

## INTRODUCTION

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The project to internationalize American history has made considerable progress since an international group of scholars led by Thomas Bender demonstrated the effectiveness of transnational perspectives in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*.<sup>1</sup> Yet much remains to be done. Most historians of the United States continue to work exclusively in English, and important archival sources for the internationalization of U.S. history remain unexploited. Although the intersection of gender and foreign relations has offered important contributions to U.S. history, the efforts to internationalize the field through the lens of U.S. women's history have barely begun.<sup>2</sup> The contributors to this book utilize one of the largest collections of archival sources in the United States about American women abroad—those associated with Protestant missionaries—and they examine evidence from the perspectives of the local environments that missionaries inhabited. They take up Emily Rosenberg's challenge to historians to make gender central to the study of foreign relations.<sup>3</sup> Seeking to showcase female agency and locate non-American actors, while not focusing on separate spheres of activity or excluding male missionaries, the authors strive to recognize "all the players in the game."<sup>4</sup> By presenting multiple cultural perspectives, the essays in this book expand the field of U.S. women's history into international arenas, reveal the global spread of American culture, and broaden the scope of analysis of the history of the American empire.

The notion of competing kingdoms offers a framework for exploring how women's different allegiances and identities shaped and were shaped by missionary projects that were grounded in American values and influenced by other national entities. The essays presented here encourage scholars and students of U.S. history to see women missionaries not as a homogeneous group of cultural imperialists but as people who reinvented the meanings of American nationalism and imperialism as they negotiated competing nationalisms and imperialisms in varying colonial settings. Frequently working across the boundaries of gender and race, these women reached beyond the limits of their home cultures. The consequences of their actions cannot be easily categorized. They were invariably obliged to work with people who often reconfigured their projects, and the outcomes of their work varied in different parts of the world. Even in the comfortable confines of an American colonial state—the Philippines—women missionaries still navigated between the power of that state and the nationalisms of local communities. They were neither pawns of nor apologists for the state.

In grappling with the history of American empire, we examine neither formal military occupation and political control nor informal economic control.<sup>5</sup> Instead, building on recent scholarship that emphasizes the cultural dimensions of American imperial expansion, we trace the dynamic spread of American religious culture abroad by a global network of American Protestant women who, in an era when the United States was emerging onto the world stage as a global power, worked to advance a universal kingdom of God.<sup>6</sup> In the twenty-first century, as people in almost every region of the world contend in one form or another with the pervasive reach of American culture, a gendered analysis of the scope of American soft imperialism is essential if scholars are to explore how American empire is perceived, experienced, and negotiated around the world. American Protestant women missionaries were central to the connections between domestic and global events that shaped American imperial culture from 1812 to 1960.

Domestic social changes transformed American women's lives during the first half of the nineteenth century and provided a solid foundation for their global activism. By 1880, one in three students in higher education was a woman; by 1890, two out of three missionaries were women; by 1915, women's mission societies formed the largest American women's social movement.<sup>7</sup> In that era the missionary movement attracted educated, tal-

ented people who hailed from social strata that exercised considerable political leadership.<sup>8</sup> Abroad, women missionaries represented mainstream processes in American life, particularly in the fields of education, health-care, and the diverse arenas of women's social activism.

Scholars of contemporary American society have viewed religion as basic to domestic culture and foreign relations.<sup>9</sup> Yet religious history is infrequently included in current efforts to internationalize American history.<sup>10</sup> Despite the increase in scholarship on women missionaries stimulated by Jane Hunter's *Gospel of Gentility* (1984), the analysis of religion in the intersection of women's history and American foreign relations has not developed robustly since Hunter's work.<sup>11</sup> This book presents a fresh perspective on that history.

Because evangelical Protestantism gave urgently needed coherence to the nation's internal political, social, and economic structures in the era between 1780 and 1950, it also did much to configure its external interactions with the world. Carrying the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century forward into modern times, evangelical Protestantism shaped American society, the growth of the American nation-state, and the development of American empire.

One key to the power of evangelical Protestantism in the United States was its successful growth as an entrepreneurial business. The separation of church and state, achieved through state constitutions, required Protestant denominations to find sources of support other than the taxes that sustained state-established churches elsewhere in the Western world. Evangelical denominations like the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, among others excelled at competing for the loyalty and financial support of average people because, thanks to ideas generated in the Second Great Awakening (1798–1857), they stressed the good news that individuals could achieve their own salvation—could personally control and improve their life circumstances in ways that accorded with God's will. Envisioning themselves as the agents of this good news, some laypeople, women as well as men, carried it abroad to India, the Sandwich Islands, and the Ottoman empire at the same time that others took it over the Appalachian Mountains into the Ohio River Valley.

Women benefited generally from the empowerment of the laity within evangelical Protestantism, but the opportunity to carry the good news abroad offered them extra benefits that addressed their gendered location

in American society, namely, an alternative to marriage, meaningful work, and emancipation from at least some of the gendered constraints of their culture. Excluded from the work of preaching, which was with rare exceptions a male preserve, women missionaries engaged in the kinds of work most subject to accusations of cultural imperialism. Education, moral reform, social work, and medical work aimed to transform the cultures of host countries around the world where American women lived and worked. Across denominations women missionaries engaged in projects to “save” women and children.<sup>12</sup>

Missionary women anchored their work in a belief system that considered other religions inferior and perceived non-Protestant women as degraded others who needed rescuing. Their positive regard for women in Protestant Christianity was a crucial component of their assumptions about the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.<sup>13</sup> Our analysis of missionary constructions of race is therefore an integral part of our effort to link women, mission, nation, and empire. As this book demonstrates, many missionaries wrestled with the contradictions between ideologies of racial hierarchy and ideas of an essential equality among all peoples within a Christian brotherhood and sisterhood. Demonstrating the complexity of American missionary attitudes toward race, the essays place the construction of racial categories by Americans in a broader transnational context.<sup>14</sup>

We use the term *American Protestant empire* to accomplish three objectives: to capture the Protestant character of American expansion; to highlight the denominational diversity of Protestant expansion; and to acknowledge the anti-Catholic dynamic of American cultural expansion during this era. The tensions between teaching “nothing but Christ” (imposed by missionary boards as an ideal in the 1840s) and achieving religious conversion through cultural institutions (usually the norm regardless of board edicts) generated constant conflict in the American missionary endeavor, particularly for women missionaries who were heavily involved in cultural work.<sup>15</sup> Women missionaries shared the view of most evangelical Christians that all people deserved the triple advantages of Protestant Christianity, American civilization, and American forms of government. This perspective was most evident in the American colonization of the Philippines, where American missionaries followed the flag. Yet even when American missionaries operated in environments in which overt American

political power was absent, as was typically the case, missionary goals usually supported U.S. political goals.

The American Protestant empire carried American evangelical religion, national identity, and political goals overseas in an unstable mixture that interacted with local environments in unpredictable ways. The separation of church and state could be politically subversive in some colonial contexts, especially in those that challenged the power of state-affiliated churches, such as the Catholic Church in the Philippines and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Ottoman empire. The American Protestant empire was decidedly anti-Catholic and anti-Orthodox.

Anti-Catholicism motivated early nineteenth-century mission boards as well as the individual Americans who ventured into the world to spread the Protestant Reformation.<sup>16</sup> The Roman Catholic Church, which had long promoted international missionary programs, was expanding its reach in the United States at that time. European nuns established convents and schools in North America as early as the 1730s.<sup>17</sup> American Protestant women missionaries set out for foreign lands at the same time that European nuns worked to counter Protestant attempts to convert Catholic immigrants in the United States.<sup>18</sup> Protestant women sought to advance Protestantism in Catholic as well as in non-Christian countries. The term *American* became synonymous with *Protestant* in the Philippines and elsewhere. Though American Catholic missionary activity remains an important aspect of American religious and cultural expansion, our focus on Protestant missionaries explores that hegemonic thrust and its internal diversity.<sup>19</sup>

Denominational differences figure prominently in these pages. Early in the nineteenth century, women missionaries, almost always wives, came from the financially powerful mainline evangelical Protestant denominations: Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist. After the American Civil War, women missionaries came increasingly from the denominational and ecumenical women's boards that emerged in the 1860s and 1870s. Toward the end of the century, women from independent and more marginal denominations that were influenced by revised mission theories of premillennialism (for example, Assemblies of God, Brethren in Christ, Bethany Indian Mission) volunteered.<sup>20</sup> By paying attention to denominational diversity the essays in our book challenge the standard periodization of American women in mission and offer insights into the

diverse ways in which women of different denominations adapted to their host environments.

Scholars have generally accepted the idea of a decline in women's missionary work in the mainline Protestant denominations after the 1920s; yet the work of independent missionaries continued to grow thereafter. Women missionaries in independent missions lacked the financial backing of missionaries in mainline denominations and relied more heavily on their host governments. Even women missionaries from economically powerful denominations had to work more closely with local reformers after the 1930s, as American support for missions declined rapidly with the coming of the Great Depression. By extending our time frame beyond the heyday of women's foreign missionary work, we offer a more complete narrative of change over time and explore a broader range of the work done by American women missionaries in diverse cultural contexts.

Although scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s pointed to the importance of the work of American women missionaries in American cultural expansion, it nonetheless constructed an image of women supported by strong mission boards who spread American culture with little regard for host cultures. Influenced by recent critiques of the concept of cultural imperialism as a unidirectional exercise of power, the essays in this book view missions as sites of encounter and exchange where individuals met, interacted, and triggered change.<sup>21</sup> They analyze the extent to which local actors put missionary ideas to new uses and highlight the process by which Americans who joined in projects of social transformation struggled to meet the demands of their host cultures. Missionary goals rarely competed with American political goals, but they frequently collided with the cultural, religious, and political goals of the local environments in which missionaries worked. By examining American missionaries in various colonial settings and incorporating the multiple perspectives of rival players and contesting ideas, the essays complicate the framework of metropole and colony.<sup>22</sup>

Our attention to geographic context includes examples of American women missionaries who worked within the United States. We take seriously Amy Kaplan's call for historians to challenge the "central geographic bifurcation between continental expansion and overseas empire."<sup>23</sup> We therefore include essays on the work of women missionaries among people who were, in various ways, constructed as foreign in the United States,

such as women's home missions among African Americans and Chinese immigrants and immigrant missions among Native Americans. These essays raise important questions about the meaning of *foreign* within the United States. American women missionaries offer a valuable opportunity to view more completely the range of social forces that made the United States a powerful agent of change at home and abroad. Their experience challenges historians to create new definitions of empire and see new links among gender, mission, nation, and American empire.

This book is organized in four parts and a conclusion. Part I showcases reflections on women and empire by two contributors, Jane H. Hunter and Ian Tyrrell, whose scholarship has done much to shape efforts to internationalize U.S. women's history. In parts II, III, and IV, the contributors address, respectively, our three major categories of analysis: women, mission, and nation. We recognize the interconnections and interdependence of these categories and separate them chiefly for the purposes of emphasis and analysis as we explore American cultural expansion. In a conclusion Mary A. Renda traces the book's themes of imperialism and anti-imperialism, which defy easy categorization but illuminate the centrality of American Protestant missionary women in the construction of American empire before 1960.

In part I, two chapters review earlier groundbreaking scholarship on women and mission. Jane Hunter, whose *Gospel of Gentility* influenced the work of many of the contributors to this book, revisits previous research to emphasize the strength and breadth of evangelical American women's embrace of the moral reformation of the world. Her essay, "Women's Mission in Historical Perspective: American Identity and Christian Internationalism," charts the strains of imperialism and internationalism in the work of American missions and discusses new patterns that have emerged in the decades since her work appeared. If nineteenth-century missionary discourses that heralded Christ's dominion on earth resembled the promotion of a new world order that moderns recognize as racialized and imperial, they also advanced a new understanding of Christian internationalism that evolved from missionary encounters and became progressively more inclusive of other cultures and religions.

In "Woman, Missions, and Empire: New Approaches to American Cultural Expansion," Ian Tyrrell reviews the concept of empire to show how

the idea of American empire fits into concepts both classical and modern but also diverges from historical models. He rejects an American exceptionalism that would posit American empire as somehow unique but nonetheless finds that transnational networks of moral expansion are a distinctive feature of American empire. Revisiting his earlier book *Woman's World/Woman's Empire*, Tyrrell explores the often uneasy relationship missionaries of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union had with the idea of empire. He shows how their work in the Philippines put them in a position to work against formal colonial policy and examines the multiple ways in which, in alliance with their male supporters, they attempted to use American power abroad to implement their vision of a moral empire at home.

The essays in part II substantially revise the larger narrative of American religious history by revealing the centrality of women and gender to the origins of the American global missionary endeavor and to imperialist and anti-imperialist strains in American national culture. The contributors address a wide range of questions: How are gender identities and relationships constructed? How do they shape women's engagement in mission and their power relationships with men? How do they define missionaries' relationships with people of different cultures?

The early nineteenth-century evangelical press highlights women's position at the center of the foreign mission movement. Mary Kupiec Cayton's essay, "Canonizing Harriet Newell: Women, the Evangelical Press, and the Foreign Mission Movement in New England, 1800–1840," illuminates the extraordinary impact on women's financial and organizational contributions to the global missionary endeavor of the death in India in 1813 of the missionary Harriet Newell. Cayton argues that widely read female memoirs brought together traditional forms of female piety with an expansionist missionary impulse that enabled women to see themselves in new forms of social activism and fueled the growth of missions before the American Civil War.

In "An Unwomanly Woman and Her Sons in Christ: Faith, Empire, and Gender in Colonial Rhodesia, 1899–1906," Wendy Urban-Mead explores the gendered and racial tensions inherent in missionary work in the settler colony of Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). Her essay shows that frontier conditions could expand the scope of women's missionary work and open a space that promoted native leadership, thereby challenging, al-

though not erasing, racial boundaries between missionaries and their converts. Yet these changes could be short-lived as areas ceased to be frontiers. Urban-Mead complicates our understanding of the sphere in which women missionaries operated by showing how much their sphere changed over time in response to changes in local conditions and church leadership.

Connie A. Shemo's essay, "‘So Thoroughly American’: Gertrude Howe, Kang Cheng, and Cultural Imperialism in the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 1872–1931," analyzes the relationship between the prominent American missionary Gertrude Howe and her adopted Chinese daughter, the missionary physician Kang Cheng, to complicate the idea that American women missionaries were agents of cultural imperialism. Shemo argues that ideologies of race inherent in the policies of American mission boards worked to limit the culturally expansive potential of unmarried American women missionaries. At its broadest level, the essay draws on the relationship between Howe and Kang to explore the tensions between missionary ideas of a spiritual equality between all believers and the pervasive influence of theories of racial hierarchy that enforced traditions of racial segregation.

Susan Haskell Khan emphasizes anticolonial possibilities as she explores Indian nationalism and a nascent women's movement in India as they influenced the impact of American women missionaries at home. In her essay, "From Redeemers to Partners: American Women Missionaries and the 'Woman Question' in India," Khan acknowledges that women missionaries in India contributed to discourses that stoked racist impulses in the United States. Yet reform movements in India informed the ways in which American women sought to undermine the racism prevalent in American missions and led them to new understandings about international cooperation after the First World War.

The essays in part III view missions as sites of encounter, places where diverse cultures met and engaged. They emphasize the relationships women missionaries had with the states of their host countries. The contributors utilize local sources to expose conflicts inherent in missionary endeavors between American objectives and local expectations. Their essays emphasize the marginality of American missions in local environments.

In "Settler Colonists, 'Christian Citizenship,' and the Women's Missionary Federation at the Bethany Indian Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin,

1884–1934,” Betty Ann Bergland argues that the Women’s Missionary Federation, in part because of its marginal status as a church of immigrants and a women’s society, mediated between the American state and the tribes it endeavored to serve, affording a space from which Indian converts could combat the racist ideologies that worked to their detriment. Bringing the insights of Norwegian immigrant settlers and their Indian converts to her essay, Bergland problematizes definitions of *American* and *foreign* within the United States and complicates older narratives that present missionaries as instruments of cultural destruction.

Sue Gronewold examines competing visions of womanhood at an American mission in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s. In “New Life, New Faith, New Nation, New Women: Competing Models at the Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai,” Gronewold traces the changing fashions of dolls sewn by young Chinese women at the mission. She examines these changes to show how American women missionaries of the China Inland Mission and Chinese supporters of the New Life Movement campaign promoted by Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government fashioned mutually supportive views of New Women for evangelical Christianity and Chinese nationalism.

In “‘No Nation Can Rise Higher than Its Women’: The Women’s Ecumenical Missionary Movement and Tokyo Woman’s Christian College,” Rui Kohiyama analyzes the example of a strong state able to dominate the missionary enterprise. By the 1920s, Japan had become a colonizing power in its own right. Kohiyama points out that none of the Japanese associated with the Tokyo college adopted the American women’s motives for promoting Christianity and female leadership. Using the insights of prominent Japanese Christians, she shows that the college’s Japanese leaders intended to shape a national Japanese institution that reflected the ideals of an increasingly imperial Japan and effectively thwarted the intentions of American Baptist women.

Beth Baron also underscores the complex negotiations among missionaries, local communities, and government officials in colonial and post-colonial Egypt. In “Nile Mother: Lillian Trasher and the Orphans of Egypt,” Baron explains why the Assembly of God missionary Lillian Trasher was able to find a niche for her missionary work and build an orphanage where eight thousand children were cared for until her death in 1961. Baron shows that Trasher’s independent mission was successful because Egyptians sup-

ported her venture at a time when colonial and postcolonial states provided limited services and private persons were unable or unwilling to care for orphaned and abandoned infants and children with disabilities.

Part IV consists of essays that illuminate the connections between home missions and foreign missions and highlight their contested identities. Many values central to American nationhood became vehicles for programs of reform at home and abroad for women missionaries as they sought to shape new Protestant nations. The essays here engage with scholarship on the language of domesticity to reveal the complex ways in which understandings of womanhood, home life, national affiliation, and racial typing informed responses to missionary projects in local communities.

The ability of people targeted by missionaries to use missionary messages for their own ends is emphasized in Barbara Reeves-Ellington's essay, "Embracing Domesticity: Women, Mission, and Nation Building in Ottoman Europe, 1832–1872." Reeves-Ellington traces the avenues through which American missionaries promoted an American discourse of domesticity to Bulgarian Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire and examines its reception and reconfiguration by Bulgarian women and men. Anglo-American ideas about women's domestic responsibilities, female education, and national progress appealed to educated urban Bulgarians, who rearticulated a language of domesticity to serve anticolonial ends as they challenged Ottoman reforms during a period of increasing Bulgarian nationalism.

In "Imperial Encounters at Home: Women, Empire, and the Home Mission Project in Late Nineteenth-Century America," Derek Chang shows that, by constructing African Americans and Chinese immigrants as foreign, white Baptist women in the United States contributed to shaping American discourses on race and national belonging that depended on gendered ideas of domestic respectability. Yet, as Chang argues, African American and Chinese clients were able to counter missionaries' notions of difference by rearticulating their ideas about belonging. They reconceptualized the idea of the nation and carved out their own space as missionaries drawing on their understanding of their transnational identities.

Sylvia M. Jacobs highlights the complex transnational sentiments of African American women missionaries who worked among black Africans of the Congo Free State at the height of European imperial expansion in

Africa. In “Three African American Women Missionaries in the Congo, 1887–1899: The Confluence of Race, Culture, Identity, and Nationality,” Jacobs shows how black women missionaries negotiated racial and national identities in their encounters with African women and children, white missionaries, and European colonial administrators. American culture shaped their perceptions of Africa. Although they recognized commonalities with their African clients, their experiences in Africa confirmed that they were Americans first and foremost. Ultimately they rejected the idea of transnational belonging.

Missionaries of the Woman’s Board of Missions came late to the U.S. colony of the Philippines, where American women already worked as army nurses, colonial administrators, and teachers. As Laura R. Prieto explains in “‘Stepmother America’: The Woman’s Board of Missions in the Philippines, 1902–1930,” the mission project to Christianize both paralleled and meshed with the colonial state project to civilize. However, just as the federal government failed to extend rights like woman’s suffrage to its new territories overseas, so women missionaries ultimately failed to assimilate Filipinas into their ideals of modern Christian womanhood. The gradual assumption of control of the mission by Filipinos accompanied the collapse of women’s separate institutions and anticipated not only an independent Philippine nation but also the end of America’s experiment with colonialism.

In the conclusion, Mary A. Renda reveals the commonalities that thread through these essays and connects them to earlier scholarship. She emphasizes the religious faith and sense of duty that inspired and supported American women in their missionary work, affirms the usefulness of their projects to many people at home and abroad, and underscores the diversity of missionary encounters that defy easy classification. Tracing the ways in which women challenged gendered restrictions to expand their realm of influence, she nonetheless illuminates two linked and omnipresent themes in women’s expanding agency. The “language of domesticity” and the “racial dimension” of “woman’s work for woman” form the double helix of race and empire that underpinned nineteenth- and twentieth-century international women’s activism.

The essays offered here highlight the shifting and contested terrain of the larger global arena in which Protestant Christianity vied for influence from

the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth. Women missionaries shaped fundamental aspects of that story as they struggled with the construction of their gendered identity, with the goals of their missionary agendas, and with the spirit of their own nationalism as it fostered and competed with local nationalisms. Profoundly transnational, their history reveals America as “*inherently* an international phenomenon.”<sup>24</sup> They did much to create a distinctively American form of empire—and opposition to empire—that was based on cultural institutions rather than on military and economic might. The authors of these essays illustrate the advantages of viewing global patterns through the lens of local encounters. They offer a rich, new historiographic turn for future efforts to conceptualize American empire and for future studies of American women internationally considered. Above all, they support a growing consensus that American women’s history is intrinsically transnational.

## NOTES

- 1 Thomas Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Over the past two decades, several issues of the *Journal of American History* have included forums in which scholars have discussed transnational approaches to the study of United States history. See, for example, issues from October 1991, September 1992, September 1999, December 1999.
- 2 On the intersection of gender and foreign relations, see Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). On the intersection of women’s history and international history, see Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ian Tyrrell, *Woman’s World, Woman’s Empire: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). For an example of U.S. women’s history as international history, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anja Schüler, and Susan Strasser, eds., *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany: A Dialogue in Documents, 1885–1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). On the importance of transnational history to women’s history, see the roundtable discussion “The Future of Women’s History: Considering the State of U.S. Women’s History” in the *Journal of Women’s History* (spring 2003).
- 3 Emily S. Rosenberg, “Gender,” *Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (1990), 116–24.

- 4 Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 9–10.
- 5 For some of the many interpretations of American empire, see Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds, *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963); Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006); Richard Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); William A. Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament, along with a Few Thoughts about an Alternative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); William Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (New York: Knopf, 2008).
- 6 For an example of the cultural dimensions of empire, see Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*.
- 7 Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
- 8 Richard J. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Daniel Walker Howe, "The Evangelical Movement and Political Culture in the North during the Second Party System," *Journal of American History* 77, no. 4 (1991), 1216–39.
- 9 Seth Jacobs, *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia, 1950–1957* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Andrew Preston, "Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 5 (2006): 783–812.
- 10 Religion as a category of analysis was largely absent from Bender, *Rethinking American History*, and Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*.
- 11 Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Lisa Joy

- Pruitt, *A Looking-Glass for Ladies: American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2005); Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996); Mary Zwiexp, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).
- 12 Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*; Tyrrell, *Woman's World*; Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
  - 13 Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870–1910," *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (1982), 347–71. For reflections on the importance of race in the work of British women missionaries, see Jane Haggis, "White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative History," *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. Clare Midgely, 45–75 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).
  - 14 For an argument on the importance of this project, see Paul A. Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002), 1315–53.
  - 15 Paul William Harris, *Nothing But Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
  - 16 For the motivating forces behind the first American interdenominational mission board, see Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioner of Foreign Missions, 1810–1860* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University: 1969).
  - 17 Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
  - 18 Carol K Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
  - 19 For recent scholarship on American Catholic missionary thought and experiences, see *U.S. Catholic Historian* (Summer 2006).
  - 20 Dana Robert, "'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions," *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880–1980*, ed. Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk, 29–46 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1990).
  - 21 Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory Christian Mis-

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