

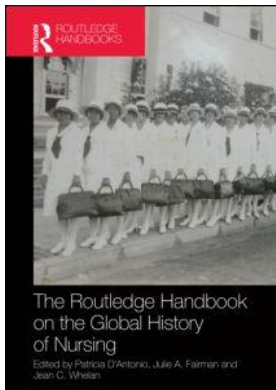
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PART 1

New directions in the global history of nursing

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1

AMERICAN NURSES IN COLONIAL SETTINGS

Imperial power at the bedside

Winifred Connerton, PhD, CNM

Nurses are essential to studies of American imperialism of the early twentieth century because nursing as a profession embodied the “benevolent” approach of American colonialism; as individuals, trained nurses were the personal face of America in their contact with patients at the bedside and in the clinic.¹ Yet nurses are absent from nearly all studies of American imperialism, and conversely imperialism is absent from the few studies of nursing in the US colonial occupations. However, it is not easy to overlook the presence of nurses at every stage of operation: nurses worked with state agencies, with voluntary organizations such as Protestant missions, and with philanthropic foundations. New approaches to the US imperial era, which began with the Spanish–American War of 1898, include a wide set of historical actors and consider the power of cultural influence as an aspect of imperialism not constrained by the boundaries of colonial occupation. This chapter argues that including trained nursing in histories of the US imperial experiment of the early twentieth century offers an important perspective on imperialism and American influence in the world.

I begin with basic background to the 1898 transformation of the US into a colonial power. I then explore traditional historical interpretations of that transition, and new approaches to that history. Finally I explore the multiple approaches to historical analysis of the US imperial efforts of the early twentieth century that create opportunities to include nursing within the analytical field.

Background

The Spanish–American War began on April 23, 1898, after months of reports about Spain’s brutal suppression of the Cuban revolutionary movement, and the destruction of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor that killed 266 men in suspicious circumstances. The war was intended to be a war of liberation for the Cubans, not a war of acquisition. In fact, the declaration of war by Congress in April 1898 was only approved after

Congress added the Teller Amendment stating that the United States had no intention to annex or colonize Cuba. Although the Spanish–American War was focused on Cuba, the rest of Spain’s colonies also became military targets and other Spanish territories of the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico were taken by US forces.

The fighting was over by August 14, 1898, and the parties signed the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. With the settlement the United States acquired the territory of Guam, Puerto Rico, and Cuba and paid Spain \$20,000,000 for the Philippines. With the ratification of the treaty the United States formally became a colonial power for the first time in its history. Until this point the United States absorbed new territory with the intention of settling that terrain and eventually granting membership in the country.

The path of the US as an imperial power was not particularly clear, and the colonial occupations faced opposition from all points on the political spectrum. The Teller Amendment prevented any colonial ambition over Cuba, but did not specifically restrict colonial ambitions in any of the other territories taken in the war. Colonial proponents argued that the United States had a special destiny or duty to help reform other nations along an American model and to protect and guide them during the formative stages of this Americanization. Anti-imperialists, on the other hand, argued that there was no constitutional basis for a democratic country to have any colonial possession, that the native populations would not be intellectually capable of participating in democracy at the level necessary to maintain a civil society, and that the colonial populations would create an influx of cheap labor from the colonies. The national interest in colonialism waned after 1912, and by 1917 there were formal plans for each colony to move toward autonomy. This discomfort with the US imperial agenda has influenced how the meaning of American imperialism has been understood by historians.

American imperialism – oxymoron, historical anomaly, or natural progression?

Traditionally the US imperial period has been considered relatively short – beginning with the Spanish–American War, and ending with Philippine Independence in 1946 and Hawaii’s statehood in 1959. The temporal boundaries of the US colonial period can be contested, however. For example, historians such as Thomas Hietala argue that the American imperial era began with the continental expansion of the 1840s, not the colonies of 1898.² Similarly, Julian Go argues that the US was experienced with territorial expansion by 1898 and that the only difference in the US occupation of the Philippines from that of the western territories was that the Philippines was not intended to be permanently settled by Americans or to join the Union, and thus had to be administered as a colonial territory rather than as a future state.³

The study of US imperialism has been complicated by disagreements over fundamental ideas, from those as basic as when the imperial process began to whether the US colonial possessions even constituted an empire at all. Historian Joseph Fry has noted that when the existence of an American empire has not been denied altogether, it has

frequently been portrayed as a deviation from the American model of existence, and also as “more benign and more transitory than its European counterparts.”⁴ Similarly, Virginia Bouvier notes that there are many different explanations for the US imperialism of the early twentieth century, including accidental war and possession, premeditated expansion, inevitable progress, and unnecessary imperialism.⁵

There are two main groups of analysis for these years of explicit colonial possession: as either a historical anomaly or part of the natural progression of the nation. Those that subscribe to the “accidental imperialist” idea argue that the US did not enter the Spanish–American War with the intention of imperial occupation, but once in a responsible position over the colonies the US had a duty to protect and guide them. For example, Richard Hofstadter’s analysis of the ideology behind the US occupation of Cuba and the Philippines explains the occupations as an aberration in American history, brought on by the closing of the American frontier to the west, a national sense of duty and a need for markets for American–produced goods.⁶ Not all historians have explained the imperialist urge as an anomaly, however; some have described it as part of a natural progression – that once the United States had reached the western edge of the continent, it was natural to progress further into the Pacific.

These two versions are different in practice, but they share fundamental assumptions about the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Both suggest that the US was naïve to imperialism prior to taking colonies itself. They portray a country surprised by the burden of colonial occupation, but willing and able to take responsibility to help other, weaker countries become independent nations. Both perspectives also represent the US occupation as a uniformly beneficial, if not always welcome, force for improvement in the colonial settings. Finally, they both also propose that US occupation was uniquely different (read: better) than other empires’ colonial management, particularly the British. These perspectives underlie many historical assessments of the US imperial push, even those that otherwise present a unique perspective on American colonial occupation. For example, Kenton Clymer in his study of Protestant missionaries in the US-occupied Philippines expands the field of who could be considered imperialists, but ends his book with an exploration of how the Protestant ideals that the missionaries introduced into the Philippines also inculcated ideas of democracy that spurred resistance to Ferdinand Marcos.⁷ Clymer does explore the negative aspects of the missionaries’ evangelism in the islands, but his conclusion about the overall positive result of colonial occupation falls solidly within the traditional approach to American imperialism.

Amy Kaplan has argued that when historians fail to examine the imperial nature of American influence in the world, they inevitably fall into the trap of American exceptionalism. Kaplan suggests that excluding the US from discussion of empire creates the impression that there was no imperialism inherent in the spreading American influence in the twentieth century, and simultaneously that whatever imperialism the US engendered was somehow different (and better) than any other sort of imperialism present in the world.⁸ Since the terrorist attacks of September, 2001 there has been a renewed interest in US internationalism and a discussion of empire, with some proponents embracing the idea of empire as a necessary policy for US foreign relations.⁹

This presents a new twist of the American exceptionalism that Kaplan addresses. When, in 2003, Donald Rumsfeld responded to a question in an interview on al-Jazeera with “We don’t seek empires . . . we’re not imperialistic. We never have been,” he was denying the historical role the US took in the early twentieth century in the Pacific and Caribbean.¹⁰ Similarly, Jeremi Suri has recently argued that the term “empire” is not large enough to encompass the benevolent aspects of American internationalism, suggesting that any negative aspects of US expansion are outweighed by the US-led reform and democratization projects.¹¹

Histories of nurses abroad can easily fall into a similar exceptionalist approach by overlooking nurses’ connection to the national political agenda. Nurses were part of the American administrative and social presence, and as a group are useful for examining the United States’ imperial agenda. As individual women they offer the perspective of individual actors who chose to participate in the national mission for personal reasons, and, as a profession, they reflect the prevailing understanding of what it meant to be “American.” Nurses as individuals may not have had overtly political interests in going abroad, as they may have been seeking adventure or simply new job opportunities, but they were operating within a political context that informed their work. Thus, nursing is a useful lens for examining colonial occupation because nurses were important to the functional work of the colony through public health programs, as well as promoters of the American ideology through their enforcing sanitary rules and teaching in nursing training programs.

Despite the recent resurgence of an exceptionalist rhetoric around US international expansion of the early twentieth century, Kaplan’s challenge has been taken up by many historians who offer a wide variety of interpretations and approaches to this colonial period. These approaches also offer avenues for examining nursing within the US imperial expansion after 1898.

More inclusive approaches to American imperialism

In contrast to the “accidental imperialist” approaches to US imperialism, recent collections organized around the study of American imperial work offer useful examples of the trends in historiography of US international engagement. These new approaches make a comprehensive assessment of colonial locales and highlight the participation of non-state agents within the colonial apparatus. Others widen the focus and consider the US colonial occupations in the context of US history and world history – particularly focusing on the US as an empire in relation with other empires. Thomas Bender has long argued that it is impossible to isolate US history from worldwide developments.¹² Recently Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper have included the US in a complex study of the intersection and interaction of empires.¹³ Julian Go has taken up this inclusive approach in his examination of the similarities and differences between the colonial management of Puerto Rico and the Philippines.¹⁴ These approaches to US empire may not directly include nursing, but their expansive approach to the subject also encourages historians to shift their focus, thereby deepening the analysis of the imperial experience.

The contributors and editors of *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* challenge “post-imperial denial” and include examinations of race, education, public health, and environmental management along with studies of the politics and military aspects of colonial occupation.¹⁵ In *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire* the collective editors and authors suggest that expanding the study of American empire to include not only colonial or territorial possessions, but also the power of international organizations to spread American influence, broadens the possibilities of understanding American history and of empire itself.¹⁶ This collection notably includes women as central agents of cultural and national influence within their roles as Protestant missionaries, and although it does not include missionary nurses among its subjects, it gives several examples of how non-state actors participate in the spread of national interests. For example, Ian Tyrrell argues that the American version of empire was not built on overt territorial possession of colonies, but rather was embodied in the organizations that espoused a uniquely American cultural perspective, and through their projects spread the American influence all around the world.¹⁷ Tyrrell’s approach is particularly useful when considering US-trained nurses in American-held territories at the beginning of the twentieth century, because nurses influenced society both through their work and by their very presence in colonial settings. These collections are examples of alternate approaches to the US’s colonizing era through their inclusion of many different colonial actors, and their recognition that colonial encounters took place on different fields, and were mediated by cultural and social context.¹⁸ Histories that specifically use a social frame include those that examine gender and/or race within the colonial setting.

Historians of empire have examined women’s roles from the perspective of those that were part of the colonized population, and women who were among the colonizers, with the understanding that all women in colonial settings were symbolically important for many reasons. Colonized women were the targets of reform in the areas of infant feeding, birth, and childrearing practices. Their needs – which were established by the colonizers – justified the need for colonial oversight.¹⁹ No colonial occupation occurred in a vacuum, however, and Eileen Findlay has explored how Puerto Rican women successfully used the US colonial agenda to their own purposes.²⁰ Findlay notes that the US interest in creating a social structure similar to that of the “mainland” included introducing civil marriage and divorce, where religious marriage and annulment existed before. Puerto Rican women took advantage of the opportunity to seek divorce in large numbers, an unexpected consequence of the colonial administration’s social policy.

Colonizing women, too, were important to supporting the colonial process. Nancy Rose Hunt explains that Belgian women in the colonies served as models for African women as well as a stabilizing center for the European family structure and maintaining the moral compass for Belgian men.²¹ Antoinette Burton has argued that European women themselves identified their role in colonial settings as one of savior in which they offered an uplifting message to native women. Colonial women’s efforts at reform could be used by both the women and the imperial government as evidence of the beneficial and benign nature of imperial expansion.²² Catherine Choy has examined

the long-term effects of the introduction of American-style trained nursing to the Philippines.²³ In her study Choy notes that the social patterns of nursing conflicted with traditional behaviors for Filipino women, from the expected uniform to caring for strangers of both sexes, working outside the home and family, and seeking advanced education.

The US expanded into Caribbean and Pacific islands that were already populated with ethnically and racially diverse peoples. Rudyard Kipling highlighted race as fundamental to the US management of its new colonial possessions in his 1899 poem “The White Man’s Burden.”²⁴ Historian Eric T. Love counters the idea that the colonial populations were being prepared for “benevolent assimilation” because in the racially charged atmosphere of lynchings of African-Americans in the US South, anti-Chinese legislation, and the disenfranchisement of Native Americans, no “pragmatic politician” would have supported any policy that aimed at improving the lot of “non-whites.”²⁵ Rather, Love suggests, proponents of imperialism argued in terms of national gains and political duty rather than uplift.

Historian Paul A. Kramer also focuses on the role of race in the colonial acquisition of the Philippines, particularly in the way that race was part of the “hierarchies of difference” essential to imperialism, but also how the concept of race in a colonial setting is a “dynamic, contextual, contested and contingent field of power.”²⁶ Warwick Anderson has chronicled how race played into the US colonial government’s efforts at hygiene reform in the Philippines.²⁷ The Bureau of Health campaigns created an image of the unclean and inherently unwell native in contrast with the healthy, hygienic American colonizer.

There is little analysis of the intersection of race and gender for any of the US colonial workers, and this is a case where the absence of nursing from the analysis is glaring. The US nurses recruited to work in these new territorial possessions were white. They worked closely with native populations as caregivers and as instructors in nursing training programs.

American women participated in colonial work on a different scale than men – they did not run government agencies, nor did they set the agenda for colonial projects. Rather they worked in close contact with native people as teachers, nurses, and missionaries. They were busy representing the US and interpreting Americanization plans, while at the same time negotiating their own roles within the US and as colonial workers. Women’s colonial work, then, requires a broader perspective – one that accounts for the intersection across groups, such as the interaction between the native and colonial peoples, as well as considering women’s colonial roles in contrast or concert with those roles in mainland society.

Carol Chin suggests that women missionaries in China were “beneficent imperialists” because they understood their efforts to reform the Chinese culture in terms of unalloyed good, rather than as a hostile take-over.²⁸ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo argue that as American women missionaries spread American influence around the world they crossed barriers of race and culture to make their work truly “transnational.” Specifically they argue that these women were not “a homogenous group of cultural imperialists” but were rather “people who reinvented

the meanings of American nationalism and imperialism as they negotiated competing nationalism and imperialisms in varying colonial settings.”²⁹

American nurses served in the American-held territories in a wide variety of roles and they negotiated their competing professional, national and personal agendas in all of their work. Some US nurses went abroad as missionaries, but even those without a religious mission had a secular mission, one that was sometimes obscured by the nature of their helping work.

Public health in colonial context

Public health was part of colonial administration and the area where nurses figured most prominently. Public health projects in the colonial territories served multiple constituencies, sometimes to the benefit of one group over another. Mariola Espinosa has documented how yellow fever eradication programs instituted by the US in Cuba served the US population more than the Cubans, though the Cubans bore most of the burden from the program. Yellow fever was not actually a threat to the Cuban population, who were generally immune to the disease from childhood exposure, but it was a threat to Americans living in Cuba, and the Southeastern US colonial health policy that focused exclusively on yellow fever in occupied Cuba benefited US nationals to the detriment of the Cubans, who suffered instead from tuberculosis, malaria, and enteritis, which were not identified as public health issues under the US.³⁰

The beneficial results of colonial health programs have made them somewhat immune to critical examination. Anne Perez Hattori notes the accounts of the health programs organized by the US Navy in its occupation of Guam, which included sanitary inspections of homes and leper colonies, and the suppression of traditional *Chamorro* healers and midwives, are used by some Guamanian historians as examples of the “blessings of naval colonialism.”³¹ Similarly, historian Raymond Iletto has noted that even staunchly nationalist Filipino historians recount the US public health campaigns in the Philippines without any critique whatsoever, and that the cholera campaign, with its concentration camps that served the military’s goals during the Philippine–American War, has been “assimilated into the universal history of medical progress, torn from its original moorings in a colonial war and pacification campaign.”³² Espinosa takes a slightly different perspective on the same critique when she points out that “public health efforts also sought to convince subjugated peoples of their own inferiority and, therefore, the desirability of continued colonial rule.”³³ Thus successful public health campaigns that reduced disease also reinforced the colonial rule. Each of these authors takes other historians to task for not more critically examining the nature of public health programs in colonial context. Certainly some gains were made – maternal and infant mortality rates dropped, for instance – but these authors ask: what was the overall cost of those gains?

Nursing can be examined in the same light as other colonial programs. The colonial governments believed in their mission of uplift and improvement. The beneficent tutelage, however, coincided with the need to control an armed insurgency in the Philippines, and the goal to reform societal norms in all colonies. Health and hygiene

programs fit within this structure of uplift and reform as colonial administrators aimed to improve the public health, and nursing was an essential part of that service. Nursing represented a particular, culturally bound, understanding of illness and of a scientific approach to treatment. American nurses in the colonies were what Sharon Nestel, in reference to European colonial nursing in Africa, has called “capillary power” – an extension of colonial power out to the extremities of its reach, because nurses participated in medical policies and performed regulatory tasks that were at heart coercive or intended to maintain the colonial power.³⁴ Charles McGraw identified this same pattern in the US nurses who went to Cuba prior to the Spanish–American War, where they were examples of what he calls “friendly power” – power exerted under the cover of aid.³⁵

Americanization campaigns took place in public spheres as well as the intimate places in people’s lives. Health was identified early as an avenue for inculcating American values in native populations, and nurses were a part of that campaign as caregivers in the public hospitals and as instructors in the government-run training school for nurses. Public health campaigns in each of the colonies were part of what were intended to be beneficial services, but those services had coercive aspects, as in the Philippines and Guam, or simply did not have the native population as the target audience, as in Cuba. Whether or not nurses were present during the most brutal parts of colonial occupation, they were associated with the colonial power and were part of the colonial apparatus, and consequently their participation deserves focused attention.

Conclusion

Although America’s period of seeking colonial territories ended soon after the 1898 acquisition of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam as a settlement from the Spanish–American War, historians who have begun to stretch the boundaries of the definition of empire have opened a new avenue for exploring nurses’ roles in empire. American nurses were part of a system of colonial management. They supported the colonial presence by caring for the American workers in the islands, and they put a face on American policies as they taught in training schools or worked on public health campaigns. In fact, American nurses had a unique position within the colonial health program because their work brought them into direct contact with native peoples as patients, students, and colleagues. Nurses offer a glimpse of the negotiations between the colonial parties as the administration modified programs in response to the native people’s participation and resistance.

As members of the American population in US-occupied territories, it is impossible to isolate the truly beneficial services trained nurses provided from the climate of coercion and sometimes violent suppression in which they were working. Even nurses somewhat removed from the colonial government itself, missionary nurses for example, were members of a colonizing population, and in the aggregate were representatives of the colonial mission. As individuals these nurses had stronger or weaker affiliation with their national mission. More research into the personal reflections of American nurses in the US territories will give context and depth to nurses’ participation in the colonial

project, and the reciprocal stories of the native nurses they trained would add an important counterpoint. As an almost exclusively female group of workers, nurses offer a vision of what it meant for women to participate in colonial activities. Did they protest maltreatment but were overruled, or did they subvert programs and policies they personally found unpalatable? How did they understand their work within the context of “Americanization” campaigns? Was there a hierarchy of ideologic identification, and if so how did nurses rank nation, religion, profession, race, and gender in their colonial work? Without those explanations we are left to wonder at nurses’ motivations, but even without those personal recollections we must not fail to place nurses within the colonial context – including the context of coercive and punitive policies. To do so only creates an odd variant of American exceptionalism, a nursing exceptionalism that robs nursing of its cultural import and power at the crossroads of colonial contact.

Notes

- 1 In this chapter I use the term “United States” or “US” when I am referring to the geopolitical nation, and the term “America” when I mean the nebulous national idea that encompasses the people of the United States and their collective ideologies.
- 2 Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire*, Rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- 3 Julian Go, “Introduction: Global Perspectives on the U.S. Colonial State in the Philippines,” in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines; Global Perspectives*, ed. Julian Go and Anne L. Foster (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 1–42.
- 4 Joseph A. Fry, “Imperialism, American Style, 1890–1916,” in *American Foreign Relations Reconsidered, 1890–1993*, ed. Gordon Martel (New York: Routledge, 1994), 52.
- 5 “Introduction,” in *Whose America? The War of 1898 and the Battle to Define the Nation*, ed. Virginia M. Bouvier (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 1–19.
- 6 Richard Hofstadter, “Cuba, the Philippines and Manifest Destiny,” in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*, ed. Richard Hofstadter (New York: Knopf, 1965), 145–187.
- 7 Kenton J. Clymer, *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898–1916: An Inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986).
- 8 Amy Kaplan, “‘Left Alone with America’: The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture,” in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 3–21.
- 9 Alfred W. McCoy, Francisco A. Scarano, and Courtney Johnson, “On the Tropic of Cancer; Transitions and Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 3–33.
- 10 “American Imperialism? No Need to Run Away from Label,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, n.d., www.cfr.org/iraq/american-imperialism-no-need-run-away-label/p5934
- 11 Jeremi Suri, “The Limits of American Empire: Democracy and Militarism in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 523–531.
- 12 Thomas Bender, *A Nation among Nations: America’s Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).
- 13 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

- 14 Julian Go, "The Chains of Empire: State Building and 'Political Education' in Puerto Rico and the Philippines," in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines; Global Perspectives*, ed. Julian Go (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 182–216; Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico During U.S. Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
- 15 Missing from this collection, however, is an analysis of women's roles, and nurses' work is not addressed in the chapters on public health. Also, this collection focuses solely on the Caribbean and Pacific colonial possessions post-1898. McCoy, Scarano, and Johnson, "On the Tropic of Cancer," 3.
- 16 Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, eds., *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
- 17 Ian Tyrrell, "Woman, Missions, and Empire: New Approaches to American Cultural Expansion," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960*, ed. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 43–66.
- 18 Other collections that present similar expanded ideas of historic investigation of US imperial history include Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.–Latin American Relations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); and Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).
- 19 Nancy Rose Hunt, "'Le Béb  En Brousse': European Women, African Birth Spacing, and Colonial Intervention in Breast Feeding in the Belgian Congo," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 287–321.
- 20 Eileen J. Findlay, "Love in the Tropics: Marriage, Divorce, and the Construction of Benevolent Colonialism in Puerto Rico, 1989–1910," in *Close Encounters with Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.–Latin American Relations*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo Salvatore (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 138–172.
- 21 Hunt, "'Le Béb  En Brousse.'"
- 22 Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
- 23 Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).
- 24 Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *Modern History Sourcebook: Rudyard Kipling, The White Man's Burden, 1899*, www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/kipling.asp
- 25 Eric Tyrone Lowery Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), xii.
- 26 Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 2.
- 27 Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
- 28 Carol C. Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations* 27, no. 3 (2003): 327–352.
- 29 "Introduction," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960*, ed. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 2.
- 30 Mariola Espinosa, "A Fever for Empire: U.S. Disease Eradication in Cuba as Colonial Public Health," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 288–296.

- 31 Anne Perez Hattori, *Colonial Dis-Ease: US Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898–1941* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 189.
- 32 “Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines,” in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, ed. David Arnold (New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 126.
- 33 Mariola Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions: Yellow Fever and the Limits of Cuban Independence, 1878–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 6.
- 34 Sheryl Nestel, “(Ad)ministering Angels: Colonial Nursing and the Extension of Empire in Africa,” *Journal of Medical Humanities* 19, no. 4 (1998): 273.
- 35 Charles McGraw, “‘The Intervention of a Friendly Power’: The Transnational Migration of Women’s Work and 1898 Imperial Imagination,” *Journal of Women’s History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 137–160.