

**Mission Policies of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines  
(ECP), 1901-1980:**

**Their Contribution to the Regional Character of the Church**

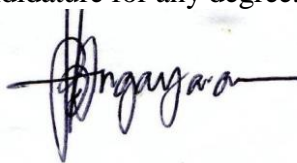
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2015



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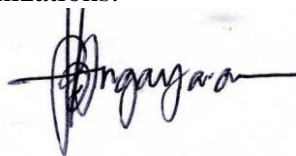


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## ABSTRACT

This study demonstrates the extensive contribution of successive mission policies from 1901 to 1980 to the regional character of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP). The policy of concentration from 1901 to 1919, which focused church's work in certain areas of Luzon and Mindanao, continued to impact the development of its mission in spite of the adoption of new policies in the succeeding years. This is because it was primarily developed in relation to the issue of marginality in Philippine society, a factor that remained vital to new policies although it was not always explicitly acknowledged.

Although the policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940 aimed at strengthening the initial mission work, it also allowed expansion for the sake of marginalized people like the Tiruray in Upi, Maguindanao. After World War II to 1962, the church adopted policies of centralization - gathering key institutions in one centre - and expansion of influence - bringing church's influence to the mainstream of Philippine society. However, when the church pursued its expansion to the lowland Filipinos in partnership with the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)*, the concentration of its work amongst the marginalized people in the Cordillera and Mindanao was further enhanced. From 1962 to 1980, the church adopted parallel policies of devolution - Filipinization of leadership - and decentralization - division of the district into dioceses. However, since the policy of decentralization was developed not only for efficient administration of the church but also for its regional expansion, it further contributed to concentration of work in places where the church has been previously working.

The framework of 'mission history after the "world-Christian turn" ' employed in this study made it possible to arrive at the above conclusions in spite of relying on sources that are predominantly colonial, because it demands reconceiving mission history in the light of World Christianity. In particular, this mission history articulates Filipino voices that have been muted and yet can be detected in the way missionaries dealt with issues like marginality. The capacity to highlight local context and local voices in this framework is partly due to the identification of the double role of mission policies - mediating and synthesizing - in the dialogical relationship between theory (theology, theories, ideals) and practice (expediencies or what is happening on the ground) in the work of Christian mission. This study contributes to the broadening of mission history as well as demonstrating the importance of mission history in the continuous growth and evolution of World Christianity as an area of study.



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Again, thank you very much. May the Gracious God continue to bless you.



## **DEDICATION**

To my friends, colleagues and relatives who cheered me as I went through many trials while on my research journey.

To my wife Liz and my children Andoi, Nico and Samantha who never failed to show their kind understanding, especially when I needed to be away from them.

To Almighty God, above all, Who made all things possible for me in spite of my many limitations.

All glory and honor be to Him  
now and always.



## Content

<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	i
<b>Notes on Citation Style</b> .....	ii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Mission History of the ECP: A Broad Research Interest .....	5
1.2 Research Questions.....	8
1.3 Scope and Limitations .....	9
1.4 Methodology.....	9
1.4.1 Historical Research .....	10
1.4.2 Nature of the Primary Sources .....	12
<b>1.4.3 Research Ethics Clearance</b> .....	13
1.4.4 Emic Perspective: Necessarily Acknowledged rather than Foregrounded	14
1.4.5 Mission History after the ‘World-Christian Turn’ in the History of Christianity .....	15
1.5 Synopsis of Chapters .....	19
2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	23
3. DIVERSITY, DOMINANCE AND MARGINALITY: A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE CONTEXT OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH MISSION IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1889-1909 .....	35
3.1 Diversity: A Philippine Reality, 1889-1909 .....	38
3.1.1 Physiography: An Indispensable Consideration in the Understanding of Diversity in the Philippines, 1889-1909.....	38
3.1.2 Who is a Filipino? A Controversial Question .....	40
3.2 Dominance and Marginality .....	41
3.2.1 Geopolitical Divisions.....	43
3.2.2 Ethnolinguistic Divisions .....	45
3.2.3 Socio-Economic Divisions.....	48
3.2.4 Religious Divisions .....	50
3.3 Summary and Conclusion.....	53
4. POLICY OF CONCENTRATION, 1901 -1919 .....	55
4.1 Preparation Period, 1898-1901 .....	55
4.2 Concentration: A Policy toward Double Goals of Establishing a Wide Sphere of Influence and Working amongst the Marginalized .....	62
4.3 Personal Characters, Ideals and Expediency: An Examination of Primary Factors in the Development of the Mission Policy of Concentration .....	66
4.3.1 Bishop Brent: The Pioneering Leader.....	66

4.3.2	The National Church Ideal of the Episcopal Church .....	71
4.3.3	Marginality .....	77
4.3.4	Pacification Policy of the American Colonial Government.....	80
4.3.5	Inter-Denominational Cooperation .....	83
4.4	The ‘Moro Work’: An Attempt Consistent to the Policy of Concentration .....	87
4.5	Summary and Conclusion.....	90
5.	CONSOLIDATION POLICY, 1920-1940.....	93
5.1	Policy of Consolidation: A Double-edged Policy, 1920-1940 .....	93
5.1.1	Organizational Consolidation.....	94
5.1.2	The Evangelistic Consolidation .....	102
5.2	Church Polity, Philippine Politics, and Local Church Conditions: Main Factors that necessitated the Policy of Consolidation .....	109
5.2.1	Centralization of the Church in 1919 .....	109
5.2.2	Filipinization Policy of the Democrats .....	114
5.2.3	The ‘Sagada Problem’: A Case of Pioneering Blunder .....	119
5.2.4	Diocesan Polity and its Missiological Implication: A Theological Factor 132	
5.3	Sagada Training School for Lay and Clergy: Evidence of the Concentration of Work amongst the Igorots based on Cultural Distinctiveness.....	133
5.4	Expansions as Cases of Deviation caused by Marginality .....	137
5.5	Summary and Conclusion.....	141
6.	THE POLICY OF CENTRALIZATION AND EXPANSION OF INFLUENCE, 1941-1962 .....	145
6.1	World War II.....	145
6.2	Centralization and Expansion of Influence: Two Policies in Dialectical Relations 147	
6.2.1	Policy of Centralization.....	147
6.2.2	Policy of Expansion of Influence .....	153
6.2.3	The Creative Tension between Centralization and Expansion.....	165
6.3	Summary and Conclusion.....	168
7.	THE POLICY OF DEVOLUTION AND DECENTRALIZATION, 1962-1980 .....	173
7.1	Devolution and Decentralisation: Two Parallel Mission Policies for the Two- tiered Organizational Condition of the Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC) ....	173
7.1.1	Filipinization of Leadership: A Deliberate Step toward Devolution .....	175
7.1.2	Division into Three Dioceses: The Goal of Organizational Decentralization 181	

7.2 Post-Colonial Philippine Nationalism: The Immediate Context of the Policy of Devolution and Decentralization .....	188
7.3 Summary and Conclusion.....	200
8. CONCLUSION .....	205
8.1 Summary of Primary Findings.....	205
8.2 Incidental Discoveries .....	212
8.2.1 The Mediating and Synthesizing Role of Mission Policies .....	212
8.2.2 The Generational Pattern of Changes in the Mission Policies .....	213
8.2.3 Constancy of Tensions due to Competing Priorities.....	214
8.3 Significance to Mission History in General and to other Related Fields .....	215
<b>MAP 1: ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE PHILIPPINES.....</b>	<b>219</b>
<b>MAP 2: PHILIPPINES .....</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE PHILIPPINES .....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>APPENDIX 2: LIST OF BISHOPS .....</b>	<b>223</b>
<b>INDEX OF PERSONS .....</b>	<b>225</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>229</b>



## List of Abbreviations

ATEC	Archives of the Episcopal Church
CICM	<i>Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae</i>
CSMSJ	Cathedral of Saint Mary and Saint John
ECP	Episcopal Church in the Philippines
ECPA	Episcopal Church in the Philippines Archive
IEMILEF	<i>La Iglesia Evangelica Methodista en las Islas Filipinas</i>
IFI	<i>Iglesia Filipina Independiente</i>
IFIA	<i>Iglesia Filipina Independiente</i> Archives
JAC	Journal of the Annual Convocation
JDC – EDCP	Journal of the Diocesan Convention, Episcopal Diocese of Central Philippines
JDC – EDNP	Journal of the Diocesan Convention, Episcopal Diocese of Northern Philippines
JDC – EDSP	Journal of the Diocesan Convention, Episcopal Diocese of Southern Philippines
JGC	Journal of the General Convention
JNC	Journal of the National Convention
MDPI-PECUSA	Missionary District of the Philippine Islands of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America
MRI	Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ
NCCP	National Council of Churches in the Philippines
PEC	Philippine Episcopal Church
PECUSA	Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America
SATS	Saint Andrew’s Theological Seminary
UCCP	United Church of Christ in the Philippines

### **Notes on Citation Style**

The thesis employs hybrid referencing style. For easy reading, it uses intext citation system or parenthetical referencing for all secondary sources and some of the primary sources that are in book forms such as journals of convocations and conventions. For a detailed referencing, however, it uses footnotes for most of the archival documents such as correspondences as well as interviews.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Mission history has been a subject of criticism since the postcolonial era due to its being generally understood as about western churches and their expansion throughout the world. Consistent to this trend, it has become unfashionable as many scholars are drawn into world Christianity which emphasizes the local ‘appropriation’ of Christian faith rather than its transmission through the mission enterprise (Ustorf 2010:88). However, mission histories that have a rich and complex understanding of mission and do not see it simply as an extension of western churches, are needed for various but interrelated reasons. First, they help to explain how Christianity became a world religion. Second, they can help the thriving contemporary missionary enterprise from the non-western world learn from the mistakes of missionary endeavours in the past. Third, they help local churches understand and deal with the continuing impact of previous mission work on their current conditions. This study explores mission history for this third reason.

The first reason does not need much explanation as it pertains to the contribution of mission histories to the understanding of world Christianity. For example, Tan Jin Huat (2012) demonstrates that ‘the Borneo Evangelical Mission (BEM), which began in 1928 as an Australian evangelical missionary society, facilitated the planting of the Sidang Ijil Borneo (or the Evangelical Church of Boneo) in Sarawak as an indigenous “three-self” church’ (p. 1). The second reason is also obvious given the fact that:

Although, for the most part, churches linked to Western missions had not been encouraged to see themselves as sending agencies, some indigenous churches, especially Evangelical and Pentecostal churches who took the New Testament churches as their model, understood missionary sending – especially to other people groups – as a sign of a mature church. They even took it upon themselves to attempt to revive churches in the West which they believed had lost their vitality – much to the surprise of Western church leaders who expected mission churches to stay where they had been planted. Korea is a prime example of a missionary receiving country that has come to regard itself as a missionary sending one (Kim 2015: 2).

The current study draws on the third reason, demonstrating that mission policies have extensively contributed to the concentration of the work of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) in certain areas. In particular, the ECP is predominantly working

amongst the Igorots<sup>1</sup> in the Cordillera Region in the northern Philippines and with the Tiruray<sup>2</sup> and other ethnolinguistic groups in certain parts of Mindanao in the southern Philippines. Although the church started to expand in the 1970s, the expansion was regional in character. For example, the expansion beyond the Cordillera region in the northern Philippines was primarily a result of chaplaincy work for the ‘Igorot diaspora’. Igorot settlements in the nearby lowland areas like the Cagayan Valley became the starting point of expansion beyond the Cordillera region. This phenomenon of concentrated church work traces its beginning to the policy of concentration from 1901 to 1919. This policy continued to impact the course of the development of the mission of the church in spite of the adoption of new policies in the succeeding epochs covered in this study. This is not only because it was the pioneering policy but also because it was primarily defined by the issue of marginality in the Philippine society, a factor that remained vital to new policies although it was not always explicitly acknowledged. By marginality we mean ‘a complex condition of disadvantage which individuals and communities experience as a result of vulnerabilities that may arise from unfavourable environmental, cultural, social, political and economic factors’ (Mehretu et al. 2000: 90).

Based on previous usage by Kevin Ward (2000: 207), Tan Jin Huat (2012: 2), and Botengan (2001: 5) and as supported by the general patterns observed in this study, ‘mission policy’ means the explicit articulation of the intent of mission work during a particular phase of Christian mission. A policy is formed out of mission theologies and mission theories on the one hand, and mission practice on the ground on the other hand. The specific methods, procedures, and strategies may not be avoided in the clarification of intents or goals but, except when they help in the discussion, they are being excluded in this definition as they are themselves specific areas of concerns that are worthy of in-depth investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> The word ‘Igorot’ is indigenous in origin. In particular, Scott claims to follow the lead of Doctor Trinidad Pardo de Tavera who argues that the word is a combination of the root word ‘golot’, believed to be a Tagalog word meaning mountain chain, and the prefix ‘i’, common to Philippine dialects which means ‘people of’ or ‘dwellers in’. Thus, Ygolotes as it was first used in the Spanish documents means people living in mountains (Scott 1962: 234-7).

<sup>2</sup> Tiruray are people of Malay stock who had lived in relative isolation in the inland of Cotabato (now Maguindanao). They have challenged foreign rule including Muslim rule up until the second decade of the twentieth century when the American colonial government was finally established in their territory (Schlegel 1979: 113).

The above description of mission policy is needed due to the absence of a definition that is commonly used in the current scholarship. Perhaps the importance of mission policy is largely assumed by scholars and therefore does not need to be defined in scholarly research. However, the fact that the word ‘policy’ has been traced to different origins suggests difficulty in defining it. Some trace it as Middle English with ‘*policie*’ as its French origin. This French term connoted ‘policing’ (Wedel et al 2005: 35). Others even trace its origin further back to Greek word ‘*politeia*’ which connotes ‘citizenship’ (Houston 214: 367). This *politeia* is a derivative of another Greek term ‘*polis*’ which means city (Clemons and McBeth 2009: 69). Policy shares origin with *polity* – another term that is frequently used in this study (Frank 2010: 317).

The variations in the use of the word policy also led to varying ways in which mission policy is used in the current scholarship. Some people refer to mission policies to mean specific guidelines on what is to be done and not to be done in every given situation. For example, some mission agencies adopted policies barring missionaries from taking on a ‘market job during their language-learning period’ (Frazier 2014: 132). Mission policy is also used to mean specific rules on how to deal with specific problems in the mission field. For instance, a ‘policy not to negotiate with the terrorists’ was adopted by a mission organization in Mindanao, Philippines sometime in the 1980s (Moreau et al 2004: 22). Some people also refer to mission policies as defining positions on cultural issues. For example, John C.B. Webster (2012) describes the Roman Catholic policy on the caste system in India as an ‘accommodation’ while the policy of the Protestants who came later was ‘unquestioning rejection’ (p. 202). Mission policy is also ambiguously used by some to mean the general attitude of mission bodies (agencies, boards, and churches) toward certain theologies. For instance, conservative Methodists accused the General Board of Global Ministries (GBGM) of the United Methodist Church (UMC) of adopting “‘liberal’ mission policy’ in relation to liberation theology (Ruble 2012: 19).

The ambiguity of the term ‘mission policy’ is also manifested in studies about the ‘three-self formula’ espoused by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson (Shenk 1981: 170). Shenk’s use of the term ‘formula’ suggests that ‘three-self’ was advocated as a mission theory. Kevin Ward (2000) refers to the same ‘three selves’ as a ‘policy’ (p. 207). Other scholars refer to it as a ‘programme’ (Bengt and Steed 2000: 620). Although it can be argued that the ‘three-selves’ was originally used as mission theory and later adopted as

either mission policy or mission programme, this does not clarify the vagueness of the use of the term ‘mission policy’ in the current scholarship. Hence, as already clarified earlier, this study limits its definition of mission policy to the explicit articulation of the intent of mission work.

Employing this definition, this study claims that mission policies greatly affected the mission of the ECP because of their mediating and synthesizing role in the dialogical relationship between theory and practice in Christian mission. Whereas theory in this sense includes mission theologies and theories, practice includes all that is happening on the ground and therefore needs to take account of political, cultural, economic, and social factors. The mediation of the theoretical and practical aspect of mission practice ensured the constant redefinition of mission policies in order to guarantee their relevance and consequently their long lasting impact on the outcome of the church’s missionary endeavour.

In order to appreciate the unique place of mission policies in the work of Christian mission, it is necessary to clarify other related terms at this juncture. Mission theologies are basic religious presuppositions, concepts, and principles undergirding mission theories (Van Engen 2000: 949). Mission theories are ideas or models of what ought to be done in order to succeed in Christian mission. As mission theories are based on theology, the two tend to overlap. The overlap especially happens when they are taken together by mission policy as one side in the dialogue it mediates. Mission strategies, on the other hand, are plans of action to implement a policy, so oftentimes many strategies are used to implement a single policy. Again, mission policy takes the middle position between mission theologies and theories, on the one hand and mission strategies, on the other hand. Policy mediates between the two, helping translate ideas into practice and allowing practice to influence ideas; but policy also synthesizes the two, for it is in mission policy that ideas and practice come together to form a coherent whole.

The double role – mediating and synthesizing - of mission policies also applies to the dialogical relationship between global and local context as well as in the dialogical relationship between the missionaries and their hosts. This was specifically true in the colonial context, which, in the case of the ECP, did not end in the granting of Philippine independence in 1946 but rather extended until 1990 when the ECP was granted constitutional autonomy. Chapter 6 demonstrates this vividly as it discusses how the adoption of the mission policy of devolution was influenced by the emphasis on

mutuality and interdependence within the Anglican Communion – the global context – and nationalism in the Philippines – the local context.

Mission policies as defined earlier also mediate and then synthesise the dialogue between intellectual and social history in writing the history of missions. The emphasis on the influence of theologies and mission theories of individuals in writing a history of mission obviously identified mission history with intellectual history which became prominent as a result of the debates generated by the works of Arthur Lovejoy in the 1930s (Kelley 2005: 155-7). In a much later period, by contrast, mission history found itself leaning toward social history which gained popularity in the 1950s until the 1980s (Conrad 2001: 14299). It started to consider other factors in the varying developments in mission engagements such as social, political, cultural, economic, and religious (faiths other than Christian) factors. However, this study demonstrates that mission policies mediate the dialogue between the two branches of history – intellectual and social. Thus, mission history to a certain degree can be both social history and intellectual history. Again, this becomes an inherent tendency for mission policies as they are formed out of both theoretical and contextual factors.

Studying the history of mission policies of the ECP is important in very specific ways. First, it helps to fill in some of the gaps in our current knowledge about the church, especially the reasons for the concentration of the mission of the church in certain areas of the Philippines. Secondly, it highlights the dialogical relationship between theory and practice, between global and local contexts, and between missionaries' voices and the local voices in the development of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. Third, it shows how intellectual and social history have shaped and formed the ECP.

In order to appreciate how the research was conceived and conclusions finally reached, this chapter includes a brief account of how I became interested in the mission history of the ECP. This chapter has the following sections: 1) discussion of the mission history of the ECP as a broad research interest; 2) research questions; 3) scope and limitations of the study; 4) methodology; and 5) synopsis of the chapters.

## **1.1 Mission History of the ECP: A Broad Research Interest**

The current study is in the field of mission history which is a sub-area of missiology. In particular, the study belongs to mission history because it focuses on the examination of

the contribution of mission policies to church work in certain areas of the Philippines from 1901 to 1980. It easily fits into Neely's (2000) broad definition of missiology: 'the conscious, intentional, on-going reflection on the doing of mission' (p. 633).

My interest in the history of mission started in 1997 when I took Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) History as a required course under Studies in Ecclesiastical History (SEH) at Saint Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City. I learnt that the ECP traces its immediate beginning to the then Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (PECUSA), now The Episcopal Church (TEC), which in turn traces its history to the established Church of England. Hence, it bears both the Catholic and Reformed traditions due to its historical connection with Roman Catholicism as well as with the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, I learnt that the PECUSA formally established its Missionary District<sup>3</sup> of the Philippine Islands (MDPI) in 1901 in the context of the American occupation of the Philippines following the Filipino-American War. Although the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands was allowed to use the Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC) as its local name as early as 1937 and was allowed to be divided into three missionary dioceses in 1971, it continued to be technically a missionary district until it became an autonomous province of the Anglican Communion in 1990 with the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) as its corporate name.

In 1999, my interest in the mission history of the ECP led me to undertake research on its formative years from 1898 to 1917 for my MA History programme at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City. In 2007, I ended up submitting an institutional history of the church entitled '*Kasaysayan Ng Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP), 1898-1917: Pagbalik-tanaw sa Unang Dalawang Dekada ng Episkopalyanismo sa Pilipinas*' ['History of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP), 1898-1917: revisiting the first two decades of Episcopalianism in the

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<sup>3</sup> Missionary district was introduced into the organizational structure of the then Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States in America (PECUSA) now The Episcopal Church (TEC) in 1835 in response to the need of bishops to lead in domestic and foreign missions. Up until 1901 when the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands was created, missionary districts were entirely under the General Conventions compared to dioceses which generally enjoyed autonomy. Changes were introduced in the following years but missionary districts continued to reserve some privileges that dioceses normally have to the General Conventions (see Dator 2010).

Philippines’]. While working on this study, I was teaching at Saint Andrew’s Theological Seminary, Quezon City with ECP History as one of the courses I taught.

My involvement in teaching ECP history further nurtured my interest in its mission history and gave me opportunities as well to engage with fellow Episcopalians, especially those in leadership, who grappled with specific issues such as church growth. It was observed that the church consisted of just 0.2% of the Philippine population from the mid-1970s to 2000 (Barrett 2001: 562). Although there was a slight increase in 2008 as the ECP claimed around 118,000 members out of around ninety million Filipinos - 0.13%, it was still a comparatively negligible increase (‘Consolidated Parochial Report’ 2008: 3). Moreover, the problem is not simply the slow numerical growth; rather it is the concentration of work in the Cordillera Region in the northern Philippines and in some parts of Mindanao in the southern Philippines which consequently render the church almost unknown to many Filipinos. Thus the study explores other reasons for the concentration of work aside from the possibility that it is simply a result of avoiding competition with other churches.

Leaders of the church have provided avenues such as conferences to discuss the abovementioned issue of slow numerical growth and two dominant conclusions emerged. Firstly, there are those who blame the lack of missionary zeal amongst clergy and laity for the slow numerical growth of the church. Secondly, the slow numerical growth is attributed to the perceived unending influence of the alleged policy of ‘not to set up altar against altar’ which is generally attributed to Bishop Charles Henry Brent as the pioneering missionary bishop (Botengan 2001: 5). This policy meant that Bishop Brent avoided establishing a church in places where there was already a Christian presence. Many Episcopalians believe that Brent indeed adopted this policy. The ECP brochure (c2000), for example, uses the words ‘not putting an altar over and against another altar’ to describe the same policy (cited in *The Sagada Mission* 2004: 43).

Obviously, historical research needs to be augmented by social science in order to validate the first position. In comparison, the second position can be verified through historical research itself, especially of intellectual history. However, there is also a danger in focusing on the influence of individual policy makers like the bishops, because other members of the church also take part in the framing, articulation and adoption of policies. In other words, in order to come up with a comprehensive history of mission policies, the study needs to treat mission policies not as a concern solely of

the individual church leaders, rather of the whole church. Although some individual leaders like Brent may have aggressively pushed their personal policies, the policies still needed to be owned by the whole church if they were to be implemented effectively.

With the narrowing down of my research interest to mission policies of the church, I conducted a literature review (see chapter 2) and found that there is a considerable body of literature about the ECP. However, only a few works are scholarly publications. Moreover, except for the comprehensive work of Arun W. Jones (2003) that includes cultural history of the ECP, most of the academic literature deals with specific issues such as mission strategies thus leaving many gaps for further examination. Mission theories and mission strategies are amongst the topics that have been examined in the current body of literature (Jones 2002, 2003, 2013). Aside from my MA Thesis (Ngaya-an 2007), a handful of works are about the institutional history of the church (Norbeck 1992, 1993, 1996; Malecdan c2002). Some are coffee table books (Gowen c1939; Botengan 2001, 2002). Some of these literatures are about individual missionaries like John A. Staunton Jr. (Scott 1969; 1982). In fact, a significant body of literature available is about Charles Henry Brent, the first duly elected missionary bishop (Zabriskie 1948; Kates 1948; Bianchi 1964; Norbeck 1996; Sugeno 2001; Jones 2004a, 2004b). Consequently, many people come to know about the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines because of books and articles written about him. A couple of books are memoirs (Somebang 2007; Gowen 2008). Lastly, few works deal with mission policies of individual bishops rather than the whole church (Wentzel 1952; Zubiri 1991).

The scarcity of literature about the church's mission policies in the Philippines has certainly left historical gaps that require examination. The current study fills that gap. It explores the mission policies of the ECP from 1910 to 1980. It includes examinations of the factors that contributed to the adoption of the policies as well as the contribution of these policies to the church in certain areas of the Philippines.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

The main research question is: To what extent did mission policies contribute to the concentration of Episcopal Church work in the Cordillera Region in northern Philippines and in some parts of Mindanao in southern Philippines? In order to deal with this question properly, the following sub-questions need to be addressed:



1. What were the different mission policies of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines from 1901 to 1980?
2. What were the factors that contributed to the adoption of these mission policies?
3. How were these mission policies implemented, and what were the practical results?

### **1.3 Scope and Limitations**

The title reveals the extent of my research. It is a history of the mission policies of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) from 1901 to 1980, with the examination of its contributions to the concentration of church work in the Cordillera Region and in some parts of Mindanao. It deliberately excludes the most recent history of the ECP which may not be ready for a more objective historical examination. It terminates in 1980 because it is the year when the Filipinization of leadership was completed with the appointment of William Henry Kiley as the first Filipino Dean of the St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City.

Although the focus of this study is only on mission policies and the extent to which they contributed to the concentration of Episcopal Church mission in certain areas of the Philippines, there is a tendency to confuse mission policies with mission strategies. Thus, I have deliberately avoided a prolonged discussion of mission strategies except when they help to answer the research questions. Except for occasional comments, this study intends to withhold judgement on whether a policy was helpful or not. Except when drawing insights that are obviously not unique to the Episcopal Church experience, it also avoids comparing the experience of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines with the experience of other churches around the world. Lastly, as clarified in the methodology, one of the limitations of this study is that it privileges Episcopal Church sources such as archival documents from the Archives of the Episcopal Church (ATEC) as well as the journals of proceedings of convocations and conventions which were most likely sanitized.

### **1.4 Methodology**

As noted earlier, this study is in the field of mission history, which is a sub-area of missiology. It belongs to mission history because it focuses on the examination of the contribution of mission policies to the concentration of church work in certain areas of

the Philippines from 1901 to 1980. In order to further clarify the methodological issues in this study, this section is subdivided into four parts, namely: 1) a discussion of historical research as an indispensable approach; 2) a discussion on the nature of the available primary sources for this study and how I used them; 3) clarification of steps taken to ensure that ethical guidelines were followed; 4) a discussion of the scope and limits of emic or insider's perspective used in this study; and 5) a discussion of the actual writing of a coherent narrative with a 'mission history after "world-Christian turn" ' framework.

#### **1.4.1 Historical Research**

The study is historical in its approach. In particular, it follows six steps based on the proposal of Charles Busha and Stephen Harter (1980: 91). Although Busha and Harter proposed these steps as an alternative research method in studying librarianship, I find this approach helpful for my historical research.

First, I have already identified the concentration of the mission endeavour of the Episcopal Church in certain areas of the Philippines even until today as a historical problem. When I refer to the phenomenon of a concentration of work in certain areas as a historical problem, it is because one would expect that a church does not limit itself to certain regions, rather aims at expansion to other areas. In addition, it is a problem of not knowing history because the concentration of work is disproportionately attributed to Bishop Brent. Although this problem may be pursued in many ways including an interdisciplinary method inquiry, historical approach remains appropriate because it is a problem that originated from the formative period of the church which is more than a century ago already.

Second, I have briefly reviewed the literature (see chapter 2) on Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines and found out that there is no exhaustive study on Episcopal mission policy in the Philippines. Wentzel (1952) attempted to tackle the mission policies of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines for the first half century but did not elaborate on them. However, the work of Wentzel has already identified some of the key words that I shall be using in this study. These key words include consolidation and centralisation. Moreover, by examining the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines through its leaders, Zubiri (1991) indirectly discusses mission policies.

Third, this study began with a hypothesis that the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines adopted different mission policies in specific periods from 1901 to 1980

based on both theoretical and practical factors, and that these mission policies contributed to the concentration of its work in the Cordillera Region in northern Philippines and in some parts of Mindanao in southern Philippines.

Fourth, I have gathered data by visiting libraries and archives. This study has entailed digging through historical records which are primarily archival. Archival research is vital because documents provide us with accounts of people involved in their social institutions in the remote past. The writings of key ECP historians and leaders were also treated as important secondary sources. Interviews have been an indispensable method of gathering data for further clarification of some issues that are not directly discussed in written documents. Lay and clergy alike have been interviewed to collect some information they inherited from possible eyewitnesses. I employed unstructured interviews, as defined by McNeil and Chapman (2005):

[The] interviewer has some idea of the ground to be covered and the direction of the interview but has the liberty to change, and even abandon altogether, the question focus. Usually, the researcher is not confined by an interview schedule. Rather, she or he will have some idea of topics to be explored but will follow the interviewee if the researcher thinks it will generate interesting data. Questions are therefore not standardized. No interviewees experience the same interview (p. 57).

The use of unstructured interviews fits in this study as it only explores possibility of extracting information that may corroborate findings from written primary sources.

Although this study uses various sources, it relies heavily on the edited journal of convocations and the journal of diocesan and national conventions because of the nature of the topic. The strengths and weaknesses of these sources are discussed in section 1.4.2 which is about the nature of the primary sources in this study.

Fifth, conscious of the gaps in the current literature, I have selected, organized, and analysed the most pertinent collected data. In matters of analysing data, I am more inclined to be an interpretivist rather than a positivist (Danto 2008: 12). This does not mean that I ignored the face value of data, rather critically interpreted the data because sometimes they are just clues pointing toward essential information. I followed five basic steps of data analysis which reflects strict compliance to basic historical requirements. The five steps are: 1) an examination of the authenticity and accuracy or worth of the data; 2) an investigation of the context in which such data were produced; 3) an examination of the competence and bias of those who produce the data; 4) an analysis of the data to find some incidental information which may reveal the perspective of people other than the ones who produced it, and 5) an identification of

sociological concepts that may be used to enhance cohesion in rearranging the data to produce a synthesizing narrative which may prove or disprove the hypothesis.

Lastly, I have synthesized the analysis of my data to render a coherent and meaningful narrative of the mission policy of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) from 1901 to 1980. The actual writing of a coherent narrative is further clarified through the elucidation of perspective and theoretical foundation in sections 1.4.4 and 1.4.5 of this chapter.

### **1.4.2 Nature of the Primary Sources**

Except for a few documents like petitions and resolutions from the Filipinos, the primary sources for this study are predominantly produced by colonial missionaries. These sources include: journals of the annual convocation of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands (MDPI); journals of the triennial general convocations of the entire Episcopal Church in the USA of which the ECP was part until 1990; the journals of the biennial national conventions which superseded the annual convocations after the MDPI was divided into three missionary dioceses early in the 1970s; the journals of the annual diocesan conventions; annual reports that were usually part of the journals but were submitted and filed individually when convocations or conventions were not convened; mission periodicals like the *Diocesan Chronicle* and the *Spirit of Missions*; diaries published in mission periodicals; memoirs; and correspondence between and amongst the missionaries as well as between the missionaries and people in the United States.

Most of these sources are available in the Mosher Library, St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City, Philippines. The Mosher Library houses copies of all the journals and the periodicals mentioned above. It also houses the Episcopal Church in the Philippines Archives (ECPA) as well as the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* Archives (IFIA). Copies of some of the correspondences used in the study are in the ECPA. The other documents are found in the Archives of the Episcopal Church (ATEC) in Austin, Texas. I visited these archives early in 2011. Some of the important documents like the petition of the people of Balbalasang, Kalinga for the opening of a mission for them are found in parish libraries.

In spite of the utilization of the basic steps in data analysis in historical research, the study acknowledges the challenge of using these sources because they are heavily written from the missionaries' perspective. The challenge is felt especially in the effort

to extract local voices from these sources. Although the local voices can be included in the journals of convocations and conventions because they are supposedly produced collectively by people who attended those church gatherings, the final form of those journals and reports were edited by missionaries. The correspondence is valuable in historical research but generally contains personal opinions which, if not examined critically, can lead the study to nothing but gossip. The diaries of missionaries are very helpful but they need to be examined critically in order to avoid leaning toward writing hagiographies. The diaries can also result in highly romanticised narratives about the converts.

William Henry Scott (1982) suggests a means of critical examination of problematic sources due to their colonial character. He uses the imagery of ‘cracks in the parchment curtain,’ in order to urge scholars to be attentive to the cues of the Filipino voices. He argues that although it is hard to find the voice of the Filipino people in the voluminous documents produced by the Spanish colonizers, it is still possible to find the Filipino voice by examining the colonial documents with a deliberate focus on the ‘cracks in the parchment curtain’ – meaning the incidental comments that may reveal the real situation of the Filipinos. The documents generally written on parchments are serving as curtains hiding Filipino voices in Philippine history but these documents unwittingly include some comments that contain information about the real life of the Filipinos (p. 1). Although the principle of ‘cracks in the parchment curtains’ was specifically applied to colonial documents during the Spanish period in the Philippines, the same principle can also be applied to documents that are predominantly produced by the leaders of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, in order to draw important conclusions about the thoughts of both the laity and clergy in the Church. One specific ‘crack’ that serves as a window-in to the Filipino voice in the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines is its mission policies as can be demonstrated in this study.

### **1.4.3 Research Ethics Clearance**

Ethical considerations were carefully observed in this study. Data in this mission history which covers a period from 1901 to 1980 are based primarily on archival documents. Archives visited are operating with clear rules and regulations in relation to handling delicate documents as well as sensitive information they contain. Journals of

proceedings of convocations and conventions used in this study are edited and published journals. Hence, there are no ethical issues involved in their use as long as they are cited properly.

Face to face unstructured interviews were conducted in order to gather information primarily for corroboration of findings from archival documents. Appropriate caution was exercised in the way I proceeded with the interviews. I followed basic steps: 1) I have chosen individuals who, by their position in the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, were knowledgeable of the topic of the research; 2) I contacted them to initially convey my intention to interview them, detailing the purpose of the interview as well as the topic of the interview; 3) I made appointments with the interviewees on their preferred time and place in order to ensure their freedom from coercion; 4) I met them in the agreed time and place and started the interview again with clarification of the topic as well as the purpose of the interview; and 4) I asked their permission to be cited in the result of study.

The research does not involve gathering of data that may endanger individuals due to their vulnerability. The issues of concerns in other research such as confidentiality, anonymity, and privacy are no longer concerns in this study as the interviews were only used to corroborate data gathered from the archival documents. There are no situations where the research becomes intrusive to the life of any individual. Thus, I did not see the need of a clearance from any kind of an ethics review board.

#### **1.4.4 Emic Perspective: Necessarily Acknowledged rather than Foregrounded**

The distinction between an emic/insider's perspective and an etic/outsider's perspective is very common amongst anthropologists. For instance, in their discussion of cultural materialism, Susan Andreatta and Gary Ferraro (2014) acknowledge the heavy reliance of cultural materialists on etic perspectives compared to other anthropologists who favour emic perspectives. The emic perspective is also common in denominational church histories, as Daughrity (2012) argues.

Etic and emic perspectives have their respective advantages and disadvantages. One of the advantages of the etic perspective is its foregrounding of objectivity of professional historians (Richter 1993: 387-389). However, this also paradoxically becomes its disadvantage not only because it is difficult to attain objectivity but also because it allows the researcher to approach the topic with predetermined 'universal' patterns in mission which may not be true in all cases. On the other hand, one of the

advantages of the emic perspective is its knowledge of intra-church dynamics which allows the researcher to be extra attentive to details which he/she thinks to be commonly overlooked by those approaching the issue as outsiders. However, one of the disadvantages of an emic perspective is its tendency to become myopic which may lead to an inability to consider the influence of what is happening in the wider context. Another disadvantage of the emic perspective is its tendency to claim self-understanding of history as a preferred narrative over other narratives. In short, researchers gain some and lose some in choosing to use one of these perspectives. This is the reason why some try to use both (Daugherty 2012: 45).

Despite certain disadvantages of the emic perspective, its use in this study needs to be clearly acknowledged because the author is an ordained priest of the ECP. In other words, as much as the author intends to foreground objectivity of a researcher which is one of the advantages of an etic perspective, it is still difficult to keep knowledge of intra-church dynamics from influencing the outcome of the research. For example, the researcher's familiarity of the details of church polity<sup>4</sup> and how it actually works, influences, for bad or for good, the actual outcome of the research. Being aware of this, however, I will deliberately engage those who have approached the subject from etic perspective.

#### **1.4.5 Mission History after the 'World-Christian Turn' in the History of Christianity**

Placing this research under mission history as a sub-area of missiology makes it imperative to consider scholars of world Christianity as my conversation partners since, as pointed out in the very beginning, they tend to play down mission history in their effort to emphasize local appropriation of the faith rather than its transmission by missionaries. To be specific, the 'Understanding the World-Christian Turn in the History of Christianity and Theology' by Paul Kollman (2014) helped me clarify the theoretical framework of this study because it challenged me to suggest alternative

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<sup>4</sup> Church polity refers to church organizational structure – church government. The term 'polity' comes from the the Greek word *politeia* which refers to living practices that promote common good of people living in the *polis* – the city or the state. Politics also derives from the *politeia* which explains the general negative reaction of people everytime they encounter the term 'church polity' (Frank 2010: 317).

framework of mission history after such turn. Thus, the framework of mission history 'after the "world-Christian turn"' shall be used in this study. This framework does not suggest that World Christianity is over, but that mission history is: 1) redefined in the light of World Christianity, and also 2) World Christianity needs mission history to be properly understood. In other words, mission history 'after the "world-Christian turn"' means that mission history is reconceived in the light of World Christianity, on one hand, and that it is very necessary in the continuous growth and evolution of World Christianity as a field, on the other hand.

According to Kollman, 'world-Christian turn' in the history of Christianity resulted in the apparent disdain of terms with censorial implications such as 'syncretism' and 'conversion' in favour of the use of emerging new descriptors:

[T]ransmission, reception, translation, localization, indigenization, hybridity, inculturation, contextualization, accommodation, resistance, incarnation, naturalization, encounter, appropriation, domestication, internalization, and creolization (p. 169).

The use of the abovementioned new descriptors in mission histories allows a radical change from simply an account of western domination and subservience of the rest of the world to a critical examination of various forms of encounters. The emphasis on the idea of encounter enables scholars to be attentive to various forms of dialogues which make possible both top-down and bottom-up flow of influences. In other words, mission history in this form encourages scholars to focus on the history of the people without necessarily neglecting the role of the missionaries.

The theoretical dialogue is not limited to Kollman but, to some degree, also extends to other scholars who have contributed to the coining of descriptors of what transpired in mission history in a way that local voices are recognized. One important contribution to the theoretical framework of this study is Brian Stanley's (2003) imagery of 'reverse conversions' to describe the bottom-up flow of influence without necessarily denying the top-bottom flow influence from missionaries to the people (p. 322). Lian Xi (1997) should also be noted for his use of 'reflex influence' to describe the impact of experience on foreign missionaries (p. 207). These phenomena of local appropriation, reverse conversion, reflex influence, and the likes were brought to fore as a result of critical examination of the complexity of missionary enterprise. The aforesaid phenomena happened basically because Christian mission is an 'encounter' as noted by Anthony Mathias Mundadan (2002:23).



Critical engagement with John C.B. Webster, a historian of Indian Christianity, also helped in the development of the mission history ‘after “world-Christian turn” framework.’ In his recent publication, John C.B. Webster (2012) admits that, when read together, his essays from 1978 to 2011 strikingly feature a ‘New Perspective’. This perspective was articulated by the board of the Church History Association of India (CHAI) in 1974 for the writing of histories of Christianity in India. Webster also admits that this perspective ‘emphatically rejected the mission history and the more institutional “Church history” approach, and was in favour of socio-cultural history of Christian people in India’ (p. 5). Such a ‘New Perspective’ and its rejection of mission history permeates the writing of the history of Christianity in India and it is certainly influencing other histories across the world. In fact, its proponents may have a right claim of its being a watershed as most of its criticisms of mission history preceded the criticisms prevalent in postcolonial studies that became popular after the publication of Edward Said’s (1978) *Orientalism*. However, to what extent a ‘New Perspective’ is able to reject mission history without losing an important party in the academic conversation is still a question its proponents need to ask themselves. Do they intend to reject everything even if they find some useful insights through mission history? Or do they only intend to reject the colonial perspective which views mission history as an ‘eastward extension of Western ecclesiastical history’? (p. 63).

The indiscriminate rejection of mission history seems to me is unwittingly leading the proponents of the ‘New Perspective’ to commit the same errors that they try to correct since 1974. Based on Webster’s (2012) discussion on the context of the development of ‘New Perspective,’ some of the errors that they wanted to correct were: the monopoly of western writers – mostly Christians writing to rally support for mission; unscholarly histories which were ‘impressionistic and distorted, mere religious tracts’; privileging colonial sources; and histories written largely from a denominational and institutional perspective. They intend to correct these errors by advocating writing the history of Christianity in India under national history (p. 63). However, in so doing, they are in danger of distorting history by downplaying factors external to Indian national history given the fact that Christianity by nature crosses national boundaries. This nature of Christianity or any world religion is further enhanced by globalization that is accelerated by the rapid technological (e.g., information, transportation, etc.)

advancement. Recently, Arun Jones (2014) also discusses how globalization challenges the continuous use of binaries in Indian historiography.

The proponents of the 'New Perspective,' with their predetermined rejection of mission history, will also find it hard to read colonial sources, and if they respond to this difficulty by rejecting even the sources that they believe to have been privileged by mission history then they will end up committing the same mistake of arbitrarily privileging certain kinds of sources - Indian sources. If they do this, then their focus on the socio-cultural history of Christian people of India will be deficient in both depth and breadth as they will be missing elements of the cultures that bear the marks of cultural encounters brought about by missionary activities. However, if they take the challenge of using colonial sources alongside Indian sources, they will end up writing about missionaries – one aspect of mission history. In relation to this, Kirsteen Kim (2015) admits that when she and Sebastian C.H. Kim 'aimed to get beyond history of mission' in writing the recently published *A History of Korean Christianity* from the 'Korean point of view,' they found that 'the first missionaries to Korea appear as messengers, catalysts and sometimes hindrances in a story which is more about the struggle of Korean Christians themselves for freedom of religion, salvation from sin, and the independence and flourishing of their nation' (p. 1). To sum it up, mission history 'after "world-Christian turn" framework' does not only lead to viewing mission history in a much broader sense and contribute to the evolution of world Christianity as area of studies, rather, it also challenges other historiographical positions such as 'New Perspective' that tend to deny the importance of mission histories.

To some extent, this way of framing mission history follows the lead of 'new mission history' that was advocated in Latin America which focuses on the history of the people without neglecting the role played by missionaries (Jackson 1995: xii). In this kind of mission history, 'the missionary is treated as a concrete actor in specific historical situations, and a participant in relationship with indigenous persons, who coexist in colonialist contexts and mutually influence each other' (Robert 2008: 3). However, this study differs from the 'new mission history' because it does not privilege the bottom-up way of writing history but rather tries to maintain the dialogical interaction between the top-down and bottom-up approach in writing history.

In terms of the theoretical foundation of the emphasis on Filipino voices in the dialogues between global and local voices that is mediated and synthesized by mission

policies, the *pantayong pananaw* advocated by Zeus Salazar (2000) since the 1970s is undeniable. *Pantayong pananaw* is a Filipino term that is ‘roughly translated as a “for-us, of-us, and by-us perspective”’ (Mendoza 2011:37). This perspective was first articulated when Salazar was asked to critique *Filipino Heritage* (Roces 1978), a 10 volume encyclopaedia which the latter viewed as written for ‘outsiders (or elites whose thinking is partially or completely that of outsiders) and not of Filipinos themselves’ (Salazar 2000: 123). Since the perspective advocated close circuit conversation between and among Filipinos themselves, it emphasizes the use of Filipino as a medium of discourse (Mendoza 2011:37). Thus, having been influenced by this perspective in writing history when I was in the University of the Philippines, I wrote my MA thesis in Filipino in spite of not being well-versed about it (Ngaya-an 2007).

However, the influence of the *pantayong pananaw* in the current study is limited to the emphasis of Filipino voices in a dialogue that involves both local and global voices inherent to mission histories as demonstrated in the preceding discussions. In a sense, this becomes a critique of *pantayong pananaw* as it demonstrates the impossibility of this perspective in histories of nations with long and complex colonial past like the Philippines. This critique becomes stronger when dealing with histories of institutions with strong colonial past such as the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP). Moreover, *pantayong pananaw* in its entirety becomes impossible when the fact of the ECP’s continuing membership to worldwide Anglican Communion as well to the wider world Christian movement is considered. Nonetheless, the enduring influence of this perspective in Philippine historiography and other related academic discipline remains in its being a constant reminder to be ever attentive to opportunities of highlighting Filipino voices as in the case of this study.

## 1.5 Synopsis of Chapters

This study has four main chapters which correspond to the four periods in the ECP mission history from 1901 to 1980. After the introductory chapter, the review of related literature follows as chapter. Then chapter 3 briefly surveys the context of the beginning of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. Specifically, it examines the issue of dominance and marginality in the Philippines from 1889 to 1909, in order to show that marginality was one of the factors which led to the adoption of concentration as the mission policy from 1901 to 1919.

Chapter 4 examines this mission policy from 1901 to 1919. It shows that the alleged mission policy of ‘not to set up altar against altar’ was a subsidiary policy to the main mission policy of concentration. In particular, it discusses how the Episcopal Church started with a predetermined policy of concentration that was eventually modified as the Church critically engaged the Philippine context, especially as the issue of marginality came into play. In particular, it demonstrates how marginality became central amongst a host of issues in the mission, such as the visionary character of Bishop Brent; the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church; the pacification policy of the colonial government; denominational cooperation; and financial constraints of the church. The chapter shows how the policy of concentration led the Episcopal Church to work primarily in chosen areas of Cordillera region in northern Luzon, amongst Muslims in Zambonga, Mindanao, and amongst American expatriates and Chinese in Manila.

Chapter 5 studies the consolidation policy of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines under the leadership of Bishop Mosher. Specifically, it shows that the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines adopted the policy of consolidation from the very beginning of the tenure of Bishop Mosher as its leader. Furthermore, it reveals that the policy of consolidation aimed at organizational consolidation as well as evangelistic consolidation. It also shows that this policy was adopted because of many factors which included changes in the organizational structure of the Episcopal Church, changes of attitude toward the mission in the Philippines partly because of the development in the Philippine-US relations as politically manifested in the Filipinization policy of the Democrats, changes in leadership, and issues in the Philippine mission like the ‘Sagada Problem’ which will be explained in the chapter. It demonstrates that the policy resulted in the use of the Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC) as a local name while it continued to operate officially as a missionary district. Lastly, it shows how the policy of consolidation further contributed, by default, to the concentration of work in certain areas of the Philippines as the church only expanded in areas where it had been working earlier due to persistent need.

Chapter 6 examines the rather serendipitous timeliness of the adoption of the policies of centralization and expansion of influence that were adopted immediately after World War II until 1962. In particular, it shows how post-World War II reconsolidation provided an opportunity to undo some of the unintended negative

results of the policy of concentration adopted during the formative period of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines which persisted even after the success of the policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940. It reveals that there was an upsurge in the interest in Christian mission across denominations in the United States after World War II. This encouraged an aggressive campaign for American finances and personnel to support the reconstruction of churches as well as the expansion of mission work in places like the Philippines. The leaders of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines took this opportunity to adopt aggressive policies of centralization and expansion of influence. Although these policies tended to pull the church in opposing directions, this chapter shows that they were kept in dialectical relationship primarily through Saint Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City. It was in this seminary that the constant tension between these policies was creative rather than destructive. Lastly, it shows that in spite of the policy of expansion of influence, the church continued to concentrate its work amongst the marginalized people in the Cordillera region in northern Philippines and in some parts of Mindanao. This happened especially when the church realized that it could still expand its influence in the mainstream of Philippine society through its hospitals and schools as well as through its connection with the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI), the church that was second in number only to the Roman Catholic Church.

Chapter 7 analyses the parallel policies of devolution and decentralization from 1962 to 1980. It shows how the policy of decentralization was adopted in response to the demand for the efficient administration of Church as well as to enhance its regional expansion. It also reveals how the policy of devolution of leadership – Filipinization of leadership - was adopted as a concrete step toward church autonomy. Most of all, it examines the contribution of post-colonial Philippine nationalism to the adoption of the policy of devolution and to an extent to the policy of decentralization as well. Although the influence of post-colonial Philippine nationalism was not strong amongst Filipino Episcopalians, the leadership of the Episcopal Church considered it paramount in framing mission policies because it was the general trend amongst churches across the world to take the issue of nationalism in redefining their mission praxis. Lastly, the chapter shows how the policy of decentralization obviously contributed to the further concentration of work in the Cordillera Region and in some parts of Mindanao since it

was adopted purposely to enhance regional expansion based on persistent issue of marginality in the Philippine society.

Chapter 8 deals with three concluding matters, namely: 1) a summary of the result of analysis done in the earlier chapters with the research questions as guide; 2) a summary of the incidental observations such as the apparent generational pattern in changes of mission policies; and 3) an articulation of the significance of the study in relation to related disciplines and areas of study such as world Christianity, colonial history, global Christianity, and Philippine studies.

## **2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

There is a considerable body of literature about the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP). However, only few examples are scholarly publications. Moreover, most of the available academic works deal with specific issues thus leaving many gaps for further examination. Mission theories and mission strategies are amongst the topics that have been examined in the current body of literature. Some of these are about individual missionaries. In fact, a significant number of the available published materials are about Charles Henry Brent, the first duly elected missionary bishop. Consequently, many people come to know about the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines because of books and articles written about him.

In the following literature review, I will organise the selected readings based on two things, namely: 1) the level of support or otherwise that they lend to the hypothesis of the study, and 2) the quality of scholarship. The first consideration has something to do with establishing the relation of the available literature to the current work. There is a need to do this to ensure originality. The second consideration is associated with the need to engage erudite literatures to produce scholarly thesis.

The work closest to this study in relation to the scope and limitation is a dissertation of Bridget Rulite-Zubiri (1991) entitled 'History of the Philippine Episcopal Church as Seen Through its Leaders: 1902-1977'. This was submitted to the University of the Philippines. It covers a period that is almost identical to the coverage of the present study. To some degree it is about mission policies since it examines the history of the Philippine Episcopal Church through its leaders who are obviously policy makers. However, the present study differs a lot as it does not only examine the contribution of individual policy maker but all factors in the framing of mission policies.

Moreover, the periodization used by Zubiri was based on the tenure of the leaders of the church which did not take into account the fact that some leaders carried on the policies of their predecessors until such time that they recognised the need for a new policy. A concrete example of the limitation of this periodization is reflected in chapters eight, nine, and ten of her thesis. She entitled chapter eight 'Binsted's Reconstruction and Recovery Years: 1940-1957' without really arguing for the completion of the reconstruction in 1957. Again she entitled chapter nine as 'Ogilby Sets Stage for

Filipinization: 1957-1967' without recognising the fact that, to some degree, Binsted has already set the stage for Filipinization while pursuing a centralization policy. She also entitled her chapter ten 'Cabanban and Completion of Filipinization Process: 1967-1977' which is questionable because the Filipinization of the leadership of the seminary which played a vital role in the mission of the Church happened only in 1980. In addition, Zubiri's reading of the history of the Philippine Episcopal Church from 1920 to 1940 differs from this study. Whereas Zubiri concludes that this period was a period of expansion, it will be argued in this study that the policy adopted during this time was consolidation.

One of the points that limited Zubiri's analysis of her topic was the scarcity of sources. She did not have the privilege of visiting the Archives of the Episcopal Church in Austin, Texas. In relation to this, she was not able to use some of the materials that are available in the USA like the work of Emery C. Julia (1921) as well as the work of Constance White Wentzel (1952).

*A Half Century in the Philippines* that was published by Constance White Wentzel in 1952 is the first work that discusses the mission policies of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines in a chronological order. In this book, Wentzel argues that Brent envisioned his ministry as one of the American Churchmen far from home but later found out that he had to cater to the needs of Filipinos as well. She also argues that Bishop Mosher adopted a consolidation policy in 1930 in the context of an economic depression. She maintains that as Mosher pursued a consolidation policy with utmost determination, he became increasingly aware, as did his colleagues, of the lack of coherence in his dioceses. She correctly suggests that it was 'only after Bishop Mosher had worn his health to breaking point with year after year of travel could there be found any real consciousness of a diocese among these diverse areas' (p. 19). Lastly, Wentzel contends that 'Bishop Binsted and his co-workers have agreed upon a postwar program of unification and centralization which will express to the new Christians of the farthest outstation the unity of the Church as the Body of Christ' (p. 20)

Although Wentzel uses concentration, consolidation, and centralization to define the mission policies of Brent, Mosher and Binsted respectively, her work still differs from my study in many ways. Whereas Wentzel suggests that there was a shift of priority from working for the Americans toward a concentration of work for the unchurched Filipinos, this study argues that the Episcopal Church mission in the



Philippines did not need to shift its priority but rather considered chaplaincy and missionary work for the unchurched Filipinos to be components of their entire missionary work from the beginning. Whereas Wentzel maintains that Bishop Mosher adopted the policy of consolidation in 1930 in the context of an economic depression, this study contends that the policy of consolidation was adopted as soon as Mosher was elected bishop of the Philippine district because of many factors, including the changes in the church structures, changes in leadership, and problems that surfaced during the two years interregnum. Whereas Wentzel claims that Binsted adopted the policy of unification and centralization, this study proposes that the unification was achieved before the war and that the main policy adopted during the leadership of Binsted was centralization and the expansion of influence.

Aside from the differences in theories and interpretations, there is also an obvious difference in relation to the period covered. While Wentzel's works covered the period from the beginning of mission until 1952, this study extends until 1980. In spite of the differences, this study regards the work of Wentzel as foundational when it comes to using social categories such as concentration, consolidation, and centralization.

Academically, the most important work on this subject is *Christian Missions in the American Empire: Episcopalians in Northern Luzon, Philippines, 1902-1946* by Arun Jones that was published in 2003. This was a product of his research towards the Ph.D. degree he earned from Princeton Theological Seminary in 2001. In addition, Jones also published articles dealing with specific issues relative to the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines: 'A View From the Mountains: Episcopal Missionary Depictions of the Igorot of Northern Luzon, The Philippines, 1903-1916' in the *Anglican and Episcopal History* (2002); 'Charles Henry Brent' in the *Encyclopaedia of Protestantism* (2004) and 'Working Out the Mission Theology of Bishop Charles Henry Brent' in *Missiology* (2004). The latest amongst his publications about the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines is 'Pragmatic Anti-Imperialists? Episcopal Missionaries in the Philippines, 1933-1935', which he published in the *Anglican and Episcopal History* (2013).

The works of Jones are undeniably comprehensive and are relevant contributions to the body of knowledge about the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP). However, the titles of his works show that Jones focused on the first four decades of Episcopalianism in the Philippines. He also focused on the specific aspect of

the history Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines but not on mission policies. He examined the mission theory of Brent but not his policy.

In particular, Jones' book limited its focus in Northern Luzon, Philippines from 1902 to 1946. It also focused on mission strategies and, to some extent, on cultural history of the ECP. He discusses translation and civilization as the strategies used respectively in Bontoc and Sagada in the first two decades of the Episcopal mission in the Cordillera region of the Northern Philippines. Furthermore, he discusses comprehensively the crisis and change in the missionary force of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines in the 1920s and 1930s. He enumerates and discusses five sources of crisis namely: the conflict with the Roman Catholic Church, the collapse of the Sagada Mission, the Great Depression in the 1930s, the crisis of confidence in Christian mission, and the crisis caused by the exposure of the mountain communities to the world. He then argues that there was a change in mission strategies of the Episcopal Church from the twin tasks of translation and civilization to twin tasks of clerical formation and cultural protection.

Although Jones does not totally omit mission policies in his discussion since it is fundamentally intertwined with mission strategies, he does not provide details especially of the changes in mission policies, which are examined in this present study. One example of a mission policy that is not discussed by Jones is the consolidation policy of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines from 1920 to 1940. The policy has two components namely: organizational consolidation and evangelistic consolidation. Organizational policy aimed at consolidating the scattered mission stations of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. In order to achieve this organizational consolidation, three main strategies were adopted: to hold annual conferences as an avenue for missionaries to renew their need to work together; to establish the *Diocesan Chronicle* as a means for missionaries to be aware of what was happening at stations; and to appoint a Canon Missioner to visit stations and keep them connected.

Another area in which the present study differs from Jones's book is in perspective. Whereas Jones approached his research from his bi-cultural background, an insider's perspective used in this present study as clarified in the methodology. In the introduction of his book, Jones clearly admits the influence of his bi-cultural upbringing as an Indian-American who has lived his first sixteen years in India with his Methodist missionary parents. Later, they returned to America where he continued his higher

education and served as a pastor in the United Methodist Church prior to his coming to the Philippines as a missionary of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines. Thus, it is not surprising for him to look at the Episcopal Church mission in the Northern Philippines from his bi-cultural perspective and argue that the Episcopal missions in the Northern Philippines 'have been fundamentally bicultural from inception' (Jones 2003:19).

Furthermore, this study used some primary sources that were not used in Jones' work. Particularly, this study utilized the *Journal of Annual Convocation of the Missionary Districts of the Philippines*. This journal contains the annual addresses of the bishops which revealed information about their mission policies as well as minutes of the discussions during conferences held as part of the convocation, including sermons and other primary documents.

Another important work is my MA Thesis entitled: '*Kasaysayan Ng Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP), 1898-1917: Pagbalik-tanaw sa Unang Dalawang Dekada ng Episkopalyanismo sa Pilipinas*' [translated in English as 'History of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP), 1898-1917: revisiting the first two decades of Episcopalianism in the Philippines']. It was submitted in 2007 at the University of the Philippines. The title alone reveals that it only covered the first part of the proposed scope of my research. Moreover, this thesis was an institutional history while my current study focused on mission policies.

Another scholarly work on this subject is 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of Manila, Philippine Islands from 1898-1918: An Institutional History' by Mark Norbeck (1992). He submitted this thesis to the History Department of the University of Texas. This thesis covers a similar period with that of my M.A. thesis mentioned above except that the latter covered a wider geographical scope. Out of his thesis, Norbeck published the 'False Start: The First Three Years of Episcopal Missionary Endeavour in the Philippine Islands, 1898-1901' in the *Anglican and Episcopal History* (1993) and 'The Legacy of Charles Henry Brent' in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (1996). In addition, he also wrote a thesis entitled '*The Protestant Episcopal Church in Bontoc, Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands from 1898 to 1918*' for his Th.M. at the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1996.

In his M.A. thesis as well as in his subsequent articles, Norbeck argues that the Episcopal Church had a false start because the mission work for the Filipinos that the

chaplains started disappeared and they had to start again when the Episcopal Church formally established a missionary district in the Philippines in 1901. He also argues that most of the programmes that the Episcopal Church introduced in Manila reflected the heavy influence of the social gospel on Bishop Charles Henry Brent, the first duly elected missionary bishop.

The works of Norbeck are undeniably relevant contributions to the body of knowledge about the Episcopal Church in the Philippines as well as the wider Protestant mission. However, the titles alone reveal their limited scope compared with the scope of the current study. For example, Norbeck's first theses covered only Manila from 1898-1918, and the geographical focus of the second was on Bontoc. In addition, Norbeck's theses are definitely institutional history while this study focuses on mission policies.

There are yet other works that discuss some aspects of the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. Notable amongst them is the thesis of Querubin D. Canlas entitled 'The Philippine Independent and Episcopal Churches: A Study of their Histories and the Factors that lead them to a Concordat Relationship'. Canlas submitted this thesis for the Doctor of Theology degree of the South East Asia Graduate School of Theology in 1980. As the title suggests, Canlas discusses the factors that led the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (PECUSA) and the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)* to a concordat relationship that was signed in 1961. Primarily, Canlas argues that the IFI needed the Episcopal Church, in order to be integrated in the mainstream Christianity while the Episcopal Church needed the IFI, in order to influence mainstream of Philippine society. The IFI, since it was established out of the Roman Catholic Church, has always struggled to gain general recognition because of the strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church that questioned the validity of its orders. The Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines has always been for the marginalized groups of Filipino people thus limiting its presence only to the periphery of Philippine society. Secondly, Canlas argues that the IFI needed financial help from the Episcopal Church. This thesis is important for the fifth chapter of this research.

Scholars like William Henry Scott have focused on Sagada mission station and those who were involved in its development. In 1969, he published an article entitled 'An Engineer's Dream' in *Studies in Philippine Church History* edited by Gerald H. Anderson, where he argues that the emphasis on the civilizing mission strategy in

Sagada was primarily due to the dream of Fr. John Armitage Staunton who was an engineer by profession. In 1988, Scott also published 'Staunton of Sagada: Christian Civilizer' in *A Sagada Reader* which he himself edited. Understandably, Scott did not categorically examine how the so-called 'Sagada Problem' impacted on the mission policy of the entire Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines because his focus was on Staunton and the Sagada mission. This is one of the issues that the present study will discuss from a critical engagement with Scott and other scholars.

Another work that needs to be mentioned is *The Mission of St. Mary the Virgin, Sagada; 1904-1946: A Brief History* by Edward P. Malecdan (c2002) who follows the lead of Scott in the examination of the progress of the Episcopal Church mission in Sagada. Malecdan, however, covered a much wider scope than Scott because he dealt with the history of the whole institution rather than focusing on individual people like Staunton.

Aside from the above mentioned academically written works on this subject, there is also a lay Episcopalian, Kate Chollipas Botengan, who wrote *Transformed by the Word; Transforming the World: One hundred Years of Episcopal Church in the Philippines* and *Pearl for the Episcopal Diocese of Central Philippines* published in 2001 and 2002 respectively. However, these are coffee table books that are full of information with no deliberate attempt to examine critically the mission policies of the Church.

One of the earliest books to be published about the history of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines is *The Philippine Kaleidoscope: An Illustrated Story of the Church's Mission* by Vincent Gowen (1939?) that was published just before World War II. He wrote this book as one of the missionaries in the Northern Philippines from 1929. This does not have a bibliography but in many ways it is still very important because a part of it contains eyewitness accounts. The primary thesis of this book is: Brent has planted and Mosher has organized. In a sense, this book provides the necessary lead for this research.

There are lecture notes about the history of the Episcopal Mission in the Philippines that appear in the journals of some Episcopal Church gatherings, including 'A Review of the Philippine Episcopal Church History from a Critical Eyes' by Malecdan (1989). He presented this paper during the First National Mission Conference of the Philippine Episcopal Church held on 10-12 January 1989. Malecdan argues that

the Episcopal Church in the Philippines experienced a degree of autonomy during World War II when all the American missionaries were brought to concentration camps and left the operation of the Church in the Mountain Province under the leadership of two Filipino priests and a deacon. Another short paper that falls under this category is the 'Journey Towards Autonomy: The Philippine Episcopal Church: A Brief History' by David Bacayan (2004). As the title suggests, the focus was on the journey of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines toward autonomy.

As mentioned earlier, there are many works written about Bishop Brent. Aside from the articles written by Arun Jones and Mark Norbeck, we also have two other books and three articles. *Bishop Brent: Crusader for Christian Unity* by Zabriskie (1948) which discusses how Brent rose to prominence because of his passion for Christian unity manifested in his vital role in the organization of the Faith and Order conference which he himself presided in 1927. This book set the tone for the prevalent perspective in writing the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, which gives so much emphasis to the ecumenical involvement of its pioneering bishop. Kates (1948) also wrote a small book entitled *Charles Henry Brent: Ambassador of Christ*, which emphasizes the passion of Brent for the uplift of those on the periphery of society.

Moreover, there are other articles that specifically discuss things about Brent. One is 'The Ecumenical Thought of Bishop Charles Henry Brent' by Eugene C. Bianchi (1964) who argues that it was Brent's missionary experience in the Philippines that sparked his ecumenical interest. Hence, he differs from scholars like Norbeck and Kates who argue that Brent's interest for cooperation started in Boston, Massachusetts. Nonetheless, he points out quite clearly that Brent deplored the division amongst Christians in the Philippines when most Protestants came to convert from the Roman Catholics. Frank E. Sugeno (2001) also published the 'Charles Henry Brent, Apostle for Unity' in the *Anglican and Episcopal History*, where he argues that Brent's ecumenical thought developed because of his experience of the evils of divisions amongst Christians in the Philippines. Another is 'Bishop Brent and the Vision at Edinburgh' by Lyman C. Ogilby (1962) who theorises that Brent's experience as a missionary to indigenous and Muslim Filipinos led him to international leadership in movements like Faith and Order. In addition to these books and articles, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* by Ian Tyrell (2010) is also worth mentioning

because of its extensive discussion about Brent. This book includes Brent amongst the moral reformers primarily because of his involvement in the fight against opium while he was leading the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines.

There are books that cover a much wider subject area but include in their discussion some aspect of the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. One in this category *Islands under the Cross: The Story of the Church in the Philippines* by Peter G. Gowing (1967) observes that like the other churches, the Episcopal Church experienced steady numerical growth after World War II and reached its peak in the early 1960s. Another is the *Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898 – 1916* by Kenton J. Clymer (1986) who discusses the influence of Protestant missionaries like Brent on the political life of Filipinos. Most Protestant missionaries recommended that independence of the Philippines should wait until the country was ready to establish a strong government led by truly Christian people as discussed also in *The Struggle for Freedom: History of the Philippine Independent Church* by Lewis Bliss Whittemore (1961). Although Whittemore wrote about the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI), in particular, he discusses the history of how the IFI and PECUSA were bound together in a concordat relationship. This will be very helpful in the broadening of the discussion of the fifth chapter of this study. *A History of Global Anglicanism* by Kevin Ward (2006) also includes a short discussion about the Episcopal Church in the Philippines including interesting comments that Mosher was an admirer of Roland Allen, to explain Mosher's enthusiasm in establishing a seminary to train native leaders. However, the current study will connect the establishment of the seminary as a means toward evangelistic consolidation, which was part and parcel of the mission policy, which was to consolidate the work started during the time of Brent.

Then there are memoirs that provide eyewitness accounts of some aspects of the history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines such as *Sunrise to Sunrise, One Man's Journey through History: China, The Philippines and World War II Internment* by Vincent H. Gowen (2008) who includes information about the church in China and the circumstances of the transfer of missionaries from China to the Philippines and the importance of the China experience to the mission practice in the Philippines. Another memoir is *The Odyssey of an Igorot Mission Girl* by Esperanza Somebang (2007) from the perspective of a convert who actively participated in the mission of the Church. In addition, there are stories from both the missionaries and the converts contained in the

different volumes of the *Spirit of Mission*, including detailed diaries of pioneering missionaries.

There are other books that contain important information about the world-wide mission history of the Episcopal Church: *A Century of Endeavor, 1821-1921: A Record of the First Hundred Years of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* by Julia C. Emery (1921). This is important because Emery was undeniably an authority since she served as the National Secretary of the Women's Auxiliary of the Board of Missions from 1876 to 1916. *Mission: 1821-1971. An Essay to Commemorate the Sesquicentennial of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church of the United States* by Nelson Burr (1971) is worth mentioning also because it contains some cursory comments on the Philippine mission.

In relation to understanding mission theories of the Episcopal Church, the *Fling Out the Banner: The National Church Ideal and the Foreign Mission of the Episcopal Church* by Ian T. Douglas (1996) is invaluable in discussing how the Episcopal Church participated in Christian mission toward social regeneration through Christian moral truths and American democracy. The force behind this goal of social regeneration was the national church ideal, which refers to the belief that the primary objective of Christian mission is to establish churches that serve as the conscience of the nation. Douglas carried on further what Frank Sugeno (1984) has articulated as the establishmentarian ideal of the Episcopal Church. In his 'Establishmentarian Ideal and the Mission of the Episcopal Church,' Sugeno argues that the Anglican Establishmentarians understood church as a national institution which actually meant the influence of the Church should pervade the nation. Christianity should stamp its influence on the nation thus making the nation an institution within a bigger institution – the Church.

In relation to literature that are helpful in understanding the broader context of the mission history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, it is vital to note articles like 'The Philippines: Bulwark of the Church in Asia' by Gerald H. Anderson and Peter G. Gowing (1968) in *Christ and Crisis in Southeast Asia*. This article serves as a backdrop to the Episcopal Church comparatively concentrated work in the Cordillera region in Northern Luzon. It is also essential to situate the history of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippine within the wider Asian context as discussed in the *From*



*Prapat to Colombo: History of Christian Conference of Asia (1957-1995)* by Yap Kim Hao (1995). This book includes in its discussion the involvement of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines as one of the members of the conference. In addition, the *God's Mission in Asia: A Comparative and Contextual Study of This-Worldly Holiness and the Theology of Missio Dei in M. M. Thomas and C. S. Song* by Ken Christoph Miyamoto (2007) is also important because it helps clarify the wider context of the deliberate shift toward Filipinization of leadership in the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines in the 1960s.

Since the Protestant mission in the Philippines was through American Protestantism, the *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective* by Robert Pierce Beaver (1976) is noteworthy. It includes 'A History of Foreign Mission Theory in America' by Charles W. Forman (1976). Although Forman attempted to cover all Evangelical missions, he concentrated on the missionary theories developed and espoused by those in many ways connected to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Understandably, he noted that the Episcopal Church did not contribute so much on the production of literature about Christian Mission within the period of 1890 to 1918.

For a broader theoretical foundation of this study, *Mission Theology: 1948-1975 Years of Worldwide Creative Tension: Ecumenical, Evangelical and Roman Catholic* by Rodger C. Bassham (2002) is a good source of information about the post-World War II development in mission theology which in many ways affected mission policies of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. This book offers a comprehensive presentation of the undeniable influence of the church in the nation building projects of the new independent nations after World War II, on one hand, and the influence of nationalism on the mission praxis of the Church, on the other hand. It continues to cover issues about the relationship of the Church with varying societies, which were covered by earlier works such as the *Modern Nationalism and Religion* by S.W. Baron (1947) who examined the varied experiences of Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, and Jews concerning nationalism before World War II.



### **3. DIVERSITY, DOMINANCE AND MARGINALITY: A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE CONTEXT OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH MISSION IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1889-1909**

A year after Bishop Charles Henry Brent arrived in the Philippines to lead the newly established missionary district of the Episcopal Church in the country, he commented:

The various tribes of the Islands are quite distinct each from each. The Tagalogs predominate, but they are not universally loved by any means. There is no such thing a Filipino people, Filipino peoples there are, peoples full of mutual jealousies and hatreds, without unifying or cohesive force among themselves. To reach one of these peoples is by no means to reach all, owing to the diversity of language and the poverty of means of intercommunication (Brent 1903, ATEC).

Whether this observation is all true or not, it somehow reveals that the issue of diversity in the Philippines was a factor in defining the mission policies of the Episcopal Church at its very early stage. Thus, in this chapter, I will examine the context of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines focusing on the issues of diversity, dominance and marginality in relation to ethnicity, language, religion, and racial/colonial divides in the Philippines from 1889 to 1909.

Commonly, the period of this survey covers four distinct periods in Philippine history, namely: the propaganda movement, the Philippine Revolution, the Filipino-American War, and the establishment of American colonial government. Although the propaganda movement, also referred to as the reform movement, started much earlier, it started to gain wider support when the *La Solidaridad* was published as its mouthpiece in Barcelona in 1889. Amongst others, the primary goal of the movement was the recognition of the Philippines as a province of Spain (Francia 2010: 116-7). The Philippine Revolution starts from the founding of the *Ang Kataastaasang Kagalanggalangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (KKK)* [the Highest, Most Honorable Society of the Country's Sons and Daughters] or simply the Katipunan in 1892 as the radical option taken by those who wanted independence rather than reform. In spite of some internal problems, the Philippine Revolution managed to establish a revolutionary government and proclaimed Philippine independence on 12 June 1898 after an alliance with the American forces led to the defeat of the Spaniards in the Philippines in the wider context of the Spanish-American War (pp. 125-39). Although the Filipino-American war actually broke out on 4 February 1899, it actually started when the USA decided to negotiate with Spain without any representative from the

newly established Philippine government. This negotiation resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898 which stipulated that Spain cede the Philippines to the United States at the cost of \$20,000,000.00. Although some resistance went on up until 1913, the war officially ended on 4 July 1902 (pp. 141-57). Except in Mindanao where the civil government was established only in 1914, the American colonial government was established after the aforesaid official declaration of the end of war.

In this chapter, however, I will put the aforesaid periods together to constitute one complex period of transitions. For the hispanicized Filipinos, it was a period of transition from a reform movement to a revolution toward independence. In relation to colonizers, it was a transition period from Spanish colonial government to the American colonial government. In relation to those who resisted Spanish colonial rule, it was a transition from freedom from Spanish colonial government toward subjection to the American colonial rule. In relation to Christianity, it was a period of transition from a Roman Catholic monopoly toward diversity due to the influx of Protestant churches and establishment of independent churches like the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)*. The issues on diversity, dominance and marginality in relation to ethnicity, language, religion, and racial/colonial divides in the Philippines were acutely exposed during this period of transitions. It is in the context of this complex reality of transition that I will examine the mission policies of the Episcopal Church.

Although missionaries who came with the American colonizers shared a common motivation and strategy, the Episcopal Church differed when it came to mission policies. The over-arching motivation that was common amongst many Protestants was to share the love of Christ that had a particular American character as a result of a long held belief in American Manifest Destiny. Scholars vary in their assessment of the foundation of this belief but the most commonly mentioned underpinnings are:

[T]he concepts of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, of America as the center of civilization in the westward course of empires, the primacy of American political institutions, the purity of American Protestant Christianity, and the desirability for English to be the language of humanity (Anderson 1988: 98-9).

In a sense, the motivation of most Protestants was to bring a superior civilization and form of Christianity in the Philippines based on the foundation of Manifest Destiny. To some scholars, the superiority of America was even expressed in gendered rhetoric referring to Americans in masculine metaphors like ‘sons of liberty’ while feminizing other races (Greenberg 2005: 21-3).

Although Manifest Destiny meant ‘different things to different people at different times’ (Widmer 1999: 213), it is generally defined as: ‘a conviction that the United States was a nation divinely chosen or predestined to be the primary agent of God's meaningful activity in history’ (Anderson 1988: 98). This doctrine traces its remote history to the colony of Pilgrims in Plymouth, Massachusetts. They establish a colony which they envisioned to be exemplary in all aspect of life for settlers to emulate (Mountjoy 2009: 14). It developed to be a national agenda after the United States won its independence and started to expand westward. In a sense, it was used to sugar-coat US expansionism (Miller 2006: 120).

As believers of Manifest Destiny, most Protestant missionaries generally shared in the civilizing mission strategy of establishing educational institutions, health care institutions, and churches. However, the Episcopal Church differed in its mission policy as it apparently opted to concentrate its mission work amongst marginalized people as a result of its critical engagement with the context. I contend that the mission policy of the Episcopal Church went through a process of refining as it adjusted to the situation in the Philippines. This is the reason why the scope of this survey is extended to 1909, because the founding of *Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas* (IEMELIF) in 1909 justified the mission policy of the Episcopal Church not to deliberately evangelise Roman Catholics. As shall be discussed in the latter part of this chapter, the founding of IEMELIF in 1909 was due to the inability of the Methodist Church to address the nationalist sentiments of Filipino ministers and their followers. The Methodist Church mission in the Philippines started when James Mills Thoburn, First Methodist missionary bishop of India and Malaysia, arrived in March 1899 (Clymer 1980:36).

Particularly, I propose that the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines adopted a mission policy during the formative years based on dominance and marginality, which is a perennial complicating fact of life in societies like the Philippines where diversity in many aspects of life is the undeniable reality. The diversity of aspirations in the Methodist Church, for example, resulted in the establishment of IEMELIF. However, caution is needed in order to avoid the tendency to essentialize culture as in the use of words such as diversity. This caution arises from the ‘impossibility of essentialism’ learnt from postcolonial criticism (Young 1995:159).

In the Philippine context, diversity simply means the presence of many ethnolinguistic groups and various religious orientations in society. Dominance refers to the power that certain groups such as the lowland Tagalogs possess in society at large. Marginality as defined earlier in the introduction refers to ‘a complex condition of disadvantage’ experienced by individuals and communities who became susceptible due to hostile environmental, cultural, social, political and economic environment (Mehretu et al. 2000: 90). By and large, many types of marginality manifested themselves in the Philippines, especially during the early period of American occupation. However, degrees of marginality varied from one place to another. Thus, although this chapter is a brief survey of the context of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines, it attempts to clarify degrees of marginalization in the Philippines which influenced the Episcopal Church to concentrate its mission work in areas that were considered to be of great need. In order to do this, I will discuss the reality of diversity first, then the dialectical relations of dominance and marginality as a result of the manipulation of diversity.

### **3.1 Diversity: A Philippine Reality, 1889-1909**

Phelan’s *Hispanization of the Philippines* (1967) seems to suggest that the entire Philippines as we know it today was hispanicized at some point. However, Phelan was very aware that he was referring to the parts of the Philippines that were under the control of the Spanish colonial government. In fact, after more than three hundred years of Spanish colonization, many places in the Philippines remained free from Spanish subjugation. The key to understanding this reality is physiography. Thus, this section includes a brief discussion on Philippine physiography. Although it does not directly elucidate the diversity of peoples of the Philippines, a brief discussion about the etymology of the word ‘Filipino’ follows in order to show how diverse were the people in the Philippines from 1889 to 1909.

#### **3.1.1 Physiography: An Indispensable Consideration in the Understanding of Diversity in the Philippines, 1889-1909**

To commence a historical survey on any aspect of Philippine society, at any given period, one has to deal with physiography. Generally, a basic idea of Philippine physiography makes one appreciate the complexity of Philippine society. It is an archipelagic country. Malcolm (1951) says that the Philippines is composed of

approximately 7,100 islands (p. 24). Forbes (1945) gives a smaller number of 7,083 but he also mentions that 1,095 of these were inhabited by 1918 (p. 4). These varying figures give us an idea that it was and still is really difficult to come up with accurate data even about some of the most basic aspects of Philippine geography. In fact, one cannot determine the exact number of islands in the Philippines because there are islands that disappear at high tide. In any case, the large number of inhabited islands in the Philippines has given rise to hundreds of ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines.

There are twelve principal islands in the Philippines: Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Panay, Palawan, Mindoro, Leyte, Negros, Cebu, Masbate, Bohol and Catanduanes (Browne 1900: 3). There are three mountain ranges in Northern Luzon, namely the Cordillera in the West, the Sierra Madre in the East and the Caraballo connecting the two in the Centre. Thus Northern Luzon is basically mountainous except for a narrow strip of coastal land and the Cagayan Valley that is surrounded by the Cordillera to the West, the Sierra Madre to the East and the Caraballo to the South (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 17-25). Central Luzon has the widest plain area, called the central plain (Zaide 1983: 3). Except for scattered volcanic mountains, Southern Luzon has wider and longer coastal lines making it suitable for bigger communities (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 17-25).

The numerous islands in central Philippines are commonly called the Visayan Islands. They consist mainly of Samar, Leyte, Cebu, Negros, Bohol, and Panay (Francia 2010: 24). The largest is Samar in the eastern part of the Visayas. Being comparatively small islands, they do not have extensive mountain ranges. However, they account for the reputation of the Philippines as having the longest coastline. The physical structure of the Visayas contributed to the comparative success of Spanish subjugation of their communities because these were in the coastal areas and their mountains were not extensive enough to accommodate fleeing people from the control of colonizers (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 25-32).

Mindanao is the second largest island in the Philippine archipelago. It is nearly ten times larger than Puerto Rico and more than three times larger than Belgium (Wester 1922:9). Mindanao and the rest of the islands in the Southern Philippines also have many mountain ranges. For a number of reasons including Muslim resistance, the Spanish were not able to put these areas under their colonial control (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967: 32-37).

### 3.1.2 Who is a Filipino? A Controversial Question

The word 'Filipino' has its own complex history that I intend to elucidate in this section. It is easy to say that Filipinos refer to all people living in the Philippines at all times, but history shows that its meaning went through many changes until it is recently used to mean inhabitants of the Philippines. The word 'Filipino' traces its origin to the name 'Philippines' which further traces its origin to Philip, the crown Prince of Spain when '*Felipinas*' was first used in 1543 by the Spanish colonizers (Agoncillo 1960: 78). However, the Spaniards originally did not use the word Filipino for the indigenous inhabitants instead they collectively called the Christianized *indios*. The word 'Filipino' was first used by Spaniards referring to Spanish and others of the Caucasian race born in the Philippines. But in the mid-nineteenth century, the word was reinterpreted to include Spanish *mestizos* (people of mixed blood) and even to indigenous who had wealth, connections, education, and family history. It was also used by Chinese *mestizos* to differentiate themselves from pure-blooded Chinese who were numerically and economically strong but were discriminated against (Steinberg 2000: 47).

The new meaning of the word 'Filipino' in the mid-nineteenth century became popular because it was articulated by the *ilustrados* or the enlightened ones such as Father Pelaez, Father Burgos, Joaquin Pedro de Tavera, Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. Del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena (Fernandez 1926: 9-10). The *ilustrados* were not only educated but also had aspirations for reforming the political and religious system in the Philippines. This general self-understanding of a 'Filipino' during the last half of the nineteenth century did not include the unconquered indigenous Filipinos.

When the Americans conquered the Philippines, with the exception of few people like Dean C. Worcester (1898), they thought that all people living in the Philippines were Filipinos (Atkinson 1905: 64). I propose to use the word Filipino in the way it was generally used by those who called themselves Filipinos in the period of this historical survey. They were the dominant population, other than the colonial rulers, in Philippine society. They were, first and foremost the *ilustrados*, coming from three main ethnolinguistic groups, namely the Tagalogs, the Ilokanos, and a few Visayans. They were Christians and were subjected to Spanish colonial rule (Guerrero 2001: 155; Cullinane 2001: 282-3).



### **3.2 Dominance and Marginality**

The history of the Philippines in the years of this survey is very complex, and not just about dominance and marginality. Neutrality, deception, passive subversion, collaboration, alliances, and other issues are amongst many things to consider in the close examination of this period. For various reasons, neutrality was generally seen in the attitude of the Muslims during the Philippine revolution and the Filipino-American War that followed (Ganancial 2002: 243). Stories of deception and treachery abound during the revolution and during the Filipino-American War. For instance, the Bontok were deceived by the revolutionaries in their effort to rally warriors against the Americans (Florendo 1994: 86). Passive subversion was demonstrated by the likes of Jose Rizal who used his writing skills in exposing the evils of Spanish colonial rule (Francia 2010: 120). Collaboration was the option taken by a lot of local elites who avoided the further destruction of their livelihood during the Filipino-American War. They also wished to ensure their place under the rule of the new colonial masters (Guerrero 1982: 155). Alliances were demonstrated, for instance, when the Filipino revolutionaries allied with the American forces against the Spaniards (Francia 2010: 138-9).

However, this survey focuses on the issue of dominance and marginality because I theorise that they impinged heavily on the mission policy of the Episcopal Church. In relation to this, I shall discuss the issue of divisions amongst Filipinos to clarify the issues of dominance and marginality, not in the manner of binarism, rather as a way of putting them together in a causal relationship.

In order to have a good grasp of the causal relationship between dominance and marginality, one needs to acknowledge that diversity and division are two different terms. Although they are often interchangeably used, a close examination of these words reveals that they differ in many ways. Diversity is not necessarily a negative word. This explains why many optimists strive to attain unity in diversity. In contrast, division generally connotes polarisation. Division puts people in opposite positions. It causes people to outdo each other until some are reduced to marginal positions. In short, diversity does not necessarily impede unity while division, on the other hand, normally causes disunity.

Ironically, colonizers throughout history have been using a divide and rule strategy to exploit the diversity of people they conquered, in order to establish their

centralizing colonial government. Thus division ironically was regarded as a tool to achieve unity. In particular, the Philippine experience of colonization attests to the use of the divide and rule strategy when the Spanish colonizers allied with friendly chieftains in the Philippines to conquer hostile ones. For example, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese explorer working for Spain, allied himself with Chief Humabon of Cebu against Chief Lapu-Lapu of Mactan (Gowing 1967:22). In 1594, the Roman Catholic Church also employed divide and rule strategies when they divided the Philippines amongst the first four religious orders, in order to remedy the problem of doing mission in the context of great cultural and linguistic diversity (pp. 34-5). The Order of St. Augustine was given the Tagalog provinces, Pampanga and Ilocos. The province of Camarines and some parts of the Bicol region were given to the Order of St. Francis. The Order of St. Dominic was given jurisdiction over the Cagayan valley in the Eastern part of Northern Luzon. When the Society of Jesus arrived in a much later period, it was given charge over Samar, Leyte, and some parts of Mindanao (Koschorke et al 2007: 30).

The Americans used the same strategy in the Philippines. In August 1899, for example, the Bates Agreement was signed by the Americans and Muslims in Mindanao. This agreement aimed at befriending the Muslims, in order to keep them neutral during the Filipino-American War that was waged mainly in Luzon and the Visayan islands (Gowing 1968: 373). Protestant Churches that came with the American colonizers also followed the example of the Roman Catholic Church when they organized the Evangelical Union that aimed at dividing the Philippines amongst member churches in order to maximize resources as well as to avoid overlapping work. Through this comity<sup>1</sup> agreement, the Methodists were given most of lowland Luzon north of Manila. The Presbyterians were given jurisdiction over the Bicol and southern Tagalog regions, and some parts of western Visayas (Verora 1982: 28-29). The Baptists shared if not bitterly competed with the Presbyterian in Iloilo (Clymer 1986: 42-9) The Mountain Provinces and La Union were covered by the United Brethren missionaries. The Disciples of

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<sup>1</sup> Ordinarily, 'Comity' refers to 'mutual courtesy or civility' (Raphael 2008:7). It derives from *comitas* which is a Latin word for courteousness or affability. Although it is commonly used in international law, it was also used in Christian mission since 1880s to mean division of territory or 'denominationalism by geography' in order to reduce frictions between and among denominations as well as to foster cooperation to assure wise use of manpower in the evangelization of large areas (Frank 2010: 317).

Christ covered Ilocos, Abra, and some Tagalog towns. Except for the western end, the Island of Mindanao in the south was assigned to the Congregationalists. The Christian and Missionary Alliance went to western Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. The City of Manila was open to all missions. The Seventh Day Adventists and the Episcopal Church opted not to join the Evangelical Union. The Seventh Day Adventists tried to cover all parts of the Country while the Episcopal Church targeted some indigenous Filipinos (Verora 1982: 28-29).

The divide and rule strategy certainly resulted in the relatively easy establishment of colonial rule both by the Spaniards and the Americans but did not contribute positively toward the creation of a strong nation-state. Thus, the observation many years ago that the Philippines is a nation in the making is still true until today (Keesing 1937; Stanley 1974). The divide and rule strategy created a society that continues to struggle with the issue of divisions which resulted from the mishandling or even exploitation of diversity in all aspects of life in the Philippines. Although this issue of divisions is multifaceted, I intend to discuss at least four different yet extremely interconnected aspects of this problem of disunity, in order to clarify the causal relationship between dominance and marginality: geopolitical divisions, ethnolinguistic divisions, socio-economic divisions, and religious divisions. In order to do this without oversimplifying, I propose to give special attention to the case of the Igorots in Northern Luzon and the Muslims in Mindanao, because it was primarily amongst these groups of people that the Episcopal Church concentrated its work during its pioneering years in the Philippines.

### **3.2.1 Geopolitical Divisions**

The highland-lowland dichotomy and all its negative implications that are still prevalent in the Philippines today is a symptom of a problem that traces its origin from the divisive strategy of the colonizers. Although the differentiation of people based on geographical location is not uncommon, the highland-lowland dichotomy in the Philippines resulted in the marginalization of the highlanders. The Mangyans of Mindoro, for instance, were marginalized and continue to experience marginalization as a consequence of refusing to come down from the mountains to live in the *pueblo* or centres established by the Spanish colonizers. At the close of the nineteenth century, the term ‘Mangyan’ was used collectively to denote a diverse set of people in Mindoro. The accounts written in this period provide a substantial picture of a people significantly

different from the Hispanicized lowland group. In the same period, the exploitative character of lowland-Mangyan relations developed and was later intensified with the advent of American rule in the island of Mindoro (Lopez 1976: xv).

In northern Luzon, the largest group of highlanders who experienced the adverse effect of the lowlander-highlander relation were the Igorots. Although the indigenous origin of the word Igorot is plausible as noted earlier, the fact remains that the term was used for the purpose of differentiation. Consequently, the differentiation of those living in the mountain from those living in the plain eventually resulted in the marginalization of those who belong to the former as they were generally regarded as backward in civilization. The highlander-lowlander divides in the Philippines became more apparent when the Americans adopted an isolationist stance for those whom they considered cultural minorities. They placed these so-called cultural minorities, who were generally living in the mountainous regions of the Philippines, under a special jurisdiction, in order to insulate them from the evils of western civilization that were already impacting the lowland Filipinos (Lopez 1976: 110-3). The purpose of the isolation seem to be noble but there is also a scholarship that argues that the Americans wanted to build a safety zone in the highlands to protect themselves from the lowlanders who were prone to be nationalistic. For instance, Jones (2003) argues that:

The mountains of northern Luzon thus developed into a critical piece of Worcester's plan for American rule in the Philippines. Politically, they were to be fortress in case of uprising in the Philippines. Geographically, they were to be haven of rest and recuperation for Americans subjected to misery of the tropics. Agriculturally, they were to provide enjoyable variation to the diet of the lowlands. In terms of natural resources, they would provide gold (which the Spanish always knew about but could never profitably extract), other minerals and forest wood for economic exploitation. And demographically, they harboured a population that could be shielded from Filipino lowlanders, and be made friends to the Americans (p. 210).

Regardless of the real purpose of the isolation policy of the Americans toward the cultural minorities, it certainly reinforced the highland-lowland divide that further resulted in the geo-political dominance of the lowlanders in the centres of Philippine society and the marginalization of highlanders. However, the marginalization was not one-way traffic. The marginalization was a result of mutual suspicion if not enmity between the lowlanders and highlanders. The Igorots, in particular, were suspicious of the lowlanders as a result of their relationship which was generally characterised as both cooperative and conflictive (Jones 2003: 215). In many cases this mutual suspicion

impacted the mission policy of the Episcopal Church, as can be gleaned from the following:

Filipino evangelists in the Mountain District would be a red rag to a bull. The Igorots are antagonistic to the low-land people. Moreover, the only low-land people who go to the mountains with any sort of business success are the Ilocanos. The Igorots hate them. I think we can reach the Igorots eventually through their own evangelists.<sup>2</sup>

This quotation was part of Brent's argument against the suggestion that the Episcopal Church should train lowland Filipinos to do evangelistic work amongst the Igorots. Although there is a likelihood that Brent was just echoing a position taken by people like Dean Conant Worcester, the Secretary of the Interior for the Insular Government, the fact still remains that such view of the situation had impacted the policy of the Episcopal Church as shall be discussed in the next chapter.

### **3.2.2 Ethnolinguistic Divisions**

Closely related to the geo-political division is the ethnolinguistic division. The division during the Spanish period was primarily manifested in the civilized-uncivilized dichotomy. Whereas the lowlanders were generally regarded as civilized because of their long history of Hispanicization, the highlanders were generally considered as uncivilized people. The Hispanicized Filipinos, especially the local elite, dressed like Spaniards, while those in the mountains were half-naked with the exception of Muslims and other related groups in Mindanao.

Amongst the Hispanicized Filipinos, the Tagalog naturally were those who manifested strong Spanish influence because of their close proximity to *Intramuros* (walled City of Manila) which was the capital of the Spanish colonial government. They were generally considered Christians (Worcester 1898: 40-2). Their language is also called Tagalog and it serves as the base of Pilipino, the national language today. The Tagalogs through the years developed a superiority complex as they were comparatively exposed to metropolitan ways of life (Constantino 1978: 37).

The Ilocanos were the next ethnolinguistic group to be reckoned with when it comes to power struggles in the Philippines during the last years of the Spanish colonial regime. Their prominence is due to their unequalled industry that was allegedly lacking

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<sup>2</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

in the Tagalog men ('Reforms Needed in Filipinas' 1909: 271). They were originally far from the capital of the Spanish colonial government since they occupied a very narrow strip of coastal land in the Northwestern coast of Luzon. However, in search for new agricultural lands, they migrated to Cagayan valley, which is between the mountainous Northeastern coast of Luzon and the Cordillera Central. They continued moving to the plains in Central Luzon where the Pampangos, Pangasinans, and Zambals were found (Benitez and Comyn 1969: 197). Many of them joined the Philippine revolution that led to a growing archipelago-wide character of the Philippine revolution in the period.

The Visayans, who are bigger in number than the Ilocanos, were always in revolt even before the nineteenth century due to many complex issues. In Bohol alone, there were at least two revolts with a century interval. The first revolt was in 1621 under the leadership of Tamblot, who wanted to revert back to the old religions. The second one was in 1744 under the leadership of Dagohoy, who was able to rally people who were tired of Spanish cruelty (Agoncillo 1960: 119). Although the dissatisfaction of the Visayans of the Spanish colonial rule was enough to unite them for a successful revolt, their division into many smaller ethnolinguistic groups made them weaker than their counterparts in Luzon. Visayans are divided into many groups like Cebuano, Waray, Hilagaynon, Kinaray-a, Aklanon (Jocano 1968: 30). The groups that are mentioned here are the major ones and the names given to these groups correspond to their languages. The Cebuanos are considered numerically strong because the island of Cebu is one of the few densely populated places in the Philippines aside from Manila and its environs. The Visayans were basically divided until the *ilustrados* presented themselves as a uniting force. Their contributions to the whole 'Filipino' nation became evident as some of them became *ilustrados* and met fellow *ilustrados* in Europe. The Visayans and the Tagalogs, who were rivals for a long time in relation to taking primacy in the Spanish colonial regime, cooperated in Europe in the articulation of a new meaning of 'Filipino' with a reform aspiration. Their involvement in the reform movement and the Philippine revolution contributed all the more to the archipelago-wide scope of the movement.

There is another big group that is to be given due place in Philippine historiography. The people are generally called Bicolanos from the Bicol region in the southeastern part of Luzon. Most of them were under the Spanish colonial rule. They were basically associated with the Tagalogs in terms of dominance in Philippine society

because of their geographical connection to the latter. Unlike the Visayans, the Bicolanos are not separated from the Tagalogs by a body of water (Owen 1982: 196-7).

There are many ethnolinguistic groups that were not amongst the power players in the Spanish colonial period in the late nineteenth century because they had resisted Spanish colonization for a very long time. Notable amongst them were the Muslims in the coastal lands in Mindanao, the Lumads in the interiors of Mindanao, the Mangyans of Mindoro, the Tagbanwa and other ethnolinguistic groups of Palawan, the Zambals in Central-West Luzon, the ethnolinguistic groups of the Sierra Madre Mountains, and the Igorots of the Cordillera mountain ranges. Contrary to the generalizing tendency of colonial historiography, the Igorots and the Lumads are the most diverse when it comes to language. Generally, villages in the wide and mountainous areas which these groups of people inhabited had their own respective languages. Again, this is where geography is very important. The interiors were generally mountainous. Thus, the density of the population is smaller compared to that in the coastal areas. This will also help us appreciate the diversity of ethnolinguistic groups in the interior because pockets of communities are established in places where settled life can be sustained, such as beside rivers and in small valleys.

The identified groups in the Cordillera Central at the end of the Spanish Period were the Apayaos, Benguetenos, Buriks, Busaos, Calingas, Guinaanes, Ifugaos, Itetepanes, and Tingguianes (Scott 1974: 330). These names were based on what the Spaniards called them but they are confusing because these only refer to people either in a village or in a very big area. They are not ethnolinguistic groups. Benguetenos are people who are either the Ibalois or the Kankana-eyes. Ifugaos are divided into many ethnolinguistic groups such as Mayaw-yaw, Kiangan and Lagawe. Calingas are even more divided. The differences amongst these groups were not negligible and important distinctions remain even today.

Ethnolinguistic groups in Mindanao are equally diverse. There are at least thirteen ethnolinguistic groups in Mindanao. Aside from the Muslims that were divided into many subgroups like Maranao, Tausug, Maguindanao, there were the groups that were collectively called Lumads. The term Lumad includes the Manobo, Bagobo, and Tiruray. These groups remained uncolonized until the arrival of the Americans (Verora 1984:45). Although the Americans introduced the phrase 'cultural minority' as a

collective term for these unhispanicized ethnolinguistic groups, many of them still continued to use categories they inherited from the Spaniards (Lopez 1976: 106).

### 3.2.3 Socio-Economic Divisions

Unlike geo-political and ethnolinguistic divisions, divisions of Filipinos along socio-economic lines are far more complex. Suffice it to say that at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonial regime had already created a strong segment of the society that represented the local elites. These local elites continued to dominate Philippine socio-economic life during the American period and do so even until today. Even the evolution of this ruling class in the Philippines has been very complex. The rise of these local elites traces its history back to the *reducción* (resettlement) policy adopted by the Spaniards to remedy the difficulty of governing the scattered population in the Philippines. Through this policy, *pueblos* (towns) were created and were given to indigenous Filipinos – *gobernadorcillo* - as go-betweens for both the colonizers and compatriots. Amongst others, these *gobernadorcillos* collected tributes and mobilized labour for government projects (Francia 2010: 67-8). These local elites grew in economic power as they played the role of go-betweens. The *principales* - local elites – benefitted in every economic activity all throughout Philippine history. In the Cagayan Valley in Northern Philippines, for instance, the *principales* controlled the tobacco monopoly (De Jesus 1982: 30-2). When the friars' lands were sold by the Americans, it was primarily the *principales* who were able to buy them (Francia 2010:160).

In relation to the prominent role of the *principales* or the local elites in the socio-economic transformation at least in the Hispanicised areas of the Philippines, it is worth noting that: 'the Philippines has developed a series of distinct regional elites with divergent, if not conflicting economic interest...the archipelago emerged as series of separate societies that entered the world economic system at different times, under different terms and trade, and with different systems of production' (McCoy 1982a:8). In Iloilo the local elites were involved in the textile industry and later shifted to sugar production in the neighbouring island of Negros (McCoy 1982b: 315). In the Bicol region, however, the local elite did not grab the opportunity to make profits out of the *abacá* (Manila hemp) trade but rather opted to concentrate on the more traditional rice production due to its being a status symbol (Owen 1982:206-7).

Divergent socio-economic developments in the Philippines have resulted in divergent responses to colonial rule. For instance, 'Tagalog entrepreneurs who leased



their rice lands from the Spanish church estates ringing Manila had every reason to support the nationalist revolt. Pampangan and Visayan sugar planters, who owned their own plantations, had equal cause to rally to the side of Spain and the colonial order' (McCoy 1982a: 8).

Another development that needs to be mentioned in relation to socio-economic divisions in the Philippines is the case of the Chinese immigrants. In particular, the rise of the Chinese *mestizos* is noteworthy. Historically, the Chinese preceded the Spaniards in the Philippines. Although no specific time and place is mentioned, Agoncillo (1960) suggests that the Philippines started to have a trade relation with China as early as the ninth century. This trade relation consequently led to the establishment of Chinese colonies in the coastal town of the Philippines in the tenth century and managed to establish more colonies in hinterland in the fourteenth century (p. 28). However, they came for economic reasons. When the Spaniards colonized the Philippines, they found the Chinese a real threat to their regime because of their large numbers as well as their unity. Thus, the Spaniards confined them in the *parians* where they were monitored. The *parians* were places designated for the Chinese to live and do their business. The *parian* in Manila was on the opposite bank of the Pasig River and was a cannon ball away from *Intramuros* (the Walled City of Manila). It was carefully planned so that the Chinese could be easily bombarded from the walled city when suspected of rebellion. In fact, the Chinese in the *parians* were closely monitored to the extent that their plans were allegedly easily discovered. For instance, there was a case of massacre of many Chinese in December 1762, when their alleged conspiracy with the British was discovered ('Anda and the English Invasion' 1909: 148-9). In spite of being discriminated against the Chinese, the *mestizos* especially, progressed economically. For instance, most of them played the role of middlemen in the *abaca* or Manila hemp trade in the Bicol region (Owen 1982: 196-7). In the 1880s and 1890s, the Chinese were not only involved in wholesale and retail business, but also became major producers and marketers of tobacco and *abaca*. This resulted in the renewal of anti-Chinese agitation at the turn of the twentieth century (Stanley 1975: 41). As time passed, many Chinese *mestizos* became economically more powerful than the *principales*. In the Cagayan Valley, for example, the economically powerful Chinese *mestizos* started to capture positions of *gobernadocillos* that further enhanced their role in the tobacco monopoly in the area (De Jesus 1982: 31-32).

Socio-economically speaking, the most marginalized groups were those who were collectively branded as *ladrones* and pirates. Although many Filipinos in the Hispanicized areas actually resorted to *ladronism* or banditry because of their long history of displacement, the word *ladron* did not only apply to them but to almost all those who refused to accept Spanish rule. During the tobacco monopoly, for example, trade with those who refused colonial rule like the Igorots was regarded illegal and anyone who participated in it was considered an outlaw or bandit or *ladron* (Scott 1982: 46-7). In like manner, the economic activities of the Muslims were generally portrayed as piratical (Francia 2010: 91-3).

### **3.2.4 Religious Divisions**

During the Spanish period, the native inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago were divided into three main groups, namely the Christians, the *infieles*, and the Moros (Lopez 1976: 106). As mentioned earlier, the collective term used to call the Christianized indigenous Filipinos was *indio*. *Infieles* refers to those who did not come to the Christian faith. Lastly, the Moros were the ones who occupied and continue to occupy the vast area of the Southern Philippines, and who practice indigenised forms of Islam. As mentioned earlier, the Christianised indigenous Filipinos were divided amongst religious orders for supervision and pastoral care within the Roman Catholic Church.

The *infieles* or the infidels were called by other derogatory terms like heathens and pagans. The largest concentration of people that belonged to this category was in the Cordillera mountain ranges where the Igorots were the dominant group. In like manner, the word Moros was a derogatory term tracing its history to the moors – Muslims - that the Christians fought back in Spain up to the fifteenth century. There is no better illustration for seeing how the Moros were discriminated against than the *moro-moros* that were very popular during the Spanish period and even beyond. These *moro-moros* were ‘highly popular costume dramas with predictable endings, where the Moros are archetypical villains and the Christians are virtuous heroes’ (Francia 2010: 339).

At the turn of the century, colonization of the Philippines by Americans ushered in Protestant churches that further compounded religious divisions in the country. Except for the Episcopalians, the Protestants believed that Roman Catholicism

introduced in the Philippines by the Spaniards was not the true form of Christianity. Thus, they resolved to preach amongst the Roman Catholics. Most Protestant churches organized themselves into the Evangelical Union in order to avoid overlapping work as well as to maximise resources (Jones 2003: 95). They employed a similar strategy of divide and rule that the Spaniards had used to remedy diversity in the Philippines. Specific jurisdictions were assigned to each member churches of the Evangelical Union. In contrast, the Episcopal Church did not deliberately evangelize amongst members of the Roman Catholic Church in order not to encourage ‘perplexity and schism amongst the Filipinos’.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, at the time the Protestants were beginning to establish their churches in the Philippines, the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI) was also being established for Filipinos who were tired of the Roman Catholic Church. The IFI traces its remote history to the question of secularization of parishes within the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. The secular clergy<sup>4</sup>, who were mostly native Filipinos, were deprived of their parishes when a royal decree in 1826 ordered that ‘all parishes which had been turned over to the secular clergy in the eighteenth century be restored to friar orders as soon as they should become vacant through the death or removal of the incumbent’ (Schumacher 1981: 3). Parishes were turned over to the secular clergy in the eighteenth century because many parishes had become vacant when regular clergy were discouraged to come to the Philippines by the newly instituted system of episcopal visitation which they considered intrusive. In addition, many churches became vacant due to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768 (Agoncillo 1960: 132). Normally, the regular clergy were accountable to their superiors and not to bishops who were mostly secular clergy. However, the secular clergy in the Philippines, mostly native Filipinos, were poorly trained and the decadence in the church was blamed on them. Thus, due to complaints coming from colonial government officials in the Philippines, the above

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<sup>3</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>4</sup> The term ‘secular’ from the Latin word ‘*saeculum*’ meaning a century or age and later world. In the twelfth century, the church began to use it as a term in opposition like secular clergy as opposed to regular clergy. The secular clergy in this sense was one who is embedded in the ordinary time as opposed to the regular clergy – those who belong to the religious orders – who turn away from this ordinary time or from worldly things in order to be closer to eternity. In other words, whereas the secular clergy makes no profession and follows no religious rule, possesses his own property like laymen, and owes to his bishop canonical obedience, the regular clergy generally professes vow of poverty, chastity and obedience (Taylor 2007: 54-5; *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 1997: 1478).

mentioned decree which ordered the return of the parishes to regular clergy was proclaimed. Although the secularization issue was a continuation of the issue of discrimination of native Filipinos, it began to enter ‘the crucible of nationalism’ in the 1820s onward (Schumacher 1981: 2). For instance, the secular clergy began to question the friars’ control over vast tract of lands. This in turn led secular clergy to be very much involved in the reform movement and later in the Philippine revolution.

Although the IFI traces its history further to the 18<sup>th</sup> century secularization issue and then to the Philippine Revolution, the immediate context in which it was founded was the American occupation. Its foundation was proclaimed on 2 August 1902, barely a month after President Theodore Roosevelt declared that the war with Filipinos was over on 4 July 1902. Its leaders were Isabelo de los Reyes, a writer and revolutionary fighting the Spanish from Ilocos Sur, and Monsignor Gregorio Aglipay, a secular priest from Ilocos Norte. He was one of the clergy who joined the revolution against Spanish colonial rule and was the only man of the cloth at the Malolos Congress that was convened in September 1898 (Francia 2010: 159). The Malolos Congress acted as the legislative body for the revolutionary government that was established through the proclamation of the Philippine Independence on 12 June 1898. Its first action was the ratification of the proclamation of the aforesaid independence. It was also responsible for the drafting and adoption of a constitution which enshrined the separation of the Church and the state (Agoncillo 1960: 233-6). Aglipay was later appointed as Military Vicar General of the First Philippine Republic (Whittemore 1961: 72-3). He continued to serve in General Aguinaldo’s forces during the Filipino-American War until his surrender on 25 May 1901 (Agoncillo 1960: 266).

Religious divisions in the Philippines became even more complicated when the *Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas* (IEMELIF) was organized out of the Methodist Church in 1909 by Nicolas Zamora as a result of the inability of the Methodist Church to respond properly to the Filipinos’ demands for self-determination (Deats 1969: 335). Schisms like this were expected by missionaries such as Brent who believed that ‘civilized’- Christianized - Filipinos wanted independence even if they were ‘not prepared’. Apparently, this was one of the reasons why he did not like the idea of deliberate evangelizing amongst the Roman Catholics.

I am not eager in any event to establish a large work among civilized Filipinos. The present trouble in the Methodist Church is an indication of what we have to expect. The policy of the Government is to keep independence dangling as a prize just out of reach of the people.

The unrest caused by this policy is bound to reflect, as I told Bishop Oldham the other day, on the religious life of the people. I cannot encourage any independence movement among Filipino religionists. My own feeling is so strong in the direction of not encouraging perplexity and schism among the Filipinos, that I would have no heart in starting a movement for the building up of a church out of Roman material.<sup>5</sup>

As the years passed, the division of Filipinos along religious lines continued to worsen. Although one may argue that it has always been a reflection of a deeply-rooted diversity in precolonial Philippine society, one may also attribute it to religious freedom that the Americans brought with them.

### **3.3 Summary and Conclusion**

The period from 1889 to 1909 was a long period of transitions. For the Hispanicized Filipinos, it was a period of transition from reform movement to revolution toward independence. In relation to colonizers, it was a transition period from Spanish colonial government to the American colonial government. In relation to those who resisted Spanish colonial rule, it was a transition from freedom from Spanish colonial government to subjection to American colonial rule. In relation to Christianity, it was a period of transition from Roman Catholic monopoly to diversity due to the influx of Protestant churches and the establishment of independent churches like the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI). The multiplicity of transitions within this period exposed the divided character of Philippine society.

Furthermore, this long period of transition was a complex period when interactions between the various groups took many forms, such as neutrality, deception, passive subversion, collaboration, and alliances. These forms of interaction between various groups in the Philippines were symptoms of an acutely divided society. However, the division in the Philippines was far from being simply the result of what happened in this transition period. The division in the Philippines had a very long history which led to the development of various social processes.

One of these processes is the marginalization of those who resisted colonial rule. Generally, people in the mountains like the Igorots were marginalized. In the Philippines where geo-political division is very evident in the lowlander-highlander dichotomy, the highlanders always ended up in a disadvantaged position because they

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<sup>5</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

were subjected to discrimination by lowlanders who started to develop a superiority complex as a result of their long association with the colonizers brought by their close proximity with the centres of colonial government that were in the lowlands. Although the highlanders generally enjoyed freedom for a long time due to their remoteness from the centres of colonial government, they eventually became part of the Philippine society where lowlanders have already entrenched themselves in the advantageous positions. In relation to ethnolinguistic divisions, the marginalization of 'cultural minorities' was an undeniable reality because they were generally regarded as uncivilized and therefore were discriminated against. In relation to socio-economic divisions, the *ladrones*, especially in the areas where there was comparative freedom from colonial rule and the 'pirates' specifically in the southern Philippines, were amongst the most marginalised. In relation to religious divisions, the most marginalized people were those who practiced traditional religions and the Muslims in the southern Philippines. Although the people who practiced traditional religions and the Muslims had the advantage to practice their own religion without being pressured into becoming Christians, they eventually find themselves subjected to marginalization in a society which considered Christianity as synonymous to advance civilization and the rest of religions as equal to heathenism or barbarism. Amongst hosts of factors, this issue of marginality became the defining factor of the policy of concentration which shall be discussed in the next chapter.

## **4. POLICY OF CONCENTRATION, 1901 -1919**

In the previous chapter, I have argued that the diversity in the Philippine society and the subsequent divide and rule strategy of colonizers has resulted in the marginalization of many ethnolinguistic groups. In this chapter, I will argue that, amongst many other factors, this issue of marginality in the Philippines became the defining factor in the modification of a predetermined policy of concentration that was adopted by the Episcopal Church for its mission in the Philippines. For a coherent discussion, this chapter starts with a brief introduction that covers the efforts of individual Episcopalians before the formal establishment of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands in 1901. After this, it defines the policy of concentration and discusses factors that led to its adoption and further modifications. In relation to modification of the policy, this chapter includes a section on the 'Moro Work' to further highlight the influence of marginality in the modification of policy.

### **4.1 Preparation Period, 1898-1901**

Mark Norbeck (1992) argues that the period from 1898 to 1901 was a period of false start for the Episcopal Church missionary endeavour in the Philippines primarily because the congregation of Filipinos organized by Charles Pierce, one of the army chaplains, ceased after the latter left the country and it had to be restarted again when Brent was sent to lead the mission in 1902 (p. 37). Although this may be true, considering that there were pioneering efforts from individual Episcopalians as well as from organizations under the Episcopal Church, the Church as a whole only decided to start a mission in the Philippines during its General Convention in 1901. Thus, I maintain that the earlier period was only a period of false start in so far as the organization of a sustained Filipino congregation in Manila is concerned. In relation to the mission of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines as a whole, I contend that the period from 1898 to 1901 was a period of preparation, considering the polity of the Episcopal Church which normally demands the action of the whole Church in general conventions to deal with extremely important issues such as creating a missionary district. It was a period when the creation of a Missionary District was debated by the leaders of the Church. It was a period of forming committees to study possibilities. It was a period when people were being asked to come to the Philippines to assess the

situation. It was a time for lobbyists to articulate the merits of sending missionaries to the Philippines. In short, it was a period when the Episcopal Church cautiously assessed the Philippine situation before making a decision whether to send missionaries or not.

The polity of the Episcopal Church embodies ‘unprecedented synthesis of episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and republicanism’ (Valliere 2012: 177). This synthesis is primarily manifested in the establishment of the General Convention as the highest governing body of the church. The General Convention is bicameral; it was structured and given functions that were identical to the legislative body of the USA. The House of Bishops and the Houses of Deputies respectively served, as it is today, as the upper house and the lower house of General Convention. The maintenance of the office of the episcopate and the governing power given to the House of Bishops obviously manifests the episcopal polity. The governing power that was and still is given to the presbyters or priests, who are locally elected to sit in the House of Deputies together with the elected lay members of the same body, shows the influence of Presbyterian as well as republican polity.

Consequently, there is no single definitive description of the polity of the Episcopal Church. Those who recognize the vital role of the bishops prefer to describe it as episcopal. Those who emphasize the role of the General Convention as the highest governing body of the Church prefer to describe the polity as synodical. Those who dislike the association of the terms ‘episcopal’ and ‘synodical’ with clericalism of the medieval church simply use terms such as ‘shared governance’ to emphasize the sharing of power with the laity (Haller 2012: 4). Although there is no single way of defining the polity of the Episcopal Church, one can easily recognise the degree of democratization of the church in the establishment of the General Convention as its highest governing body. However, the General Convention is convened triennially and therefore delays are inevitable in the decision making of the church, as can be gleaned from Philippine experience. A letter states:

[T]he Philippine Islands and Porto Rico are not yet in the possession of the United States and it is impossible to tell at present what their political status will be and whether there will be an open door for missionary work, and because there would be no meeting of our Board of Managers until September 20th, the officers of the society within reach asked that they might not be uncivil if they did not participate in the meeting. Such work as proposed, with us would involve in all probability more than consideration by the Board of Managers for its establishment. The question of new missionary jurisdictions would immediately come to the front, and this is one which can only be determined by action at the time of the General Convention (*Spirit of Mission* 1898: 372).



This quotation was part of the letter of explanation from the Board of Managers of the Domestic and Foreign Mission Society (DFMS) to the organizers of the meeting of representatives from different missionary boards on 13 July 1898 in New York. This meeting was held to discuss the possibility of organizing a mission to the Philippines which would maximize resources as well as avoid the overlapping of work (Ngaya-an 2007: 64-5). The Board of Managers did not send a representative to this meeting primarily because it did not have the mandate of the whole Church through the General Convention.

Unfortunately, when the General Convention was convened a few months later, no decision was made on the case of the Philippines. Although the 1898 General Convention created the Joint Committee on the Increased Responsibilities of the Church to consider the case of its new possessions like Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, there was no decision made for the Philippines and Cuba.

The most probable reason behind the failure of the Episcopal Church to decide on the case of the Philippines and Cuba was the uncertainty of the situation due to the strength of anti-foreign sentiments and the strong desire of the native people for political independence. The delegates of this convention were very aware of this instability because representatives of the Philippine revolutionary government addressed the House of Bishops with the following words:

The humanitarian and noble Republic of the United States of North America comes to our help in our work of political and social redemption. We bless it, and we pray that friendship and union between the Philippines and America may be permanent, and may at this early day be sealed with the seal of evangelical fraternity which the respected prelates assembled to-day have the power to impress upon it (*JGC* 1898: 218).

Apparently, Felipe Agoncillo and Sixto Lopez, the signatories of this letter, were appointed to represent the Filipinos in the negotiation of the 1898 Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain. They went to seek an audience with the President of the United States but the latter refused to meet them officially. The two Filipino diplomats then opted to address the bishops of the Episcopal Church hoping that the latter would influence the decision of the American government. The Filipinos were hoping that the Americans would remain faithful in helping the Philippines gain 'political and social redemption' and that the two nations would remain allies. However, the Filipinos were frustrated in their hope in the influence of the bishops of the Episcopal Church for a favourable outcome when the Treaty of Paris signed in

December 1898 stipulated that Spain cede the Philippines to the USA for \$20 million (De Ocampo 1994: 85-7). Although the Episcopal Church failed the Filipino revolutionaries, the address from the Filipino representatives led the leadership of the Episcopal Church to recognize the difficulty of the Philippine situation so they opted not to make any decision toward sending missionaries to the Philippines in the 1898 General Convention.

In addition, Norbeck (1993) correctly identified the financial unpreparedness of the Episcopal Church as one of the possible reasons in the delay of the action of the Episcopal Church (pp. 224-5). The issue on finance was aggravated by the developments in mission practice at that time. The Episcopal Church instituted the office of missionary bishop based on the idea that a bishop should take the lead in the missionary endeavour of the Church (Douglas 1996: 36-7). This practice further rendered the Episcopal Church polity cumbersome because an endowment fund had to be established to support a new missionary district and a new missionary bishop before the actual creation of a missionary district as well as the election of its bishop (Norbeck 1993: 226-7).

Although the Episcopal Church failed to formally start its mission in the Philippines when it had the chance during the 1898 General Convention, the three years that followed until the next general convention served as a period of preparation. This was the period that people like Charles Pierce started to excite the interest of fellow Episcopalians to think about the possibility of opening an Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. Charles Pierce was one of the chaplains who arrived with the American occupation forces after the initial victory of the Americans over the Spaniards during the naval battle in May 1898. Pierce celebrated the first Episcopal service on Philippine soil on 24 September 1898 for the American soldiers and the other English-speaking residents of Manila. The personal effort of Charles Pierce later extended to the Filipinos when he celebrated a mass for Filipinos on Christmas Day of the same year. Although his ministrations for the Filipinos was not sanctioned by the Church, it was vital in sowing the seed of Episcopalism in the Philippines. Certainly, these events made Pierce realize the feasibility of starting an Episcopal mission in the Philippines as manifested later in his rigorous campaign for the creation of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands (Ngaya-an 2007: 73-4):

So long as I am here, I shall give to the work every minute I am able to spare, but we must work for permanent results. The Methodists have a Presiding Elder here and are pushing

their work most commendably. The Presbyterians also are putting considerable zeal into their propaganda. Our native work demands missionaries at once.<sup>1</sup>

The news about the work of the chaplains in the Philippines encouraged the Brotherhood of St. Andrew (BSA) to send James Smiley and Hugh Nethercott as its representatives in April 1899. The arrival of these BSA members in the Philippines could have been the start of actual missionary work but they met with the chaplains and opted to cooperate with them. Consequently, they did more chaplaincy work rather than mission work (Ngaya-an 2007: 72-3). Significantly, they arrived when the Filipino-American war had already started which rendered it difficult to work amongst Filipinos (Francia 2010: 144-5).

One of the turning points in the history of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines was the appointment of Frederick R. Graves, Bishop of Shanghai, to oversee the work in the country in 1899. Although his appointment was not the formal commencement of mission work, it signified the growing interest of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. Bishop Graves arrived in September 1899 for an episcopal visit and recognized the need to establish a missionary district in the Philippines as manifested in his recommendations as well as in his support for Pierce when the latter went around the United States lobbying for the opening of a mission in the Philippines. The campaign of Charles Pierce resulted in the New York Church Club lobbying for the creation of the missionary district in the Philippines, especially during the 1901 General Convention (Ngaya-an 2007: 74).

The need for lobbyists in favour of the opening of the Episcopal Church missions in the Philippines reflects the ongoing debate between the imperialists and anti-imperialists in the USA after the Spanish-American War. Those who lobbied for the opening of mission in the Philippines were generally identified with the imperialists. Largely, anti-imperialists were apprehensive of the need for Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines.

From the very beginning, the Episcopal Church was well aware of the presence and influences of both the imperialists and the anti-imperialists in the church. Thus it approached the issue with caution and organized the Commission on the Increased

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<sup>1</sup>Letter from Charles Pierce to Arthur S. Lloyd, 09.07.1900, ATEC, 76.19.11.

Responsibility of the Church during the 1898 General Convention. Among the members of this commission was an anti-imperialist Henry Codman Potter, Bishop of New York. He and other members of the commission embarked on a fact-finding mission to Hawaii, the Philippines, Japan, China, and India on behalf of the commission in November 1899. After this fact-finding mission, his position in relation to Philippines changed for the sake of the welfare of the Filipino people (Bourgeois 2004: 137-40).

Potter's change of position on the matter of church's plan to open mission in the Philippines proved to be another turning point. The call for support of such plan grew louder when he joined in. Apparently, the Board of Managers of the Board of Missions were almost certain that the 1901 General Convention would finally act positively on the matter. Thus, the board appointed James Smiley as its representative in the Philippines after the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, to which the latter belonged, decided to withdraw from the Philippines because of organizational problems back home (Ngaya-an 2007:74).

Potter's change of position was attributed to the implication of his subscription to the social gospel (Bourgeois 2004: 13-6). Regardless of the factors to this alteration of position, it certainly suggests that the situation he observed in the Philippines must have been so bad to alter his anti-imperialist stand. However, this does not mean that every observer of the Philippine condition arrived at the same conclusion. Before Potter's visit, John Howe Peyton, a lay person who visited the Philippines as a member of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, reported a positive observation of the religious condition of the Philippines to the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in the USA in October 1899 (Ngaya-an 2007: 69). He reported:

I found a magnificent church in every village. I was present at mass several times, and the churches were always full of natives – even when circumstances were unfavourable, because of military occupation. There are almost no seats in those churches, while the services last – an hour, or an hour and a half. Never in my life have I observed more evident signs of profound devotion than in those there present. The men were kneeling, or prostrated before the altar; and the women were on their knees, or seated on the floor. No one went out of the church during the service, or talked to others. There is no spirit of sectarianism there. All have been instructed in the creed, in the formal prayers, in the Ten Commandments, and in the catechism. All have been baptised in infancy. I do not know whether there exists in this country a village so pure, moral, and devout as is the Filipino village ('Present Condition': 363).

Peyton's apparent exaggeration of the incomparable purity, morality, and devotion of Filipinos reflects an effort to convince the House of Bishops that there was no need for a mission to Filipinos. This assessment was not able to influence the decision of the

church as far as the opening of the mission is concerned but somehow it influenced the choice of Charles Henry Brent that shall be discussed later in this chapter.

After careful study of the Philippine situation, the general convention of the PECUSA held in San Francisco, California in 1901 finally created the Missionary District of the Philippine Island (MDPI) and placed it under the charge of the High Churchmen or those who belonged to the Catholic wing within the Episcopal Church. Churchmanship or simply the theological position of every Episcopalian was an important issue to reckon with in the Episcopal Church in those times. In the nineteenth century, the Anglican Communion, to which the Episcopal Church belonged, was roughly divided between three parties based on theological positions. The Low Churchmen or the Evangelicals were on one side, the High Churchmen or the Catholics were on the other side and in between them were the Broad Churchmen. The issue of churchmanship generally affected the development of the Episcopal Church and even its missionary endeavour. Thus, the Episcopal Church came up with an unwritten agreement that the High Churchmen or those who professed a Catholic theology should be given responsibility over domestic mission while the Low Churchmen or those in the Evangelical party were given responsibility over the foreign missions of the Church (Jones 2003: 84). Consistent with this agreement, the mission in the Philippines was put initially under the charge of High Churchmen like Bishop Charles Henry Brent, Fr. Walter Clayton Clapp and Fr. John Armitage Staunton Jr. because it was under the Domestic Mission, being a territory of the United States. Brent was elected as the pioneering missionary bishop in the Philippines and Clapp and Staunton were appointed to become his associates. Walter Clayton Clapp and his wife Charlotte were assigned to take care of the Anglo-American Congregation in Manila while John Armitage Staunton Jr. and his wife Eliza were assigned also in Manila to take care of the Filipino Congregation. Unfortunately, the Stauntons found no Filipino Congregation in Manila and decided to take a government position in Iloilo while waiting for the newly elected Bishop to come and lead them (Ngaya-an 2007: 74-7). It took the Episcopal Church three full years to make a decision about the Philippines. Nonetheless, these three years unwittingly served as a preparation as manifested in its mission policy of concentration even before the arrival of Brent in 1902.

## **4.2 Concentration: A Policy toward Double Goals of Establishing a Wide Sphere of Influence and Working amongst the Marginalized**

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, many Filipino Episcopalians think that the church, under the leadership of Brent, adopted a general policy of ‘not to set up altar against altar’. Although there is no clear evidence to substantiate this claim, there are documents that implicitly support it. For example, Brent said:

Experience in the Philippines fully justifies the principle which I adopted at the outset on theoretic grounds, of non-interference under ordinary circumstances with the adherent of other churches, conspicuously, of course, the Roman Catholic as being the largest. We wish to teach the people the true meaning of religious liberty, but this cannot be done by an aggression which at best releases men from one form of bigotry to bind them by another (JAC 1904:23).

The use of the word ‘non-interference’ in this quotation somehow can be used to support this claim if it is taken out of context. However, if it is understood in the light of the part of the sentence which clarifies the limit of ‘non-interference’ to ‘ordinary circumstances’, then this means ‘non-interference’ was not absolute. It becomes inapplicable in relation to the pressing need of the ‘unshepherded’ Roman Catholics in the slum of Tondo, Manila as shall be discussed further in this chapter (JAC 1907:33). Thus, in this section, I contend that the alleged ‘not to set up altar against altar’ was a subsidiary policy to the main mission policy of concentration which was predetermined and yet modified in response to real situation in the Philippines.

The mission policy of concentration of the Episcopal Church was first manifested in the instruction of Bishop Brent to his associates who were already in Manila ahead of him. He gave this instruction while he was busy raising funds after his election. Zabriskie (1948) summarizes this instruction as follows:

[T]o regard the foreigners as his and his colleagues’ primary responsibility; to support to full every unselfish and intelligent effort of the authorities; to avoid conflict with Roman Catholics as far as possible, not proselytizing but striving to win back to organized Christianity those alienated from the papal obedience; to operate as far as possible with Protestant communions but not accept their proposed schemes for dividing the Islands among different bodies; to adhere strictly to the law of the Episcopal Church and avoid any practices and teachings which, though permissible would divide the staff; to be ever on alert for opportunities to evangelize new groups of non-Christians (p. 51).

Brent was primarily referring to the Americans and British every time he used the word foreigners (p. 52). In other words, the mission policy of concentration of the Episcopal Church was originally to take care of the need of the Americans and other English-speaking colonials in Manila, as well as in other parts of the Philippines. Nonetheless, the policy was redefined based on the engagement of the Episcopal Church with the

wider context of its mission. Consequently, the concentration of work was modified to consider the work amongst non-Christians as important as the work for the Americans and other English-speaking people.

The experience of the Episcopal Church in relation to the real needs of the marginalized ethnolinguistic groups combined with other factors led to the modification of the original resolve. Nowhere was this metamorphosis stated more clearly than in the address of Bishop Brent in 1904. He said:

Our function as a Church is not to attempt to win all the people we can to ourselves or spread a thin coat of "Episcopalianism" over the entire Archipelago. Rather it is to bear out witness and to do our work thoroughly at carefully chosen centres which will become in time spheres of influence for large sections of the country where the need is greatest (*JAC* 1904:24).

More than simply stating what the church should avoid, it defined clearly what it intended to do, which was to focus its attention on establishing 'spheres of influence for large sections of the country where the need is greatest'. The key phrases are 'spheres of influence' and 'where the need is greatest,' which can be found in many documents (*JAC* 1906:25). In other words, this policy of concentration was aimed at two goals: namely, to establish wide spheres of influence, on the one hand, and to bring the service of the church to those in greatest need, on the other.

It is difficult to analyse the above quotation to capture the mission policy of the Episcopal Church because it also contains the church's primary mission strategy, which was to bear witness and to do the work thoroughly 'at carefully chosen centres'. The two were intertwined to the extent that both were actually in the same sentence. It has been already mentioned in the introduction that, in the mission praxis of the Episcopal Church, mission policy takes a middle ground between mission theory and theology on the one hand, and mission strategies on the other. It is easy to determine the dividing line between mission policies and mission theologies and theories, but it is difficult to make a distinction between mission policies and mission strategies. Unsurprisingly, Botengan (2001) quotes this statement of Brent and vaguely refers to it as Brent's vision without further discussion (p. 5). David Bacayan (2004) also uses it but he neither identifies it as a mission policy nor a mission strategy (p. 39).

The above mentioned two goals of the policy of concentration were far from being complementary because to establish a wide sphere of influence with meagre resources needed a deliberate mission to influential people thus neglecting those in great

need. On the other hand, focusing on what the Church could do for the needy would drain the meagre resources to the extent that one can hardly realize any impact on a wider society. However, the Episcopal Church managed to make these two goals complement each other by establishing centres in places of influence and at the same time in strategic places to reach out to people in great need. The policy was already defined at this juncture in the history of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines and was, time and again, clarified in the succeeding years. Even when there was a deliberate attempt on the part of Bishop Brent to focus his attention on the Moro work in 1914 onwards, it was still consistent to the same policy of concentration (*JAC* 1915: 12-3). Thus in this chapter, the supporting facts predominantly comes from before 1910 sources in spite of the fact that the period covered goes up to 1919.

It is tempting to suggest that the ability of the Episcopal Church to put together in one policy two mutually contradicting goals of establishing wide sphere of influence and ministering to those of great need were influenced by Buddhist 'middle path' philosophy or by the Toist teaching about *yin* and *yang*. However, this seems very unlikely for three reasons: 1) the Episcopal Church was very new in the Philippines and therefore did not have chance to assimilate such teachings, 2) the Philippines was an exception to the heavy influence of Buddhism, Hinduism or any of the great Asian religions or philosophies (Yang 2011: 186-7), and 3) the character of the policy was more of keeping two contradicting goals in creative tension rather than harmony, especially in case of *yin* and *yang* as they are generally seen as complements (Deng 1990: 328).

Although the connection may not be direct, I propose that the ability of the Episcopal Church to aim for these two goals has a long history back to the Anglican tradition of balance, comprehensiveness and hybridity as manifested in the *via media* theological position of the Church of England as expressed in the Elizabethan Settlement in the sixteenth century. This *via media* theological position taken by the Church of England maintains that the Church of England is both Catholic and Reformed (Wilson 2011: 133). Chief amongst these actions was the adoption of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion in 1571 (Bicknell 1925: 18). Although the Lutheran influence on these articles was very strong, it had some characteristics of moderation as a response to religious controversy in England during the time of Elizabeth I (Avis 2000: 52) when the Church of England was responding to the attacks of the Puritans, on one side, and of



the Romanists on the other side (Bicknell 1925: 18). The long history of struggle for comprehensiveness in the Anglican Communion enabled the Episcopal Church to aim for wider impact in the Philippines without losing focus on uplifting people in great need. It enabled the Episcopal Church to design a policy that gave importance to both the centre and the periphery of the Philippine society.

I refer to this policy as ‘the policy of concentration’ based on the earlier words of Bishop Brent when he said, ‘we must carefully choose our field or fields, and concentrate all our energies there’ (‘First Annual Report’ 1903, ATEC). The policy of concentration was understood variously by the staff of the missionary district. For example, when a missionary was transferred to another place he said: ‘it permits us to carry out the principle of concentration of work’ (Spencer 1907: 53). Although it was understood as a principle in this case, they were referring to the same mission policy of concentration.

In his address in 1908, Brent mentioned his intention to ‘center’ all his energies upon ‘the development of our work amongst the Igorots’. Apparently, Wood and Lloyd were not in agreement with this policy as they asked Brent to clarify it.<sup>2</sup> In reply, Brent wrote:

You ask my interpretation of the words you quote from the Convocation Journal for 1908. In order to answer it I shall have to go back to the beginning. I consented to come to the Philippine Islands originally because it is American territory. Only on such conditions would I have agreed to come to a Roman Catholic country and only because of it do I remain. When the Philippine Islands become independent I resign.....When I came to the Islands I announced my policy and have never changed it. I am here first to uphold high Christian ideals for the Americans; secondly, to minister to the greatest needs as they are revealed among the people, this includes the medical work we are engaged in and the various philanthropies associated with the settlement as well as, of course, our work among the Igorots and Chinese; thirdly, to receive such Christianized Filipinos as may turn to us in the course of time for our ministrations. Thus far I have been able to cover the first purpose in a measurable degree. The second I have been sadly disappointed in through lack of workers. When I have finished this second undertaking I shall be free to see what further I can engage myself in. At the present moment our policy must be one of concentration not extension.<sup>3</sup>

Although he claimed to have ‘never changed’ his policy, there were actual changes as early as 1904 when the concentration was not only for Americans but rather for the establishment of spheres of influence for the wider Philippine society. In other words,

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<sup>2</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Charles Henry Brent, 01.03.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

the ‘never changed’ comment from Brent was only true in so far as the main substance of the policy of concentration was concerned. When it comes to the details of the implementation of the policy, modifications based on his critical engagement with the Philippine context were employed so that the work for the Igorots was given equal importance as early as 1904. Understandably, the ‘never changed’ comment from Brent was an exaggerated reminder for people like Wood and Lloyd about the policy of concentration that was adopted for the Philippine mission from the very beginning. To use the words of Brent, the policy originally meant the concentration of work ‘to uphold high Christian ideals for the Americans’. In 1904, however, the policy was to ‘bear out witness and to do our work thoroughly at carefully chosen centres which will become in time spheres of influence for large sections of the country where the need is greatest’ (*JAC* 1904:24).

### **4.3 Personal Characters, Ideals and Expediency: An Examination of Primary Factors in the Development of the Mission Policy of Concentration**

There are many factors that influenced the adoption of the policy of concentration but I propose to focus on five closely related factors: 1) Bishop Brent as a pioneering leader, 2) the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church, 3) the issue of marginality in Philippine society, 4) the pacification policy of the American colonial government, and 5) inter-denominational cooperation. Although these factors need to be discussed separately simply for the sake of clarity, they represent both theological and practical factors which are intricately interwoven to the extent that it is almost impossible to discuss them independently. The combination of these factors demonstrate the mediating role of mission policies in the dialogical relationship between theory and practice in the mission praxis of the Episcopal Church as introduced in chapter one.

#### **4.3.1 Bishop Brent: The Pioneering Leader**

In a highly structured institution like the Episcopal Church, leaders are undeniably important for the direction of the institution. Although many Episcopalians nowadays argue that the ‘Episcopal Church operates under a system of shared government and leadership in which all members of the church have the capacity to play a part’ (Haller 2012: 3), the fact still remains that the church was and still is being led by bishops who occupy the uppermost part of the church hierarchy. There may have been recent developments which somehow lessened the power of these bishops in the Episcopal

Church but in the nineteenth century the Episcopate was still understood by many as a ‘divinely instituted office’ with ‘inherent duties and powers’ which ‘cannot be taken away by human authority’ (Evans 1855: 151).

Although there was an effort to democratize the Episcopal Church from the beginning of its organization out of the Church of England after the American Revolution, the idea of divine institution of the office of the bishop continued to pervade the ecclesiology of the church. Furthermore, I suggest that this idea of divine institution of the office of the bishops somehow came to the fore as a far-reaching influence of the Oxford Movement or the Catholic revival movement within the Church of England in the 1830s and 1840s. This suggestion is based on the fact that Evans was articulating the aforesaid idea just over a decade later in 1855. Time and again the idea of the divine institution of the office of the bishops was articulated. In 1880, for example, Bishop Harris of Michigan delivered a sermon arguing for the constancy of the powers associated with the office of the episcopate. He argued that the polity of the Episcopal Church is comprehended in ‘two departments’, namely ‘order’, which is ‘fixed and uniform’ because of ‘divine appointment’; and ‘organisation’, which is a ‘variable as may be necessary to meet the various exigencies of times and occasions’ (p. 7). Following this argument, the laity in the Episcopal Church, organisationally speaking, were well represented in the parish meetings, diocesan conventions and general conventions (Haller 2012: 4). However, the responsibilities to make decisions, help frame mission policies, help design mission strategies, and the like hung on the bishops as ecclesiastical authorities especially when the aforementioned bodies were not in session. This is further clarified by the fact that the ‘basic unit of the Episcopal Church is the diocese’ with the bishop as its head (Webber 2000: 24-5). Although the powers of the bishops assigned to missionary districts like the Philippines were to some extent lessened by the fact that their jurisdiction was still dependent on the wider church in all matters regarding organisation, the powers inherent to the office of the episcopate as part of the ancient order of the church was still intact. Thus, it is very important to regard these bishops as a constant consideration in understanding the reason behind the adoption of any mission policy. Moreover, examining the case of Bishop Brent is doubly important because he was the pioneering bishop of MDPI.

Some emphasize the ecumenical thought of Charles Henry Brent to be the primary factor in the decision of the Episcopal Church to adopt a policy of concentration for its

Philippine mission (Kates 1949: 6). However, Sugeno (2001) points out that the ecumenical thought of Brent was developed in the Philippines. Although Brent was involved in interdenominational cooperation in the United States as well as ecumenical contact with other missionaries early in his life in the Philippines, his experience of division amongst Christians in the Philippines was the primary factor in the development of his ecumenical thought (p. 76). Some argue that the policy of concentration reflected the condescending attitude of most American colonists like Brent because it aimed at the uplift of the most backward people of the Philippines.<sup>4</sup> However, this argument does not fully explain the fact that the other Protestant missionaries with the same superiority complex did not join the Episcopal Church in its decision to concentrate efforts to those who had minimal contact with Christianity. Arun Jones (2004) implies that Brent's mission policy in the Philippines or the policy of the church he was leading was based on ecclesiology which was cruciform in character (pp. 423-3). Jones based his description of Brent's ecclesiology on the very words of the latter when he described the church as having a 'shape of the Cross which rises vertically as high as God, and stretches right and left to the outermost bounds of humanity' (1918: 1964). Some people also argue that the policy adopted by the church was a reflection of Brent's subscription to the social gospel (Norbeck 1996:164).

Although the many interests and broad theological exposure of Brent undeniably impinged on the policy of the Episcopal Church mission work in the Philippines, I contend that such influence was exerted within the broader context of the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church which will be discussed later in this chapter. At this point, I propose to look at Brent's personal character as reflected in his writings and in his life journey. This attempt arises from the observation that there is no serious study on his character. More importantly, this arises from the fact that biographies of missionaries are forms mission histories. Daniel Jeyaraj (2006) demonstrated this in his work on the life of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg of the Lutheran Mission in India. He did this because he believed that history is 'the consequence of choices and actions of people in their on context' (p. 1). The choices the missionaries made were influenced by many factors including their character.

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<sup>4</sup> Edward P. Malecdan, Interview by the author. 03.06.2014, ECP National Office, Quezon City. Audio Recording.

Although it is very hard to write about a character without falling into the realm of hagiography, careful consideration of Brent's character is needed to fill in some gaps that are still left open for research. In spite of studies conducted about Brent, there are some aspects of his life that were not covered. In particular, there has been no research focused on the visionary character of Brent and its contribution to the adoption of the policy of concentration as the mission policy of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. Sugeno (2001) noted the visionary character of Brent but it was in the context of his discussion to latter's contribution to the modern ecumenical movement (p. 78). I intend to build on Sugeno's finding and specifically contend that Brent's visionary character impinged on the mission policy of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines as well.

The life of Brent can speak for his forward-looking character. He was born on 9 April 1862 and grew up in the small town of Newcastle, Ontario, where his father was the local Anglican rector. Brent studied classics in Trinity College, University of Toronto and graduated in 1884. Brent moved back to Port Hope and taught in a school for two years while studying for the priesthood. He was ordained deacon in the Anglican Church of Canada in 1886. He left Canada and sought employment in the United States because there was no opening in his diocese. One year later, he was ordained to the priesthood and found work in Buffalo, New York. In 1889, Brent moved to Boston where he was put in charge of St. Augustine's, a small chapel erected to minister to African-Americans living in Boston's depressed West End (Jones 2003: 89-90).

Brent's far-seeing character was not only manifested in his courage to move from one place to another but also in the nature of the work in which he was involved. He was involved in works that affirmed ministry as God's work not only for the church members but also for all humanity. When he moved down to St. Stephen's Church in the Boston's South End in 1891, he helped develop the physical plant to include a parish house, a settlement house, a rescue mission, a lodging house, and a wood and coal yard for people to earn money for their daily immediate needs (Norbeck 1996: 163). His devotion to humanity was further strengthened when he was elected the first bishop of the MDPI in 1901. While a missionary bishop, he devoted a significant portion of his time serving humanity beyond his missionary jurisdiction as can be gleaned in his involvement in the anti-opium crusade and other endeavours aimed at spreading

Christian influence. He was one of the original members of the Opium Committee in the Philippines which created and convened in 1903. This committee had a worldwide impact since its action to prohibit the use of opium in the Philippines in 1905 has influenced many countries to do the same (Mandel 2006: 29-33). He represented the United States and presided over both the 1909 International Opium Conference in Shanghai and the 1911 Hague Conference. He also served as the Chief of Chaplains of American Expeditionary Force from 1917 to 1919 during World War I (Jones 2004: 423). Ultimately, his visionary character was revealed in his ecumenical involvement particularly in the Faith and Order Conference (Sugeno 2001: 78-9).

Brent's visionary character was not only manifested in his life but also in his writings: 'but just as the stars must not limit man's vision as he gazes up, neither must the horizon limits his visions as he looks abroad. Christian energy is not doing its full work unless it aims at touching the uttermost part of the earth' (1899: 111). For him a 'missionary is not a missionary because of a few missionary texts in the Bible. He is a missionary because he is a Christian' (p. 113).

After his election to become the missionary bishop of the MDPI, Brent (1907) continued to emphasize the importance of vision: 'The chief function of the ministry is to reveal to men a vision --- this at least on the Prophetic side. We must unveil Christ and Christ's purposes. They alone can give a vision who have a vision' (p. 8). Brent used Joel 2: 28 when he tried to emphasise the urgency of visions saying: 'the young men see visions --- have insights as the heritage of their youth; the old men dream dreams --- have the power to extract philosophy from the experience of their own and other history' (pp. 8-9). He also proposed that vision is not only for the sake of doing good for others, but also for the sake of the survival of the Church: 'Viewed from one angle, missionary adventure is not self-sacrifice for the good of others, but a phase of self-protection. Unexpansive religion is a dying religion' (p. 21). Brent's vision of an expansive church apparently pushed him and the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines as well to adopt a mission policy that did not aim at a few converts but rather intended to influence the whole of the Philippines. He adopted a policy of concentration that aimed at maximizing resources for a greater impact.

The visionary character of Brent apparently found fertile ground in the PECUSA especially in the first two decades of the twentieth century when the church began to articulate its national church ideal. According to this ideal, the mission of the Episcopal

Church was to build national churches that would minister to both social and spiritual needs of people under their charge. This ideal became the basis for the policy of concentration in order to establish a wide sphere of influence in the Philippines and to minister to those of great need in spite of meagre resources.

#### **4.3.2 The National Church Ideal of the Episcopal Church**

In the study of mission policies, there is a great tendency to focus on individual policy makers like missionary leaders. However, along with the influence of individual leaders on policy one has to take into account the extent of the influence of the whole church on that same policy. In the case of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines, I propose that although the influence of Bishop Brent as a pioneer missionary bishop was great, the Church as a whole had a greater influence on every policy adopted during its formative period and the years after. On the one hand, as a bishop of a highly structured church, Brent had to make sure that his policy was in line with the general policy of the church back home. This was evident in his being tentative about how to deal with the Christianized indigenous Filipinos when he said: ‘the whole question of the work amongst Christianized Filipinos demands considerations, in view of the occurrence which took place prior to and in conjunction with the General Convention, as well as subsequently and recently’ (*JAC* 1906:24). On the other hand, as a leader of a comparatively democratized church, Brent had to consult his co-workers. This was evident in his policy of concentration on Americans and other English-speaking populations in Iloilo: ‘Yesterday we had a conference of our workers, and it was decided that we should immediately go to Iloilo and establish ourselves there’.<sup>5</sup>

It is in the light of the Episcopal Church’s way of developing policies that I consider the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church as the theoretical foundation of the policy of concentration. It was no less than Bishop Brent who acknowledged the national character of the Episcopal Mission in the Philippines: ‘When in 1901 I was chosen to represent the Church in this young dependency of the United States I accepted the responsibility because of its national character’ (*Sixteen Years*: 163). By ‘national character’, Brent was actually referring to the Episcopal Church as having the character

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<sup>5</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Arthur S. Lloyd, 03.01.1903, ATEC, 76.2.11.

of the non-established national church of the United States. This included the Church's mission in the Philippines since the Philippines was a territory of the US.

The national church ideal maintains that the mission of the Episcopal Church was 'to build up national churches that would minister to the social and spiritual needs of the local people while maintaining communion in a universal (Catholic) church' (Douglas 1996: 74). Frank Sugeno (1984) refers to the same ideal as an 'establishmentarian ideal' (p. 285). Although the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church was still in the process of being defined at the turn of the nineteenth century, it traces its long history to the idea of a national non-established church that was articulated by William Reed Huntington after the American Civil War (Douglas 96:88). It even traces its origin further back to the Anglican divines during the time of Queen Elizabeth I, the foremost being Richard Hooker (Sugeno 1984: 285). Although the idea of an established church did not have any place in America where the separation of the church and the state is enshrined in the national constitution, the Episcopal Church continued to adhere to the establishmentarian ecclesiology as manifested in the writings of William Reed Huntington. By establishmentarian ecclesiology, we mean a theology which 'maintains that all Christians should be gathered together into a national church that serves as a Christian conscience of the nation. The mission of the national church is to Christianize the social and political order of a nation as a united body of Christ' (Douglas 1996: 85).

Another stream of influence that contributed to the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church was the social gospel, defined as the application of the teaching of Jesus Christ and the total message of Christian salvation to every aspect of human life (White and Hopkins 1976: XI). Although the social gospel eluded categorical definition, it has three main characteristics: 'a strong emphasis on the immanence of God and the Kingdom of God in society; a call for justice rather than charity; and the inseparability of personal salvation and the salvation of the society at large' (Russell 2008: 837). It is generally believed that social gospel reached its peak during the period from 1885 to 1925 (Hutchison 1975: 367). Although the social gospel is generally regarded as distinctly American, the Episcopal Church certainly traces its practice of social gospel back to the Christian socialism of Frederick Denison Maurice of the Church of England (White and Hopkins 1976: 26) as developed within the context of the debate regarding the disestablishment of the Church of England. Thus, his argument for the importance of the national character of the Church of England was connected to



his argument that the church should act as the conscience of the nation (Morris 2005: 89-92).

The influence of the national church ideal on the mission policies of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines was through Bishop Brent who had already developed an establishmentarian ecclesiology and practised the social gospel before coming to the Philippines (Jones 2004: 423). Being a result of the fusion of the establishmentarian ecclesiology and social gospel, the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church readily found Brent as its champion in the Philippines. However, I contend that what happened relative to the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines was a case of a two-way flow of influence. On one hand, the Episcopal Church with its developing national church ideal selected Brent to become its first missionary bishop in the Philippines based on his establishmentarian ecclesiology and belief in the social gospel. On the other hand, the Philippine experience helped in the further development of the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church. Brent, with his establishmentarian ecclesiology and inclination to social gospel, led the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines in a way that further defined the national church ideal. In short, the Philippine experience was partly a result of the national church ideal and partly a cause of further development of the same ideal. This contention supports the suggestion of Douglas (1996) that Brent set the tone of discussion during the 1919 General Convention of the Episcopal Church toward the further strengthening of a national church ideal based on the American values that had triumphed during World War I (p. 150).

It was mentioned earlier that before setting foot in the Philippines Brent had already considered ministering to fellow Americans as his first and foremost policy. He also made it a point to consult with government officials involved in the Philippines before traveling to his post (Zubiri 1991: 72). The concentration of work for fellow Americans was to ensure that the Americans demonstrated a good model for Filipinos to emulate in accordance with the idea that the Church should serve as the conscience of the nation. It was in relation to this idea that the Columbia Club was established to keep the Americans busy with sports, in order to keep them away from vices in Manila and make them worthy of emulation (Ngaya-an 2007: 95).

The most concrete piece of evidence that the Episcopal Church was driven by its national church ideal even in the Philippines was the establishment of the Cathedral of

St Mary and St John in Manila. It was one of the most imposing churches of its day. It was made of stone and concrete. It was located on the corner of the then Calle Isaac Peral and Calle Florida, now United Nations Avenue and María Y. Orosa Street respectively. Unfortunately, it was heavily destroyed during the Battle of Manila in 1945. It was replaced with a simpler building located in New Manila, Quezon City and there it continues to exist as the national cathedral of the ECP.

Before travelling to the Philippines, Brent needed to raise money for a beautiful cathedral in Manila to provide a church of national character. It was a church which was envisioned not only to minister to Episcopalians but also to gather all Anglo-Americans of different denominations in the same manner that the Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul - National Cathedral - in Washington, D. C. was also envisioned to cater to the needs of the entire United States (Jones 2003: 92). Besides the similarities in purpose of these two cathedrals, the connection between the two leaders of these projects is noteworthy. Bishop Brent and Bishop Satterlee of Washington personally knew each other.<sup>6</sup> This connection between these two leaders strengthens the claim that Brent and the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines followed the lead of Bishop Satterlee who demonstrated his subscription to the national church ideal at its very early stage. In fact, Brent (1916) wrote a book about Bishop Satterlee as the master builder of the Washington National Cathedral.

Moreover, Brent continued to be very active beyond what normally was expected from a church leader. He was very active in the fight against the opium trade. I contend that this was not just because of his social gospel but rather a manifestation of a broader national church ideal that understood the role of the church as the conscience of society. This is the kind of influence the Episcopal Church aimed to establish in the Philippines, according to the first goal of the policy of concentration. This influence extended even to national educational institutions such as the University of the Philippines. When the University of the Philippines was established Bartlett Murray, one of the missionaries of the Episcopal Church, was appointed as one of the regents. He soon became the first president of this university in 1911 (Alfonso 1985: 16-7). In spite of the fact that the Episcopal Church needed personnel for its growing mission work, Murray was released

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<sup>6</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Henry Y. Satterlee, 14.9.1902, ATEC, 76.2.10.

by his bishop because it was a rare opportunity for the Episcopal Church to pursue its mission to have a wider impact upon the Philippine society.<sup>7</sup> Bishop Brent even spoke highly of Bartlett as someone who unselfishly joined the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines and expressed confidence that as he moved from ‘lesser’ to ‘greater’ he would continue to work under the same sense of obligation (Alfonso 1985: 17). Brent regarded the work of Murray in the university as greater compared to his work in the Church.

Moreover, it was in the context of aiming at having greater impact on the overall life of the nation that the first effort toward training Filipino leaders was exerted by the Board of Missions. Apparently, the Board of Missions wanted Brent to follow the lead of other Protestant Churches in training Filipino leaders in 1909, in order to take the lead in the ‘moral regeneration’ programme in the Philippines. Wood wrote:

But more important still is it not possible that the Church may miss what seems to be a unique opportunity for supplementing the work being done by the Government along educational and political lines for the Filipino people? I know that you believe that that work of political and social reconstruction can only be done by the Government in so far as it has the right material to work with and that it cannot produce the right material by a system of public instruction or by giving political rights to people who have not the moral qualities to appreciate them or to use them wisely. This moral regeneration, upon which everything else depends, necessarily come [sic] largely, if not exclusively, through Christian work among the Filipinos. If one is justified in making any forecast from the history of Romanism in the Islands that regeneration will have to come largely through non-Roman agencies. This Church with the Apostolic commission, with its unbroken history and with its position midway between the extravagance of Roman claims and the informalities of Protestantism, can do work in fitting Filipinos for the responsibilities of citizenship such as can be done by no other Christian body.<sup>8</sup>

Although the initial reaction of Brent was negative because of his assessment of the division amongst Filipinos along ethnolinguistic lines as mentioned earlier in chapter 3, he changed his position and spoke of the possibility of training lowland Filipino people in Manila to become prophets for the rest of the Episcopal Church missions in the Philippines in his Bishop’s Address in 1910 (*JAC* 1948: 16).

It is likely that Bishop Brent changed his mind upon realizing that indeed the training of lowland Filipinos for the evangelistic work amongst mountain people was an opportunity to play an important role in bridging the gap between the peoples in the Philippines and consequently impacting the overall political and social reconstruction

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<sup>7</sup> Letter of Murray Bartlett to Arthur S. Lloyd, 17.03.1911, ATEC, 76.1.10.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Charles Henry Brent, 01.03.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

programme of the colonial government. It is also likely that he changed his position simply to align his actions to the general policy of the Church back home. As early as 1906, Brent had already acknowledged that his actions in the Philippines depended on the policy of the Church back home (*JAC* 1906:24). In relation to this, the most pragmatic option for Brent was to consider the advice of Wood, in order to ensure the Board's support of his work in the Philippines. Nonetheless, the connection of the matter of training lowland Filipinos for the mountain people to the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church was very strong to the extent that Brent did not simply acquiesce but rather referred to Manila as 'the metropolis to which the Filipino look for light and leading' (*JAC* 1948: 16).

Brent's subscription to the national church ideal also manifested itself in his dealings with the newly established *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI). He believed that a 'purely independent church cannot be established on American territory' (De Achutegue 1960: 388). It was also manifested in his attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. He acknowledged that he did not have a problem with the Roman Catholic Church as long as it manifested 'Americanism' rather than 'Vaticanism':

I am in a very different attitude toward Spanish-Latin domination and American-Latin [sic] such as the hierarchy in the Philippines has thus far been. In four recent appointments, however, a new element has been introduced. The new Bishop of Cebu is a Filipino; and the other three men appointed to the newly formed dioceses, one is a Filipino, one an Italian, and one an American (who is an Irishman!). Should the policy of the Vatican change so that we should revert to foreign hierarchy and the American element be suppressed, I would advocate a vigorous movement on the part of our Church and the establishment of Missions wherever we saw a chance among Christianized Filipinos –If the Church is in a position to undertake a strong and well-equipped work, which, I am frank to confess, I doubt. Americanism in the Roman Church I shall never lift a finger to oppose; Vaticanism I have always resisted and if need be shall openly fight.<sup>9</sup>

Brent's preference for 'Americanism' over 'Vaticanism' was not only a manifestation of his strong belief in the superiority of the American system but also because the Philippines was under American tutelage and it was proper that the Roman Catholic Church should follow American ideals. Such a view was an extended application of the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church in a sense that the church should act as the conscience of the nation - in this case, the American nation.

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<sup>9</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 25.03.1910, ATEC, 76.4.2.

### 4.3.3 Marginality

I have suggested in the preceding discussion that the establishmentarian ecclesiology of Brent accompanied by his subscription to the social gospel made him the right person to express the national church ideals of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. In this section, I contend further that the Episcopal Church found in the issue of marginality in the Philippines the opportunity to practice its national church ideal. A few months after his arrival, Brent admitted: 'I am convinced that our Church is needed by the natives and that eventually we will have an extended native work if we are true to our ideals and opportunities'.<sup>10</sup> In a sense, the Filipino voice in the framing of the policy of concentration was collectively expressed in the issue of marginality as the church responded to it and unknowingly allowing it to shape its policies.

As discussed in chapter 3, the Philippines was inhabited by a diverse population at the turn of the twentieth century even after more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule. The diversity of the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago was felt in all aspects of life. Such diversity coupled with the inability of the colonial rulers to respond to it constructively bred division amongst Filipinos. Consequently, divisions resulted in the marginalization of many groups like the indigenous Filipinos, Muslims, and Chinese colonials.

Although there were numerous groups of indigenous Filipinos, the Episcopal Church decided to concentrate its work amongst the Igorots of Northern Luzon because they were seen as people in great need. The Igorots were marginalized by the Spaniards who painted the most derogatory picture of them in the eyes of the Christianized Filipinos. Economically, they were marginalized by prohibiting any form of trade relation with them. Religiously, they were marginalized by being branded as *infieles*. The case of the Igorots was not at all unique but rather also true in the case of other people not subjected to Spanish rule. The Moros in the South constituted the biggest group within the larger group of unconquered people. Thus, the Episcopal Church under the leadership of Brent, established centres in Baguio, Bontoc and Sagada for the Igorots. Later, the Episcopal Church established a centre in Zamboanga primarily for

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<sup>10</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 20.9.1902, ATEC, 76.2.10.

Americans in the military outpost and secondarily for the Moros and other ethnolinguistic groups.

The issue of marginality in the Philippines and the concern about logistics in the Episcopal Church intersected to provide a strong case for the need to concentrate the work in carefully chosen places. The MDPI depended so much on what was provided by the Church and as well as the support from individuals. The bishop of a missionary district had little influence on logistics compared to a bishop of a diocese. Whereas a diocese enjoys autonomy, a district is very dependent on the mother church in all aspects of its operation. This limitation was also a factor in the adoption of the policy of concentration. This is evident when Brent said: ‘the work already inaugurated will tax our available resources both of men and money for years to come. Neither duty nor expediency invites us to occupy further territory at this juncture’ (*JAC* 1904:24).

Although Brent originally intended that the Episcopal Church should concentrate its work amongst the Americans and other English-speaking populations in the Philippines, the Episcopal Church modified its policy of concentration, in order to be responsive to the reality in the Philippines. Apparently, upon arrival, Brent examined the situation in the Philippines and realized that ‘the outlook for native work is far brighter than I anticipated’.<sup>11</sup>

In Manila alone, there were people, who were in great need, especially those on the margins such as Trozo, Tondo.<sup>12</sup> In particular, the church established a settlement house to teach the American way of living to the marginalized Filipinos in the area (Norbeck 1996: 164). In addition, the Manila centre of the Episcopal Church mission also extended its work to the Chinese. The Episcopal Mission for the Chinese was started by Army Chaplain Walter Marvine in 1900 but it was further strengthened when Brent secured the service of Hobart Studley who used to be a Dutch Reformed Church minister in China (Ngaya-an 2007: 96).

In 1904, Brent became more definite about the policy of concentration and acknowledged that his experience in the Philippines fully justified the principle, which he adopted at the outset on ‘theoretic grounds’ (*JAC* 1904:23). Even his original resolve

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<sup>11</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Henry Y. Satterlee, 14.09.1902, ATEC, 76.2.10.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 20.09.1902, ATEC, 76.2.10.

not to convert people from the Roman Catholic Church had to be slightly modified when he realized that many of the former Roman Catholics were unshepherded:

My experience in the Philippines has taught me that great masses of the so-called Christianized natives belong to the category of the unshepherded. So far as the forces of men and money placed at my disposal by the home church will allow, it is my desire to minister to these people, who in the City of Manila as well as elsewhere, are largely the very poor and ignorant. In Manila the Settlement gives the natural starting point. We have established St. Luke's Chapel in Trozo (a district of Manila) in charge of a missionary who speaks Tagalog and who has had five years' experience among the natives (*JAC* 1907:33).

The perfect illustration of the ability of the Episcopal Church, under the leadership of Brent, to modify its policy based on greatest need was the establishment of three centres for the Igorots in the North. Originally, the identified centre for the North was Baguio because of the growing population of Americans as a result of the government's decision to develop it as the summer capital of the nation. Second, it was chosen to become the centre of the envisioned chain of mission stations in the Cordillera region. However, the terrain in the region made travel so difficult that the Bontoc mission station was also considered as another mission centre in the North as early as 1904 (*JAC* 1904: 21-4). The needs of the Igorots in the North was so great that the Sagada mission station, which was only a few miles away from Bontoc, also evolved to become the third centre in the North (Jones 2003: 183). In 1909, Brent's concentration became more focused amongst the Igorots as manifested in the plan he laid down for the consideration of the Board of Managers:

Some time since I sent you a map of the Mountain District indicating where we ought to have Missions - Baguio and Kabayan as centers in Benguet; Sagada, Bontoc and Lubuagan as centers in Lepanto-Bontoc; Quiangan, and possibly Banaue, as centers in Nueva Vizcaya.<sup>13</sup>

In like manner, Zamboanga was chosen to become another centre not only because it was a very important military outpost, but also because it was a strategic place to minister to the marginalized Moros and other people in the area. Initially, the identified centre for the Southern Philippines was Iloilo (*JAC* 1904: 24-25). After a survey trip to the Panay Island, which included Iloilo, Brent changed his mind in favour of Zamboanga.<sup>14</sup> He wrote: 'I am more and more convinced that the next place to take up

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<sup>13</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>14</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 13.05.1903, ATEC, 76.2.11.

work is Mindanao, especially amongst the pagan people of the interior'.<sup>15</sup> In 1904, Spencer was moved from Iloilo to Zamboanga in view of establishing a better centre for mission in the South.<sup>16</sup> Aside from the prospect of a better opportunity to reach out to the pagans, Brent also recognized there was no need for a mission in Iloilo because the Baptists and the Presbyterians were already working in the area (*JAC* 1904: 24-25).

#### **4.3.4 Pacification Policy of the American Colonial Government**

Although collaboration between missionaries and colonial officials was not uncommon in the twentieth century, the case of the Episcopal Church's collaboration with the colonial government in the Philippines was somewhat unique in so far as the extent of the influence of national church ideal was concerned. In the case of the Bob and Doris Clarke in the Anglican mission amongst the Karamojong in Uganda, for example, collaboration with the government was primarily based on expediency (Knighton 2005: 70-2). In contrast, as mentioned earlier, Brent's second policy even before setting foot in the Philippines was to support the programs of the American Colonial government as a concrete expression of the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church. Naturally, the first policy that the American colonial government needed to adopt was that of pacification because there were Filipino revolutionaries who continued to resist colonial government. In fact, Mindanao continued to be under military rule until the end of 1913 (Arnold 2011: 243). Aside from the pacification of the active resistance of the revolutionaries in areas formerly controlled by the Spaniards and the Muslim resistance in Mindanao, the American pacification policy also aimed at bringing the American government to those non-Christians and non-Muslims who had not been completely subjected to the Spanish colonial rule. Schools, hospitals, and churches especially were used for pacification and the Episcopal Church, under the leadership of Brent, actively participated in the fulfilment of this policy. In other words, with the exception of the translation strategy employed in places like Bontoc (Jones 2003: 107-9), the Episcopal Church concentrated its effort in the civilizing mission through these institutions where they were greatly needed by people, thus serving humanitarian purposes for the marginalized and at the same time bringing the government's influence – pacification.

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<sup>15</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 08.08.1903, ATEC, 76.2.11.

<sup>16</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 04.02.1904, ATEC, 76.2.13.



The preceding discussion points to resistance as another expression of Filipino voice that contributed to the framing of the concentration policy. In connection, divided Philippines was yet again the context in which the mission policy of the Episcopal Church was geared toward the concentration of work in carefully chosen areas. The division in the Philippines made the pacification policy extremely difficult. It had to employ many strategies to address varying needs. The strategy employed for the non-Christians like the Igorots was to build schools, dispensaries, and churches. The strategy for the Muslims was different because force was sporadically employed and conversion was avoided.

Brent, as the leader of the Episcopal Church, was constantly in contact with government officials and this helped frame the policy of concentration. In relation to the work of the Episcopal Church in the interior of the Northern Philippines, for example, Brent said: 'It would not be wise to say it publicly, but the Government officials both here and in Lepanto have besought me to establish work in this region'.<sup>17</sup> The same thing happened in the opening of mission in Mindanao:

I had a long talk with General Wood and General Davis about Mindanao a few nights ago. They both feel that there is great opportunity for the right kind of work down there. General Wood pressed me to go, either with him or later, and make a tour of the Island in his company. I only wished it were possible. Were it not for the necessity for going to Japan I should have accepted his invitation.<sup>18</sup>

A year later, Brent accepted the invitation and he even joined a punitive expedition against the group of Datu Ali who ambushed the 17th Infantry of the American Army. This military expedition gave him an opportunity to explore the area. He encountered Bilaan, Bagobo, Mandaya and other ethnolinguistic groups who were neither under the influence of Christianity nor Islam (Ngaya-an 2007: 137).

Brent's decision to align the mission policy of the Episcopal Church to the pacification policy of the American colonial government certainly made the church an accomplice in the subjugation of the freedom loving people like the Igorots. However, the Igorots reached by the civilising work of the church somehow made the most out of the few positive result of the establishment of the American colonial government in the

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<sup>17</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 12.02.1903, ATEC, 76.2.11.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 08.08.1903, ATEC, 76.2.13.

Philippines. The classical illustration of this mutual benefit can be seen in the case of the sawmill project in Sagada when Brent reported:

Commissioner Worcester assures me that the road from the Mill to Bontoc is eventually going to be widened out for carts and then our troubles will be over, I trust. Although the Government was unable to take its full order of lumber from the Mill this year because of an empty treasury, we had a dividend of more than \$2,000.<sup>19</sup>

This report shows how the government benefited from the project as a source of lumber for government buildings. The church benefited financially as they start to gain profit. The Igorots benefitted both economically and socially as they were able to earn some income as well as assured of a better road to Bontoc where they can get some of their basic needs and avail of the social services of the colonial government. However, this does not suggest that the Igorots desired their pacification rather it only meant that, given the circumstances of American colonization, they made the most out of the pacification policy under the direction of the Episcopal Church.

Within the umbrella of pacification policy was the isolation policy that was adopted by the government for the ‘cultural minorities’ in the Philippines. The isolation policy as briefly discussed in chapter 3 aimed at insulating the ‘cultural minorities’ from the evil forces of western civilization as well as from lowland influence which maybe a threat to the colonial American government. This policy was framed primarily through the influence of Dean Conant Worcester as the Secretary of the Interior for the Insular Government. This was the policy that earned the respect of Bishop Brent toward Worcester in spite of their differences. Brent admitted:

I think you have heard me speak of the development in protection and the organization of government among the hill people. Commissioner Worcester deserves the credit for this. He has an enthusiasm that is rather unique and I think he is ready to sacrifice himself to any extent in behalf of these people. He and I have by no means stood shoulder to shoulder. We had one violent clash and, of course, I would not indorse all that he does or has done as being good judgment, but I do contend that a man of such perfect honesty of purpose as he is and of such prodigious industry should be allowed to appeal to his record and not go down before some political attack or because of personal animus against him.<sup>20</sup>

It was in the government’s policy of isolation that the issue of marginality and pacification were intricately interwoven. The second goal of the policy of concentration which was to minister to the marginalised fitted perfectly in this isolationist policy of

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<sup>19</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 25.03.1910, ECPA.

<sup>20</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to George Wharton Pepper, 28.01.1913, ECPA.

the American colonial government. As early as 1903, Brent manifested wariness toward the possible negative impact of western civilization on the simple and innocent ways of life he noticed amongst the indigenous people in the northern Philippines. He said: ‘Whatever is to be done must be done quickly before the evil forces which accompany civilization enter. Unless I can get additional aid I shall feel inclined to abandon our plans for Iloilo temporarily and start in here at once’.<sup>21</sup> This apparent critical view of Brent toward western civilization, which he himself championed, supports the observation of Maggay (2011) that Brent was ‘the most ambiguous of all the prominent missionary figures’ (p. 11). However, it can also be considered as another example of the love of balance and comprehensiveness which generally characterised the ethos of the Episcopal Church as discussed earlier in this chapter.

#### **4.3.5 Inter-Denominational Cooperation**

Another factor that led the Episcopal Church to adopt a mission policy of concentration for its Philippine mission was the demand of interdenominational cooperation. To be specific, the mission policy of concentration was also a practical response to the organization of the Evangelical Union in 1901. The Evangelical Union was the Philippine version of a comity agreement that was common in many foreign missionary fields, especially amongst Protestants (Toulouse Et Al 2010: 143). As clarified earlier, the primary objective of most comity agreements around the world in those years was to avoid the overlapping of mission work to maximize resources and to minimize interdenominational conflicts. Paradoxically, Brent did not join the Evangelical Union but supported the interdenominational cooperation it advocated:

Some reference was made in my letter to the “Spirit of Missions” to the Evangelical Union. The probability is that I shall never be able to join it. But I shall work in hearty cooperation with the men who represent it. The trouble is that some of their theories suggest unreality, others are quite impracticable. When I say that they suggest unreality I do not mean to say that there is a conscious insincerity, but in striving after formal unity there is failure to recognize difficulties that demand recognition in a practical way.<sup>22</sup>

Some observers of Brent’s attitude toward the Evangelical Union have opined that he did not join the union because of his theological and ecclesiological leaning as a High Churchman (Jones 2003: 95). However, when Brent became a bishop, he moved to the

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<sup>21</sup> Letters of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 12.02.1903, ATEC, 76.2.11.

<sup>22</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Arthur S. Lloyd, 04.10.1902, ATEC, 76.2.10.

‘middle-of-the-road theological position within Anglicanism’ (Tyrrell 2010: 196). In other words, he became a broad churchman. His Broad Churchmanship was manifested when he admitted his preference for moderate men as his associates in the Philippines:

My preference will always be for moderate men. I have begun my episcopate with two who are extreme, neither of them being my choice but the choice of the Board, and it is my set intention at all hazards to be loyal to them and to defend their freedom even in those things with which I disagree personally but which as a bishop I should countenance. In matters of doctrine and discipline it is needless to say I recognise but one authority –the house of Bishops and the General Convention.<sup>23</sup>

Brent’s broad churchmanship also enabled him to work with Rev. Mercer Johnston, a Low Churchman, in Manila.<sup>24</sup> It also enabled him to accept Hobart Studley, a former Dutch Reformed Church missionary in China, to take charge over the Episcopal Church mission for the Chinese in Manila (Botengan 2001: 11).

Some also attributed Brent’s decision not to join the union to his being ecumenical by arguing that he did not want any arrangement that excluded any Christian denomination like the Roman Catholic Church (Zubiri 1991: 72). In his first written report, Brent said:

I cannot feel it to be the duty of the Church which I represent to build up a constituency by deliberately drawing upon the Roman Church. It is here that I find myself differing from the Protestant Churches at work in the Islands, and for this reason if for no other I am unable to enter into any formal relationship with them. The Evangelical Union have extended us a cordial invitation to membership in their body, but we are unanimous in feeling that we cannot subscribe to some of the principles implied or set forth explicitly.<sup>25</sup>

Although, the above arguments are true to some extent, other pieces of evidence point to practical reasons as well as theological reasons. Brent admired the purpose of the Evangelical Union except that it was impractical to advocate an organic union.<sup>26</sup> Apparently, the pragmatic response of Brent and his associates to the establishment of Evangelical Union was again consistent with its support of the pacification policy of the colonial government and, therefore, to the national church ideal. Sectarianism was seen by the Episcopal Church missionaries in the Philippines as a hindrance to the building of a Christian nation which was more important. Nonetheless, the response of Brent to the organization of the Evangelical Union contributed to the development of Brent’s

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<sup>23</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Arthur S. Lloyd, 15.07.1904, ATEC, 76.2.13.

<sup>24</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 02.05.1908, ATEC, 76 3.7.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Henry Brent, ‘Annual Report 1903,’ATEC, RG 76 (Oversize).

<sup>26</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 20.09.1902, ATEC, 76.2.10.

ecumenical thought (Sugeno 2001: 77). In a sense, one can surmise that Brent started with pragmatic ecumenism and developed it to a more theological one as a result of his experience in the Philippines as well as his exposure to the wider issues when he attended the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

By not joining the Evangelical Union, the Episcopal Church ended up focusing its missionary work amongst people living beyond the jurisdictions covered by the member churches of the Union. Since the member churches of the Evangelical Union felt the need to convert Catholics to Protestantism as much as they wanted to convert non-Christian Filipinos, they ended up leaving many unreached areas outside their respective jurisdictions. The Methodists who were assigned in the North for example only covered Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Viscaya, Pangasinan, Zambales, Bataan, Cagayan and Ilocos Sur, leaving the Igorots unreached (Deats 1964:11).

In a sense, another way in which Filipino voice was able to influence the adoption of the policy of concentration was through the religious condition of the Philippines. The Episcopal Church adopted the policy of concentration, in order to support the Evangelical Union without necessarily joining it because it was extremely difficult to achieve the cooperation the Evangelical Union advocated in a divided society. Ironically, cooperation in a deeply divided society often times leads to unintended exclusions. This was what happened when the Evangelical Union unwittingly excluded the primal religionists in the Philippines when its cooperative work ended up primarily in evangelizing from the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, cooperation on the model of the Evangelical Union also further contributed to divisions because those who quickly joined the member churches of the Evangelical Union out of dissatisfaction with the Roman Catholic Church soon became problems to the Protestant churches as well as to the American Colonial government. Filipinos thought of Protestantism as primarily about liberty. They brought with them their nationalist sentiments and made use of Protestant churches as their platform to advocate independence. This resulted in the first schism in the Methodist Church in the Philippines when the IMELIF was organised in 1909. This seems to be one of the reasons why the Episcopal Church avoided sheep stealing from the Roman Catholic Church. On this issue, Brent wrote: 'My own feeling is so strong in the direction of not encouraging perplexity and schism amongst the Filipinos, that I would have no heart in starting a movement for the

building up of a church out of Roman material'.<sup>27</sup> Some Episcopalians even thought that the role of the Roman Catholic Church in nation building was important. Murray Bartlett wrote: 'the hope of the Christianised Filipinos is in the Church which has the deepest hold upon the mass of the people'.<sup>28</sup> This view was again related to the national church ideal that emphasizes the importance of the Christian influence on the nation under the leadership of the Episcopal Church.

The Episcopal Church may not have joined the Evangelical Union but it continued to cooperate with it. In one instance, Brent consulted fellow missionaries regardless of their denomination. He consulted a Presbyterian missionary when he was confronted with a dilemma whether to re-establish a centre in Iloilo to accommodate people, who had broken away from the Roman Catholic Church:

I have arranged a conference with Hijalda, who is probably the best of the so-called bishops of the Aglipay party. He has with him a large group of the more intelligent people in the Island of Panay and is dissatisfied with his present relations. He is anxious that I should take some steps to do work in that section of the country. I had a brief talk with Dr. Hall, the Medical Missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Iloilo, and he earnestly urged me to respond favourably. Just as soon as I can get away, it is my intention to see him and gauge the situation.<sup>29</sup>

In another instance, the Methodist mission to the Chinese was handed over to the Episcopal Church because the Episcopal Church mission work amongst the Chinese was doing very well (Botengan 2001: 12). However, the Roman Catholic Church did not reciprocate the effort of the Episcopal Church to avoid deliberate competition with them. The Roman Catholic missionaries, especially the *Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae* (CICM) fathers, were sent to the Mountain Province. Bishop Brent publicly complained about the divisive methods employed by these missionaries when they tended to discredit the Episcopal Church. They brought with them their hatred toward Protestants. Brent decried this through a national newspaper (Jones 2003: 179). He also brought this matter to the attention of the Church back home:

The Roman Catholics are very busy and pushing their work with such ostentation. Bishop Doherty of Nueva Segovia, in which dioceses of Lepanto-Bontoc is, is placing Belgian or German frailes in Sagada and Bontoc. I am not deeply disturbed so far as our work is concerned, but is it not lamentable that with great unshepherded districts this man should think that he is doing the work of Christ in deliberately planting the seeds of dissention in this simple, child-like people? Three priests are to go to Sagada and one to Bontoc, while

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<sup>27</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>28</sup> Letter of Murray Bartlett to John W. Wood, 23.04.1909, ATEC, 76.1.10.

<sup>29</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 29.08.1905, ATEC, 76.3.2.

the whole province beyond, with a teeming population, remains destitute of a single pastor.<sup>30</sup>

The ultimate purpose of inter-denominational cooperation for most Episcopalians was to build a Christian nation under the leadership of the Episcopal Church. This was what the national church ideal was about.

#### **4.4 The ‘Moro Work’: An Attempt Consistent to the Policy of Concentration**

There are many valid reasons for a separate discussion on ‘Moro Work’ of Bishop Brent in the Philippines depending on which particular angle and/or bias one would intend to write about it. It could be a case to highlight the complexity of Philippine society. It could also be discussed to demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between the missionaries in the field and the people in the home office. It could also appreciate the grand attempt to do mission amongst the Muslims in the southern Philippines. In this section, however, I will discuss the ‘Moro Work’ primarily to further demonstrate the complexity of the whole issue of framing, adopting, and implementing mission policies. In particular, I will argue for two yet closely related points, namely: 1) although, to a great extent, the ‘Moro Work’ was a personal work of Bishop Brent, it was still consistent to the church’s policy of concentration which was primarily based on marginality; and 2) that the modification of concentration policy to make the ‘Moro Work’ a top priority was primarily influenced by political changes in the United States as well as in the Philippines.

The mission to the Muslim in Mindanao, southern Philippines, close to Malaysia in the west, was part of the concentration policy of the church from the very beginning as manifested in the establishment of a centre in Zamboanga as discussed earlier. However, the apparent modification of the policy toward further concentration on the ‘Moro Work’ started in 1914 as manifested in the following:

It has dawned for the Moro work. The long struggle on the part of the military to master the Moros is over; the people are weary of fighting and anxious for quiet; outlawry is more nearly at an end than ever in history, the rapid introduction of the civil government, and the establishments of schools and agencies of mercy combine to make the moment favourable for constructive work on the part of the Church (*JAC* 1914: 20).

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<sup>30</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 20.05.1907, ATEC, 76.3.3.

The immediate context of the above quotation was the end of the military government in the Moro Province with the appointment of Frank Carpenter as the first Civil Governor of the Moro Province in 1913. The province was subsequently reorganized to become Department of Mindanao and Sulu (Gowing 1968: 379).

Although the improvement of situation in Mindanao was the reason for this apparent further focusing of work for the Muslims in the region based on the above quotation, it should be understood in the light of the development in the United States as a wider political context. Particularly, the victory of the Democrats in the 1912 national election has impacted the US-Philippine relations as the democrats pursued Filipinization as a foreign policy. Although the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907 which led to sharing of some responsibilities to Filipinos under the leadership of the Republicans, the deliberate preparation of Filipinos toward independence only became a matter of foreign policy under the Democrats with their Filipinization policy. Although the Filipinization policy became a reality only in 1916 with the passing of the Jones Bill into a Philippine Autonomy Act, the articulation of the policy started even during the campaign as it was one of the platforms of the Democrats. Moreover, the immediate appointment of a democrat Francis Burton Harrison as the governor general of the Philippines - the highest post in the American Colonial government in the Philippines - also led to the speedy implementation of Filipinization policy (Francia 2010: 167-9). In relation to this, Frank Carpenter was tasked to implement the Filipinization in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu and he did it rigorously (Gowing 1968: 379).

Although Bishop Brent was apprehensive of the 'risky experiment of Filipinization', he did not have much choice but to anticipate its implication to the Episcopal Church mission.<sup>31</sup> Thus, Bishop Brent decided to modify the policy of concentration in favour of the 'Moro Work'. He thought that his mission to the Americans and other English-speaking colonials in the Philippines became less important with the impending sending home of the American civil servants to give way to Filipinos. Moreover, the decision to concentrate effort more to the Muslims in

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<sup>31</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Edward H. Fellows, 04.03.1914, ECPA.



Mindanao was also influenced by the thought that the Episcopal Mission in northern Philippines was already firmly established (Ngaya-an 2007: 156-62). In fact, Brent regarded the Episcopal Church mission for the Muslims in Mindanao as 'next in obligation to the Igorot work' (*JAC* 1915: 13).

In a sense, aside from the issue of marginality, **Filipinization policy of the Democrats also became a way in which Filipino voice was expressed and influenced the modification of the policy of concentration. Filipinos demanded Filipinization, the Americans acquiesced, and the church modified its policy in response to new situation. This is connected to Filipino resistance which was discussed earlier as collective expression of Filipino voice.**

The 'Moro Work' was pursued vigorously by Brent. However, it became very difficult to sustain it in its entirety after he left the country. In fact, it proved to be one of the things that failed the consolidation policy as shall be discussed in chapter 5. The apparent failure of the 'Moro Work', except for institutions like Brent Hospital, was inevitable because the Episcopal Church did not fully endorse it from the very beginning (*JAC* 1913: 14-5). It was pursued almost single-handedly by Bishop Brent with the help of his personal friends both Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians (*JAC* 1915: 13).

Apparently, out of his Episcopalian and non-Episcopalian supporters, Brent organised a Moro Committee to ensure the sustenance of the Moro work. There is no record available as to when the committee was organised as well as its duties and responsibilities except that its official title is 'National Committee for Uplifting the Moro Wards of the Nation' and it was led by Bishop Brent as the chairman.<sup>32</sup> It was repeatedly referred to by Bishop Mosher as the Moro Committee.<sup>33</sup> Although the committee actually existed, it did not function well.<sup>34</sup> Understandably, since it was a 'voluntary committee', it did not function well especially when its leader, Bishop Brent, is gone.<sup>35</sup> In fact, the Zamboanga Hospital, renamed Brent Hospital, was successful because it was one of the projects under 'Moro Work' that were partly supported by the

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<sup>32</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to C.W. Franks, 15.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>33</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 08.08.1921, ECPA.

<sup>34</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Charles Henry Brent, 09.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

Church because of its undeniable importance. It is one of the institutions that were established with the help of the Board of Missions and other individuals in Zamboanga rather than by the Moro Committee alone.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, in spite of how it was pursued almost singlehandedly by Bishop Brent with the help of the Moro Committee, the ‘Moro Work’ was still consistent to the policy of concentration that was adopted by the church from the beginning of its mission in the Philippines.

#### **4.5 Summary and Conclusion**

The Episcopal Church commenced its mission work in the Philippines with a predetermined mission policy of concentration. Although it would have been averted but because it was redefined based on what was happening on the ground, it continued to be essentially the same. The policy of the Episcopal Church in its Philippine mission was articulated by Brent even before he arrived in the Philippines. The original policy of concentration was to concentrate the work amongst the Americans based on the national church ideals of the Episcopal Church. This concentration of work amongst Americans was manifested in a deliberate policy to support the pacification policy of the colonial government. As time passed, the support for the government included taking leadership in the ‘moral regeneration’ programme, in order to provide a Christian foundation for the ‘political and social reconstruction’ programme of the colonial government. The predetermined policy of concentration also included subsidiary policies like the avoidance of sheep stealing from the Roman Catholic Church which was seen as unnecessary and a waste of resources. It also included a policy of cooperation with other Protestant communions without accepting their proposed schemes for dividing the islands amongst different bodies. At the bottom of the list was to be ever alert for opportunities to evangelize new groups of non-Christians.

The three-year period from 1898 to 1901 unintentionally became an epoch of preparation for the Episcopal Church. This preparation helped frame a predetermined policy of concentration. The debates between the imperialists and the anti-imperialists and the consequent sending of people to assess the Philippine situation resulted in the decision to create a missionary district in the Philippines. Although the negative

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<sup>36</sup> Letter of Artley B. Parson to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 15.03.1922, ECPA

assessment of the general situation of the Philippines warranted the change of position of anti-imperialists like Bishop Potter toward the creation of missionary district, the positive assessment of the religious situation by people like Peyton led the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines to adopt a policy of concentration for the Americans based on the assumption that Filipinos were already Christianized by the Roman Catholic Church. Unlike the other Protestant churches, the Episcopal Church regarded Roman Catholicism as a valid form of Christianity. Thus, cooperation was not only adopted as a policy in relation to fellow Protestants but also to the Roman Catholics.

However, the predetermined policy of concentration was modified upon realizing that there were many areas in the Philippines that had minimal contact with Christianity. Thus, the policy of concentration metamorphosed to become a policy that aimed at the establishment of spheres of influence in wider areas of the Philippines where the need was great. This policy was still influenced by the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church except that the issue of marginality – **through which the Filipino voice was collectively expressed** - played a vital role in the modified version of the policy. Hence the policy of concentration ended in pursuing a double goal of establishing wide areas of influence in the Philippines, on the one hand, and ministering to the people in great need, on the other hand. These two goals were far from complementary but they were kept together in one policy with a great deal of balancing, in order not to over-emphasize one goal at the expense of the other. These goals were not complementary because establishing a wide sphere of influence entailed a top-down strategy of ministering to people and institutions of influence while the goal to minister to people in great need entailed an expensive combination of a civilizing and translating strategy amongst people like the Igorots who had minimal contact with Christianity and western civilization. Although it was difficult to maintain a balance between these two goals, the Episcopal Church managed to pursue them at the same time by the strategy of carefully choosing centres that were places of influence and at the same time in close proximity with people in great need. Thus, the Episcopal Church have chosen Manila as a centre for the Central Philippines; Baguio, Bontoc, and Sagada as centres for northern Philippines; and Zamboanga for the southern Philippines.

The policy was further modified due to the political developments in the United States which had some direct impact to the Philippines as one of its colonies. The victory of the Democrats in the 1912 national election resulted in the adoption of the

Filipinization policy. Consequently, Brent modified his policy of concentration toward further concentration of work for the Muslims in Mindanao through what he called 'Moro Work.' He thought that the eminent exodus of American civil servants as a result of Filipinization policy rendered chaplaincy work for Americans irrelevant. He also thought that the work amongst the Igorots in northern Philippines was already well-established and therefore there was a need to modify the policy in favour of the 'Moro Work.'

Aside from the fact that this chapter is about the concentration policy which obviously resulted in the concentration of work in certain areas of the Philippines, it also demonstrates the complexity of the whole issue of framing, adopting, implementing, and constant modification of mission policies. In this regard, the adoption and modifications of the policy of concentration based on the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church as it was put into practice in the context of socio-economic, political, and religious issues in the Philippine, proves that mission policies were based on both theoretical (intellectual – theologies and theories) and practical (what is happening on the ground) factors. It validates the double role – mediating and synthesizing - of mission policies in the dialogical relationship between theory and practice in doing mission as already argued in chapter one. In the process of mission policies' mediation and synthesization of the dialogue between theory and practice, Filipino voices were indirectly and unintentionally factored in. These voices were collectively expressed and heard by the church as it framed and modified its policy of concentration in response to the issue of marginality as well as to related issues such as Filipino resistance, Filipinization policy, and religious diversity in the Philippines.

The ability of the church to engage Philippine context enables it to withstand the challenges that were inherent in a pioneering missionary endeavour. The church succeeded in establishing mission stations that impacted transformation of communities. The church also established institutions that impacted the whole nation such as the St. Luke's Hospital – now St. Luke's Medical Center. However, these stations were highly independent from each other to the extent that their progress was uneven. Thus, as shall be discussed in the next chapter, the church adopted a policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940.

## **5. CONSOLIDATION POLICY, 1920-1940**

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the policy of concentration of work in carefully chosen areas of the Philippines based primarily on marginality resulted in the confinement of missionary activity amongst the Igorots in the Cordillera Region except for the thriving work amongst the Muslims in Zamboanga, a congregation of Chinese in Manila, and social work amongst poor Filipinos in the slums of Tondo, also in Manila. In this chapter, I will present three main arguments. First, the church adopted a policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940 based on four interrelated primary factors: 1) the centralization of the church in 1919; 2) the Filipinization policy of the colonial government under the leadership of the Democrats; 3) the lack of cohesion in the missionary district as manifested in the ‘Sagada Problem’; and 4) the missional implications of diocesan polity. Second, bringing theological education to the Igorots in Sagada further contributed to the concentration of work amongst the Igorots. Third, in spite of the demands of consolidation, the church engaged in conservative regional expansion based on marginality.

### **5.1 Policy of Consolidation: A Double-edged Policy, 1920-1940**

By consolidation, I mean the solidification of the entire missionary district by unifying independent missionaries, institutions, and stations to function as a single unit. It also includes the strengthening of programmes that were already initiated, in order not to lose the evangelistic gains. This is oftentimes done in a desperate attempt to save an organization from total disintegration. As Constance White Wentzel describes:

Bishop Mosher’s only course was one of consolidation so that the work which had already undertaken could not be undermined. But as he pursued his policy with utmost determination, he became increasingly aware, as did his colleagues, of the lack of coherence in his dioceses (Wentzel 1952: 17)

Wentzel appropriately uses the word ‘consolidation’ and acknowledges that it was the ‘only course’ left for Mosher, the missionary Bishop from 1920 to 1940. However, she failed to discuss the mission policy of the church during the first ten years of Bishop Mosher as she argues that the policy was adopted only after realizing the difficulties in the 1930s. Her failure to discuss the policy of the Episcopal Church prior to 1930s is quite problematic because people are unwittingly left to think that Mosher followed the natural course of expansion within those ten years. Incidentally, although unaware of

Wentzel's work, Zubiri calls the period of Mosher's leadership a period of expansion based on the founding of new mission stations, namely St. Paul's Mission, Balbalasang, Kalinga in northern Luzon and St. Francis of Assisi in Upi, Cotabato (now Maguindanao) in Mindano (Zubiri 1991: 134-7). However, these stations were opened due to great need – marginality, in spite of the hesitation of the Department of Missions back home. Thus, in this section, I will argue that this policy, with its two aspects – organizational and evangelistic, was adopted from the very beginning of the tenure of Bishop Mosher. Nowhere was this policy described more comprehensively than in this letter:

Materially there is not a great deal of change, although, of course, there must have been necessarily, but I believe that you would find the spirit better, the missionaries working more harmoniously together and the people getting a vast deal more of real Christian instruction than they ever had before.. I hope, and indeed I pray, that this period of the Mission's history may result in what we may perhaps call solidifying things.<sup>1</sup>

Although Mosher wrote these words towards the end of his tenure, I contend that he had been consistently working toward the solidification of mission in the Philippines. This may have been the first time he explicitly talked about 'solidifying things' which defines the policy of consolidation but he had been talking implicitly of the same thing from the very beginning of his tenure as we shall see in the succeeding discussion. This quotation does not only use the phrase 'solidifying things' which may have been intentionally used to clarify the policy of consolidation but also talks about 'missionaries working more harmoniously together and the people getting a vast deal more of real Christian instruction' which defines the two aspects of this policy. 'Missionaries working more harmoniously together' pertains to the organizational aspect of the policy while 'people getting a vast deal of real Christian instruction' was about the evangelistic aspect of the same policy.

### **5.1.1 Organizational Consolidation**

The organizational consolidation refers to the aspect of the policy of consolidation that deals primarily with unifying the mission stations, institutions, and programmes as well as achieving unity amongst the members and leaders of the church. Even before formally being installed as the Bishop of the Philippines, Mosher had already

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Artley B. Parson, 13.09.1935, ECPA.

envisioned unity in the church.<sup>2</sup> He was well aware of the situation in the Philippines when he spoke of ‘segregated parishes’ before setting foot in the country.<sup>3</sup> He must have gained knowledge about the situation in the Philippines from Bishop Graves and John Wood who both visited the Philippines in 1918 (Malecdan c.2002: 26-9). Bishop Graves, who happened to be the superior of Mosher in China, visited the Philippines as the duly appointed temporary overseer while John Wood, Mosher’s friend, visited the Philippines as the secretary of foreign missions. In fact, on his way home from the Philippines, Wood visited Mosher and his station in Wusih, China and spent a good time talking about the Philippines.<sup>4</sup>

Mosher had already articulated his conviction that the Philippine mission needed organizational consolidation not only by envisioning the establishment of a single unit but more so the establishment of a diocese:

It is important sometimes to know clearly just what is the unit with which we are working. Individuals constitute the parish, the parishes the diocese, and all the dioceses form the Church. There can be no doubt the unit here should be the diocese. While everything we do that is worth while [sic] brings benefit to the Church, the most effective scheme for working method [sic] is based on the diocese as the unit.<sup>5</sup>

As briefly discussed in chapter 4, a diocese is the basic unit of the church that is (at least ideally) self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing, whereas a missionary district depends heavily on the mother church.

For three years, Mosher had been articulating this policy of consolidation but I propose that this policy was only accepted by the entire church when it was formally laid down in the 1924 Convocation. In his Convocation address, Bishop Mosher reiterated what he had already been saying in many of his communications regarding the direction of the mission in the Philippines: ‘We have been sent here in order that we may establish in this Island a branch of our Church: every missionary district looks forward to the time when it may become an organized diocese’ (*JAC* 1924: 10).

The policy that Mosher articulated through his convocation address in 1924 must have been the policy he was referring to in one of his letters in 1922 when he mentioned that he was going to the United States to attend the 1922 General Convention. In

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<sup>2</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 17.12.1919, ECPA.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Artley B. Parson, 22.12.19, ECPA.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 14.01.20, ECPA.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John A. Staunton Jr, 19.08.1920, ECPA.

particular, he intended to go to the USA six months earlier than the aforesaid General Convention, in order to take advantage of the opportunity to gain ‘a clear understanding as to what support’ he should expect from the church at home before laying out some plans for the Philippine mission.<sup>6</sup> He even requested Wood to sit with him before the General Convention in order that they would refine the policy together:

Now remember, there are very great things here that must be changed, some new lines of work to be laid out on a definite policy of the church for the future to be formulated. You and I must go over this whole thing carefully and exhaustively. Whether it is necessary again or not, we must have a day or two together before the General Convention.<sup>7</sup>

With the above manifestations of urgency and passion for the new policy, Bishop Mosher was able to come up with a well-developed policy for the mission in the Philippines after attending the 1922 General Convention where he probably conferred with Wood and other key Episcopalians who were in anyway associated with the mission. However, there was no convocation in 1923 which could have been the first opportunity to articulate the policy he might have developed while in the United States. Neither was there any published annual report for 1922 where he could have mentioned any development in matters of mission policy. Thus, the earliest piece of evidence that can be cited for the public articulation of the policy is the Bishop’s Address in the 1924 Convocation as noted earlier.

The organizational consolidation dealt with various mission stations as well as programmes, institutions, independent communities, and even individual missionaries. Amongst the programmes that needed consolidation were those geared toward the American expatriates such as the Baguio School for American Boys and the Columbia Club for Americans in Manila. The Baguio School which was established in 1909 was renamed Brent School around 1923. It was one of the things that Mosher not only maintained but also strengthened with the help of individual subscribers who were generous enough to increase their subscription.<sup>8</sup> Judge Haussermann, one of the two primary owners of the Benguet Consolidated Mine, was especially noted for his contribution.<sup>9</sup> The Columbia Club was barely surviving because of many reasons such

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<sup>6</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 04.08.1921, ECPA.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 25.03.1922, ECPA.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Lewis Franklin, 23.06.1923, ECPA.

<sup>9</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Lewis Franklin, 30.07.1923, ECPA.



as dwindling membership when many Americans left the country as a result of the Filipinization policy, the inactivity of some members, and the proliferation of other clubs with similar goals.<sup>10</sup> In spite of the effort to consolidate, it was disbanded in 1930.<sup>11</sup> There was an attempt to revive it with the recruitment of new members in 1931, but it only lasted until 1935 when it was finally closed and the buildings were returned to the church.<sup>12</sup>

Another aspect of the church work that needed attention, in order to be consistent with the policy of organizational consolidation, was the relationship of the Community of Sisters of St. Mary with the Bishop and with the Department of Missions. The Sisters of St. Mary had no relation whatsoever with the Department of Missions but were asking the Department of Missions to provide housing for them.<sup>13</sup> There is no evidence of any clear answer to this question but the fact that the Sisters of St. Mary stayed on and were provided housing was a testimony that the problem may have been ironed out.

Organizational consolidation also dealt with the entire 'Moro Work' of the church which started during the time of Bishop Brent. As discussed in chapter 4, Brent began to concentrate his attention to the strengthening of the mission for the Muslims in Mindanao when the Democrats won the national election in the United States in 1912 and consequently adopted the Filipinization as a policy in the Philippines when they came to power in 1913. Mosher had some difficulties in getting useful information about the work from the very beginning of his episcopate as can be seen in the following:

You remember that since September, 1920 I have been trying to get some information from the Department of Missions, the Moro Committee and Bishop Brent as to who is the actual owner of the Zamboanga Hospital and the doctor's and nurses' house (three buildings in all). The property is registered in my name as Corporate sole, successor of course to Bishop Brent and holding it in like manner. I have never had any reply from anybody to this question, and now it would seem as though the institution were being turned over to the Department of Missions because of your having accepted my request for salaries of a doctor and a nurse and have made an appropriation of \$1,000 for this current year.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 12.07.1930, ECPA.

<sup>11</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 18.07.1930, ECPA.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 13.01.1935, ECPA.

<sup>13</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 15.04.1922, ECPA.

<sup>14</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 17.01.1922, ECPA.

The above mentioned letter informs us that the issue related to the 'Moro Work' was complicated because there were some institutions in Zamboanga that were established through the help of the Board of Missions and there were institutions that were established by the Moro Committee which did not have anything to do with the Board of Missions. The Zamboanga Hospital was established before the Moro Committee was organized, so Mosher assumed that the hospital was also put under the said committee. He had good reason to assume this because of the absence of clear documents.<sup>15</sup>

Although it was later clarified that the hospital was not under the Moro Committee, rather was one of the institutions that were established with the approval of the Board of Missions, there was still a problem because it was established with the help of the individual people of Zamboanga who later claimed equity in the property when Brent left the country. These individual contributors to the project were unwilling to transfer the registration to the Department of Missions from Brent as a corporate sole.<sup>16</sup> The hospital incurred an overdraft and it was causing Mosher so many problems that he considered giving it up.<sup>17</sup> Apparently, those who were claiming equity in the property finally agreed to transfer the registration to the Department of Missions as it appears in the report for 1923 that the Zamboanga Hospital was one of the institutions of the Missionary District of the Philippines (*JAC* 1924: 5).

The situation was really unusual because Bishop Brent was still in charge of the committee that was working in a district no longer under his jurisdiction. This was because the donors simply did not want to work with people other than the person who had secured their donations.<sup>18</sup> This was also true with other projects under the Moro Committee such as the School in Jolo. Moreover, Wood recalled that the Moro Committee would not transfer the school to the Department of Missions since Brent had entered an agreement that there should be no Christian education in the school unless requested. Wood even recalled how the Board of Missions was referred to as horrid by one of the members of the committee.<sup>19</sup> The Jolo School was not in good shape thus a

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<sup>15</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Charles Henry Brent, 09.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>16</sup> Letter of Artley B. Parson to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 15.03.1922, ECPA.

<sup>17</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Charles Henry Brent, 09.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Charles Henry Brent, 09.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>19</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 24.06.1922, ECPA.

proposal came from the government for a possible takeover.<sup>20</sup> Bishop Mosher responded: ‘This school is not in my charge, excepting to the extent that for the past two years I have in a sense and pending further arrangement been acting as agent for those who are responsible for the school’.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the deepening disagreement between the Moro Committee and the Department of Missions, Mosher still tried to make them agree to save the work that had been started for the Moros. The pressure was on Mosher because people did not understand the details of the matter and so the failure to keep the things that were started by Bishop Brent meant failure in his administrative skills.<sup>22</sup> Bishop Brent understood clearly the predicament of Mosher to the extent that he volunteered to sort things out with the Department of Missions.<sup>23</sup>

The consolidation policy even aimed at the attitudes of missionaries, especially those who did not follow standard operating procedures, those who were choosy, and those who were very exacting. Mosher was entirely dissatisfied with people who did not follow the proper line of communication and chain of command. He was disturbed when the Matron of the House of the Holy Child wrote directly to John Wood of the Department of Missions.<sup>24</sup> Mosher was worried about Sibley’s act of not permitting Miss Diggs to work in Alab and appointing Miss Kilbourne as a replacement. Reverend Sibley was in charge of the Bontoc mission station with which the Alab station was associated. Sibley directly communicated with Wood and the latter in turn informed Bishop Mosher. Bishop Mosher then reminded Sibley that an appointment to a specific position is a responsibility of the Bishop.<sup>25</sup> He also stressed this point when he received Miss Kilbourne’s application for Alab. He did not want people to be choosy by applying for a specific station. He expected applicants to apply for the district and reserved for himself the right to place them in stations where he thought they were needed and

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<sup>20</sup> Letter of C.W. Franks to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 12.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>21</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to C.W. Franks, 15.05.1922, ECPA.

<sup>22</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 05.04.1923, ECPA.

<sup>23</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 08.05.1923, ECPA.

<sup>24</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 16.09.1920, ECPA.

<sup>25</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Edward A. Sibley, 11.08.1920, ECPA.

suited.<sup>26</sup> He also pointed out that a missionary should not demand but should be willing to ‘start at the bottom and work his way up’.<sup>27</sup>

All these things were taken into account by Mosher to make a strong case to the church back home on behalf of the policy of organizational consolidation which generally was successful, the exceptions being the school in Jolo, the Columbia Club and other works that were bound to fail due to shaky beginnings. Mosher led the Episcopal Church to pursue this organizational consolidation by instituting instruments of unity to augment the work of the Bishop who is the primary instrument of unity in a diocese or in a district. The newly established instruments of unity were annual conferences, the *Diocesan Chronicle*, and the office of the Canon Missioner.

Prior to the tenure of Bishop Mosher, the annual convocation of the Episcopal Church Mission in the Philippines was purely a transaction of business. Moreover, it was attended mostly by people who were living around Manila and those who were given responsibility. However, changes were introduced to include conferences as part of the annual convocation. Mosher clarified:

I have said that we are not gathered in Convocation merely for the transaction of business. The tentative program that I have prepared will show that several conferences have been provided in which the members of our Mission Staff can get together and discuss, more or less informally, any questions that they feel would help unify the work. Note, please, that I use the word “unify” (*JAC* 1924: 10).

Conferences were clearly included in the convocations as a tool for the implementation and success of the consolidation policy. Like the consolidation policy, conferences were already envisioned by Mosher as soon as he had knowledge of the problem in the Philippines. He intended to deal with problems ‘in an open Conference, rather than have individuals come to me with reports of their fellows’.<sup>28</sup> Being an experienced missionary, Mosher knew that conferences do have some negative results if they make people confront each other. For this reason, he clarified that all members come together for Holy Communion and ‘confer about things that concern the Mission’.<sup>29</sup>

Another tool that the church had to use for the success of its effort toward organizational consolidation was the *Diocesan Chronicle*. This was established in 1920

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<sup>26</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 11.01.1921, ECPA.

<sup>27</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 23.09.1921, ECPA.

<sup>28</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 17.12.1919, ECPA.

<sup>29</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.12.1919, ECPA.

to provide some information on various parts of the missionary district, so that missionaries would be constantly informed about any development happening in stations that were very remote from them. This was very important to minimize misunderstanding as clearly stated by Mosher:

Moreover, misunderstandings arise that can very easily lead to a pulling apart where there should be pulling together. I felt the presence of this tendency and so three years ago established *The Diocesan Chronicle* in the hope that it would, at least to some degree, prove a corrective (*JAC* 1924: 10-1).

The creation of the office of the Canon Missioner in 1927 was also instrumental in the success of organizational consolidation. The Canon Missioner was tasked to roam around the Philippines to take care of the needs of the scattered Americans and to find opportunities for missions. The first person to occupy this position was Benson Heale Harvey (*JAC* 1928: 13). One of the first stations he visited was Upi, Cotabato (now part of Maguindanao), the farthest mission station of the Episcopal Church in the Southern Philippines. When he visited the station in 1928, the mission had just begun but was already impacting the life of people in that part of Mindanao (*Spirit of Mission* 1928: 804). The Canon Missioner was also tasked to visit stations and act as a spare priest whenever there was an immediate need in a certain station. In 1928, for instance, Canon Missioner Harvey was tasked to help maintain the services for the congregation of St. Stephen Mission to the Chinese when Rev. and Mrs. Hobart E. Studley left the country for their regular furlough (*JAC* 1928: 26). He also took charge of the Bontoc station when there was no one to take care of it in 1936.<sup>30</sup> Canon Missioner Harvey arrived in the Philippines in 1926 and he started his visitations in September 1927 (*JAC* 1928: 38).

Based on the duties of the Canon Missioner, one can actually say that the impact of the office was more than what was expected. The Canon Missioner represented the Bishop every time he visited mission stations. He also represented the people in the mission stations through his reports to the Bishop. In other words, he acted as an intermediary between the Bishop and the clergy as well as the local congregation.

Moreover, by taking charge of unattended mission stations, the Canon Missioner was also given a unique opportunity to exercise influence on stations that were temporarily entrusted to him. But most importantly, when taken as a whole, the office of

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<sup>30</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Hobbs, 20.10.1936, ECPA.

the Canon Missioner contributed to the effort of the church to promote unity in the missionary district because in every visitation the chance of indirect interaction between missionaries was increased.

The organizational aspect of the consolidation policy was generally successful. Although, technically speaking, the district did not become an ‘organized diocese’ as envisioned, some of those who were part of it believed that it actually operated as a diocese. Gowen (1939) observes:

Despite year on year a staggering discouragement, Bishop Mosher largely succeeded. He has made a diocese. No one who could compare the brief and perfunctory Convocations to the past, meeting attended for an hour or two by the available Manila clergy to transact the minimum of routine business, with the present-day sessions occupying most of a week, attracting all the clergy and many lay delegates, native as well as Americans, accepting and transacting an ever larger share of business, could doubt this statement (p. 72).

Although I would not agree in the attribution of the success solely to Mosher, the statement summarizes the state of the Philippine mission before Mosher resigned in 1940. In fact, the church back home recognized the achievement of the mission in the Philippines by allowing it to use Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC) as its local name while remaining as a missionary district during the 1937 General Convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, USA (Botengan 2001: 128).

### **5.1.2 The Evangelistic Consolidation**

The evangelistic consolidation refers to the solidification of the gains of the evangelistic work of the church. It pertains to the effort to ingrain strong Christian values amongst the converts. It included Christian instruction toward a well-rounded mission wherein civilizing and conversion become equally important aspects of a single missionary endeavour.<sup>31</sup> At first, this aspect of the consolidation policy was pursued by strengthening the language study programme for foreign missionaries. However, it was soon recognized that the best option to realize this goal was through the deliberate preparation of Filipinos for ordained and non-ordained ministry. The church ‘realized the absolute hopelessness of trying to keep up mission work with the American priests’ because the ‘Department of Missions cannot get them, and they will not come’.

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<sup>31</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 20.12.1923, ECPA.

Therefore, training native was a necessary ‘second step’ after realizing the weakness of dependence on foreign missionaries.<sup>32</sup> To some extent, it follows the trend in other fields wherein missionaries started to ordain indigenous Filipinos because of scarcity of missionaries. In Tanquebar, for example, Aaron was ordained as the first Lutheran pastor primarily due to ‘non-availability of new European missionary candidates’ (Jeyaraj 1998: 11).

Although the importance of learning local languages was acknowledged by the missionaries from the very beginning, it was given utmost importance during the leadership of Mosher. One of the pieces of evidence for the earlier recognition of the importance of learning a local language was a dictionary published by Walter Clayton Clapp on the vocabulary of the Igorot language as spoken by the people of Bontoc in northern Luzon. He actually started circulating the mimeographed version of this dictionary as early as 1904 before it was published in 1908 (Clapp 1908: 147-148). Clapp’s good grasp of the local language enabled him to translate St Mark’s Gospel and the necessary formularies of Christian worship and instruction including a small prayer book and a catechism (Gowen 1939: 31-32). Moreover, Brent recognized the help of learning the local language in Bontoc so that hiring a catechist was also envisioned to help in teaching the local language:

Narciso Balinag is one of our communicants, a young man of twenty-four, married and having the respect of Americans, Ilokano, and Igorot alike. He has signified his desire to become a catechist, and has resigned his position with the government, of which he has been a valued and trusty servant...He speaks Ilokano, Igorot, Tagalog, Spanish, and some English....The Boys who have done so much in the way of interpretation and translation are going to the School in Baguio, so that it will necessitate some new arrangement about language lessons.<sup>33</sup>

Also significant was the action of Bishop Brent to engage the service of Hobarts Studley, a minister who spoke the Amoy dialect, to take care of the mission to the Chinese in Manila (Gowen 1939: 22).

However, language did not take precedence in some mission stations. In Sagada for example, only a few missionaries in the station were able to learn the local language. Notable amongst them was the Reverend Frost who used his knowledge of the local

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<sup>32</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.06.1926, ECPA.

<sup>33</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 15.02.1906, 76.3.3, ATEC.

language to join the old men gathered in ‘council chambers’ known locally as *dap-ay*.<sup>34</sup> He served in Sagada from 1917 to 1925 (Gowing 1939: 43-5). Regrettably, the problem in Sagada relative to language was not just about priority but also about bias. It was established later that some missionaries knew the local language but did not care to use it because of a superiority complex. One of those who viewed local language with condescension was Reverend Staunton, the pioneer and leader of the Sagada mission (Malecandan c2002: 24). However, things changed during the leadership of Bishop Mosher. The Episcopal Church made it an unwritten policy to require missionaries to learn the local language, in order to be effective in conversion. Mosher wrote:

[T]hey are all diligently studying Ilocano under Mrs. Waterman as, for the matter, so are all the other members of the Sagada station, if I am not mistaken, including Fr. Staunton, himself. They have responded very cordially to my request that the missionaries should learn the dialects spoken in their stations. The sisters are going to be a great help by doing work that other people really cannot do.<sup>35</sup>

Bishop Mosher made a general request that missionaries should learn the dialects spoken in their stations. While appealing to those already in the Philippines before his arrival to learn the local language, Bishop Mosher made it clear to new applicants that learning the language was a vital requirement. In one of his earliest requests for personnel, he said: ‘two young clergymen to come here and take up work amongst the Chinese. It would be necessary for me to send them, for a year, at least one to Amoy and one to Canton, to learn those dialects’.<sup>36</sup> Mosher emphasized the importance of language even in relation to finding a priest for Zamboanga.<sup>37</sup>

The emphasis on the local language became an unwritten policy of the church in the Philippines because of the full support of the Department of Missions, as can be gleaned from the following words: ‘replying to your letter of 28 May, it is a pleasure to know that your experience with regard to opportunity extended to the wives of missionaries for language study is so satisfactory’.<sup>38</sup> Mosher felt the positive attitude of

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<sup>34</sup> ‘Dap-ay’ is ‘centre where community concerns and issues are actively discussed and resolved’ (Wolvekamp 1999: 81). This is common in the Cordillera region, northern Philippines. In Bontoc for example, they call it ‘ato’ (Rowthorn and Bloom 2006: 153). These traditional institutions are governed by council of elders who are given responsibility in almost all aspect of life in their communities (Ma 2008:304).

<sup>35</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 18.01.1922, ECPA.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 30.08.1920, ECPA.

<sup>37</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 17.09.1921, ECPA.

<sup>38</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 30.06.1923, ECPA.



the Department of Missions to this policy and so extended it to the spouses of missionaries.<sup>39</sup> Wood, as the secretary of the Department of Missions, reaffirmed his full support:

I have read with interest your letter of August 15th, concerning language study by the wives of missionaries. I think it is clear from what you say that we are thoroughly agreed with regard to the advisability of it when practicable, and the necessity of language study for all regularly appointed missionaries.<sup>40</sup>

The correspondence between Bishop Mosher and Wood regarding the importance of requiring missionaries to study local languages suggested a church-wide effort toward a greater evangelistic impact upon those who had already established a connection with the church through its civilizing mission.

However, as briefly introduced at the beginning of this section, the shortage in personnel meant the missionaries were unable to meet the demands of evangelistic consolidation. Thus the church considered again the training of Filipinos for ordained and non-ordained ministry. Although Filipino lay-ministry was not new in the Philippine mission, the church lagged behind other denominations in training Filipinos for the ordained ministry. Filipino lay-ministry was common especially in Sagada where personnel were always a pressing need (Malecdan c2002: 20).

As mentioned in chapter 4, the first effort toward training Filipino leaders came from the Board of Mission as early as 1909 in order to impact ‘moral regeneration’ which should precede the ‘political and social’ reconstruction of the government based on the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church. Although Brent was very apprehensive about sending lowland Filipinos for evangelistic work amongst mountain people, he changed his position and spoke of the possibility of training Filipino people in Manila to become prophets for the rest of the Episcopal Church missions in the Philippines in his Bishop’s Address in 1910 (*JAC* 1948: 16). However, this change in attitude did not translate into action as manifested by the failure of the Episcopal Church to start a training programme during his time.

While it is true that there was no actual training programme during the time of Brent, the church back in America did its part by sending Loreto Serapion all the way to

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<sup>39</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 15.08.1923, ECPA.

<sup>40</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 05.11.1923, ECPA.

the Philippines. He was of Filipino parentage but born in Cuba. He was ordained deacon on August 15, 1915 and a priest on March 26, 1916. In a sense, he was the first Filipino Episcopal priest (*JAC 1939: 74*). Aside from actually engaging the service of Serapion, there were attempts to encourage Igorots to pursue ordained ministry as early as the time of Brent. One concrete example was the preparation of Clement Irving, a Bontoc Igorot, for priesthood with the support of Mrs. Hargreaves and Mrs. Warren of New York. Unfortunately, he left the employ of the Episcopal Church in favour of a government post in Bontoc.<sup>41</sup>

The training of Filipinos for ordained ministry started during the leadership of Mosher but there were two discernible developments that reflected the changes in the situation and, therefore, in the primary purpose of training Filipinos for church leadership. First, whereas Brent envisioned training of lowland Filipinos in Manila to become prophets for the rest of their compatriots, the training programme that finally started and was sustained was originally for Igorots. Missionaries in the Philippines, especially in Sagada, came to the realization that the best way to teach Igorots was through the Igorots themselves (Jones 2003: 166). This explains why the training school for the ordained and non-ordained ministry was formally established in Sagada in 1932 instead of Manila. Second, the training of Filipinos for church leadership during the time of Brent was primarily geared toward taking leadership in the general moral regeneration in the Philippines, while the primary purpose of training Filipinos for ministry during the time of Mosher was evangelistic consolidation.

Although there was an apparent change in the purpose of training Filipinos in the 1920s, the national church ideal remained a constant factor. The consolidation of the mission aimed at the organization of a single unit with a national character. Reasonably, the indigenous ministry was developed in relation to the shaping of this national character. This became clearer when Mosher talked about establishing a 'Native Church' which he actually meant a National Church led not by just Igorots but also by other ethnolinguistic groups in the future.<sup>42</sup> The idea of training indigenous Filipinos was floated around 1926. Mosher wrote:

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<sup>41</sup> Letter of Artley B. Parson to Frederick Rogers Graves, 12.06.1919, 64.31.8, ATEC.

<sup>42</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.07.1930, ECPA.

I have a pretty definite recollection of exchanging correspondence with you in which it was agreed by you and by me that as soon as possible we ought to develop our native ministry; and that there would be no question of support coming for that purpose.....Again I took the matter up with you when in New York last winter. I have very distinct remembrance, though I made no note of it on any memorandum, that we were agreed upon this being one of the most important things for this mission to do.<sup>43</sup>

Apparently, the idea of training Filipinos for ordained and non-ordained ministry was not supported by some Americans because of prejudice, even after more than two decades of Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. This is what we can glean from the words of Mosher:

People tell me that working among primitive people like the Igorots is a little early perhaps to look for native clergy, but these people forget that there has not been before in history of primitive people such as a government move as has been made here in the Islands. If Howard Bangawan can be supervising teacher certainly there is no reason why, if we had gone in as hopefully at the beginning as did the Bureau of Education, he should not be a deacon of the Church, if not a priest. The time is ripe for this thing. It ought not to be postponed.<sup>44</sup>

I contend that this prejudice was the main reason why the Episcopal Church did not grab an opportunity to start training Filipinos in 1921 when Dr. Frank Laubach, a Congregationalist missionary in the Philippines, offered Bishop Mosher the joint establishment of a seminary in Manila.<sup>45</sup> Bishop Mosher replied that the church had 'quite no candidates in view for theological students' and that he was only hopeful to raise the matter during the 1922 General Convention.<sup>46</sup> Whether this matter was seriously considered or not, the correspondence between Wood and Mosher was silent about it until 1926 when Bishop Mosher tried to push for it. In response, Wood reaffirmed his support on the policy of training Filipinos for ordained and non-ordained ministry when he wrote:

On my return to New York, I have read with interest, your letter of June 14. I do remember our discussion of the desirability of training native clergy. I am of the same opinion still. There is no question that the great weakness of the Philippine mission is, that for the past twenty five years little has been done in the direction of training the native men to take their places in the ministry of the Church.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.06.1926, ECPA.

<sup>44</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.06.1926, ECPA

<sup>45</sup> Letter of Frank Charles Laubach to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 05.10.1921, ECPA

<sup>46</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Frank Charles Laubach, 14.11.1921, ECPA

<sup>47</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 26.08.1926, ECPA

The concrete step to begin a ‘theological school’ was mentioned in 1927. The first teachers were the Reverends Hobart E. Studley and William L. Ziadie at St. Luke’s Church, Manila. One of the first students was Crispino Salustiano. He was also the first to be ordained a deacon amongst those who started their theological training in 1927. He was ordained on the 29th of May 1928 in the same church where he had his theological education. Bishop Mosher spoke of him as a keystone in the work at St. Luke’s Compound for a couple of years before his ordination. At the time of his ordination to the Order of Deacons, he was still an employee of the Philippine National Bank (*JAC* 1928: 15).

The situation in 1927 made it possible for the Philippine Mission to sustain what had already started in St. Luke’s Church, Manila because of the arrival of missionaries who fled the conflict between the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) and the Communist Party in China.<sup>48</sup> As shall be discussed further in section 5.3, the training of the Igorots was later transferred to Sagada in 1932, ‘in order that Igorot boys should not lose sympathy with their mountain people and home’ (*JAC* 1928: 19).

Generally, like the organizational consolidation, the evangelistic consolidation was also successful. In particular, the training of Igorots for ordained and non-ordained ministry was very successful in impacting evangelistic consolidation. The Igorot church leaders started to engage their own people. These words are revealing:

We, the Igorots, with our daily poverty, misery, sickness, hardships of all sorts, shyness, permit me to say, can be known better by brother Igorots. Our people are too shy to deal with the occidentals, who are way above us in culture and therefore find it hard to be frank with the Americans. Many a time I hear the expressions from our illiterate people, God created them to be Americans, and made us Igorots. Therefore we have a different religion, because we are created different people (Longid 1939:4).

Although this statement was made in the context of campaigning for more Igorots to train for ministry, the fact that it was articulated by an Igorot himself was already a sign of success in terms of evangelism because it reiterated the importance of Igorots to engage fellow Igorots who resisted Christianity based on cultural differences.

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<sup>48</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.05.1927, ECPA.

## **5.2 Church Polity, Philippine Politics, and Local Church Conditions: Main Factors that necessitated the Policy of Consolidation**

Many factors necessitated the policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940. These include the five sources of the crisis that beset the Episcopal Church in the Philippines in the 1920s and 1930s noted by Arun Jones (2003). According to Jones, the crisis was due to the following: 1) the conflict with the Roman Catholic Church (pp. 175-83); 2) the collapse of the Sagada Mission (pp. 183-4); 3) the Great Depression in the 1930s (pp. 184-5); 4) a crisis of confidence in Christian mission (pp. 185-8); and 5) the crisis caused by the exposure of the mountain communities to the world (pp. 188-9). Except for the collapse of the Sagada Mission, these negative influences on the Episcopal Church in the Philippines in the 1920s and 1930s were external. Thus, in this section, I will highlight factors that are internal with the exception of the Filipinization policy of the colonial government. There is a need to highlight the Filipinization policy of the colonial government because it sheds light to internal changes as shall be discussed in section 5.2.2.

### **5.2.1 Centralization of the Church in 1919**

In 1919, there was a radical overhaul in the organizational structure of the Episcopal Church that led to the centralization of the entire church, including its missionary work. Douglas (1996) argues that this centralization was a ‘realization’ or the ‘institutionalization’ of the national church ideal (p. 150). Naturally, as shall be discussed in this section, this change in the organizational structure of the entire Episcopal Church impacted its mission policy in the Philippines. However, in this section, I will not be discussing national church ideals but will focus on how this organizational change impacted the mission policy in the Philippines.

The discussion of reorganizing the whole PECUSA started as early as 1909. However, it was only taken seriously during the 1919 General Convention. It was Dr. Arthur L. Lloyd<sup>49</sup> who first floated the idea of structural reorganization. In a letter to a committee, Dr. Lloyd wrote:

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<sup>49</sup> Arthur S. Lloyd was the General Secretary of the Domestic and Foreign Mission Society (DFMS) from 1900 to 1909. He was elected as Bishop Coadjutor of Virginia on 20 October 1909 but resigned when he was chosen as the President of the Board of Missions. He served as the President of the Board of Missions from 1910 to 1919 (Emery 1921: 269-70).

[T]he principle on which the board is organized at present is wrong, because no company of gentlemen, however honoured they may be by the whole body, ought to have the right to levy taxes upon the Church (and the apportionment is practically this); nor should any company of gentlemen have the responsibility of dispensing the Church's funds.<sup>50</sup>

As the General Secretary of DFMS, Lloyd was basically referring to the power of the Board of Missions. He clearly pointed out in the same letter that the structure at that time encouraged bishops to act individually. The idea was proposed in time for the 1910 General Convention but it took the church three General Conventions to act on it. Lloyd's idea was taken seriously especially when he became the President of the Board of Missions from 1910 to 1919 (Emery 1921: 269-70).

The reorganization that happened in the 1919 General Convention resulted in the adoption of a new canon that clearly stipulated the new administrative structure. Particularly, Canon 60, entitled 'Of the Presiding Bishop and Council' provided that the new council - National Council – was 'to administer and carry on the Missionary, Educational, and Social Work of the Church, of which the Presiding Bishop shall be the executive head' (Douglas 1996: 152-3). Prior to this change, the work of the church was done by three separate boards, namely: Missions, Christian Education and Social Service. In short, Canon 60 meant the consolidation of these boards under one head – the Presiding Bishop (Emery 1921: 326). The work of the council under the leadership of the Presiding Bishop was divided into five departments. The first three departments corresponded to the three pre-1919 boards. The other two departments worked on finance and publicity (Douglas 1996: 153-4). Hence, the change in the organizational structure resulted in the centralization of finances (Manross 1938: 351). This centralization of finances greatly affected the mission in the Philippines, which depended heavily on 'specials'<sup>51</sup> generated by charismatic leaders like Bishop Brent and hard-working missionaries such as the Reverend John A. Staunton in Sagada.

In order to understand how this change adversely affected the mission in the Philippines, one needs to look at its concrete expression in matters of finance. To be specific, one needs to look at the Nation-Wide Campaign, which had become a programme under the National Council (Manross 1938: 351). Before the 1919 General

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<sup>50</sup> Letter of Arthur S. Lloyd to a Committee, 19.03.1909, ATEC, 4.1.

<sup>51</sup> 'Specials' refers to donations made for specific programmes.

Convention, a committee was organized to study the feasibility of the Nation-Wide Campaign and make a presentation at the general convention. Consequently, the committee presented and finalized the campaign plans with the organization of a Joint Commission on Nation-Wide Campaign consisting of five bishops, five presbyters, and five laymen with power to add to their numbers. The joint commission was tasked to direct the entire campaign. One of the five specific duties of the joint commission was to 'apportion the budget among the several Dioceses and Missionary Districts upon a sliding scale of percentages, based upon the current expenses of each Diocese and Missionary District'. This duty reflected the intention to centralize the apportionment of funds for both dioceses and missionary districts. The joint commission was also task to appoint a national treasurer which further enhanced the centralizing effect of this organizational change (*JGC* 1919: 560-561). In fact, the Nation-Wide Campaign was so tied with the organizational centralisation that it soon became one of the departments of the National Council in May 1920, with the Rev. W.H. Milton as its Executive Secretary (Emery 1921:327).

Manross (1938) opines that the Nation-Wide Campaign was primarily to raise money for missionary and other activities of the church because there was a general need for money after the war. He further argues that the large-scale fund drives were an application of the lesson learnt from effective fundraising strategies employed during World War I (p. 352). However, I contend that the aftermath of the war has only provided the opportunity to push the Nation-Wide Campaign as part of the reorganization that was contemplated already in 1909 as mentioned earlier. In a sense, the campaign strategy was not only an application of the lessons learnt from the war but was also based on the errors of the church even before the war.

In order to establish the relation between the issue of centralization of the financial aspects of the entire church and the change of mission policy in the Philippines, one needs to make some observations on the incongruities relative to the result of the Nation-Wide Campaign. The Nation-Wide Campaign was successful, based on the report submitted for the 1922 General Convention:

The Nation-Wide Campaign has accomplished one of the most stupendous tasks that has ever confronted the Church in establishing the principles and practice of Christian stewardship among our people...One hundred and eighty-seven new missionaries have been sent into the field so far during the last three years.....Teachers have increased in numbers [sic] seventeen hundred. There was an increase of one hundred and seventeen per cent, in the General Church revenues and about three hundred per cent, in Diocesan

revenues.....Revenues for general work have increased by \$1,726,301.69 per year (*JGC* 1922: 551).

It is easy to assume that all mission stations of the church equally benefitted from the above fund raising endeavour based on an 'equitable principle' as mentioned earlier (*JGC* 1919: 560-561). However, some missionary districts were adversely affected, especially those that used to enjoy individual support. One of those missionary districts adversely affected was the Philippines. It is evident in the correspondence of Bishop Mosher with several people back in the U.S. that the Missionary District of the Philippines was in dire need in 1920.<sup>52</sup>

A year later, Mosher continued to complain about the failure of the Department of Missions to help alleviate the problem in the Philippines in spite of the success of the Nation-Wide Campaign. Mosher complained that the Department of Missions failed to send a rector for the Cathedral, a treasurer and a secretary who were badly needed to free the new Bishop from responsibilities that kept him from his episcopal duties. He also complained about the work he had to do for St Luke's Hospital, House of the Holy Child and other institutions in Manila due to insufficient personnel.<sup>53</sup>

In fairness to the Department of Missions, it should be noted that there was an increase in appropriations for the salaries of the American members of the Mission Staff in the Philippines who held appointments from the Board and were intending to remain with the mission. Mosher fairly acknowledged this development.<sup>54</sup> However, this favourable development was nothing compared to the problem that continued to confront the district in spite of the reported success of the Nation-Wide Campaign in 1920. In one of his letters, Mosher did not only provide a detailed explanation of the needs of the district but also expressed disappointment with the Department of Missions for failing to send missionaries 'just to save a few of the things that have the longest record of good work behind them'.<sup>55</sup>

One possible explanation for this incongruity relative to the success of the Nation-Wide Campaign and its impact on specific mission fields like the Philippines is that the

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<sup>52</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to the Editor of the Living Church, 02.10.1920, ECPA.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.08.1921, ECPA.

<sup>54</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 21.07.1921, ECPA.

<sup>55</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 17.08.1921, ECPA.



money generated was never enough to meet the needs of the entire church, thus making the case of the Missionary District of the Philippines not a peculiar, rather a common condition of all the missionary districts and dioceses. While it is true that there may be other reasons why the success of the Nation-Wide Campaign did not extend to the Missionary District of the Philippines, one cannot help but look at what the authorities said on this matter. Explanations offered by people like Wood should be seriously considered:

Such people viewed with little sympathy, if not with open opposition, comparatively large appropriations and large special gifts made to fields where missionary endeavour took on romantic aspect, especially in Alaska and the Philippine Islands, or where personalities of especial attractiveness invited aid, such as Bishop Rowe<sup>56</sup> and Bishop Brent were frequently calling for. Appropriation for Alaska and the Philippines grew apace, while appropriation for uninteresting places like Springfield, Quincy, Iowa and others, if they grew at all, grew slowly.<sup>57</sup>

One might argue that financial difficulties after World War I were the most likely negative influence on the Episcopal Church Mission in the Philippines. However, the sentiment expressed in the above letter also suggests that the Philippine Mission continued to experience financial difficulties in spite of the success of the Nation-Wide Campaign because the church had already decided not to give special treatment in response to complaints coming from other missionary districts and dioceses. One may argue that Wood was only articulating his personal opinion in this letter. However, such a personal opinion cannot be ignored because he might have been conveying what he has observed as somebody who was involved in the work of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the PECUSA even when it was still governed by the Board of Missions.

Before the Nation-Wide Campaign started, a reduction of budget for the Philippines had been proposed by the Department of Missions.<sup>58</sup> There was likelihood that the Department of Missions had already made such plans regardless of the pending

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<sup>56</sup> Reverend Trimble Rowe was elected the first Bishop of Alaska in 1895. He came into the country across the Chilkoot Trail. His ministry focused on the medical needs of miners in the gold rush towns and on the native people who were falling prey to many diseases brought by the white man. Bishop Rowe founded hospitals in Skagway, Wrangell, and Ketchikan as well as Fairbanks, Ft. Yukon, Rampart and Iditarod. The church also established boarding schools for orphaned native children at Nenana, Tanana, Ft. Yukon, Anvik and Tanacross. Bishop Rowe served until 1942.

<sup>57</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 18.08.1921, ECPA.

<sup>58</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 18.08.1921, ECPA.

result of the Nation-Wide Campaign. Based on the documents I examined, the impact of the reorganization of the Episcopal Church on the life of its district in the Philippines was two-fold. First, it indirectly denied the district the support it used to receive from individuals because the attention of the entire church was shifted to the Nation-Wide Campaign. Second, the reorganization made it easier for the Department of Missions to justify the curtailment of funds for the Philippines using centralization and equal distribution as valid arguments.

Given the context of the reorganization of the Episcopal Church, it is evident that the adverse effect on its mission in the Philippines was not just sheer coincidence. It was, rather, an expected result because the reorganization was partly a reaction to the pouring of individual donations into the mission fields—including the mission in the Philippines, as can be gleaned from the letter of Wood mentioned earlier.<sup>59</sup> The mission in the Philippines had been affected by the financial consolidation as a result of the reorganization in the 1919 General Convention. Thus, under the leadership of Mosher, the district appropriately reacted to the changes by adopting its own local version of a consolidation policy.

### **5.2.2 Filipinization Policy of the Democrats**

As discussed in chapter 4, the victory of the Democrats in the 1912 national election in the United States had a tremendous impact on Philippine politics as they pursued a Filipinization policy. Consequently, this policy of the colonial government immediately influenced the modification of the mission policy of the church as seen in its ‘Moro Work’. In this section, I argue that the Filipinization policy of the colonial government also influenced the change of view toward the Philippine mission from being under domestic to foreign mission, and that this change of view was concretely manifested in the election of Bishop Mosher, a Low Churchman.

It was expected that the person that should have succeeded Bishop Brent as the Bishop of MDPI should have been another High Churchman. As mentioned in chapter 4, the Episcopal Church put the MDPI under the care of High Churchmen based on the

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<sup>59</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 18.08.1921, ECPA.

unwritten agreement between the Low Churchmen and the High Churchmen. The unwritten agreement stipulated that the High Church party in the Episcopal Church would take care of domestic missions while the Low Church party was given charge over the foreign missions. The MDPI was considered a domestic mission because the Philippines became a territory of the USA following the Spanish American War and subsequently the Filipino American War. Technically, the MDPI continued to be under the domestic mission until 1946 when the Philippines gained its independence.

However, the baton was given to Mosher, a Low Churchman who spent most of his time as a missionary in China prior to his election. Although there may be other possible explanations for this break in one of the Episcopal Church traditions, the argument that it was a sign that the church started to view MDPI as foreign mission in spite of it being technically under domestic missions is strong. This contention takes into account the influence of Bishop Brent who, before leaving the Philippines, has recommended:

With the withdrawal of the American army, whose schooling in the Philippines I would say parenthetically has been a valuable preparation for their world service today, and with the melting away of the American element in a civil service which for purity and general excellence has not had its peer in American history, the whole perspective of the Church's work in the Islands has changed. Much of that which I have held to be Her foremost duty has disappeared altogether or become insignificant in bulk. A redefinition of policy and considerable readjustment of work becomes a necessity (*SM* 1918: 164).

Again the influence of the Filipinization policy of the Democrats on the policy of the church demonstrates how the Filipino voice is being unintentionally engaged by missionaries in their framing of such policies. In particular, the Filipino voice collectively expressed in the demand of Filipinization was heard by Americans through the Democrats and framed their foreign policy based on it. This change obviously had a domino effect on the church as it began to consider Philippines as foreign mission and consequently framed policies accordingly.

One may argue that the choice of Mosher was just coincidence. However, argument for the deliberateness of his election based on churchmanship is strong. He was nominated by Henry St. George, the Bishop of Kyoto at that time (Mosher 1942: 9). Bishop Tucker was one of the leading Evangelicals in Virginia, USA, which explains his assignment to a foreign mission like Japan (Hein 2001: 57). Moreover, there is a high probability that people with Low Churchmanship leanings like Bishop Graves and John Wood would have influenced the election of Mosher. Graves' Low

Churchmanship became obvious because of his inimical attitude toward Anglo-Catholicism (Jones 2003: 146). Wood also had an inclination to Low Churchmanship as manifested in his corroboration of almost all the criticisms of Graves on the liturgical practices in Sagada (Malecda c2002: 28). Wood's Low Churchmanship was also manifested in his appointment as the secretary of Foreign Missions before becoming the executive secretary of the Department of Missions (Emery 1921: ix).

The suggestion that Graves and Wood influenced the election of Mosher is primarily based on information about the personal connections between these personalities as well as the circumstances surrounding the election. Graves knew Mosher very well because the latter was under the former's episcopal oversight. Mosher was one of the missionaries in China working in the jurisdiction of Graves. Wood, on the other hand, was a friend of Mosher as manifested in their correspondence. Moreover, prior to the election of Mosher during the 1919 General Convention, both Graves and Wood had a chance to visit the Philippines, though on different occasions.<sup>60</sup> On his return from the Philippines, Wood visited dioceses in China and stayed in Wusih for a few days.<sup>61</sup> Wood continued to communicate with Graves from Wusih. The line of communication between these two leaders was maintained through Mosher because the letters coming from Graves to Wood were sent in his name.<sup>62</sup>

The circumstances mentioned above raise a lot of questions. For example, was the visit and stays of Wood in Wusih a coincidence or a deliberate effort to evaluate Mosher and his work relative to his being a prospective candidate for the episcopacy of the mission in the Philippines? In the absence of documents, one can only suggest that Mosher was considered a candidate not only due to the influence of Bishop Graves but also of Wood. The connections between these three people cannot be treated simply as coincidence, especially when one has to consider Wood's visit to the Philippines and to Wusih prior to the 1919 General Convention. I suggest that Graves and Wood influenced the election of Mosher based on their assessment of the need in the Philippines and their observation of the achievement of the church in Wusih under the

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<sup>60</sup> Letter of Frederick Rogers Graves to John W. Wood, 17.10.1918, 64.31.2, ATEC

<sup>61</sup> Letter of Frederick Rogers Graves to John W. Wood, 21.03.1919, 64.31.5, ATEC

<sup>62</sup> Letter of Frederick Rogers Graves to John W. Wood, 16.04.1919, 64.31.6, ATEC

leadership of the latter. In fact, Wood admitted to Mosher that some people thought he was responsible for the latter's election:

Another writes. "Was it your idea to make Mr. Mosher Bishop of the Philippines? We are all delighted except for his leaving China. It seems to me he is about the only man who could straighten out the mess. He will be able to wear all the robes and bless all the Igorots and won't stop at that any more than Bishop Brent did." Let that friend remain anonymous.<sup>63</sup>

Regardless of who the author of the letter was, he had confidence in Mosher. His or her concern about the China mission suggested that he or she was one of the missionaries in China who had some idea of what was happening in the Philippines. In addition, the preceding quotation also suggests that Bishop Mosher was elected because of his leadership and management ability that he demonstrated in China. In particular, the fact that the person believed that Mosher was 'the only man who could straighten out the mess' support the aforesaid suggestion.<sup>64</sup>

The consequence of the election of Mosher was far more than just ushering in a Low Churchman. It also ushered a new leadership style. In relation to this, Brent proved to be prophetic. In *Adventure for God* (1907), Brent differentiates young men and old men in his effort to encourage young leaders like himself to be visionaries. Unwittingly, he also argued the importance of the wisdom of old men. As mentioned earlier, he wrote, 'the young men see visions --- have insights as the heritage of their youth; the old men dream dreams --- have the power to extract philosophy from the experience of their own and other history' (pp. 8-9).

Mosher seemed very much a person who extracted philosophy from his experience and from the experience of other people in history. He was comparatively advanced in years when he assumed leadership of the mission in the Philippines. He was already 48 years old when he became the second duly elected missionary bishop of the Philippines in 1919. Moreover, he was a seasoned missionary, having already served in China for 23 years (Mosher 1942: 7-8). Unsurprisingly, he led the mission in the Philippines with the wisdom he acquired from his experience. Arun Jones (2003) proposes that Mosher's witness of the development of indigenous ministry in China, along with the principle of indigenous leadership from its inception espoused by Roland

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<sup>63</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 14.01.1920, ECPA.

<sup>64</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 14.01.1920, ECPA.

Allen, also a former missionary to China, led him to pursue the development of indigenous ministry in the Philippines (p. 146). Although the development of indigenous ministry in the Philippines followed the old devolutionary model of Zanzibar (JAC 1930: 37-8), I agree to some extent with Jones, that Mosher was inspired primarily by the elevation of indigenous Chinese to the episcopate starting in 1918 (Jones 2003: 165). Nonetheless, regardless of what model was followed in the Philippines, Mosher's willingness to learn from the experience of other people was a testimony to the wisdom of a seasoned missionary that helped frame a policy of consolidation which was conservative yet responsive to the pressing need of the missionary district.

Mosher led the Episcopal Church to extract wisdom from the experience of fellow missionaries within the Anglican Communion. Although he had his own experience of training indigenous Chinese leaders through a catechetical training school in Wusih, China, Mosher allowed his associates to explore other models. The committee that was charged with exploring models of training Igorots toward ordained and non-ordained ministry opted to follow Frank Weston of Zanzibar at the turn of the nineteenth century as mentioned earlier.

Mosher also drew wisdom from other organizations. When he was arguing for the readiness of the Igorots to assume leadership of the Church, he pointed out that Howard Bangawan, an Igorot of Balbalsang, Kalinga, had already assumed the responsibility of being a supervising teacher in the Bureau of Education.<sup>65</sup> He even drew lessons from the mistakes of his predecessors without necessarily undermining their achievements. In relation to lack of order in the Philippines, he did not hesitate to point out that it was a mistake of the past to allow people to act on their own to the extent of disregarding standard operating procedures.<sup>66</sup>

The ability 'to extract philosophy from the experience of their own and other history,' to use Brent's words, was demonstrated by Bishop Mosher. It was this philosophy or wisdom that enabled him to lead the Episcopal Church to adopt the policy of consolidation and pursue it until it succeeded. This contention agrees with those who argue that some missionaries have experienced some kind of 'reverse conversions' as

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<sup>65</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.06.1926, ECPA

<sup>66</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Edward A. Sibley, 11.08.1920, ECPA.

they engaged with the local context of their missionary endeavours (Porter 321-3). Xi (1997) also uses 'reflex influence' referring to the impact of experience on foreign missionaries (p. 207).

Although Mosher seems to have been elected for many reasons, the apparent change in the way the Episcopal Church regarded its mission in the Philippines was the most prominent of them all. Consequently, it resulted in bringing in a bias toward Low Churchmanship which was a factor especially in the evangelistic aspect of the policy of consolidation.

### **5.2.3 The 'Sagada Problem': A Case of Pioneering Blunder**

Sagada then was part of the Sub-Province of Bontoc in the interior of northern Luzon, Philippines. Vincent Gowen (1939) observes that John A. Staunton Jr. established a mission station in Sagada in 1904 with the eye of an engineer because 'it was then on the crossroads of horse trails which led from the coast to Bontoc, and from Bontoc to Baguio' (pp. 41-2). As an example of the prevalent civilizing mission in the twentieth century, the mission in Sagada aimed at raising the standard of living of Filipinos especially the marginalized ethnolinguistic groups (Scott 1969: 339). Scott (1988) describes the economic life of the Igorots in Sagada in 1900 as 'simple and extreme' (p. 221). Thus, the Mission of the Saint Mary the Virgin, as the mission in Sagada was later called, followed what seemed to Gowen (1939) a 'blue-print' of an industrial project to raise their standard of living (p. 42). Staunton started to implement this blue-print with:

[T]he importation of American, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workmen from Manila, and the construction of the water-powered sawmill which was in operation in 1907, selling lumber to the government in Bontoc in 1908, and self-supporting and employing 40 natives by 1912 .....operating a planer, a shingle mill, limekiln, and charcoal pits in addition to the sawmill itself, had opened a stone quarry, constructed a respectable church, and was directing such diverse activities as logging, carpentering, blacksmithing, repair work, blasting, excavation, and stonecutting (Scott 1969: 340).

By 1915, Sagada was already an industrial centre. In addition to the above mentioned projects, telephones were installed, electric power was introduced, gasoline powered machines were used, plumbing was introduced, photographs were taken, developed and printed locally, while the printing press was already producing quality papers (p. 341). Thus, Jones (2003) describes Sagada station as the 'jewel in the crown of the Episcopal work in the Philippines' (p. 183).

The bustling industrial project in Sagada, however, was not without any problem in the long run. Problems started to surface when the situation was no longer favourable for such an expensive project. These problems were referred to as ‘matters of Sagada’<sup>67</sup> or ‘Sagada Situation’.<sup>68</sup> However, I am deliberately using the term ‘Sagada Problem’ to magnify the extent of the problem. It is in a singular form but used as a collective noun which means the combination problems in the Sagada mission station. Furthermore, it also problematizes the issue, so that the ramifications of the problem are acknowledged especially when the perspectives of all those involved are taken into consideration. To the people of Sagada, the problem was about disagreements due to churchmanship (Scott 1988: 237). To Bishop Graves, who first brought the matter to the attention of the church back home, the problem was not only about churchmanship, but also about the disobedience of ecclesiastical authority (*JGC* 1919: 44-5). To Bishop Brent, the problem was about the unwillingness of some people to allow freedom in matters of speculative theology.<sup>69</sup> To Bishop Mosher, the problem was more about management. The complexity of the situation in Sagada can be gleaned from the following:

I wonder, and you must forgive me for I can not (sic) help wondering, whether at the bottom of it all is not something of a determination in New York that present condition of things in Sagada is not satisfactory and must be upset. ....You know I have already told you that I do not like the financial condition up there, and as soon as possible I want to better it; but I have the feeling that this is not the only thing that is worrying you. You can ease the situation up a good deal if you will give me some clue that will prevent my feeling as harshly towards New York and regards Sagada as the people in Sagada, themselves, do.<sup>70</sup>

It is evident that Mosher’s view of the situation was not shared by other critics of the ‘Sagada Problem’, especially those who were in the Department of Missions. Although Mosher initially thought that the problem was more financial in nature, he began to express more critical views of the situation in the mid-1920s.

Since the ‘Sagada Problem’ is multifaceted, it is also difficult to pin down its causes. It has been argued that the Sagada Problem was caused by dwindling financial support coming from the U.S. because of the expenditure the country incurred from

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<sup>67</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Arthur S. Lloyd, 16.01.1920, ECPA.

<sup>68</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 20.02.1920, ECPA; Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.04.1921, ECPA.

<sup>69</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Arthur S. Lloyd, 16.09.1919, ECPA.

<sup>70</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 12.10.1921, ECPA.



World War I. This financial problem was compounded by the price hikes in Manila. It was also argued that the problem was a result of too much emphasis on producing a 'cadre of non-agricultural labourers'. Lastly, the problem was also attributed to the autocratic personality of Staunton (Jones 2003: 144-5). These factors were contributory to the problem as initially observed by Gowen (1939: 41). However, I suggest that the Sagada Problem traces its beginning back to the time when the station was established. In short, the Sagada station had some problems from its inception that were not anticipated by those who established it, but later became apparent, especially when Bishop Brent left the Philippines in 1917 and his successor was only elected in 1919 as discussed earlier. In short, the incipient problems in the Sagada station were exposed and aggravated during these two long years of interregnum. Mosher said: 'This long interregnum has allowed things to get all askew, and now we have to try to stop that as soon as possible, and get the other going as soon as possible'.<sup>71</sup> In fact, some news about the problems in Sagada had already reached the Department of Missions at the very start of the two-year interregnum:

There is a rather irritating situation at Sagada, about which I will try to write you later when the Presiding Bishop formally notifies you of your appointment as Bishop in charge of the Philippines.<sup>72</sup>

Whatever the real nature of this 'irritating situation at Sagada', many problems obviously began to surface at this time. When Mosher arrived in the Philippines, he observed 'that great many more unpleasant things occurred'.<sup>73</sup> The interregnum not only resulted in chaos, but also resulted in the loss of support from Brent's former supporters in Manila because the period was long enough to cause disconnection between the mission and its individual supporters.<sup>74</sup>

Although the interregnum also caused some of the problems in the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines, its contribution to the 'Sagada Problem' was more of exposing and aggravating it. The 'Sagada Problem' was rather incipient than a later development. It was incipient to any station that was founded upon the personal dream rather than a collective dream. As discussed earlier, the Sagada station was founded

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<sup>71</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 17.12.1919, ECPA.

<sup>72</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Wood to Frederick Rogers Graves, 04.02.1918, ATEC, 64.30.10.

<sup>73</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Morehouse, 16.09.1920, ECPA.

<sup>74</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 15.11.1920, ECPA.

upon the dream of the Reverend John A. Staunton who happened to be an engineer by profession. It was deliberately established to showcase American civilization, especially American engineering skill (Scott 1988: 215-9). The dream was grand from the very beginning. It was close to many villages, including Besao and Bangnen. It was envisaged as the centre of the Episcopal Mission in the Cordillera region. The dream was pursued with such success that it became the most important station of the Episcopal Church Mission in the Philippines. The success could have been more phenomenal if the main roads had not been transferred to where they are now, in the easier slopes which intersect in Sabangan in the south of Sagada (Gowen 1939?: 41-42).

Although many new projects start as personal dreams and succeed in the long term, they are generally difficult to sustain, especially when they lack the strong institutional support. As early as 1909, the church has already started to feel unable to fully support the industrial projects of Staunton in Sagada because of financial constraints.<sup>75</sup> However, Staunton was able to sustain most of his projects for a comparatively long time because of the support Bishop Brent accorded him.<sup>76</sup> Thus, it was not at all surprising to find that the Sagada station was subjected to the scrutiny of the Board of Missions immediately after the resignation of Bishop Brent. The Sagada station was declining from then on, until it experienced ‘near death’ when Staunton and the other Sagada missionaries resigned in 1925 (Jones 2003: 184).

The progress depended greatly on the genius and industry of Staunton and those who joined the mission because they shared his dream. Consequently, Staunton was used to doing things in his own way, which resulted in problems in management and administration. In this regard, Mosher frankly pointed out that the financial problem in Sagada was primarily due to the fact that ‘everything hangs entirely upon the one man’.<sup>77</sup> Mosher’s concern was not the expenses *per se* of Sagada but rather the juggling of funds and the disregard of the needs of other stations. Nevertheless, Mosher knew the importance of the Sagada station so he continued to appeal for its support, but did so as part of the need of the entire Missionary District. In fact, though a Low Churchman, he

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<sup>75</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Brent, 01.03.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>76</sup> Charles Henry Brent to John H. Wood, 07.04.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>77</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.04.1921, ECPA.

asked for a High Churchman for Sagada in 1920 because Frost was going for furlough and he thought that it was disastrous to leave Sagada with only one priest.<sup>78</sup>

In relation to the problems in management and administration, the Sagada station also suffered due to Staunton's poor working relationship with other missionaries. This kind of problem is again often endemic in an institution that is a product of a personal dream because there is no guarantee that everyone would share that dream at all times. Although there is no doubt that Staunton was a charismatic leader as revealed by his success in attracting very loyal followers as well as in fundraising (Scott 1988: 225-8), there was always a tendency on the part of such charismatic leader to lord it over all especially when they put so much emphasis on their personal dream. Unsurprisingly, there was already a problem between Staunton and fellow missionaries in Sagada as early as 1918. This can be gleaned from a letter suggesting that Staunton was accusing Bartter of rallying the support of missionaries against him.<sup>79</sup> In connection with this, Brent had already opined at this stage that Staunton should resign.<sup>80</sup> This suggestion came from a person who regarded Staunton as 'a man of extraordinary gifts' only two years earlier (Scott 1988: 215). Apparently, Brent thought that the Sagada station needed efficient management more than Staunton's charisma in 1918. He wrote:

I am of the opinion that a strong man with moderate administrative ability and some business experience must be chosen to take the place if it is vacated. Of course he would have difficulties to begin with, but the field is too valuable not to be productive of results, if faithful work is undertaken. There is no one in the Philippines who could handle it. The question is, is there any man available at home?<sup>81</sup>

In the abovementioned letter, Brent mentioned that Staunton had acknowledged that 'his ability is chiefly in the line of pioneer work and that he cannot handle a complex situation'.<sup>82</sup> Although there are some truths in this opinion, I would suggest that the problem was not so much about management skill as a pioneers' tendency to stick with their personal dreams at all costs. This is evident in Staunton's tendency to regard the entire Sagada project as 'my work' (Scott 1988: 236). Nonetheless, Staunton's

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<sup>78</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 01.10.1920, ECPA.

<sup>79</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 04.04.1918, ECPA.

<sup>80</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to John W. Wood, 02.02.1918, ECPA.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid

<sup>82</sup> Ibid

resignation was seriously considered in 1918 and that Bishop Brent has even suggested a certain Mr. Birt as a possible candidate to replace him.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, since the Sagada station was an engineer's dream, it had an inherent problem not only with sustainability but also in matters of priority. The thrust was to civilize the Igorots. Consequently, the mission concentrated on infrastructure projects, secular education, and health work, which were expensive to maintain, especially when support started to dwindle after World War I. In fact, the payroll of the Sagada station exceeded all other Diocesan expenses. This was because of individual donations. Unfortunately for Sagada, the finance of the entire Episcopal Church was centralized, resulting in the prohibition of private appeals for funds (Jones 2003: 147-8).

Related to sustainability is the matter of priority. As the Sagada station was an engineer's dream, it focused a lot of its energy more on industrial projects. Thus, religious instruction was not amongst the priorities:

In Sagada we have a mission with from 3000 to 5000 living converts, amongst whom work has been going on for twenty years, where we have laid tremendous foundations at a great financial expense, that is not bringing adequate return until our people are properly and sufficiently instructed. The rounding out of this work, and to put it bluntly, the getting the worth of the money, depend upon our doing this sort of work. I should consider it just one more missionary disaster if we were to allow this to get away from us.<sup>84</sup>

Mosher was quite charitable at first in his comments about insufficient religious instruction in the Sagada station. He was using the phrase 'rounding out' to make the missionaries of the Sagada station feel that what they had done was not totally problematic and only needed some adjustments, in order to give equal emphasis on both civilizing and evangelising missions. In relation to this, it is important to note that Mosher was immediately enthused by the offer of the colonial government to the Episcopal mission to take over the primary schools in the *barrios* near the Sagada station. Sagada station was weak in the area of religious instruction partly because it was forbidden in the public education system. Thus, he saw in this offer a chance to improve on the teaching aspect of the Sagada mission.<sup>85</sup>

Mosher started to make stronger comments about the 'Sagada Problem' when Staunton and his party left the station. He wrote: 'I found almost nothing in Sagada of

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<sup>83</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Charles Henry Brent, 05.03.1918, ECPA.

<sup>84</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 20.12.1923, ECPA.

<sup>85</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 20.12.1923, ECPA.

which I could approve. The material development was wildly extravagant – and so much beyond Igorots as to hurt rather than help them; the teaching was nil; the ritual was Roman and becoming more so.’<sup>86</sup> Although this comment appears to be exaggerated, Scott (1988) seems to agree when he observes that Staunton avoided the delaying effect of ‘long instruction in complex western theology and Elizabethan English’ in relation to winning converts (Scott 1988: 225). This observation explains the anomalous situation in Sagada where there were mission schools yet the church was still weak in religious instruction. Scott may have based his conclusion on Staunton’s own words: ‘From its first inception the Sagada Mission has acted upon the principle “don’t get hold of the people but let the people get hold of you”. Indeed one of our maxims has been “let the people do it” ’ (Staunton 1915: 5). Although this statement is quite ambiguous, the emphasis on the industrial projects in Sagada suggests that Staunton was referring to the enticing effect of the development projects that were deliberately pursued. Angain, this has something to do with Staunton’s background as an engineer by profession.

Moreover, the civilizing projects of the mission in Sagada worked perfectly with the churchmanship of Staunton. As a High Churchman, awe-inspiring elaborate liturgies are themselves regarded as means of instruction about the almighty God. Consistent to this, the grandeur of God was perfectly manifested by the Sagada Mission through its civilizing work, which in turn expected to elicit awe from the people. Consequently, the religious instruction that a Low Church Anglican would make a priority was on the fringe of the missionary agenda in Sagada (Jones 2003: 140). Subsequently, the lack of religious instruction for the converts rendered theology to be a monopoly of the missionaries. It also enhanced the authority of the clergy, especially Staunton, in other aspects of church life such as management and administration. Thus, as noted earlier, Staunton’s ‘autocratic personality’ became one of the contributing factors to the Sagada Problem (p. 145).

The starting point of Bishop Graves in his criticism of the Sagada station concerned churchmanship. On 2 December 1918, Bishop Graves wrote a letter to the clergy of the missionary district detailing practices he was not willing to sanction. These

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<sup>86</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Paul Maslin, 27.05.1927, ECPA.

practices were: 1) the perpetual reservation of the Blessed Sacrament and burning of a light before the place where it is reserved, and 2) the singing of the Ave Maria and the burning of candles and offering of flowers before the image of the Virgin Mary. Staunton replied with an open letter dated 3 January 1919 saying that he could not conscientiously conform to the directives Bishop Graves had given. He supported his defiance with a long explanation of what he was doing and arguing that they were common practices in many Episcopal Churches in the United States. Bishop Graves wrote to the 1919 General Convention about the matter of administration in the Philippines which included the Sagada Problem. It was referred to the Committee on Domestic Missions (*JGC* 1919: 44-5). The Committee on Domestic Missions found that the Sagada Problem 'is of such a character' that they referred it back to the Council of Bishops (*JGC* 1919: 103-4).

Although it is certainly unfair to blame the Sagada Problem solely on Staunton, the implication of the foregoing discussion is that it was primarily a result of his honest or unconscious mistakes. People like Bishop Brent and other leaders of the Episcopal Church back in the United States as well as in the Philippines should also be held accountable in every failure on the mission field because every missionary including Staunton was under their responsibility. To a lesser degree, people in Sagada should also share the blame for taking the side of Staunton as shall be demonstrated in the succeeding discussion. However, documents show that Staunton had been influential in Sagada, making him responsible for almost everything that had happened there. He was so influential that when he resigned from the station, four other missionaries chose to follow him. His secretary and two school teachers followed him to his next assignment (Scott 1988: 238). Paul Hartzell, the only clergyman who opted to remain, continued to nurture hatred against Bishop Mosher to the extent that he decided to be disobedient to the latter as a way of showing loyalty to Staunton. This was discovered when Hartzell suffered a nervous breakdown and admitted what had always been in his mind. Before he left for the U.S. due to illness, he admitted to Bishop Mosher that he felt bound to erect a barrier between himself and Mosher.<sup>87</sup> He also made almost the same confession

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<sup>87</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 30.08.1927, ECPA.

to the Department of Missions when he arrived in the U.S. as shown in the following letter by Wood:

He began speaking about his attitude towards you. It was evidently troubling his conscience. I did not get the impression that he had stayed on in 1924 with the deliberate intention of keeping the Bishop arms length [sic] or otherwise making things uncomfortable for him, but he evidently recognizes that he had not been altogether frank with you and had perhaps on occasion unostentatiously, but perhaps not without deliberation sought to thwart your plans for Sagada. He also seemed to be under the impression that the Department of Missions was critical of him and was looking for an opportunity to square accounts.<sup>88</sup>

From this evidence, the loyalty to Staunton ironically had been proven counter-productive. It was more a loyalty to a great man than to the entire mission. Moreover, people like Hartzell were not just loyal supporters of Staunton because of his grand dream for the Sagada station but also because they shared his churchmanship. Like Staunton, Hartzell was friendly to the Roman Catholic missionaries at the expense of the Episcopal Mission. He did not want to start a school in the nearby village of Bila out of respect for the 'Romanos'. He actually allowed the Roman Catholics to use the Episcopal Church in Bila<sup>89</sup>, Bauko, without asking the permission of his Bishop as his superior.<sup>90</sup>

The Sagada Problem had become inseparable from the personality of Staunton as he himself always regarded Sagada his 'Catholic mission'. Mosher was aware of this from the very beginning. He tried to introduce changes gradually, but he was already prejudged of 'Protestantizing the district' (Scott, 1988: 237). Mosher was only too happy to see Staunton and his party leave the Sagada station for the sake of the entire Philippine District. He said: 'But I have never felt that I did wrong in making him leave this Mission and I am perfectly confident that if he stayed here the Mission would never have been what it is today'.<sup>91</sup>

Although many of the problems of the Sagada station were consequences of the way it was established, along with the blessing of a lenient Bishop and with the generous support of mission-oriented church people, there were other factors that

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<sup>88</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 27.08.1927, ECPA.

<sup>89</sup> The Episcopal Church building in Bila was donated by a former staff in memory of her father. When the donor learnt that the building was given to the Roman Catholic missionaries, she protested and so Bishop Mosher asked Hartzell to claim it back. Hartzell promised to do as the Bishop asked him but was not able to do so until he left (Mosher to Bierck, 18 July 1931, Correspondence, ECPA).

<sup>90</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 24.12.1929, ECPA.

<sup>91</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Artley B. Parson, 13.09.1935, ECPA.

aggravated the problem in the 1920s which caused the 'near death' of the station, using the words of Jones. In addition to Jones' proposals that were discussed earlier, I contend that the Sagada Problem was aggravated by some of the pitfalls of structural adjustments in the entire Episcopal Church during the 1919 General Convention.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the amendments of the constitution and canons of the Episcopal Church resulted in the centralization of the organizational structure, which in turn caused the centralization of finance. The centralization of the financial system of the entire church adversely affected missionary districts like the Philippines in two interrelated ways. First, it indirectly denied the missionary district the individual support it used to enjoy because the attention of the entire church was shifted to the Nation-Wide Campaign. Second, the reorganization made it easier for the Department of Missions to justify the curtailment of funds for the missionary district using centralization and equal distribution as valid arguments. This two-fold adverse effect was particularly true for the Sagada Mission because of its expensive industrialization programmes.

Moreover, the organizational centralization unwittingly exposed the vulnerability of the office of a missionary bishop and consequently made it difficult for Bishop Mosher to deal with the Sagada Problem. In order to understand how this happened, one need to look at Episcopal Church polity again. As the basic unit of the church, dioceses are self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. By contrast, a missionary district is still dependent on the entire church. To some degree, a missionary district could be self-propagating and even self-supporting to a lesser extent, but never self-governing. In particular, a diocese can govern itself by a well-represented diocesan convention as the highest governing body and, in between conventions, the Bishop with the diocesan standing committee acted as the ecclesiastical authority. By contrast, the missionary Bishop only had power over his district in so far as his consecration or being in the order of Bishops was concerned but had some limitations when it came to the powers attributed to organizational matters. Whereas in a diocese, the Bishop employs church workers – ordained or non-ordained - in a missionary district everyone, including the missionary bishop, is sent by the church.

When the office of the missionary bishop was established in 1835, it was always inferior compared to the office of the diocesan Bishop because it was primarily established for the leadership in the mission field (Douglas 1966: 36-7). However, there



was little problem before 1919 because missionary bishops did not have to assert authority until they had to adopt the organizational centralization that greatly affected the financial life of every district and missionary station. In addition, individual missionaries had some freedom in relation to fundraising before the organizational change in 1919. Thus, they did not have to work with missionary bishops who had other priorities.

In the light of this church polity, I contend that it was very difficult for Bishop Mosher to implement the centralization of finance already adopted by the entire Episcopal Church. Naturally, this difficulty was more pronounced in relation to the Sagada station because of its industrialization projects. Staunton and the people in Sagada blamed Mosher for all their financial difficulties. They had little sympathy for his difficulty in trying to balance the implementation of the policy of consolidation as a response to the organizational centralization of the entire church, and the continuation of support for individual stations.

As early as 1921, Mosher felt this dilemma of trying to act for the improvement of the financial condition of Sagada as his concrete response to the centralization of finance, and of trying to support the Sagada station to the extent that he was beginning to feel harsh toward the central office in New York because of their perceived disapproval of what was happening in Sagada.<sup>92</sup> In spite of Mosher's continuing support for the Sagada station, Staunton continued to criticize Mosher and even 'accused him of snuffing out the life of one station to support the work of others that had already demonstrated their lethargy' (Scott 1969: 347). Staunton referred to the Sagada station as his work and the rest of the district as Mosher's (Scott 1988: 236). In response to this accusation, Mosher tried to point out to Staunton that the Sagada station staff had been raised from two to four within four years.<sup>93</sup> Staunton replied with a reminder of his achievement in Sagada and told Mosher that missionaries would still be attracted to Sagada if and only the bishop had not already adopted a policy that every missionary should apply to the diocese.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 12.10.1921, ECPA.

<sup>93</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John A. Staunton Jr., 17.06.1924, 76.30.15, ATEC.

<sup>94</sup> Letter of John A. Staunton Jr. to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 09.07.1924, 76.30.15, ATEC.

Things got worse when Staunton took advantage of the disagreement between Mosher and Reverend Bartter of Brent School to build his case against the alleged 'Protestantizing' action of Mosher. Apparently, Mosher wrote to Reverend Bartter on 2 September 1924 requesting him to accommodate other Protestants by making some changes in the service in Brent School, Baguio with which Bartter did not agree.<sup>95</sup> The Sagada Problem reached its zenith when on 24 September 1924 four priests stationed in Sagada sent four different letters that the bishop interpreted as resignations. Bishop Mosher found these letters on his desk on 11 October 1924 when he arrived from Iloilo. He cabled New York the same day informing the central office that he 'cannot refuse in these circumstances' (Scott 1988: 237-8).

Staunton realized that Mosher was firm in his decision as he started to pack his things. Telegram messages started to pressure Mosher to reconsider his decision. One telegram message reads: 'Inhabitants of Sagada, Christians and Non-Christians request your presence at Sagada at the earliest convenience in behalf of the Mission'.<sup>96</sup> Mosher replied that the request was impossible to grant at that time. The following day, Mosher sent a message to Staunton strongly urging him to keep the Igorots from controversies 'so as not to hinder the future advance in your station'.<sup>97</sup> Staunton replied: 'Have withheld controversies. Impossible to withhold fact of going while selling and packing'.<sup>98</sup> The problem did not only involve those in the mission of the church but also the entire Sagada community to the extent that the president and the council of the town also played their part. A message reads: 'For interest of Mission, Christian and Non-Christian population of Sagada, president and council request that you please come to Sagada to hold conference with people for the benefit of Christianity'.<sup>99</sup> Apparently, Mosher did not see any need for negotiation and, therefore, opted not to grant the requests coming from the people of Sagada. The people of Sagada protested when they realised that Mosher had already made up his mind. A message reads: 'Entire Sagada makes a strong protest against Mosher. Has not acted fairly. Shows a want of

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<sup>95</sup> Letter of John A. Staunton Jr. to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 18.09.1924, 76.30.15, ATEC.

<sup>96</sup> Telegram from Dumanog to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 27.10.1924, ATEC, 76.30.15.

<sup>97</sup> Telegram from Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John A. Staunton Jr., 28.10.1924, ATEC, 76.30.15.

<sup>98</sup> Telegram from John A. Staunton Jr. to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 29.10.1924, ATEC, 76.30.15.

<sup>99</sup> Telegram from Mendoza to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 30.10.1924, ATEC, 76.30.15.

judgement. No doctrine involved. A strong appeal is being made for justice'.<sup>100</sup> Staunton wrote another letter accusing Mosher of departing from the agreement in 1920, evasively dealing with the Sagada Problem, and demanding local responsibility and never conceding authority.<sup>101</sup>

The pressure on Mosher was not only coming from the Igorots in Sagada. Some supporters of Staunton in the United States also lodged their protest (Scott 1988: 239). On 10 December 1924, the Sagada Problem was tackled during the National Council Meeting in New York. However, because of the delicate nature of the issue, it was referred to a special committee – Committee on Sagada - that was specifically created to resolve the issue.<sup>102</sup> On 17 December 1924, the National Council informed Staunton that the Department of Missions regarded his resignation as an ‘accomplished fact and final’ (Scott 1988: 239).

The above exchanges of messages demonstrate the seriousness of the Sagada Problem that it even inspired the people of Sagada to be actively involved. In a sense, the entire process of trying to resolve it became one of the few occasions that the Filipino voice is explicitly expressed in church issues. To some degree, it also became an occasion that traditional leadership models could have influenced the way the church proceeded not only in conflict resolution but in policy making as well. In particular, the abovementioned request of the president of the district of Sagada for the bishop to face the Sagada people somehow reflects the influence of the ‘dap-ay’ system which called for resolution of problem through the council of elders representing the whole community. Although the president and the council mentioned above referred to the people working in the colonial system, their desire to resolve the issue by a communal dialogue reflects traditional way of resolving problems. However, the church missed this opportunity to contextualize its polity. The problem was resolved by people in the US and the people of Sagada did not have other choice than to accept the decision from the top of the church organizational structure.

In connection to church organizational structure, evidence suggests that the Sagada Problem progressed because Mosher did not have the authority of a diocesan

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<sup>100</sup> Report of the Committee on Sagada, ATEC, 76.30.15.

<sup>101</sup> Letter of John A. Staunton Jr. to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 30.10.1924, ATEC, 76.30.15.

<sup>102</sup> Report of the Committee on Sagada, ATEC, 76.30.15.

bishop to discipline people under his care. He did not even have the natural respect that diocesan bishops enjoy in their respective jurisdictions as a result of being directly elected by clergy and representatives. As a missionary bishop, Mosher was elected by the General Convention in 1919 and was sent to the Philippines leaving the people with no choice but simply to accept him. However, acceptance was not what was needed, but respect for the office and obedience to the one who occupied it. Unfortunately, missionary bishop was an office of leadership without authority. Scott (1967) suggests that Staunton's position as a pioneer missionary in the Philippines as well as being seven years senior to Mosher was a factor but it was the inferior position of the missionary bishop that gravely aggravated the issue (p. 347). The National Council was so well aware of this problem that it came to Mosher's rescue. The Committee on Sagada reported: 'That communication with the Bishop showed clearly that further delay on our part to uphold the authority of the Bishop would seriously embarrass him in carrying out plans he had already made to care for the Sagada Work in the immediate future'.<sup>103</sup> If Mosher had been a diocesan Bishop, then there would have been no need for the intervention of the National Council or any ecclesiastical body in the church headquarters in New York.

#### **5.2.4 Diocesan Polity and its Missiological Implication: A Theological Factor**

Time and again, church polity is mentioned in this study to have impacted the way the Episcopal Church participated in Christian mission. In chapter 4, for example, the primacy of the triennial general convention in matters of making decisions whether there is a need to establish a new missionary district obviously resulted in a delay of the establishment of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands. In the preceding discussion, the difference between a district and a diocese in the Episcopal Church polity was mentioned as one of the reasons why Bishop Mosher found it difficult to deal with Staunton and the 'Sagada Problem.' In this section, I will discuss diocesan polity and its missiological significance as the main theological factor in the adoption of the consolidation policy.

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

Earlier in this chapter, I have argued that the goal of organizational consolidation was to establish a diocese. In this section, I contend that this goal was not set for practical reasons (e.g., economic expediency) only but for theological reasons as well. Nowhere was this made clearer than in the following:

The mission is the Diocese, and we need to be loyal to the Mission. The Mission, not ourselves (for have we not denied ourselves?) and not our particular work (for it is not, after all, “ours”, but God’s), claims and needs all of our devotion and loyalty. It should be the first and the greatest enthusiasm of our daily work. And if we do keep it in that position we shall see how naturally that enthusiasm helps us from day to day to do that particular thing within the Diocese to which God has called each of us.<sup>104</sup>

Although the immediate context of the preceding quotation was the ‘Sagada Problem,’ it clearly suggests an understanding of mission that is founded upon diocesan polity. Time and again, the diocese is mentioned in this study as the basic unit of the church because it is supposedly self-governing, self-propagating, and self-sustaining. This particular view of the church and its government obviously impinged on how the Episcopal Church defined its consolidation policy in a way that there was a deliberate effort to grow from merely a missionary district to a diocese in view of the establishment of an autonomous ‘Native Church’ as mentioned earlier.

The intention to establish a diocese based on theology (i.e., diocesan polity) in 1920 was quite early and could be easily dismissed as an exaggeration or misplaced optimism. However, the pre-1920 changes in the Episcopal Church alongside the political developments in the United States and in the Philippines around that time support the timeliness of such intentions. As argued earlier, the Episcopal Church started to view its Philippine district as a foreign mission due to the aggressiveness of the Democrats in pushing a Filipinization policy. This resulted further in the election of Mosher, a Low Churchman as its leader. Mosher knew this and aggressively pursued the establishment of a diocese on both practical and theological grounds.

### **5.3 Sagada Training School for Lay and Clergy: Evidence of the Concentration of Work amongst the Igorots based on Cultural Distinctiveness**

The establishment of Sagada training school for clergy and lay people in 1932 primarily for evangelistic consolidation was evidence of further concentration of work amongst

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<sup>104</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John A. Staunton Jr., 19.08.1920, ECPA.

the Igorots based on their cultural distinctiveness – an aspect of marginality. As early as 1928, the convocation decided:

Resolved, that work of training candidates for Orders, carried on the past year under Frs. Studley and Ziadie, should be continued, but that in order that Igorot boys should not lose sympathy with their mountain people and home, their theological training should preferably be carried on in the future in the Mountain Province rather than in Manila (*JAC* 1928: 19).

The framing of policies based on cultural considerations consistently demonstrates the influence of Filipino voices as collectively expressed in conditions such as cultural diversity. In fact, as early as 1927, the leaders of the church recognized the missional implication of cultural diversity in the Philippines and therefore recommended that Isidore and Mark Suluen, the first two Igorot students of the ‘theological school’ in Manila, undergo practical training amongst fellow Igorots. Accordingly, Bishop Mosher sent them to Sagada to be under the Reverends Lee L. Rose and Vincent H. Gowen respectively. The duration of that mentorship was dependent on the development of the students (*JAC* 1928: 15). A committee tasked by the 1928 Convocation to report to the bishop in the next annual convocation. However, its failure to report any development seems to suggest that members of the aforesaid committee shared the opinion of Fr. Bartter, who thought that training Igorots was premature (*JAC* 1929: 41).

Although there was no definite action in 1929, the church gathered in the 1930 Convocation was fully prepared to discuss the matter. In his address, Bishop Mosher urged those who were present to consider indigenous Filipino ministry - ordained or non-ordained - as a paramount necessity to improve the number of workers for the growing communicants in the Mountain Provinces (*JAC*, 1930: 21). In the second session of the conference part of the convocation, delegates discussed this matter thoroughly. It was opined that a catechetical school be informal. Fr. Lee Rose read to the conference the standards for ordination required by the Bishop of Zanzibar. After further deliberation, they decided to adopt what was being done in Zanzibar, requiring candidates for ordination to have received instruction in theology, Old Testament, New Testament, and church history (*JAC* 1930: 37-8).

Mosher reported immediately to Wood what transpired in the 1930 Convocation concerning the issue of indigenous Filipino ministry. Moreover, he gave other justifications to the policy aside from the need for the indigenous Filipinos to bring about real conversion amongst their own people. He argued that indigenous Filipino ministry should be supported because of its financial benefits to the church. He pointed

out that training indigenous Filipinos was envisioned to result in the decrease of foreign missionaries which should have consequently led to the decrease of budget since it was expensive to maintain foreign missionaries.<sup>105</sup> In relation to this, he also wrote:

Our main need is for an increased staff---to do adequately what we have begun and to prepare natives to take our places as soon as may be. But this road only can hope to reach point where the demands for American Missionaries will be lessened. We must have more now in order to need less in the future.<sup>106</sup>

The quotation above reveals how the missionaries in the Philippines had tried to convince the church back home to support the immediate implementation of a training programme for indigenous ministers. They mentioned various reasons for developing indigenous Filipino ministry other than ensuring quality converts. The development of an indigenous Filipino ministry was seen as a step for devolution, as can be gleaned from statements like ‘to prepare natives to take our places as soon as may be.’ This idea of devolution as the long-term goal of training indigenous Filipinos for the ministry was further emphasised when Mosher talked about the development of a ‘Native Church’.<sup>107</sup>

Amongst many purposes of training Filipinos for ministry, the immediate goal remained evangelistic consolidation as manifested in statements such as: ‘to work and teach our people what they are supposed to do as Christians’.<sup>108</sup> This primary reason became apparent again during the 1931 Convocation. In one of the conferences, Reverend Bierck presented ‘The Missionary and his Converts.’ Although the discussion was how to keep the converts from believing in *anito* (spirits), which was prevalent in the primal religion, the discussion branched out to include the importance of indigenous Filipinos in the government of the church. Consistent with the envisioned role of indigenous Filipino ministry in the implementation of evangelistic consolidation, the involvement of indigenous Filipinos in the government of the church was considered important in ensuring quality converts (*JAC* 1931: 39-40). However, the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines needed to justify this policy financially, in order to get people to train indigenous Filipinos in spite of the financial difficulties of the entire Episcopal Church because of the economic depression in the 1930s.

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<sup>105</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 19.02.1930, ECPA.

<sup>106</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 27.05.1930, ECPA.

<sup>107</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.07.1930, ECPA,

<sup>108</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.04.1930, ECPA.

The training of indigenous Filipinos toward ordained and non-ordained ministry was not only affected by the scarcity of personnel. It appears that discrimination against the indigenous Filipinos persisted even after many years of working with them. Mosher needed to deal with this problem on many occasions. For instance, he criticized the way the Living Church Annual listed the numbers of clergy in the Orient which did not include the indigenous people:

Obviously, therefore, your reference eliminates all native clergy and counts Americans only--- a method of counting that would never be used by any one actually at work in the Mission field, for such a one would have experience to show how much more useful than foreigners the native clergy men are in most positions in the Church. And this raises another question that should be considered with great care.<sup>109</sup>

In spite of many problems that hindered the progress of training indigenous Filipinos for the ministry – ordained or non-ordained – the program continued once it started in 1927. Mark Suluen, for example, was sent to Besao for his training under Fr. Vincent Gowen (*Spirit of Mission* 1932: 386). The effort to prepare indigenous Filipinos for the ordained ministry finally bore fruit when Edward Longid and Mark Suluen were recommended by the 1933 convocation to be admitted as postulants for Holy Orders (*JAC* 1933: 29.)

In 1934, the Reverend Lee Rose reported that a theological seminary had been in operation for several years (*JAC* 1934: 95). It is important to review the resolution on indigenous Filipino ministry that was adopted in 1934 for information, especially on the characteristic of the training school that was formally established. Applicants needed to have satisfactorily completed four years of high school or its equivalent, and were supposed to be recommended by their priest-in-charge. They should have spent at least five years for academic and practical training before they were permitted to present themselves to the Bishop's Examining Chaplains for Deacons' examinations. When they passed the exam and fulfilled other requirements set forth in the canons of the church for admission of deacons, they were to petition the bishop of the district for ordination. The five years' academic and practical training were divided into three parts. The first two years of their training were given to academic training when they were expected to be admitted as lay readers and as postulants for Holy Orders. The

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<sup>109</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 22.07.1930, ECPA.



second two years were spent in the field and during that period they were expected to be candidates for Holy Orders. Lastly, after two years of field training, they were to be recommended by their field supervisors for the final year of their academic training in the seminary (pp. 47-8).

Although financial difficulties continued until 1935<sup>110</sup>, the Philippine mission prioritized the training of indigenous Filipino ministry in the appropriation for 1936.<sup>111</sup> From 1937, the Catechetical Training School was listed amongst the District Institutions with the year 1934 being enclosed in parentheses signifying its beginning (*JAC* 1937: 8). The training school was renamed St. Andrew's Training School (*JAC* 1939: 7).

Finally, Messieurs Albert Masferre, Eduardo Longid, and Mark Suluen were ordained deacons in 1939 (*JAC* 1939: 17). Eduardo Longid was ordained a priest on 4 June 1941 and Albert Masferre on 6 June 1941. Mark Suluen, however, was not ordained to the order of priests due to a speech impediment (Malecdan c2002: 56). Mosher's promise eleven years before was fulfilled. The two Igorot priests took care of the Episcopal Church Mission in Mountain Province during World War II when all the Americans, including missionaries, were interned in concentration camps. After the war, the St. Andrew's Training School was re-established in Quezon City as the St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, which continues to this day.

#### **5.4 Expansions as Cases of Deviation caused by Marginality**

In spite of the demands of consolidation, the Episcopal Church was able to establish few pioneering stations. Notable amongst them, as already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, were St. Paul's Mission, Balbalasang, Kalinga in the further north of Luzon and St. Francis of Assisi Mission, Upi, Cotabato (now Maguindanao) in the southern Philippines. They were and still are notable because they became the frontiers of Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. However, in this section, I will argue that the establishment of these mission stations was a deviation from the general policy of consolidation due to marginality – again a condition through which Filipino voices were collectively expressed as pointed out many times in the preceding discussions.

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<sup>110</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 12.01.1935, ECPA.

<sup>111</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 02.11.1936, ECPA.

St Paul's Mission in Balbalasang, Kalinga in the further north of Luzon was formally established in 1925 in response to the petition signed by the leaders of Balbalasang. Although the history of mission in Kalinga starts from the vision of Brent to establish a chain of mission stations in the Cordillera Mountain ranges as early as 1904, there was no definite effort to establish one until 1925. As discussed in chapter 4, Brent even identified Lubuagan as the possible centre for the Kalinga area in 1909 but this did not materialize. There are many reasons for the failure of the Episcopal Church to implement the plan of Brent. Obviously, one of the main reasons was financial constraints on the part of the church. In addition, Brent has already shifted his focus for the Moro Work from 1913 as discussed in chapter 4. After the 1919 centralization of church finance as a result of the change in the constitution and canons of the church, financial constraints became the primary factor against expansion.

However, 'residents and authorised representatives of the different sitios<sup>112</sup> composing the Barrios of people in Balbalasang, Inalangan, Talalang, and Sesecan, Municipality of Balbalan Mountain Province' signed a letter wishing 'but one religious denomination to establish mission in our midst and that particular religious denomination is the "ANGLICAN"'. They pledged 'full support'. They committed even the children studying in the public school for 'religious instruction'. They requested the authorities in the public schools to allow the children to 'receive religious instruction from the Anglican Mission any time of the day when they are freed from the regular school hours'.<sup>113</sup>

Balbalasang at that time was 'almost beyond reach of mail and supplies' (Gowen 1939: 59). No wonder, the Balbalasang people needed to act on their own in order to progress. It was observed:

[T]he people of Balbalasang have built with their own hands, money and materials a school house large enough for six grades, a large teachers' quarters and a small dormitory. For the erection of these buildings they received from the government nothing but a part of the nails used in them. These buildings together with the land on which they stand have been presented to the government (Wolcott 1926: 546).

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<sup>112</sup> Sitios, in the political structure of the Philippines, are generally hamlets or small villages that are gathered to form a Barrio or Barangay which is the smallest unit in the Philippine political system.

<sup>113</sup> Letter, 11.11.25, St. Paul's Parish, Balbalasang Files.

They offered the dormitory as a temporary shelter for Deaconess Charlotte Massey ‘who is being sent amongst us to establish health and mission work’.<sup>114</sup> Aside from the lack of government support as manifested in the above quotation, the emphasis on health work as important component of mission speaks of marginal position of Balbalasang as ‘a district where infant mortality had run an unchecked course’ (Gowen 1939: 59).

In spite of the almost isolation of Balbalasang, the mission was successful because it was initiated by the people. Notable amongst them was Puyao, the Municipal District President, whose benevolent type of leadership was attributed to his being ‘baptized by the Disciples of Christ years ago while spending some time in the lowlands’ (Wolcott 1926: 546). Another person worth mentioning was Howard Bangawan, a supervising teacher.<sup>115</sup> He was actually the first to write a request letter to Bishop Mosher as early as 1923.<sup>116</sup> More than writing the first request, his contribution was his collaboration with the community in subverting colonial policy of banning religious instruction in government schools as suggested in the petition cited above.

Similar developments in mission occurred in Upi, Cotabato (now Maguindanao). However, the initiative came from Irving B. Edwards, a former Captain in the Constabulary and then became Deputy Provincial Governor as well as Supervising Teacher of Cotabato, who worked hard for the pacification of the Tiruray. The Tiruray lived in ‘relative isolation’ as they managed to protect their mountainous homeland against intruders which included the Maguindanaoans who were already under Muslim influence (Schlegel 1979: 112). In short, this is again a case of the church helping the government in its pacification programme and the government helping the church in its mission. The two institutions easily cooperated because of the pressing need of the Tiruray who were considered ‘nomads’ due to their ‘habit of burning the jungle to expose clearings which they soon exhausted by wasteful methods of cultivation’ (Gowen 1939: 68). Edwards pursued three main policies: ‘attracting lowland settlers and homesteaders, building up a system of schools, and introducing Christianity’ (Schlegel 1979: 113).

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<sup>114</sup> Letter, 11.11.25, St. Paul’s Parish, Balbalasang Files.

<sup>115</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.06.1926, ECPA.

<sup>116</sup> Letter of Howard Bangawan to Gouverneur Frank Mosher, 21.07.1923, ATEC, 76.13.5.

The church's contribution in this programme was not only to bring Christianity but also to help establish boarding schools as the government did not have enough funds for such programmes.<sup>117</sup> Knowing that the majority of the expected lowland settlers and homesteaders were connected to the Roman Catholic Church, Edwards approach the aforesaid church to send someone to start a mission in the area. The Roman Catholic Church was not able to spare a priest for the mission and so Edwards turned his attention to the Methodist Church, which also was unable to send a missionary. He then turned to the Episcopal Church (Schlegel 1979: 113). In particular, Edwards wrote a letter to Reverend Robert Tarrant McCutchen in Zamboanga who then forwarded the letter to Bishop Mosher. Bishop Mosher then consulted Carl M. Moore, the superintendent of schools for Mindanao and Sulu, who also promised to help. Bishop Mosher then visited Cotabato on 28 June to 10 July 1920 and immediately sent a proposal to the Department of Missions.<sup>118</sup>

Although Bishop Mosher was enthused to start the Upi mission immediately after his survey trip in the area, the mission formally started in 1927 when Reverend Leo Gay McAfee and his family moved from Zamboanga (Gowen 1939:69). Understandably, this was because of financial constraints alongside the implication of the general policy of consolidation. In fact, Mosher was very aware of the difficulty of starting the work to the extent that he was careful not to discourage the Department of Missions. He started with a conservative programme which needed only 'one priest and a farmer'; and 'cheap' buildings made of 'wood, bamboo, rattan, and grasses'.<sup>119</sup>

In spite of the difficult situation of the church, the mission progressed steadily due to the help of the Tiruray. Besides the help of the government through the mediation of Irving B. Edwards, the Tirurays also offered free labour in the construction of buildings while the Ilocanos and the Visayans contributed money.<sup>120</sup> The willingness of the Tiruray to help traces its history to the promise made by their leader, Datu Bandara, during the first visit of Mosher in 1920.<sup>121</sup> In short, the case of the Upi mission as well as the Balbalasang mission as discussed above confirms the observation of

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<sup>117</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Franl Mosher to John W. Wood, 23.09.1920, ECPA.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

<sup>120</sup> Circular letter of Leo Gay McAfee, 28.08, ATEC, 76.9.13.

<sup>121</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 23.09.1920, ECPA.

Daniel Jeyaraj (1998) regarding the role of the Indians in the success of Lutheran mission amongst the Tamil in India. In particular, he argues that ‘non-Indian missionaries depended on the goodwill and hospitality of the Tamil people’ (p. 40).

Careful preparation was also a key for the success of the mission. In one of his sporadic visits to Upi from Zamboanga, McAfee recruited two Tiruray girls to Zamboanga. One of these two girls was Agustina Cariaga who, after her training as a midwife, was sent back to Upi to start the mission with a combination of healthcare and basic religious instruction in 1925. Through her work, the field was prepared for McAfee and his family who joined her two years later (Gowen 1939: 68-69).

In spite of many challenges, the Upi mission became a centre of Episcopal Church in the south. Besides the Tituray, Ilocanos, and Visayans, the mission also expanded to the Manobo, Bilaan, ‘Moros,’ and other ethnolinguistic groups as manifested in the lists of confirmations and receptions.<sup>122</sup> Although the mission branched out to include other ethnolinguistic groups, the original goal to help the Tiruray embrace ‘civilization’ – settled life – defined the development of the mission. No wonder, it was observed that, in 1967, most of the 50 communities comprising the Upi Mission were Tiruray communities served by 6 to 8 priests who were also mostly Tiruray (Schlegel 1979: 114).

The active involvement of indigenous people in the expansion of the church in Balbalasang Kalinga and in Upi, Cotabato (now Magundanao) is another case wherein Filipino voices were explicitly expressed and heard. The people of Balbalasang requested the church to commence a missionary endeavour in their community, while the Tiruray in Upi Maguindanao were involved from the very beginning of the mission as evinced by the pledge of cooperation by Datu Bandara, one of their leaders. The collective voice of the people in Balbalasang as well as Upi was influential enough that the church positively responded in spite of the demands of the policy of consolidation.

## 5.5 Summary and Conclusion

After nearly two decades of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines, Episcopalianism was already planted in carefully chosen centres. However, these

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<sup>122</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John H. Wood, 17.09.1929, ECPA.

centres were highly independent from each other to the extent that their material and evangelistic progress was extremely uneven. The Sagada station, for example, was very advanced in terms of civilizing projects and its budget exceeded that of the rest of the missionary district. In fact, the apparent independent progress of every station also resulted in the Sagada station's drift toward the extremes of Anglo-Catholicism. This state of the mission was exposed when Bishop Graves, appointed temporary overseer – thus an outsider – visited the Philippines in 1918 and reported what he observed. The two years interregnum from 1918 to 1920 further aggravated the situation when there was no one to lead the entire district on a full-time basis. This was the situation that awaited Bishop Mosher in the Philippines. Thus, when he arrived in 1920, he laboured to lead the church to adopt a policy that aimed at gathering these highly independent stations together to form a diocese founded upon strong Christian education. Particularly, he led the Episcopal Church to adopt and pursue the policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940. This policy had two aspects namely: organizational consolidation and evangelistic consolidation.

The organizational consolidation was primarily adopted to achieve unity needed for an establishment of a strong diocese. This aspect of the consolidation policy was pursued through the establishment of three instruments of unity beside the office of the bishop: 1) annual conference, 2) the *Diocesan Chronicle*, and 3) the office of the Canon Missioner. The evangelistic consolidation aimed at organizing a diocese with strong Christian education as its foundation. The church felt the need to improve on the area of Christian education, in order to ensure that the converts were taught properly. At first, this evangelistic consolidation was pursued by requiring missionaries to learn the local language, in order to effectively communicate the gospel. However, the bishop and eventually the missionaries realized that the best way to reach out to the Igorots effectively was through the Igorots themselves. As a result, the Episcopal Church started to talk about the development of a programme for the training of the Igorots for both the ordained and non-ordained ministry. This programme was started in St. Luke's Church, Manila and later was continued in Sagada. This was the beginning of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary that the Episcopal Church still runs today in Quezon City, Metro Manila.

In addition to pioneering errors which resulted in the 'Sagada Problem', the consolidation policy was also influenced by other factors such as the centralization of

the church as a result of canonical amendments in the 1919 General Convention, the Filipinization policy of the colonial government under the leadership of democrats, and the missional implications of diocesan polity. The diocesan polity provided the necessary justification of the policy while the other factors, which represent both the global and local context, provided the practical foundation of the policy.

Although the synthesis of the above factors made for a strong policy, the issue of marginality, which defined the policy of concentration in the previous period as discussed in chapter 4, still influenced the practical result of the policy of consolidation. This demonstrates how the Filipino voice, collectively expressed in the issue of marginality, greatly influenced the policy of consolidation. In particular, the transfer of training school from Manila to Sagada based on the cultural background of the candidates was again evidence of further concentration of work amongst the Igorots. In other words, the policy of consolidation did not only contribute in the concentration of work by deciding not to expand but also by concentrating the training of Igorots in Sagada.

The issue of marginality even caused a deviation from the general policy of consolidation. The expansion in Balbalasang, Kalinga and Upi, Cotabato (now Maguindanao) was again an evidence that the church consistently worked for those who were considered the neediest. The church's resolve to focus on the marginalized Filipinos was all the more reinforced by the fact that Filipinos themselves explicitly expressed their willingness to help in its work.

In spite of many challenges, the policy of consolidation was generally successful. The goal of the organizational consolidation was fulfilled as manifested in the wide participation of members in the activities like the annual convocation. The evangelistic consolidation was also successful as manifested in the active participation of Igorots like Eduardo Longid in impacting Christian teaching in spite of the resistance of those who resisted it on cultural grounds. However, the church remained concentrated in certain areas of the Philippines. In addition, the church did not have a centre for the entire mission but rather had regional centres. Thus, as shall be discussed in the next chapter, the church adopted a post-war policy of centralization and expansion of influence.





## **6. THE POLICY OF CENTRALIZATION AND EXPANSION OF INFLUENCE, 1941-1962**

In the preceding chapter, the study argues that the mission work in the Philippines had been consolidated to function as one 'diocese' before the war. In fact, it was allowed to use 'Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC)' as a local name by the 1937 General Convention as recognition of its national character. Henceforth, PEC shall be used to refer to the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines.

In this chapter, the study presents six but interconnected arguments: 1) the church aggressively pursued post-war mission policies of centralization and expansion of influence until new policies were needed in 1962; 2) these policies were built upon the foundation of the policy of consolidation in the previous period; 3) the post-war changes in both Philippine and American context influenced the prosecution of these policies; 4) that the emergence of conciliar theology of world mission after World War II resulted in the adoption of interdenominational cooperation with the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI) as one of the means of expansion in influence; 5) that this interdenominational cooperation unwittingly resulted in the division of work which further led to the concentration of work in areas where the church has been working previously; and 6) that these policies were mutually contradictory and yet were kept in creative tension which resulted in each policy influencing the result of each other.

The discussion starts with a brief description of what happened to the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines during the war in order to clarify the timeliness of the adoption of the policies of centralization and expansion of influence. The two policies shall be discussed separately first, and then their creative tension will be highlighted in a separate section. Lastly, in the summary and conclusion, I will put together the arguments as introduced above.

### **6.1 World War II**

During the war, the PEC suffered the most amongst the Protestant missions in the Philippines because it was so dependent on foreign missionaries who were confined in internment camps by the Japanese occupation army. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, there were only two Filipino priests and a deacon before the war, namely Fr. Eduardo Longid, Fr. Albert Masferre, and Deacon Mark Suluen. The rest of the

ordained ministers manning the mission stations of the Episcopal Church were mostly Americans. Consequently, the Filipino ordained ministers were the only active ministers after the American missionaries were rounded up by the Japanese and put in internment camps from 1942 to 1945. With Longid and Masferre providing leadership respectively for Sagada and Bontoc stations, the active work of the PEC was confined only to the Igorots of these centres during the Japanese occupation (Zubiri 1991: 146). Bishop Binsted continued to do his duties as a bishop even in confinement but it was limited to maintaining communication with the Japanese through the help of a certain Professor Edward. L. Claudio as his liaison officer. Claudio 'became the Honorary Executive Secretary for the Church for the duration of the war' (*JAC* 1948: 14).

Other than the problem of depleted personnel due to the detention of American missionaries, the PEC also lost most of its infrastructure. As early as 1942, for example, the facilities of the PEC mission in Balbalasang were destroyed by Japanese soldiers as they traversed from the west coast of Northern Luzon to Lubuagan in the central part of Northern Luzon (*The Philippine Episcopal Church News* 1945). Furthermore, the PEC ironically lost most of its building due to American bombs and machine guns during the liberation of Philippines from the Japanese invaders in 1945. This happened because most of the buildings of the PEC in the north were used by the Japanese soldiers as barracks as they tried to pursue joint Filipino and American guerrillas, especially in mountainous northern Luzon. The saddest thing to happen was the bombing of PEC buildings in Besao and Sagada just after the Japanese had deserted these places because there was no way for the liberation forces to know that they had left (Gowen 2008: 238 and Somebang 2007: 45).

The destruction of war did not spare the church building in the Baguio area. The buildings in Easter School were burnt except for the convent (*The Philippine Episcopal Church News* 1945). Most of all, the beautiful Cathedral of St Mary and St John suffered badly during the Battle of Manila in 1945. The destruction of the Cathedral was not only considered a loss to the Episcopal Church but also to the Americans in general since it was one of its contributions to Philippine engineering history. While it was built in a Spanish style, it was made of reinforced concrete to withstand earthquakes that are common in Manila. In fact, the Cathedral was one of the landmarks in Manila during the American colonial regime (Gowen 1939: 11).

## **6.2 Centralization and Expansion of Influence: Two Policies in Dialectical Relations**

In chapter 5, the study argued that the church adopted a policy of consolidation from the very beginning of the leadership of Bishop Mosher in 1920 contrary to the argument of Constance White Wentzel that Mosher has only adopted policy of consolidation sometimes in 1930s. To some extent, this section continue to argue that Wentzel failed to recognize the success of consolidation during the time of Mosher by suggesting that the church still needed to work for unification after the war . She writes:

Bishop Binsted and his co-workers have agreed upon a post war program of unification and centralization which will express to the new Christians of the farthest outstation the unity of the Church as the Body of Christ. For all practical and geographic reasons, the center of this program is Manila, the scene of the most exciting examples of missionary vision in any Mission Story (Wentzel 1952:20).

Although Wentzel correctly identified the other policy as centralization, she failed to qualify what she meant by unification. There may be some truths in suggesting that the church was disunited again after the war. If this was the case then I suggest that reunification or reconsolidation is used in order to acknowledge the achievements of relative unity in the pre-war church. Moreover, I argue that while reunification and reconsolidation was pursued as part of post-war rehabilitation program, two new policies were adopted. Wentzel correctly identifies centralization as one and the other was expansion of influence.

These policies of centralization and expansion of influence were in dialectical relationship such that each had its own goals yet they intersected in their long term goal which was to establish an autonomous church with a national character as shall be discussed later in this chapter. These two policies tended to pull each other in different directions as centralization was inherently inward looking while expansion was outward looking. The tension that arose when they intersected was constant and became the lifeblood of the relationship. In order to clarify the dialectic relation between these two policies, I propose to discuss them separately.

### **6.2.1 Policy of Centralization**

With the destruction of facilities in the PEC mission centres in Northern Luzon as well as the destruction of the Cathedral in Manila, the PEC was confronted with an enormous reconstruction task. However, increase in membership, monetary support and building

construction in almost all churches in America after World War II contributed to the aggressive policy making of the PEC. It pursued not just a reconsolidation policy but rather a grand policy of centralization as well as expansion at the same time (Douglas 1996: 209-210). By a policy of centralization, we mean the PEC deliberately created a centre of mission in Quezon City for the entire Philippines while maintaining the original centres to cater to specific geographical areas of responsibility. This policy became evident in the address of Bishop Binsted during the 1948 Convocation:

The acquisition of the 15 hectares of land on España Extension in New Manila, where in time we hope to erect the Cathedral, new buildings for the St. Luke's Hospital, permanent seminary buildings, a training school for Women Church workers, a high school, hostels and the necessary residences. In other words, a center which will minister to the educational and spiritual welfare of the Church throughout the Philippines (*JAC* 1948: 16).

From this quotation, it is clear that the main policy was to establish 'a center' in newly acquired land in New Manila, Quezon City. The strategy was to gather in one place all institutions catering to the needs of the entire PEC. Before World War II, the institutions mentioned above were scattered around Manila and other parts of the Philippines. The seminary was in Sagada in Northern Luzon and St. Luke's Hospital was in Manila but far from the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John.

The word 'centralization' should not be confused with 'concentration' because they are not used as synonyms in this thesis. Whereas centralization is used to mean concentrating things together in one place, concentration in this thesis refers to focusing attention toward well-defined goals. One is about the centralization of institutions while the other is about goals. One is about organizational matters and the other is about objectives. Logically, centralization was the next stage after the consolidation that was achieved during the leadership of Mosher. However, the Episcopal Church had been struggling financially in the 1930s because of economic depression as discussed in chapter 5. The operational budget was so meagre that it hindered any plans to pursue expensive policies such as centralization. Nonetheless, the church managed to consolidate its work by creating programmes aimed at strengthening the mission as one unit rather than allowing stations to work independently.

To be specific, organizational consolidation was achieved through carefully instituted instruments of unity such as the *Diocesan Chronicle*, Annual Conferences during convocations, and the office of the Canon Missioner. The evangelistic consolidation, on the other hand, was achieved through strengthening of the language

study programme for foreign missionaries and the preparation of Filipinos for ordained and non-ordained ministry. In other words, the PEC was working as one unit before the war but it did not have concrete evidence of unity other than a larger and more representative annual convocation.

The Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John in Manila was supposedly the centre of the PEC because it was the seat of the bishop, who served as the primary symbol of unity. In addition, it was situated at the centre of the national capital. However, the members of the cathedral congregation from the very beginning were mostly rich and powerful Anglo-Americans. Thus, it did not represent the diversity in the church. The members of the cathedral congregation started to become diverse only when the foreign members of the destroyed Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John reorganized themselves into a parish congregation apart from the cathedral and established Holy Trinity Parish in Ermita, Manila. This was in accordance with the advice of Bishop Binsted who had already reserved the name St. Mary and St John for the cathedral that was to be put up in the new mission centre (Boyle 1954: 36-7). The predominantly Anglo-American congregation transferred later to Forbes Park, Makati City, where it continues to date (Botengan 2002: 15). This proved to be a blessing in disguise because the membership of the cathedral started to become more diverse when the cathedral was built, especially in the same location as the other important PEC institutions because Filipinos, drawn by the other key institutions in the new mission centre, became members of the cathedral congregation.

Aside from the fact that the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John did not fully function as the centre of the PEC before World War II, the centres in northern Luzon were becoming more important than Manila, especially in the area of Filipino ministry of the PEC. While St. Andrew's Seminary was in Sagada before the war, it was already attracting students from the southern Philippines (Zubiri 1991: 183). It is not surprising, therefore, that the PEC prioritized the transfer and operation of this seminary to the new centre in Quezon City after the war.

Furthermore, the need for a centre in Quezon City for the PEC mission in the entire country was intensified by the developments in local politics. A national language, for example, was already decided before the war in anticipation of the granting of Philippine independence in 1945. The commonwealth act in 1935 provided that Philippines was to be granted independence after ten years of commonwealth.

When greater responsibilities were given to Filipinos in 1935 by the establishment of a Commonwealth government, the Tagalogs pushed for the adoption of what used to be called 'Pilipino' - now Filipino - as the national language. In 1936, a national language law was drafted. As a result, the National Language Institute was established to spearhead research on which amongst the major languages should become the national one. This institute commenced a survey in 1937 and Tagalog emerged to become the basis of a national language and was called 'Pilipino' to make it more acceptable to those who did not belong to the Tagalog ethnolinguistic group (Gonzalez and Bautista 1985:77). The implication of this change to the mission of the PEC was enormous because it had concentrated its mission on the minority ethnolinguistic groups such as the Igorots in the north and the Tirurays in the south. The adoption of Filipino as a national language meant the influence of the PEC on Philippine society would become marginal. It was to avoid this eminent marginalization that the PEC had to adjust its policies. In other words, with the deliberate effort to create a nation out of many ethnolinguistic groups under the leadership of lowland Filipinos, the PEC had to adjust its mission policies in order not to end up maintaining isolated stations that were loosely connected by the work of the bishop and other instruments of unity mentioned earlier. Thus, the eminent granting of independence and related development like the endorsement of Filipino as a national language became means through which Filipino voices influenced the policies of the church.

Moreover, the choice of the place to become the centre was also deliberate. New Manila, Quezon City was being developed after World War II. The name New Manila alone tells a lot about the place. It connotes prestige as being the new place for the aristocrats who used to gather around Manila as the old capital city of the Philippines. They moved to this place as a result of making Quezon City the new capital city of the Philippines, replacing the City of Manila. Quezon City was originally planned to accommodate poor people spilling into the over-crowded City of Manila (Duldulao 1995: 34). In 1938, President Quezon purchased 1,529 hectares from the vast Diliman Estate of the Tuason Family (Carunungan 1982: 11). The following year, the National Assembly enacted the Commonwealth Act 502, otherwise known as the Charter of Quezon City. On October 12, 1939, President Quezon signed the Bill into law; thus the city was born. Progress in Quezon City continued until the outbreak of World War II in 1941 (Duldulao 1995: 38). Seven years later, by virtue of the Republic Act No. 333

signed on July 17, 1948, Quezon City officially became the capital of the Philippines and the permanent seat of the national government. The City of Manila was no longer serviceable as a capital city because it was over-crowded. However, during his presidency, Ferdinand Marcos in 1976 created Metro Manila as the National Capital Region with City of Manila again as the centre (Carunungan 1982: 62-65).

The choice of New Manila was consistent with the policy of the Episcopal Church from the very beginning, which was to focus on establishing influence in the entire Philippines. This choice allowed the Episcopal Church to have a constant connection with people of great influence. Establishing a mission centre in Quezon City in the period when it was being deliberately developed as the new capital city made the Church visible to Filipinos. It is no surprise, therefore, to find St Luke's Hospital becoming famous in the Philippines even until today (Botengan 2001: 26).

The seemingly perfect timing of the centralization policy of the PEC was due not only to the post-war changes in the Philippines but also due to the changes in the USA. After World War II, there was a revival of popular piety in all aspects of life in America. This resulted in the success of almost all churches based on criteria such as an increase in membership and monetary support. Particularly, the Episcopal Church enjoyed the most dramatic increase in membership. It paralleled the increasing affluence of the United States in world politics after World War II (Douglas 1996: 209-210). The United States had been a world power after its victory in the Spanish American War in 1898 but its primacy amongst world powers became evident after World War II. Its economy which was the basic foundation of power grew nearly 50% after World War II (Walt 2006: 31-32).

The post-war development in how Americans viewed their role in both religion and politics resulted in a blossoming of American civil religion which began to take root since the American Civil War. The success of the United States during World War II was seen as the fulfilment of what Americans had always hoped from their nation under God as manifested in the common use of phrases such as: 'God bless America' and 'one nation under God' (Douglas 1996: 209; Haberski 2012: 7-9). This gave new meaning to a long tradition of America's Manifest Destiny, of having responsibility over humanity as manifested in its aggressive participation in post-war global politics. In particular, the USA became immersed in fighting the influence of communism which resulted in the Cold War (Janda et al., 2013: 332). This belief of being needed was

manifested in the resurgence of interest in foreign mission as much as in world politics. The Episcopal Church, for example, campaigned for fund-raising of \$8.8 million for its reconstruction and advance work in war-torn mission fields like the Philippines. Bishop Sherrill argued:

One of the objectives is to rebuild our war-torn churches and congregations in the Far East. That, it seems to me, needs no explanation. It would be incredible if, after our years of service in the Philippines and in China and elsewhere, we should say, "Let us forget it all. Let them go ahead without us" ('Sermon' 1946).

The aggressive fund-raising campaign of the Episcopal Church to support the reconstruction programme of its foreign mission encouraged the Philippine mission to pursue policies of centralization and expansion of influence at the same time. Binsted said, 'in planning the post-war reconstruction of the work of the Church in the Philippines, we have had in mind the guiding principles laid down by our distinguished predecessors, and have determined to take advantage of the present opportunities to press forward more vigorously towards their accomplishments' (*JAC* 1948: 16). Binsted did not elaborate on the opportunities but one surmises that he was referring to the willingness of the home church to rally support for a reconstruction programme of its mission abroad. In fact, the home church did not only campaign for reconstruction but also for advance work as we shall see in the succeeding discussion.

The policy of centralization of the PEC was monetarily demanding but was deemed feasible because of the renewed interest of Americans in Christian mission. The first institution that was built in the new centre was St. Andrew's Theological Seminary. The Episcopal Church started its building project with the seminary for two main reasons: 1) It was badly in need of a building in Manila since it was in Sagada before the war and 2) the seminary was one of the means by which the policy of expansion of influence could be fulfilled. Compared to the seminary, the building of the new Cathedral and the hospital was not urgent as the PEC still had a building in Tondo, Manila. In fact, St. Andrew's Theological Seminary started to operate in the newly acquired centre as early as 1947, using temporary buildings. It only started to use the permanent building for the academic year 1953-1954. The work of a seminary was very crucial to the future of the PEC. Binsted reported: 'Great emphasis was placed upon the necessity of developing national leadership, especially ordained leadership. As a result of this emphasis on developing national leadership, the Overseas Department approved



a grant of \$50,000.00 for an extension to St. Andrew's Theological Seminary' (*JAC* 1956: 28).

Amongst the three important institutions, St. Luke's Hospital was the second to be completed. It had its ground-breaking in 1956 and was opened in 1959 (Botengan 2001: 26). The Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John followed a few years after. It was consecrated and opened for service on 9 February 1962 (*JAC* 1962: 11). With the inauguration of the new Cathedral, the new PEC centre in Quezon City then was fully operational. In fact, before the consecration of the new Cathedral the centre was already impacting Christianity not only in the Philippines but also the East Asia region. On 6 February 1962, the Regional Council of Churches of South East Asia was constituted in this centre (Hall 1966: 3). This is now the Council of Churches in East Asia. In 1963, the Federation of Churches in the Philippines became the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) and held its primary convention in this new centre of the Episcopal Church mission (*JAC* 1964: 19). There was no doubt that the objective of the centralization policy of providing a centre for the PEC was already fulfilled in the 1960s. Its influence may be waning at this time but it still serves as the centre of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines today.

### **6.2.2 Policy of Expansion of Influence**

The success of the consolidation policy of the PEC, which was vigorously pursued from 1920 to 1940, made it appropriate to pursue a new policy in order to avoid the possibility of stagnation arising from complacency. To paraphrase Brent's words, any religion that fails to expand is bound to die (1907:21). However, expansion is always a difficult policy to pursue. It involves careful assessment of preparedness of the entire church. This preparedness includes not only ensuring sufficiency of finance and personnel but also the willingness of the church members to support the policy. This explains why many criticised it when it was adopted after the war. They opined it was a deviation from the principles laid down by Brent (*JAC* 1948: 15).

By policy of expansion of influence, it means the PEC's endeavour toward 'enlargement of the former sphere of influence' it had before World War II (*JGC* 1946: 467). It started as a personal vision of Binsted, the post-war bishop of the PEC. This vision was shared formally with the wider church when he recommended to the National Council of the Episcopal Church that the Philippine mission should expand. The council enthusiastically agreed (Whittemore 1961: 216). It became a policy of the

whole church as soon as it was articulated in his address in the 1948 convocation, in which it became clear that the PEC needed to fulfil its 'responsibility to the un-churched in Manila and elsewhere' (*JAC* 1948: 15). It is ironic to note that there were still many un-churched in areas where the Roman Catholic and then Protestant Churches had been working for a long time. The unhealthy competition between Protestants and Roman Catholics did not actually help either party. In addition, there was a gap between the members and the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church because of the unwillingness of the latter to make adjustments in the training of its candidates for ordination during the American colonial regime. Seminaries insisted on requiring students to use Spanish while the rest of the educational institutions of the Roman Catholic Church used English as a medium of instruction (Schumacher 2009: 254). This has contributed in the growing number of Catholics leaving their church without necessary transferring to other churches, thus becoming un-churched people.

Binsted recognized the need to minister to these un-churched people and defended this policy against those who did not share his vision. He started his defence of his policy with the re-evaluation of the principles laid down by Brent. He believed that these principles had guided the work of the Episcopal Church even during the time of Bishop Mosher. He argued that Brent laid down four responsibilities for the church namely: 1) the spiritual, educational and physical welfare of the American community; 2) the conversion of the non-Christian people of the islands; 3) shepherding the un-churched people of the Philippines; and 4) the training of Filipino leadership (*JAC* 1948: 14-16). This particular interpretation of Brent's principles differs from those of Binsted's contemporaries who argued that Brent concentrated his missionary work amongst Igorot, Moros, and Chinese out of ecumenical considerations, that is, respect for the Roman Catholic Church (Kate 1948 and Zabrieskie 1948). To be specific, Binsted had a lengthy discussion about the third principle because he observed that it was the most misunderstood amongst the four principles:

I have dwelt on this third statement of policy at some length, because today, when we fulfil our responsibility to the un-churched in Manila and elsewhere, we are sometimes accused of a revolutionary change in policy. Such accusations are based on ignorance or misunderstanding of the principles laid down by Bishop Brent and concurred in by Bishop Graves and Bishop Mosher (*JAC* 1948: 16).

Bishop Binsted used the word policy and principles interchangeably. Nonetheless, he was right in pointing out that Brent was generally misunderstood to have totally avoided

any work for the ‘unshepherded’ Christians in the Philippines. I propose that this emphasis on the so-called non-interference policy of Brent was further supported by the fact that the Episcopal Church did not venture to expand amongst the unshepherded Christians during the time of Bishop Mosher. However, Binsted was totally right in claiming that Brent wanted to do mission amongst the ‘unshepherded’ Christians but it was not a priority as discussed in chapter 4. Binsted was also correct in claiming that Mosher concurred with Brent. Time and again Mosher was nudged by the Department of Missions to start work for Filipinos but did not due to the demand of consolidating the work alongside the financial problem that beset the mission in the 1930s. Nowhere was this dilemma made starker than in the letter which states:

In this letter you speak about Bishop Brent’s policy and our having made “no rootage in Filipino life”. Of course you know I have always intended to do that and have wanted to do it. But it did seem to me essential to maintain what we had already expended nearly thirty years in building up. The fact that the Church in America was not strong enough to do this is the thing that kept us from reaching out into the Filipino field and picking up some of those who had left their old Church.<sup>1</sup>

Although there was no expansion to the unchurched Christians during the leadership of Mosher because the priority was to consolidate the scattered mission of the Episcopal Church, there was already a definite plan in 1938 to start such work. Mosher wrote:

Now, however, I believe the situation is changing a little bit with the Clergy we have coming out this year, and with prospects of more clergymen promised for next year, I feel very strongly indeed that this work among Filipinos ought to be started....My plan, therefore, would be, as in my mind, it has always been, only to work amongst those many thousands of Filipinos who already have left the Roman Catholic Church and have no connection with it.<sup>2</sup>

Evidence abounds concerning the desire to do mission amongst the unshepherded Christians from the very beginning. For instance, as mentioned in chapter 4, Fr. John A. Staunton Jr. was sent to the Philippines to minister to a Filipino congregation organized by Army Chaplain Charles Pierce. The decision to assign Staunton to the aforesaid congregation was based on the recommendation of Bishop Frederick Rogers Graves. Unfortunately, the congregation was already dispersed before the arrival of Staunton. Thus, he accepted ‘the position of Deputy Superintendent of Schools in the district of

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 03.09.1936, ECPA.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to Robert Wilner, 17.08.38, ECPA.

Cebu' while waiting for his new assignment.<sup>3</sup> However, Brent decided to 'leave in abeyance' the work amongst Filipinos after realizing the pressing need of a mission work for the Igorots in the north.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the work amongst the unshepherded Christians had to wait until the time was ripe. Ironically, that time came after World War II when the PEC had suffered badly. There were many contributory factors to the adoption of this aggressive policy of expansion, including both post-war changes and pre-war conditions.

As mentioned earlier, the church's mission work was already consolidated in the late 1930s and the most natural course was that the church would expand. In connection with this, the independence of the Philippines was very certain even before the war because it was already stipulated in the establishment of the Philippine commonwealth in 1935. This commonwealth was only for ten years and it was intended as a transition period toward Philippine Independence (Whittemore 1961: 152). The implication of this imminent granting of Philippine Independence was that the PEC would no longer count as a domestic mission. Indeed, when the independence was granted on 4 July 1946, the mission became part of foreign mission (*JGC* 1946: 286).

The consequence of this shift from domestic to foreign mission cannot be underestimated. As pointed out in chapter 4, the status of the PEC in relation to the home church had always been confusing. Technically, it was under the domestic department of mission because the Philippines was a territory of the USA. However, it had naturally operated on the model of foreign missions, following closely the pattern of neighbouring foreign missions like China and Japan, where civilizing mission was emphasized and indigenous national churches were envisioned as manifested in the organization of *Nippon Sei Ko Kai* or the Holy Catholic Church of Japan in 1887 (Douglas 1991: 41-8). This was further emphasized after the granting of Philippine Independence. This new status made the issue of eventual autonomy more prominent than before (*JAC* 1948: 16). However, autonomy was still a long term agenda – the vision – immediately after the war. Expansion of influence needed to precede autonomy to ensure that the autonomous Church would have a national character. The Episcopal Church tried to avoid establishing an autonomous church that only had an influence

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<sup>3</sup> Charles Henry Brent, 'Annual Report' 1903, ATEC, RG 76 (Oversize).

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Charles Henry Brent to Gouverneur Frank Wood, 27.04.1904, ATEC, 76.2.13.

over minority ethnolinguistic groups such as the Igorots in the north and the Tiruray in the south. Binsted admitted: 'if the Episcopal Church is to become autonomous in the Philippines, it must make its own strong impress in the great lowland centers of population' (Binsted 1954: 7). This is consistent with his recommendation to the National Council just after the war 'to accept a larger vision of the work of the Church, to expand it into the new fields, to integrate it into the life of the nation, and to take definite steps looking to the establishment of an autonomous branch of the Anglican Communion' (Whittemore 1961: 216). Again, a closer evaluation of this statement clarifies that expansion and integration into the life of the nation precede autonomy.

While the comparative order and stability of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines before World War II made expansion a natural course of history, the post-war changes did not only encourage but also accelerated it. As mentioned earlier, there was an upsurge of interest in mission amongst Americans after the war that did not only encourage the home Church to support the reconstruction programmes of foreign missions but also supported work that aimed at expansion. Bishop Sherrill said:

Furthermore, it is impossible to exaggerate the opportunities before the Christian Church in the Orient under present conditions. New vistas, new opportunities, are opening to us. We send soldiers to China. We send statesmen to China. We send economists to China. Are we going to send everything except missionaries of the Gospel of Christ? ('Sermon' 1946).

Again, this demonstrates the complex relationship of world politics and Christian mission after World War II. Although Sherrill did not explicitly advocate cooperation between the state and the church; his use of sending soldiers, statesmen and economist in China as point of reference for sending missionaries suggests that he did not have any qualms in using parallelism in relation to developments in politics and mission. Although Bishop Sherrill explicitly referred to China, similar effects were felt in the Episcopal Mission in other countries like the Philippines. The expansion in the Philippines became more relevant when the American influence in China diminished after the victory of the Communist party in 1949. The American anti-Communist campaign in China was defeated and had to continue in places like the Philippines. It is in this context that Binsted should be understood when he said:

I am conscious of an urgent desire on the part of the clergy as well as the laity to expand the work, not only among non-Christian people, but among the tens of thousands of un-churched people in the Islands, who for lack of adequate pastoral care are in danger of becoming victims of anti-Christian or pseudo-Christian forces (*JAC* 1949: 24).

Although Binsted did not categorically mention communism as anti-Christian, it was generally accepted that Communists were anti-Christians. Besides, Philippine politics after World War II made it conducive for communism to progress as the United States ensured their indirect control of the Philippine economy and politics through the passing of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act (PRA) and Philippine Trade Act (PTA) a few days before the inauguration of Philippine Independence in 1946. Amongst other things, the PTA ensured Americans' equal rights with Filipinos in the development of Philippine natural resources (Chapman 1946: 167). The Americans continued to make their presence felt even after the granting of independence as manifested in the signing of the Military Bases Agreement in 1947, which allowed them to lease twenty-three army, navy and air force installations in the Philippines for ninety-nine years (Vadney 199: 104). This was the context for the resurgence of the *Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas* (PKP) in the cities and the *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (HUKBALAHAP) or the Anti-Japanese People's Army in the rural areas after World War II. The HUKBALAHAP was renamed *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan* (HMB) or People's Liberation Army but to the Americans and their Filipino collaborators they were Huks, as they were during World War II (Francia 2010: 200-6).

Moreover, there was no mention of specific examples of pseudo-Christian groups but putting anti-Christian and pseudo-Christian in one category leads us to suppose that Binsted was referring to indigenous religious groups that were founded to offer alternatives to foreign dominated Christian denominations. Chief amongst these groups was the *Iglesia ni Cristo* formally founded by Felix Manalo on 27 July 1914 (Sta. Roman 1955: 134-5). This group shared in the numerical growth experienced by most churches after the war (Rodell 2002: 37-40). Incidentally, the *Iglesia ni Cristo* and the Huks had something in common, their popularity amongst peasants (Scott 1977: 119-22). **Regardless of whether the threat postured by anti-Christian and pseudo-Christian forces was real or not, they certainly represented collective Filipino voices that help the church adopt the policy of expansion of influence.**

However, the undeniable link between the policy of expansion of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines and the United State exerting its primacy in world politics should not be overemphasized to the extent that it overshadows the primary motivation of expansion which was to establish an autonomous Church with a national character as mentioned in chapter 5. The first step to this envisioned autonomy was to

provide enough personnel by training Filipinos for pastoral care. This emphasis on pastoral care was due to two interrelated reasons. First, it was primarily to extend influence from its pre-war centres. Second, it was to keep many people from anti-Christian and pseudo-Christian forces. Although pastoral care and influence are not exactly synonymous, they are interrelated because church influence was seen as an avenue for pastoral care, while pastoral care extended to the unchurched people was seen as means for expansion of influence.

The demand for personnel explains the primacy given to the seminary during post-war reconstruction. It also explains why foreign clergy continued to come in to the extent that in 1953, the number of foreign clergy exceeded the total of the preceding fifty-five years (Zubiri 1991: 146). This influx of missionaries was partly a result of the expulsion of missionaries from China after the victory of the Communists in 1949, which led the Pacific division of the foreign mission to focus on Japan and the Philippines (Douglas 1996: 230).

Another factor that contributed to the adoption of the policy of expansion of influence was the emergence of conciliar theology of world mission after World War II. This emphasized partnership in mission amongst churches to impact the whole world. This idea had been around since the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 but became widely accepted and articulated after the war. Both the International Mission Council (IMC) and the newly organized World Council of Churches (WCC) agreed on the idea of partnership in mission (Bassham 2002: 40-45). The Episcopal Church had been actively involved in the application of this conciliar or ecumenical mission theology. Notable amongst Episcopalians who actively participated in the post-war ecumenical activities was Bishop Sherrill, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. He attended the First General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948 and was appointed member of the Nominating Committee tasked to nominate people to serve as Presidents of the WCC. He was involved in the organizing of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (NCC) and became its first President in 1950. He was elected as one of the six Presidents of the WCC in its Second General Assembly in Illinois in 1954. In 1956, he was one of the ten leaders of the National Council of Churches invited to Moscow by the Russian Orthodox Church (Douglas 1996: 228-9).

The role of the Episcopal Church in the ecumenical movement was not just a post-World War II phenomenon. It has a long history dating back to the Elizabethan period

when the Church of England opted for a middle way theological position between the English Romanists and English Puritans (Prior 2005: 872-3). This position was evoked for Christian unity in the US after the Civil War and led to the production of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral which contains four terms needed in the restoration of unity with other churches (Woolverton 1970: 198). The four terms are:

- 1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God.
- 2) The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.
- 3) The two Sacraments,--Baptism and the Supper of the Lord,--ministered with unflinching use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him and
- 4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church (ECP BCP)

By historic episcopate, we refer to the common belief amongst Anglicans 'that the order of bishop is found through time and across space since the early centuries of the Christian Church' (Toon 2004: 22). In other words, it refers to the unbroken line of succession through the laying on of hands from the apostles who were the first to receive commission from Jesus. While this term proved to be one of the obstacles in the Anglican effort toward Christian unity, the quadrilateral as a whole deliberately set precedence in the history of Christian unity as it was actualised in the case of agreements the church signed as shall be clarified in the succeeding discussion. It was in connection to this quadrilateral that the Episcopal Church led the Faith and Order movement which became one of the streams gathered in the World Council of Churches (Bassham 2002: 20).

The involvement of the Episcopal Church in the world wide ecumenical movement was at its zenith in the post war era. This was a broader result of its leadership role in inter-church dialogues in the US as well as its vital role within the Anglican Communion as manifested in its leadership in the Pan Anglican Congress in 1954 (Douglas 1996: 239-242). Unsurprisingly, the prominent role of the Episcopal Church in the post-war ecumenical movement encouraged the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines to adopt a policy of expansion of influence through interdenominational cooperation. To be specific, the PEC eagerly took the opportunity to start a relationship with the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)* which resulted in a signing of the Concordat of Full Communion in 1961 (Burr 1971: 42). The Concordat of Full Communion refers to a stage of relationship wherein each party 'recognizes the



catholicity and independence of each other'. This is very explicit in the text of the document signed on 22 September 1961:

- 1) Each Communion recognizes the catholicity and independence of the other, and maintains its own.
- 2) Each Communion agrees to admit members of other Communion to participate in the Sacraments.
- 3) Full Communion does not require either Communion the acceptance of all doctrinal opinion, sacramental devotion, or liturgical practice characteristic of the other, but implies that each believes the other to hold all essentials of the Christian faith (*Diocesan Chronicle* 31.4: 3).

Full Communion was and still is neither a merger nor a federation. Neither was it an organic union. The above mentioned terms of agreement were based on the Bonn Agreement in 1931 between the Anglican Communion and the Old Catholic Churches (Wondra 2006: 223 and Whittemore 1961:217-8). Although the Concordat of Full Communion was signed between the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (PECUSA) and *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)* because the PEC was not autonomous at that time, the relationship was mediated by the leadership of the latter as one of its means to expand in influence.

As discussed in chapter 3, the IFI was established on 3 August 1902 after the Filipino–American War but traces its history to the secularization movement. This Church started to establish a connection with the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines through the communication between Bishop Aglipay, the first Supreme Bishop of the IFI and Bishop Brent, first missionary bishop of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines early in 1904. The communication did not progress because of the nationalist stand of the IFI as mentioned in chapter 4. In fact, the IFI was also shunned by people like Staunton because it was considered ‘not only a freak but a fake religion’.<sup>5</sup> However, a line of communication was re-opened between the leaders of the two churches when World War II broke out. The IFI leaders approached Bishop Binsted for advice on how to deal with the Japanese because the latter used to be a missionary bishop in Japan (Zubiri 1991: 150).

In 1947, the IFI came up with a new declaration of faith and petitioned the Episcopal Church to bestow upon their bishops the historic episcopate:

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<sup>5</sup> Letter of John A. Staunton Jr. to William C. Sturgis, 19.02.1924, ATEC, 76.22.10.

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Supreme Bishop of the Philippine Independent Church (Iglesia Filipina Independiente), Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr. be authorised, as he is hereby authorised, to prayerfully and respectfully petition the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., through the kindness and good offices of the Rt. Rev. Norman Spencer Binsted, D.D., Bishop of the Missionary District of the Philippines of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., to confer Episcopal Consecration upon the Bishops of the Philippine Independent Church (Iglesia Filipina Independiente), to the end that they may receive the grace, the power and the blessing of Apostolic Succession and that this Church may thus be brought within the family of Churches holding Apostolic Faith and Order.<sup>6</sup>

With the new IFI declaration of faith and removal of other obstacles, the petition was granted and the historic episcopacy was bestowed on Monsignor Isabelo de los Reyes Jr., Supreme Bishop and Bishop of Manila, Monsignor Manuel L. Aguilar, Bishop of Laguna, and Bishop Conrado M. Bayaca, Bishop of Tarlac and Zambales on 7 April 1948 (Whittemore 1961: 179-80 and Zubiri 1991: 167). Meanwhile, even before the approval of the petition for the granting of historic episcopate, the newly opened St. Andrew's Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines had already accepted three candidates from the IFI as early as September 1947 (Mandell 1954: 19).

The admission of the IFI seminarians at St. Andrew's Theological Seminary and the bestowal of historic episcopate on three IFI bishops were actions taken after the IFI revised its Declaration of Faith to ensure that it satisfied the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, in view of the eventual signing of the Concordat of Full Communion. One of the things that delayed the signing of this agreement was the on-going litigation of a case against Bishop Fonacier, the former Obispo Maximo, who refused to give way to the new one. This resulted in a schism and needed to be decided upon in court (Whittemore 1961: 168-70). Nevertheless, there was already a strong connection between the two churches. The relationship progressed while the internal problems of the IFI were being settled. This association and cooperation was for the Episcopal Church 'a great, although indirect, opportunity' to minister to those who abandoned the Roman Catholic Church and were sheep without a shepherd. The gathering of these unshepherded people was necessary for an establishment of a national Church (Binsted 1954: 7). It was through St. Andrew's Theological Seminary that the Episcopal Church impacted the IFI because the seminary did not only train new candidates for ordination

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<sup>6</sup> Resolution adopted by the Supreme Council of Bishops, 04.08.1947, IFIA, Box 2.

for the IFI, but also offered refresher courses to those who had not undergone formal training. In fact, the seminary's help for the IFI was so successful that half of the students were from the aforesaid church in 1953 (Mandell 1954: 19). In 1959, the IFI students outnumbered those from the PEC [forty-nine IFI student compared to thirty-nine PEC students] (Mandell 1959: 5).

The influence of the Episcopal Church on the IFI primarily through the seminarians was also strongly manifested in its liturgical life. As soon as the IFI students were admitted to St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, they were already introduced to the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) and its theology (Chandlee 1954: 27). In fact, the revisions of the IFI liturgical materials were influenced by their knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer. Chandlee (1960) reports:

Recently the Independent Church carried out a painstaking and thorough revision of its liturgy, and a new Missal and Ritual are now in process of printing. This revised liturgy carefully preserves the best traditions of the Independent Church, and also draws freely upon the Book of Common Prayer (p. 13).

Obispo Maximo Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. (1960) concurred with Chandlee when he said: 'A new adopted Filipino Missal, Filipino Liturgy and Book of Divine Worship is about to be printed and shall serve as basis of negotiating a Concordat with the historic Churches of America, England, and Greece' (pp. 3-4). Moreover, Reyes also confirmed that the revision was done in preparation for the eventual signing of the Concordat. The revision should reflect the new Declaration of Faith which had become the basis of the bestowal of historic episcopate as discussed earlier.

Aside from the Episcopal Church's influence on the liturgical life of the IFI, there was also a change in the way the latter engaged in society. Reyes (1961) said:

And while we are pledged to carry on our struggle against evil, ignorance and poverty, we are determined to carry on our revolt worth of the Concordat not in terms of all or nothing, but adopting the principle of moderation and love for truth that, in the words of Albert Camus, is the main characteristic of all proper revolutions (p. 16).

While the focus of this discussion is on how the Episcopal Church influenced the IFI, the relationship proved to be mutually beneficial. Whereas the IFI ushered the PEC into mainstream Philippine society because of its influence as the largest non-Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines, the Episcopal Church reconnected the IFI to wider Christianity (Canlas 1980: 238-244). Unsurprisingly, the IFI regarded the agreement as a 'light added to the coming Light' as a 'redemption from poverty, oppression and mockery'. The Concordat led the IFI to describe itself as follows:

The Philippine Independent Catholic Church now stands on equal footing with all the Christian churches of the world. Its being a member of the World Council of Churches is a living testimony that the Filipino Catholic Church has regained its lost prestige and personality and now proudly stands on the pedestal of greater glory side by side with other Christian Churches the world over (Pisig 1961: 22).

The PECUSA-IFI Concordat of Full Communion was not the first of its kind in the history of the Anglican Communion. As mentioned earlier, it was preceded by the Bonn Agreement in 1931 between the Anglican Communion and the Old Catholic Churches (Wondra 2006: 223). However, it was the first to be initiated by the Episcopal Church which demonstrated its commitment to the post-war ecumenical movement and growing leadership role in the Anglican Communion. The impact of this relationship in the Philippines was not confined to the two churches but rather impacted other Protestant churches when the two became founding members of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) in 1963. The influence of the PEC was undeniable because it participated in the drafting of the Constitution and By-Laws of the NCCP based on its resolution in the 1960 Convocation (*JAC* 1963: 15). With the separate representation of the IFI and Episcopal Church in the NCCP, the influence of the Episcopal Church expanded significantly. The NCCP's decision to hold its primary convention at the newly opened Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John was a sign of its appreciation.

Although the interdenominational cooperation with the IFI has largely contributed to the success of PEC's policy of expansion of influence, it unintentionally resulted in the further concentration of work in regions where it has been working for many years. In a sense, the church expanded in influence to the lowland through the IFI but did not have actual expansion in membership beyond the confine of its previous work. I argue that the collaboration with the IFI unwittingly resulted in the division of work wherein the IFI continued to work in the lowland areas while the PEC continued to cater to the need of the people in the fringe of Philippine society. In other words, the PEC did not see any need to work in the lowland as a result of impacting it already through the work of the IFI alongside the work of its national institutions. This is the most probable explanation of the fact that the church afforded to send Narciso V. Ticobay, an Igorot priest who later became the Prime Bishop, to help the Anglican mission in the interior of North Borneo. He was sent in May 1960 and therefore became the 'first overseas missionary' of the PEC (*JAC* 1961:11). The sending of Filipino missionary to help in Borneo was a bit odd given the fact that the church knew that it is still a 'minority

community' in the Philippines and the only way it could have expanded in actual membership is to maximize the work of its Filipino missionaries (*JAC* 1959: 19). The decision to send missionaries was a result of Ogilby's visit to Borneo early in 1959.<sup>7</sup> On the side of the Anglican mission in Borneo, on the other hand, they opted to get from the PEC probably because of its experience of working with indigenous people.

### **6.2.3 The Creative Tension between Centralization and Expansion**

As introduced earlier, the intersection of the two policies of centralization and the expansion of influence resulted in a constant tension that characterized their dialectical relationship. In particular, these two policies went through this creative tension in St. Andrew's Theological Seminary where they intersected immediately after they were adopted as separate policies. On the one hand, the decision of the Episcopal Church to start its post-war rebuilding programme with the transfer of the seminary from Sagada to the newly established centre was important for its centralization policy. On the other hand, the decision of the Episcopal Church to accept candidates from the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* from the re-opening of the seminary in the new centre also manifested its vital role in the policy of expansion through denominational cooperation.

As the two policies intersected in the seminary, the original policy of centralization metamorphosed to a state wherein the seminary became a centre within a centre. In the original plan, the policy of centralization was to gather the key institutions into one place to create a single centre of mission for the entire Episcopal Church in the Philippines. There was no intention to give primacy to any of the key institutions gathered in the centre. However, the vital role of the seminary in maintaining the dialectical relationship between the policy of centralization and policy of expansion through denominational cooperation with the IFI bolstered its place in the new mission centre.

The constant increase of IFI students entering the seminary made the Church realise its importance. The permanent buildings were ready for occupancy in the second semester of academic year 1953-1954 (Botengan 2001:47). Barely a year after the permanent building was finally used, 'the overseas Department approved a grant of \$50,000.00 for an extension to St. Andrew's Theological Seminary' (*JAC* 1956: 28).

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<sup>7</sup> Letter of Lyman C. Ogilby to Norman Binsted, 15.01.1959, Leopold Damrosch Papers, ATEC.

The short period between the completion of the original buildings and the plan for extension suggests that the church did not anticipate the primacy of the seminary amongst other institutions in the new mission centre. In 1958, the Episcopal Church realized the need of a new and larger chapel (*JAC* 1959: 50). It was unlikely that they anticipated this given that a plan for a Cathedral within the same mission centre was already in place from the very beginning of the centralisation policy.

When Bishop John B. Bentley, director of the Overseas Department and first vice-president of the National Council, visited the Philippines in September 1959, the issue of building a new and larger seminary chapel was raised. Aside from the chapel, the PEC also requested funds for the extension of the seminary library (*JAC* 1960: 49). The Episcopal Church in the United States gave its full support to these building projects so that a duplex house intended for one faculty and an employee as well as the extension of the main building was completed in 1960. Aside from these buildings, it was reported that the building of the new seminary chapel had already started (*JAC* 1961: 56). On the occasion of the celebration of the patronal feast of the seminary in 1961, the new chapel was consecrated by the Most Rev. Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., the Supreme Bishop of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, with Bishop Lyman Ogilby of the PEC as the preacher (*JAC* 1962: 52).

Moreover, by virtue of being the only Episcopal Church seminary in the Philippines, it continued to gather seminarians from all over the country and through these seminarians, the centralising effort of the church was felt in far flung stations. These seminarians often brought with them information about the 'new centre'. In some cases, Episcopalians in far-flung stations heard about the centre from occasional visits to their children in the seminary.

The policy of expansion through denominational cooperation with the IFI also metamorphosed as a result of its dialectical relationship with the policy of centralization through the ministry of the seminary. The seminary trained almost all the leaders of IFI and consequently extended the influence of the Episcopal Church, especially in the area of liturgy. In fact, Ellsworth Chandlee, Professor of Liturgy in the seminary, participated in the revision of the new Missal and Ritual of the IFI so that it not only preserved 'the best traditions of the Independent Church', but also drew 'freely upon the Book of Common Prayer' (1960: 13). The influence of the Episcopal Church on the IFI did not escape the criticism of those who broke away from the latter. Reasons for the

hostility against the seminary, especially from the ‘old bishops’, included the ‘free manners’ of seminary graduates and ‘lack of traditional manners from the new priests’. These old bishops were also worried about the ‘democratic’ ways of the professors in the seminary which for the students were a delight (De los Reyes 1958: 4-5).

The mutation of the policy of expansion through denominational cooperation with the IFI because of its dialectical relation with the policy of centralization through the seminary led to what I refer to as the ‘Anglicanization’ of the IFI liturgy. The emergence of the seminary as a centre within the centre and its role in the ‘Anglicanization’ of the IFI liturgy did not cause any serious problem during the time when the policies of centralization and expansion were pursued. However, there arose a problem when the seminary chapel attracted more people than the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John. The new larger seminary chapel that was built to accommodate the growing seminary community attracted members of the IFI living around the centre. Thus, the seminary chapel started to organize its own congregation apart from the cathedral a few metres away. This was deemed counter-productive and, therefore, at a very much later date the seminary congregation was dissolved, in order to affirm the primacy of the cathedral.

Aside from St. Andrew’s Theological Seminary, St. Luke’s Hospital also contributed to the expansion of the church’s influence on the wider Philippine society. One evidence of this influence was the presence of Dr. Paulino Garcia, the Secretary of Health, during the ground-breaking of the new building in the new centre in Quezon City on 5 June 1956 (Botengan 2001: 25-6). A year after the opening in the new site in 1959, Hebbert and Montoya (1960) wrote about the hospital as follows:

At St. Luke’s the healing ministry, as well as its educational programs has an outreach to the wide horizons of the Republic. Through our clergy and missionaries and the word of mouth from patient to patient news reaches people in rural areas that certain specialists and specialty services are available at St. Luke’s. The Radiology Department with its Cobalt Unit is an example of special service which attracts many patients (p. 10).

The quotation above mentions the educational programs of St. Luke’s Hospital as a vital component of its work aside from its primary healing task. In fact, immediately after the inauguration of the hospital on 23 October 1907, Dr. Najeeb Mitry Saleeby, the first medical director, opened a training school for nurses with the endorsement of Bishop Brent, in order to meet the needs of the hospitals and other medical institutions in the country (Botengan 2001: 22). Although the St. Luke’s Hospital School of Nursing

became a separate corporation, it continued to work with the hospital (Hebbert and Montoya 1960: 8). Aside from its involvement in the training of nurses through the then St. Luke's Hospital School for Nursing now St. Luke's College of Nursing of the Trinity University of Asia, the hospital also provided further training for doctors and other medical practitioners around the country. Hebbert and Montoya (1960) continue:

In the past 53 years that St. Luke's Hospital has been operating, it has made a distinct contribution to the continuing education of doctors and nurses. Our two other mission hospitals, St. Theodore's Hospital in Sagada and Brent Hospital at Zamboanga have sent doctors and nurses to various departments in the hospital for training. At present we have one doctor and one medical student from other hospitals with us. Through the Inter-Church Commission on Medical Hospitals in the Philippines which was organized in 1957, St. Luke's has become one of the contributing institutions towards the development of management team composed of department heads who properly assume their roles in the training and development of medical and/or supporting personnel (p. 8).

Moreover, St. Luke's Hospital helped the church influence the wider society through its collaborative work with agencies such as the Philippine Tuberculosis Society, Quezon Institute, San Lazaro Hospital, and Manila City Health Clinic (p. 10).

### **6.3 Summary and Conclusion**

The Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines was already consolidated before the War through instruments of unity instituted to help the office of the bishop. Thus, centralization and expansion of influence became the logical direction of the church's mission policy. However, it was difficult to pursue any of these two policies before the war because of financial constraint, let alone pursuing them at the same time. Aside from the financial demands of these policies, they were far from being complementary. Whereas the policy of centralization tended to be inward-looking, the policy of expansion was undeniably outward-looking. In ordinary circumstances, centralization precedes expansion as consolidation precedes centralisation.

However, these policies were deliberately pursued due to the favourable changes after the war which also coincided with the granting of Philippine Independence. When the war was over, the immediate concern of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines was reconstruction. Fortunately, there was an upsurge of interest in mission amongst Americans after the war which encouraged the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines to take the opportunity to adopt an aggressive mission policy of centralization and expansion of influence during the reconstruction period. In other words, the reconstruction was not pursued just to restore the Episcopal Church mission



to its pre-war state but rather to continue from the success of the consolidation policy toward two policies of centralization and expansion of influence.

The policy of centralization aimed at providing a centre for the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines, in order to make concrete the unity forged by the consolidation policy. On the other hand, the policy of expansion of influence aimed at avoiding stagnation which was an inherent tendency of an inward-looking policy such as consolidation. In a sense, the policies of centralization and expansion of influence were both a continuation of the policy of consolidation.

The policy of centralization was pursued by gathering in one place the key institutions such as the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John, the then St Luke's Hospital now the St. Luke's Medical Center, and St. Andrew's Theological Seminary. On the other hand, the policy of expansion of influence was pursued primarily through aggressive training of Filipinos for the ordained ministry in St. Andrew's Theological Seminary as well as through denominational cooperation with the IFI. Whereas the aggressive training of Filipinos to the ordained ministry helped in the expansion of influence of the Episcopal Church in far flung areas where the Episcopal Church had already started mission work, the denominational cooperation with the IFI helped in the expansion of influence to lowland areas where the IFI was only second to the Roman Catholics in terms of influence. In addition, institutions like the then St Luke's Hospital also contributed in the expansion of the influence of the church because it became one of the best hospitals in the Philippines and one of the centres of nursing education in the country as well.

The urgency of both centralization and expansion was felt by the PEC because of the changes brought about by independence, through which the collective Filipino voice influenced these policies. Even before the war, the PEC was already warned of the changes that could come with the granting of Philippine Independence after ten years of commonwealth government designed to prepare Filipinos for it. A concrete example of these changes was the adoption of Filipino as the national language. This change had great implications for the PEC because it concentrated its mission on minority ethnolinguistic groups such as the Igorots of the north and the Tirurays in the south. The PEC knew beforehand that it should have a centre in the capital city from which it should engage wider Philippine society. The PEC also needed to extend its influence to the mainstream Philippine society to ensure the establishment of an autonomous church

with a national character in view of the fact that the PEC was no longer part of a domestic mission of PECUSA but became part of its foreign mission. The vision toward autonomy became clearer as soon as the PEC ceased to be part of the domestic mission of PECUSA because all foreign missions were expected to become autonomous sooner or later. In addition, Filipino voices were expressed also through church engagement with what it call anti-Christian and pseudo-Christian forces regardless of whether they were real threat to Philippine society.

Moreover, the rise of mission amongst American Christians encouraged the adoption of these two policies at the same time. Pursuing at least one of these policies was certainly less demanding but the willingness of the home Church to raise funds for the programmes during the reconstruction period made it possible for the PEC to aim at centralization and expansion at the same time. This intensification of mission interest amongst Americans which resulted in the increased involvement in foreign mission was connected to the increased American involvement in world politics ushered in by its emergence as a superpower after World War II.

In addition, the emergence of an ecumenical mission theology after World War II also became a factor in the PEC's policy of expansion of influence, because it emphasised partnership toward world mission. The Episcopal Church in the US had played a vital role in the application of this theology. The PEC shared in this prominence of the home church in the post-war ecumenical movement and took the lead in the establishment of a relationship with the IFI, the largest non-Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. This relationship culminated in the signing of PECUSA-IFI Concordat of Full Communion on 22 September 1961. However, the interdenominational cooperation with the IFI unwittingly resulted in division of work which further led to the concentration of work in areas where the church has been working previously. The PEC somehow depended on the IFI to expand its influence in the lowland while it continued to concentrate its actual expansion of membership amongst the marginalized in select part of the Philippines. In short, the issue of marginality continued to usher in Filipino voice into the dialogue involved in the framing of church policy of expansion of influence.

Although centralization and expansion were far from complementary, there were many areas where they intersected. Expansion was the ultimate goal of centralization. In a sense, centralization served as the means of expansion. The primary institution that

made these two policies work in creative tension was St. Andrew's Theological Seminary. It was in the seminary that the dialectical relationship of the two policies was most pronounced. The seminary gathered students from various PEC stations to the centre and then sent them back to far flung places to lead in the expansion of PEC's influence. At the same time, the seminary helped expand PEC's influence by training people for the ordained ministry for the IFI. This dialectical relationship resulted in an unintended transformation of the seminary as a centre within a centre, on one hand, and the agent of the 'Anglicanization' of the IFI liturgy, on the other hand. Regardless of how one looks at these unintended results, the seminary has proved its worth to be the first institution to be established in the new PEC mission centre. The signing of the PECUSA-IFI Concordat of Full Communion on 22 September 1961 signalled the culmination of the policy of expansion of influence while the consecration of the new Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John, the seat of the Bishop as the primary symbol of unity, on 9 February 1962 in the new centre confirmed the success of the policy of centralization.

Immediately after the church has expanded in influence through the help of IFI, it pursued the policy of devolution in order that the church would continue in its engagement of the Philippine society with its Filipino leaders. In the same manner, immediately after the church was successfully centralized, it adopted a policy of decentralization for efficient administration and regional expansion. Thus, the next chapter is about devolution and decentralization.



## **7. THE POLICY OF DEVOLUTION AND DECENTRALIZATION, 1962-1980**

In chapter 6, the study discusses policies of centralization and expansion of influence that the church adopted after World War II. Although the church adopted these policies in the context of post war changes both in the United States and in the Philippines, they were actually founded upon the achievement of the pre-war policy of consolidation. Although these policies were mutually contradictory as centralization was inward looking while expansion of influence was outward looking, they were kept in dialectical relation in institutions like St. Andrews's Theological Seminary to the extent that they impacted each other's practical results. Thus, the seminary became a centre within the new mission centre where the process of the 'Anglicanization' of the IFI started. However, the interdenominational cooperation with the IFI also resulted in the further concentration of church work in specific areas as the church did not see any need of duplicating the work of IFI in the lowland areas.

In this chapter, I argue for five interrelated points: 1) the PEC adopted devolution as a policy, which is a concrete step toward eventual church autonomy, after being encouraged by the involvement of the Filipinos in the work of the church; 2) the post-colonial Philippine nationalism combined with the redefinition of *Missio Dei* from God-Church-World to God-World-Church largely influenced the adoption of devolution; 3) parallel to the policy of devolution, decentralization policy was adopted for efficient administration as well as regional expansion; 4) decentralization helped in the devolution as more Filipinos were elected to parishes created as a result of decentralization; and 5) the regional expansion that was facilitated by the policy of decentralization further confined the work of the church in areas where they have been working previously.

### **7.1 Devolution and Decentralisation: Two Parallel Mission Policies for the Two-tiered Organizational Condition of the Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC)**

Bridget Rulite Zubiri (1991) contends that the church adopted the policy of Filipinization when Lyman C. Ogilby came to office in 1957. In fact, she entitled her chapter nine as 'Ogilby sets Stage for Filipinization of the Church: 1957-1967' (p. 162). These words also suggest that programmes toward Filipinization of the Church only

started during Ogilby's tenure. This implication becomes clearer when she argues in chapter ten that Bishop Cabanban completed the Filipinization process during his leadership from 1967 to 1977 (p. 182). As I previously discussed in the fourth chapter, however, Zubiri's interpretation of Episcopal Church history had some limitations due to her linear historiography. She presumes that after church planting during the formative period under Bishop Brent, expansion followed during the leadership of Mosher as suggested by the title of her chapter seven 'Mosher's Period of Expansion: 1920-1940 (p. 127)'. Her linear historiography also led her to assume that after the destruction caused by World War II, the policy pursued by Binsted was reconstruction and recovery until he resigned in 1957 (p. 143). She failed to recognise the fact that the PEC ventured into centralization and expansion during the reconstruction period as discussed in the preceding chapter. Furthermore, her periodization is based on the terms of bishops, which resulted in an abrupt delineation of each period as can be seen in her inability to acknowledge the fact that Ogilby had to finish what Binsted had started before setting a new policy. These arguments are some of the flaws of viewing PEC history through its leaders.

In this section, I argue that the church adopted parallel policies of devolution and decentralization in 1962 in response to two-tiered condition of the PEC being locally centralized already and yet still under foreign leadership. Nowhere was these policies were enunciated more clearly than in a bishop's address:

We feel that the time has come when we must take steps that will lead to the devolution and decentralization of our life, our organization, program, and work. We are too big to have five high schools, fifteen elementary schools, three hospitals, four dispensaries, a school of nursing, a theological seminary, and some one hundred and eighty-five organized congregations under the supervision and oversight of one bishop assisted by one suffragan (*JAC* 1962: 14).

Although this quotation suggests that devolution and decentralization compose one and the same policy, a close examination of the situation reveals that devolution and decentralization correspond to two parallel policies. This means that 'devolution' and 'decentralization' were used in a way that they had meaning and function on their own. The relationship of the two, however, needs to be clarified as some scholars consider devolution as one of many ways that decentralization can be achieved (Brohman 1996: 238).

In order to elucidate the relationship of the two policies, the use of the term 'devolution' in this study needs to be clarified first. Devolution in the history of

Christian mission generally refers to ‘the transfer of control from the mission organization to the responsible national church body’ (Beaver 1957: 39). In particular, devolution in this chapter actually refers to the transfer of responsibility and authority from American missionaries to their Filipino counterparts. In other words, devolution refers to the Filipinization of the PEC leadership. Decentralization, on the other hand, means the reorganization of the PEC into smaller administrative units for an efficient administration as well as for regional expansion. The relationship between these two processes can be clarified through a closer look at the condition of the PEC. The Church had already reached a degree of centralization as far as its local condition was concerned. However, it remained dependent on foreign leadership, since it was established as a missionary district of the PECUSA six decades earlier.

Another way of looking at the relationship of these two terms is to consider the time frame needed for each process. Decentralization was envisioned and started only when the expanded PEC was centralized, while devolution from American leadership to Filipino leadership was envisioned from the very beginning of the mission until it was deliberately pursued as a matter of policy in 1962. In fact, the entire history of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) is a history of devolution which did not end at the granting of constitutional autonomy in 1990 but in the gaining of financial autonomy at a much later period. The distinction of meaning and function, however, does not eliminate their intricate connection. The succeeding discussion will show that both processes were geared toward the ultimate goal of establishing an indigenous national Church, meaning an autonomous church in the Anglican Communion with a distinct national character. However, the role of devolution in this goal was more direct and deliberate compared to the role played by decentralization. The interconnectedness of these two processes which correspond to two parallel policies makes it difficult to discuss one without reference to the other.

### **7.1.1 Filipinization of Leadership: A Deliberate Step toward Devolution**

As already discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the idea of training Filipino leaders was floated as early as 1909, in order for the Episcopal Church to take the lead in the pursuit of ‘moral regeneration’ in the Philippines. This was consistent with the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church because ‘moral regeneration’ was considered a vital element in the ‘political and social reconstruction’ programme of the colonial

government.<sup>1</sup> However, the actual training of Filipinos toward ordained ministry started only towards the end of the 1920s primarily for evangelistic consolidation.<sup>2</sup> From then on, the need for indigenous Filipino ministers became a perennial topic during convocations as well as in the correspondence between missionaries and their colleagues back home. In 1932, the Sagada catechetical training school for lay and clergy was eventually established. Two of the products of this training school were ordained priests before World War II and they were the only active ordained ministers during the time when the American missionaries were interned by the Japanese occupation forces.

In spite of the fact that the training of Filipinos was of paramount concern for the Church before World War II, the Episcopal Church was not able to attract many due to its many years of financial struggle as a result of the economic depression in the 1930s. The scarcity of indigenous Filipino leaders in the PEC was exposed when it relied on two Igorot priests for its survival in Mountain Province during the war. It was in the context of meagre indigenous Filipino leadership that Bishop Binsted talked about emphasis 'gradually shifting from the Missionary leadership to the Filipino leadership' (*JAC* 1948: 16). The Episcopal Church pursued this as a long term vision while it aggressively implemented its centralization and expansion of influence as the two main mission policies during the reconstruction period. In fact there was a gradual shift from American leadership to Filipino leadership even before the adoption of devolution policy in 1962. Except for the Holy Trinity Parish, all other parishes were put under the leadership of Filipinos. When the Church of the Resurrection in Baguio became a parish on probation in 1952, for example, a Filipino, the Rev'd. Alejandrino Rulite, was elected as its first rector (Pucay 1961: 8).

The administration of the whole PEC was also shared with a Filipino bishop even before the adoption of devolution as a mission policy. This happened when Bishop Cabanban became suffragan bishop in 1959. However, this was not the complete devolution of the leadership of the entire PEC because a suffragan bishop in the Episcopal Church polity is no more than an assistant bishop. He only shares in the

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of John W. Wood to Charles Henry Brent, 01.03.1909, ATEC, 76.4.1.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Gouverneur Frank Mosher to John W. Wood, 14.06.1926, ECPA.



administrative and pastoral work and does not carry the authority of the bishop he is assisting. Nonetheless, Bishop Ogilby was happy with the help that Cabanban was able to give. He said: ‘Certainly Bishop Benito has done a magnificent job in many areas, and has put his kindly pastoral hand on many things you and I never touched’.<sup>3</sup> He acknowledged that the consecration of Benito Cabanban was the most important development in the history of Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines:

The Consecration of Benito Cabanban last Tuesday was a glorious and worshipful and meaningful occasion. God's Holy Spirit did, indeed, guide and bless this significant event in the life and history of the Philippine Episcopal Church. I can think of only one way in which the consecration service could have been improved upon - to have had you in the chancel and at the altar as consecrator.<sup>4</sup>

Although the performance of Bishop Cabanban was unquestionably more than satisfactory even when he was still a suffragan bishop, the Americans still doubted the readiness of Filipinos to take full responsibility. Referring to Cabanban, Ogilby said: ‘Of course, the major administration — large institutions, corporation sole, contracts, etc. – are beyond him, but they're beyond me too most of the time’.<sup>5</sup> These comments made by Bishop Ogilby represented mixed feelings of excitement and doubt amongst the Americans. They were excited to see their vision of Filipinization of the Church beginning to be realized but at the same time they also doubted the readiness of Filipinos to take charge of major administrative responsibilities. The victory of faith over doubt led to the adoption of devolution and decentralization as definite policies in 1962 and it paved the way to a deliberate transfer of authority and responsibilities from the American missionaries to their Filipino counterparts. The elevation of mission stations to parish status, which was a step toward decentralization, resulted in the devolution of responsibility for central stations to Filipinos.

The planned creation of three archdeaconries as a primary means of decentralization also aimed at the devolution of power over regional areas to Filipino bishops. While this plan was not fulfilled, the principle behind it was implemented when Eduardo Longid was tasked to help the bishop by taking over pastoral work for the Northern part of the Philippines. Eduardo Longid became suffragan bishop in 1963

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<sup>3</sup> Letter of Lyman C. Ogilby to Norman Binsted, 24.11.1959, Leopold Damrosch Papers, ATEC.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Lyman C. Ogilby to Norman Binsted, 26.02.1959, Leopold Damrosch Papers, ATEC.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Lyman C. Ogilby to Norman Binsted, 24.11.1959, Leopold Damrosch Papers, ATEC.

and started to assume more responsibilities while the plan for division was in process. Bishop Cabanban, for his part, continued to help Bishop Ogilby in the central areas while taking charge of the pastoral work in the Southern Philippines. The devolution or the Filipinization of leadership reached its zenith when Bishop Benito Cabanban was elected bishop coadjutor to anticipate the effectivity of the resignation of Bishop Ogilby in 1967. This turn of events needs a closer examination as it reveals the complexity of this transition.

In 1966, Ogilby informed the convocation that he had submitted his resignation to the House of Bishops of PECUSA in September 1965, and it was accepted to be effective on 1 May 1967. He emphasized that he had not receive another position or place before the resignation. He claimed to have done this after consulting responsible individuals:

I am not a Filipino; and, not being one, my ministry as ecclesiastical authority here and as a chief priest, chief pastor, teacher, and administrator, is limited by the fact that I am culturally and linguistically a foreigner in the Philippines. I am aware that the timing of my resignation and my belief that my successor should be a priest or bishop of the Philippines have been questioned. All this I have known for long time; some of it I have spoken about publicly since I presented my conviction to the House of Bishops in 1962 (*JAC* 1966: 26).

The above quotation reveals that Ogilby already floated the idea of devolution to the House of Bishops as early as 1962. However, some still questioned the timing of the resignation. It also reveals that some people did not share his belief that his successor should be a priest or bishop of the Philippines. Naturally, many Filipinos themselves were caught unprepared. There was an attempt amongst the delegates of the convocation to sway him to reconsider his decision. However, the convocation was divided on the issue and the division was settled by voting on the length of the necessary transition period.

The resignation of Bishop Ogilby in 1965 which was made public in the 1966 Convocation elicited varied reactions from the members of the PEC. In order to have an idea of what led Ogilby to finally resign; one should consider the changes occurred earlier in 1965. Early in 1965, the convocation organized the National Council of the PEC with Fr. Richard Over as the only non-Filipino amongst the regional representatives. The organization of the National Council can be seen as a delayed part of the policy of organizational centralisation in the PEC and, therefore, provides an example of overlapping mission policies between the former policy of centralization and the latter policy of decentralization. However, the organization of the National

Council was a result of an effort to transfer responsibilities from the National Council of the PECUSA to its local equivalent. This was manifested in the speed in giving the National Council a task that aimed at expediting the Filipinization of leadership - devolution. The convocation resolved:

[T]hat the National Council of the Philippine Episcopal Church undertake a comprehensive study of every area of the Church life to consider specific programs for the development of Filipino leadership with all deliberate speed; and further, to consider the role of the missionary in relation to such Filipino leadership and to report on the study at next year's Convocation (*JAC* 1965: 42).

It is important to note phrases like 'deliberate speed,' in order to understand the immediate context of the resignation of Bishop Ogilby the following year. Although the effort seems to have been coming from the Americans, there were also signs that some Filipinos were ready to assume responsibility. The discussions and resolutions in the convocation after the announcement of Ogilby's resignation revealed a variety of reactions. Expectedly, there was a resolution forwarded for the convocation to convey its regrets that the House of Bishops had accepted the resignation (p. 44). The delegation of Bontoc even advised that 'the House of Bishops should wait until the next convocation will discuss the matter to ascertain the true mind and feelings of all Episcopalians in the Philippines' (p. 45). When a resolution to delay the resignation was brought to a vote, 78 voted for and 65 voted against the resolution (p. 46). The delegates of the convention also passed a resolution asking that the House of Bishops include people from the National Council of the PEC in the nominating committee for the replacement of Ogilby, if indeed a Filipino leader was to be nominated. The National Council was composed of people representing the three regions of the entire PEC instead of the Council of Advice that was composed of people appointed by the bishop. There was also a resolution requesting the House of Bishops to elect immediately a Filipino coadjutor bishop to ensure a smooth transition (p. 47).

The fact that the resolution requesting the delay of the resignation of Ogilby won by a significant margin reveals that the Filipinos were unprepared. On the other hand, the relatively large number of those who voted against the resolution also reveals that some Filipinos were favourable towards the resignation's taking immediate effect. However, one cannot be so conclusive about the real feeling of the Filipinos based on the turn-out of votes because those who voted against the resolution might have been predominantly Americans who saw it wise to leave the PEC for Filipinos. Moreover,

other factors like culture might have had an influence on the result of the vote. Brunner (1968), for example, opines that:

[I]t is hard for Asian courtesy and Christian grace to ask a long time benefactor to leave. This seems almost impossible to do. Therefore, when Philippine leaders insist on telling Americans "we will need your help," Americans should learn to listen with more than their ears (p. 9).

In spite of the adoption of the resolution to delay the resignation of Ogilby, the resignation took effect in May 1967 as originally approved and he was succeeded by Bishop Cabanban who was elected bishop coadjutor immediately after the announcement of the aforesaid resignation. Although Bishop Cabanban had already been a suffragan bishop since 1959, he had to be elected as bishop coadjutor in order to ensure a smooth transition. In the Episcopal Church polity, a suffragan bishop is not qualified for immediate succession in case of retirement, resignation or any other reason. A bishop coadjutor, on the other hand, is a position designed for immediate succession in case of pending resignation or retirement. In other words, the Filipinization of the highest ecclesiastical authority in the PEC already happened in 1966 when Bishop Cabanban was elected coadjutor.

The PEC under the leadership of Bishop Cabanban pursued devolution carefully, as can be gleaned from numerous resolutions adopted by convocations. The 1970 Convocation, for example, adopted a resolution asking the PECUSA that the withdrawal of missionaries and cutting of subsidies be carefully scheduled to gradually prepare the national Church (*JAC* 1970: 33-4). As shall be discussed in the next section, the division of the PEC into three missionary dioceses led to the election of Eduardo Longid as the Diocesan Bishop of the Missionary Diocese of Northern Philippines on 20 January 1972, and Constancio Manguramas as the Diocesan Bishop of the Missionary Diocese of Southern Philippines on 13 January 1972. Bishop Cabanban continued as the Bishop of the Missionary Diocese of the Central Philippines (*JAC* 1972: 18-9). These three bishops composed the PEC House of Bishops which was formally organized when Bishop Cabanban was elected as the Presiding Bishop of the PEC on 9 February 1972. The result of the election was reported as follows:

The Bishops of Southern, Central and Northern Missionary Dioceses of the Philippine Episcopal Church met in the Bishop's Office, Cathedral Heights, Quezon City on February 9, 1972 at 2:30 p.m. to elect the Presiding Bishop of the Philippine Episcopal Church. Bishop Longid nominated Bishop Cabanban and Bishop Manguramas seconded the nomination. Bishop Cabanban was unanimously elected as the Presiding Bishop on the first balloting. There being no other business, the meeting was declared adjourned at 2:45 p.m. (*JAC* 1972: 29-30).

This shortest episcopal election in the history of the Episcopal Church was a milestone in the journey toward devolution. The organization of the PEC House of Bishops paved the way for the devolution of decision-making from the PECUSA House of Bishops to the PEC House of Bishops.

Although the devolution policy was always intended to transfer authority and thus power, it was also a process in which responsibility was relinquished to Filipinos. The biggest challenge for the Filipino leadership of the PEC then was finance. Aside from the demands of a decentralized PEC with the increase in organizational expenses as a consequence, the Episcopal Church in the USA was experiencing a decrease in alms giving and other financial support (*JAC* 1970: 13). The leadership of PEC recognised the financial difficulty of the Episcopal Church in America as early as 1968 and this led to the building of an endowment fund which was envisioned to prepare the PEC for eventual autonomy (*JAC* 1968: 24). The members of PEC responded positively to the effort to build an endowment fund as reported in the following year (*JAC* 1969:22).

The transfer of responsibility from the Americans to their Filipino counterparts continued until it was completed by the election of Henry Kiley as the first Filipino Dean of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary in 1980. The key positions in the PEC from that time forth were in the hands of Filipinos. The policy of Filipinization of leadership was completed and a new policy was adopted toward constitutional autonomy, which was the next step in the entire process toward the full autonomy of the Church. This was the ultimate goal of devolution as envisioned from the inception of the PEC (*JNC* 1980: 112).

### **7.1.2 Division into Three Dioceses: The Goal of Organizational Decentralization**

The expanded PEC was completely centralized upon the consecration of the new Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John on 9 February 1962 (Botengan 2001: 10). Although the eeminary unwittingly became a centre within a centre as a result of its primary role in the PEC's relation with the IFI, the cathedral was still in principle considered by Episcopalians as the centre within the mission centre because it was the seat of the bishop. It was no other than Bishop Ogilby who said: 'I think we will have a fine and glorious cathedral which will be the center and focal point for the Quezon City

compound as well as the whole District'.<sup>6</sup> Aside from the fact that the completion of the new cathedral marked the full implementation of the policy of centralization, it also made the role of cathedral more obvious than before because its membership became more diverse than when it was in Manila. The diversity was partly a result of the decision of the foreign members of the old Cathedral to organise themselves and establish Holy Trinity Church in Ermita, Manila which was later transferred to Makati City. With the completion of the centralization process, the PEC ensured its presence in the capital city of the nation. In fact, the policy of decentralization was set down at the same time the completion of centralization was celebrated in the 1962 Convocation (*JAC* 62: 14).

The manner in which this devolution and decentralization were to be pursued was even stipulated by Bishop Ogilby in the same convocation in 1962. He challenged the Church gathered in the convocation to: 1) encourage older and more mature congregations to become parishes in order to do away with over-extended paternalism inherent in the mission station structure, 2) encourage institutions to become duly incorporated with a board of trustees in order to save the bishop from all the demands of being the corporation sole, and 3) localizing the episcopate by assigning resident bishops in Northern Luzon and in Mindanao initially as suffragan bishops, but to be given considerable episcopal authority in anticipation of possible divisions of the district into three missionary dioceses (*JAC* 1962: 15).

It was very clear that the ultimate goal of decentralization was to create three missionary dioceses in the PEC which was still in reality the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (MDPI – PECUSA) as it had been since the beginning 1901. However, in the polity of the Episcopal Church, a diocese can only be created if it has at least three parishes. This was the reason why 'older and more mature congregations' were encouraged to become parishes in order to fulfil one of the requirements for creating a diocese implicitly to the polity of the Episcopal Church which regard diocese a federation of parishes as the national church a federation of diocese (Dator 2010: 182). The requirement of parishes for creating a diocese was to ensure self-supporting, self-governing, and self-

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<sup>6</sup> Letter of Lyman C. Ogilby to Norman Binsted, 06.01.1958, Leopold Damrosch Papers, ATEC.

propagating diocese. This is because, in the Episcopal Church polity, a congregation can only become a fully-fledged parish when it is capable of supporting its programmes with minimal help from the diocesan office. Along with the responsibility of running its own business, it is the privilege of a parish to choose its own priest, in contrast to a mission station which relies on a priest appointed by the bishop. Since elevation to parish status empowers the congregation to choose its own priest, the devolution of power can be felt even by ordinary members of the Church.

Before World War II, there were only two congregations which operated as parishes. These were Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John, and the Chinese congregation of St. Stephen's Church in Sta. Cruz, Manila. There were only three new parishes before the adoption of the policy of decentralization and devolution, namely: 1) Holy Trinity Parish, Manila; 2) Church of the Resurrection, Baguio; and 3) St. Peter's Church, Manila. As mentioned in chapter 6, Holy Trinity Parish was organized after the war specifically for the former Anglo-American congregation of the old Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John. However, it gradually became multicultural and became a full-fledged parish in 1959 (Zabriskie 1961: 6). The Church of the Resurrection became a full-fledged parish in 1953 (*JAC* 1953: 21). St. Peter's Church for the Cantonese speaking Chinese in Manila also became a parish a few years after it was formally organized apart from St. Stephen's Church in 1932 (Yam 1958: 6).

Immediately after the adoption of the decentralization policy, three parishes were organized, namely: St. Mary the Virgin, Sagada, Mt. Province; All Saint's Church, Bontoc, Mt. Province; and St. Francis of Assisi Church, Upi, Cotabato (now Maguindanao). Congregations in Besao, Mt. Province; Tabuk, Kalinga; Lepanto, Benguet; and La-Trinidad, Benguet were also challenged to do the same (*JAC* 1963: 15-16). These developments attest to the deliberateness of the PEC's decentralization policies. The elevation of organized mission stations to parish status made it possible for the 1964 Convocation to pass a resolution expressing its approval of the recommendation to divide the entire missionary district into three archdeaconries in view of creating three missionary districts. This recommendation was made as a result of the study conducted by the General Division of Research and Field Study of the National Council of the PECUSA. The resolution also urged the early implementation of the plan (*JAC* 1964: 32). These recommendations were diligently followed by the leadership of the PEC. Specifically, Bishop Ogilby conveyed his intention to appoint

Bishop Longid to become the Archdeacon for the Northern Area as well as Bishop Cabanban for Mindanao and Sulu while assisting in the central area during the Council of Advice meeting on 14 January 1965. This intention was further manifested in his circular letter dated 15 January 1965 urging the strengthening of regional churches. In appreciation, the 1965 Annual Convocation passed a resolution commending Bishop Ogilby for his sincerity and deliberateness in pursuing decentralization (*JAC* 1965: 43).

The decentralization was overtaken by the abrupt Filipinization of the highest ecclesiastical authority as discussed earlier. This abrupt change in leadership surprised Filipino Episcopalians who had to table the final decentralization in favour of responding first to the pressing need of devolution. The 1967 Convocation also wanted to elect a suffragan bishop to take the pastoral work in the Southern part of the Philippines that was left by Bishop Cabanban after he succeeded Ogilby but it did not materialize because of canonical limitations imposed on the PEC as a district of the PECUSA (*JAC* 1967: 37). Nonetheless, Bishop Manguramas was elected a suffragan bishop by the House of Bishops of the PECUSA in the following year. He was consecrated in January 1969 and completed the necessary three bishops for the planned three dioceses of the PEC.

The implementation of the decentralization policy resumed with a resolution to ask the General Convention of the PECUSA to create a new diocese in the North (*JAC* 1969: 35). Referring to this resolution, the National Council of the PEC reported in the 1970 Convocation that this was the most expeditious means for achieving regional independence throughout the entire PEC (*JAC* 1970: 41). This request for the creation of a diocese was seen as a way of preparing Filipinos to stand on their own in the event of the withdrawal of missionaries and the reduction of subsidies as a result of the financial troubles of the PECUSA, due to dependent districts like the PEC (*JAC* 1970: 13).

In 1971, almost a decade after the adoption of the policy of decentralization, the goal of the policy was again reiterated in detail. At that stage, it was no longer a foreign missionary articulating the policy for Filipinos but rather Filipinos doing for themselves. Bishop Cabanban said:

The big issue at this Convocation is the division of the Diocese. I am sure you will agree with me that our Diocese has become too large and unwieldy for one man to administer. In line with the concept for smaller and more viable diocese in the Episcopal Church, our purposes of greater efficiency and for more effective administration, working toward greater self-determination and autonomy, I believe the time has come to decentralize and



we should request the House of Bishops for the division of this Missionary Diocese into at least three Missionary Dioceses, each one working out its own style of life and work, but still bound together for mutual understanding and cooperation by our present set-up in our own National Council. The Mechanics of this from our end will be worked out by our Committee on Constitution and Canons, and from the U.S. end by a Committee in the House of Bishops and of course with the assistance of personnel in the Office of the Deputy of Overseas Relations at our Executive Council in New York. It is my earnest hope and prayer that if and when this plan shall come to full realization, the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, with three Missionary Dioceses, might even become responsive to the challenges and call of Christ saying: "Go ye unto the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" (*JAC* 1971: 25).

It was clear in the minds of those who attended the 1971 Convocation that the proposed division of the PEC into three dioceses was also based on the fact that the Episcopal Church 'historically existed in geographically and culturally distinct areas'. After the discussion on the readiness of the PEC, a resolution was passed to request the PECUSA to divide the PEC. The resolution was accompanied by a general plan on how to implement the division. The convocation also anticipated issues like what to do with common properties in the event of the division (*JAC* 1971: 28-31). **The planned division of the Philippine mission into three culturally distinct areas demonstrates again the influence of Filipino voices collectively expressed in the issue of cultural diversity that were unintentionally engaged by the church in its framing of the mission policy of decentralization.** The division finally happened in 1972. Bishop Cabanban reported:

The year 1972 will be a milestone in the History of the Church in the Philippines, for through the magnanimity of the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, we have this year implemented with great joy and deep gratitude the historic decision made by the House at its meeting held at Pocono Manor, Pennsylvania last October, that is the division of our Diocese into three Missionary Dioceses, namely: Missionary Diocese of Northern Philippines, the Missionary Diocese of Central Philippines and the Missionary Diocese of Southern Philippines, and with this decision, permission was granted for local elections of Bishops in the two new Diocese of Northern and Southern Philippines respectively. In this connection, as you already know, the Primary Convocation of the Missionary Diocese of Southern Philippines held at Cotabato City on January 13, 1972, the Rt. Rev. Constancio Manguramas was elected the Bishop of that Diocese and in the Primary Convocation of the Missionary Diocese of Northern Philippines held at Bontoc, Mt. Province on January 20-21, 1972, the Rt. Rev. Edward G. Longid was elected as the first Bishop of that Diocese (*JAC* 1972: 18-9).

The above mentioned report shows no distinction between the three new dioceses, but the National Council reported later in the same convocation that the Central Diocese was to be more self-supporting compared to both the missionary dioceses of the Northern and Southern Philippines (*JAC* 1972: 61). This was understandable because most of the older congregations in the central diocese were self-supporting. The decentralization was completed when the PEC Constitution and Canons were amended.

The new Constitution and Canons provided that these new dioceses meet for their respective annual conventions and send delegates for the National Convocation (*JAC* 1972: 68).

The annual diocesan convention is very important because the diocese is the basic unit of the Episcopal Church. However, due to the distinctiveness of the three dioceses, the continuation of the annual national convocation was also equally important to maintain unity and constant sharing of experience amongst representatives of these three dioceses. In spite of the effort to keep the three dioceses together, the church still experienced some immediate adverse effect of decentralization as manifested in the bishops' address delivered by Eduardo Longid in the 1974 National Convocation. He commented that the church 'rocked quite a bit' and 'some suffered seasickness'. He further mentioned that the structural and administrative boundaries were 'getting more and more rigidly defined', meaning there was a tendency on the part of those in the regional as well as national leadership to be legalistic due to the division. Because of this, unity amongst the three dioceses was somehow 'eroded', and it was only the 'personal and corporate relationship' with the Lord Jesus that held the three dioceses together, avoiding the complete destruction of church unity. Without the personal relationship with Christ, he opined, the unity could become rigidly institutional. It becomes a matter of canons, constitutions, policies, and formulated ceremonial customs - enforced unity (*JNC* 1974: 14-5).

Moreover, convening the annual national convocation was an additional strain on its respective programmes of the dioceses. Thus, it was proposed in the 1974 Convocation that the national convocation be convened every two years. Understandably, the proposal came from the bishop of the Southern Philippines because it was always expensive for the aforesaid diocese to send its representatives due to its distance from Manila. The resolution was defeated but practically implemented because the next convocation was convened in 1976. It was during this 1976 National Convention that the aforesaid proposal was finally approved. Aside from making the national convention biennial, the convention also approved a proposal to rotate its venue amongst the three dioceses in order to share responsibility in hosting it, at the same time avoiding too much strain on the Southern Diocese. The 1976 National Convention also suggested limiting the composition of the national convention (*JNC* 1976: 28-9).

The church was able to address these organizational matters but it was almost at the expense of expansion. So much time was spent in the reorganization that reaching out to the world was literally suspended for a while. This was the context of the comment on the alleged ‘oversupply of priests’ in the PEC. During the 1976 Convocation, Kate Botengan proposed a resolution requiring a bachelor’s degree from prospective seminarians to ensure they have skills that may be useful for other specialized ministries and to remedy the ‘oversupply of priests’ (*JNC 1976: 30-1*). Aside from curbing the increase of people entering the seminary, the resolution also aimed at reducing the cost of training for each seminarian. At that time, seminarians at St. Andrew’s Theological Seminary had their two years’ Associate in Arts at the then Trinity College of Quezon City for free before continuing their academic training at the seminary for four more years. The seminarians were already in residence at the seminary while completing their Associate in Arts. Thus their training and formation normally took six years. Requiring a Bachelor’s degree, therefore, was tantamount to reducing the years of residence by two years because the seminarians would come only for their four years of theological education.

Although there was a time when the emphasis was on reorganization at the expense of church expansion, the alleged ‘over supply of priests’ in the whole PEC seemed to have been a personal comment without strong basis, especially in 1976. On the contrary, evidence suggests that expansion happened especially in the Northern and Southern dioceses from 1974 onward. In the Northern diocese, for example, Bishop Longid talked about the prospect of expansion in the ‘interior Kalinga area surrounding Tulgao, Bangad, Basao and Tinglayan along Chico River; the provinces of Isabela, Cagayan and Ilocos Sur; and the provinces of Ifugao which is part of Mountain Province-Ifugao Region’ (*JDC-EDNP 1974: 17*). This vision was pursued by Bishop Richard Abellon, Longid’s successor, so that many new organized mission stations were admitted to the convention in 1976 (*JDC-EDNP 1976: 19-26*). In the same manner, the Southern diocese also organized a mission station in Davao as a result of expansion work after a couple of years of focusing on the organizational matters of the diocese (*JDC-EDSP 1975: 17-18*).

With the evidence above, the study shows that the decentralization was not only able to achieve its immediate goal of reducing administrative areas to a more manageable size but also its goal of impacting regional expansion of the church.

However, the expansion was noted in the north and in the south. This followed the trend in the expansion of the church in areas where the need is great. This continued until the membership of the church became predominantly Igorots in the north and Tiruray in the south.

The definition of this policy of devolution and decentralization and how it was implemented until its fulfilment has been the focus of the preceding discussions. The discussion on the surrounding circumstances that led to the adoption of these two parallel policies has been reserved for the next sections. It was mentioned earlier that they were adopted primarily because the church was too large for a single bishop and also being prepared for autonomy. However, in the following section, I will discuss how post-colonial nationalism in the Philippines influenced the adoption of the parallel policies.

## **7.2 Post-Colonial Philippine Nationalism: The Immediate Context of the Policy of Devolution and Decentralization**

The empires that arose from western imperial impulses brought Christianity in its western form to almost every part of their empires. Thus, Christian mission, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth century was generally associated with western imperialism. However, Christian mission was also affected by a type of nationalism directed against imperialism, which aimed for national independence from any form of foreign control in all aspects of life (Deats 1967: 3-4). In countries like China, where national consciousness was comparatively higher, there were many attacks on missionaries simply because they were foreigners, bringing in foreign teaching. Converts were also attacked as traitors due to their association with foreign missionaries. This was what happened during the Boxer Rebellion in northern China which brought horrible deaths to many foreign missionaries and their converts in 1900 (Xi 2004: 851-2). This kind of nationalism led missionaries to adopt innovative policies. Beaver (1957) suggests that:

The strategic response of the Christian mission to nationalistic pressure has followed three main lines: recruiting and training an indigenous clergy to whom the control of the church is committed, fostering the adjustment of the Church and Christian community to the indigenous culture, and an attempt to establish the supranationality of the missionary (p. 38).

In Japan, for example, the Episcopal Church missionaries responded to nationalism by developing indigenous leadership, in order to ensure the continuation of Christian influence:

Episcopalians realized that “self-support” meant the goal of an independent Japanese church. But they believed that “self-support” increased the need for their guidance. The Episcopal Church’s experience in Japan shows that one Western religious tradition replied to non-Western nationalism by perpetuating American oversight (Sachs 1989: 489).

To some degree, although the theory of ‘self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches’ espoused by Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn was generally accepted by Protestants since the middle of the nineteenth century, it started to become more and more appreciated as a response to nationalist reaction to western imperialism in a much later period (Stanley 2008: 435). However, there were some exceptions like the case of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church which adopted the famous Nevius Plan, not as a mere response to nationalism but rather as a workable policy in itself as early as 1889 (Hunt 1991: 123). This Nevius Plan for the Koreans like ‘three-self plans’ elsewhere, was followed by the Presbyterian mission in Korea from the early stage and was proven to be very effective as can be seen from the dominance of the Presbyterian Church in Korean Christianity (Moffett 2005: 536).

In some places where devolution did not start early, nationalist sentiments resulted in the establishment of churches that repudiated foreign domination. As discussed in chapter 3, Filipino Christians were divided because of nationalism. For example, the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)* was established out of the Roman Catholic Church in 1902 as a nationalist protest against foreign domination permeating the church. In the same manner, the *Iglesia Evangelica Metodista En Las Islas Filipinas (IEMELIF)* was established out of the Methodist Church in 1909.

However, the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines was not heavily affected by Filipino nationalist sentiments during the American colonial regime because most of its members were Igorots in the Cordillera region in the Northern Philippines and Tiruray in Mindanao in the Southern Philippines. National consciousness was not so strong amongst these people due to their long history of isolation. They were not conquered by Spaniards and when the Americans took over the Philippines, they tried to insulate them from the evils of western civilization evident amongst those formerly under the Spanish rule. As discussed in chapter 4, the double-edged colonial policy of pacification of these people, on one hand, and preservation of their customs and

traditions, on the other hand, further isolated them from their Hispanicized brethren in the lowlands. The dichotomy between the highlanders and lowlanders was further sharpened during the first two decades of the American colonial regime.

The situation changed after World War II when the PEC adopted the policy of organizational centralization and expansion of influence. As a result, ‘superb institutions of learning, human, and Christian services’ that were established in the new PEC centre did not only influence the post-Hispanic, post-American Filipinos but also made them realise that ‘the Igorot communities are part of the new mainstream society’ (Vergara 2010: 28). The relationship with the IFI has contributed a lot in this aspect as discussed in chapter 6. Thus, some members of the PEC began to be more involved in the affairs of the Philippines, and were exposed to the nationalist sentiments of many who questioned the continuation of American indirect control over the affairs of the nation even after independence. The influence of the nationalist Filipinos on some members of the PEC could not be dismissed, given its connection with the IFI, which had a long history of nationalism.

The incorporation of the PEC members into the mainstream society did not only enlighten the lowland Filipinos but also emboldened the Igorots to assert that they are Filipinos. In the 1950s, there was a popular protest against continuous discrimination against Igorots as exemplified by Carlos P. Romulo, who wrote that ‘Igorot is not Filipino’ (1943:59). Those popular protests were led by Igorot leaders such as Alfredo Gayagay Lam-en who happened to be from Sagada where the Episcopal Church had the strongest impact since its inception.<sup>7</sup> Lam-en even brought the protest to the Philippine Congress when he delivered a speech in 1962. After the usual pleasantries he asserted: ‘I am an Igorot – I am a true Filipino’ (Lam-en 1962: 404). Apparently, he underscored the claim of the Igorots of being ‘true’ Filipinos by virtue of their successfully resisting Spanish colonization.

The emergence of a national consciousness amongst individual Igorots coincided with the upsurge of post-colonial nationalism amongst Filipinos which aimed at nation-building. As discussed in chapter 6, many Filipinos were not happy with the indirect control of the USA over their affairs as a consequence of unequal provisions of laws

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<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Longid, Interview with the author. 22.12.2013, Cathedral of St. Mary and Saint John, Quezon City. Audio Recording.

and agreements such as the Philippine Trade Act of 1946 and Military Bases Agreement of 1947. The Filipino nationalists discovered a concrete example of what Filipinos could expect from their continued subservience to Americans when President Quirino decided to send Filipino soldiers to help the Americans fight in the Korean War. One of the most outspoken nationalists was Claro M. Recto. He became very critical of the pro-American policies of President Magsaysay (Francia 2010: 195-6). It was in this context that nationalism became part of the discussion in the annual convocation of the PEC. Bishop Binsted even suggested that the Church should help build the nation (*JAC* 1957: 25).

Filipino nationalism became very strong when President Garcia unexpectedly adopted a Filipino First Policy after winning the 1958 presidential election. The policy was adopted 'to encourage Filipinos in enterprises and industries vital to economic growth, stability, and security of the country' (Francia 2010: 214). The National Progress Movement (NPM) sprang up as a mass organization to support the nationalist-oriented government. President Garcia was further emboldened to pursue this policy by the support of NPM and the victory of a coalition of his Nationalist Party (NP) and the Nationalist Citizens Party (NCP) of Claro M. Recto during the 1959 senatorial election. Pro-American politicians were defeated by more independent minded legislators. Unsurprisingly, the USA and pro-USA sectors of Filipino society criticized the Filipino First Policy, arguing that it led the Philippines to retrogression (pp. 214-5).

The PEC leadership was sometimes a bit ambivalent about nationalism. Although the PEC leadership believed in the importance of nationalism in nation-building, it was also obvious that it was apprehensive of the Filipino First Policy. Bishop Ogilby said:

In this young Republic, just a few years beyond colonialism, nationalism can become sinister and disastrous when in a vindictive spirit and in an excessive desire for its own preservation and purpose it begins to disclose hatred of anything outside itself. Nationalism, employed with the inclusive spirit, can bring well-being to the family of nations; but employed with exclusive designs, it will bring destruction (*JAC* 1960:17).

In spite of the apprehension of the PEC leadership about the direction of nationalism in the Philippines, nationalism was already regarded as one of the 'distinguished things happening'. It was 'an obvious fact' and no one should despise it (*JAC* 1960: 16-17). The reality of nationalism led the leadership of PEC to consider devolution as a matter of immediate policy rather than a long-term vision. However, this policy had to start

from the devolution of key positions, and as adopted in 1962 was a Filipinization of leadership only and not the whole PEC.

Although the connection between nationalism and devolution was not obvious, the fact that Bishop Ogilby talked about it in many occasions remind us that the leadership of the PEC was affected by nationalism. Although Bishop Ogilby was critical of nationalism at times, his overall response was generally positive. He welcomed it as an important element in the nation-building project but also warned that to shun anything foreign was tantamount to the exclusion of the foreign Christian missionaries which may further result in the exclusion of prophets in the same manner that Jesus was excluded by the Jews (*JAC* 1960: 17).

The connection between nationalism and the PEC policy of devolution and decentralization only became obvious in 1965. Bishop Ogilby talked about modern nationalism in the Philippines as a social factor of great importance to the life of the church. In response to his comments, the 1965 Convocation resolved that ‘the National Council of the Philippine Episcopal Church undertake a comprehensive study of every area of church life to consider specific programmes for the development of Filipino leadership with all deliberate speed and to consider the role of the missionary in relation to such Filipino leadership’ (*JAC* 1965: 42).

The PEC leadership was very much aware of the growing influence of the nationalists in Philippine politics. In the 1960s, President Macapagal tried to contain growing radicalism of the nationalists by concessions like declaring 12 June Philippine Independence Day to replace 4 July. Although the declaration of 12 June based on Aguinaldo’s declaration of Philippine Independence in 1898 seems to indicate support for the nationalist sentiments of the Filipinos, in reality the Macapagal administration continued to reflect a pro-American position. This was the context of the founding of the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) or Nationalist Youth by Jose Ma. Sison in 1964. This radical youth organization spearheaded the student protest against the participation of the Philippines in the Vietnam War and other pro-American policies of the government. The situation worsened when Ferdinand Marcos became President in 1965. In 1968, Sison founded the breakaway Communist party which opted to identify with Mao’s China rather than the Soviet Union. A year later, Barnabe Buscayno, a young Huk guerrilla in Tarlac province, Central Luzon, joined Sison and founded the New People’s Army as the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The CPP



and its armed wing NPA as well as the KM continued to gain support especially when Marcos declared Martial Law in 1972 (Francia 2010: 218-223).

Many Filipino Christians found no choice but to identify with the struggling people. It was in the context of this fight for nationalism and democracy that the theology of struggle was deliberately articulated as the grassroots' or people's theology. The main theologians were ordinary Christians who started to develop a vibrant and relevant way of engaging in biblico-theological reflection aimed at finding meaning in their participation in the struggle for peace and justice. The raw material used in this mode of theologizing was their immediate experience of oppression and enslavement which they realised had a long history dating from the arrival of the Spanish colonizers (Juan 1999: 4-8). Although the theology of struggle undeniably reflects the influence of liberation theology espoused in Latin America earlier, it differs from it in that it focuses on the struggle as a process rather than liberation which is a product (De La Torre 1986: 156-7). In short, the post-colonial nationalism and other related developments like the theology of struggle were the expression of collective Filipino voices that influenced the adoption of the parallel policies of devolution and decentralization.

The influence of nationalism in the decision of the PEC to adopt a policy of devolution and decentralization in 1962 should be situated in the wider context, especially the growing popularity of a mission theology that encouraged Christian engagement with secular movements. This mission theology came to be popularly known amongst member churches of the World Council of Churches (WCC) as God-World-Church mission theology in the 1960s and 1970s. This mission theology was a result of the redefinition of *Missio Dei* that was coined by Karl Hartenstein in 1934 (Keum:112).

Since the coining of *Missio Dei* by Karl Hartenstein, it was generally understood as 'God's mission to the world through the church' (Bassham 2002: 71). However, Johannes Hoekendijk developed his 'suspicion of churchism' which was a critique of preoccupation with church's role in the *Missio Dei* (Hoedemaker 1995: 167). He therefore advocated a redefinition of *Missio Dei* to mean 'God's activity in the world in which the church participates' (Bassham 2002: 71).

Hoekendijk served as secretary for evangelism of the WCC from 1949 to 1952. The crucial event that allowed him to impact mission theology across the world was the Willingen Conference of the International Missionary Council (IMC) in 1952 (Thomas

1995: 124). While his theses on evangelism were not accepted by the majority during this conference, it provided a platform for him to present them. His theology began to be received with enthusiasm during the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) Teaching Conference at Strasbourg in 1960 (Sunquist 2013: 140). His contribution became determinative through 'The Missionary Structure of the Congregation' study that was authorised by the Third Assembly of the WCC in 1961 (Bassham 2002: 67-8). Hoedemaker (1995) also writes:

The World Council of Churches study project "The Missionary Structures of the Congregation" (1962-66) gave Hoekendijk a chance to develop his views. He played a major role in this project, especially in the European working group; although the two group reports were not written by him personally, they are generally considered to bear his stamp. Several basic elements of the study are indeed characteristic of the Hoekendijk of the 1960s: the positive evaluation of secularization as a fruit of the Gospel; the interpretation of "world" as "history"; the reordering of the familiar sequence God-church-world into God-world-church, with the church occupying a noncentral position; the emphasis on shalom as the substance of God's action in the world; the appeal to the church to join and follow this action and to forsake its "heretical structures" to this end; the effort to solicit cooperation with sociologists in the reflection on adequate structures for mission. Most of these elements appeared again in the report of the second section of the Uppsala Assembly (1968), "Renewal in Mission" (p. 168).

Although the development of a world-centric redefinition of *Missio Dei* is generally attributed to Hoekendijk, the contribution of Asian mission thinking cannot be denied. In Asia, social concerns had been integral to mission thinking since the Eastern Asian Christian Conference held in Bangkok in 1949 (Miyamoto 2007: 43). The IMC and WCC sponsored the Eastern Asian Christian Conference that met on 3-11 December 1949 to talk about the 'The Christian Task in Changing East Asia' implying a deliberate effort to engage the Asian context, especially the struggle for real independence from western domination (Hao 1995: 7). Newly independent countries in Asia and elsewhere were conscious of the prevalence of western influence as manifested in the Cold War. Therefore, they started to organize conferences to foster cooperation amongst themselves. The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian states, for example, was organized in 1955 to cultivate economic and cultural ties as well as to resist colonial or neo-colonial policies the super-powers and their allies might seek to impose (Francia 2010: 209-211). The regional cooperation amongst the newly independent states was also manifested in the life of the church. On 17-26 March 1957, the East Asia Christian Conference (EACC) was held in Prapat, Indonesia with 'The Common Evangelistic Task of the Churches in East Asia' as the theme. During the conference, M.M Thomas of India articulated the need for Christians to help in developing a healthy nationalism

within which indigenous and foreign values would be held in creative tension (Hao 1995: 21-22). Foremost amongst Filipinos active in regional church gatherings in Asia was Enrique Sobrepeña, bishop of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP). He became the chairman of the EACC, now the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), when it was inaugurated on 14 May 1959 (Grant et al 1975: 113).

The PEC has been actively involved in most of the activities in East Asia. This explains the apparent agreement of Ogilby with M.M. Thomas who proposed that nationalism should not exclude foreign values. As mentioned earlier, Ogilby likened the exclusion of the foreign Christian missionaries in the Philippines to the exclusion of Jesus from Jerusalem (*JAC* 1960: 17). Furthermore, nationalist Protestants like Sobrepeña also influenced at least the leadership of the PEC. Aside from the participation of both Sobrepeña and Ogilby in the EACC, they also had Bishop Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. of the IFI as a common close connection. In fact, just like the claim made in chapter 6 that the PEC played a vital role in the incorporation of the IFI to mainstream Christianity, some also believe that Sobrepeña was the one who influenced the IFI through his friendship with Isabelo de los Reyes Jr. to join the NCCP (Grant 1975: 117-119).

Although some Episcopalians still argue that the influence of nationalism on the policy of the PEC is very minimal let alone the influence of the IFI or any other individual or church in the Philippines<sup>8</sup>, it cannot be categorically denied that the changes, including the rise of nationalism, happening around the world where the Episcopal Church or the wider Anglican Communion had connections might explain some of the changes in the mission thinking of Episcopalians and of Anglicans in general even before the widespread influence of Hoekendijk's world-centred mission theory. In 1958, for example, a resolution was adopted by Anglican bishops stating that:

The Conference calls on every Church member, clergy and laity alike, to take an active part in the mission of the Church. It is a mission to the whole world, not only in area but in all the concerns of mankind. It has no frontiers between "home" and "foreign" but is concerned to present Christ to people everywhere (Resolution 58, Lambeth Conference 1958).

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<sup>8</sup> Edward P. Malecdan, Interview by the Author. 03.06.2014, ECP National Office, Quezon City. Audio Recording.

Although this resolution still speaks of the ‘mission of the Church’ as the ‘mission to the world’, the world referred to in this resolution was understood ‘not only in area but in all the concerns of mankind’. Most of all, there was a clear effort to do away with dichotomy of ‘home’ and ‘foreign’ missions.

Moreover, the 1958 Lambeth Conference recommended that the Anglican Congress continue the discussion on mission. It recommended that the Congress convene in Toronto in 1963 with ‘The World-wide Mission of the Church’ as the topic (Resolution 68). In August 1963, it was convened and produced a document commonly referred to by Anglicans as the MRI, which stands for Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ. At the forefront of the preparation of the MRI was an American bishop, Stephen Fielding Bayne, Jr., who was named the first Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion in 1959. He had previously been the Bishop of Olympia since 1947. ‘His view of mission stressed personal relationships over ecclesial bureaucracy, emphasized that everyone gives and receives in mission, and that mission is from God and not the church’ (Zink 2011: 244). In a sense, Bayne repudiated the use of binaries such as ‘givers’ and ‘receivers’ in favour of mutuality and interdependence as reflected in the MRI. However, the MRI unwittingly replaced the division between givers and receivers with the division between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ when it called for the raising of at least \$15 million in five years to fund projects such as the training of church workers and building churches around the world. The MRI ended up encouraging Episcopalians/Anglicans of rich countries like the USA to contribute more to fund the projects in poorer countries like the Philippines (Douglas 1996: 286-7). Nonetheless, the document put equality amongst Christians as a paramount concern. To make this shift in missionary thinking clearer, Archbishop Ramsey emphasized that missionaries are not to colonize but are sent to work with local counterparts. He even invited the African and Asian missionaries ‘to help convert the post-Christian heathenism’ in England and to convert the ‘English Church to closer following of Christ’ (Zink 2011: 256). Unsurprisingly, Bishop Richard Roseveare of Ghana commented after the presentation of MRI that an ‘*Imperium Christi*’ was established to end neo-colonialism and imperialism (Danaher 211: 232).

Although the concept of *Imperium Christi* perpetuated the superstructure of the Anglican Communion composed of both the rich and the poor, young and old, dependent and autonomous churches, there was a clear effort to redefine mission praxis

based on mutuality and interdependence and not on domination. Thus the MRI was likened to a new wine that was put in ‘the old wine skin of traditional missionary methods where the richer, older churches continued to support the financially troubled younger churches in one-way transfers of personnel and money’. This has become a challenge to the Episcopal Church, especially since it was ‘unwilling to change the missionary method as long as the national church ideals remained intact’ (Douglas 1996: 283).

Meanwhile, in 1963, a development toward the God-World-Church theology became apparent during the first meeting of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) of the WCC in Mexico City (Thomas 1995: 292). The theme during this meeting was ‘Mission in Six Continents’, which aimed to show that there is but one and the same mission for the entire world. Like the Anglican Congress in Canada earlier that year, the CWME meeting in Mexico City emphasized equality amongst Christians around the world when it comes to participation in the *Missio Dei*. Unsurprisingly, Ian T. Douglas identified 1963 as the starting point of the redefinition of the mission praxis of the Episcopal Church because of the challenge that these two events had brought to the Church (Douglas 1996: 268-271).

While the older churches and ecumenical bodies were grappling with how to do mission in a fast changing world after colonialism and imperialism, nationalism continued to move forward toward nation-building. Understandably, many new nations realised that their nation-building agenda would not progress if they continued to depend on their former colonial masters or if the latter continue to wield indirect power over them. The same feeling existed toward missionaries. Thus, the cry for missionaries to go home became loud in the 1960s (Phan 2003: 32-1). In the Philippines, for example, the presence of American missionaries generally ignited an abrasive counteraction of nationalism (Bruner 1968: 8).

As early as 1964, there was already an acknowledgement that the cry was not only coming from non-Christians but also from members of the younger churches in newly independent nations like the Philippines (Scherer 1964: 72). Some missionaries even sympathized with the sentiments of younger churches in independent nations. Frederick Dale Bruner (1968), for example, noted that the least appealing result of the considerable American presence in the Philippines was dependence, which was

‘inhibiting and impeding the wholesome, natural growth of an indigenous and responsible Philippine Christianity’ (pp. 7-8).

Amidst the growing struggle of younger churches for complete autonomy from foreign missionaries, there was a steady development of mission thinking amongst old churches and mission organizations. It was mentioned earlier that Hoekendijk had already influenced the discussion in the Uppsala WCC Assembly in 1968. He influenced the ‘Renewal in Mission’ report which was the second amongst six reports during the assembly. His influence was also exerted through the European working group of the WCC study project on ‘The Missionary Structures of the Congregation’ from 1962-1966. The reordering of the old sequence of God-Church-World into God-World-Church mission theology is generally attributed to him. This development definitely influenced the discussion in the 1968 Lambeth Conference which took place immediately after the WCC Assembly. The Lambeth Conference passed three resolutions (Resolution 18, 19 and 20) on ‘Study of Social and Political Change’.

Resolution 20 states:

The Conference, conscious of the many and complex social, political, economic, and cultural problems of our time, on which Christians need guidance, urges upon the Anglican Communion the close study of the World Council of Churches Report “World Conference on Church and Society, 1966” (Lambeth Conference 1968).

The above resolution followed another resolution that encouraged the use of ‘social sciences and related fields’ in the effort to be relevant to the situation wherein ‘the Church increasingly works for social goals which really benefit human beings’ (Resolution 19, Lambeth Conference 1968).

In spite of this effort on the part of those who used to send missionaries to find new ways of doing mission, the call for missionaries to go home grew louder. Early in the 1970s, this call was articulated by distinguished leaders in Africa, Asia and Latin America. John Gatu, general secretary of the Presbyterian Church in East Africa; Emerito P. Nacpil, President of Union Theological Seminary near Manila, Philippines; Father Paul Verghese, principal of an Orthodox theological seminary in India; José Miguez-Bonino, dean of Union Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires, Argentina were amongst those who loudly spoke of a moratorium on western missionaries to give young churches a chance to be weaned out of dependency (Anderson 1974: 133-5). The call for a moratorium reached its zenith when the All African Conference of Churches meeting in Nairobi in 1974 collectively decided in its favour.

As suggested earlier, the PEC was not immune to this development around the world. Its active participation in the Ecumenical Movement made it impossible to isolate itself from all that was happening to other member churches of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP). A moratorium on missionaries from the USA maybe was too much for the PEC to dare ask in the 1960s but the Filipinization of leadership in the other member churches of the NCCP must have led Filipino Episcopalians to dream of the same. Filipinos already occupied major positions of responsibility and authority in Protestant churches and related institutions. All the bishops of the Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP) were nationals and, with very few exceptions, all the pastors of these two large denominations were Filipinos (Anderson and Gowing 1968: 156-7).

In 1965, there was a clear indication that the PEC was already affected by the ongoing discussion about foreign missionaries. The convocation had tasked the newly constituted National Council 'to consider the role of the missionary in relation to such Filipino leadership' (JAC 1965: 42). For unknown reasons, no definite policies were made on this matter in the succeeding years. Nonetheless, mutuality and interdependence in all aspects of relationships continued to be the general policy that was followed by churches within the Anglican Communion. This can be gleaned in the stand taken by William Henry Scott (1975), a missionary who won the respect of many Filipinos:

I believe therefore that the American missionary problem in the Philippines is caused by four factors. First, American missionaries are not outsiders; second, they are not insiders; third, the reason they are not outsiders or insiders is that they are working themselves out of a job; and fourth, they are working themselves out of a job because they confuse their job with their profession (p. 181).

Scott was leading the discussion to rethink the understanding of what is a missionary, why she or he always ends in a foreign land, and how she or he distinguishes his job from her profession or vocation. He affirmed that a missionary is always sent and thus most of the time ends in a foreign land. A missionary has a vocation which is not limited by his or her job. This was refutation of the proposal made earlier that the missionaries should quietly leave the Philippines, in order to let the young churches mature (Bruner 1968: 9).

Although Scott acknowledged that Bruner's assessment of the American missionary problem in the Philippines was timely, he did not agree with Bruner's

position because it was tantamount to saying that all American missionaries were imperialists. Scott argued that this fallacious view of missionaries was due to the association of modern missions with imperialism. Bruner's assessment was well-tuned to the time 'when America stood more nakedly exposed to public gaze' as 'her imperialism in Vietnam and extraterritoriality in the Philippines were caught in the glare of demonstrations in front of her embassy, and her own missionaries were no strangers to protesting petitions, placards and parades' (Scott 1975: 177-78). Scott was echoing the points made by many missiologists that the indiscriminate sending home of or moratorium on western missionaries was theologically unacceptable because it limits the work of God in whose mission all believers should participate (Anderson 1974: 136-40). As manifested in the position of Scott, the PEC did not really entertain a total moratorium of American missionaries. However, nationalism had undeniably led them to work out the Filipinization of leadership while decentralization was implemented.

### **7.3 Summary and Conclusion**

The PEC adopted two parallel policies of devolution and decentralisation in 1962 which suited the two-tiered status of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. On the first level, the PEC was organizationally centralized as a result of the centralization policy adopted during the reconstruction period following World War II. On the second level, the PEC was still a Missionary District of the PECUSA. In other words, decentralization was adopted primarily to reorganize a large and highly centralized PEC for efficient administration, while devolution – Filipinization of leadership - was primarily adopted as a deliberate step toward autonomy. This peculiar state of the PEC led to a unique situation wherein decentralization contributed more to devolution instead of devolution serving the purpose of decentralization.

Although the policy of devolution – Filipinization of leadership – and centralisation were two parallel policies, both were geared toward preparation of the PEC for eventual autonomy. However, the policy of devolution was more directly connected to this goal than was decentralization. It was adopted in 1962 because of the constant vision of the Episcopal Church to establish an autonomous national church governed by its own people. This was still consistent with the national church ideal that had been strong in the Episcopal Church since the turn of the twentieth century. The envisioned autonomous church based on the national church ideal was meant to reflect



the distinctive character of the nation while endeavouring to transform it based on Christian principles.

The policy of decentralization, on the other hand, was primarily adopted because of the need for an efficient administration of a growing PEC. Thus, its connection with the main goal of establishing an autonomous national church was indirect. The connection was established when decentralization was also envisioned to help in the regional expansion of the PEC, following boundaries based on cultural as well as geographical considerations. This goal toward regional expansion reflects Filipino voice unintentionally surmised from the condition of cultural diversity in the Philippines. The Igorots composed the majority in the northern area, predominantly Hispanicized Filipinos were in the central area, and Tirurays, Muslims, and other ethnolinguistic groups were in the southern area. Consequently, the reorganization into smaller regional units resulted in the localization of the episcopate. The regional areas soon became dioceses with their own respective bishops. Furthermore, the episcopate was not only localized but was also Filipinized. Thus, the decentralization resulted in a transfer of responsibility from the American missionaries to their Filipino counterparts. The decentralization process also became an opportunity for this transfer of responsibility to the indigenous leaders because they were elected as parish priests. The first step taken toward decentralization was to elevate central stations to parishes. Parishes in the Episcopal Church are generally self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating congregations. It is expected in the Episcopal Church that diocese should be composed of federation of parishes. Thus, parishes were organised prior to the division of the whole PEC into three dioceses.

Although the adoption of the devolution and decentralization policy was expected from the Episcopal Church because of its national church ideal, the timing of the adoption was definitely influenced by many factors, especially nationalism which served as the collective expression of Filipino voice. Compared to other denominations, the mission of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines was not affected by nationalist sentiments that constantly challenging the dominance of foreign missionaries in various churches before World War II. This was because the PEC was concentrated in areas where national consciousness was not historically strong. The areas where the PEC work was concentrated were not subjected to the often oppressive rule of the Spaniards. They were isolated and did not share the sentiments of the Hispanicized Filipinos.

However, the situation changed after World War II, when the Philippines were granted independence. The PEC adopted a policy of centralization and expansion of influence which aimed at engaging the mainstream of Philippine society. This resulted in the PEC joining other Filipinos in the work of nation-building. It was in the context of this nation-building that the PEC encountered post-colonial nationalism that believed the Philippines would never learn to stand on its own if the former master continued to enjoy indirect control through trade and military agreements. At its extreme, post-colonial nationalism shunned anything foreign including American missionaries. Thus, the PEC needed to accelerate its devolution agenda by pursuing the policy of Filipinization of leadership.

The adoption of devolution and decentralization in the context of post-colonial nationalism was not uncommon. What was happening in the Philippines was also occurring in other newly independent nations after World War II. Decolonization was believed to be real only when new nations were given the chance to grow without the meddling of their former colonial masters. Imperialism was still decried because powerful nations continued to exert their influence in the affairs of the new nations. Naturally, the world-wide Christian mission was dragged into this conflictual situation. In response, most churches listened carefully to the sentiments of people around the world. To be specific, ‘old’ churches listened carefully to the voice coming from the ‘younger’ churches. This listening resulted in the reinterpretation of the *Missio Dei* to mean God’s activity in the world in which the church participates instead of God’s sending the church to the world. The reordering of God-Church-World to God-World-Church resulted in the repudiation of binaries such as old and young, and givers and receivers. Thus the Anglican Communion convening in the 1963 Anglican Congress in Toronto, Canada produced the document commonly referred to by Anglicans as Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ (MRI) which clearly reflected this new mission theology. Although the MRI was only produced in 1963, there were earlier manifestations of such changes in mission thinking during the 1958 Lambeth Conference.

The principle of mutuality and interdependence set the tone of the PEC response to post-colonial nationalism. Whereas a moratorium of missionaries was advocated by other Christian bodies in the newly independent nations, the PEC opted for a gradual weaning of the local church with the Filipinization of leadership as well as

decentralization as concrete steps toward autonomy. The gradual Filipinization of leadership started even before 1962 when it was adopted as a definite policy. However, the most dramatic and the most effective implementation of the policy was the Filipinization of the highest ecclesiastical office in the PEC when Benito Cabanban was elected as bishop coadjutor in 1966. This gradual Filipinization of leadership was completed when the Saint Andrew's Theological Seminary was put under the leadership of Henry Kiley as the first Filipino dean in 1980. The devolution of leadership was not limited to national offices. The division of the PEC into three dioceses as a concrete implementation of the decentralization policy resulted in the localization of the episcopate as well as the Filipinization of regional leadership. The decentralization also led to the Filipino takeover of central stations. Parishes were created out of former central stations before the organization of dioceses and these parishes elected mostly Filipinos as their rectors. Henceforth, the PEC was ready to deliberately pursue its autonomy in 1980, especially with the creation of an Ad Hoc Committee to study its feasibility.



## 8. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that mission histories are still important because they help explain the current condition of local churches that trace their beginning to the missionary enterprise. This shall be clarified in this concluding chapter which includes: 1) summary of the primary findings; 2) summary of the incidental discoveries; and 3) articulation of the significance of the study in relation to mission history in general and to related fields such as world Christianity, colonial history, global Christianity, and Philippine studies.

### 8.1 Summary of Primary Findings

The study confirms the hypothesis that mission policies have extensively contributed to the concentration of the work of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines (ECP) in certain areas. Although the church generally intended to establish a wide sphere of influence in Philippine society, policies unintentionally confined the work of the church in certain regions of the country. As discussed in chapter 4, the main reason for this phenomenon is that the pioneering policy of concentration from 1901 to 1919 was primarily defined by the issue of marginality in the Philippines, a factor which continued to influence the succeeding policies though it was not explicitly acknowledged. **This shows how the Philippine context – conditions that became means for the collective expressions of Filipino voices - has greatly influenced mission policies which in turn influenced the result of the work of the church.** As shall be further clarified in section 8.2 of this chapter, the ability of mission policies to take into account the local context and local voices is attributed to their double role of mediating and synthesizing in the dialogical relationship between mission theory (theology, theories, ideals) and mission practice (expediencies or what is happening on the ground).

Chapter 4 also demonstrates that when the Episcopal Church established its missionary district in the Philippines in the context of American colonialism, it sent Bishop Brent with a predetermined policy of concentration on chaplaincy work for the Americans and other English speaking people in the country. This policy was primarily based on two interrelated factors: first, the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church which focuses on the role of being the conscience of the nation, and second, the general assumption that the Philippines was already Christianized by the Spaniards who

ruled most of the country for more than three hundred years. However, when Brent and his associates arrived in the Philippines, they realized that there were many people who still practiced primal religions that were generally regarded by the colonizers as animism. These people were on the margins of Spanish-ruled Philippines.

The realization of the actual condition of the Philippines caused the modification of the policy to include mission to the people of great need like the Igorots. The goal of the modified policy became two-fold: to establish a wide sphere of influence, and to minister to the needs of the neediest. The first was consistent with the original purpose of the policy which was for the Episcopal Church to act as a conscience of the nation by keeping the Americans and other English speaking people worthy of emulation for Filipinos. The second one was a result of applying the national church ideal in the specific issue of marginality in the Philippines. In a sense, the second goal was highly influenced by the Filipino voice that was collectively expressed as well as unintentionally engaged by the church through the problem of marginality in the Philippines. Thus, the policy aimed at both the chaplaincy of Americans and other English speaking people in the Philippines in order that they may act as conscience of the society and mission to the neediest Filipinos in order that they only not come to Christianity but also enjoy the benefits of 'advanced' civilization in an American-ruled society.

The church tried to keep the two goals in creative tension through the establishment of centres in carefully chosen areas from where the wide sphere of influence could be extended, while keeping close to the people of great need. Thus the church originally identified three centres of influence: Manila for the central Philippines, Baguio for the northern Philippines, and Iloilo for the southern Philippines. Manila was chosen because it was the capital city of the nation. Baguio was chosen because it was to be established as the summer capital of the country. Iloilo was chosen because it was an important trading post. However, the close proximity of Zamboanga to the Muslim communities and other ethno-linguistic groups in the south led the church to transfer its centre from Iloilo to Zamboanga. In the same manner, the need of the Igorots in the Cordillera region was so great that the efforts were focused on them until two of the pioneering outstations - Bontoc and Sagada - became central stations themselves. In short, although there were many other factors, the issue on marginality in

the Philippines was the defining factor in the implementation of the policy of concentration from the very beginning of actual missionary work.

In spite of the steady inclination toward the second goal which was to undertake mission for the people in great need, the church tried to accomplish its goal to establish a wide sphere of influence through institutions that had national impact. Foremost amongst this institution was St. Luke's Hospital in Manila (now St. Luke's Medical Center in Quezon City). In addition, educational institutions like the Easter School for Igorot Boys and the Baguio School for American Boys (now Brent School International) were also established for achieving the same goal. In relation to its emphasis on the importance of education, the church even released the Reverend Bartlett Murray, one of its personnel, to become the first president of the University of the Philippines. Although the church tried to achieve the two goals simultaneously, the needs of the Igorots in the north as well as the Muslims in the south were so great that the work of the church became focused on them. Thus, the second goal which was to minister to the neediest people eclipsed the goal to establish a wide sphere of influence in the nation. In addition, the centres, especially Bontoc and Sagada, grew almost independently from each other, so that there was hardly any evidence of a united missionary district. This was the state of the church when Bishop Mosher arrived in 1920.

Chapter 5 demonstrates that the church adopted a consolidation policy from 1920 to 1940. This policy meant unifying the district into a single entity as well as strengthening its spiritual foundations by emphasizing the importance of evangelism. Although the lack of organizational cohesion in the Philippine missionary district after almost two decades of continuous mission as noted above undeniably necessitated the adoption of such policy, there were other equally important factors that also contributed to its adoption. Among them were: the centralisation of the entire Episcopal Church during the 1919 General Convention; political changes in the USA and in the Philippines which also resulted in the change of view of the Philippine district from domestic to a foreign mission; change of leadership; the Sagada Problem; and the missiological implication of the emphasis on diocesan polity. These factors were intricately interwoven. The program of centralization of the entire Episcopal Church as a result of the action of the 1919 General Convention found in the lack of cohesion in the Philippine mission, a perfect occasion for its application. The victory of the

Democrats in the 1912 US national election that resulted in the adoption of Filipinization as the policy of the American colonial government led to change of how the church viewed its Philippine mission from domestic to foreign mission. Consequently, this led to the change of leadership as the Philippine mission was entrusted to Bishop Mosher, a Low Churchman, based on the old unwritten agreement that foreign missions were for Low Churchmen and the domestic missions were for High Churchmen. Further, the Low Churchmanship of the new bishop became an aggravating factor to the 'Sagada Problem' which was also a factor in the lack of cohesion in the entire Philippine district prior to his arrival. **In spite of the complexity of the interconnectedness of these factors, the influence of Filipino voices is still discernible. Particularly, Filipinos' demand for devolution of power from the colonizers led to the adoption of Filipinization policy of the democrats and consequently led to modification of church policies to make it relevant to the new situation.**

The means of implementing the consolidation policy were carefully considered. For its organizational aspect, instruments of unity were established to augment the unifying function of the office of the bishop. These instruments were: annual conferences, which were held in the context of annual convocations in order to allow delegates to discuss issues in the church aside from usual business in every convocation; the *Diocesan Chronicle*, which was primarily designed to help missionaries and members of the church to be aware of what was happening in stations other than their own; and the office of the canon missionary, which was primarily created to make sure that the American colonials in the entire Philippines were visited regularly as well as to take care of unmanned stations when missionaries went away for some reason such as furloughs. For the evangelistic aspect, missionaries were required to learn local languages and later the training of Filipinos, especially Igorots, for ordained and non-ordained ministry was started.

Moreover, the policy of consolidation contributed further to the confinement of the work of the church in certain areas in the Philippines. This happened because the church focused on unifying and strengthening the district into a 'diocese' as the missiological implication of diocesan polity as well as in response to other factors. In addition, the decision to transfer the training school for clergy and laity from Manila to Sagada further led to the focusing of work in that region. Thus except for Crispino Salustiano, a lowland Filipino who was ordained deacon in 1927, the three of those



ordained ministers out of the training school were all Igorots: Mark Suluen, Albert Masferre, and Eduardo Longid. These Igorots, especially Eduardo Longid and Albert Masferre, were instrumental in keeping the church alive in the Mountain Province during World War II when the American missionaries were interned by Japanese forces.

Even when the church deviated from its policy of consolidation in order to respond to the pressing demand of expansion in Balbalasang, Kalinga and in Upi, Cotabato, the impact was still not strong enough to break the general trend of concentrated work. In fact, the expansion in Balbalasang, Kalinga as well as in Upi, Cotabato further reinforced the general trend of concentration as it ended up working primarily with people groups that were considered the neediest in those regions. Again, this demonstrates how marginality became a means through which Filipino voice was unintentionally engaged by the church in its policymaking. Thus, though the church was relatively unified before World War II as manifested in its being allowed to use Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC) as its local name, its membership was still predominantly composed of Igorots in the north and Tirurays in the south.

Chapter 6 demonstrates that the Episcopal Church adopted policies of centralization and expansion of influence after World War II. In spite of the demands of post-war rehabilitation, the church confidently adopted these two policies because it was encouraged by the boldness of the church in America in raising funds for the advance of its work in foreign lands. Churches in America experienced an upsurge in mission interest after the war which translated into a willingness to be involved in the mission enterprise in various ways, including going out for mission. This rise in mission interest coincided with the new expression of the manifest destiny of the American nation in the context of the Cold War. This partly explains why the policy of the expansion of influence was also adopted to combat the influence of ‘anti-Christian’ and ‘pseudo-Christian’ teachings in the Philippines. Although the use of the term ‘anti-Christian’ and ‘pseudo-Christian’ were not categorically clarified by those who used it, circumstantial evidences suggest that they were referring respectively to communism and indigenous churches like the *Iglesia ni Cristo* that were winning supports in the central plain of Luzon where there was peasant unrest after the WWII. In a sense, the policy of expansion of influence was again influenced by Filipino voice that was collectively expressed in the issue of peasants’ desire for agrarian reform. The church’s

engagement of this voice was not intentional, rather a consequence of framing policies to be relevant to Philippine context.

To some degree, these two policies were mutually contradictory because centralization is more inward-looking while expansion is obviously outward-looking, but they were constantly kept in creative tension by their common purpose of breaking from the regionally confined expansion of the church. The centralization aimed at providing a national centre that concretely expressed unity. This national centre was not only established to gather key institutions in the capital city of the country, in order to cater to the needs of national scope, but also to balance the regional character of the church. The primary institution that kept the two policies in creative tension was St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City. Being one of the key institutions in the mission centre, the seminary played a crucial role in the policy of centralization by bringing in students from scattered mission stations of the Episcopal Church. On the other hand, the decision of the Episcopal Church to open the seminary to *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI) students also helped in the expansion of the influence of the Episcopal Church to the IFI in particular and to the wider Philippine society in general. The seminary served as the convergence of goals since it catered to both centralization and expansion.

Although the church tried to pursue centralization and expansion of influence simultaneously in order to achieve a national character, it ended up further concentrating its work around the old central stations in the Cordillera Region and in some parts of Mindanao. This happened because the church, influenced by the ecumenical mission theory of partnership in mission, saw in its denominational cooperation with the IFI an opportunity to expand its influence in the lowland where the IFI is only second in membership to the Roman Catholic Church, while it focused its mission in areas where it has been working previously. In a sense, there was an unintended division of work between the Episcopal Church and the IFI. This development was again influenced by the persistent need of the Igorots, Tirurays, and other 'cultural minorities' in the Philippines. Thus, although the church was emboldened by global factors such as the surge of mission interest in America, it was the Filipino voice collectively expressed in the issue of marginality that still led the church to continue focusing its work in areas where it had been previously active.

Chapter 7 demonstrates that after achieving a degree of centralization with the gathering of key institutions in a newly established mission centre in Quezon City, the church proceeded with parallel policies of devolution and decentralization. Although these policies intersected in many ways, they were two different policies based on varying factors. Whereas the policy of devolution was influenced by the redefinition of *Mission Dei* toward world centric theology as well as what was happening around the world (i.e. decolonization movement around the world and new nationalism in the Philippines), the policy of decentralization was adopted primarily due to the restructuring of the church that had its newly established centre in Quezon City and yet catered to stations that were mostly in far flung areas of the Philippines. Thus, the goals of the policy of decentralization were to ensure an efficient administration as well as to enhance regional expansion. Although there are many factors that contributed to the adoption of devolution policy, the Filipino voice collectively expressed in the new nationalism in the Philippines, played a major role toward the adoption of such policy. In the same manner, the fact that the policy of decentralization was partly adopted to foster regional expansion in culturally distinct areas also suggest that the Filipino voice that was collectively expressed in the issue of cultural diversity – aspect of marginality – in the Philippines played a decisive role.

Furthermore, the impact of church's response to marginality - Filipino voice – became evident in the concentration of work in selected areas as a result of the regional expansion. In fact, the church was well aware of this consequence and yet deliberately pursued it. The church explicitly admitted that it had been working primarily amongst 'cultural minorities' and that it needed to expand among them. This was a manifestation of the church coming to terms with the reality that trying to cover the whole Philippines was not feasible; otherwise it would only be able to spread a 'thin coat of Episcopalianism,' using the words of Bishop Brent as discussed in chapter 4.

The long-lasting impact of the pioneering mission policy of concentration confirms some truth about the assertion that Brent set the foundation of the Episcopal Church mission in the Philippines. However, this study argues that it was the church as a whole which adopted the policy. Although the influence of Brent was vital, he did not act single-handedly but rather had to consult with his fellow missionaries as well as the church back home. He needed to articulate the policy in formal fora like annual convocations as well as in his annual report to the home church. In fact, he often

disagreed with the Board of Missions and yet needed to concede to it most of the time, especially when issues like financial constraint needed to be considered in the prosecution of mission. If there was one thing he did not concede, it was to do mission amongst the marginalized Filipinos like the Igorots. The Board insisted that Brent and his fellow missionaries follow the lead of other Protestants in training Filipinos in Manila to do mission. However, Brent saw in the issue of marginality an opportunity to: 1) practice his establishmentarian ecclesiology and social gospel that was subsumed in the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church; 2) exercise what he considered disinterested benevolence that was common among colonialists like him who used such terms to justify their support of the pacification policy of the colonial government; and 3) apply his pragmatic ecumenism as the concentration of work led the church to minimize competition with other churches. He proved to be influential but the policy of concentration was not his, rather it was of the whole church. He envisioned as well as articulated the policy but it was the whole church that adopted and executed it. **Most of all, the long lasting influence of the policy of concentration that was adopted by the church during his leadership was primarily due to marginality – a condition through which the Filipino voice was collectively expressed - that became a constant factor in the church’s framing and reframing of its policies through the years.**

## **8.2 Incidental Discoveries**

There are other incidental observations arising from this study. They do not necessarily have direct connection to the research questions and yet they are important discoveries as the research proceeded with the inquiry. They pertain to the nature of mission policies.

### **8.2.1 The Mediating and Synthesizing Role of Mission Policies**

When the current study started, the term ‘mission policy’ was assumed to have a clear definition that is commonly used in scholarly discussions. However, as the research proceeded, it became apparent that this term is commonly used but has never been clearly defined. Thus, the study needed to offer an operational definition that was initially based on the usage of some scholars and later supported by the patterns observed in the study. It was defined in the introduction as the explicit articulation of the intent of mission work during a particular phase of Christian mission. Policy is formed from mission theologies and mission theories on the one hand, and mission

practice on the ground, on the other hand. In other words, mission policies are syntheses of dialogues between theory and practice which the policies themselves mediate.

The double role – mediating and synthesizing - of mission policies also applies to the dialogical relationship between the global and local context as well as the dialogical relationship between missionaries and their local counterparts, especially in the colonial context. In the case of the PEC, the colonial context did not end in the granting of Philippine Independence in 1946 but was rather extended until 1990 when the church was granted constitutional autonomy. In every epoch covered in this study, policies were influenced by events and ideas around the world as well as those in the Philippines. In chapter 4, for example, the national church ideal of the Episcopal Church found in the combination of marginality in the Philippines, the pacification policy of the American colonial government, and other factors, a fertile ground for a concrete application. In a sense, the national church ideal dialogued with local voices such as marginality through the mediation of mission policy and produced the policy of concentration as a particular synthesis of many voices.

The mediating and synthesizing roles of mission policies in the dialogical relationship of mission theory and practice also extended to mediating and then synthesizing the dialogue between intellectual and social history in mission historiography. Intellectual history emphasizes the influence of theologies and mission theories in the writing of mission history, while social history considers political, cultural, economic, religious and material factors. However, this study demonstrates that mission policies mediate the dialogue between these two branches of history. This is evident in many examples mentioned in this study about how mission policies were formed from both theoretical and contextual factors.

### **8.2.2 The Generational Pattern of Changes in the Mission Policies**

The study shows a generational pattern of change in the mission policies of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. This could be explained by the fact that some policies coincided with the changes of leadership but it could also suggest that the average period of relevance for every specific mission policy is approximately eighteen years. Although the change of policy in 1920 after barely twenty years of Episcopal Church's mission in the Philippines could certainly be coincidental with the centralization of the Episcopal Church in the United States in 1919 as well as the change of leadership in the Philippines, one cannot categorically deny the possibility

that a new policy was perhaps needed for the sake of relevance after barely two decades of missionary work in the Philippines. However, this generational pattern should not be over-emphasized to the neglect of other discernible factors.

The change of policy in 1946 as part of this generational pattern was more than a coincidence because the consolidation policy was already successful before World War II and Bishop Mosher had already articulated the need for a new policy before resigning in 1940. I suspect that the change in policy may have started earlier in 1940 if it were not for the war. Moreover, the change of policy in 1962 that happened after sixteen years of pursuing centralization and expansion through denominational cooperation with the IFI since 1946 also supports a general pattern of generational change in policy. Although sixteen years could hardly be considered a generation, it is still very close to eighteen years which became the average length for every policy. After eighteen years of implementing the Filipinization of leadership and decentralization, the policy changed in 1980 to a deliberate preparation toward autonomy which is beyond the scope of this study.

### **8.2.3 Constancy of Tensions due to Competing Priorities**

Another observation which is worth noting in relation to patterns in the changes of mission policies is the apparent constancy of tensions caused by competing and equally important priorities in every period of approximately eighteen years. The policy of concentration from 1901 to 1919 needed to keep the balance between the grand design of establishing a wide sphere of influence in the Philippine society and the resolve to concentrate work amongst Igorots and other marginalized people. Although the work amongst the Igorots and other marginalized people could have been the noblest decision at that time, it was still pulling away the Episcopal Church from its desire to have a wider impact in the Philippines because it was working on the fringes of Philippine society. Nonetheless, the Episcopal Church through the leadership of Brent tried to keep the balance between the two goals of a single policy with some amount of success.

The policy of consolidation from 1920 to 1940 also needed to keep a balance between organizational consolidation and evangelistic consolidation. The policies of centralization and expansion of influence from 1946 to 1962, as discussed already, were kept together in a dialectical relation, in order not to over-emphasize one policy at the expense of the other policy. Lastly, from 1962 to 1980, the Episcopal Church was able to pursue parallel policies of devolution and decentralization with a great deal of

balancing, in order to deal efficiently with the two-tiered organisational situation of the PEC at the same time. On the first level, the PEC was still dominated by foreign missionaries, and therefore the policy of devolution or the Filipinization of leadership was adopted in order to prepare the church for eventual autonomy. On the second level, the PEC was already highly centralized under the leadership of one bishop with the assistance of suffragan bishops, and therefore needed to be decentralized for efficient administration as well as to encourage regional expansion.

### **8.3 Significance to Mission History in General and to other Related Fields**

The study contributes in the broadening of mission histories in the light of the study of world Christianity so that it covers both the transmission of faith through the mission enterprise and the appropriation of faith by the receivers. It contributes to viewing mission history not simply about the eastward extension of western churches but rather about the encounters where local contexts are enabled to dialogue with the global context in the prosecution of mission. In addition, its focus on mission policies resulted in two interwoven significant contributions. First, the definition of mission policy that is operationalized in this study can be used as a working definition in future research in the same field. Second, the identification of the mediating and synthesizing role of mission policies in the dialogical relationship between theory and practice in mission engagement, the global and local contexts as well as missionaries' voices and the local voices, and the intellectual and social history provides an alternative framework of analysis that can be applied in the study of mission history. In this framework of analysis, the local voices can still be highlighted even from colonial sources. Moreover, the study has significance to other fields of research such as world Christianity, colonial history, global Christianity, and Philippine studies.

The significance of this study to the field of world Christianity was articulated in chapter 1. The connection is primarily in the use of 'mission history after the "world-Christian turn" ' as a framework in this study. This framework assumes that world Christianity is still evolving. Thus, mission histories in this framework do not only learn from world Christianity but also contribute to the evolution of the latter as it takes into account both the transmission and the appropriation of faith.

In relation to colonial history, this study complicates the notion that Christian mission in the context of colonialism is nothing more than a moral justification of the

latter. Although the Episcopal Church certainly supported the pacification policy of the American colonial government, it served as a critique of some aspects of colonialism. Time and again, the Episcopal Church and its missionaries in the Philippines spoke of the ‘evils of western civilization’ from which the indigenous Filipinos like the Igorots were supposed to be insulated.

Global Christianity, particularly global Anglicanism, also benefits from this study, since there is a paucity of material about Anglicanism in the Philippines. In *A History of Global Anglicanism*, Kevin Ward (2006) includes only a few pages about the Episcopal Church in the Philippines, in spite of his efforts to give emphasis on the history of autonomous Anglican churches in the global south. This is understandable, since there are only a few scholarly sources available to him.

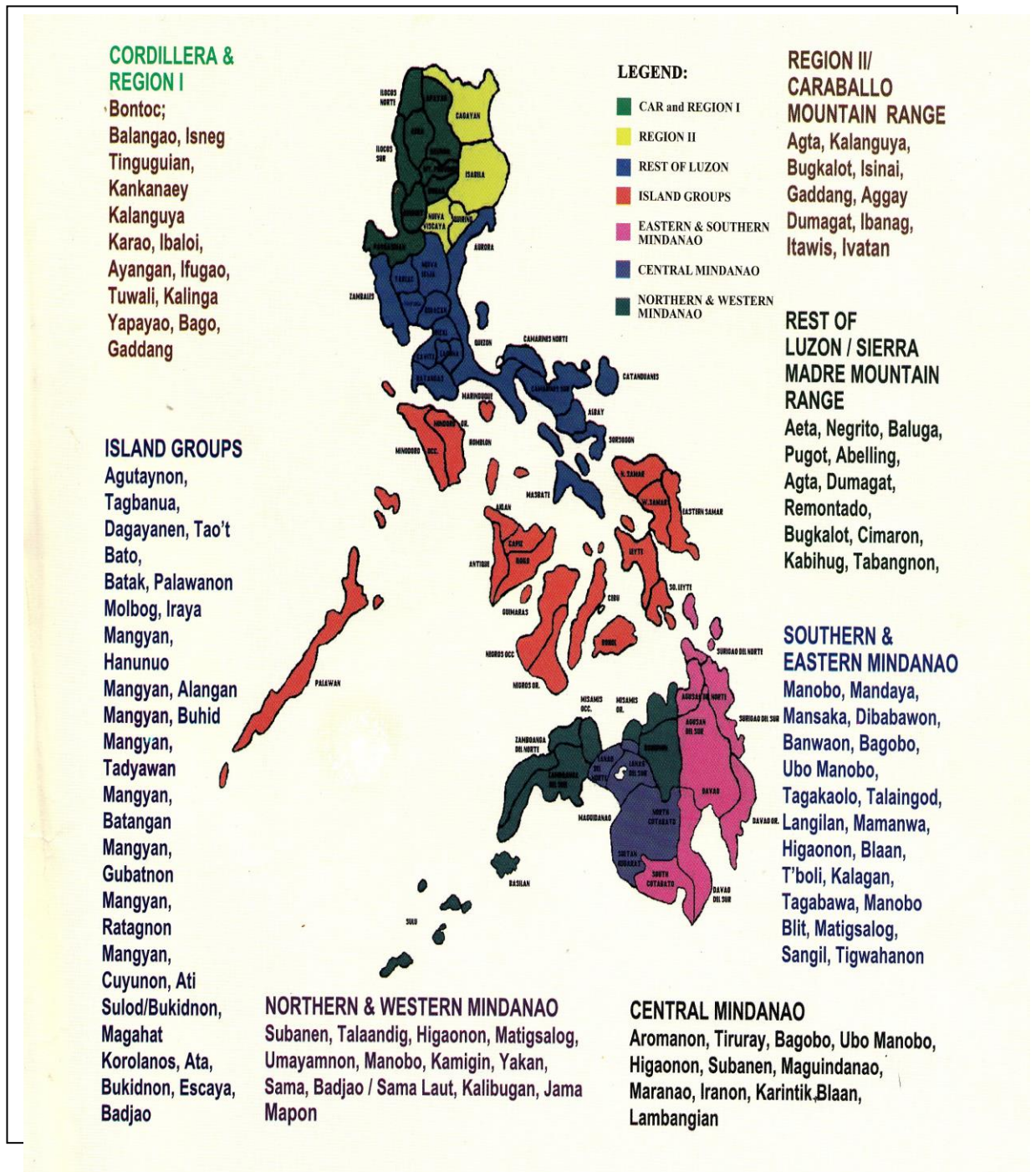
Finally, the study also contributes to Philippine Studies, especially on the topic of how the Episcopal Church dealt with issues like marginality in the country at the turn of the twentieth century. It also informs Philippine history of the role of the Episcopal Church in the transformation of communities like Sagada. Most of all, it contributes to the body of knowledge about areas in the country that are usually neglected in the conventional Manila-centric Philippine historiography.







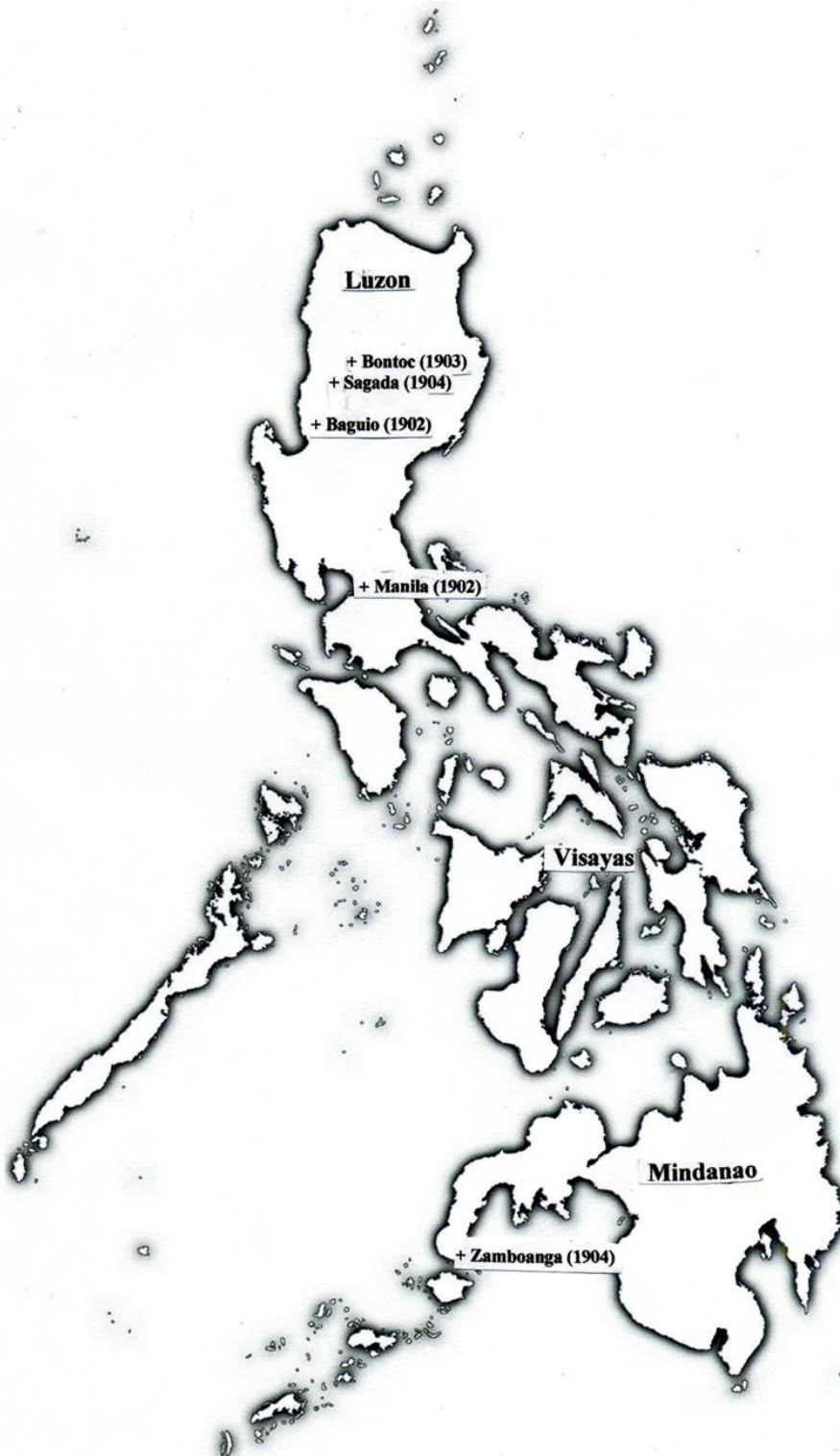
**MAP 1: ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE PHILIPPINES**



Source: Guide to R.A. 8371: Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA) of the Philippines.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although this map does not catalogue the entire ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippine since it only included mostly indigenous peoples, it still manages to illustrate the division of the Philippines into many people groups. Major groups like the Tagalog, Ilokano, Bikolano, Cebuano, and Ilongo are not included since they are generally Hispanicized.

**MAP 2: PHILIPPINES**



Legend:

+ Early Centres of Episcopalianism

## APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE PHILIPPINES

1521 March 15	Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese explorer but commissioned by the Spanish crown, reached the Philippines
1521	First Roman Catholic Church mass was held at Limasawa, one of the islands of the Visayas in the central Philippines
1521	Magellan sailed to Cebu Island, entered into blood compact with Chieftain Rajah Humabon
1521 April 27	Magellan was killed by Lapu-Lapu, a local hero of Mactan.
1525 – 1536	Spain attempted sending three more expeditions to the Philippines which all failed
1543	Spanish expedition led by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos arrived; he named the islands the Philippines in honour of Philip II, son of King Charles I of Spain
1565	Expedition led by Miguel Lopez de Legaspi for the Spanish crown arrived
1565	Legaspi established the first permanent Spanish settlement in Cebu, became first Spanish General-Governor
1568	Portuguese attacked Cebu and blockaded its port
1571	Legaspi established Spanish Colonial Government in Manila; proclaimed it the capital of the colony
1580	King Philip II of Spain became King of Portugal, ended Portuguese harassment of the Philippines
1580	Forced labour of all males aged 16 to 60 instituted by Spanish colonizers
1621 – 1683	Revolts and uprisings against Roman Catholicism and Spanish rule occurred throughout the Philippines
1744	Dagohoy Revolt in Bohol lasted for 85 years, provided degrees of independence of the island from Spanish rule
1762	During Europe's Seven Years War, British attacked and occupied Manila
1762	British took control of the Philippines; Darsonne Drake became Governor-General; colony opened to international trading
1763	British occupation of the Philippines ended when the Treaty of Paris was signed by England, Spain and France; Manila was returned to Spain
1828	American Bible Society tried to smuggle bibles to the Philippines
1872	200 Filipino soldiers staged mutiny in Cavite for secularization and nationalism
1872	Three priests executed as alleged leaders of Cavite mutiny
1896	Revolution against Spanish rule began with the discovery of <i>Ang Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (KKK)</i> [the Highest, Most Honorable Society of the Country's Sons and Daughters] that was organized in 1892
1898 May 1	US Navy destroyed Spanish fleet in Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War. The Alliance between the Americans and the Filipino revolutionaries under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo soon defeated the Spaniards in the Philippines
1898 June 12	Filipino revolutionaries declared Philippine Independence from Spain

1898 August 28	The first distinctive Protestant service in the Philippines was celebrated by George C. Stull, Methodist minister and one of the chaplains of the American forces
1898 September 4	First Episcopal service in the Philippines by Charles Pierce, Army Chaplain, for American and English speaking residents in Manila
1898 December 10	Spain and US signed the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded Philippines to US for payment of 20 million dollars
1898 December 25	First Episcopal service for Filipinos
1899 February 4	Hostilities flared between Filipino and US forces
	1900s
1901 March 23	Emilio Aguinaldo was captured
1901 April	Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands was organized by protestant missionaries to foster cooperation in the mission field
1901 July 4	William H. Taft became first US governor of the Philippines
1901 September 28	48 members of the US 9th Infantry killed by townspeople and guerrillas in the Balangiga Massacre in Samar, eastern Visayas; the Americans responded with punitive expedition with a clear order to 'kill and burn' to make Samar a 'howling wilderness'
1901 October 11	The Missionary District of the Philippine Islands created by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America during its National Convention held in San Francisco, California
1902 July 4	Civil government established by the US to replace military rule
1902 August 3	Founding of the <i>Iglesia Filipina Independiente</i> (IFI) [Philippine Independent Church] out of the Roman Catholic Church
1902 August 24	Bishop Charles Henry Brent, the first Missionary Bishop, arrived in Manila with William Howard Taft, the first American civil governor of the Philippines Islands.
1907	First congressional election took place, Philippine assembly was inaugurated
1909	The <i>Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas</i> (IEMELIF) was organized out of the Methodist Church
1914	The <i>Iglesia ni Cristo</i> (INC) was organized by Felix Manalo, a former evangelist of the Seventh Day Adventist Church
1916	Jones Law enacted, promised independence when stable government was established
1934	Tydings-McDuffie Law (Philippine Independence Law) approved by US President Roosevelt, allowed the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and promised full independence in ten years
1935	Philippine Constitution was approved
1941	After bombing of Pearl Harbor, Japanese attacked Philippines as ally of the US
1941	US troops left Manila, surrendering to Japanese
1942	Japanese forces entered Manila, proclaimed end of US occupation in the Philippines, martial law was imposed
1945	US forces entered Manila; Battle of Manila ended; Japan surrendered to the US
1946	Philippines gained independence and renamed Republic of the Philippines

**APPENDIX 2: LIST OF BISHOPS**

<b>Overseers</b> <i>(Temporary)</i>	<b>Missionary District Bishops</b> <i>(Bishop for the Entire Philippine Mission)</i>	<b>Suffragan Bishops</b> <i>(Elected to Assist the Missionary District Bishop)</i>	<b>Bishop Coadjutor</b> <i>(Elevated for Eventual Succession)</i>	<b>Diocesan Bishops</b> <i>(Bishops after the Division of the Entire District into Three Dioceses)</i>
Frederick Roger Graves (1899-1901)				
	Charles Henry Brent (1901-1917)			
Frederick Roger Graves (1918-1919)				
	Gouverneur Frank Mosher (1920-1940)	Robert Wilner (1937-1955)		
	Norman Spencer Binsted (1940-1957)	Lyman C. Ogilby (1953-1957)		
	Lyman C. Ogilby (1958-1967)	Benito Cabanban (1958-1966) Eduardo Longid (1963-1972)	Benito Cabanban (1966-1967)	
	Benito Cabanban (1967-1978)	Constancio Manguramas (1969-1972)		
				Benito Cabanban, EDCP (1972-1978) Eduardo Longid, EDNP (1972-1975) Constancio Manguramas, EDSP (1972-1984)
			Richard Abellon, EDNP (Early 1975)	Richard Abellon, EDNP (1975 -1986)
	Constancio Manguramas (1978-1984)			

- Notes: 1. EDCP stands for Episcopal Diocese of Central Philippines, EDNP stands for Episcopal Diocese of Northern Philippines, and EDSP stands for Episcopal Diocese of Southern Philippines.
2. Cabanban and Manguramas were bishops of the central and northern diocese respectively while the bishop of the entire PEC as a missionary district.





## INDEX OF PERSONS

**Bandara (Datu)** – One of the Tiruray leaders who promised to help in the Episcopal Mission in Cotabato (now Maguindanao) in 1920.

**Bangawan, Howard** - A supervising teacher in Balbalasang, Kalinga who wrote a letter requesting the church to open mission in his community in 1923.

**Bartlett, Murray** – Second rector of the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John from 1908 to 1911. While a rector, he was appointed as one of the regents of the newly established University of the Philippines and latter its first president in 1911 until 1915.

**Bartter, George** – Arrived in the Philippines in 1907 and continued to serve until he retired in 1948. He spent most of his time in the Baguio School for American Boys which later on became Brent International School.

**Binsted, Norman (2 October 1890 – 20 February 1961)** – Succeeded Gouverneur Frank Mosher as missionary bishop of the Philippine Episcopal Church from 1940 until 1957. He is most remembered for being the bishop of PEC during the war as well as his role in the centralization of the PEC as evinced in the purchase of land in Quezon City which continues to be the mission center of the church today. He was the missionary bishop of Japan before being elected for the Philippine district.

**Brent, Charles Henry (9 April 1862 – 27 March 1929)** – Canadian by birth but spent much of his productive years serving in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (PECUSA) now The Episcopal Church (TEC); elected as the first missionary bishop of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands of the PECUSA in 1901. He served in the Philippines until 1917.

**Cabanban, Benito-** Became the first lowland Filipino suffragan bishop in 1959 and later became the first Filipino bishop of the entire Philippine Episcopal Church in 1967.

**Cariaga, Agustina-** One of the two Tiruray girls who were recruited to train as midwives in 1922. After her training, she was sent back to Upi, Cotabato (now Maguindanao) to start the mission with a combination of healthcare and basic religious instruction in 1925. Thus, she became the first Tiruray missionary of the PEC.

**Chandlee, Ellsworth-** Professor of Liturgy at the St. Andrew's Theological Seminary who helped in the revision of the new Missal and Ritual of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI)* so that it not only preserved 'the best traditions of the Independent Church', but also drew freely upon the Book of Common Prayer.

**Clapp, Walter Clayton-** Arrived in the Philippines with Charlotte –his wife, and Rev. John A. Staunton and his wife Maria Eliza on 18 November 1901. He was the

pioneering missionary to Bontoc, Mountain Province. He was the first to translate the Gospel According Mark as well as other Christian formularies into Bontoc Igorot language around 1904.

**Clapp, Charlotte** – Arrived in the Philippines with her husband, Rev. Walter Clayton Clapp, on 18 November 1901. Shortly after their arrival, she died of illness and became the first Episcopalian missionary in the Philippines to die while on mission.

**Claudio, Edward**- Became the Honorary Executive Secretary for the Philippine Episcopal Church (PEC) for the duration of the World War II.

**Edwards, Irving**- A former Captain in the Constabulary who became Deputy Provincial Governor as well as Supervising Teacher of Cotabato, Mindanao; he was instrumental in the opening of mission for the Tiruray.

**Frost, Albert E.** - Used his knowledge of the local language to join the old men gathered in ‘council chambers’ in Sagada known locally as *dap-ay*. He served in Sagada from 1917 to 1925.

**Gowen, Vincent (1893-1984)** - One of the missionaries in the Northern Philippines from 1929 to the World War II; was a missionary in China who was transferred to the Philippines when Chinese nationalism during the Kuomintang regime led to flight of missionaries out of China.

**Graves, Frederick (ca.1860-ca.1960)** – Bishop of Shanghai, China from 1893 to 1937; was appointed overseer of the work in the Philippines in 1899 while waiting for the General Convention to decide on whether it should open mission in the country. In 1918, he was again appointed to oversee the work in the Philippines until the election of Bishop Mosher in 1919.

**Hartzell, Paul** - The only clergyman who opted to remain in Sagada when his colleagues decided to resign in 1924.

**Harvey, Benson Heale**- The first canon missionary of the Episcopal Church mission district in the Philippines; as such, he was tasked to roam around the Philippines to take care of the needs of the scattered Americans and to find opportunities for missions.

**Haussermann, John** - Primary owner of the Benguet Consolidated Mines who was noted for his financial contribution to the mission of the Episcopal Church.

**Irving, Clement**- A Bontoc Igorot prepared for priesthood with the support of Mrs. Hargreaves and Mrs. Warren of New York but left the employment of the Episcopal Church in favor of a government post in Bontoc around 1919. This was the first recorded attempt to train an Igorot for the ordained ministry in the Episcopal Church.

**Johnston, Mercer** - The first rector of the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John.

**Kiley, William Henry**- Became the first Filipino Dean of the St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City in 1980. His appointment completed the Filipinization of leadership.

**Longid, Edward**- One of the first three Igorots to be recommended as postulants for Holy Orders in 1933; ordained deacon on 25 January 1939; ordained priest on 4 June 1941; consecrated suffragan bishop on 2 February 1963, thus making him the first Igorot bishop in the PEC; and installed the first diocesan bishop of Episcopal Diocese of Northern Philippines on 1 January 1972.

**Manguramas, Constancio** - Elected second Diocesan Bishop of the Missionary Diocese of Southern Philippines in 1978. The first Tiruray to become a bishop in the Episcopal Church.

**Marvine, Walter**- Army chaplain who started Episcopal Mission among the Chinese in Manila in 1900.

**Masferre, Albert** - One of the first three Igorots to be recommended as postulants for Holy Orders in 1933, ordained deacon in 1939, ordained priest in 1941.

**Massey, Charlotte**- Sent to establish a clinic as part of the Episcopal Mission in Balbalasang, Kalinga in 1925.

**McAfee, Leo Gay**- Pioneer missionary to Upi, Maguindnao; recruited two Tiruray girls to Zamboanga in order to be trained for the medical arm of the mission in 1922.

**Mosher, Gouverneur Frank (1871 – 19 July 1941)** - Elected as the second missionary bishop of the Philippines in 1919; led the Episcopal Church to establish a catechetical school for ordained and non-ordained ministry in Sagada in 1932 which became the beginning of the St. Andrew's Theological Seminary which still runs today in Quezon City. Prior to his election to the episcopate, he was serving in the mission in China under Bishop Frederick Graves.

**Ogilby, Lyman C.** - Succeeded Bishop Norman Binsted in 1958 and served until 1967. He continued the policy of centralization and expansion of influence adopted by the church under the leadership of his predecessor, Bishop Norman Binsted. He also led the church to pursue the policy of devolution and decentralization.

**Peyton, John Howe** - A lay Episcopalian who visited the Philippines as a member of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew; reported a positive observation of the religious condition of the Philippines to the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America in October 1899.

**Pierce, Charles Campbell (1858 - 16 May 1921)**- One of the chaplains who arrived in the Philippines with the American occupation forces in 1898; he was the first to celebrate Episcopal service in the Philippines on 4 September 1898.

**Potter, Henry Codman (May 25, 1835 – July 21, 1908)** - Bishop of New York; he was one of the members of the Joint Committee on the Increased Responsibilities of the Church created by the Episcopal Church during its General Convention in 1898; he joined the fact-finding mission to assess the condition of the Philippines and recommended the opening of mission.

**Puyao** - The Municipal District President of Balbalan, Kalinga who together with other leaders of Balbalasang Balbalan, Kalinga petitioned the church to establish mission in their community in 1925.

**Rulite, Alejandro** – A Filipino who was elected as first rector of Church of the Resurrection in Baguio leading to Filipinization of leadership in the aforesaid parish.

**Saleeby, Najeeb Mitry (1870 -1935)** - The first medical director of the University Hospital (St. Luke's Hospital) in 1907; opened a training school for nurses with the endorsement of Bishop Brent in order to meet the needs of the hospitals and other medical institutions in the country.

**Serapion, Loreto**- He was of Filipino parentage but born in Cuba; he was ordained deacon on 15 August 1915 and a priest on 26 March 1916. In a sense, he was the first Filipino Episcopal priest to serve in the Philippine district of the Episcopal Church.

**Sibley, Edward Allen** – Started work in the Philippines in 1907 but took charge of the Bontoc mission when Fr Walter Clayton Clapp retired in 1911.

**Smiley, James**- Appointed by the board of missions of the Episcopal Church as its representative in the Philippines after the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, to which the latter belonged, decided to withdraw from the Philippines because of organizational problems back home.

**Staunton, John A. Jr. (14 April 1864 – 24 May 1944)** - The pioneer missionary to Sagada, from 1904 to 1925, who led the industrial project of the church; he resigned in 1924 due to disagreement with Bishop Mosher.

**Studley, Hobart** - A former Dutch Reformed Church missionary in China who was recruited to take charge of the Episcopal Church Mission for the Chinese in Manila in 1904.

**Suluén, Mark** - One of the first three Igorots to be recommended as postulants for Holy Orders in 1933, ordained deacon in 1939.

**Ticobay, Narciso (19 March 1932 – 21 July 2013)** - An Igorot priest who was sent to help the Anglican mission in the interior of North Borneo. He was sent in May 1960 and therefore became the first overseas missionary; later became a Prime Bishop in 1993.

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