation of the Philippines occurred during the third, and final, wave of temperance which started in 1893 as a result of the growing influence of the Anti-Saloon League. A short biographical article published in 1893 described Moots as "radical in her views on temperance."[130] While her co-missionaries, Wisner and Cody, started their private school, Moots began to work among hospitalized American soldiers during the Philippine-American War.

While in the Philippines, Moots provided religious support and tenderness to soldiers in American hospitals where she relayed the final messages of those dying to friends and family back home.[131] She became a prominent figure for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, described as "a ministering angel to soul and body in the camp and field and hospital."[132] In 1902, an editor for the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society similarly described Moots' work in reverent terms, stating that, "All over the U.S. there are wives and mothers who cherish her memory and rise up to call her blessed."[133] She became a beloved figure among soldiers as well, who affectionately referred to her as "Mother Moots."[134] Moots adopted the title wholeheartedly and began introducing herself to injured soldiers as their "mother" in the Philippines.[135] Her motherly, paternalist attitude towards soldiers and her pursuit of

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[129] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 35.
[130] *A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life*, edited by Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore (Buffalo: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), 518.
[131] "Philippines," *Annual Report of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 32 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1902): 22.
[132] "Malaysia Conference," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 31 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900): 33.
[133] "Philippines," *Annual Report of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 32 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1902): 22.
[134] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 48.
[135] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 48.

mission work among them in the Philippines developed from her personal attachment to her adopted son named Charlie who fought in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. Writing in *Pioneer "Americanas,"* Moots describes how her son travelled to the Philippines excited at the prospect of enlistment but died only three months into his service in June of 1899. His enlistment and death were not the motivations Moots held for pursuing mission work in the islands, however. Rather, she underlines a letter he sent to her as he travelled to the Philippines in which he describes the difficulty he faced resisting the "temptations of army life" of which he meant alcohol and other vices such as gambling.[136] Though she characterized herself as a "representative of society devoted exclusively to women and girls," Moots began her travels to the Philippines seemingly prompted by his letter where she began to work among soldiers like Charlie to combat the vices which she believed ailed them. Moots's identity as a temperance worker, along with her pursuit of missionary work, became a primary motivator for travelling to the Philippines.

Working with American soldiers in the Philippines, Moots relayed her experiences back to America through her missionary reports. She and other members of her missionary society quickly became critical of the US government's actions in the Philippines as it related to treatment of their own soldiers. In 1900, an editor for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society praised Moots' work and voiced disappointment that the government "sent the canteen but no chaplains for twenty regiments."[137] Moots also published a booklet in 1903 after her return to America in which she described her

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[136] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 45.
[137] "Malaysia Conference," *Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society* 31 (Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900): 33.

and her co-missionaries' experiences in the Philippines.[138] Narrating her arrival in Manila, Moots' visualizes a scene of drunken chaos among American soldiers at a series of large saloons along a single street, referring to them as "drooling, driveling American men" with "Flushed faces, bleared eyes, unsteady hands…"[139] Continuing to describe the scene, Moots then noticed that Filipinos were watching the drunken American soldiers and that the soldiers were also catcalling Filipinas walking by. Clearly disgusted by the behavior of American soldiers and the example they were setting for Filipinos, she claimed that she felt a "sense of the responsibility of the Christian women of America for assisting our brown sisters of these islands."[140] For much of her booklet Moots provides descriptions of un-Christian behavior throughout the entire American military structure in the Philippines, eventually arguing that military service destroyed the manhood of younger soldiers, making them "dissipated and immoral" and prone to vices.[141] She describes the military as a culture in which immoral soldiers bullied temperate soldiers and that the lack of a Chaplain willing to pursue a temperance movement among them crippled future women's temperance work in the Philippines.[142] Nevertheless, Moots continued to perform temperance and anti-gambling work among soldiers, eventually managing to convince a few to stop their habits.[143]

Moots was not the only Protestant missionary woman concerned with moral character in the Philippines. Early in 1901, Presbyterian women began to voice their concerns over alcohol consumption and gambling among soldiers. One missionary

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[138] The other missionaries part of her group were Julia Wisner, Mary Cody, and Annie Norton, M. D., two of whom were previously discussed.
[139] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 15.
[140] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 15.
[141] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 33-34
[142] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 35.
[143] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 52-53, 57.

asserted that the "question of the army canteen" was "one in which all Christian workers in the Philippines are much interest."[144] In describing a scene of drunken, gambling soldiers in a military barracks, the author argued that missionaries needed to remedy the behavior.[145] Temperance advocates soon after won a victory with the passing of the popularly known Anti-Canteen Law which prohibited the selling of intoxicating beverages including beer, wine, and liquor at post-exchanges, canteens, army transports, and all American military premises.[146] After 1901, Presbyterian missionary women shifted their attention to perceived Filipino "immorality," typically bringing up cockfighting in combination with alcohol and gambling. Traveling through Negros, one missionary observed Filipinos responding with reverence to the Angelus, but at its conclusion immediately returned to "gambling and bickering and *bino* (rice whiskey)."[147] The same missionary described Filipino Christianity, with its gambling and cockfighting, as a "veneered heathenism."[148] In her examination of the class and ethnic makeup of the Philippines, Helen Montgomery labeled town-dwelling peasants as "most worthless" with their various vices making them "superstitious, lazy, and vicious."[149] Protestant missionary women like Montgomery believed that, much like Catholicism, the vices of the Filipino resulted in superstitious character which needed to be purged.

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[144] *Woman's Work for Woman* 26 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1901): 197.
[145] *Woman's Work for Woman* 26 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1901): 197.
[146] C. E. Littlefield, "Anti-Canteen Legislation and the Army," *The North American Review* 178, no. 568 (March 1904): 398-413.
[147] *Woman's Work for Woman* 27 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1902): 191.
[148] *Woman's Work for Woman* 27 (Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, 1902): 191.
[149] Montgomery, *Christus Redemptor*, 228.

The U.S. government did share the concern over temperance and gambling, a topic which the Philippine Commission examined in addition to the friar problem. Though Protestant missionary women made few references to Filipino "vino," the commission differentiated heavily between Filipino alcohol and America alcohol and even on the contrasting attitudes toward alcohol between American soldiers and Filipinos. Filipino alcohol, as defined by the commission, was "concocted by mixing strong and often impure alcohol with various oils and flavoring extracts" and was harmful if an individual consumed a large amount.[150] Whereas the concern of Protestant missionary women related to the disorderly and un-Christian conduct of drunk soldiers, the commission also viewed the consumption of Filipino vino as a risk to American soldiers as they were more prone to excessive drinking. Introducing what they defined as a hazardous drink to hard-drinking soldiers was unacceptable.[151] Fortunately for the commission, the selling of Filipino vino to American soldiers had already been prohibited so no suggestions on their part were necessary.[152]

In addition to their identification of the risk of Filipino vino to American soldiers, the commission did acknowledge concern over the influence of American soldiers on the local populace. Filipinos, as the commission described, were generally temperate and the alleged hazardous effects of vino on themselves was far less harmful due to their moderate drinking habits when compared to Americans.[153] However, the commission believed that American alcohol might have a different effect on Filipinos. They feared that American saloons and bars would entice Filipinos with the gambling, music, and

[150] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 47.
[151] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 48.
[152] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 48.
[153] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 47-48.

other forms of entertainment found within.[154] The American military was again ahead of the commission having already prohibited nearly all forms of entertainment within such premises.[155] Though the American military was actively curbing what they and the commission perceived to be enticing qualities of American bars and saloons to Filipinos, it is their concern over the introduction of undue influences into the islands that is of interest. Like Protestant missionary women, the U.S. government was concerned over the vices found in American culture and their spread in the Philippines. Per the commission's report in 1901, the American military was successfully limiting the "contamination" of Filipinos with American vices. Later in the decade, however, Protestant missionary women started to allude to the failure of preventing the spread of corrupting vices, though the source of their blame is vague.

It is unclear whether Protestant missionary women viewed alcoholism and gambling as long-standing problems among Filipinos or whether they viewed American annexation and contact with immoral Americans as the primary contributing factor. Though they began to describe instances of cockfighting and gambling among Filipinos leading up to 1910, their shift in temperance focus from soldiers to Filipinos likely in part resulted from the gradual withdrawal of American soldiers from the Philippines after the end of the Philippine-American War. Cornelia Moots clearly worried about Filipinos observing drunk American soldiers, reserving her judgements to criticize the latter for their un-Christian behavior. In contrast, Presbyterian missionary Frances Emerson explicitly described alcoholism among Filipinos as a product of American empire and of the soldiers who found adventure overseas without the "restraints of home and public

[154] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 48.
[155] Taft Philippine Commission, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission* (1901), 48.

opinion."[156] Emerson surrounds her critique with praises on the benefits of empire, describing the great progress resulting from the US government shoring up infrastructure and public health. Overall, she found the American imperial project to be a success.

What is clear is that Protestant missionary women detested unwanted cultural influences following American imperialism. They quickly identified alcoholism as a potentially corrupting force introduced alongside American empire. In response, Protestant missionary women like Moots brought over their own beliefs in temperance to combat its dissemination through the American military, believing they were helping American soldiers and protecting Filipinos. Unlike the divergence between American imperial and Protestant imperial identities resulting from the friar problem, Moots and Emerson were not at odds with the imperial project at large. Rather, they feared the un-Christian Americans whose access to the Philippines, much like their own, resulted from American empire and occupation.[157]

2.3. Conclusion

American occupation of the Philippines continued largely unabated for over 40 years until Japanese occupation during World War II. The Philippines received its independence soon after the war's end with the signing of the Treaty of Manila of 1946. Protestant missionary work in the islands has remained since the occupation began, although it never truly expanded beyond the purview which it achieved from 1898 to 1910. The islands are still predominantly Catholic while only a small fraction of the Filipino populace adheres to Protestantism. By the 1910s Protestant missionary women

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[156] Frances V. Emerson, "How Are We Treating our Little Brown Brother?," *Life and Light for Woman* 37 (Woman's Board of Missions, 1907): 103.
[157] Moots, *Pioneer "Americanas,"* 24.

were increasingly moving on to other missions such as those in China, India, or Africa. Though the Protestant missionary women never acknowledged the reduction in interest in the Philippines for mission work or why it was happening, the findings of the Philippine Commission on the friar problem may provide a clue. In particular, it was the commission's belief that Filipino animosity towards the friars was purely secular and had nothing to do with Catholicism which may hold some truth. Therefore, while U.S. annexation of the Philippines presented a new territory for Protestant mission work there was apparently no demand for a new variation of Christianity among Filipinos.

What is more crucial to understand, however, is that although American empire and Protestant missionary women shared the ideal of "humanitarian" intervention in the Philippines, their incompatible identities created tensions. The American imperial institution of the public school system was strictly secular and so was the intention behind U.S. governmental inaction toward the friar problem. Meanwhile, many Protestant missionary women believed that Protestantism was a necessary element in the "civilizing" mission, including in schooling, and that the friar problem was a prominent religious conflict stemming from the perceived spread of Catholic superstition. Some women went so far as to depict their mission in the Philippines as extending beyond individual friars and toward combating an age-old adversary in the form of Roman Catholicism. While the missionary women founded their own institutions such as private schools, deaconess schools, and medical facilities to simultaneously convert Filipinos and provide their idea of humanitarian aid, they had no perceptible influence on Filipino culture or on American imperialism.

Alcohol consumption and gambling were areas in which Protestant missionary women and both the U.S. government and the U.S. military shared concerns. Temperance was a significant social issue in American culture for the entirety of the occupation of the Philippines and Protestant missionary women in particular disliked the various "immoral," un-Christian behaviors and activities which they believed Americans brought with them. Whereas the U.S. government and military instituted sweeping legal changes prohibiting the sale of alcohol in many venues, Protestant missionary women like Cornelia Chillson Moots undertook mission work among American soldiers during the Philippine-American War. Moots generally blamed individual soldiers and officers for perpetuating an immoral culture within the military and feared that their behavior could in some way "corrupt" Filipinos. Yet some missionary women also viewed the transference of the temperance issue to the Philippines as indicative of the failure of American imperialism as it created an avenue for purported immorality to spread.

Protestant missionary women were resolute in their faith and in their mission to convert the Philippines. However, religious fervor was not greater in missionary women than it was in missionary men. Instead, women's combination of extra-religious and mission work created a unique experience from missionary men who were typically in more prestigious positions in mission hierarchies. Women's mission work was more paternalistic, individualistic, and based in their belief in humanitarianism. This resulted in their entrenchment within the American imperial mission which sought individuals with their particular professional skills, such as teaching and medical care. Through study of their closer involvement with American imperialism, it is clear that Protestant missionary

women provide unique perspectives and criticisms of American imperialism in the Philippines.

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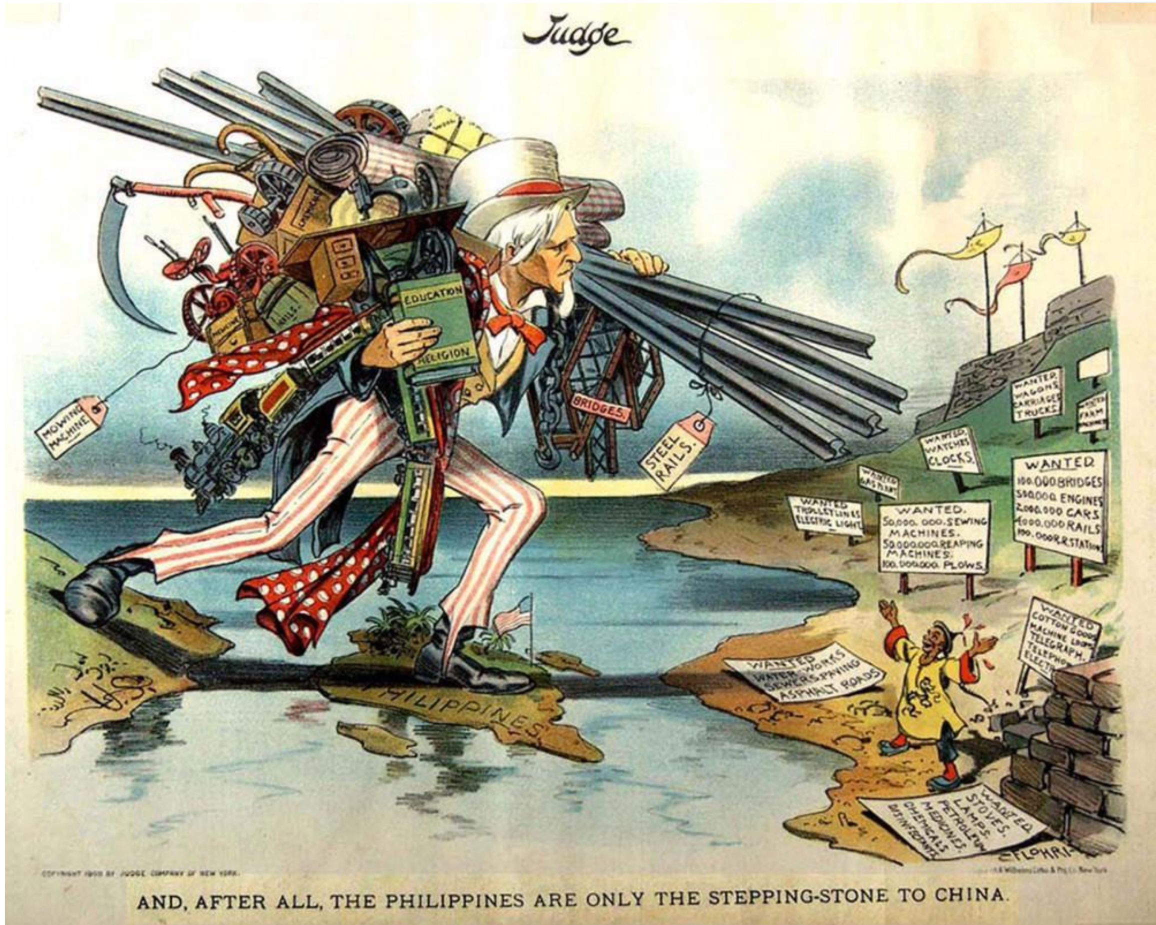
APPENDIX: STEPPING-STONE TO CHINA



AND, AFTER ALL, THE PHILIPPINES ARE ONLY THE STEPPING-STONE TO CHINA.