“A FIEND ABOUT WOMEN”: GENDER DYNAMICS AND AMERICAN EVANGELISM IN A MICRONESIAN MISSION DURING THE HIGH TIDE OF PACIFIC IMPERIALISM, 1884-1899

by

John Hanebuth
A Thesis
Submitted to the
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of
Master of Arts
History

Committee:

___________________________________________  Director

___________________________________________

___________________________________________

___________________________________________  Department Chairperson

___________________________________________  Dean, College of Humanities and Social Sciences

Date:  ________________________________  Summer Semester 2019
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
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John Hanebuth
Bachelor of Arts
College of the Holy Cross, 2014

Director: Benedict Carton, Professor
Department of History

Summer Semester 2019
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my father who instilled an appreciation of history in his son from a young age.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions..................................ABCFM
ABSTRACT

“A FIEND ABOUT WOMEN”: GENDER DYNAMICS AND AMERICAN EVANGELISM IN A MICRONESIAN MISSION DURING THE HIGH TIDE OF PACIFIC IMPERIALISM, 1884-1899

John Hanebuth, B.A.
George Mason University, 2019
Thesis Director: Dr. Benedict Carton

This thesis describes a gendered conflict between missionaries at the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) station in Chuuk, Micronesia from 1884 to 1899. A thorough investigation of the missionaries’ correspondence illustrates that conflict over the place of women in American Christianity played out internationally as well as domestically. This thesis supports an extant body of literature regarding the fragility of American masculinity at the beginning of the twentieth century, and shows how a fractured Christian community aligned based on material offerings. The thesis seeks to illustrate that the conflict in American religious circles to determine the place of women played out internationally as well as domestically. In this context, a fractured Christian community aligned based on material offerings. This dispute in Chuuk also serves to highlight the limits of ABCFM authority.
INTRODUCTION

Narrative Background

In 1884, Mary Logan sailed with her husband Robert Logan to Chuuk Lagoon, a protected body of water 600 miles southeast of Guam.\(^1\) Robert Logan was a Civil War veteran and Congregational reverend representing the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a Boston-based ecumenical organization that spread Protestantism throughout the globe. An evangelizing teacher, Mary Logan was also the mother of their two children, Arthur and Beulah. The couple had previously proselytized in Pacific islands, focusing their initial efforts in the Mortlocks and on Ponape (Pohnpei) before planting a station on the island of Weno, 15 square miles of reef, rock, soil, and tropical vegetation (see Figure 1 and 2).\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Chuuk Lagoon exists in the contemporary State of Chuuk, today the most populous territory of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM).

Now the capital of Chuuk State, Weno is located in the northern half of the Lagoon.
The island of Fefan which will be referenced in the second chapter appears in the left background of the photo. Photo taken by the author in August 2017.
From 1884 until his death in 1887, Robert Logan preached in the villages of Mwan, Penia, Iras, and Tunok on Weno. He succeeded in converting several hundred people, some of whom remained devout while others lapsed into “heathenism.” Today, his influence is commemorated by the presence of the Logan Memorial Church in present-day Mwan (see Figure 3). While the religious practices of this house of worship show the lasting impact of American Protestantism, they also raise questions about who, in fact, was responsible for extending Christianity in Chuuk.

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3He also expanded his ministry to the neighboring islands of Fefan, Tonoas, and Udot.
Robert Logan appears as a pivotal actor in academic studies of nineteenth-century evangelism in Micronesia. By contrast, his Ohio-born wife Mary Logan (née Fenn) has received scant scholarly attention. This is striking because she had a longer missionary career than her husband. In the Chuuk region, Mary Logan was committed to spiritual and educational pursuits. She also assiduously recorded assessments of the ABCFM
mission and its representatives in the field. Her detailed observations, along with the letters of her colleagues, now housed in Harvard University’s Houghton Library special collection of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, constitute a rich trove of under-utilized primary materials.

Figure 4: The Evangelizing Couple
These portraits were published in 1900 in an ABCFM periodical. Source: The Missionary Herald, XCVI no. 1, (January 1900): 10.
Soon after Robert Logan passed away and was buried on Weno in 1887, the grieving Mary Logan ventured back to Ohio. Despite the allure of resettling in the United States, she would return two years later to “Ruk,” the period name for Chuuk. There, within sight of her husband’s grave, she assumed a new mantle as one of the most prominent American missionaries in Micronesia until she left the field with a terminal illness in 1899.\textsuperscript{4} In her widowhood, she dedicated herself to establishing a training school that imparted lessons of Victorian decorum and domesticity to a population of Chuukese girls and young women. What remains to be explored is how Mary Logan, the one-time “helper” of Robert Logan, delivered Christian instruction, individually and collectively from the makeshift pulpit and classroom. How did her approaches align with or differ from the message of her beloved predecessor? What approaches were developed by the widow for her world, and how did her status as an assistant missionary impact her role as a proselytizing teacher in a station where other men had taken charge?

At the dramatic heart of Mary Logan’s story is the seething opposition she encountered from one minister, Alfred Snelling, the head of the Ruk mission after Robert Logan’s death. Their bitter rivalry is chronicled in a lengthy correspondence that detailed serious accusations, some of which prompted the ABCFM decision-making body, the Prudential Board in Boston, to intervene, first as a conciliatory mediator, then as a unilateral authority. Alfred Snelling and Mary Logan exhibited different tactics as well. The former unleashed his withering attacks in print and public, angrily dismissing Mary Logan as a female usurper of his rightful position. Snelling preferred to deride his foe by

\textsuperscript{4} Mary Logan’s tenure in Chuuk was interrupted by a two-year furlough in the United States between 1894 and 1896 during which Mary Logan continued to advocate for her mission.
masculinizing her persona. In his written accounts, she became the intruding “Bishop of Ruk.” Mary Logan, in turn, took pains to point out Snelling’s misogynistic approach to preaching and to dealing with associates.

Historians have treated the Logan-Snelling feud as a spat between a remote widow and her “partially insane” colleague. Thus, a deeper study is required to uncover the broader implications of the Logan-Snelling vendetta, which involved gender authority, Christian education, the growing autonomy of missionary and neophyte, and challenges to ABCFM organizational control. These dynamics pose compelling new questions: What influence did Mary Logan wield on Weno before her husband’s death and did her religious practices change after she returned from the United States to Micronesia? Was Mary Logan part of a vanguard of women evangelists navigating the Pacific field? Did she choose mostly to work on the fringe of masculine power, or did she stand with certain women and men who supported her cause? Were Mary Logan and Alfred Snelling so bent on fighting one another that they lost sight of their congregants’ aspirations?

The Logan-Snelling conflict also leads to broader questions about the missionary project in Chuuk. How might a scholar characterize, source, and foreground the lives of converts in ways that put missionaries in a receding light? How did Chuukese actors definitively shape the ABCFM’s administration of Ruk station and its area satellites? The answers point to valuable, and hitherto ignored, lines of inquiry revealing that Mary

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5 Katherine Dernbach, “Popular Religion in Chuuk: A Historical Study of Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Chuuk, Micronesia” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2005). She deploys anthropological methods to examine cultural transformation and syncretic worship in the history of Chuukese Christianity, with contemporary practices outside the Protestant orbit being the principal interest of her research.
Logan and Alfred Snelling were not isolated combatants who came into view only when their battle raged in English on paper. They were immersed in local communities forging experiences of faith in a different language and culture.

A diverse range of people, including “native” Christian teachers, noted the discord between the widowed missionary and her rival. Relegated to the margins of the history of Ruk mission, the views of converts are not chronicled in the consulted archival sources. Thus, significant Chuukese voices have yet to enter published historical scholarship. Through a careful reading of missionary inferences drawn from ABCFM letters and reports, this thesis intends to make these voices heard and, hopefully, better understood in relation to ABCFM influence and indigenous Christianity in Micronesia.

**Historiography**

Scholarship on the ABCFM in Micronesia includes several trailblazing monographs. In particular, Patricia Grimshaw’s *Paths of Duty* (1989) traces the contributions of American wives, mothers, and daughters who transported the Gospel across the Pacific. This book and Patricia Hill’s *The World Their Household* (1985), focus on female participation in one of the few vocations that welcomed middle-class women in the Gilded Age: overseas missions. A 2014 contribution, Jennifer Thigpen’s *Island Queens and Mission Wives*, absorbs the findings of Grimshaw and Hill while extending their informative analyses. Thigpen highlights how elite women converts in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian kingdom embraced female ABCFM missionaries through customs of gift exchange. These rituals facilitated the development of royal Christian matriarchy. The conclusions of *Island Queens and Mission Wives* are especially relevant
to an investigation of Chuukese Christianity, which was in no small measure facilitated by Mary Logan, an American woman proselytizing in the Pacific during roughly the same time.⁶

Other path-breaking studies present valuable insights in American religious history. For example, Margaret Bendroth’s 1993 monograph, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, and Ann Braude’s 1997 publication, “Women’s History Is American Religious History,” chronicle profound shifts in faith and power, which transformed American churches into a proving ground for male chauvinism.⁷ Most recently, Kristin Du Mez’s fascinating meditation on “a new gospel” examines the ways in which women, whom Bendroth and Braude describe as excluded from leadership in Protestant churches, reimagined a devotion to God that also spoke to feminist pursuits.⁸ By drawing on these works, this thesis intends to demonstrate how gender struggles in American evangelism propelled rivals like Mary Logan and Alfred Snelling on a collision course. In addition to exploring the gender dynamics of American Protestantism, my case study of Ruk station and its operations between 1884 and 1899 seeks to illustrate how missionary contestation


created space for “indigenous” faith and “native” interests, including nonspiritual motivations, to determine the expansion of Christianity in Micronesia.  

**Structure**

This thesis has four main chapters. Chapter one, “Scholarship on American Influence in the Pacific Basin, with Special Reference to Protestant Evangelism,” evaluates academic studies of US presence in the Pacific Basin during the nineteenth century. The symbiotic relationship between religious influences and political forces, and their articulation in amplifying American imperialism, is a theme linking the extensive discussion of pertinent books and articles. Also considered are historiographical debates centering on the importance of gender dynamics in American Christianity.

Chapter two, “The Logans in Chuuk: A Married Couple and Their Mission, 1874-1888,” opens with a description of their work in broader Micronesia and then Chuuk, where proselytizing led Robert Logan to become a mediator between local populations and imperial envoys representing Spanish and German governments. Robert Logan was wholly dependent on neophytes to communicate his message and leaned on the assistance of his wife as his “helper” and teacher of converts in keeping with ABCFM practice. Over time, Mary Logan claimed more leadership duties in the mission as her husband engaged in diplomatic overtures and increasingly suffered from an illness that would claim his life.

Chapter three, “New Beginnings in a Familiar Place, 1888-1894,” unfolds with the widowed Mary Logan returning to the United States. But soon after, the ABCFM

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9 The author lived and taught school in Chuuk (FSM) from 2014 to 2017 and worshipped for a time at the Logan Memorial Church.
called her back to Chuuk, where she clashed with Alfred Snelling. While Mary Logan endeavored to uplift the women of Ruk, Snelling announced that he lacked confidence in their ability and opposed any prospect of female evangelists joining their male counterpart as equals or deputies. This divergent view of missionary life incited a personal feud that involved a newly arrived ABCFM minister, Francis Price, who would ally with Logan in a campaign to remove Snelling, the “fiend about women,” from the field.10

Finally, Chapter four, “Futility and Fracture: Missionary Rivalries and Indigenous Divisions in a Chuukese Community, 1894-1899,” examines the different dynamics fueling hostility between two devout blocs. The Logan-Price faction stood on one side, bolstered by a disparate group of converts and the backing of an international evangelical enterprise. The other side consisted of Snelling and his small syndicate of “native teachers” who he claimed, somewhat dubiously, supported his transactional efforts to save souls. Snelling’s reliance on offering material incentives to retain neophytes not only widened the confrontation but also shaped local religious politics. Meanwhile, Chuukese-led Christianity, which first emerged in the early days of Ruk station, became more pronounced, particularly as preoccupied Americans bitterly defended their position. The attempts of the Boston executive board to stop the rancorous unraveling of a (not-so) Pacific satellite revealed one of the great challenges facing the ABCFM in an unwieldy world of Protestant “imperialism.”

CHAPTER 1: SCHOLARSHIP ON AMERICAN INFLUENCES IN THE PACIFIC BASIN

Robert and Mary Logan are at the heart of this study, but their lives do not determine the unfolding narrative. Instead, their sponsor, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) largely informs the story and analysis of this thesis. The transnational activities of the ABCFM have generated a rich body of academic literature exploring the role of Protestant preachers in advancing US commercial and political ambitions overseas during the 1800s and 1900s. Several notable historical works, in turn, identify how ordained Congregationalists represented a particularly important dimension of ecumenical imperialism and humanitarianism. In related ways, contemporary scholars of nineteenth-century US religious history have examined how women of the ABCFM shaped the mission experience in this vast oceanic basin. Building on the pioneering efforts of antebellum proselytizers in Hawaii, Board-commissioned preachers and their families sailed from California, just as the US government moved to project its influence westward into this oceanic region. Agents of global expansion, ABCFM representatives fostered a place for the advancement of their auxiliary women, many of them wives and daughters, in communities of converts who were taught to embrace American imperialism as a cultural benefit of the Gospel.

Although Western missionaries influenced many Pacific societies, scholars have tended to focus on Hawaii. In this island chain, indigenous people most fully embraced
Christianity for different reasons. Thus, the much wider interplay between imperial state and non-state actors and the indigenization of faith, specifically in Micronesia during the latter half of the nineteenth century, remains an open field of research (see Figure 5).
This map includes the US state of Hawaii. The majority of the following narrative will take place in what is presently known as the Federated States of Micronesia.

Figure 6: Full Political Map of Micronesia

There are classic works to consider in the field of Micronesian history including Francis Hezel’s 1983 book, First Taint of Civilization. This study provides an historical overview spanning from Magellan’s Pacific voyage in 1521 to Spanish and German encounters with local islanders in 1885. Hezel asserts that “‘civilization’ . . . was carried” to Micronesia by a diverse cast of agents such as European evangelizers, traders, and sailors. With regard to transnational American forces, Hezel highlights the efforts of ABCFM representatives who extended their errand for God from Hawaii to the Caroline

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Islands. The region of Micronesia, according to one ABCFM minister in Pohnpei quoted by Hezel, presented “no place…for ‘white generals’ leading native recruits” to the Gospel. The minister asserted that “if missionary expansion was to take place, it would have to be done by” local preachers. This declaration was more aspiration than reality, as Hezel shows that the ABCFM consistently privileged white authority over indigenous agency.

The link between ABCFM influence and U.S. imperial power is the subject of Jean Heffer’s *The Pacific Frontier*, which explores how missionaries transformed “the Hawaiian Islands into a bastion of Protestantism dominated by American cultural” presence. In Heffer’s narrative, proselytizers unwittingly abetted foreign conquest of the Sandwich Islands. These overseas Protestants did not show the public face of territorial expansion but rather the “private” uniform of church salvation symbolizing the desire to introduce “barbarous peoples to modern civilization.” President William McKinley’s decision to maintain his country’s military occupation of the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century provides one of the few historical examples, Heffer argues, in which missionaries were invited by their home government to foster a colonial enterprise that advanced the aggressive goals of US empire. Elsewhere, however, evangelists turned away from nationalism in deference to other international forces. In Micronesia,

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12 Hezel, *First Taint of Civilization*, 142-143.
15 Heffer, *United States and the Pacific*, 121.
16 Heffer, *United States and the Pacific*, 121.
17 Heffer, 165, 177-178. Religious Americans cultivated transnational links with “denominations on” the other side of the Atlantic by partnering with the English “Anglican Church . . . [to project] a deep sense of solidarity as they confronted their Catholic or heathen adversaries” across the globe: 172.
American “Congregationalists . . . decided to leave the Gilbert Islands to the London Missionary society, while in the Caroline Islands they cut back their activity when Germany purchased the archipelago in 1898.”

Other works of scholarship have further problematized the position of the missionary in processes of imperialism. William Hutchinson’s *Errand to the World* asserts that American churches that planted satellites abroad did not constitute a vanguard of US global power but rather a beachhead of “health and fulfillment” for religious bodies “at home.” He draws attention to the soul-searching dynamics animating debates in state-side congregations, agonizing over “the extent to which Western and American culture, however one might evaluate them, were what the missionary was commissioned to transmit.” The model religious actors, in Hutchinson’s estimation, managed to propagate the Gospel rather than inculcate Western order. One of these ideal figures, the nineteenth-century evangelist Rufus Anderson, adhered to the foremost aim of missionary organizations that advocated for indigenous sovereignty. Yet he never saw this actualized because “the native Hawaiian churches theoretically promoted autonomy but . . . perpetrated subordination.” Another protagonist of Hutchinson’s work, John R Mott, the leader of the YMCA, “opt[ed] for religious rather than any sort of political roles, [and] declined even to accept diplomatic posts.” Hutchinson elaborates on the ecumenical cooperation of missionaries who desired, above all, to bring “the world” to

18 Heffer, *United States and the Pacific*, 172.
21 Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 86. The founders of Hawaiian congregations were transplanted American board members.
22 Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 93.
Christ through a top-down approach. This strategy relied on the “essential rightness of Western civilization” to achieve higher cultural transformation. Hutchison’s probing analysis of the legacies of male ministers in the Pacific has opened new lines of inquiry, which point to the continued significance of studies illuminating the responsibilities of women in efforts to proselytize near and far.

**Women in the Mission**

Following Joan Scott’s pioneering work on the importance of gender in history, scholars in various disciplines increasingly considered the roles of female evangelists as a discrete group of powerful actors. Informed by Scott, Patricia Hill has had the strongest influence in shaping academic understandings of this field. In a monograph titled *The World Their Household*, Hill explores the ways that the missionary enterprise served as a telescope through which to view American middle-class women reimagining their societal prominence during the Gilded Age. Although Hill’s domestic scope did not include the Pacific world, she stimulated further examinations that compared the endeavors of religious women to feminist movements of the late nineteenth century.

In her 1989 book *Paths of Duty*, Patricia Grimshaw builds on Hill’s findings by examining the experiences of missionary wives in the Pacific whose “service was part of a separate female ambition for an important and independent career.” She finds that an

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26 Hill, *The World Their Household*, 60.
educated woman who accompanied her ordained husband to the Sandwich Island faced patriarchal constraints “from the commencement of the mission . . . [because] men would undertake . . . leadership and the major work.”

Still, *Paths of Duty* reveals that “missionary wives” found ways to connect with “female Hawaiians” and facilitate “the process of acculturation . . . into the American sphere.”

Employing a teleological analysis that accepts the inevitability of US conquest, Grimshaw attributes indigenous actions to a defeated people succumbing every day to the stronger occupier. Despite such conceptual shortcomings, the ideas of Grimshaw—and Hill—underline the agency of missionary women and their struggles to assert themselves in realms of male power.

Jennifer Thigpen’s recent monograph *Island Queens* has expanded Grimshaw’s conclusions by revealing how missionary “women’s relationships” were “critical sites for . . . diplomatic and political alliances.” She considers conversion experiences in nineteenth-century Hawaii from the bottom up, first by privileging the voice of “natives,” and then by uncovering historical changes from the vantage point of unwed girls, brides, wives, and mothers. *Island Queens* places female narratives at the heart of Pacific-American mission historiography. In addition, Thigpen positions Westerners as just one group “among many foreign visitors.”

Departing from the conventional emphasis on Christianity as an all-encompassing force, Thigpen constructs narratives that features Hawaiian women converts whose faith armored their kingdom during an intense period

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of political upheaval and Western imperialism. She writes that the ali`i, or the indigenous ruling class of men and women, adopted “strategic accommodation as a means by which to articulate Hawai`i’s . . . [royal] legitimacy,” with Ka`ahumanu, the Bible-reading wife of King Kamehameha, acting “deliberately in [diplomatic] ways that she perceived to be beneficial to the Hawaiian people within the context of growing . . . uncertainty.”\(^{32}\) In Thigpen’s interpretation, the spread of the Gospel was not an American imperialist plot. Rather, the missionary enterprise and its Hawaiian allies represented an evolving phenomenon that local populations embraced, resisted, exploited, and discarded for their own purposes.

Several unpublished works, which Thigpen did not draw on in crafting her innovative approach, address key aspects of her argument in the context of Micronesia. One such study, an exceptional University of Iowa PhD dissertation by Kathryn Dernbach, stands out. Dernbach probes the development of popular religion in the Mortlocks, a chain of islands to the southeast of Chuuk Lagoon. Her doctoral research uncovered a fascinating pool of ABCFM letters dispatched from Micronesia. These documents chronicle the mundane duties and tumultuous dramas of proselytizers confronting ever-present what missionaries perceived as a regressing Christian community. Dernbach pushes back against any notion that “a smooth, uncontested, straightforward process” led to conversion in Pacific communities committed to their own cosmology and beset by power plays.\(^{33}\) Her main narrative, informed as it is by

\(^{32}\) Thigpen, *Island Queens*, 100.

sociological and anthropological analyses of contemporary Chuukese Christianity, quickly turns to the development of popular religion in the context of Catholic conversion.

**American Women in American Christianity**

Almost 25 years ago, Ann Braude shook the field with her compelling assertion that “Women’s history is American religious history.” In support of this contention, Catherine Brekus’s *Strangers and Pilgrims* illuminates how devout women, beginning in the Early American Republic and extending into the mid-nineteenth century, shaped “civil society” by ministering to diverse flocks, “despite the rhetoric of separate spheres.” Brekus accumulates evidence of female-headed churches that “grew from small, marginal sects into thriving, middle class denominations,” which only later “began to rewrite their histories as if these women had never existed” in Protestant sects of Jacksonian America. Brekus argues the ubiquitous female pulpit counters any idea that women who had religious clout were always outliers or radicals.

The women of *Fundamentalism and Gender*, who occupy vacillating positions of authority, comprise the heart of Margaret Bendroth’s study of gender dynamics in evangelical Christianity. She explains that nineteenth-century Protestants “elevated women . . . and assumed conversely that men had no aptitude for religion.” But by the

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36 Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 8: She states that early evangelical churches traded their egalitarianism for greater political influence, a move that required women to be purged from religious leadership.
1900s, fundamentalists had flipped that notion and exalted men as keepers of “morality and Christ.” This was largely due to a fear that middle-class American masculinity was under assault from the forces of industrialization. Whereas males had previously been indifferent to denominational faith, fundamentalist religion sought to appeal to them as saviors of churches struggling for members. Female power, both perceived and actual, receded in the process. Beyond the scope of Bendroth’s insightful investigation, the subject of women missionaries is not addressed in her book. Yet the conclusions of *Fundamentalism and Gender* inform this thesis, particularly in chapters three and four, which critically evaluate male ministers’ responses to the presence and work of female proselytizers. Furthermore, this thesis closely explores the impact of gender contestations commanding the attention of ABCFM actors who overlooked their converts’ concerns in a region experiencing imperialist encroachments.

**New Approaches to Imperial Studies**

Since the 2000s, two cutting-edge articles have devised new definitions of imperialism that reconsider the scope of American expansionism from indigenous perspectives molded, in part, by Protestantism. In “Beyond Cultural Imperialism,” Ryan Dunch distinguishes “dynamics of globalization to propose alternative ways of . . .

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38 Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 3.
39 Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 17.
40 Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 18.
[assessing] the role of missions in modern history.”

He too challenges the conceptual relevance of “imperialism,” when it “essentializ[es] discourses of national or cultural authenticity. . . and reduces complex interactions to a dichotomy between actor and acted upon, leaving too little place for the agency of the latter.” Missionaries engaged far more with indigenous society than home government, Dunch writes, adding that Western culture rarely flowed naturally from those who brought the Gospel to those who received it. In addition, Dunch adopts Lamin Sanneh’s crucial argument that evangelical preaching did more to endorse local customs than eradicate them. The proof of this revelation appears on the pages of billions of Bibles translated into “vernacular languages” that obviously “validated . . . vernacular culture.”

Paul Kramer’s study titled, “Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World,” similarly questions established scholarly views of modern imperialism by focusing less on territorial dimensions and more on power relationships associated with the cultural ideals of American expansionism. In moving beyond the issue of whether the United States possessed an overseas empire, Kramer shifts the analytical lens to national aspirations that crossed “the new conceptualization of space” into other countries. In this regard, he sees American imperialism as a process through

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44 Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism,” 312.
45 Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism,” 324.
which to examine the porous cultural boundaries of islands dotting the Pacific.\footnote{Kramer, “Imperial Histories of the United States in the World,” 1387.}

Although Kramer focuses on developments in imperial historiography, as opposed to the trajectories of imperial rule, his scholarship offers ways to reconceive the significance of Micronesian missions in geo-political currents.

Recently, other historians have incorporated the methods of Dunch and Kramer to create new conceptualizations of overseas evangelism. In \textit{Christian Imperialism} Emily Conroy-Krutz points out that ABCFM “missionaries and their supporters” at the dawn of the Early American Republic were “international and imperial in their thinking about their nation in the world.”\footnote{Emily Conroy-Krutz, \textit{Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic} (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 5, Kindle. Conroy Krutz pays tribute to Kramer by quoting his call to evaluate “unequal power dynamics between groups and their ability to create ‘relations of hierarchy discipline, dispossession, and exploitation’”: Emily Conroy-Krutz, \textit{Christian Imperialism}, 10.}

According to Conroy-Krutz, these non-state actors “presumed their right to come into foreign spaces…relying on their own values as they judged those around them.”\footnote{Conroy-Krutz, \textit{Christian Imperialism}, 10.} For their part, missionaries used “the concept of civilization . . . to embody important components of a truly Christian culture” which was supposedly destined to envelop the world.\footnote{Conroy-Krutz, \textit{Christian Imperialism}, 13.}

The main contribution of \textit{Christian Imperialism} lies in tracing the starting points and locations of the global missionary impulse to the very early 1800s in India and the Cherokee Nation (before US President Andrew Jackson’s “Indian removal” policies), respectively. While these locales are not in the Pacific Basin, the idea that ABCFM representatives intended to exert their influence—as a collective force of religious expansionism—remains relevant to any historical analysis of this missionary
organization. In linking the ABCFM with US expansionism, it should be noted that Conroy-Krutz does not detail personal interactions between evangelists, nor does she address the perspectives of neophytes. These relationships propelled processes of conversion, granted powers to the saved, and determined impacts of the preacher.

In *Hawaiian by Birth*, Joy Schulz engages with Conroy-Krutz’s research in a study that focuses on the children of missionaries as agents of imperialism in Hawaii. There, ABCFM pioneers claimed on behalf of their sons and daughters the right to inherit resources long held by indigenous communities. Schultz argues that “through parental neglect, as well as their parents’ imperfect attempts to racially segregate them, the [missionary] children developed an aggressive independence that tended to question both parental and native authority. In the process, the children cultivated a deep possessiveness over Hawaiian lands, which culminated in their revolt against the Hawaiian monarchy at the end of the nineteenth century.”

By the 1850s, the ABCFM had shifted its attention from evangelizing inhabitants to providing for the well-being of Americans, with missionary parents aiming “to protect the futures of their children . . . [through] policies transferring land and political power to their control.” In a precarious financial situation, the unpaid evangelists wanted to build family wealth by establishing a local material base. This entailed the acquisition of property from Hawaiian rulers, especially

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52 Conroy-Krutz points to significant connections between ABCFM missionaries and their counterparts representing other imperialist Western powers, although she finds this link was particularly strong “on both sides of the Atlantic . . . [where] the project of global missions was a shared one between English and American evangelical protestants”: Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism*, 56.


Christian royals who “justif[ied] transactions with missionaries as being necessary for the care of missionary children.” The progeny of first-generation ABCFM representatives grew up in a privileged position in which “their own whiteness as well as their parents’ close association with the Hawaiian monarchy and ali’i class… separated them from the majority native population.” Beyond the superior status afforded to missionary children, their attendance at the select Ponahou School enabled them to become entitled leaders of Hawaii. Schulz demonstrates that this institution taught students to “contrast their own moral training to the immorality of the indigenous nations.” This tenet of Christian education would permeate the schools founded by the Logans in Chuuk Lagoon. Ponahou also instilled the Protestant work ethic through a college preparatory program that primed graduates for life on the racially segregated mainland in elite networks of power that encouraged American imperialism. Hawaiian by Birth traces direct ABCFM involvement in “the 1893 overthrow of Hawaiian monarchy and 1898 annexation to the United States” of the islands. These momentous events depended on Boston-commissioned missionary families “aligning themselves with white empires around the world in one of the most dramatic periods of colonization in history.”

Ian Tyrell’s study Reforming the World utilizes the ideas of Kramer and Dunch to investigate how “cultural expansion” expressed as “moral reform enlarged what could be

56 Schulz, Hawaiian by Birth, 32.
57 Hawaiian ruling class.
58 Schulz, Hawaiian by Birth, 81.
59 Schulz, Hawaiian by Birth, 81.
60 One of Schulz’s conceptual concerns is to correct an “absence of children’s voices in history.” This is why she features the role of missionaries’ sons and daughters in the creation of America’s Pacific empire: Schulz, Hawaiian by Birth, 10 and 85.
61 Schulz, Hawaiian by Birth, 149.
termed the external ‘footprint’ of the United States in the 1880s and 1890s.”62 He elaborates on “the quickening pace of technological and social change facilitat[ing] the expansionist aims of missionaries and moral reformers.”63 These developments and their patrons pushed for “the acquisition of a formal empire in 1898” according to Christian principles.64 In Tyrell’s examination, Americans in the Pacific saw formal colonization as a chance to prove that “government could be patiently cleansed of sin, issue by issue.”65 His analysis does not address the local influence of proselytizers, despite the fact that they depended on willing recipients of religious philanthropy. Recently, Heather Curtis’s *Holy Humanitarians* also surveyed the growth of US church charities at the turn of the twentieth century.66 Members of these Protestant congregations crafted some of the earliest American aid programs that endeavored to uplift the tribal other in the far corners of the earth.67 Missing in this body of incisive literature are indigenous perspectives of evangelical outreach, which purported to change, for the better, the existence of saved “primitives.”

**Indigenous Views of the US Mission in the Pacific**

David Chang’s scholarship answers this call to investigate native views of American missionaries in the Pacific Basin. His superb monograph, *The World and All*...
the Things Upon It, inverts the standard colonial narrative with this cogent prologue: “[T]here is no better way to understand the process and meaning of global exploration than by looking out from the shores of a place such as Hawai’i, that was allegedly the object, and not the agent of exploration.”68 Rejecting the tenacious notion that Pacific history begins with European contact, Chang sets out new parameters. “Hawaiians explored and generated conceptions of global geography,” he writes, before Euro-Americans.69 One chapter of The World and All the Things Upon It is devoted to Native Hawaiian perceptions of Christianity. While presenting an illuminating interpretation of local views of island-hopping American evangelists, Chang indicates that much more needs to be known about this topic. He echoes the concerns of Kealani Cook who affirms “that Americans (including missionaries) played an important role in . . . [fostering long-existing] bonds between Pacific Islanders.”70 For his part, Chang considers this claim in relation to Hawaiians using “migration and kinship connections to turn Christianity into a means to rebuild ancient ties and create new bonds and new opportunities within a geography of sacred power.”71 Peoples of the Pacific Basin, like Christians elsewhere in the world, had their own incentives for accepting the Gospel. In Chang’s case study, islanders embraced Congregationalism to protect and project their ancestral affinities. Chang’s emphasis on the sanctified rationale of Hawaiians is pivotal to the processes and characters in this thesis, which investigates unscripted interactions between missionary, neophyte, and non-Christian on the fringe of impinging Western imperialism.

68 David Chang, The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), ix.
69 Chang, The World and All the Things Upon It, xiv.
70 Chang, The World and All the Things Upon It, 196.
71 Chang, The World and All the Things Upon It, 216.
Kealani Cook’s groundbreaking article, “Ke Ao a me Ka Pō: Postmillennial Thought and Native Hawaiian Foreign Mission Work,” uncovers local religious conquests that supported Western expansionism in the Pacific. Having adopted ABCFM Congregationalism, some Hawaiians saw themselves as members of a macro community that had to forcibly transform the sinner in order to promote “their own equality . . . as a Christian people.”

Like Kramer, Cook challenges a key convention of imperial historiography that posits the omnipotence of nation-state spheres of influence. Instead, “Ke Ao a me Ka Pō” shows how island dynamics and missionary “realities,” or reliance on converts to spread the Gospel, continually shaped world “empires that relied on them.” Most important, Cook convincingly demonstrates that evangelism was not an exclusive American strategy. Hawaiians assumed considerable agency in proselytization by belligerently “separat[ing] themselves from other islanders.”

This martial indigenization of Christianity was not solely the project of men; it included female leaders as evidenced in Jennifer Thigpen’s Island Queens.

In conclusion, the history of American territorial expansionism and transnational evangelism is written from a variety of angles. Some scholars have emphasized the cultural forces driving political motivation and religious objective. Several historians have situated mission historiography in a global framework of competing and allying actors, both local and foreign while other theorists have concentrated on the overlooked role of women in the ABCFM enterprise. Perhaps the most interesting methodological

73 Cook, “Ke Ao a me Ka Pō,” 890.
74 Cook, “Ke Ao a me Ka Pō,” 909.
perspective, certainly in terms of this thesis, critically considers the personal experiences of proselytizers and converts, which continue to sustain polyglot Christianity in the Pacific Basin.
CHAPTER 2: THE LOGANS IN CHUUK: A MARRIED COUPLE AND THEIR MISSION

In 1884 Robert and Mary Logan arrived in Chuuk Lagoon as proselytizers sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to run the Ruk station of the Micronesian mission. They set out to spread the word of God and correct the sins of a native population. In recounting their Micronesian experiences, the couple’s writings acknowledge their fitful influence and the contributions of indigenous actors to vital processes of conversion. The cooperation of husband and wife sustained the Logan partnership. More importantly, their partnership, in spite of occasional disagreements, did not hinder them from promoting their shared goal of transforming the lives of the Chuukese population in specific gendered spheres of action. Robert and Mary Logan’s efforts in Micronesia reflected an established ABCFM gendered division of labor that Emily Conroy-Krutz draws scholarly attention to through her assertion that the civilizing program of the ABCFM mission entailed “creating a domestic role for women and an agricultural role for men.” An analysis of the gendered division of labor, the power of...
the converts, and the diplomatic actions of the missionary couple serves to recreate the mission station of Ruk.

Figure 7: Mary and Robert Logan
Source: The Missionary Herald XCVI no. 1 (January, 1900).

The Logans enter the historical record through ABCFM annual reports. The yearly accounts describe life in Chuuk Lagoon through the eyes of the reverend, with gender roles can also be found in Ussama Makdisi, Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Heather Curtis, Holy Humanitarians; Joy Schulz, Hawaiian By Birth; and Jennifer Thigpen, Island Queens and Mission Wives.
Mary Logan expressing no official or personal opinions on any page. Fortunately, she kept a journal, which, along with Robert’s letters to “Friends,” provide insights into their marriage and the couple’s relationships with indigenous communities.\textsuperscript{78} Local island voices are also conspicuously absent from these ABCFM reports, despite the prevalence of Micronesian pastors, teachers, and traditional leaders who enter the narrative as supporters and antagonists of the Logan family.

**General Overview of the ABCFM in Micronesia and of the Logans**

Micronesia itself had limited interactions with the Euro-Western world before the arrival of American missionaries. After the Spanish were met with a violent reception upon their first entry to Chuuk Lagoon, the legend of a hostile locale grew in the Western imagination. The advent of whaling and the ensuing trade in other regions of Micronesia soon led to missionary intervention to correct the behavior of the licentious whalers. Thus, the ABCFM soon sent representatives from the Hawaiian islands to Micronesia.\textsuperscript{79} Chuuk Lagoon, the primary arena for action in the following narrative comprises over a dozen inhabited islands with populations organized around clan and village networks with chiefs assuming responsibility for the affairs of their village.\textsuperscript{80} The inhabitants of Chuuk engaged in a mostly subsistence agriculture and fishing industry before western

\textsuperscript{78} The Logans endeavored to advance evangelical aims that they had pursued in a previous posting to Pohnpei.

\textsuperscript{79} Francis Hezel, *First Taint of Civilization* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983). The missionaries first arrived in the communities that interacted with whalers, Kosrae and Pohnpei, and only later ventured to Chuuk.

\textsuperscript{80} Francis Hezel, *First Taint of Civilization*. The history of colonization of Micronesia begins in the sixteenth century when the Spanish encountered violent opposition from the inhabitants of Chuuk. The Spanish empire proceeded to loosely claim Micronesia but without a formal presence, a void was left for traders, whalers and missionaries to assume a prominent role as authoritative figures. This era saw the emergence of rogue Westerners, known as “beachcombers,” as prominent figures who became traders and intermediaries between other traders and island peoples.
contact and to this day. Christian missionaries achieved ambiguous success, but today the almost universally Christian Micronesian practices an indigenized Christianity which includes an acknowledgement, if not retention, of the pre-Christian religious traditions of Chuuk.  

To analyze the role of ABCFM missionaries in Micronesia, the intertwined histories of the ABCFM and the Logans needs to be detailed more fully (Figure 7). The ABCFM was formed in 1810 by a collegiate group of Congregational evangelicals hailing from Williams and Harvard in Massachusetts to minister to “the heathen.” By the 1830s, the ABCFM had identified the Pacific as a locale ripe for expansion and missionaries gradually moved westward arriving in the Hawaiian Islands in the 1820s. Three decades later ABCFM representatives sailed further west to Micronesia, following the example of Reverend Snow who had landed in the Caroline Islands to plant a station in Kuisaie (Kosrae) which took hold in the 1860s. One of its achievements was the evangelization of the entire local population. Following its success in Kosrae, the

81 Pre-Christian religious traditions of Micronesia are addressed in a considerable body of anthropological literature. In summary, Chuuk cosmology revolved around the belief in the capacity of spirits to influence actions of the world for good or for bad. This admittedly is an oversimplification, but considering the focus of this thesis, a comprehensive discussion of Chuukese pre-Christian or even syncretic religious beliefs remains outside the scope of my research. For a comprehensive discussion of Chuukese religious theory, see, e.g., Lothar Kaisar, *A Chuukese Theory of Personhood; The Concepts Body, Mind, Soul and Spirit of the Islands of Chuuk (Micronesia)* (Nurnberg Germany: VTR Publications, 2016); Katherine Dernbach, *Popular Religion and Spirit Possession*; Ward Goodenough, *Under Heaven’s Brow: Pre-Christian Religious Tradition in Chuuk* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002).

82 “Minutes of the First Annual Meeting.” *First Eleven Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with Other Documents of the Board* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834), HathiTrust, digitized by University of Michigan, 11.

83 For more on Rev. Snow, see Francis Hezel’s *First Taint of Civilization*. The Kosrae mission probably produced the highest conversion rate of a single ABCFM overseas mission outstation.
ABCFM moved on to establish a mission on Pohnpei in the late 1860s. It was here that Robert and Mary Logan began their missionary careers.

Robert Logan joined the networks of global Christianity after serving in the Union army during the US Civil War. Well educated at Oberlin College, he graduated from its prestigious seminary in 1873. Similar to his religiously trained counterparts, Logan burned with ambition to bring the gospel to “heathen” peoples everywhere. Mary had been born in Ohio in 1846 and married Robert Logan in 1870. The Logans reached the Micronesian island of Ponape in 1874, where they expected to assist an established mission with a growing congregation. Coincidentally, during the year of the couple’s arrival in Ponape three local Christian “teachers and their wives” left by boat from Pohnpei to travel to the Mortlocks island chain beginning the process of evangelizing the reaches of Chuuk (see Figure 3).

The 1875 ABCFM annual report stated that “not a word had been heard from the teachers. . .until, in October last, the Morning Star [the ABCFM owned Micronesian mission vessel] again visited them; but they were found well, living in neat houses, and all honored as leaders.” The Ponapaen Christians had evidently earned the respect of the

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84 Pohnpei is a single high island divided into five districts with chiefs of each district and a history of relatively centralized authority.
87 ABCFM, *Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1875), 66 (hereafter ABCFM, *Annual Report* 1875). Two of the teachers were placed on the island of Satoan and one on the island of Lukunor. The Mortlocks are low islands in various atolls located southwest of the island of Pohnpei and southeast of Chuuk lagoon. The social structure is similar to the social structure found within the lagoon where islands and villages are headed by various chiefs.
Mortlocks community as they had motivated local volunteers to build “four meeting-houses, besides the two parsonages.”

Figure 8 Current Map of the Federated States of Micronesia
Pohnpei appears in the right. The Mortlock Islands are situated to the southeast of Pohnpei and the Lagoon that will appear later in this chapter appears the Northwest of the Mortlock Islands. https://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/federated-states-micronesia-0 Date of Access: April 30, 2019.

In 1876, Robert Logan emerged as a leader in the Ponape station, having assumed control of the remote missionary outpost at Kenan. From there, he reported to his supervisors of the fourteen churches then in existence on Ponape. Logan lamented the progress of evangelizing, as “some in whom we had great confidence have fallen into sin, and the accessions to the churches have been few.” Yet he declared buoyantly, “the close

of year” offered better prospects as the “schools have been kept up by native scholars.”

While his conversion efforts faltered, Robert Logan saw his indigenous pupils intensify their interest in education either out of inspiration in the words of the Gospel or, more likely, from the newly acquired skill of literacy being taught in the school. Meanwhile, Mary Logan was struggling to adjust to the tropical climate. In 1877, she returned to the US to receive medical treatment for an undisclosed health condition, leaving her husband on Pohnpei to carry on with his work and deal with “several of the highest chiefs,” who meted out their approval or disapproval of the missionary’s actions depending on their independent desires. Above all, Robert Logan’s first significant achievement was the operation of a school educating “about ninety pupils, all with ‘good interest in study,’” presumably facilitated by improving intercultural communication. For better and worse, his missionary endeavors required the approval of indigenous leaders who possessed the power to inhibit the missionary’s initiatives.

At the end of 1877, Reverend Logan wrote of his fascination with the “natives” and his desire to meet more of them by voyaging west to evangelize another Pacific

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90 ABCFM, Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: Riverside Press, 1876), 85.
92 ABCFM, Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: Riverside Press, 1877), 72. Scholars have addressed the missionary focus on education. Most works, however, see education as a means for conversion and few address the primacy of literacy as a drawing force for primary age students. A few works that address the students who went to ABCFM schools include Robert Houle, Making African Christianity: Africans Reimagining Their Faith in Colonial South Africa (Lanham, Maryland: Lehigh University Press, 2011); Joy Schulz, Hawaiian By Birth: Missionary Children, Bicultural Identity, and U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2017); Ussama Makdisi, Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).
93 Although Robert Logan continued to labor at Kenan, increasing the number of pupils and members of the church, his first encounter with Chuuk in 1877 produced an emotional response with tears of joy.
archipelago. Chronicling his journey and subsequent “work on the Mortlock Islands... in glowing colors,” Logan described the people he encountered as “interesting . . . mild and thoughtful with such pleasant countenances and so teachable.” Still, Logan’s assessment of these “thoughtful . . . countenances” created a moral conundrum, which he expressed openly: “I think that, thus far, they [indigenous convert teachers] have accomplished more than the same number of white families would have done. Of course, their labor will need to be supplemented, but it can be done from Ponape, we think.”

Logan’s sojourn to the Mortlocks included his commitment to acquire facility in the Chuukese language and its derivations. Robert Logan remarked on the prevalence of Chuukese speakers in the Mortlocks, with more people “using ‘the Mortlock dialect [a dialect of Chuukese] than the Ponapaen.” Logan also noted that he had acquired tutors as “a family from there [was] living with me, with whom I study.” His effort to learn Mortlockese would produce limited linguistic skills in the Lagoon. Up to his death, Reverend Logan required interpreters to persuade “the heathen.” By 1879, Robert and Mary Logan were back together ministering for the Mortlocks mission. An account of their fieldwork in the 1880 annual report focused on “devot[ing] fully one half of his [Robert’s] strength to . . . [mastering] the Mortlock language,” in order to complete a translation of “the Gospel of Mark, and . . . a book of bible stories.” In 1880, Robert Logan undertook a more thorough study of the Mortlockese language and of the mission

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work there as he “removed temporarily from Ponape to Oniop [a Mortlock island].” In addition, this official ABCFM source announced the arrival of two Ponapaen neophyte evangelists, Moses and Zipporah, in the Chuuk Lagoon, where they were said to arrange a favorable, if dubious audience with a local king, queen and key chiefs.

After the momentous developments of the 1870s, Robert Logan’s health began to fail in 1881 as vascular hemorrhages, likely the result of high-blood pressure, drained him. His writings divulged that convalescence “in a colder climate” was in his future. Struggling to supervise his work in the islands, he tried spiritedly to voice optimism about “the teachableness and the steadfastness of” his “remarkable” converts who were only “hindered,” in his estimation, “by the lack of books and the fewness of teachers.”

Meanwhile, Moses, the Ponapaen preacher engaging in missionary work in the Chuuk Lagoon, had encountered problems of his own. Unlike the American newcomer, Moses immediately confronted life-threatening complications, as he was held responsible for an unnamed “pestilence” leading to the deaths of “many of the people.” The 1881 ABCFM annual report remarked that a “chief came to kill” Moses, who was accused of being an evildoer, “but after a friendly talk and prayer, . . . the chief asked for a teacher

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99 ABCFM Annual Report 1880, 84.
100 ABCFM Annual Report 1880, 87. This is an interesting assertion considering the ethnography of Chuuk does not discuss a line of royalty but is consistent on the dominance of chiefs within a decentralized clan system linked by kinship obligations. For more, see Glenn Peterson, Traditional Micronesian Societies: Adaptation, Integration, and Political Organization (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009); Lother Kaiser, A Theory of Chuukese Personhood; Ward Goodenough Under Heaven’s Brow; and my own personal observations.
102 ABCFM, Annual Report 1881, 82. The dearth of resources for the mission presented a practical and spiritual problem which Robert Logan articulated, stating “a church which has no part of the Bible to read cannot well feed itself, and schools cannot do much with teachers just able to read and write, and with almost no books to use.”
for his own community.” This story, whether partly true, mostly accurate or entirely apocryphal, offers a glimpse of the power of native teachers, communicating in a family of Micronesian languages, to influence indigenous polities in ways that white missionaries could never match. By 1882, Robert Logan’s dire condition prompted his departure, with Mary, on a trip that would circuitously bring them back to the United States. They went to their home state of Ohio, where he improved during a sick leave that extended to 1884. While in the United States, Robert and Mary addressed audiences on the progress of proselytization in Micronesia.

After two years of stateside recovery, Mary and Robert Logan departed again to the Ruk mission and Chuuk Lagoon proper to settle on the island of Weno at a station they would name Anapouo, Greek for “take rest.” The annual reports detailing life on Weno emphasize persistent austerity and challenges: the scarcity of food, frequent bouts of illness, and a dearth of reading materials. Despite these hardships, Anapouo thrived with both white and indigenous Christians winning converts. There is no easy explanation for this development. Indeed, major questions remain unanswered: Was the success of the Logans and their charges due to the character of determined individuals or to what the individuals offered?

103 ABCFM Annual Report 1881, 82.
104 ABCFM, Seventy-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: Riverside Press, 1883). Reverend Logan gave an address during the Annual Meeting in Detroit, Michigan, where this report was presented. However, the content of Robert Logan’s address was not included in the report.
105 Their journey took a considerable amount of time with stops in San Francisco and Honolulu along the way. The two filled their journals with accounts of the crew, a desire to be with family, a dedication to their mission, and considerable worry about the acquisition of a milking cow.
The Logan Mission Station

The Logans arrived on Weno in October of 1884 to find a small patch of land untouched by Christianity. The male missionary marveled at “the natives [who] know almost nothing of religious truth.” This could be attributed to the fact that his attempts at speaking Chuukese rather than Mortlockese revealed a linguistic challenge that he would never fully surmount, with his attempts “not very comprehensible to them, as there are not a few different words in use here, and they have different ways of mouthing the words.” For her part, Mary Logan revealed similar sentiments, stating that “many of them cannot yet much understand what we say.”

106 Robert Logan Letter to “Friends,” 13 November 1884, ABC 76, folder 7, Robert W and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.7). The quoted self-evaluation raises the interesting question of Robert Logan’s understanding of his own language skills and the usefulness of the Pohnpeian preacher Moses who had been on Weno for the previous five years. Several considerations arise from Logan’s assertion that “the natives know almost nothing of religious truth.” Besides the reverend’s own linguistic inadequacies, his acolyte Moses could have had a personality that made him a futile proselytizer and teacher. Or, perhaps Moses could have lacked a deeper foundation of biblical knowledge to impart to and attract potential converts. Nonetheless, in a reflection on her work in Chuuk, Mary Logan, writing in 1888, declared that Moses was “a man with a great, loyal heart, and a work behind him of which no man need be ashamed however white his skin or large his education and culture”: Mary Logan speech at Terre Haute, Indiana, 31 October 1888, ABC 76, folder 5, Robert W. and Mary E Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

107 Mary Logan Journal, 20 October 1884, ABC 76, folder 1, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1).
Mary and Robert Logan found it difficult to settle in to the mission station. The two encountered food shortages and needed to construct dwellings, but the issue of theft occupied their minds foremost. Regarding one instance of burglary, Robert Logan wrote that a “few nights after we were left alone, some knives. . .were stolen from our extensive kitchen, and out of the house.” This act of robbery prompted Robert Logan to consider an ominous thought: “we are completely in the power of the natives.”

He also admitted to a “feeling of insecurity.” While Robert Logan managed to recover some items, “the

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most valuable, our only can opener, . . . and a good bread knife have not been found.”\textsuperscript{110} This helplessness and acknowledgment of vulnerability led Robert to articulate a practical concern about whom in the station he could trust and to what extent he could even trust those individuals, as he wrote, “as they are all united we can not but have somewhat of a feeling of insecurity.”\textsuperscript{111} He felt relief, however, after “learn[ing] that they [the thieves] were from a place some miles away. They were two, and one of them threatened to come back and kill our boys for denouncing him.” Much to the satisfaction of the missionary couple, neighboring “boys” stood their ground against the thieves and publicly sided with the missionaries, thereby enabling the male evangelist to “feel quite safe” inhabiting “our own house, with locks, . . . trust[ing] pretty fully the people just around.”\textsuperscript{112}

For her part, Mary Logan expressed pointed worries that “if they find that they [the thieves] can rob us with impunity it will be a great temptation to them.”\textsuperscript{113} While she welcomed the return of certain implements, she, like her husband, lamented the loss of “the can-opener and the soup ladle.”\textsuperscript{114} Mary Logan’s view of the burglary deviated from her husband’s account in one important aspect. Although the incident created a feeling of vulnerability, her personal safety seemed to be of diminished consequence when compared to Robert’s “sore foot which is quite troublesome.”\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{110} Robert Logan, 13 November 1884, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.7. \textsuperscript{111} Robert Logan, 13 November 1884, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.7. \textsuperscript{112} Robert Logan, 13 November 1884, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.7. \textsuperscript{113} Mary Logan Journal, 20 October 1884, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1. \textsuperscript{114} Mary Logan Journal, 14 November 1884, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1. \textsuperscript{115} Mary Logan Journal, 14 November 1884, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
In Robert’s reflection on his first days in the mission station, he credited several individuals as helping him. Primarily, he lauded his wife, Mary, and native allies, such as a chief named Levi and his native teachers. One native teacher named Solomon possessed needed cultural fluency which opened the doors of native communities to Robert’s preaching as Solomon “could make items understood pretty well, and he seemed to know better than I what things they needed to be told at the start.”

Such an admission revealed the importance of cross-cultural mediators who were summoned to improve the Americans’ understandings of Chuukese people. It also illustrates Robert Logan’s awareness that he required local assistance to complete rudimentary tasks. Robert described his wife as an integral missionary due to her actions as an educator. He praised her achievements in teaching assemblies “several hymns.” But all had to revolve around the newly arrived minister; as Robert confessed, he ultimately had to motivate neophytes “to repeat the Lord’s prayer” and ascertain the “catechism I have prepared which embodies the main outlines of Christian truth.”

In Mary’s recollections of the Logans’ early days on Chuuk, she emphasized the uphill climb the missionaries faced in their desire to convert the population. Acknowledging that “they seem interested,” she could not help but remark that “they have literally everything to learn,” she remarked in words that conjure an audible sigh.

The missionary couple’s perception of “native” ignorance continued into the development of a school for the Ruk mission. Soon after opening the school doors,

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117 Robert Logan, 13 November 1884, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.7.
118 Robert Logan, 13 November 1884, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.7.
119 Mary Logan Journal, 14 November 1884, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
Robert Logan detailed his students’ preparation: “very few [of whom] knew their letters” and still fewer “had [held] a book in their hands.” In 1885, he instituted rote literacy programs grounded in a “single [instructional] session lasting from 9 Am until 12 noon.” This regimen of “hard work” was beginning to pay dividends by spring. In March, he declared “the scholars have learned very well. The majority are now masters of the alphabet, and more than half can read and spell.” From this educational foundation, the school diversified its curriculum. Two months later Robert Logan reported that “we teach a little arithmetic and geography in addition to reading and writing. I also have a lesson each day in a catechism, and Mary teaches singing. Three reading classes come up to the house to be taught by Mary, and she goes down to school for the singing.”

On the one hand, this gendered division of labor implies that the commissioned evangelist and his ABCFM sponsor entrusted their lead man to instill a structure for gaining religious knowledge. On the other hand, Robert Logan’s use of the pronoun “we” reveals the joint assignment that he and his wife fulfilled in their classrooms. In times of difficulty or when Robert was away Mary also assumed sole control of the school. For example, Robert Logan noted that during a sickly spell in 1885, “I was not very well for several weeks and Mary took the burden of the school.”

Though Robert described Mary’s role in the school as crucial, Mary Logan’s initial reports offer little account of her role in education; instead, her primary concern in

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123 Robert Logan, 9 May 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
124 Robert Logan, 7 July 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
those early months appears to be the health of her family. She feared for Robert’s foot in the early days, but more pronounced was her worry over the health of her daughter, Beulah. Beulah was a young girl in 1885 and presumably had been born in Pohnpei or in the United States sometime in the 1870s. In March 1885, Beulah fell sick with a high fever, an incident which revealed a minor disagreement between Robert and Mary, as she declared, “I am inclined to feel anxious and worry about her but Robert is not.” Mary’s care for Beulah hindered her involvement in the school. Robert opened school again on April 1st, but due to Beulah’s illness, Mary decided “I can not help any as long as Beulah is sick.” Her daughter recovered, an event that had a powerful impact on Mary and her perceptions of the islanders. In a journal entry, Mary seemed as surprised as she was heartened by the cheerful “natives” embracing the happy, walking, and talking Beulah.

Such local jubilation offers insights into the affinities of nascent Christians who probably delighted both in the revival of a sick girl and the prospect that Chuuk would get back its teacher. With Beulah moving about, her mother felt more emboldened about increasing her educational contribution, going from one to “two classes,” both due to necessity but also out of affinity. The sickness of the native agents of the mission also resulted in an increased role for Mary Logan when Johnny, a “boy” Mary had brought along from the

125 Mary Logan Journal, 27 March 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
126 Mary Logan Journal, 27 March 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
127 Mary Logan Journal, 1 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
128 Mary Logan Journal, 6 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1. Around this time, other Chuukese came down with a similar illness to Beulah’s, which Mary characterized as “a kind of epidemic prevailing to some extent among the people. They are not any of them dangerously sick, but it keeps them from school”: Mary Logan, 24 April 1885.
129 Mary Logan Journal, 10 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
Mortlocks suffered an “attack of rheumatism,” an occurrence that led her “to partly fill his role as well as keep up my own.”

Contrary to Mary’s devotion to her daughter over mission work, Robert Logan saw the arrival of his son, Arthur, in October 1885 as an addition to the mission’s labor force. He empathetically declared that despite the considerable time Arthur’s own lessons consumed, Arthur “relieves me [Robert Logan] of many duties.” Mary was no doubt also overjoyed at her son’s presence, for she had found his absence a cause for loneliness earlier in the year and noted that “Beulah rejoices constantly in having Arthur’s society.” For his part, Robert noted that Arthur was “very glad to be at home.” The emphasis placed on “home” may reflect Robert’s partial disbelief in describing this remote outpost as “home,” as well as the adaptability of young Arthur to his new surroundings.

In the background of this familial joy, Mary Logan’s descriptions of schooling indicated questionable results. In 1885, with night classes being held at the Logan residence, Robert seemed unaware of his limits as a unidimensional teacher who recited a “Bible story,” asked students about it, and “then appointed one of them to tell it over the next evening.” Robert seemed oblivious to ensuring that his students had a critical understanding of scriptures. Though he remained optimistic about the progress of the

130 Mary Logan Journal, 14 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
131 Robert Logan Letter to “Dear Friends” from “Ruk” October 2, 1885 to 1886, 2 October 1885, ABC 76, folder 8, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” 1885-1886 ABC 76.8).
133 Robert Logan, 2 October 1885, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” 1885-1886 ABC 76.8.
students, one of his journal entries lamented the frustrations of “spend[ing] a whole evening in questioning.”\textsuperscript{135} In opposition to her husband’s willful ignorance and optimism in the rote nature of education, Mary alluded in a letter to her brother and sister in the United States that her Chuukese pupils “did not have much idea from what was said to them and could hardly remember even the names which were mentioned.”\textsuperscript{136} Despite her misgivings, Mary still displayed confidence in the ultimate triumph of their educational work, stating “they are improving wonderfully and some can even tell the story the next evening very well.”\textsuperscript{137} Evidently, some students were successful in memorizing a passage that was repeated multiple times, though the rote nature of education raises the question of the actual understanding of the passage.

Unlike her husband, Mary eventually varied her pedagogical approach, teaching “from nine until half past eleven . . . and in the afternoon” training girls and women who “come to sew.”\textsuperscript{138} As a missionary wife desiring to uplift her flock with each loop of thread, literacy and needlework seemed to create better results and similar frustrations. Mary remarked that her female students could stitch, but “they know almost nothing about making clothing and had almost no clothing of their own.”\textsuperscript{139} Her critique of Chuukese habits extended to personal routines. “I constantly have to teach them things,”

\textsuperscript{135} Robert Logan, 11 August 1885, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” 1885-1886 ABC 76.8.
\textsuperscript{136} Mary Logan letter to Brother and Sister, 28 April 1885, ABC 76, folder 5, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Mary Logan Letters ABC 76.5).
\textsuperscript{137} Mary Logan letter to Brother and Sister, 28 April 1885, Mary Logan Letters ABC 76.5.
\textsuperscript{139} Mary Logan, 15 March 1886, Mary Logan Journal letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2. Mary Logan selected four favorites in her school and required them to stay in a dwelling near the Logans’ residence. Their house matron was a Ponapaen woman named Karolina while Mary maintained “oversight” of the girls’ residence.
she bemoaned, “which I find myself thinking they ought to know by instinct, and then I jerk myself up and remember that they have no instincts of cleanliness.” In order to implement this “civilizing mission,” Mary Logan found herself increasingly reliant upon the assistance of neophytes. Although Micronesians had a role to play in spreading the gospel as auxiliaries of a grander process advanced by enlightened elites, she could not help but denigrate their contributions through reminders of a racialized hierarchy in the mission. She expressed this view in a backhanded compliment to the teacher named Solomon, whom she lauded as having “excellent judgment” most of the time “for a native.” In particular, she noted the assistance of a Pohnpeian woman named Karolina, whom she described as “energetic for a native woman,” a cook of “regular meals” and “tolerably” tidy. The education of the female youth of Chuuk would become Mary Logan’s passion. To promote this goal, she was prepared to extract and separate girls from their “heathen” families and keep her charges from native “interfere[nce].”

Mary and Robert Logan periodically measured educational achievements and broadcast examples of school success. During an assembly open to the public in October 1886, the mission students staged lessons in front of Christians and non-Christians alike. She recounted how the scholars “had only as much time for precious preparation as they would have for any ordinary lesson, and that after questioning which their teachers gave them showed that they understood what they had read.” While pointing out that the event could have gone more smoothly, she joyously declared that “forty of the scholars

140 Mary Logan, 2 June 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
141 Mary Logan, 23 March 1885, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
142 Mary Logan, 14 October 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
143 Mary Logan, 14 October 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
144 Mary Logan, 14 October 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
who [entered] years ago did not know the alphabet were now able to read easily in the
Testament Bible stories.” She continued the student’s success “was quite an item, and
one not always attained by Micronesian scholars.” While Robert Logan rejoiced in the
couple’s successes in motivating pupils, he also acknowledged with distress that “several
[worshippers] had to be excommunicated; several suspended.” He was ambivalent, as
well, about the composition of neophytes, mentioning a “discouraging feature is that fully
two-thirds are women and girls.”

Despite his disappointment in the ratio of men to women, these trips seemed to
buoy his spirits while Mary developed feelings of isolation, particularly as she cared for
her daughter, Beulah. In March 1885, Mary wrote that “such a lonesome feeling came
over me this afternoon. I suppose it is natural that I should sometimes long for the society
of friends, but the Lord keeps me from suffering greatly.” Later the next month Mary
reported “the weary weary monotony of life here! Sometimes it seems greater than I can
bear.” She described ebbing and flowing sadness “for days or even weeks . . . and then at
other times it [was] almost unbearable.” Interspersed between these entries are
practical agenda items detailing her work in biblical translation “copying out the

145 Mary Logan, 14 October 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
146 Robert Logan, 22 May 1886, ABC 76, folder 9, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948,
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University
(hereafter Robert Logan 1886-1887 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.9)
147 Robert Logan, 22 May 1886, Robert Logan 1886-1887 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.9. Robert Logan’s
distress at the prevalence of women in the congregations mirrored domestic concerns in the United States.
Unfortunately, there is little reflection on this similarity by the Logan family during the 1880s, but the
prevalence of women in the congregations would upset Robert Logan’s successor Alfred Snelling.
Numerous authors have discussed the success of Christian missionaries among women. See, e.g., Jennifer
Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives*; and Katherine Dernbach *Popular Religion: A Cultural and
Historical Study of Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Chauk* (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2005).
148 Mary Logan, 26 March 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
149 Mary Logan, 24 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
Birthdays, a wedding anniversary, and (before her son’s return) the remembrance of the day on which she left Arthur in Ohio made her “feel a little lonely.” During these more intense moments, she drew on faith: “We might be sick or our appetites capricious and we be longing for some of the home comforts which we cannot have, but God mercifully keeps these things from us and causes us to be satisfied with such things as we have.”

Experiencing “strain and responsibility” in 1886, Mary Logan proclaimed in a letter, “we need help.” Robert Logan responded as proactively as he could to Mary’s concerns as the “[n]ews . . . carried to Mrs. Logan that . . . [he] was coming with two ladies . . . [whereupon] she thought ‘the Lord has sent helpers for our girl’s school,’ and she hurried down as far as the church to meet us. It was quite a shock to her for a little while, to learn that [the helpers] were not for Ruk.” In Mary’s recorded memory of this episode her husband was sensitive enough to grasp “how full my heart was and thought I ought to be undeceived as soon as possible.” More broadly, the evidence generated by the missionary couple shows different degrees of discontent over what can only be termed a fitful integration into Micronesian life. While Mary’s record evinced a loneliness, Robert Logan seemed particularly able to cope with his alienation by venturing to other parts of the Chuuk Lagoon, first as an evangelist and then as an

150 Mary Logan, 24 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
151 Mary Logan, 12 May 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
152 Mary Logan, 12 May 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
153 Mary Logan letter to Miss Fitch, 20 July 1886, Mary Logan letters, ABC 76, folder 5, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
154 Robert Logan, 18 October 1886, Robert Logan 1886-1887 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.9.
155 Mary Logan, 14 October 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
156 Robert Logan, 4 September 1886, Robert Logan 1886-1887 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.9.
“agent” shuttling between European imperial powers looking for territories to seize in the Pacific.

**Proselytization and Fear for his Safety**

Reverend Logan detailed his journeys from Weno to convert the people of neighboring islands. Beginning in 1884, he traveled across the water seven miles to Fefan. At his destination, the missionary was rescued from mortal danger by his indigenous companions, following a meeting with a local chief. His journal elaborates: “I showed him [the Fefan chief] that the system of revenge was but an endless chain and that God would judge them for such things.” The leader ostensibly “assented to what I said but his whole spirit and bearing were different from what I had noticed before.” At that moment the American was unaware of the peril he encountered. His guides, on the other hand, clearly appreciated the situation and maneuvered their patron to safety. It was only a “few days later,” Logan noted, that “we learned that Atep [a rival chief on Fefan] had planned to kill me . . . [after seeing] us coming . . . The chief at whose place we had stopped had been informed of the plan but refused to join in it, hence his actions in keeping us from going on.” The missionary recognized that while some chiefs and their subjects were hostile to proselytization other local communities were not. Moreover, political allies were willing to halt the aggression of “Atep and his men [who] would have killed us during the interview but for the intervention of this chief.”

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159 Robert Logan, 31 January 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
The other main allies of the mission were “native” converts who protected the missionaries and ensured the mission’s continued existence. One individual from Metitutu (Mechitiw today)\textsuperscript{160} named Eisaiam stands out. It was Eisaiam, Logan wrote, who “sat next to me to help . . . make them [Chuukese] understand as my Mortlock [language] was not entirely intelligible to these Ruk natives.”\textsuperscript{161} While translating Eisaiam had “noticed one of our people [an unnamed convert] making his way. . . through the encircling crowd.” Eisaiam “whispered to him asked him why he did so.” This other ally then “said they [the people of Fefan] were going to kill me [Logan] and said to Eisaiam ‘let us cover Mr. Logan’s body with our own and die with him’.”\textsuperscript{162} On the other side, Logan surmised that the people of Fefan desired his death due to “anger and jealousy because we did not settle with them,” as the material benefits of a missionary presence along with the status afforded were evidently a motivating factor for indigenous action.\textsuperscript{163} However, Robert also detailed a concern on the part of his opponents at the influence of Christian teaching which he believed the opponents “think . . . will hinder them from engaging in a war on which they are determined.”\textsuperscript{164}

Robert Logan assumed that his wife worried about his security. Yet she, by her own admission, did not “think . . . [to be] afraid to have him go, for I don’t think they [Micronesians] would hurt him.”\textsuperscript{165} While “his foot” ailment continued to cause anxiety, Mary Logan admitted that her husband’s safety was in the hands of “our kind Father, who

\textsuperscript{160} A village on the opposite side of Weno from the station at Anapaou.
\textsuperscript{161} Robert Logan, 31 January 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
\textsuperscript{162} Robert Logan, 31 January 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
\textsuperscript{163} Robert Logan, 31 January 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
\textsuperscript{164} Robert Logan, 31 January 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
\textsuperscript{165} Mary Logan, 14 November 1884, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
kept the natives from carrying out their plans.”\textsuperscript{166} Suggestive evidence indicates that Robert Logan told his wife about the intervention of neophytes through whom God worked in His way.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map_of_weno_island.png}
\caption{Map of Weno Island}
\textbf{Mechitiw is located in the north just to the south of the current airstrip. The location of the mission station and the current Robert Logan memorial church is on the west side of the island in the village presently named Mwan. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weno Date of Access: April 30, 2019.}
\end{figure}

Having eluded an attempt on his life, Robert Logan ventured to the Mechitiw community on Weno in December 1885. His reception was mixed; “one old chief said he

\textsuperscript{166} Mary Logan, 14 November 1884, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
did not” desire a missionary presence. Logan reasoned that “he did not dislike us, but he
did not like the new way. But the people generally, also the highest chief, said they liked
the ‘lamalam’ [colloquial word for Christian way] and would be glad of a teacher.” 167 As
part of the bargain for education, Logan “told them that if they wanted to be taught they
must set a part a piece of land for the use of a teacher and to build a church upon it.” 168
The cost of education required the transfer of communal property to the ABCFM for
Chuukese to realize the material benefits of the gospel. 169 As the candidate to oversee this
mission, Robert relied on Esaiam, the same teacher who had protected him on Fefan
earlier that year, a decision facilitated by the fact that Esaiam had relatives in Mechitiw.
Despite the promise of the mission at Mechitiw, it was short lived, ending when Esaiam
succumbed to adultery and absconded with a married woman. 170 Yet, there were still
some glimmers of hope in his evangelizing journeys. On a trip to Moses’s church on the
island of Uman, Robert “found the school [there] in successful operation tonight by three
of those who were with us at Anapauo last term. It numbers nearly one hundred
scholars.” 171 While there, the missionary “was much pleased to find that but few needed
to be excluded.” 172

With her husband proselytizing in the field, Mary Logan maintained the Weno
station. Her duties entailed holding “Sabbath services, the morning and evening meetings

167 Robert Logan, 7 December 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
168 Robert Logan, 7 December 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
169 Robert Logan, 7 December 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8. Logan also asked
the people of Mechitiw to come to Anapauo if they desired the church, and then received word from the
“principal chief Uitep” that “they desired it.”
171 Robert Logan, 15 July 1885, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” 1885-1886 ABC 76.7
172 Robert Logan, 15 July 1885, Robert Logan Letter to “Friends” 1885-1886 ABC 76.7
and... looking after our large family of natives.”173 She also evaluated the experiences of converts grappling with new spiritual commitments, emphasizing, among other things, nonviolent behavior and sincere religiosity. An April 1885 entry, for example, recounted how the convert Zebedee was “quarrelling with his wife... [who had] a lame hand... [that] he hit it by accident,” whereupon “she struck and scolded him.”174 Punished and humiliated, “he proposed to go off and leave her for a time.” Mary “talked with them both,” hoping the married couple would “drop the matter and all the hard feelings.”175 She also engaged with elderly people, one of whom plainly stated that Christianity was his path to enjoyable immortality because “I must do what I have to do quickly and I want to go to the good place which you have told us of.”176 Still other converts let slip that God required His flock “to read” in order to help Micronesians enter a modernizing world for material and strategic gain.177

Conversion for a variety of reasons resulted in a nascent Christian population that did not always align as a Christian polity. Mary and Robert Logan’s fear of insurrection from Iras, a community in the north of Weno island, illustrated this point well. On April 14, 1885, Mary Logan wrote of the visit from the German trading ship named Franziska. While this boat had previously visited the island, “the Iras people... north of us,” Mary reported, “were going to try to take the ship and when Simeon, one of our people went to warn the Capt. giving him a letter which Robert had written he was attacked with a knife

173 Mary Logan, 18 January 1887, Mary Logan Journal ABC 76.1.
174 Mary Logan, 6 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
175 Mary Logan, 6 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
176 Mary Logan, 14 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
177 Mary Logan, 17 May 1886, Mary Logan Journal 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
and came near losing his life.” In response, the community immediately surrounding the Logans wanted to “revenge the act.” Mary and her husband promptly “told them that Christians could not do such things and after a little the spirit of desiring revenge passed away.” The feud was settled through Chuukese custom, not biblical guidance. The Iras chief delivered food to Simeon; this established ritual of reparation symbolized an apology. Mary Logan was immensely relieved because she feared internecine violence would devastate the mission and her students. This and other incidents cited in her journal point to several compelling developments. First, the people of Weno and nearby islands pursued their own interests by navigating the fault lines between believers and non-believers. Second, neophytes backed away from tenets of their faith depending on routine, opportunity, or advantage. And when times were difficult it was traditional convention, especially in the arena of conflict resolution, that brought peace and balance. As much as ABCFM representatives insisted they were star agents of salvation, indigenous people of varying status were the main actors in the drama of Micronesian Christianity.

Imperial Mediator and the Wife at Home

Notwithstanding the primacy of indigenous converts, Robert Logan became an intermediary of imperial and native exchange while in Micronesia. Mary Logan ably assisted her husband, but appeared more cognizant of her American identity than her husband who seemed to encourage undifferentiated western conquest as a mechanism to

178 Mary Logan, 14 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
179 Mary Logan, 14 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
180 Mary Logan, 14 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
181 Mary Logan, 14 April 1885, Mary Logan Journal 1884-1885 ABC 76.1.
secure his work. When the Germans arrived to take possession of the Caroline Islands, Robert Logan at his dinner table, with Mary Logan likely preparing the dinner for all, facilitated “the signatures of the neighboring chiefs to a treaty ceding the islands.” The Germans had arrived eager to extend their imperial influence globally in areas where they would not have to compete with strong imperial powers, a process Dirk Bonker eloquently outlines as “the main powers [of the globe] would employ military force and diplomatic power in global settings to secure economic advantage, mostly by creating and expanding formal and informal spheres of influence.” Bonker goes on to describe how this process threatened the integrity and very existence of old empires, in this case the Spanish Empire. Given that Germany had already established influence in the Marshall Islands through trading groups, Germany’s next expansion target was the Caroline Islands.

Though the incident of conquest was more an instance of slapstick comedy with German sailors struggling to nail a notice of claim to a coconut tree, Robert Logan was particularly impressed by the German handling of Atep, the same chief who had tried to kill him a year before. Atep, who in Robert’s estimation was fearful of the Germans, “ran for the bush but they caught him, talked to him, got his signature to the treaty and persuaded him to come on board.” “Frightened” by the German celebratory cannon fire “he [Atep] promised with all his might not to try to kill anyone again.” In spite of

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185 Robert Logan, 12 October 1885, Robert Logan 1885-1886 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
186 Robert Logan, 12 October 1885, Robert Logan 1885-1886 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
Robert’s reliance on German force to secure his own safety, he claimed to exert influence over the other natives “who were much frightened” by the German display of force “but were reassured by my presence and that of Moses [the Ponanpaen teacher who had arrived in 1879] and Manassa [another local teacher].”\textsuperscript{187} The German possession of the Caroline Islands would be short lived as the Pope interceded in 1885 to honor the four-centuries old Treaty of Tordesillas recognizing the Spanish claim to the Micronesian islands. Later, in 1886, Spaniards arrived to reassert their centuries-old claim of sovereignty over the Micronesian islands on board the Spanish vessel \textit{Manilla}.\textsuperscript{188}

Robert Logan boarded the \textit{Manilla} after officers invited him “to act as interpreter for them and also use my influence with the chiefs, to get them to consent to the proposed annexation.”\textsuperscript{189} In keeping with the assumed racial hierarchy of imperialist authority, Robert claimed that he, the Western white man, exercised the greatest influence over the compliant Chuukese, although in actuality he wholly depended on them. This was especially the case with regard to the convert teachers without whom the missionary could have accomplished very little. Logan rationalized his cooperation with the Spaniards by declaring “submission is the only possible thing for the natives, and it will be much better for them to submit peaceably.” He took steps “to render them [the Spanish crew] material assistance . . . [by] running about in the launch, getting the chiefs on

\textsuperscript{187} Robert Logan, 12 October 1885, Robert Logan 1885 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.8.
\textsuperscript{188} Though the Germans would return, purchasing the islands from Spain in 1899, this period of European colonization falls outside the chronological scope of this thesis. For further a scholarly discussion of Spanish colonial administration of Chuuk, see Francis Hezel, First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983); Francis Hezel, Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1995). For further discussion of Spanish imperialism in the Pacific at the end of the nineteenth century, see Paul Kramer, Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
\textsuperscript{189} Robert Logan, 24 July 1886, Robert Logan 1886-1887 Letter to “Friends” ABC 76.9.
board” to accept their obedience to Spanish authority. With pride, he announced: “The commander said he was glad we were here, and intimated that our [evangelical] work would not be interfered with.” Secure in his mission, Logan boasted that he “was very successful” mediating between invaders and “natives” because “the chiefs trusted me.” The result was that Spanish “[f]ormal possession was taken July 21, at Kuku on Fefen, the flag being left in Manassa’s care. (He is our teacher there).”¹⁹⁰ Robert, in effect, assisted in the transfer of territorial sovereignty from the Chuukese to a colonial government. In this account of imperial conquest, Logan also insinuates that the Christian Chuukese exercised control of the Lagoon despite its varied landscapes and the numerous chiefs and clans who competed for authority over portions of each island.

In keeping with ABCFM and American Protestant suspicion of Catholicism, Logan remained wary of any Catholic sway. As Logan noted, although “[t]he commander [of the Spanish ship] . . . intimat[ed] that our work would not be interfered with . . . [that,] of course, very much will depend on the character of the Governor.”¹⁹¹ Nonetheless, Robert was encouraged because this governor was to govern “the eastern half of the Caroline Group including our whole Ruk field” from a station “at Ponape [where he held] a small garrison and a gunboat at his command.”¹⁹² While some benefits such as regular “mail via Manilla” in the Philippines were expected, the future remained uncertain. Logan believed he was experiencing the soft “paw” of conquest that could spring claws some day.”¹⁹³

Mary Logan weighed in on the Spanish entrance into the Lagoon, echoing that the Spanish “were glad we were here, and evidently felt so.”\textsuperscript{194} She lauded, too, her husband’s resourcefulness in encouraging native chiefs to “gather together” and “sign the treaty.”\textsuperscript{195} What really impressed her about the Manilla episode was a gift to the mission from the crew, “the first fresh beef [cut from a steer] we ever tasted in Micronesia” as well as garden and fruit seeds.\textsuperscript{196} Most important, Mary Logan saw herself in a competition with Spanish imperialist activity as she understood that “we are in a sense representatives of American people, so are glad to do as well as we can in our way.”\textsuperscript{197} Mary Logan saw the Spanish arrival as the forward wave of imperialist activity in the Pacific and as many scholars have rightly pointed out she was but one of many missionaries who saw her actions as congruent with her nation’s interests on far-off islands.\textsuperscript{198}

Robert Logan, meanwhile, increasingly interceded in economic disputes that held the potential to lead his converts astray through violations of his abstemious Protestant principles which frowned on smoking and drinking. In a poignant example, the agent of the “the German barque ‘Brasiliera’ [from Ponape]. . . Mr. Schlenther (the vessel belongs

\textsuperscript{194} Mary Logan, 22 July 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
\textsuperscript{195} Mary Logan, 22 July 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2.
\textsuperscript{196} Mary Logan, 22 July 1886, Mary Logan Journal Letter 1885-1886 ABC 76.2. Mary’s journal did not discuss the distribution of this meat. Although leafy greens are difficult to find growing naturally in Chuuk, several sources of local fruit grow in abundance – namely coconuts, papaya, and bananas. Insight gained from time spent living in Chuuk from 2014 to 2017.
\textsuperscript{197} Mary Logan letter to Miss Fitch, 20 July 1886, Mary Logan letters ABC 76.5.
\textsuperscript{198} For more on political connections to missionaries, see Ian Tyrell, Reforming the World; Emily Conroy Krutz, Christian Imperialism; Joy Schulz, Hawaiian by Birth; Heather Curtis, Holy Humanitarians; David Hollinger, Protestants Abroad. All these authors focus on US missionaries and their actions in advancement of American interests but they also astutely observe a pan-Christian imperial sympathy that would align with Mary Logan and Robert Logan’s support of Spanish control, provided the Spanish continued to allow Protestant activity.
to a firm in Hamburg with a large trade in the South Seas) complain[ed]” that Logan was supporting his converts competing businesses and making it known his “opposition to tobacco,” which “lessened . . . [German] trade very materially.”

Logan had set pecuniary terms of exchange according to the religious bottom line: “Capt. Narrhun, the owner of the vessel wished to send a native with some trade and we were willing, only stipulating that nothing should be taken the sale of which would be prejudicial to our work.”

The missionary had already elaborated a market philosophy, using the collective “we” to ensure his reluctance to “injure trade in any way, and . . . always [being] ready to do a kindness to any one; but [affirmed] that we were here to work for the best . . . of the natives for both worlds, which meant conscientiously follow[ing] such methods as are in our [Christian] judgment best adapted to that end.”

Robert Logan envisioned his evangelical purpose as the support for each and every avenue that would create munificent results for all in this world and the next world. If he could use worldly commerce to advance the kingdom of God, all the better.

Robert Logan fell ill in 1887 and passed away, but not before his wife began to assume control of the station during his time of sickness. Upon her return to America, Mary Logan publicly and eloquently voiced her perception and belief of God’s presence in her husband’s actions. She articulated in reflection on Robert’s death, “I seemed to be alone but . . . as I look back I catch glimpses of the form of one like unto the Son of God . . . I stood and watched while he by whose side I had walked, who had ever been my joy,

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my help, my inspiration passed beyond the kin of mortal eye and ear to the glories and the rest beyond.²⁰²

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²⁰² Mary Logan speech at Terre Haute, Indiana, 31 October 1888, ABC 76, folder 5, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
CHAPTER 3: NEW BEGINNINGS IN A FAMILIAR PLACE

The 1890s brought upheaval to the ABCFM Ruk station, as a female missionary interjected a more prominent voice in the ABCFM enterprise, and a male counterpart stridently sought to stop her. This chapter examines the individuals at the center of this drama, delving into Mary Logan’s assertive work on behalf of the female Christians of Chuuk and Alfred Snelling’s persistent opposition to her advocacy, and to women in general. Their intensifying rivalry emerges through the official and private correspondence of three missionaries: Mary Logan, Alfred Snelling, and Francis Price, who corresponded frequently with Judson Smith, the ABCFM foreign secretary. A thorough investigation of Snelling’s actions reveals his noticeable misogyny, which ultimately had deleterious impacts on mission efforts. The story, however, does not begin in the Micronesian Islands. Rather, the saga opens in the American Midwest.

203 Judson Smith was a member of the increasingly prominent Oberlin Seminary cohort that by the 1880s and 1890s had come to dominate the ABCFM. In fact, Judson Smith, DD, was a Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oberlin Theological Seminary and penned a letter in 1881, in which Smith advocated the mission to China as “one of the most significant and decisive steps toward the evangelization of the whole world.” He also described China as the “grandest attraction to the young men of this day.” The importance Smith placed on China and his idealization of the Chinese mission as the key mission of the Board likely colored his approach to other missions, namely the Micronesian mission, which despite his extensive correspondence never seemed a major consideration of his public persona. Judson Smith, “China and the Christian Missions,” a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Board at St. Louis, 19 October 1881, ABCFM Biographical collection ABC 77.1, Box 67, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

204 Katherine Dernbach’s 2007 dissertation entitled Popular Religion: A cultural and Historical Study of Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Chuuk, Micronesia discusses the Snelling episode as a step in the history of the evangelization of Chuuk. Dernbach identifies Snelling as a “sexist and racist” and recounts the broad strokes of his historical presence as both a figure in the ABCFM and as a rogue missionary. This study attempts to build on that history by establishing the centrality of Snelling’s chauvinistic sentiment as the proximate cause of all his actions.
Following the death of her husband, Mary Logan returned to the United States to mourn her loss. Her work, however, did not cease. In 1888, she became a recruiter for the ABCFM in an effort to attract laborers to her former field. She pleaded with Congregational “churches of the Interior and the West” to “spare for Ruk two of your best workers, far-sighted men of wisdom and faith and experience who will carry to this work the strength of manhood,” indicating her view that the work required a particular gendered oversight.205 Her call was tempered with a realization that women still needed to complement the work of the men. Therefore, she called for women, who with “disciplined minds . . . will not shrink from isolation and hardship” and who would utilize “brave hearts and strong, skilled hands” to conduct and teach domestic trades.206

Mary Logan’s actions should be read in the context of a wide body of literature on the topic of the missionary movement as an avenue for independent female ambition. Patricia Hill’s 1985 work The World Their Household addressed how American women imagined an independent vocation through the annals of missionary literature.207 For her part, Patricia Grimshaw in Paths of Duty deftly considers how “mission service was part of a separate female ambition for an important and independent career.”208

205 Mary Logan speech at Terre Haute, Indiana, 31 October 1888, ABC 76, folder 5, Mary Logan Letters and Papers, 1884-1899, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Mary Logan Letters and Papers ABC 76.5).
206 Mary Logan speech at Terre Haute Indiana, 31 October 1888, Mary Logan Letters and Papers ABC 76.5.
208 Patricia Grimshaw, Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Hawaii (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), xxi. Grimshaw’s findings were expanded and deepened through Catherine Brekus’s impressive discussion of American women’s role as preachers from the pulpit in Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,
Mary Logan principally urged her audiences “to bury their education and culture in this isolated grave of heathenism” in order to uplift “a womanhood for Ruk.”

Notwithstanding her pleas for more volunteers, Judson Smith wrote to her “that he had been sorely disappointed in trying to secure reinforcements for Ruk.” Over the protests of her frail daughter, Beulah, Mary felt the call and left her sickly daughter with friends in the Midwest before sailing for Chuuk in 1889.

A year prior, an energetic minister named Alfred Snelling had arrived in Chuuk Lagoon. Born in 1855, he was considerably younger than the late Robert Logan. Orphaned as a child, Snelling had relied on a determined will to attain his education. Upon graduation from the Chicago Seminary in May 1888, he received the call from the ABCFM to become a missionary in Chuuk. Although “he had hoped to be sent to China [he] willingly accepted the call to the isles of the sea.” Before departing for Chuuk, Snelling married Elizabeth M. Weymer. His new wife was described as “one who had for a long time also felt a desire to tell the old, old story to those who knew it not in heathen lands.”


Mary Logan speech at Terre Haute, 31 October 1888, Mary Logan Letters and Papers ABC 76.5.

Mary Logan letter to Mrs. Little, 17 April 1889, ABC 76, folder 5, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Mary Logan letter to Mrs. Little, 17 April 1889, Mary Logan Letters and Papers ABC 76.5. Beulah’s exact words were “Mama, you won’t ever go back to Ruk and leave me, will you?” Logan’s son would also remain in the United States to attend his father’s alma mater through the financial generosity of friends. Beulah’s continued frailty even produced trouble in “the climate of Mich and Ohio.” Mary Logan letter to Mrs. Little in Rittman, Ohio, 18 May 1889, ABC 76.5, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Alfred Snelling A Memorial, 6, ABC 77.1 Box 68, Alfred Snelling Individual Biography, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Alfred Snelling Individual Biography ABC 77.1).

Alfred Snelling A Memorial, 7, Alfred Snelling Individual Biography ABC 77.1.
Snelling arrived in Chuuk after journeying with his bride through the various Micronesian mission stations where he had witnessed an abundance of success. He naturally “expect[ed] like results at his station.” Yet, in Chuuk he claimed to find a sorry
state of affairs he claimed because “there had been little discipline, the morals were low, and the church and school had dwindled away.” 214 In fact, Snelling wrote he was afraid of “native” violence, pondering that “it was only the teaching of Mr. Logan that [had] held them back.” 215

As will be evident in the pages below, Alfred Snelling’s sentiments, like Mary Logan’s perspectives, should be evaluated in the context of extant scholarship that critically examines a nineteenth-century American society turning toward greater male domination. Arguably, he was a precursor of this trend among men who, Margaret Bendroth’s Fundamentalism and Gender makes clear, encouraged a strain of fundamentalist Protestantism that excluded women from the church and congregation. 216

Appraisals of the Field

In 1890, Snelling encountered serious challenges. 217 He set out to arrest the “pernicious. . . [h]eathenism . . . [and] opposition on the part of the teachers . . . [who] as they expressed it [found] our work was an injury to theirs.” 218 Snelling later remarked to Judson Smith, that “during the last year, the work has fallen back, the school a year ago . . . [had] 100” but then suffered a 25% loss in “numbers.” 219 The diminishing population of

214 Alfred Snelling A Memorial, 11, Alfred Snelling Individual Biography ABC 77.1.  
215 Alfred Snelling A Memorial, 11, Alfred Snelling Individual Biography ABC 77.1.  
218 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 August 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. The mention of teachers in this document refers to Chuukese and Pohnpeian male instructors.  
219 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 21 January 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
students represented a serious loss of local confidence in the ABCFM. Snelling lamented that “at every place . . . declin[ing] . . . numbers at school and church” signaled a pressing crisis, which he was resolved to address for he had already identified the culprit, his own organization.

Snelling blamed the conduct of the “native” teachers and his American predecessors for leading the converts and the population astray. He, therefore, hoped for a new dispensation in which “the people . . . [were] stirred up to have respect for themselves and one another [and] for their teachers above all.” He had been right to see that the Chuukese no longer evinced admiration for evangelization as they once had after the Ponapaen ABCFM pioneers arrived in 1874, but he did not despair. Instead, Snelling pursued strategies of greater inclusion, asking the native ordained pastors to conduct their communion services at the stations” and encouraged their “tending to the baptizing of applicants.” He boasted “this is the first baptizing done by native ministers in these islands.” Although Snelling perceived advancements in the abilities of the native teachers, that did not preclude him from blaming those same “native teachers” for the problems of the mission.

The converts who Mary and Robert had trained and sent to the outlying islands had gone dutifully to their vocation; however, the schools rather than successfully

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220 In 1889, the Micronesian mission had close to 4,500 members throughout the islands but the next year that total decreased to 4,100. Alfred Snelling anxiously noted this decrease, observing that, in Ruk, only “20 attend school.” This paltry group of students reflected an overall drop in “the roll of Church” congregants. Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 21 January 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
221 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 21 January 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
222 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 21 January 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
223 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 21 January 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
224 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 August 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
transforming Chuukese males into the pillars of their communities produced young men whose “lustful passions had been whetted and who brought back in the place of Christian character and power for the truth a vileness unequalled.” In segregating students from their surroundings, mission schools incubated unfulfilled desires and then unleashed the individuals with frustrated appetites on the unsuspecting population those individuals were supposed to aid. According to Snelling, Mary Logan held a different view of the progress of scholars as he reported she found the schools produced young men of “a different character … better acquainted with their books; more industrious; and [who were] gradually lending us their help and sympathy.” This difference of opinion, however, did not prohibit her from complimenting Snelling. In July 1890, she reported “work[ing] very pleasantly together” with “Mr. Snelling . . . [who was] carrying out Mr. Logan’s thought and plan for the training school more than I had dared hope.” Snelling did not reciprocate this gesture of goodwill. Rather, he dwelled on perceived deficiencies, saying “Mrs. Logan is not strong and must have help.”

Mary Logan seemed quite content to conduct her duties in partnership with the new minister but from time to time she experienced acute loneliness and boredom, which were offset by exhilarating hikes with her students and Mrs. Snelling.

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225 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 August 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
226 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 August 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. The success Logan discussed seemed to be gradually building up in the Lagoon. Snelling’s focus seemed to be the geographic locale of the Mortlocks and the failure of the students sent back to the Mortlocks as teachers.
228 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 4 February 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
did not obscure the signs of a population leaving the church. In December 1890, she recalled how a convert named Katie, one of her brightest pupils, was grieving the fact that her mother and father had rejected the Gospel. This was quite a blow to the mission because Katie’s parents “were among the first to join the church here” before regressing back into heathenism.230

Although Christian progress appeared to stall, Mary Logan continued to focus on the school as the central institution advancing the destiny of knowledgeable girls of Ruk as well as her own tentative interests in challenging certain gendered divisions of labor.231 There was a shortage of food in 1890, which she addressed by sending her female students into the fields to assist with the breadfruit harvest despite the “work not customary for women to do here.”232 Snelling approached collective hunger in a different manner; he embraced faith in the market, preferring to procure needed staples by “paying with cloth or books.”233 Mary speculated that “he bought over 12,000 [breadfruit],” not including that “which grew on the mission premises.”234 Although her account may conjure an image of Snelling incentivizing a “native” labor pool to commoditize their effort, Mary Logan perceived his purchases as a matter of security, or “a surer way of having better food for the scholars.”235 To be sure, Mary Logan was not entirely averse to economic considerations. Seeing that her students were progressing beyond the mission’s

230 Mary Logan, 12 December 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3.
231 Mary Logan, 11 October 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3.
232 Mary Logan, 11 October 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3.
233 Mary Logan, 11 October 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3.
234 Mary Logan, 11 October 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3.
235 Mary Logan, 11 October 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3. This incident of women assuming responsibility for food provisioning is manifest in today’s Chuuk, with girls and women gathering breadfruit and preparing meals on the island of Weno, but the dish of pounded breadfruit is still prepared mostly by men.
inventory of primers, she asked American Sunday School children to make donations for
a mission printing press, pleading that they “think of [their] own bountiful supply of
beautiful schoolbooks . . . aside from your Bible.”

Views of Micronesian Christians and Capabilities

While the missionary desired a transformative conversion in habits as well as
beliefs, the Chuukese population held a penchant for worldly benefits. This in turn led the
missionaries to develop conflicting opinions on the capabilities of the “native” church.
Mary Logan particularly viewed her converts through a racialized hierarchy with a
correspondingly low ceiling for the most capable neophytes. In a letter to Judson Smith,
Mary evaluated the work of Moses, the first native teacher in the Lagoon. She
acknowledged Moses’s gifts but advised that “he needs to be in a way responsible to
some one, to feel that his work will be looked into, to be advised and encouraged and
sometimes cautioned, not to say reproved.”

Moses had effectively evangelized in the
Lagoon for five years before Robert Logan’s arrival and had consistently lived in the
Lagoon for over a decade at this point. Ultimately, Mary Logan “believ[ed] that when we
have taken these . . . people so far in their studies having grounded them in the faith . . . it
is then wise to get them out into the work” of spreading Christianity.

Snelling, however, advocated instruction in secular disciplines, which Logan characterized in the

236 Mary Logan, 28 March 1891, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3. Interestingly, there is no
mention of Snelling’s boys outpacing their curricula.
237 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 31 January 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
238 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 27 November 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
following way: “Mr. Snelling thinks he is going to keep his boys on and on, and as he said to me one day ‘take them through geometry and trigonometry.”’

Different opinions of education influenced Mary Logan’s view of her male counterpart, but not as much as a dispute over Henry Worth, the ABCFM employed resident ship captain and mission lay assistant. Snelling disliked Worth, “his habits and not least his native wife.” Mary, in turn, conceded that the captain did “not manage the schooner . . . and by his own words . . . gives a moral tone to the life on the vessel which is far from what it should be,” but she could not bring herself to say more. Instead, she suggested that Snelling had slandered a decent person who tolerably handled the ship.

It appears that Worth was a subtext for brewing dispute over the role of women and female authority in both lay and official capacities. The first issue of contention was the prospect for evangelical work among women. The missionaries: Miss Kinney (a newly arrived female assistant missionary to help in the school), Mary Logan, and Snelling had spoken of the “subject of more direct evangelistic work among the native women.” From the discussion, Mary Logan gathered that “Mr. Snelling did not much approve of it” because “he thinks there will be no results.” Almost a month later, Mary Logan discerned that Snelling’s initial hesitation was a screen for his lack of “confidence

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239 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 27 November 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm. Snelling advocated such instruction even though he had previously remarked “they [Chuukese] have proved a deceitful race from the beginning”; Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 9 December 1890 and 10 January 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
240 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 21 January 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
241 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 17 April 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
242 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 17 April 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
243 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 17 April 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
244 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 17 April 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
in the ability of women to do Christian work.”

His consistent reaction to this crucial issue would alter the course of the Ruk mission.

“Women’s Rights . . . Is Sinfully Nonsense”

Snelling’s and Mary Logan’s conflicts were largely defined by differing ideas of American female missionary capabilities, yet the catalyst for their disagreements emerged most vividly when the two discussed the prospect of converts marrying one another. This focus on correct marriage practices was understandable considering the sexual sins which proliferated throughout the islands among the converted and non-converted population alike. Snelling had criticized the practice of divorce and remarriage among the Chuukese members due to the prevalence of adultery among the mission’s convert teachers. One scholar, a former student of the mission and “native” teacher named Obadiah, had turned to a life of adultery. In another instance, two teachers and their wives had turned to what Snelling would condemn as adultery. On March 2, 1891, Snelling retroactively found Joram, one of those teachers, guilty of adultery for the sin committed four years prior. In the case of David, another teacher, Snelling judged David guilty on his own admission of “lying naked with a former teacher’s wife” along with several other instances of adultery. Snelling found divorce common in the church as well. Snelling remarked that “this remarrying of the people is little short of heathenism.” However, Snelling discovered this practice was allowed “against his judgment” by the local congregation to “prevent division in the work with others [native

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245 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 19 May 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
246 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 August 1890, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
247 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 2 March 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
248 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 17 April 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
teachers].”249 This consideration of divorce and adultery should be read in the context of Chuukese cultural beliefs about marriage. In anthropological literature, Dernbach, specifically, addresses adultery. She observes that extramarital affairs by both husbands and wives were quite common in Chuukese society. Upon the arrival of Christian missionaries, she states that this proliferation of adultery changed to a scenario where men pursued affairs more “clandestinely.”250

At the same time Snelling rebuked his teachers for past sins, Mary Logan recounted an instance of sexual trafficking.251 She angrily denounced an unnamed Pohnpeian man that “we had all felt to be . . . a [Christian] preacher and teacher among his own people . . . [but who] sold his adopted daughter to the Spaniards for a paltry sum.”252 The matter was made worse by her vulnerable age, “of twelve or thirteen years probably.”253 The whole incident appropriately “rous[ed] all one’s indignation.”254 These transgressions, namely both the willing acts of converts (adultery) and the crimes perpetrated against women (sexual crimes) created an environment where respect for marriage was a necessary focus of missionaries in their teachings.

249 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 17 April 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
250 As Dernbach notes at 303 n.3: “What has changed is that husbands are still expected to cheat on their wives (in many cases with the wives of male relatives), but wives are expected to remain faithful. The problem, it seems, is not that affairs continue, per se, but that as a result of moral condemnation by the churches, they must be conducted clandestinely.” Dernbach further discusses the problem of “love magic” in Chuukese society as a way to utilize “mental and sexual coercion” to obtain a lover: Dernbach, 277.
251 Mary Logan, 2 March 1891, “Letter to Friends” from Ruk ABC 76.3.
252 Mary Logan, 2 March 1891, “Letter to Friends” from Ruk ABC 76.3.
253 Mary Logan, 2 March 1891, “Letter to Friends” from Ruk ABC 76.3. This depressingly common crime occurred throughout the Pacific (whaling) region. Mary Logan’s shock over the father’s sale of a daughter was exceptional for the wanton severity of the circumstances. For more on human (sex) trafficking in the Pacific in the late nineteenth century, see Francis Hezel, First Taint of Civilization; and Gerald Horne, The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).
254 Mary Logan, 2 March 1891, “Letter to Friends” from Ruk ABC 76.3.
An episode which epitomized Mary Logan and Alfred Snelling’s conflicting ideas about native marriage practices occurred when a young Chuukese convert couple of approximately 17 years old desired to marry. Snelling wanted the couple to wait. Logan felt otherwise, personally urging Snelling to change his mind because the prospective bridegroom was “one of our . . . young men and among the most reliable.”  

Snelling begrudgingly summarized the outcome of their exchange: “I heard of it in the evening, I married them in the morning.”  

Snelling not only revealed a more conservative approach to marriage, he also exhibited a distant relationship with members of the ABCFM congregation. He did not know a rising church leader had long been engaged, a fact he learned from Logan. It seemed that Snelling resented her knowledge about (and caring connection with) members of the Chuukese mission. His dissatisfaction was made known in a letter to Judson Smith: “that a pastor must ask his lady assistants their opinion before he can marry a couple is absurd, nor do I attribute such to you, but to the result of instructions given to them,” adding “your idea about these ladies being perfectly competent as well as any man … is all right for women’s rights people but to me is sinfully nonsense.”  

Not privy to this complaint, Logan continued to champion “something for the women who seem to have made so little progress in the upward way.”

255 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 28 November 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.  
256 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 28 November 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.  
257 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 28 November 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.  
258 Mary Logan, 1 November 1890, Mary Logan Journal 1890-1891 ABC 76.3.
Undermining the Masculine Authority

Snelling’s perception of Logan was beginning to fracture the community of converts. Fissures first emerged with Chuukese neophytes, who seemed to side with their female teacher and publicly assailed the male missionary. Snelling recounted that in presenting his homilies “publicly both in native and in Eng [sic] service, I was repeatedly . . . corrected in interpretation or remarks in general.”259 The interruptions of his English service likely came from the American women attending his sermon.260

During the next spring, Snelling targeted his vitriol at Logan and Kinney, divulging to them in a letter that “it did not and does not seem proper for woman to so express herself.”261 He then reminded his female colleagues that he was at wit’s end: “I have time and again been offended at apparent rule by women in my work.”262 Snelling invariably tried to temper particularly sharp remarks by also professing to be a patriarchal guardian of all in his flock who might be mocked, whether preacher, convert, or “my wife,” saying that “almost invariably where a woman stands before the people in public assembly, she is teased.”263 As a solution to the problem, Snelling proposed the women do nothing more “than I expect of my wife in my work.”264 Finally, he resorted to a

259 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 28 November 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
260 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 28 November 1891, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. As the English service was likely public, the interruptions probably occurred in front of a captive audience. It is unclear whether Snelling yielded to the interruptions and let the female missionaries take over, or whether he canceled the service entirely. Considering his disdain for female preaching, the latter seems likely.
261 Alfred Snelling letter to Mary Logan and Miss Kinney, 19 March 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
262 Alfred Snelling letter to Mary Logan and Miss Kinney, 19 March 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
263 Alfred Snelling letter to Mary Logan and Miss Kinney, 19 March 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
264 Alfred Snelling letter to Mary Logan and Miss Kinney, 19 March 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
cutting insult, telling his main antagonist that “Dr. Smith has spoken of you Mrs. Logan publicly as the bishop of this work.”

In her response to Snelling’s accusations, Mary Logan denied being the usurper and claimed the role of an able assistant. She asserted that while Snelling was away in the Mortlocks, he left “an inexperienced boy” in charge of the public meetings. Though Snelling had charged her with interfering in the work, she claimed, “I in no way interfered with or changed any of his plans.” Instead, she volunteered “when I saw the boy needed help I helped him.”

In response to Snelling’s accusation that Logan was a troublesome radical, she quipped to the Board in Boston that “I am not and never have been what is called a ‘woman’s rights’ woman.”

The tension did not subside with the efforts at clarification. Instead, Snelling quickly blamed Logan for initiating another more substantial conflict involving her independent management of “trade permission . . . on the mission land.” Snelling concocted an account of how, while he was away in the Mortlocks, Logan attacked “the natives [who had settled on mission land and refused to leave], punching a woman in the face with an umbrella, pulling her hair” and diving into “a genuine girl fight.” He warned that her actions had sparked a community feud. In Snelling’s account the feud of the women resulted in lingering bad feelings. Upon the arrival of the missionary vessel The Morning Star two weeks later, “Christians and outsiders refused to carry the ladies’

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265 Alfred Snelling letter to Mary Logan and Miss Kinney, 19 March 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
266 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 4 August 1892, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
267 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 4 August 1892, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
268 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 19 October 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
269 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 19 October 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
boxes to them only after much urging did they do it.”\(^{270}\) Snelling, further, confided to Judson Smith that Logan was conspiring to oust him. “[I]f I leave my service in care of a native teacher,” he grumbled, “she has the right to step in and take” command.\(^{271}\)

Mary Logan countered that Snelling manipulated the Chuukese to carry up only Snelling’s boxes as he “[stood] on the wharf with a box of fishhooks in his hand to pay the natives for bringing up the boxes.”\(^{272}\) Mary asserted that by paying for his boxes, Snelling created a situation where “they [the Chuukese] did not know whether or not he would pay for other boxes.”\(^{273}\) However, once he acquiesced to paying for all boxes, “there was no demur whatsoever.”\(^{274}\) While Snelling portrayed “natives” ready to rebel against Logan, her portrayal detailed a man who fomented discord and a population acting out of economic incentives. This drama soon gave way to another drama about Logan’s role in the advancement of candidates for the pulpit.\(^{275}\) Soon Snelling was given to call Logan by a pejorative title: “the bishop over the Ruk Work.”\(^{276}\) The two American women of the mission were increasingly unsettled by Snelling’s behaviors with Mary Logan declaring “it seems to me that everything is lost here unless we have help at once. . .[because] we [are] on board a pretty badly damaged ship with an insane man at

\(^{270}\) Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 19 October 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
\(^{271}\) Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 19 October 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
\(^{272}\) Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 4 August 1892, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
\(^{273}\) Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 4 August 1892, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
\(^{274}\) Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 4 August 1892, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
\(^{275}\) Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 4 August 1892, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm. In a letter to Miss. Kinney, the ABCFM female assistant missionary in Chuuk, Snelling conjured another drama about a poorly prepared boy being elevated by Logan to the pulpit. He implied that she wielded power to advance candidates to the ministry; however, he viewed her choices as errant merely because it was a woman deciding whom to advance. Alfred Snelling Letter to Mrs. Logan and Miss Kinney, 19 March 1892, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. Though Miss is no longer in use the title reflects what is recorded in the missionaries’ correspondence and is used in that manner during this thesis.
\(^{276}\) Alfred Snelling letter to Alfred Sturges, 16 January 1893, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
the helm.”

She went on to record how she asked Snelling if he “would have the same troubles with associate men workers who were enthusiastic and progressive,” to which he affirmed that “yes, I presume I would.”

**Removal of a Molester**

The battle between Snelling and Logan would take another turn when the Ruk mission was forced to confront the sexual crimes of one of its own. This 1893 episode was linked to the ship captain Henry Worth and his tryst with a married woman in the church, a woman whose marriage Snelling had officiated. The affair offended Snelling’s sensibilities for it attacked his sacred idea of marriage and his authority to bind a couple in vows of fidelity. Worth was seen with his lover in “broad daylight,” Snelling reported, and when confronted with the obvious denied any wrongdoing. In addition, Snelling said he discovered evidence of a far more serious transgression, Worth’s attempted rape of a married woman. Snelling narrated the incident in one of his letters: “while the [Morning] Star was here he [Worth] followe[d] Bowker [a trader’s] wife into a bathing place and seized her for his purposes. Her screams prevented it.”

In the Lagoon, Snelling claimed in a letter to Judson Smith dated March 22, 1893 that Mr. Worth raped a “school girl.” Although Worth denied the charge, Mary Logan confirmed the incident. Mary Logan was first “inclined to blame Mr. Snelling because of his unkind and unbrotherly treatment of Mr. Worth,” but had “since heard and I suppose

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277 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 16 January 1893, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
278 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 27 July 1893, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
279 Alfred Snelling letter to C.M. Hyde, 16 March 1893, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. This married couple was not the same couple Mary Logan had implored Snelling to marry.
280 Alfred Snelling letter to C.M. Hyde, 16 March 1893, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
281 Alfred Snelling letter to C.M. Hyde, 16 March 1893, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
282 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 22 March 1893, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
it is true, that Mr. Worth’s first fall was at Ponape two years ago.” Snelling elaborated on this incident with the ABCFM missionary Sturges serving as a witness to the veracity of the story. Snelling purported that, on Pohnpei, Worth “induc[ed] a man to coax his daughter from the Ponape girls’ school and us[ed] her for his [Worth’s] purposes.”283 Mary Logan, driven to denounce a former friend, declared “he [Worth] has perpetrated such an amount of falsehood and deception and uncleanness . . . and with so much hardihood that I am forced to think that his character is vile and loathsome throughout.”284 Worth would depart in 1894 on the Morning Star.285

Perhaps to ease the conflict between Logan and Snelling, the parent organization arranged for her to leave the island, and in 1894 she departed for a furlough to the United States. Her writings at this time reveal how she used her sojourn to advocate for the needs of Ruk station. In America, Logan requested the ABCFM executive committee provide a new ship for her mission. She also contacted Smith to raise the issue of reassigning Snelling and sponsoring a new missionary family in Chuuk; Logan even offered to recruit prospective candidates.286 Despite her efforts, the ABCFM had little success in finding

283 Alfred Snelling letter to C.M. Hyde, 14 March 1893, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. Considering the history of prostitution in Micronesia during the age of whaling and the already reliable story of a native Christian on Pohnpei who had sold his daughter, this molestation charge does not appear to be an implausible accusation.
284 Mary Logan, 18 March 1893, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
285 The Board had also requested Snelling sail with the ship but Snelling refused due to Worth’s presence. These charges had so concerned Francis Price that on his journey to his new posting in Chuuk he communicated to the Board in Boston Mary Logan’s desire to prohibit Mr. Worth from returning to captain the schooner however “penitent he may be, and this makes it necessary to have a new man for the schooner.” Francis Price letter to Judson Smith from Pacific Theological Seminary, Oakland, California, 8 May 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
286 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 23 July 1894, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
replacements. An aspirant was ultimately sent to Mexico while the influential China and Turkey missions drew off the pool of available preachers and women.\textsuperscript{287}

For his part, Snelling seized on Logan’s absence to direct a steadier stream of venom at her reputation. He spent hours on letters diminishing her accounts of the female converts she helped through ministry and teaching.\textsuperscript{288} He hoped to demote the importance of the community of Christian girls because they “are quite reduced in size,” noting that “for years to come [their classrooms] will not” be hubs of activity.\textsuperscript{289} Soon after dispatching this report, Snelling said “the girls’ school had better be disbanded for a while” since “[t]here is no hope . . . of that work.”\textsuperscript{290} He was striking at Logan’s main area of activity even after succeeding in excluding her from direct evangelism. Even while denigrating Logan’s work, Snelling professed to retain his innate patriarchal care for the mission, wishing “I were alone and so free to move my tent about” because “I am always concerned for the ladies knowing the villainy of some of this people.”\textsuperscript{291}

\textbf{A New Missionary}

With Mary Logan gone, Francis Price, an ABCFM reverend, and his pregnant spouse came to Ruk in 1894 to stand in her place. After leaving his ABCFM post in Shanse, China, and receiving his new posting in Chuuk, Price contacted the furloughed evangelist and learned what was transpiring on Chuuk. In a subsequent letter to the Boston Board, Price reported that Logan warned him of “my prospective associate . . .

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\textsuperscript{287} Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 10 November 1894, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm. For the geographic distribution of members of the ABCFM, please refer to John Hanebuth, “The Geographic Distribution of the ABCFM,” \url{http://jhanebut.com/personalwebsite/clio2_final_project/final_project.html}.
\textsuperscript{288} Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 29 January 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{289} Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 29 January 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{290} Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 5 April 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{291} Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 5 April 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
\end{flushright}
[being] very likely to oppose any suggestion that does not come from himself.” Price warned that “I do not want to be compelled to obtain his consent to do such needed work.” The new man had taken sides in the dispute, venting “indignation at the way in which our good Mrs. Logan has been treated by Mr. Snelling.” However, Price was not in favor of making Snelling “leave the work” due to the small number of missionaries in the Pacific region.

Though Price desired to have his first year spent for “the study of the language exclusively,” he could not help but astutely evaluate the mission. Price reported that “Mr. Snelling had despaired of ever receiving reinforcements from home and had sold off part of the Treiber House.” Price and his wife measured Snelling by his appearance and despite his “hearty welcome” found Snelling “not well” in spirit or outlook. “[H]e is not an optimist” they discerned while obligingly remarking that he was still “a fair man . . . devoted to His master.” The Prices themselves immediately faced hardship in their new posting with Price reporting that his wife’s miscarriage after their arrival was “the most trying ordeal of our lives.” Despite his calculations that “over a hundred native women” and “fifty adult men in heathen dress” gathered “all willing to talk about the Gospel” at Sunday services, he was distressed that “no one is able to [teach] them.”

293 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 16 April 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
294 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 16 April 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
295 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 19 June 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
296 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 31 October 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. The Treiber house had been the residence of the missionary for Ruk between Robert Logan’s tenure and Alfred Snelling’s tenure. Treiber was removed as a partially insane person.
297 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 31 October 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
298 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 31 October 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
299 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 31 October 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
The Chuukese population evinced a genuine interest in Christianity and “would all welcome a visit from . . . [a] missionary.” Yet Price made clear that Snelling was consumed by his work in the boys’ school and reported that “he had not done any house to house work for four years.”

Price filled the void and began to journey out into the neophyte communities in response to Chuukese-initiated overtures for missionaries.

In one case, “Joseph the deacon of the church here at Anapauo, [who] was over to Iras on some business [found] . . . some of the young men . . . wanted him to bring some one over and preach to them . . . [because] they were tired of war.”

According to Price, Joseph advised the chief of Iras that “your young men are far ahead of you for they want the new religion to come to them and you do not care anything about it.”

Price reported that the chief was amenable to this request and begrudgingly allowed the influx of Christianity stating “if the young men want the new faith they shall have it.”

Despite his ignorance of the language, Price felt it necessary for him to shepherd Joseph and “see that things were done decently and in order” as “Mr. Snelling could not leave Anapauo” because the work there was too pressing.

Upon arrival at Iras, the new missionary quickly found a favorable audience and achieved gains for the mission. Price felt compelled “to preach” to over 100 people, and he proceeded to offer prayer, lead the population in singing, and preach emotionally on

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300 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 31 October 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
301 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. The effort of conversion was sought by the people of Iras and they did not come to an American missionary first but rather to a Chuukese convert teacher.
302 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. This response is questionable considering the challenge to authority which would have been required for Joseph to speak this way to a chief as cultural respect usually prohibits such a direct challenge to the authority of a chief from another village.
303 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
304 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
Jesus feeding the 5,000. After the meeting, he proclaimed that “I never saw a more orderly and attentive audience.” However, Price feared the ignorance of his audience as he could not help but wonder if “only there would be a sensation in the audience when they would clearly understand what I said.”

Notwithstanding the uncertain reception of his audience, Price’s record indicated his success in attracting new converts. “On the way home Joseph said that the chief . . . wanted another meeting if I would come back and speak to them.” Upon hearing this, Price deduced that “they [the Chuukese populations] want a missionary to preach to them whether they understand or not.” In envisioning how this “work . . . ought to be done on every island . . . and in all these parts,” he resolved to “have men . . . do it.”

Despite the contributions of two American women, one of whom Price credited with “truly good . . . work” uplifting girls, he deemed it necessary to procure American men to preach for Christ.

By Christmas of 1894, Price had lost all faith in his colleague. He blamed Snelling for the “deplorable condition” of the Ruk mission. Identifying “failure on every side,” Price listed Snelling’s missing traits: “physical strength, intellectual vigor, and

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305 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. Price feared to ask the recipient audience if they understood his preaching lest he be disappointed with the realization that his listeners understood very little of his message. In his discussion of the incident, Price recalled how a missionary to China had asked his congregation whether they understood his message and how that same missionary was devastated upon receiving the response that they understood very little.
306 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
307 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
308 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
309 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. Price’s expectations should be considered in conjunction with the progress of his mission in Shanse which, after beginning with his efforts, could only bolster only half a dozen converts by the time he left. “The Geographic Distribution of the ABCFM.”
spiritual power.” Such “marks” on the male character pointed to one person “on whom the principal fault lies.”

A Call for Removal

Building on his pronouncements of Snelling’s failure, Price started the formal process to have Snelling ejected from Chuuk by relaying to the Boston Board two incidents as proof of his unacceptable malfeasance. The initial episode involved the espirit de corps of male and female American missionaries communing together in prayer meetings that could be led by either a man or woman. Snelling at first “gave hearty assent” to this prospect, but he changed his mind when he suspected the “meetings were only a part of a . . . plan to injure him.”

Price reported that “he [Snelling] had not enjoyed them though he had attended the meetings, and that [Snelling believed] I [Price] had planned and directed them in direct opposition to his known wishes.” Price further recounted how the meetings involved Snelling’s usurpation of female leadership in prayer when Snelling took control of a meeting “just for the women during the last week of prayer . . . without asking the ladies if he should.” The fact Snelling had already forbidden “Mrs. Snelling to attend” only aggravated the episode. His fear of female voices in the church continued to underlie Snelling’s decisions and seeped into the neophyte community, with Price recounting that “Mr. Snelling is almost a fiend about

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310 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 21 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. At this point Price was attempting vigorously to recruit a former Shanse colleague, Martin Stimson, to join the Ruk mission, thereby hoping to offset the deleterious influence of Snelling. Stimson would eventually become the head missionary to Chuuk before the formal cessation of ABCFM operations there.

311 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

312 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

313 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

314 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
women. He has, I am told, broken up one church among the people here because a woman had a prominent part in it.”

The second incident prompting Price to demand Snelling’s removal involved what Price called a “duplicity.” Snelling had been accused of subterfuge after withholding key documents during mission meetings. However, it was not this duplicity but came when, but what Price reported in his December letter to Judson Smith. Snelling accused Price of “all along, secretly, working against him.” Snelling claimed “I [Price] had formed an alliance with the ladies to injure him, and other things too painful to mention.” Snelling reportedly “said that the work had run down because Mrs. Logan and Miss Kinney had punched the natives with their umbrellas and pulled their hair.” Even if we accept that Snelling lied about the matter, which likely was the case, the point remains that he targeted the women evangelists as instinctive wrongdoers. Above all, Snelling imagined their treachery as part of a plot hatched “by Mrs. Logan,” the ringleader, along with her accomplices, Price and Smith. To Snelling, this triumvirate had schemed “to drive him out.” Snelling claimed that Mary Logan “was coming down here to be a sort of bishop over the work.” Again, Snelling’s actions and grievances returned to the role of Mary Logan in the Ruk mission. He linked his removal to his offense to the secretary’s

315 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. However, it should be noted that in the ABCFM worldwide during 1894 the percentage of females in the field of the total American population sent to missionize was 62.43 percent with a total number of 356 female assistant missionaries worldwide. In the ABCFM Micronesian region specifically, the percentage was even greater, with a total of 15 women comprising 68.18 percent of the entire American mission workforce. (All relevant calculations were performed using R and are based on the ABCFM Annual Report 1894.)

316 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

317 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

318 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

319 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 14 December 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
“Oberlin band,” a group famous for their radical notions of gender and racial equality. He further suggested that his “plans are all being made in a mission but forced upon me,” due to his perception of others’ control of the mission. Expressing some forgiveness, Price did concede that Snelling had some basic redeeming qualities, such as “attend[ing] to the routine of his work,” qualifying the statement with the faint praise: “[h]e is not lazy . . . but [rather] . . . a broken down man in more ways than one.”

Snelling did not bow to the criticism. Rather, his truculence spiked, with a January 1895 declaration announcing that he would not go anywhere because he was being persecuted by women who acted without his consent. Snelling claimed that Logan and Kinney received orders to act independently, which he perceived as a violation of the mission constitution of 1888. He maintained that the women had received instructions “to counsel together in the work of the mission, having charge of the work among the girls and women.” He was initially amenable to this prospect “until,” as he related, “they [the women] insisted that I had no right to act without them even in work which admitted of no consultation.”

In February 1895, Price responded to Snelling’s denunciations by defending the right of Logan and Kinney to exercise their “special . . . vote” in pivotal matters affecting

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320 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 14 December 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. He relied upon a previous instance of “a missionary from North China . . . who was removed in the same manner that your secretary began on me for no other cause than that he was offensive to the secretary, because he was offensive to the secretary’s Oberlin band in China” to insinuate that the favoritism was widespread throughout the Board.
321 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 27 December 1894, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. This statement also could be a reflection of Snelling’s original desire to be posted to China.
322 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 28 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
323 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
324 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
the mission. This dispute was not resolved, in spite of a meeting held between Price and the other missionaries where they determined that he [Price] and Miss Kinney should leave for the Mortlocks to avoid Snelling. In the event “Mr. Snelling made [more] trouble,” Price considered the drastic step of ordering the Morning Star to “sail at once for America,” depriving the mission of personnel and the Micronesian mission of their vessel. Price advised Judson Smith of this precaution because he feared that Snelling’s “supposed” mailing of a copy of the secretary’s meetings notes would reach Snelling’s friends before Price could explain his actions.

Although another man was engineering Snelling’s “recall,” he continued to impugn Mary Logan who, he wrote, “made her threats for three years, that I would be ordered out.” In this context it is understandable that Snelling would then conclude upon seeing “she [had] advised my recall and it was done” that Mary Logan was responsible for the whole affair. Snelling furthered his grievance against Mary Logan with a perturbed statement that “she went away threatening it would come again, but she also said that she would stop the matter, so we did not write about it.” Feeling betrayed, Snelling retreated to the refuge of God proclaiming that “God may require me to stay here awhile. I would gladly leave to-day, but He holds me.”

During Snelling’s tenure he had opposed the role of women, Chuukese converts had retreated from the faith, and lay workers of the mission had committed crimes against

325 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 February 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
326 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 February 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
327 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 February 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
328 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
329 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
330 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
331 Alfred Snelling letter to Prudential Committee, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
the people. The next years would see the strengthening of Mary Logan’s alliance with
Price against Snelling, and Snelling’s efforts to carry on in the face of formal opposition
from his coworkers and the ABCFM Board. The unresolved conflict exposed the limits of
the Boston Board’s authority to rein in a corrosive missionary. Most importantly, the
efforts of a male evangelist to undermine his female counterparts led to division and
uncertainty in the nascent Christian community.
CHAPTER 4: FUTILITY AND FRACTURE: MISSIONARY RIVALRY AND DIVISIONS IN AN INDIGENOUS CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Francis Price’s private request to remove Alfred Snelling quickly became a matter of local discussion, animating Chuukese communities in different ways. Some converts exploited the internal divisions for personal gain while others retreated from their faith altogether and returned to “heathenism.” A stream of American missionary letters to Foreign Secretary Judson Smith in Boston detailed the trouble rocking Ruk station. Most of the writers attributed the worsening problems to Snelling’s dismissive conduct toward women and his rigid control over the church, which distant executives of the ABCFM proved incapable of managing. As stated earlier, the Micronesia religious drama was not unusual when compared to similar gender struggles shaping Protestantism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the United States. Yet the Logan-Snelling feud was unique because it unfolded in Micronesia.  

While Snelling’s actions may have represented one person’s exclusionary behavior, they also revealed the power of ordained men to dictate who would “go out and make ye fishers of men.”

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333 Matt. 4:19 (Authorized King James Version).
Chuukese Reaction to Snelling’s Ostracism

As the Board attempted to devise a process to uproot Snelling, Price did not consult local brethren about this grave matter. In letters to the ABCFM, he referenced the native church as a passive flock of people “who would [not] care anything about such things” because they blindly followed their American shepherds.³³⁴ At the same time, Price expressed frustration that Snelling was trying to make Chuukese Christians take sides in a missionary conflict. Price deemed the idea “a farce” because the congregants in question worked in “the school . . . [making] their living directly or indirectly from Mr. Snelling . . . [and] will assent to anything he says.”³³⁵ The act of profiting from Christianity would soon become a primary concern for all converts.³³⁶

Price miscalculated “native” agency and affection.³³⁷ To his chagrin, he witnessed the Chuukese deacon Joseph stand “in . . . [a] meeting” to express anger over the Board’s treatment of Snelling. Joseph threatened “to leave” and “take with him all his brothers with their families.”³³⁸ He was known as “the only male . . . outside of those in the employ of the mission in whom” Snelling “could put any reliance.”³³⁹ Notably, Price did not identify a single Chuukese man or woman by name who spoke publicly in support of Snelling’s removal.

³³⁵ Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
³³⁶ For a discussion of evangelical efforts and missionaries who saw their work first and foremost as a faith initiative, see, e.g., William Hutchinson, Errand to the World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Robert Houle, Making African Christianity.
³³⁷ Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
³³⁸ Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
³³⁹ Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
The absence of active local opposition to Snelling may have been due to local departures from the church. One individual, in particular, serves as an example of the reversal of fortunes for the mission. According to Price, Levi Killion, a chief who had aided the Logans upon their first arrival in the Lagoon (and who bears the surname of two present-day pastors at Logan Memorial Church) “ha[d] become a most active enemy of the church he once joined.” Specifically, Price alleged, Killion was “a medicine man and very influential. . .and has started a dance on a large scale in which he has drawn a large number of men and women to their ruin.” Killion’s departure from the ABCFM fold was a blow to Price who conceded somewhat ambivalently that the chief’s “power is phenomenal” and “his place is like the spider’s parlor, for he who is once caught in his meshes seems never to get free.” Another important member of the church, Joseph, the deacon who threatened a mutiny, left the American Board orbit six months after voicing his support for Snelling. The waxing involvement of Chuukese Christians in the ABCFM mission meant that Price and Snelling would face the same steep obstacle to building congregations.

**New Beginning and Old Drifting**

Price’s efforts to evangelize were at first constrained by his near-obsessive focus on Snelling, who he described as failure incarnate. “[E]verything” Snelling “has

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340 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 13 June 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm. The reference to the pastors was gained from the author’s personal experience living in Chuuk from 2014 to 2017.
341 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, June 13, 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm. The reference is likely due to his chiefly authority. The description of the medicine man and dance reveals similarities with the Ghost Dance movements in the 1890s Plains region of the United States, specifically on the eve of the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1892.
342 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 13 June 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
343 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 13 June 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
touched,” Price wrote, “seems to have withered. The church here is reduced to almost nothing and is utterly devoid of spiritual life.”

While Price believed Snelling’s poor preaching was largely to blame, it is equally likely that ABCFM congregations diminished in size because women were barred from holding leadership positions in congregations whose membership had been overwhelmingly female. In one letter calling for “relief” of the tense situation, Price warned Smith in Boston that “it is not wise for us [missionaries] to remain if Mr. Snelling does.” In the meantime, Price developed a plan to rectify the course of evangelizing in Ruk by essentially undoing what he saw as Snelling’s mistakes in the realm of schooling.

Education attracted Chuukese people to the American mission. Price reported in May 1895 that “some of them come over here, (three miles) twice a week to learn to read.” Recounting a powerful scene, he wrote of how a little boy “ran after me as I came away last Sunday,” and inquired “Mr. Price when are we going to have school? I want to go to school.”

More concerned with focusing his work on the development of moral character, Price described Chuukese desires for instruction in literacy as “superficial.” However, Chuukese people made it clear to him, as they had in the pioneering days of Robert and Mary Logan, that Christianity had to meet secular needs as well as facilitate spiritual discoveries.

Meanwhile, Snelling hung on at the mission station. While maintaining his training school, he grappled with serious considerations. First, he tentatively prepared for

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344 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 February 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
345 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 February 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
346 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 May 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
347 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 May 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
348 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 14 May 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
the eventuality that his work might continue without ABCFM backing. Price remarked on this development in a letter that quoted Mrs. Snelling reporting on her husband’s speculative intention to “buy an island six miles from us [in Ruk] with the purpose of putting up a house moving over there and probably taking his training school with him.”

In response to Snelling’s threat to move the mission school to another island, Price dejectedly surmised that he too would have to “begin new” rather “than to try and clear away the rubbish here and lay again the foundations for a church” at Anapauo.

It seemed that once the controversy with Price intensified and spilled into public view, Snelling considered escaping from ABCFM auspices and immersing himself in Chuukese culture by “inviting [local Christian] scholars to come here from” distant Micronesian districts. Acknowledging that his major sponsor would probably choose not to “cover my accounts,” Snelling also planned to shift his activities to a fresh site, taking the “training school goods now with me, and largely goods of two years ago that should be used up . . . [as well as] the small family buildings and tools for working land &c.”

Price worried that Snelling justified his contravention of the mission mandate by relying on the prospect that executive-level ministers “Dr. Goodwin and Dr. Boardman will take

349 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 28 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm. Snelling could be mildly self-critical as he maneuvered away from trouble. In a letter to Smith, Snelling explained the prospective move away from Weno as a reaction to “recent failures,” saying “I have just lost two young men from the school.” Alfred Snelling to Judson Smith, 31 January 1895, Alfred Snelling Letters, ABC 19.4: Micronesian Mission, vol. 13, 1890-1899, Letters R-W, Microfilm Reel 850, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Snelling 1890s Microfilm).
350 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.
351 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 31 January 1895, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
up his case and in the event that the Board recall him, support him in an independent work” beyond the assignment given by Boston.352

In the end, Snelling did not leave Anapaou. He stayed on the original ABCFM property, much to the dismay of his sponsor, the ABCFM, which desired to oust him from this station. Yet all was not right with Snelling either. Price reported in November 1895 that Snelling’s training plan was faltering with “no school for nearly six months.” This prompted Price “to start a class in [his] own workhouse.”353 Snelling, in turn, asked his Boston superiors, “why has Mr. Price carried on a school here in opposition to mine?”354 Again, Snelling was gripped by conspiratorial thoughts, involving a competing educational initiative hatched by a rival missionary “over a year ago.”355 Snelling took some comfort in Price “so far. . .failing” at “his work too.”356 However, this solace did not preclude Snelling from taking measures to frustrate his opposing missionary by confiscating articles being delivered by a mission schooner, contending that these imports constituted his collateral should the Board confiscate his goods.357

In going head-to-head with Snelling, Price more openly adopted some of his foe’s attitudes, perhaps to prevail in this contest of male egos. While Price had demonstrated acceptance of women in positions of authority, particularly their roles as principal educators of girls, he did not display a belief in the equality of the sexes in church leadership. For him, a wife or daughter was supposed to be “sweet” and “graceful,” and if

352 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 18 February 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
353 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 4 November 1895, Price 1890s Microfilm.
354 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 5 February 1896, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
355 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 5 February 1896, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. The time frame implicated his primary adversary, Mary Logan, who had parted the mission over a year ago.
356 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 5 February 1896, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
357 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 17 February 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
she had demonstrated ability, not too forceful but “more than ordinary.” There was an exception, of course. It was Mary Logan, who Price lauded and implored to “come back . . . [to do] efficient work in the school.” Price also requested American assistants for Mary Logan in order to “leave her free for more important work which she is well fitted to do,” indicating that she was a recognized asset in the realm of proselytizing as well.

Snelling, by contrast, consistently revealed his aversion to the participation of women in any area of leadership, whether in religious or educational arenas.

From Rivalry to Conflict and Exploration

The mounting hostility in Ruk station prompted Price to tell his Boston superiors in February 1896 that his health was deteriorating. He alluded to a diagnosis presented by Dr. Pease, the ABCFM Micronesian missionary and doctor, who insisted that Price “must get away” and recuperate elsewhere. Price attributed his ill feelings to “Mr. S . . . stirring up the natives and using all sorts of means to prevent our doing anything.”

358 In his correspondence to Smith, Price added certain gender-based descriptions meant for Judson Smith’s eyes only, detailing the role of the evangelizing women in the field. For example, Price described Miss Kinney as “a woman of more than ordinary ability and is a truly spiritual and thoroughly devoted servant of our Lord. . .[albeit] she had not the natural graces that Miss Abell has.” Of Miss Abell, Price recalled her as “a lady of rare sweetness of character and thoroughly devoted to her master whom she served with fidelity.” Of Mrs. Snelling, Price characterized her as “a true Christian . . . while true to her husband, whom she loves with devotion she has, as she told Mrs. Price, suffered everything since they came hither and she said that she was afraid that God would afflict him with some disease because of his conduct.” This, of course, was in line with Mrs. Elizabeth Snelling’s earlier statements of concern for her husband’s health. In the dispute between Snelling and Mrs. Logan, Mrs. Snelling still sided with her husband and her words in an 1893 letter suggest that she may not have been so conciliatory. Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 December 1894, Price 1890s Microfilm.

359 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 5 February 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.

360 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 5 February 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.

361 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm. Although the date appears to be 1895, this letter was more likely written in 1896 considering its placement in the archival collection. Of important note in dating this request are the situation with Snelling and the dates of the document in a batch of letters dated February 1896, describing the health of Miss Abell and Miss Kinney, which Price commented on in early 1896.

362 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
Snelling, Price reported, had taken to slandering his fellow missionaries by deriding them as “liars and thieves.” That Snelling was able to launch this scorn offensive suggests a level of personal support from the Chuukese community. Price and his allies replied with marked restraint, writing “we are fully aware that no law obtains here but moral law. We have no thought of resorting to force of any kind to carry our points.” Snelling would go on to take advantage of his adversaries’ peaceful “Christian Charity.”

Snelling embarked on a concerted attempt to subvert the influence of the ABCFM in Chuuk by buying the loyalty of local people. While he did not bribe Chuukese people directly, he did offer a better competing salary to attract instructors and workers from Price who was forced to admit that convert teachers “want the most possible for their services.” True to form, Price found fault with Snelling’s employment approach, explaining away the “disaffect[ed] . . . teachers” as those who did “not want to be held to account.” Price also ridiculed Snelling for promising school girls a Christian husband “if they will come to him.” Failing to compete with that match-making strategy, Price aimed to “train our teachers [in Pohnpei] for a few years.” To accomplish his goal he sailed to Pohnpei in April 1896 in hopes of securing residency from the reigning Spanish governor there. However, the overture had to be scuttled because it was clear that American Protestants were going to be coldly received by an old imperial power that

363 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
364 Annie Abell, “A communication to Mr. Snelling.” Ruk, 24 February 1896, ABC 77.1, Box 68, Snelling Individual Biographical Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
365 Katherine Dernbach makes this same important point in her 2007 dissertation.
366 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
367 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
368 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
wished to save Micronesia for Catholicism. Rejected in his efforts to transplant the Ruk mission on Pohnpei, Price was forced to return to Chuuk Lagoon, although he was determined to start anew without the specter of Snelling in his immediate vicinity.

Price decided to plant a new post on the island of Tonoas in the Chuuk Lagoon (see Figure 12). Located at Kutua and named Kinamwe (Chuukese for “peace”) this station was to receive international support, which was given in the form of a Madrid-commissioned naval ship docked just offshore “to protect the missionaries on account of the war on this island.” The vessel’s commander offered official Spanish backing by signing the land lease giving Price’s Kinamwe settlement legitimacy as an ABCFM holding recognized by a sovereign ruling government. This legal maneuver produced “very little” because, as Price explained, the boat “captain had no authority to punish the [local belligerent] leaders and the result was a population emboldened by the impotency of the government.”

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369 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 2 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm; Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 3 April 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
370 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 20 May 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
Months after acquiring this deed to Kinamwe, Price was unmoored again.

Instructed by the ABCFM to go back to Ruk and commandeer Anapauo station from Snelling, Price stared at his battle orders from Boston. The words on paper permitted this seizure, which Price understood to mean taking Snelling’s settlement by using “superior force,” judicial or physical, to accomplish religious ends. Price blinked and replied: “I
would not attempt to take the building away . . . without his consent. . .for it is both against my feeling and all springs of action to do anything that will create strife or overpower another by means of . . . authority."  

Mary Logan’s Return and the Struggle for Equal Pay

In late August 1896, Mary Logan concluded her two-year furlough and arrived in Chuuk to “warm and sincere” hospitality from her colleagues at Kinamwe. Snelling was at Anapaou and was not in attendance. Upon her return, it became immediately clear to Mary Logan that her goal to uplift “Ruk womanhood” would be met by her nemesis’s insults. Snelling’s welcome entailed a strident refusal to hand over the previously confiscated ship goods, which she and Price journeyed to Anapaou to request from Snelling. The three-way exchange was hurtful and concluded with a retort from Snelling about keeping for himself “the books of the Bible.” Describing the encounter in a letter to Smith, Price verified that Snelling “said some hard things to Mrs. Logan about her husband and about herself which must have wounded her deeply for after leaving him she went up to the grave of Mr. Logan,” who was buried near the Anapaou station, “and there poured out her grief in prayer and tears.” Price then remarked that “I do not love him [Snelling] as I ought” while assuring his Boston superiors that Mary Logan “felt his [Snelling’s] words,” implying that she was a more sincere and understanding Christian  

372 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.  
374 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm. Snelling’s retention of the Bibles appeared to result in shortages for Price’s station. On October 22, 1896, Price wrote to Smith in Boston requesting “the printing of 1000 copies of the New Testament and 500 copies of Geneses and Exodus”: Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 22 October 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
than himself. Price appreciated Mary Logan’s wisdom, restrain and comity in the face of Snelling’s rebuke, remarking that “her thoughtfulness and prudence and her ability to do work together [along] with her social and intellectual qualities make her coming to us a cause of constant thankfulness.” Unlike Snelling, “no one could have taken her place,” Price contended, for “[s]he is needed here if any place in the world.” This conflict of personalities was soon overshadowed by the battle for the hearts and minds of a divided Christian population.

At their new station, Kinamwe, Mary Logan, Francis Price and their US colleagues confronted conditions that were reshaped by Snelling’s material incentives to retain converts in his orbit. Logan reasoned that a radical move was in order because “the work [at Anapauo] is so utterly crushed out, trampled upon, that it would take years to bring it to life again even if Mr. Snelling were away now, which he is not.” Mary found herself eager to be free of the school so that “I shall be free for other work of which there is abundance.” Mary was even encouraged that “Mr. Price seems to desire my help which comforts me.”

Upon settling at Kutua, the two missionaries, Price and Logan, experienced ambiguous success in their respective endeavors. In her capacity as school matron, Mary Logan encountered a disconnect between the desires of the native populace for an education that provided tangible benefits and the missionary desire to transform the “natives” habits. As an example, Logan initially found that “several of the women near us

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375 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
376 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
377 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
378 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 14 September 1896, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
379 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 14 September 1896, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
are coming in to the day school with our girls.”

In addressing these women’s attendance, Logan found that her general obsession with cleanliness and transforming the character of neophytes encountered immediate resistance as despite instructions to “comb and braid their hair every morning. I suppose they do not enjoy it very well for they usually unbraided it as soon as they can after school is out.”

Price, meanwhile, journeyed into the mission field to convert new souls in response to frequent Chuukese requests for the Gospel. Price identified “one woman who had attended the service in Kutua and who had formerly been a professing Christian and who, I afterwards learned, was the chief’s sister.” Price depicted her as a “vulgar woman.” While acknowledging that “she could read and knew considerable about Christian truth,” he found it “hard to believe,” due to her “debased” presentation, “that this woman had influenced her brother to send for the missionary.”

Still, he noted that she demonstrated a syncretic understanding of the Gospel in “coarse” language drawn from her perception of scriptures. The anecdote revealed that Price was on familiar ground, trying to bring his flock closer to Christianity as he knew it. He was also in recognizable territory for another reason; the long hand of Snelling had come to Kutua.

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380 Mary Logan, 16 October 1896, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm. Mary Logan stated: “the school is held for the present on Mr. Price’s veranda” indicating that Price, unlike Snelling, supported the women’s educational efforts.

381 Mary Logan Journal, 16 October 1896, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.

382 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.

383 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 26 September 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm. This process of female-induced conversions relates to a broader historiographical point that Jennifer Thigpen develops in her book *Island Queens*. While she emphasizes that missionary moves to Hawaii immersed American evangelists in the networks which made up the centralized Hawaiian Kingdom, the encounters in Micronesia draw attention to decentralized clan networks, which offered factional support to their new patron. Indeed, the chief referred to by Price brought 35 men (a nonviolent war party, if ever there was one) to Snelling’s Anapauo station to help Price remove wooden boards from this site to Tonoas station. Snelling may very well have seen this maneuver as a kind of invasion.
Price complained to Smith about a promising “native” teacher’s “refusal to follow instructions [because] he thinks Mr. Snelling will give him more than I do.”\textsuperscript{384} To combat this, Price advocated his “own policy to give them the usual amount and thus keep[sic] those who care for the work.”\textsuperscript{385} Yet Chuukese concerns about receiving financial benefits from missionaries were not isolated to this one episode.\textsuperscript{386} Mary Logan found herself equally frustrated by such motivations when she attempted to convert the chief of a neighboring community in Elin next to Kinamwe (see Figure 12). This traditional leader had asked for a missionary to settle near him. Logan was suspicious of “the glory” she heard in his request because it seemed that “the worldly goods which a foreign teacher would bring rather than spiritual gifts [is what] Hezekiah [the chief] is after [sic].”\textsuperscript{387}

Price’s dismissal of the appeals of “native teachers” for an increase in pay reemerged a year later. A group of teachers had already threatened to “go over in a body to Mr. Snelling.”\textsuperscript{388} Such a demand evoked the possibility that converts could earn income equal to other “native” workers in the field of religious instruction.\textsuperscript{389} Ultimately, Price felt justified in rejecting the request, saying they “had all they needed.”\textsuperscript{390} His fear was that in “acced[ing] to their request...it would have established a precedent which would have worked only evil” by encouraging the Board to compete with Snelling’s

\textsuperscript{384} Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 20 May 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{385} Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 20 May 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{386} In the early days of the mission, Robert and Mary Logan found neophytes were motivated by the prospect of elevated status and access to trade goods afforded by proximity to Westerners (see Chapter 1).
\textsuperscript{387} Mary Logan, 16 October 1896, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{388} Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 5 April 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{389} Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 5 April 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
\textsuperscript{390} Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 5 April 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
transactional evangelism. Yet, at the same time that Price dismissed Chuukese requests for increased pay, he asked the Board for a raise in the salary of American missionaries in Chuuk. Price’s actions highlight the overriding racial hierarchy structuring ABCFM decisions, which dictated a higher level of compensation to white missionaries and a lower salary for their “native” counterparts.

Contested Frontier of Christianity: The Mortlocks, 1896

One major question hung heavily over Price and Logan: would a competition over salaries dictate their success in Chuuk? Underlying this concern was the fact that while preoccupied missionaries quarreled, Chuukese-led Christianity was becoming a real force. Indeed, the issue of (possible breakaway) convert autonomy motivated Price and Logan in October 1896 to embark on an evangelizing tour of the Mortlocks stations. In their encounters with neophytes, the evidence of indigenous ownership of faith was powerfully evident. During one community visit, Price discovered “a large number under training for baptism.” In another location, he witnessed the spiritual revival of

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391 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 5 April 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
392 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 9 February 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm. In 1897, from Kinamwe, Price requested an increase in the American missionaries’ salaries. He stated, “as a mission we believe that the salary ought to be on a basis of $700 for a married couple and $350 for a single lady with the allowance for children that is usual in other missions of the Board.” The global comparison Price used to justify his request, namely that the pay increase would only introduce a parity of Micronesian mission pay with other missionaries, supports the image of a worldwide organization with vast connections to a multitude of different stations in competition for a limited pool of resources.
393 This racial hierarchy, however, did not preclude the magnanimity of American missionaries across the ABCFM. In June 1880, The Missionary Herald published an account about the US-born missionary Benjamin Snow of Kusaie, detailing how during his time as an evangelist from the 1850s to the 1870s he had “asked the Board a hundred dollars less for the current year than for the year previous.” His request was granted “on condition that if not adequate to his comfort he should ask for more”: Missionary Herald June 1880, 205. Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Snow Individual biography, ABC 77.1, Box 68. Folder 56:18. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
395 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
two young men who, without American prodding, “have been very zealous for the Lord’s work.” At another stopover Price met “one man . . . who had two wives and who seemed unwilling to give one of them up. [The man] protested that he wanted life in Christ but that he could not give up his wives.” Although Price advised the individual to avoid sin, the admonitions of a Chuukese religious authority apparently proved more effective, as the local deacon “standing at [Price’s] elbow, urged . . . ‘what good will your two wives do you if you lose your soul.’”

For her part, Mary Logan found the trip equally exhilarating and mind-opening. She was especially impressed by the sight of Lukonar, “the most fertile as it is the most populous of these Mortlock Islands there being about one thousand people including the children which are numerous.” She echoed the feeling that Price put into words: “no visit has been more encouraging than this one, no one which gave better evidence of the presence of God with us.”

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396 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
397 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
398 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm. Dernbach astutely analyzes this same event in her doctoral dissertation and draws attention to two important facets of the theological exchange. First, she indicates that “polygamy was never very common in the Mortlocks.” Second, her focus on Price’s rhetorical reactions reveals the flaw in his logic that “the sinful man . . . [had] two wives and [needed to] give one up in order to be saved, but for one of the wives to not really be a wife so she can be cast aside for the good of them all – and all without the messy problem of divorce”: Katherine Dernbach “Popular Religion: A Cultural and Historical Study of Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Chuuk, Micronesia.” 89-90.
399 Mary Logan was encouraged that she did not encounter Chuukese converts using face and body paint as a sign of warfighting. Indeed, the absence of such markings symbolized a victory for the Christian “pacification” of Chuuk by the missionaries. For more on the usage of paint as a theological issue, see Katherine Dernbach’s analysis of the work of German anthropologist and missionary Kramer. Katherine Dernbach, “Popular Religion: A Cultural and Historical Study of Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Chuuk, Micronesia.”
400 Mary Logan Journal of Mortlocks Visit, 21 November 1896, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
401 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm. Price tallied conversions at Lukonor, counting the baptisms of 50 adults and 13 infants.
In a postscript to his journal of the Mortlocks tour, Price alluded to what he considered to be an ominous cloud on the horizon. It came in the form of a concurrent journey by Snelling through the same island chain in October 1896. Price learned that “Mr. Snelling . . . spoke in all the churches,” which Price and Logan had visited in the Mortlocks. In these houses of worship and villages beyond, Price said Snelling was “creat[ing] havoc . . . division, suspicion and, falsehood and spiritual death.” Price despondently noted in his journal that “one teacher tells me that he believes that large numbers will go back to heathenism.” These negative repercussions occurred despite Price’s efforts to warn “the teachers telling them of his [Snelling’s] relation to the work and why he had been discharged by the Board. We also told them what his recent conduct had been so that the teachers cannot plead ignorance.” Having swung in sentiment from elation to despair, Price’s conclusion was grim: “whatever the permanent results this much is certain: Missionary influence has been destroyed for the present in these islands.” Snelling’s accounts of his tour of the Mortlocks and work in the Lagoon reveal a different picture of events and accomplishments.

The Other Side of Snelling

In a few letters to the ABCFM, Snelling argued his actions were consistent with the desires of the Chuukese population. As proof, he provided a testimonial supposedly given in print by a parishioner begging the American Board to retain him (see example

402 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith, 22 October 1896, Price 1890s Microfilm.
403 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
404 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
405 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
406 Francis Price 1896 Journal of a Trip to the Mortlocks, Price 1890s Microfilm.
letter below).407 This was not the only evidence that Snelling produced in his defense. He also claimed that a similar endorsement was offered on another island in the Lagoon, with the parishioners allegedly declaring that Snelling should stay while Price should receive some kind of censure.408

407 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 December 1896, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
408 Alfred Snelling letter to Judson Smith, 12 December 1896, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.
The opposite writing is by the teacher John at Lukunor and written at the advice of the foreigners Captain and traders who knew all the facts concerned. I was asked who was the Secretary at Kosakula, and paid you. So you will recognize your name in the appeal.

GOOD day you American Board, all of you. Here I am, John, teacher on Lukunor. This is my greeting to you, that you may have sympathy for us. Do not take our father away, for that man we love very much. Love the church at Lukunor and the church at Qiofo. Speak with you American Board all of you, that you return to us Mr. Snelling for we love him very much. In all the Churches of the Mountains they do not like Mr. Price, for Mr. Snelling alone.

Here you Emerson will you love us, that you should not put away Mr. Snelling, for he is a good man. They confuse us (these things?) all our hearts we teachers hold, hold to Mr. Snelling, for he has done well to us. Here you Emerson forgive Mr. Snelling’s sin from your heart, that you may not put him away, that he may return.
for all the Chiefs of Shorttock do truly love this man. They say that Mr. Price may not direct them. Mr. Snelling alone. Will you not please love us. All the Churches of Shorttock. He really beg of you that love us on Shorttock.

I will add a little greeting. I returned last night from the Shorttock in our new boat. It cost $488.00. We beat the Schooner, she chased us out of Rock. They were dozens that begged to come with me to School. I am not ready for them. Mr. Price got some by telling them that I had no money could not give them clothes could not again go to Shorttock. I was only a trader, nothing to live by. Let Mr. Price tell the truth and we would work together. I am on the way to a Japan Schooner to beg them to bring up Scholars for me. The boat rocks. The Schooner sails after Sunday. This is a shame. A Schooner to do God’s work and I hunting after the traders to help me. After the boat reached the Shorttocks the Schooner received no more Scholars.

Figure 14 Snelling’s “Native Testimonial” Letter to the American Board
Source: Snelling 1890s Microfilm. ABC 19.4, by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
Price knew from Smith that Snelling conveyed testimony that likely misrepresented the wishes of his congregation. More specifically, Price received news from a ship captain that alleged the following about the native teachers, who Snelling had credited with imploring, “do not take my father away.” The seaman stated that “what Mr. Snelling had written,” meaning the key phrases of Chuukese converts’ vindication, were “not what was in their hearts, but his own words which he first told them to say and that they simply ‘returned his own words to him.’” The reputed author of the missive above, a person named “Johnny,” relayed that he “stoutly denied that he wrote” the sentences under scrutiny, clarifying that “Mr. Snelling changed his words” and he “obeyed.” While this background information revealed that Snelling likely altered or, in reality, manipulated the views of his parishioners, the question remained whether local Christians had in fact rejected what was presented as their true feeling, and further, whether they preferred Price to Snelling.

Snelling maintained pressure on his rivals by interrogating their fitness to serve in a local setting that required his cultural expertise. He found particular fault with the Logans’ Chuukese translation of Genesis and Exodus, which he argued should have been

409 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 5 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm. This letter was written while Price sailed on the mission vessel, The Morning Star. In Kealani Cook’s Return to Kahiki, the Hawaiian Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions figures prominently as the group that sent evangelizing Hawaiian converts to the Marquesas in the South Pacific. The Christian emissaries Cook discusses violently converted people in competition with the French effort to create Catholic churches on the Marquesas: Kealani Cook, Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
410 Johnny was probably the same Mortlockese boy who fell sick during the early days of Robert and Mary Logan’s mission to Chuuk. When Johnny fell ill, Mary Logan had assumed his responsibilities teaching (see Chapter 1.)
411 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 5 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
kept from printing until obvious inaccuracies were corrected.\footnote{Alfred Snelling letter to Rev E.W. Gilman, 28 October 1897, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.} Snelling’s criticism emphasized his superior training at “Chicago Seminary, ’88,” in contrast to what he implied was the inferior training of Robert Logan, Francis Price, and Judson Smith, all members of the “Oberlin band.”\footnote{Alfred Snelling letter to Rev E.W. Gilman, 28 October 1897, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.} In a sharper rebuke of the ABCFM, Snelling asked rhetorically, “can’t you see that some serious error is with your work that with all the advantages you should lose ground? Or is it that you accuse me of blindness.”\footnote{Alfred Snelling letter to the ABCFM, 17 April 1898, Snelling 1890s Microfilm.} The Boston executives and the missionaries in the field reading Snellings’ statements started to consider whether he was “partially insane.”\footnote{Ruk mission letter to Alfred Snelling, 12 January 1897, Snelling 1890s Microfilm. In discussing, Snelling’s mental health, Katherine Dernbach argues that “the Ruk mission was uniquely troubled and that the true situation in the islands had not been revealed in the ABCFM publications.” She also uncovers an episode in which another missionary to Chuuk, a man named Treiber, was expelled from his post because he was thought to be insane as well. Katherine Dernbach, “Popular Religion: A Cultural and Historical Study of Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Chuuk, Micronesia,” 58 and 59.}

**Frustration with the Board**

By the end of 1897, Price and Logan were losing their faith in the ABCFM. They wondered whether “the decision of the Board not to unseat Mr. Snelling by due process” was the right one.\footnote{Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 5 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.} Snelling’s “wickedness” was plain to everyone, Price wrote, and yet that “destructive” missionary “unlawfully” monopolized “property here and by this very means obtain[ed] the funds to carry on.”\footnote{Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 5 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.} Price wanted to know why members of “the Board . . . [were] wash[ing] their hands.” In an allusion to the Biblical example of Paul, Price urged an “appeal to Caesar,” and called on Boston to approach the Spanish imperial
government to participate in the physical removal of Snelling. Mary Logan echoed Price’s concerns, saying she was “very sorry that the great American Board are afraid of so small a man as Mr. Snelling!” She asked, “[w]hy could you not have treated him as an insane man (as he is) and taken him away thus relieving the work and us of this heavy burden?”

Price then took it upon himself to embark on a sailing vessel bound for Pohnpei. The destination was the Spanish administrative headquarters; he intended to obtain the Spaniards’ help in expelling Snelling from Chuuk Lagoon. According to Price, the imperial governor greeted him and stated “that he had already heard that Mr. Snelling was not wholly in his right mind [because] Henry Nauapei had told him” of the situation. The Spanish governor decided “that he [Snelling] ought by some means to be induced to leave quietly for America” by sending a naval “man–of–war down. . .with a friendly letter to Mr. Snelling asking him to turn the property over to [Price] . . . and in case he did not comply [to ensure that] judicial [action] would have to be undertaken.”

This multilateral alliance should have terminated Snelling’s career in Micronesia, but the ABCFM balked at this course of action.

The start of 1898 heralded the old. Snelling called Anapauro home, with a swelling congregation receiving boys from the Mortlocks and placing them on islands of the

418 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 5 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
419 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 27 September 1897, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
420 Henry Nauapei, AKA Nanpei, was a Pohnpeian Protestant political leader known for his resistance to the Spanish. He became a popular figure in the modern history of Micronesia. Francis Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 37.
421 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 8 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm. On the eve of the Spanish American War, the cooperation between the Spanish governor and ABCFM missionaries presented odd bedfellows acting in concert to protect the “civilizing” mission in the Pacific.
422 Francis Price letter to Judson Smith and Hawaiian Board, 8 October 1897, Price 1890s Microfilm.
Lagoon. Logan and Price remained relegated to Tonoas with a relatively successful congregation. Yet, Mary Logan remained wary of Snelling’s spreading influence, warning the Board that “you doubtless wonder at his power over the natives. We wonder at it too . . . [for] I doubt if any living man could have as much power over them for good as he has for evil.” After decades of committed work, she started to ponder the “secret of it” before surmising that “he is constantly appealing to their love of discord and of maligning others.” Notwithstanding Logan’s reliance on a stereotype of islanders innately disposed to war, her allusion to Snelling’s malfeasance missed the fact that he showed a remarkable attunement to Chuukese material needs, particularly converts who expected a good salary for teaching others the Gospel.

Price remained powerless to overturn Snelling’s authority. This had an acutely negative effect on Mary Logan because her purpose and personhood were frequently dismissed by Snelling’s misogynistic actions. As much as Price “believe[d] heartily in woman’s work,” she observed, Snelling was there to belittle and nullify her by wielding his influence in the Lagoon. In the end, the American Board paid little attention to contentious rivalries in sparsely populated Micronesia, despite the field’s large share of converted members worldwide.

423 Francis Price letter to Prudential Committee, 16 February – 7 March 1898, Price 1890s Microfilm.
424 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 9 February 1898, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
425 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 9 February 1898, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
426 Mary Logan letter to Dr. Brown, 18 February 1898, ABC 76, folder 5, Robert W. and Mary E. Logan Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter Mary Logan Letters and Papers 1884-1899 ABC 76.5).
427 Mary Logan letter to Dr. Brown, 18 February 1898, Mary Logan Letters and Papers 1884-1899 ABC 76.5.
428 See “The Geographic Distribution of the ABCFM.”
The term indifference comes to mind when one considers how Judson Smith, the recipient of letters for half a decade calling for the expulsion of Snelling, regarded the warring triumvirate. What drew his real interest was China and its vast field of possibilities, which included one of the world’s most densely inhabited countries where “men . . . had never heard the gospel before.”429 The unresolved disputes racking Ruk, a dot in the Pacific, paled in comparison. Still, a clash that began as a personal conflict over the place of Christian women in the church had radiated out to affect members of a broader Chuukese community. While their development as neophytes was a sideshow in the evangelization of Asia, notable conflicts, hidden from the eyes and ears of the Boston-based ABCM, were unfolding in plain sight.

The dispute in Chuuk illustrates that gender conflict in American Protestantism was not isolated to the American continent. Instead, those gender disputes were negotiated at least in this one instance in a remote missionary outpost with imperialist powers in the background. In this missionary outpost, that gender dispute had a larger impact on the religious affiliation of converts who, when confronted with the limits of a global evangelical organization, responded to material incentives. Meanwhile, the global reaching ABCFM could do little to rein in a rogue missionary.

429 Judson Smith from a letter of secretary Smith Canton, China, 2 March 1898, ABCFM Biographical collection, ABC 77.1 Box 67, Houghton Library, Harvard University. He wrote of the two male baptisms and the single female baptism he conducted with the assistance of the missionaries in the field. His final remarks regarding this visit display a traveler’s curiosity and sense of accomplishment in sampling the life of an average Chinese person by learning “to eat with chopsticks to live on rice and ten, to sleep on boards, and to work all day and travel all night, and thrive on it.” Smith’s gleeful tourist sensation in China stands in stark contrast to his removed activity in the context of Micronesia.
CONCLUSION

Departures

In 1899, the main actors of one faction in the evangelical dispute departed Chuuk. Francis Price went to proselytize for a short time in Guam, where his base was the ABCFM station to the Chamorros during the first decade of the twentieth century. Mary Logan returned to the United States, although she could not distance herself emotionally from Ruk. Her 1899 letter to daughter Beulah, who recently docked in the Lagoon to advance the Logan calling, displayed concern for “an arrangement” with “Mrs. Whitney,” a colleague in Honolulu, “to get a ‘Standard’ sewing machine for the school [at Kinamwe] and send it down by the [ship Morning] Star.” At the end of the year Mary Logan passed away, the victim of cancer. The news devastated Beulah who would honor her mother’s work by maintaining a close association with Chuuk and its Protestant community through the 1940s. At the end of World War II, the island territory was taken over by US forces. A new generation of Christians would attend schools founded on principles established by the Logans a half-century before. On the horizon, an

430 Francis Price to Judson Smith, 10 December 1898, Price 1890s Microfilm.
431 Mary Logan letter to Beulah from S.S. “Moana” between Honolulu and San Francisco, 25 July 1899, ABC 76, folder 5, Logan, Robert W. and Mary E. Papers, 1865-1948, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University. In 1898 Beulah Logan joined her mother in the field and stayed on for a short while in the service of Ruk station after her mother returned on furlough to the United States.
American superpower entering the Pacific at full throttle started to test nuclear weapons one thousand miles away near Bikini Atoll.432

Snelling stayed in Chuik for the remainder of his life, bemoaning the “punishment” he “endure[d]” at the hands of Mary Logan. The sense of being persecuted by a lady “Bishop” likely consumed him until the day he died. In 1905, Snelling boarded a vessel that lost its way. Although Snelling was able to find the shore, he perished of exposure to the elements on an island to the northwest of the Lagoon. A year before his death, well after the demise of Mary Logan, he still had not put their conflict to rest. He addressed a letter to “fellow Laborers” of the local Kutua community, explaining why he believed she went “against me.”433 Snelling found satisfaction in the fact that “God put them [his adversaries and fellow missionaries] all out,” but lamented that his “efforts . . . for peace . . . ha[d] been interpreted in the light of Mrs. Logan’s spirit toward me.”434

Summary of Findings

The legacy of Snelling’s predecessor, Robert Logan, loomed over the rivalry that eventually sundered Ruk mission. In notable, if superficial ways, Mary’s husband


433 Snelling to “Fellow Laborers” of the Kutua Mission of the ABCFM from Tatu, 6 June 1904, ABC 77.1 Biographical Collection Box 68: Smith, M. – Steward, Alfred Snelling, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

434 Snelling to “Fellow Laborers” of the Kutua Mission of the ABCFM from Tatu, 6 June 1904, ABC 77.1 Biographical Collection Box 68: Smith, M. – Steward, Alfred Snelling, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
resembled the person who she struggled to remove from Weno. Alfred Snelling and Robert Logan were ordained white ministers from the Midwest with a palpable measure of chauvinism. Driven to bring Christ to the “heathen” trapped in “darkness,” they were adherents of “civilizing” Protestantism. With their “helper” wives, the lead missionaries encountered, in their eyes at least, a similar hindrance — the lapsing piety of their flock. This persistent challenge convinced Robert Logan and Alfred Snelling that neophytes required regular routines, new opportunities and beneficial rewards. Thus, the outsized figures in Mary Logan’s Chuuk life considered one remedy for what they perceived as backsliding — offering obvious advantages to the new disciple.

Reverently dedicated to her husband, Mary Logan envisioned her vocation as an extension of evangelical family life, which was to be realized by parents and especially children, according to a gender-defined social order. Therefore, she organized Christian instruction in two separate spheres, focusing her efforts on female youth. Meanwhile, her spouse chose the masculine realm, which entailed more than preaching. Robert Logan fully embraced his extra-religious role as a diplomatic, island-hopping intermediary. Indeed, his letters make clear that he truly enjoyed coordinating activities with male converts that fostered negotiations between imperial men and “native chiefs.”

The Logan partnership was dealt a near-fatal blow by the loss of the ailing Robert in 1887. Yet Mary Logan persevered. She responded to widowhood by strengthening her commitment to improve “womanhood for Ruk.” The arrival of Alfred Snelling did more than disrupt her plan. He introduced what can only be described as a toxic form of misogyny, which embodied male insecurities about female authority in the American
church at home and abroad. Snelling’s vituperative impact could be judged each time his coworkers lamented his lack of “confidence in the ability of women to do Christian work.” When he moved to exclude Mary Logan (and her fellow women evangelists), he began to face opposition, first from his immediate targets, then from their better-connected male allies, and finally from ABCFM headquarters. It seems that Snelling’s efforts to prevent contributors to Christian teaching from participating in the public sphere was a step too far. Absorbing missionary resentments, some converts turned away from the American station and questioned their faith, while lay workers also committed “trespasses,” including adultery. The Board was caught flat-footed by the conflict at Ruk, and when Boston executives finally decided to purge Snelling from their fold, Ruk was already rudderless, drifting from the Gospel toward the vortex of a rogue actor.

Snelling’s expulsion was not an anomaly in the history of the ABCFM. Nor was his response irregular to what was, for all intents and purposes an excommunication by his parent church. Other American Board men were instructed to leave their posts but elected to stay in place and operate as independent agents, sometimes without an inclination or mandate to proselytize. Yet such compelling episodes of local evangelical discord have not been systematically examined by scholars who prefer to evaluate larger developments of the ABCFM in the world.

Vehement internal protest and the rare intervention of a global organization proved powerless to stop Snelling who aimed to subvert the influence of his former sponsors in Chuuk by buying the loyalty of convert and “heathen” alike. In a divided

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435 Mary Logan letter to Judson Smith, 19 May 1891, Mary Logan 1890s Microfilm.
Micronesian Christian community, which was forging its own relationships with Protestantism and God, Snelling’s material incentives mobilized “native teachers” to choose sides between contending messengers. In the ebb and flow of these tumultuous processes, Snelling had his moments of clarifying lucidity. After battling his evangelical foes, he summarized the outcome of their disagreement, which impaired participants and propelled neophytes to reject ABCFM leadership, as a “sad, sad story of blindness [and] error, that hardly seems possible in this day of light, love and fellowship.”

In reconstructing and analyzing different angles of the Logan-Snelling feud, this thesis seeks to explore new avenues for the future study of missionaries in the Pacific Basin during a century that culminated in rising US imperialism. The emergence of Protestant fundamentalism, and its attendant relegation of women to auxiliary roles, may be an illuminating gendered perspective through which to assess American expansionism at the dawn of the Progressive era. Important academic literature has addressed the role of women in Christian institutions that pursued transnational goals. Equally significant scholarship has scrutinized America’s emergence as a global juggernaut, with imported domestic concerns, proselytization among them, pouring over the boundaries of a continental United States. Future theses, articles and books might consider merging these two bodies of historical knowledge, while paying special attention to competing religious attitudes, growing secular trends, and the internationalization of American culture. These

436 Alfred Snelling letter to “Fellow Laborers” of the Kutua Mission of the ABCFM from Tatu, 6 June 1904, ABC 77.1 Biographical Collection, Box 68: Smith, M. – Steward, Alfred Snelling, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
processes, as in Chuuk, involved a diverse cast of disciples experiencing a locally meaningful Gospel.
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BIOGRAPHY

John Hanebuth grew up in the Washington, DC suburbs. He graduated from Gonzaga College High School, Washington DC in 2010. John went on to receive his Bachelor of Arts in History from the College of the Holy Cross in 2014. After his undergraduate graduation, he worked for three years as a teacher at Chuuk High School on Weno, Chuuk within the current Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). He has served as a Graduate Teaching Assistant to both World History and Western Civilization courses. John is currently a candidate for a Master of Arts in History from George Mason University.