

## **Chapter V**

### **The Relief Societies**

President William McKinley directed the Philippine expeditions to concentrate in San Francisco and prepare for overseas duty. McKinley chose the site because the Bay City featured excellent port facilities and an established military infrastructure. Unfortunately, the Army did not possess sufficient resources to accommodate the welfare needs of all soldiers assembled at the Golden Gate. San Franciscans rallied to offer assistance. One unforeseen and fortuitous dividend of the president's selection was the extent to which the civilian community embraced its uniformed visitors.

Specifically, citizens supported relief societies that emerged to care for soldiers in myriad ways. Politicians, businessmen, entrepreneurs, educators, and clergymen joined Bay Area residents to establish and sustain Red Cross organizations that were devoted to troop welfare. Working closely with the military, the state association and local society embarked on projects that augmented the medical care, equipment issue, and dietary offerings extended to thousands of soldiers encamped about San Francisco.

Some of these same civilian patrons supported another relief society that formed to look after Volunteers' family members. The Patriotic Home Helpers offered food and shelter to needy wives and children of community men who joined the military. San Francisco demonstrated a willingness to support others as well as its own during the war against Spain.

### **The Red Cross**

#### **Background**

On 24 December 1897, Secretary of State John Sherman petitioned the general public on behalf of the President of the United States. In an open letter to the American citizenry, Sherman appealed for support in providing humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people. Many of the island's inhabitants suffered materially in the wake of their revolution against Spain begun in February 1895. Thousands of Cubans faced terrible sanitation conditions, inadequate food, and deadly disease in "reconcentration" camps that General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau established.<sup>1</sup>

Clara Barton's American National Red Cross responded to Sherman's plea by committing to relief efforts on behalf "of the sufferers in Cuba."<sup>2</sup> Yet only four months after the secretary of state solicited help for Cubans, the United States' declaration of war substantially altered the scope of assistance needed from benevolent organizations. The president's call for

thousands of military Volunteers expanded support requirements to include those Americans gathered to join the Army who were located in state and federal camps. By 1 May 1898, the geographic magnitude of the welfare task changed as well, embracing an island 90 miles off the Florida coast and a Pacific archipelago more than 7,000 miles west of San Francisco.

The National Red Cross responded to American servicemen's needs by pledging "to render auxiliary medical and hospital service during the war."<sup>3</sup> Representatives served "oral notice of the intention of the Red Cross to be ready to furnish any supplemental aid that might be required by the armies in the field."<sup>4</sup> On 9 June 1898, Secretary of War Russell A. Alger officially accepted the Red Cross's offer to assist in caring for troops. Through a letter issued by the Surgeon General, he alerted chief surgeons in the field that Barton's organization had "full authority to send agents and supplies to all our camps."<sup>5</sup>

Alger's official sanction merely confirmed what had already been practiced thousands of miles from Washington, DC for nearly a month. During May 1898, Red Cross societies in the trans-Mississippi west had begun their work in support of units mobilizing to serve in the war. Specifically, San Francisco Bay Area organizations evolved to assist the Regular and Volunteer units that concentrated about the Golden Gate.

## **Organization**

California's Red Cross effort to support Volunteers appeared shortly after Congress declared war on Spain. Throughout the state, local societies took root. Most commonly, these organizations developed in communities preparing to send federalized National Guardsmen to war. The city of San Francisco had one complete infantry regiment intent upon gaining Volunteer Army status. Although this goal provided enough incentive to establish a Red Cross organization in the city, Alger offered an additional stimulus on 26 April 1898. In a letter to California governor James H. Budd, Secretary of War Alger announced that California National Guard units would rendezvous at San Francisco.<sup>6</sup>

In response to these developments, citizens were invited to attend the first meeting of the "Red Cross League and Sanitary Commission of California" on 2 May 1898. Members of the San Francisco community were encouraged to support a society dedicated to providing for state Volunteers. The invitation to constitute a Red Cross indicated that "This organization has been formed to provide California troops, called to defend their flag and country, with medical and other supplies, and to care for our soldier boys in camp and hospital."<sup>7</sup>



The Examiner, 1 July 1898

Figure 66.

The 2 May meeting at the California Hotel actually welcomed representatives from Bay Area Red Cross organizations. One woman who attended proclaimed, “We’re fighting as surely for our country in this full membership of ours under the Red Cross as though we had shouldered muskets and marched away.”<sup>8</sup> Other delegates who shared her sense of duty joined in chartering the California Red Cross Society. Representatives empowered the league to pursue local branch issues. An executive committee composed of key political figures and spiritual leaders, “the leading philanthropic women and foremost business men of the city,” was named to supervise the organization’s activities.<sup>9</sup>

Executive committee women, led by the society’s president, Mrs. Willard B. Harrington, established numerous Red Cross subcommittees that defined the league’s special areas of interest: constitution, finance, schools, subscription solicitations, nurses, entertainment, and clubs. These groups toiled to achieve the league’s main objective to care for California men going to war. Pursuing this goal was no small task, given the military’s questionable ability to clothe, equip, and care for thousands of new soldiers. Harrington observed that the federal government provided



Figure 67. Mrs. Willard B. Harrington.

the “barest of necessities” for its Volunteers. She added, “It is our duty . . . to see that the boys who go to fight for us, while we remain at home in comfort and safety, should be provided for to the best of our ability.”<sup>10</sup> The society, therefore, intended to work closely with the military to identify and meet the needs of soldiers who marshaled in San Francisco.

Harnessing suitable resources to assist the military simply exceeded the capacity of only one Red Cross chapter. The San Francisco-based California Red Cross Society therefore set out to coordinate the work of branches across the state. Two developments assisted the society in realizing this goal: emerging Red Cross branches in Los Angeles, Visalia, Alameda, and Vallejo supported establishing a state-wide organization and the designation of San Francisco as the assembly point for Regular and Volunteer units bound for the Philippines.<sup>11</sup>

On 25 May 1898, the California Red Cross Society assisted in setting up a coordinating authority when it reorganized into two bodies.<sup>12</sup> The first organization, the San Francisco Red Cross Society, emerged to supervise activities that had a local focus. Mrs. John F. Merrill was elected president. The second organization, the California State Red Cross Association or Auxiliary, evolved to orchestrate the efforts of organizations across the state. Harrington as-



Figure 68. Mrs. John F. Merrill.

sumed the presidency of the new state body. In keeping with its broader charter, the state association announced that local Red Cross organizations should “equip their own troops. . . . In the field the general society would look after all the troops and thus there would be no conflict of the main and subordinate organizations.”<sup>13</sup>

Red Cross personnel who formed the California state association chose to be administered by a board of managers. Composed of 15 members, the board represented the state’s largest local organizations. Given their proximity to “the scene of embarkation,” San Francisco and Alameda county achieved the greatest numeric advantage on the board. The association accorded San Francisco six members and Alameda county four representatives (Oakland, two; Alameda, one; Berkeley, one). The remaining five delegates hailed from Los Angeles, Sacramento, Marin, Santa Clara, and San Joaquin.<sup>14</sup>

The state association established a headquarters in two rooms on the second floor of *The Examiner*, or Hearst, Building.<sup>15</sup> Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, a noted philanthropist and William Randolph Hearst’s mother, donated rooms rent-free to the Red Cross.<sup>16</sup> The state organization did not employ salaried officers. Volunteer workers attended the offices between 0900 and approximately 1800.<sup>17</sup> Operating out of rooms at this location gave Red Cross officials easy access to critical military agencies. The Hearst Building was positioned at the southeast corner of Market and Third Streets in downtown San Francisco. It stood less than a block from Phelan Building offices of the US Army’s Pacific and California territorial departments and only several blocks from the depot quartermaster at 36 New Montgomery Street.<sup>18</sup>



Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope

Figure 69. Mrs. Phoebe Hearst.

The San Francisco Red Cross Society also enjoyed a favorable proximity to the same military facilities. The local society established its headquarters in the Claus Spreckels Building on Market and Third Streets, adjacent

to the Hearst Building and state association offices.<sup>19</sup> League volunteers operated from second-floor rooms provided by Spreckels, a wealthy entrepreneur who amassed a fortune through investing in the sugar industry.<sup>20</sup> Beginning 7 May, a local Red Cross representative moved about Rooms 204 to 207, tending to society business from 1000 to 1700.<sup>21</sup>

The state association and local society operated in tandem. Key members occasionally held positions in both organizations. Harrington, Merrill, and Mrs. L.L. Dunbar, secretary of the California State Red Cross Association, collaborated to orchestrate the subcommittees' efforts; they met daily with civilian volunteers.<sup>22</sup> Both the state and local Red Cross shared the use of a 16 Post Street warehouse loaned by the estate of "Bonanza King" James G. Fair. There, the organizations received donations and stored a "multiplicity of things received."<sup>23</sup>

## Fundraising

Initially, the California Red Cross Society sought a type of donation that would have been better stored in a safe than a warehouse—money. Doctor William E. Hopkins, Surgeon General, California National Guard, estimated that "about \$9000 would be required . . . to fit the medical corps for a campaign."<sup>24</sup> That figure pertained to requirements generated by California Volunteers only. As the War Department designated more units for service in Manila, the financial obligation to care for additional units increased. To generate monetary support intended to care for troops, the Governor of California, Mayor of San Francisco, and Red Cross officials issued a proclamation on 5 May 1898: "Let us rally to the aid of our country's defenders. We need money for necessities, not for luxuries. And as time is pressing, the money should be given at once."<sup>25</sup>

Mrs. F.G. Sanborn, chairman of the California Red Cross Society's subscription committee, circulated her own announcement. On 9 May, she and other Red Cross officials asked for assistance in raising a fund to provide "such articles for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers and sailors as are not provided for by the Government of the United States." Members of her committee thrust pledge books into the hands of eager volunteers prepared to solicit and record contributions. The organization also maintained subscription lists at several newspaper offices and placed donation boxes at various points in the city.<sup>26</sup>

Revenues "began to flow in slowly but surely" to Red Cross headquarters.<sup>27</sup> Starting in mid-May, the *San Francisco Call* and *San Francisco Daily Report* published information on Red Cross activities, solicitations, and funds several times a week. By 17 May, less than two weeks after

announcing its initial appeal, the California Red Cross Society gathered subscriptions of \$13,662.<sup>28</sup> On 27 June, Mrs. W.P. Morgan, the local organization's finance chairman, listed revenues at \$47,277.<sup>29</sup> Just over two weeks later, the San Francisco Red Cross Society reported \$51,866.<sup>30</sup> By the time of the peace protocol, the finance committee accounted for revenues that totaled \$58,139.<sup>31</sup>



San Francisco Call, 25 May 1898

Figure 70.

The San Francisco society secured funds through a variety of sources. Morgan organized her 31 May statement of contributions in eight categories: general subscriptions; schools; clubs, churches, and associations; San Francisco Fire Department; San Francisco Produce Exchange; Stock and Bond Exchange; monthly subscriptions; entertainment; and benefits. Of

the total receipts, “general subscriptions” accounted for slightly more than 66 percent.<sup>32</sup>

The dominance of “general subscriptions” could be traced to individual contributors’ donations. Some were among the more noteworthy of the San Francisco region; others gave anonymously or subscribed from afar. Mayor James D. Phelan was among the first to respond to the early May solicitation when he wrote a check for \$200.<sup>33</sup> Claus Spreckels contributed \$1,000 toward the end of the month. Mrs. A.S. Townsend, a local philanthropist and one of the Red Cross’s greatest supporters, gave \$1,000 on 26 May.<sup>34</sup> Spreckels and Townsend accounted for the largest single donations given in spring and summer 1898. Many others gave smaller sums, including A.B. McCreery, \$100; three little girls’ fireworks money, \$10; a “friend”, \$27; and a soldier, \$1.<sup>35</sup>

Schools, too, routinely made contributions. At the organizational meeting on 2 May, discussion included how to include school children in the Red Cross effort. During May and June, the local society seldom released a report on its finances without noting money, no matter how seemingly insignificant, that the school children offered. For example, the Golden Gate Primary School gave 75 cents for its second subscription.<sup>36</sup> The Sutro Primary School delivered \$10.<sup>37</sup> Others contributing included the school children of Mill Valley, \$20; Monroe School, \$10; Humbolt School, \$1; and Girls Mission High School, \$38.<sup>38</sup> Schools also participated in “entertainments and benefits,” activities that generated revenue for the Red Cross. The Strawberry Festival at Clement Grammar School, for example, netted more than \$112.<sup>39</sup>

Sports, cultural events, and military activities raised the most money in this category. “Red Cross Day” observed on Friday, 27 May, at the Oakland Race Track yielded \$1514 from the California and Pacific Coast Jockey Clubs.<sup>40</sup> A 9 June baseball game at Recreation Park between the 13th Minnesota Volunteers and the San Francisco Baseball Club produced \$77.<sup>41</sup> Mr. Fritz Scheel conducted the San Francisco symphony orchestra at a 2 June matinee performance in the Baldwin Theater. The concert before an audience described as “not over large” generated proceeds of \$219.<sup>42</sup> The San Francisco Press Club hosted the sale of pictures by artists and art students in mid-June, raising \$706.70 for the Red Cross.<sup>43</sup>

The San Francisco Red Cross Society also conceived of a benefit that tapped Volunteer regiments’ services. On Friday evening, 17 June, the local organization sponsored a “reception” for 13th Minnesota Volunteers at the Mechanics’ Pavilion. Society members invited the public to purchase admission tickets and watch the regiment perform various drills.

The program included physical exercise with arms, guard mount, bayonet exercise, company drill, and a review by MG Wesley Merritt.<sup>44</sup> The benefit raised nearly \$700.<sup>45</sup> Eleven days later, troops from the 51st Iowa offered a similar fundraising program at the Mechanics' Pavilion. MG Elwell Otis served as reviewing officer. The Native Daughters of the Golden West, who sponsored the Red Cross benefit, charged patrons 25 cents for a seat in the gallery or 50 cents for one on the main floor. Proceeds netted more than \$322.<sup>46</sup>



Figure 71.

A number of donations from various professional, business, and government organizations also added revenues to the local Red Cross. The Retail Liquor Dealers gave a whopping \$1,132 in early July.<sup>47</sup> During June, the San Francisco Post Office Branch of the Red Cross Society pledged \$100 per month.<sup>48</sup> Its August contribution reached \$150.<sup>49</sup> Other notable donors were the Japanese Society, \$160; the Japanese Bank, \$25; the

Sam Yups of Chinatown, \$112; Risdon Iron Works employees, \$110; San Francisco Bar Association, \$25; and not to be outdone, Merrill, Barker, and Hill's Guinea Pig Show, \$50.<sup>50</sup>

## Goods and Services

In addition to cash, the Red Cross encouraged gifts of goods and services. Early donations included essentials to get the Red Cross operational. Mrs. Phoebe Hearst and Claus Spreckels offered rent-free rooms in Market Street office buildings for use as Red Cross headquarters. To furnish state association offices, the Fuller Desk Company provided chairs and desks. Sloane and Company gave rugs.<sup>51</sup> A telephone company installed a phone "and allowed the use of it absolutely free for eight months."<sup>52</sup> The Hicks-Judd Company, a publishing enterprise that subsequently printed Volunteer unit histories as part of *Campaigning in the Philippines* by Karl Irving Faust, supplied the league with stationery and printing free of charge.<sup>53</sup> Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies allowed the Red Cross to use their wires at no cost.<sup>54</sup> John Monahan and Company, commercial book and job printers, contributed 1,000 subscription blanks, enabling the Red Cross to collect pledges.<sup>55</sup>

Once organized, the society asked citizens for clothing and personal articles or the materials to make them. In some instances, civilian volunteers solicited specific items based on requests made by the military of the Red Cross. On 18 May, the *Daily Report* announced that "the society has issued a call for donations of muslin for pillow cases and sheeting. . . . A large supply of flannel is wanted for abdominal bandages. The Government has asked the society for 6000 of them."<sup>56</sup>

Organizations and individuals responded. The Needlework Guild donated 4,234 handkerchiefs and towels. Greenbaum, Weil, and Michels, importers and manufacturers of men's furnishing goods, offered the society one day's work on the factory's 200 sewing machines.<sup>57</sup> Mrs. A.S. Townsend sent 500 yards of muslin for bandages.<sup>58</sup> The Oregon Red Cross donated 600 caps and 1,000 bandages in early June.<sup>59</sup> Redington and Company, importers and jobbers, provided 500 fans.<sup>60</sup> The Native Daughters of the Red Cross furnished 300 caps and bandages.<sup>61</sup>

The Red Cross also regularly asked for "comfort bags." These personal items were made of denim and measured 7 inches long and 2 inches wide when opened. The bags contained buttons, thread, needles, pins, and safety pins. Society volunteers encouraged the public to include "coarse needles . . . as men at best are never good sewers, and it would be a difficult matter for the soldiers to thread a fine needle."<sup>62</sup>

San Francisco Call, 19 May 1898

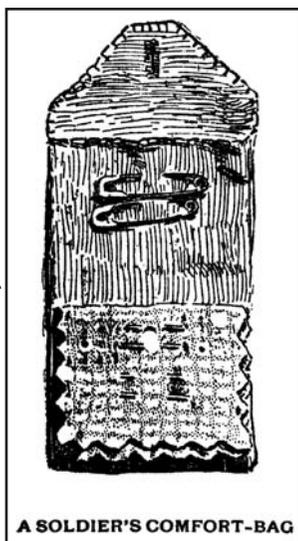


Figure 72.

fruit.<sup>65</sup> The State Board of Trade sent 225 boxes of fruit to the society's hospitality rooms at the Ferry Building by the bay. The Union Ice Company contributed all the ice needed in the hospital department.<sup>66</sup> Belmont School sent 12 gallons of milk daily to Camp Merritt to be apportioned among the regiments.<sup>67</sup> The American Union Fish Company dispatched 3,000 pounds of fish to the Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Montana Volunteers.<sup>68</sup> Fish and Game Warden Joseph A. Mogan conducted "another" raid on fishermen and sent 1,000 pounds of confiscated fish to the Red Cross.<sup>69</sup> The Trinity Church ladies prepared 565 lunches, and Grace Church sent 124 packages of food to the Ferry Building hospitality rooms.<sup>70</sup>

Others who offered donations included Messieurs Grey, Mitchell, and A.A. Hold who secured wood for hospital tent floors at Lime Point, Fort Baker, and other areas that accommodated troops. These men inspired six lumber companies to each donate 1,500 feet of lumber.<sup>71</sup> The Pacific Pine Lumber Company subsequently presented floor covering for five hospital tents.<sup>72</sup> Mrs. Alferitz and sons donated 1,700 postals, a popular item among the soldiers. The Red Cross noted toward the end of June that 10,316 postals had been distributed to the Volunteers.<sup>73</sup> G.M. Joselyn and Company of San Francisco, ship chandlers, donated a large quantity of bunting "for Red Cross flags to go to Manila."<sup>74</sup>

## Arrivals

After the 2d Oregon's lead units slipped unnoticed into San Francisco on 13 May, California Red Cross Society volunteers resolved to establish

a welcome for troops. The organization learned at a meeting on 17 May that large numbers of soldiers were expected to arrive within 24 hours. Reverend Jacob Voorsanger, rabbi of the Temple Emmanu-El Synagogue and member of the Red Cross advisory board, “had already proposed that something be done in the way of cheer for the stranger at the ferry landing.”<sup>75</sup> A Red Cross executive committee report recorded concern that men were likely to arrive “hungry and travel worn, with the prospect of a long march through a strange city, and the further probability of waiting for food for hours after arriving at their destination.”<sup>76</sup> Spurred by offers of assistance from the Salvation Army and Mayor Phelan, the society elected to provide refreshments for newly arrived forces. Through this activity, the organization intended to offer uniformed newcomers “a practical California welcome” and “an introduction to the Red Cross Society.”<sup>77</sup>

On 18 May, society volunteers implemented the program. Perhaps a little overzealous in their execution, Red Cross personnel crossed the bay and fed one of Oregon’s battalions just after the troops reached Oakland. When other comrades arrived from the same state and boarded a bay ferry at Oakland, the Red Cross embarked and served refreshments during the short trip to San Francisco.<sup>78</sup>

That venture was the only instance in which members of the San Francisco society crossed the bay to greet troops. Thereafter, the local organization instituted welcoming festivities at San Francisco’s Ferry Building. To prepare for inbound units, members of the Red Cross hospitality committee coordinated with Southern Pacific officials who operated both railroad and ferry services. Exact arrival times were often difficult to establish; therefore committee volunteers gathered at the depot around 0600 when the first ferries departed Oakland for San Francisco.<sup>79</sup>

The *Call* described a typical Red Cross wel-



Record of Red Cross Work on Pacific Slope

Figure 73. Ready for work at the Ferry Building.

come. Normally troops offloaded ferries, then stacked their weapons and grounded other pieces of equipment. After forming into ranks, the men moved to the Ferry Building, marching to music the Merchants' Association band or a recently arrived regiment provided. Soldiers entered Red Cross hospitality rooms that had the "appearance of a flower show owing to the great quantity of exquisite blossoms hanging in garlands" and adorning tables.<sup>80</sup>

Once inside, men passed through lines of volunteer servers who offered hot coffee and an assortment of food: stew, hard-boiled eggs, pork and beans, hot bread and butter, sandwiches, cheeses, doughnuts, fruits, pies, and cakes.<sup>81</sup> Many troops devoured their first home-cooked food in weeks. Acting on requests from the Red Cross, local churches, synagogues and the general public provided much of the food.<sup>82</sup> On one occasion when the number of soldiers served virtually exhausted supplies, restaurants near the Ferry Building sent provisions.<sup>83</sup>



Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope

Figure 74. Dispensing hospitality at the Ferry Building.

The Red Cross welcome made an immediate, lasting impression on troops. Private William S. Christner, 10th Penn-sylvania, wrote his parents on 26 May 1898, "When we arrived at Frisco the ladies of the Red Cross society met us and such a breakfast the boys had not eaten for some time. Then they packed our haversacks with sandwiches, oranges, and bananas. Grapes and apricots were given us in plenty."<sup>84</sup>

Another Volunteer, Private A.G. Baker, 1st Colorado, recalled the experience in his personal narrative of the war. As he prepared to disembark near the ferry depot on 21 May, Baker and his fellow Coloradans believed they would not be fed until completing the 4-mile march to Camp Merritt. To their surprise, the ladies of the Red Cross awaited with food prepared. Members of the regiment were ushered into a large room “decorated with flags and patriotic colors. In the center of the room was an immense lunch counter laden with everything a hungry soldier could desire.” Baker wrote that the ladies “served rich brown coffee, dainty sandwiches, cold meats of all kinds, cakes, cookies, pies and other deserts. Then apples, oranges, bananas, peaches and grapes, products of our modest sister state, were passed around.”<sup>85</sup> Other Volunteer and Regular forces enjoyed a similar experience.



Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope

Figure 75. A cup of coffee at ferry Red Cross room.

As troops prepared to depart the Ferry Building for their camps in the city, the Red Cross and military units exchanged salutes. Mr. James B. Stetson, president of the California Street Cable Railroad and North Pacific Coast Railroad, usually served as toastmaster. Dubbed the “Ferry

Godfather” by fellow Red Cross volunteers, Stetson organized and led the festivities.<sup>86</sup> Each unit honored its hostesses with “three cheers and a tiger” for tendering such a splendid welcome. Other regiments offered more tangible expressions of thanks. For example, the 1st Montana presented “a beautiful gold mounted watch chain, made of sorrel horsehair, for the president of the Red Cross, Mrs. Merrill.”<sup>87</sup> One soldier among recruits of the 18th and 23d Infantry Regiments left a dollar in appreciation for the society’s reception.<sup>88</sup>



Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope

Figure 76. Good cheer at the Ferry Building.

As troops moved out of the ferry depot, some with food stuffed in their pockets, the Red Cross offered blank postal cards to soldiers who could then write friends and relatives at home. The ladies also presented each soldier “with choice flowers with which to adorn themselves, giving them a picturesque appearance along the line of march.”<sup>89</sup> The *Call* recorded that “the boys like to decorate and adorn their belts with roses, and embellish their gun barrels with calla lilies.”<sup>90</sup> (See figure 77.)

Between 18 May and the battle for Manila on 13 August, Red Cross volunteers stood watch at San Francisco’s Ferry Building, ready to greet every unit that entered the city. On at least one occasion, the society’s workers offered more than the usual welcome of food and flowers. When 16 recruits from Texas arrived for duty with the Regular Army, they brought nothing but the clothes they wore. Red Cross members provided



Figure 77.

the men with food, clothing, and streetcar fare to the Presidio where they were assigned to their units.<sup>91</sup>

## Departures

As expeditions prepared to leave San Francisco for the Philippines, Red Cross volunteers worked on several fronts to ready troops for their journey. The society gathered meals to give to soldiers who awaited dockside. The ladies also provided other services intended to comfort the troops as they braced for their long voyage overseas.

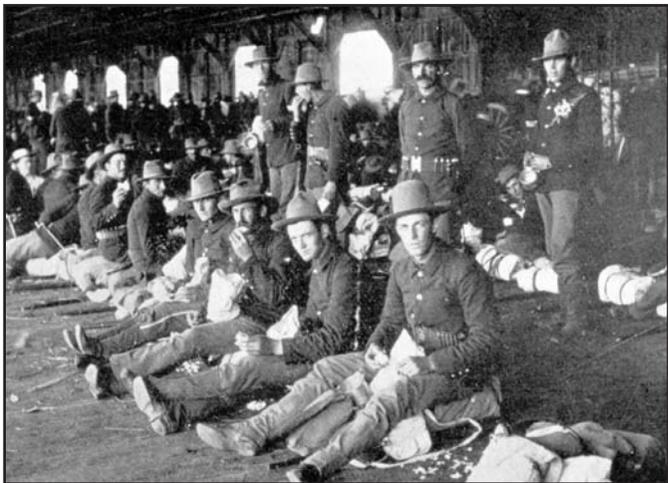
Units of the first expedition began to break camp and converge on three steamers during the fourth week of May. Near the ferry depot, Mrs. C.S. Wright managed the distribution of 11,000 lunches that were collected after the First Presbyterian Church issued a call for support.<sup>92</sup> Members of the 1st California Regiment boarded a troop transport, the *City of Peking*, to find chests and ammunition boxes “arranged on deck, in lieu of tables, and on these was spread the repast for officers and men.”<sup>93</sup> When a bag-

gage mix-up forced the 2d Oregon Regiment to remain dockside for hours before boarding the *Australia*, the Red Cross provided food.<sup>94</sup> After troops completed loading the *City of Sydney*, all three ships entered the stream and prepared to depart. While at anchor, each transport received a visit from Red Cross volunteers aboard the tugboats *Reliance* and *Monarch*. The organization's workers aboard these vessels transferred packages to troops on the steamers.<sup>95</sup>

The Red Cross offered additional aid to units that departed in June. Mrs. Merrill, president of the San Francisco society, appealed to the public for food donations as soldiers marshaled for the second expedition.<sup>96</sup> Response from the citizenry enabled a Red Cross delegation to provide the men with a lunch of coffee and sandwiches.<sup>97</sup> The Oakland and San Francisco societies distributed identification (ID) badges to Volunteers and Regulars who embarked the same month.<sup>98</sup>

The society renewed its call for public assistance as the third expedition prepared to sail. On 26 June, the *Call* published an announcement that solicited help: "As the soldiers will go aboard the transports to-day, it is asked that all lunches be sent to Mrs. Lowenberg, chairman of the hospitality committee."<sup>99</sup> Local community organizations and churches answered the appeal. Sherith Israel Congregation, St. Luke's Episcopal, First Presbyterian, and Temple Emanue-El collectively provided thousands of lunches.<sup>100</sup> Each soldier accepted homemade meals in individual packages "consisting of two meat sandwiches, a hard-boiled egg, cheese, cakes and doughnuts, and an orange or an apple." Troops also received pencils and postcards to write friends and loved ones farewell messages.<sup>101</sup>

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Figure 78. Lunching before sailing from the transport dock.

lunches and delivered them to the Red Cross. Food donations poured into the organization's hospitality quarters at the Ferry Building.<sup>102</sup> On 15 July, the river steamer *Alvira*, with Red Cross representatives and friends of soldiers aboard, cruised the bay to visit departing transports.<sup>103</sup>

## **In Camp**

The Red Cross was the most visible and active relief organization in the encampments. Troops saw the society's volunteers everywhere. The *Call* observed, "There is no day of rest for the ladies of the Red Cross. Visiting hospitals, comforting the sick and supplying the many wants of the boys in blue in these busy war times gives them very little time for recreation."<sup>104</sup>

Much of the Red Cross work in the various San Francisco camps focused on providing "necessaries for the care and comfort of the soldiers in cases where the Government does not supply such necessaries."<sup>105</sup> That broad mandate covered medical care, food and clothing, and in some cases, strong advice to the Army on how to improve troop welfare. The Red Cross exerted influence over the military unlike any other private organization of the era. While careful not to abuse its relationship with the Army, Red Cross officials nevertheless prodded the service to take action on issues related to the well-being of those in uniform.

Certainly, the Red Cross prioritized medical care. Work in this area constituted the organization's greatest contribution to soldiers who assembled in San Francisco. During May, in particular, when Merritt's command struggled to establish adequate medical facilities, the Red Cross moved to assist the military. On 13 May, members of the society's executive committee secured permission from the Presidio's chief surgeon to erect a large hospital tent on the military installation.<sup>106</sup> Through this activity, the organization offered to manage the "more serious cases" admitted to the installation's brigade hospital.<sup>107</sup> By 18 May, the Red Cross tent on the Presidio included 13 patients who variously suffered from a fractured ankle, measles, and tonsillitis. Three experienced male nurses volunteered their services to help oversee operations.<sup>108</sup>

As more troops poured into San Francisco and expanded the camps, demand for medical care became even more acute. Using vacant beds in the Treasury Department's Marine Hospital on the Presidio assisted military surgeons; it did not, however, alleviate the need for more facilities.<sup>109</sup> To cope with this predicament, both the military and the Red Cross welcomed assistance from local civilian hospitals. The hierarchy of the California Red Cross Society played a critical role in both encouraging

and securing support from several of the city's care facilities. Mrs. Willard B. Harrington, Mrs. John F. Merrill, and Mrs. L.L. Dunbar, the leading officials and advocates of Red Cross work, served together on the Board of Directors, Hospital for Children and Training School for Nurses.<sup>110</sup> Their ties to other medical enterprises in the city reaped dividends for MG Merritt's beleaguered medical staff.

As early as 21 May, three days after troops poured into the Bay District Racetrack area, San Francisco's French Hospital offered to open a ward to military patients.<sup>111</sup> The proposal was attractive to Merritt's command for several reasons. First, the facility promised to relieve pressure on the Hospital Corps at a time when scant military dispensaries existed. Second, the French Hospital accorded medical care at no charge to the Army. Third, the facility, located at 5th and Point Lobos Avenues, was situated next to the new encampment selected by MG Merriam.<sup>112</sup> Patients could be evacuated expeditiously from the camp to the hospital.

Merritt's command consented, and the Red Cross assisted in moving soldiers who were afflicted with serious maladies to the French Hospital. Major Clayton H. Parkhill, brigade surgeon, referred four soldiers to the civilian facility for treatment on 25 May. Parkhill observed, "We were without proper means to care for the men at the time and we appreciated their generous offer very much."<sup>113</sup> Over the next 10 days, the hospital tended a total of 100 troops.<sup>114</sup> Major W.O. Owen, commander of the division hospital, would subsequently convey his appreciation to the superintendent of the French Hospital. Owen wrote of "the gratitude I entertain for you and the hospital under your direction for your benevolence in receiving our many sick when we were located at Camp Merritt." Owen referred to the serious cases taken "without charge and with that un-failing courtesy which I shall never cease to remember with the deepest gratification."<sup>115</sup>

On 13 June, the French Hospital reported



San Francisco Call, 13 June 1898

Figure 79.

that 40 soldiers occupied beds in its free ward.<sup>116</sup> Troops sent to the hospital often suffered from pneumonia, meningitis, typhoid fever, and bronchitis.<sup>117</sup> To alleviate some of the demand for care, the Red Cross opened another medical tent furnished with “iron bedsteads, bed clothing, wardrobes, and other necessary equipments” adjacent to the French Hospital.<sup>118</sup> By 20 July, the French Hospital patient count had dropped to 23 soldiers, in part because other civilian hospitals had volunteered to assist the military.<sup>119</sup>

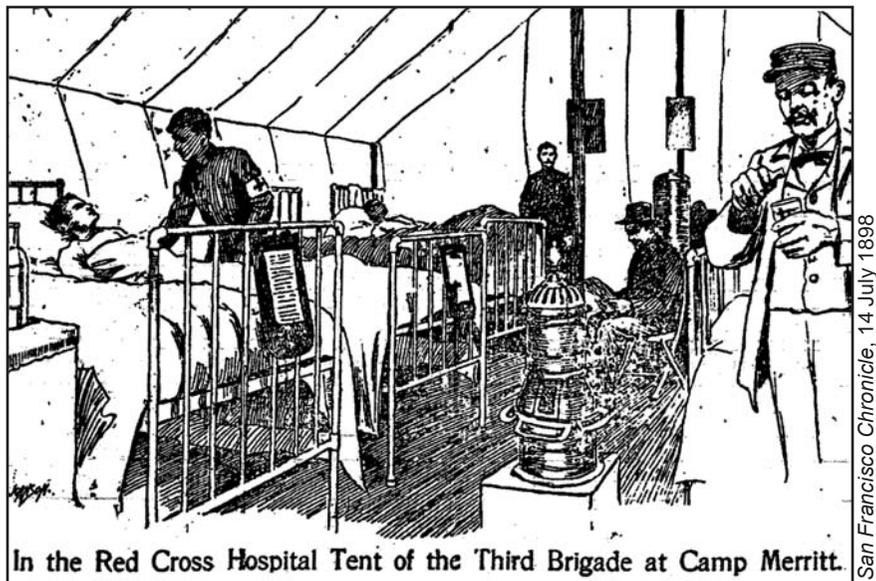


Figure 80.

One week after the French Hospital tendered its services, the German Hospital followed suit. The facility extended free care to troops who were too ill to be treated in the Red Cross tents.<sup>120</sup> Later, St. Luke’s Hospital made a similar offer.<sup>121</sup> Essentially, the Red Cross and San Francisco area medical facilities joined in a patient evacuation process that dispatched soldiers through four progressive stages: regimental, brigade/division, Red Cross, and local civilian hospitals.

Sometimes hospital care could not prevent death. Even in those instances, the Red Cross extended comfort to the affected troops. On 30 May 1898, a Minnesota Volunteer who had battled typhoid pneumonia passed away at the French Hospital. The *Call* described the Red Cross assistance that was rendered: “The young man was without friends in this State. . . . The Red Cross Society provided delicacies and their representative, Miss

Frank, was at his bedside when the final moment came. The Red Cross will immediately write to the mother of the unfortunate boy, telling her of the care that was shown him and of the efforts to save his life.”<sup>122</sup>

Red Cross volunteers worked to enhance medical care in other ways. The society erased medicine shortages that plagued the 1st Nebraska Infantry.<sup>123</sup> Surgeons of the 20th Kansas asked the organization to provide nourishment for hospitalized troops because the unit had no means to prepare sustenance for the sick.<sup>124</sup> The Oakland Red Cross also assisted military patients who were recovering from measles and pneumonia by securing appropriate food for them. The organization’s hospital committee solicited the public for “clam juice, jelly, canned soup, fresh eggs, beef extract and malted milk.”<sup>125</sup>

Another way the Red Cross looked after the welfare of Merritt’s command was to provide each soldier with two bandages and the expertise on how to dress them. Volunteers from the Red Cross and Sanitary Corps conducted 30-minute drills in camp on how to use emergency bandages. Civilians conducting the class employed a chart to exhibit how to care for wounds. Soldiers used a “square of muslin cut diagonally” without stitching to practice their dressing.<sup>126</sup>

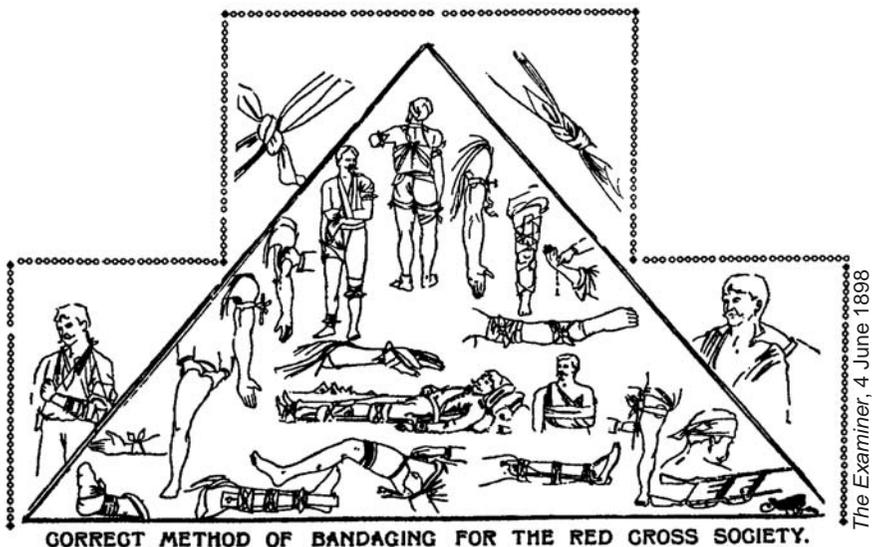


Figure 81.

Troops needed little instruction in finding more practical uses for bandages. When the Red Cross distributed two per man within the 1st South Dakota Infantry, the *Call* reported that Volunteers welcomed the dressings.

Wrappings proved “to be as great a preventive against cold in this climate as against more serious complaints in the tropics.”<sup>127</sup>

In addition to medical care, the Red Cross also busied itself looking after the troops’ quality of life. Units frequently arrived in camp with men who lacked essentials. Red Cross representatives furnished camp equipment, clothing, and financial assistance to many in need. The organization donated stoves to the California Heavy Artillery Batteries quartered in the Fontana warehouse.<sup>128</sup> The society also advanced artillerymen \$500 to purchase basic supplies.<sup>129</sup> Some Volunteers from the 6th California Infantry lacked proper shoes; the Red Cross provided footwear.<sup>130</sup> In July, the society distributed “shoes and other necessities” to 1st Nebraska Infantry recruits who arrived at Camp Merritt partially equipped.<sup>131</sup> On 11 August, the Red Cross furnished meal money to several 1st Tennessee Infantry troops who were going home on sick leave.<sup>132</sup>

The organization also worked to provide all Volunteers and Regulars with an ID badge. Inspired by “the long list of unknown dead of the Civil War,” the San Francisco Red Cross Society claimed the idea originated locally “and that no such means of identification were taken in the east.” About the size of a “half dollar,” the aluminum badge was “inscribed with the company, regiment, and number of each soldier.”<sup>133</sup> Some badges displayed a cross on one side.<sup>134</sup> When several states failed to furnish aluminum medals for their Volunteers, the Red Cross pledged to supply them.<sup>135</sup> The society distributed badges before regiments embarked for the Philippines.<sup>136</sup> Nearly two decades later, the US Army would issue ID disks to all combat soldiers during World War I. Troops would subsequently refer to their ID disks as “dog tags.”<sup>137</sup>

Volunteers and Regulars in the San Francisco camps benefited from Red Cross efforts in another quality-of-life area: sustenance. Aided by local restaurants and hostelrys in early June, the society assisted South Dakotans who went into camp without food.<sup>138</sup> The same month, the Red Cross learned of 5,200 pounds of striped bass a local fish commissioner had confiscated. Shortly before the consignment was to be destroyed, the Red Cross purchased and dispatched the lot of 26 boxes to Camp Merritt. Captain W.B. Widner, 51st Iowa Infantry, wrote to the Red Cross Society, “I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of a liberal supply of fish and four boxes of oranges, to be distributed among the Iowa Volunteers. Allow me to say that I consider both gifts very appropriate and assure you that it was delivered as per your request. I thank you for the entire regiment for this and many other favors received.”<sup>139</sup> Later that month, the organization sent a wagonload of fresh vegetables to the North Dakota

regiment, the first such addition to their diet since arriving in camp.<sup>140</sup>

The Red Cross also maintained hospitality rooms at the Ferry Building. Soldiers during their free time away from camp could visit and enjoy homemade foods that local citizens prepared. On 4 July, the San Francisco and Oakland societies joined forces to host soldiers at the depot during the holiday. The Red Cross “provided writing material and turned the entertainment into an ‘at home.’”<sup>141</sup> The *Daily Report* quoted one Volunteer from Kansas describing the generous spreads in the hospitality rooms available to soldiers, “Just like a Baptist picnic at home . . . something good to eat and ladies to wait on you.”<sup>142</sup> The harbor area remained a popular attraction for the troops who gathered in San Francisco and the Red Cross hospitality rooms a special place where all could relax away from the camps.

Finally, the Red Cross became involved in one other area of soldier welfare. The organization advised the military on quality-of-life issues. When camp sick lists grew during summer 1898, the society’s hospital committee offered this perspective: “If more attention were given to the supplying of blankets and proper clothing to the incoming regiments and particularly to the unequipped recruits, we should have less pneumonia, sore throats and bowel troubles to chronicle and probably fewer deaths. . . . this neglect which may seem trifling now to those who are responsible for it, may assume alarming proportions when realized by the nation in the form of largely increased pension roll.”<sup>143</sup> The organization also argued that soldiers needed an improved diet. The same committee report cited above maintained that “One of the greatest needs of all the men, whether sick or well, is an occasional supply of fresh vegetables.”<sup>144</sup> The preceding month, a Red Cross ladies’ visit to the military hospitals prompted an appeal for milk for the patients.<sup>145</sup>

An editorial in the *Daily Report* implicitly acknowledged the Red Cross Society’s influence in this area. For weeks, the newspaper had advocated closing unsanitary Camp Merritt and displacing units to the Presidio. An editor wrote, “Meanwhile, we hope the Board of Health will exert itself to the utmost to abate the nuisance caused by the camp, and so avert the threatened epidemic. The Red Cross, Catholic Truth and other kindred societies could not do better service to the soldiers than by using their great influence along the same lines.”<sup>146</sup>

### **Fitting Out for the Voyage**

A unit’s departure preparations did not mark the end of Red Cross assistance. The society worked to outfit expeditions with articles that would

maintain troop comfort during their long voyage to the Philippine archipelago. In several instances, the organization worked through or at the behest of quartermasters to furnish specific items that the Army requested.

The first official business of the newly organized California State Red Cross Association addressed the initial expedition to Manila. Executive committee members decided to supply the troops with “onions as being a good article of diet.” Accordingly, the president of the organization directed the purchasing committee “to buy a large quantity of them and have them immediately transferred in equal quantities” to each of the expedition’s three transports.<sup>147</sup>

The Red Cross intended to care for members of the first expedition in other ways. Before soldiers boarded the transports, the society ensured that each soldier received a comfort bag, an abdominal belt, and a flannel cap.<sup>148</sup> The society also assisted the 2d Oregon, one of the Volunteer regiments deploying units with the first expedition. Having recently arrived in San Francisco without a regimental fund, the 2d Oregon petitioned the Red Cross for money to purchase supplies, mostly medicines, for use after departing San Francisco. The society decided to advance the regimental surgeon 25 cents per man, assuming that Oregon’s Red Cross would later reimburse their brethren in California.<sup>149</sup>

Red Cross assistance grew considerably more sophisticated when the second expedition departed on 15 June. The society provided each of the transports with an extensive array of items to be used during the voyage. The items included:

2 cases Phillips’ cocoa	4 dozen bottles lime juice
1 case condensed milk	6 large bottles of malted milk
1 case of alcohol	2 boxes unsweetened chocolate
20 pounds permanganate potash	500 pounds dried fruit
1 gallon Jamaica ginger	1 sack (501 pounds) farina
1 keg insect powder	2 cases whisky
1 case clam juice	3 bottles brandy
2 pails anchovies	1 case claret
10 pounds chipped beef	12 dozen towels
90 pounds steamed oatmeal	12 dozen handkerchiefs <sup>150</sup>

The link between the Army and Red Cross was illustrated in the issue over the quantity of dried fruit to be loaded aboard each ship. Specifically, the *Daily Report* revealed that the depot quartermaster, Major Oscar Long, informed the Red Cross that he wanted “1000 pounds of dried fruits for each of the five ships in the next fleet of transports.”<sup>151</sup>

For the third and fourth expeditions, Red Cross volunteers intended

to bolster troop welfare during the voyage by calling for additional items they had not solicited earlier. The society continued its practice of outfitting deploying troops with bandages and caps.<sup>152</sup> By late June, however, the organization's volunteers asked for games, cards, puzzles, and other items that soldiers could use to pass the time during a voyage that lasted nearly four weeks.<sup>153</sup>

Attention that Red Cross officials gave to this aspect of troop welfare did not go unrecognized. One 1st California officer wrote from Hawaii during a stop on his voyage to the Philippines, "The books, magazines and papers donated by the Red Cross Society have proved a great source of pleasure to all hands and have lessened the monotony of the run here to a great extent. The next expedition should be furnished with a good supply of salt water soap in order that the men may be able to use salt water to wash with, as it is not practicable to furnish enough fresh water for this purpose." Mrs. Harrington, president of the state Red Cross, responded to the letter by directing that the next expedition include those items the officer suggested.<sup>154</sup>

Soldiers were quite appreciative of the Red Cross's efforts to attend to troop welfare. Most regiments acknowledged the organization's work by writing letters of praise that were published in San Francisco newspapers. When the 13th Minnesota Infantry prepared for departure, the unit's commanding officer, COL McReeve, wrote to the president of the local society: "I beg leave to acknowledge receipt, through our quartermaster, on board the steamer City of Para, thirty-three boxes containing necessities and delicacies for the use of our enlisted men on the voyage to Manila. This very handsome donation, so entirely unexpected by us, adds but another to the many obligations under which we rest to your noble society for your intelligent and unremitting attentions to the wants and comforts of our regiment ever since we have been in your midst."<sup>155</sup>

## **Initiatives to Care for Troops Abroad**

Even before the first expedition departed San Francisco, the Red Cross tackled the challenge of providing for the soldiers who would serve in the Philippines. An editor for the *Daily Report* who lauded the society's work in the city wrote, "The serious business of the Red Cross is to come. . . . The Philippine Islands are going to keep our Red Cross busy a long time, and the society is laying its plans for systematic and thorough work there and here."<sup>156</sup> The society still abided its mandate to dispense food and clothing to soldiers in need throughout the camps; however, providing medical care for those who would fight in the Philippines became one of the organization's foremost priorities.

The organization promoted Red Cross nurse care overseas for Regulars and Volunteers. Less than a week after Dewey's victory in Manila Bay, the California Red Cross Society made plans to dispatch nurses and medical supplies to the Philippines.<sup>157</sup> When men of the first expedition departed on 26 May 1898, they were joined by two Red Cross nurses who volunteered for service abroad. A. Parker Lewis and C.M. Waage, both males, secured permission to accompany the troops and established a Red Cross operation near Manila.<sup>158</sup>

While the organization pondered the need for additional nurses overseas, the Army called with a request. On 18 May, Major Robert H. White, Chief Surgeon, US Expeditionary Forces, asked the society to equip and provide 25 trained nurses for duty in the Philippines. "Only strong able-bodied men are wanted and they must be experienced in the care of the sick and wounded." Nurses, however, would be obligated to enlist in the Army for duty in hospitals. Essentially, these nurses would forfeit their Red Cross identity should they become affiliated with Merritt's command.<sup>159</sup>

The phrase "only strong able-bodied men are wanted" did not deter the Red Cross from championing an overseas role for female nurses. Mrs. Harrington, president of the California State Red Cross Association, was also president of the Hospital for Children and Training School for Nurses. The school was for women. Mrs. Wendell Easton, chairman of the society's Committee of Nurses and a member of the Board of Directors at Children's Hospital, observed, "Despite the fact that it has been publicly and semi-officially stated that women nurses will not be used at Manila, we have had constant and earnest appeals from women asking that their services in the camp and field be accepted. Considering that the decree has gone forth debarring women from this work, the number of women volunteers for this service is surprisingly large. The majority of them are trained graduate nurses and give the best of reference as to their ability and moral character."<sup>160</sup>

At mid-June, the organization issued a public proposal that challenged the male nurse policy. The society advocated the purchase of a hospital ship to be staffed by female nurses. Mrs. Easton offered the following outline: "This plan is to buy a ship with large decks suitable to that tropical climate, and to send a large body of nurses over on this vessel. At Manila, this vessel could be used as a hospital and the sick soldiers moved to it. The nurses could be divided into squads, each squad under an efficient head, and a general authority over all."<sup>161</sup>

Confronted by the need for medical care abroad and the welcomed

offer of assistance from the Red Cross, MG Merritt, according to the *Call*, gave his permission for women to serve as nurses overseas.<sup>162</sup> Energized by this news, the Red Cross executive committee proposed to contact the Secretary of War to “ascertain under what conditions a hospital ship, paid for by the citizens of this city, would be received.”<sup>163</sup> Noting that the “Atlantic coast cities have sent four hospital ships to Cuba,” a *Daily Report* correspondent wrote that Mrs. Harrington “wants someone to suggest a plan of how to get one.”<sup>164</sup>

Merritt advised that a Red Cross hospital ship could be forthcoming from a converted Spanish vessel Dewey captured at Manila Bay.<sup>165</sup> The society petitioned the government to furnish one of the prizes the Asiatic Squadron seized.<sup>166</sup> To outfit the ship, the organization’s executive committee tentatively “decided to ask every bank and every newspaper west of the Rocky Mountains to receive subscriptions for the hospital ship enterprise.” A subsequent meeting would “decide on a definite program.”<sup>167</sup> The society intended to solicit donations from Western states.<sup>168</sup> By 9 July, the Red Cross received its first donations for a hospital ship. Two ladies, one from Ontario and the other from San Francisco, each contributed \$1.<sup>169</sup>

The fund never had a chance to grow. Senator Stewart of Nevada notified the state Red Cross that the federal government committed to pay for the hospital ship project.<sup>170</sup> The *Scandia*, one of the first vessels purchased to form a permanent transport fleet for troops deploying to the Philippines, became America’s floating hospital for service between San Francisco and the archipelago. The vessel, though it did not sail until after the peace protocol, transported male nurses only among its passengers.<sup>171</sup>

The Red Cross continued to place a priority on ensuring that Regulars and Volunteers deployed with bandages. Oakland’s society sent 1700 bandages on the *City of Peking*.<sup>172</sup> The society worked through the depot quartermaster, Major Long, to issue two bandages to all who sailed. On 13 June, ladies of the Red Cross sent 4,800 bandages to Long for those assigned to the second expedition, and 4,294 bandages for soldiers due to sail with the third expedition.<sup>173</sup>

The Red Cross also prepared soldiers for duty in the Philippines by acquainting them with the environment they would encounter. Each soldier received a “useful little folder giving hints in the care of the health in the tropics.”<sup>174</sup> Some troopers probably boarded their transports with at least a slight understanding of Spanish. The Red Cross had donated 100 Spanish primers that a citizen volunteer used to teach language fundamentals to soldiers encamped at San Francisco.<sup>175</sup>

Deployments of expeditions in June afforded the Red Cross an opportunity to dispatch funds to support those in the Philippines. The second expedition took \$1,000 from the society to hire nurses in Manila for the troops stationed in the archipelago.<sup>176</sup> The third expedition carried \$1,500 from the local society to spend on California units' welfare.<sup>177</sup>

## **Patriotic Home Helpers**

### **Organization**

One unique relief organization emerged in San Francisco that was unaffiliated with any international society, national association, or religious denomination. According to the *Daily Report*, the Patriotic Home Helpers formed to assist "the families of the soldiers and sailors who enlisted in the present war."<sup>178</sup> Like the Red Cross, however, women managed and energized the organization, giving it the ability to help those in need.

Just after the first expedition departed for the Philippines, the *Daily Report* and *San Francisco Chronicle* apprised the public of an intent to form a league for the benefit of "needy women, children or other dependents of volunteers." The *Chronicle* extended an invitation to "all patriotic people" to attend an organizational meeting at the Occidental Hotel on Friday, 27 May 1898.<sup>179</sup>

When finally formed on 3 June, the organization adopted the name Patriotic Home Helpers. A number of leading citizens took positions on the Helpers' various boards. Former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Van R. Paterson presided over the meeting that produced the following appointments: US Circuit Judge W.W. Morrow, president; Mayor James D. Phelan, first vice president; and Major William B. Hooper, second vice president. Hooper had been one of the forces behind establishing the league. Mrs. Hester A. Harland accepted the Helpers' secretary position and subsequently emerged as the main volunteer responsible for routine organization business. She maintained office hours at Room 55 of the Occidental Hotel every morning from 1000 until noon.<sup>180</sup>

As early as 1 June, Hooper reported the receipt of numerous requests for assistance in meeting rent and food shortages. He anticipated petitions would continue until payday when some Volunteer dependents would likely be able to cover expenses. Hooper acknowledged others would not.<sup>181</sup> Paterson, noting that pay for the soldier amounted to only about \$15 per month, cautioned that "it will be some time before he can remit this little sum and generally he will need it all for himself." Paterson also expressed concern over the potential magnitude of meeting the organization's goal, "We (California) have about 7000 men who have responded to the call for

troops. Naturally there will be many dependents left in distress.”<sup>182</sup>

Believing the cause essential but anticipating limited resources, the Patriotic Home Helpers turned early in June to the city’s Associated Charities for an important function. The charities had a network of agents who could “investigate the cases of distressed families of soldiers, learn their needs and report to the Patriotic Home Helpers.”<sup>183</sup> Essentially, the Helpers solicited assistance in determining the validity of requests for aid and identifying the most pressing claims.

The *Call* offered two examples of cases that warranted Helpers’ aid. The first was a woman with six children. One son supported the family, and he enlisted, leaving his mother and siblings without any means of support. The second example featured a woman living in poverty and in need of medical assistance. Her husband had joined the Navy.<sup>184</sup>

With limited assistance available and the potential for charity cases to escalate, the Helpers had to establish a set of criteria for applicants to qualify for aid. A discriminator became the soldier or sailor’s residence. The Patriotic Home Helpers was not a national organization and therefore focused on those with local roots. On 3 June, Hooper encouraged the Helpers to assist “dependent relatives of the California volunteers.”<sup>185</sup> Apparently, members of the organization believed that condition was too broad. In less than two weeks, the organization further restricted eligibility. On 15 June, the *Chronicle* reported that the Helpers’ object would be to aid dependents of soldiers and sailors “as were residents of this city at the time of their enlistment and who or may be engaged in the present war.”<sup>186</sup>

Another rule the society adopted considered the number of dependent children in a family. If a mother cared for “from three to seven children in need of wearing apparel,” the Helpers tried to assist. *The Examiner* reported on 1 July that “a worthy woman with six children” received clothing for her sons and daughters from a donation secured by the Helpers on the same day.<sup>187</sup>

The Helpers’ relief committee ultimately had to make some difficult decisions based upon information the Associated Charities gathered. On 29 June, the *Chronicle* reported that Helpers rejected several cases “as undeserving of assistance.”<sup>188</sup> This outcome may have been more a matter of available resources than one of residency. The *Daily Report* had observed earlier “that the demand is too great for the present resources of the society.”<sup>189</sup>

Nevertheless, Helpers assisted dependents of several California

Volunteers. On 13 July, the organization found better shelter and paid a month's lodging for one soldier's family. Helpers assumed the rent for another family that would have lost its housing and dispatched groceries, coal, medicine, and clothing to others.<sup>190</sup> The organization was quite careful in the way it dispensed aid. Helpers did not give money directly to indigent families. Instead, a relief committee person compensated property owners for dependents' rent. League members provided groceries if the soldier's family needed food.<sup>191</sup>

Helpers also attempted to find jobs for the troops' needy family members, particularly wives and mothers. Local papers that published stories on league activities occasionally reported that applicants for aid were "more than anxious to get employment."<sup>192</sup> The organization took the somewhat extraordinary step of forming a committee to approach the depot quartermaster, Major Long, on behalf of "the widows, wives, mothers and daughters of soldiers." The committee was charged to seek for these women "a share in the work of making soldiers' uniforms, etc., contracts for which are being let every few days." *The Examiner* reported that Mrs. Oscar F. Long, an officer in the Red Cross and wife of the depot quartermaster, promised to intercede on behalf of "any applicant for Government work who should present a card from any member of the society."<sup>193</sup>

### **Fundraising and Material Donations**

Not being associated with a larger regional, national, or international affiliate like the Red Cross, the Patriotic Home Helpers never had the ability to solicit financial support from a parent organization. Funding for assistance the Helpers



Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope

Figure 82. Mrs. Oscar Fitzallen Long.

rendered depended exclusively on local sources. Not unlike other organizations, however, individual contributions from Bay Area citizens constituted the mainstay of the group's revenues. The society urged "all patriotic persons" to become members by paying subscriptions of 50 cents a month. Those who were unable to give money were asked to donate clothing and provisions "or to assist in procuring employment for members of dependent families."<sup>194</sup>

Many of those willing to contribute financially gave more than the amount required to obtain membership. Major Hooper, one figure who was instrumental in establishing the society, presented "\$25 and said he would contribute the same sum every month as long as the war continued." Several other committee members within the Helpers organization made similar pledges. Monthly donations frequently ranged from \$1 to \$25. Single contributions fell into a similar bracket with some notable exceptions. Claus Spreckels presented \$1,000. M.J. Wall, Lewis Gerstie, and F.H. Woods each gave \$100. Shreve and Company, cutlery importers, contributed \$150. Crown Distilleries offered \$50. Levi Strauss and Company gave \$25.<sup>195</sup>

Other benefactors emerged to assist the Helpers. When transports from the second expedition departed for the Philippines, the San Francisco and North Pacific Railway Company sold tickets to citizens who wanted to bid farewell from the bay. The railway offered to take 1,000 passengers aboard the company's steamer *Ukiah* at 50 cents a person. Mr. Arthur W. Foster, president of the railway company, donated all excursion receipts to the Patriotic Home Helpers.<sup>196</sup>

One other group rendered assistance. Court Marin, Foresters of America No. 73, gave an entertainment and ball on Thursday, 30 June, for the benefit of the Home Helpers. Apparently, tickets for the event raised enough money to contribute \$102.50 to the Helpers by 16 July.<sup>197</sup>

The San Francisco community assumed an invaluable role in caring for Army troops who gathered at the Golden Gate. Often acting through or supporting the Red Cross, numerous hospitals, church groups, school children, and business people collaborated with others in the community to produce medical assistance, personal items, welcoming festivities, and financial support for the military. Some area residents joined to create the Patriotic Home Helpers, an organization that tended to local Volunteers' needy families. As these societies worked to improve the health and care of their target recipients, other organizations emerged to look after the troops' moral welfare.

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## **Chapter VI**

### **The Religious Organizations**

San Franciscans worked through relief societies to care for soldiers at the Golden Gate. Some supported the Patriotic Home Helpers in an effort to help California Volunteers' indigent family members. Far more citizens and local organizations assisted Red Cross workers who mobilized the aid of city hospitals and provided troops with desperately needed medical care.

While the Red Cross led Bay Area attempts to look after the troops' physical well-being, other community alliances initiated programs aimed at the spiritual welfare of Merritt's command. The San Francisco Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) urged evangelical Protestant denominations to sponsor activities that fortified the soul in the face of numerous "temptations" that surrounded the encampments.

Two other major groups emerged to render spiritual aid to the military. After initiating their own ecclesiastical projects on behalf of those in uniform, members of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor joined forces with the YMCA to accomplish similar ends. The Catholic Truth Society volunteered its services as well. The society conducted mass for troops of the Roman Catholic faith and performed a variety of services for soldiers regardless of their denomination.

#### **Young Men's Christian Association**

##### **Background**

First conceived in England during the 1840s as a service organization, the YMCA offered ways for youthful tradesmen to cope with an immoral urban environment.<sup>1</sup> Looking to establish an alternative to "the saloon" or "an attractive rival of the 'social glass,'" the YMCA rented rooms in London for lectures, foreign language instruction, and religious meetings. The association stocked these accommodations with newspapers, books, and magazines, and all were available to associates during their leisure time. Affiliation with the London group turned on one's religious standing. To join, a young man had to be either "a member of a Christian church" or have given "evidence of his being a converted character."<sup>2</sup>

During the 1850s, the organization took root in the United States and embraced other vocations. The association looked "to seek men where they are in their ordinary contacts of life."<sup>3</sup> Associations evolved that attracted qualified young men among students, railroaders, and soldiers.

Youth who joined the Union cause during the American Civil War found spiritual and material support through the YMCA's Army and Navy Christian Commission. Originally established as an evangelistic initiative dedicated to the religious well-being of military personnel, the commission also worked to augment the troops' medical care and subsistence.<sup>4</sup> Although the organization detached from the Army after the war ended in 1865, the YMCA reestablished contact with the military in the late 1880s. State associations pursued "tent work" at militia campsites, maintaining club room equipment within canvas shelters the troops from the National Guard used.<sup>5</sup>

The affiliation with the military had been established. When the United States went to war with Spain in 1898, members of the YMCA offered their assistance to the McKinley administration. The organization wanted to assist in looking after the personal welfare of citizens who joined a military that paid "only secondary attention to the desires, which may be very real needs, of the men as individuals."<sup>6</sup>

### **Local Organization**

On Thursday, 12 May 1898, Secretary Henry J. McCoy of the San Francisco YMCA visited the Presidio. He viewed firsthand the various campsites of the 1st and 7th California Volunteers and parts of the 14th US Infantry Regulars. The encampment already boasted 2,672 Volunteers and 220 Regulars with the prospect of adding troops from Oregon within a day. Alerted to association members in uniform among the regiments, McCoy decided to form an Army YMCA chapter "after getting the permission of the chaplains in charge."<sup>7</sup>

By 18 May, after more units had arrived or had received orders to converge at the Golden Gate, the commander of the Presidio, LTC Louis T. Morris, approved McCoy's initiative to establish a YMCA branch on the reservation. The local association acquired a 40-foot by 50-foot tent to accommodate religious exercises and placed it between the 1st and 7th California Volunteers.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent to this boost the local association gave, Chaplain Alfred S. Clark, 7th California, took charge of the camp's YMCA branch and oversaw chapter activities that members assigned to the various regiments performed.<sup>9</sup>

Although a Presidio branch took hold within the military, McCoy and his San Francisco YMCA were not about to sever their connection with Merritt's command. The secretary subsequently learned of "hundreds of young men belonging to the association from all parts of the country who are to be temporarily located at San Francisco."<sup>10</sup> The 1st New York, for



San Francisco Call, 9 July 1898

Figure 83.

example, included about 300 Christian Association members in its ranks.<sup>11</sup> As these men arrived with their military organizations, the encampment spread beyond the Presidio into the Richmond District and other more isolated areas around the Bay Area. To meet uniformed YMCA members' spiritual needs and to promote young Volunteers' moral welfare in general, McCoy's association erected tents in additional locations. By 5 June, three new canvas shelters adorned the Richmond District's Camp Merritt.<sup>12</sup>

More significantly, the San Francisco association served as a conduit through which the YMCA, local churches, and Christian societies pooled their support efforts. In early June, San Francisco newspapers carried stories on the resurrection of the YMCA's Army and Navy Christian Commission from the Civil War era. The North American Association's International Committee in New York secured permission to establish a commission that could work with the military services at home and abroad.<sup>13</sup> Spurred by several local clergymen, the San Francisco association hosted meetings to establish an Army and Navy Christian Commission of California.

On 8 June 1898, several prominent members of the Bay Area's religious community, including San Francisco's YMCA Secretary McCoy and representatives of six evangelical churches, met to explore a collaborative effort to "supplement the work of the Army chaplains in camp and on the battlefield."<sup>14</sup> One pastor in the assembly, Freeman D. Bovard, First ME Church, said an organized commission would attempt "to unite all the denominations under one large tent or tabernacle" and include within its fold young people's church societies engaged in similar work.<sup>15</sup> The group appointed a committee to draft a provisional constitution and report its recommendations in a subsequent gathering.<sup>16</sup>

The 16 June meeting organized the US Army and Navy Christian Commission of California "to spread the gospel among the soldiers, sailors and marines either going or who have already gone to the Philippines." Representatives from Christian societies and the Christian, Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches adopted a constitution and bylaws. They elected the following commission officers: president, Dr. H.C. Minton, Presbyterian Church; secretary, Reverend A.T. Needham, Oakland Methodist Church; and treasurer, Henry J. McCoy, Secretary, San Francisco YMCA, representing participating Christian societies.<sup>17</sup>

At the YMCA building on 20 June, the commission completed its organization by electing a vice president, modifying its constitution, and selecting an executive committee. Since the commission was scheduled to meet only monthly, the executive committee was empowered to handle the Commission's routine business.<sup>18</sup>

## **In the Camps**

One goal of the YMCA, and later its Christian Commission, was to establish a presence within the various Golden Gate campsites. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported in June that the Christian Commission intended to assign at least one representative to each regiment encamped in the Bay Area.<sup>19</sup> Providing every designee with a "canvas sanctuary" that could be erected in the campsites created a focal point about which troops could congregate and a shelter from which the association could pursue its objectives.

To the four tents already in place by 5 June the YMCA erected additional shelters at the following locations: at Camp Merritt with the 1st Montana, 1st New York Engineers, 1st Tennessee, and 20th Kansas; at Camp Barrett in Oakland with the 8th California; and at Fort Point with the artillery batteries. By 27 July, the association had pitched 17 tents.<sup>20</sup> The organization placed an office near Camp Merritt's southern boundary

on Fifth Avenue near the French Hospital.<sup>21</sup> As Richmond campsites diminished in late summer, the YMCA relocated on the Presidio reservation to minister to units waiting to deploy abroad.<sup>22</sup>

After 12 July, the YMCA established an affiliated claim to several tents that other organizations had already constructed. One of the objectives in creating a Christian Commission was to unify the work of various Christian organizations and denominations. As early as 8 June the *San Francisco Daily Report* cited the need for a central organization that could coordinate the assistance that various evangelical societies and churches rendered.<sup>23</sup> At a meeting of the Christian Commission on 11 July, representatives of unnamed Christian societies agreed to fly the YMCA's banner over their tents.<sup>24</sup> Pastor Bovard, a commission member who had urged such a unification, assured these organizations that the commission would play a management role "but in such a manner as to leave them free to operate their own plans." Each Christian society that deferred to YMCA management could transfer its existing operating debts to the commission. The commission would also absorb future expenses.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to these incentives, groups embraced unification because evangelical Christian groups pursued similar ends, including temperance. At an 11 July Commission meeting, Reverend E.R. Dille of the Methodist Church reminded the audience of a growing evil reminiscent of the one that inspired the London association to action some 50 years earlier. Dille condemned "the saloons that 'form a fringe of hell around Camp Merritt' and of the efforts made . . . to counteract their pernicious influences."<sup>26</sup>

Dille and his associates sponsored commission tent activities as a wholesome alternative to saloons. Soldiers could write letters on free stationery bearing the imprints of the Christian Commission and American flag. Envelopes and stamps were provided at no cost to the young men. One report in early June estimated that soldiers wrote 1,500 letters each day from commission tents. By 18 July, a revised assessment doubled the figure to 3,000. Another report calculated that troops were writing from 10,000 to 20,000 letters per week in the commission's larger facilities.<sup>27</sup>

Commission tents hosted other diversions shaped by YMCA objectives. Open every day from 0800 to 2200, these shelters offered a place for social gatherings where men could meet fellow soldiers from other regiments. Troops could play sundry games under the canvas or outdoors. Reading areas contained small libraries with magazines, pictorials, and secular or religious newspapers from San Francisco and several Eastern cities.<sup>28</sup>

Away from camp the San Francisco YMCA sponsored activities at its permanent buildings for the Volunteers and Regulars assembled at the Golden Gate. Basketball teams from the encampments scrimmaged with association members. The 13th Minnesota and 1st New York played the YMCA "Rushers" of the San Francisco association. McCoy's association gymnasium at Mason and Ellis Streets hosted the events.<sup>29</sup> On 22 June, the San Francisco YMCA held an open house and reception at its main building for all soldiers in the city. The 7th California band played musical selections, and several local instrumentalists and singers performed, including Miss Cordie Wetjen who offered whistling solos.<sup>30</sup>

The YMCA also offered its facilities to other organizations that entertained troops or gave benefits for them. Secretary McCoy donated the association's downtown auditorium to the Red Cross for its benefit concert on 3 June. On 16 July, the Pacific Coast Women's Press Association entertained the 1st Montana at the Christian Commission's tent, erected in the regimental campsite. The program featured vocal solos and readings. The local Press Club also sponsored entertainment for the men at another "Y" location on 6 August.<sup>31</sup>

Other commission pursuits reflected a stronger, more obvious, correlation to young men's spiritual vitality. The organization believed in ministry through music. Each tent contained song books and an organ. According to Richard C. Morse, general secretary, YMCA International Committee, soldiers spent much of their leisure time at the tents singing favorite songs. "In the evenings," wrote Morse, "gospel hymns were preferred to all others. Generally the evening closed with an informal song service and prayer."<sup>32</sup> At one commission meeting, the executive council voted to purchase sacred music for the 8th California's regimental band at Camp Barrett.<sup>33</sup>

The commission distributed free religious literature, testaments, and Bibles to Volunteers and Regulars.<sup>34</sup> Dr. Minton, president, Christian Commission of California, established a commission goal "to place a copy of the Scriptures in the hand of every soldier."<sup>35</sup> The International Committee's Christian Commission tried to help Minton achieve his objective. On 2 August, the local commission received 5,000 Bibles and testaments for the troops from D.L. Moody, chairman, International Committee Evangelistic Department.<sup>36</sup>

The Christian Commission also sponsored worship services as another way to minister to soldiers' spiritual needs. The commission regularly scheduled religious assemblies at the several campsites and in the asso-

ciation building's auditorium. On Sundays, tents hosted gospel meetings and Bible classes.<sup>37</sup> Regimental chaplains used some of these facilities for Sunday services.<sup>38</sup> Shortly after the YMCA and Protestant churches formed the commission, Secretary McCoy invited Moody to visit the Golden Gate and conduct services. Although Moody never visited, evangelist M.P. Crittenden arrived to lead a series of tent meetings in July for the benefit of soldiers in both San Francisco and Oakland.<sup>39</sup>

Although its activities focused on the soldiers' spiritual well-being, the commission did not ignore the troops' routine, material needs. The commission provided stoves to the 1st Tennessee's hospital tents.<sup>40</sup> Association workers operating commission tents provided refreshments to soldiers who visited. Larger structures frequently contained small, ad hoc kitchens where civilian volunteers made soup for guests or "delicacies" for the convalescent. Troops could find an abundance of bread and an ever-present pitcher or tank of ice water to consume.<sup>41</sup>

Young ladies and women with a familial, or at least emotional, attachment to the association formed a Mothers' Christian Commission Club to assist in the ministry of work. The ladies sewed and mended clothing for the troops and in many instances served as ad hoc tailors. More than 50 ladies would meet on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at Camp Merritt to tend to the troops' clothing.<sup>42</sup> They also did their best to visit other campsites in the Bay Area to help those outside of the Richmond District.<sup>43</sup>

### **Initiatives to Care for Troops Abroad**

Concurrent with its spiritual calling in San Francisco, the association worked to establish a military ministry with troops deploying overseas. In June, Secretary McCoy argued that "most of the gunpowder that would be used in Manila had been fired." Suggesting that "there were more dangerous things there than Spanish bullets," the secretary stated, "it was to help the soldiers withstand temptation that the Young Men's Christian Association wanted to practically supplement the work of the chaplains of the Army."<sup>44</sup>

In May, the *Daily Report* speculated that "a whole outfit" representing the YMCA would go with an expedition to Manila.<sup>45</sup> On 1 June, speculation became reality with the War Department's permission. In a letter to Secretary McCoy, George de Rue Meiklejohn, Assistant Secretary of War, authorized the association to send two representatives with equipment on one of the expeditions. MG Miles endorsed the action as did the commander of the expeditionary force, MG Wesley Merritt, and the depot quartermaster, Major Long.<sup>46</sup>

On Saturday, 11 June, Secretary McCoy announced that Frank A. Jackson and Charles A. Glunz would represent the Christian Commission in the Philippines. The Christian Commission of California picked Jackson, an assistant secretary of the San Francisco YMCA. A representative of the International Committee chose Glunz, who served as the assistant secretary of the Oakland association. In discussing the reasons for their selection, McCoy emphasized that “both were a few years past their majority, unmarried, and had been about two years in the positions they were about to leave.”<sup>47</sup>

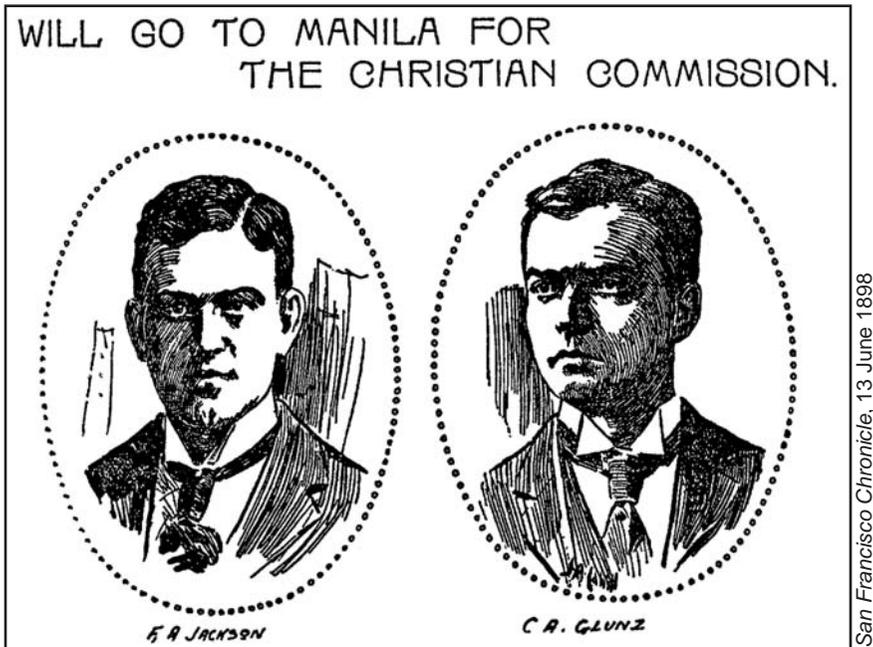


Figure 84.

After being feted at a reception given in their honor at the local YMCA on 22 June, Jackson and Glunz sailed on the *City of Para* with the third expedition that departed on 27 June 1898. They wore a military-style uniform that bore the initials “C.C.” and a triangular patch on the left sleeve. Their goal on behalf of the commission was to work with the chaplains and to continue much of the same kind of services the association performed in the Bay Area camps. Specifically, they were to “minister to the spiritual and physical needs of the men” in all ways possible. To achieve these ends, the two men brought with them a church organ, songbooks, a library, 100,000 sheets of paper with envelopes, and a large tent to erect with the Army wherever it was located.<sup>48</sup>

About the time Jackson and Glunz departed, the commission apparently considered expanding the goals of the two in the Philippines. *The Examiner* reported that the commission intended to send a large number of Bibles printed in Spanish with a subsequent expedition, noting that the two men represented the entire evangelical church body of California. Perhaps that representation obligated Jackson and Glunz to perform missionary work among the indigenous population in the environs of Manila.<sup>49</sup> Secretary McCoy later announced that they were expected to arrive at Manila the week of 17-23 July 1898 “where they would carry on the commission work.”<sup>50</sup>

One other geographic area commanded the commission’s attention: Hawaii. Selected for garrison duty in Honolulu, part of the 1st New York sailed for its new assignment in early August. The commission ensured that “a library of interesting books” was placed aboard the *Lakme* and *Nelson* and that other general reading material was spread among the men.<sup>51</sup>

## **Fundraising**

The national Army and Navy Christian Commission expended a considerable sum of money pursuing its objectives. Morse estimated that by late 1898, the commission had spent \$139,596 in support of the American military at home and abroad. Of that amount, state committees provided \$58,650. The cumulative cost, however, could have been steeper except for the War Department’s willingness to provide free transportation for men and equipment. In other words, Jackson and Glunz, along with their tent and Bibles, sailed at government expense. But the government did not pay the tab of \$1,000 a week for stamps that soldiers used to mail the letters they wrote in the commission tents. Nor did the War Department back the commission’s offer to absorb past debts and future expenses of those organizations joining the YMCA enterprise. The commission incurred these expenditures.<sup>52</sup>

Financial support for the national association’s work at federal campsites or overseas came principally from private sources. Morse claimed that “the entire expense was met by the contributions of generous and patriotic friends of the soldier and sailor.” Oliver O. Howard, a delegate of the national commission, also reported that money was raised through “voluntary contribution.”<sup>53</sup> For the most part, these observations on fundraising for the national association were just as applicable to revenue gathering for the Christian Commission of California.

The California Commission solicited donations in ways similar to those of the Red Cross and Patriotic Home Helpers. Local newspapers

periodically reported on the association's efforts to raise funds. In July, for example, the *Chronicle* published an association resolution that appealed "to the public and especially our churches to immediately co-operate in the work of the commission. This work, so urgent, is in progress and the results most encouraging and it requires funds for its conduct at once. We need gifts of money."<sup>54</sup>

Between early May and the August peace protocol, donations came from individual citizens located in various parts of California. Most were small sums. For example, Morris Wenck of Stockton gave \$1. H. Sheldon of San Diego offered \$5. A few notable exceptions to this norm included David Jacks of Monterey who advanced \$100 to the cause. Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, so active in supporting the Red Cross with donations, bestowed \$100 on the commission.<sup>55</sup> The most notable monetary gift came from an out-of-state source. Secretary McCoy revealed that "a gentleman in the East" gave \$1,000 to send a commission representative to Manila.<sup>56</sup> Funds to send the other delegate came from local subscriptions.

Like the offerings of individual citizens, contributions flowed in from statewide evangelical churches and assorted organizations. Between 1 May and 12 August 1898, several local newspapers identified donations that came from 14 different cities in California, including those in the Bay Area, San Diego, and Los Angeles. Among these sites, church congregations in San Francisco and Oakland submitted the greatest contributions. Denominations represented across the state included Presbyterians, Methodist Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and English Lutherans. Church donations frequently ranged from \$10 to \$30. The Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian congregations bestowed monetary gifts most frequently. Three societies offered one-time donations. The Chautauqua Assembly of Pacific Grove gave \$10, the Presbyterian Christian Endeavor Society donated \$4, and the Sacramento YMCA gave \$6.<sup>57</sup>

Although Morse and Howard emphasized the importance of voluntary contributions in keeping the national Christian Commission solvent, the commission's California department found another lucrative fundraising activity. Like the Red Cross, the local commission hosted benefit drills. With the Army's collaboration, the Christian Commission sponsored two military performances at the Mechanics' Pavilion in San Francisco before the protocol.

The 1st Tennessee performed at the initial drill on 14 July. "Hundreds of ladies" prepared refreshments for the evening. A ticket committee offered "cards of admission" to the drill at 25 cents per adult and 10 cents for each child. An additional 25 cents secured a reserve seat. The performance

featured a battalion drill guard mount; company drill, extended order; battalion parade; and regimental marching salute. A chorus directed by J.J. Morris sang patriotic songs. Featured soloists Charles H. Van Orden presented the “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” and Miss Grace Davis sang “The Star-Spangled Banner.” The Tennessee Regimental Band provided musical selections, including “Dixie Land,” and the audience joined in singing several songs. The performance netted \$992.50 with additional returns still being accounted for into early August.<sup>58</sup>

The second benefit drill for the Christian Commission of California featured the 20th Kansas commanded by COL Frederick Funston. Held on 4 August, the presentation shared several similarities with the 1st Tennessee benefit that was performed in July: music, song, and march dominated the program. The commission also offered tickets at the gate and reserve seats in advance for the same price that was charged at the previous drill.

The 20th Kansas drill nevertheless had its distinctions. One addition to the program featured a living pyramid of flags created by the YMCA’s athletic class. The commission also hoped to reach a wider audience. To support the event, Southern Pacific Railroad officials ran special excursions from several California cities, including Sacramento, Stockton, and San Jose. An initial tally three days after the drill showed the performance collected more than \$650. Newspapers reporting the event observed that proceeds from the benefit would be used for commission activities, including the Glunz and Jackson mission to the Philippines.<sup>59</sup>

The commission and the military continued their association beyond the peace protocol. YMCA volunteers continued to support troops stationed at the Presidio after other San Francisco encampments closed. On 1 October, Private Karl Kraemer, 51st Iowa, wrote his sister, “Today the Iowa, Kansas, and Tennessee regiments gave a drill in a ball park a couple of blocks outside of the camp.” Kraemer acknowledged the event raised money “for the Manila work of the Army and Navy Christian Commission.” The second battalion of each regiment performed, and the private revealed that “the Iowans had a sham battle. There was a very large crowd down there. All three of the Bands played together.”<sup>60</sup>

## **Christian Endeavor Society**

### **Background**

Nearly three decades after the YMCA was introduced in the United States, Francis E. Clark established the Young People’s Society of Christian Endeavor in Portland, Maine. Clark, a minister, started the organization as a means to give roles to youths in his Williston Congregational Church.

According to Clark, Endeavorers worked “to lead the young people to Christ and into His Church, to establish them firmly in the faith, and to set them at work in the Lord’s vineyard.” The Endeavor idea spread to other “evangelical denominations” that, in turn, sponsored their own societies. These local groups affiliated with Clark’s parent organization, the United Christian Endeavor, which by 1885 had become an international Protestant youth society.<sup>61</sup>

One organizational characteristic distinguished the Christian Endeavorers’ activities from the YMCA before 1898. The Endeavorers did not have a historical connection to the military services as best embodied in the Army and Navy Christian Commission. When seeking sanction for its military ministry in 1898, the YMCA could remind the War Department of its commission work with Union armies during the Civil War and among state militia in the last quarter of the 19th century. The Endeavorers enjoyed no comparable connection.

### **Local Organization**

Christian Endeavorers at the Golden Gate worked “to make the soldiers comfortable and happy and keep them from the temptations of the city.”<sup>62</sup> The California State Christian Endeavor Union was the first Endeavorer organization to support military units around the bay in 1898. In particular, the union’s missions office located at 760A Harrison Street in San Francisco coordinated much of the Endeavorers’ activities.

Miss Mindora L. Berry, state superintendent of missions, energized the initiative to establish a Christian Endeavor presence among soldiers encamped at the Golden Gate. For assistance, she called on a number of the 700 Christian Endeavor societies in California. Her office orchestrated the efforts of local organizations, including the Golden Gate Union, composed of 50 societies, the Alameda county societies, and those of Oakland and San Rafael.<sup>63</sup>

Endeavorer assistance to the military became more pronounced after Berry assembled “women in sympathy with the Christian Endeavor work at Camp Merritt” and formed the Mothers’ Christian Endeavor Club, or Mothers’ Club, on 31 May. In early June, the club literally positioned itself to pursue the Endeavorers’ goals by establishing a headquarters contiguous to the Richmond encampment. They and other Endeavorers settled in a vacant building variously described as a barn, or warehouse, at Fifth Avenue and D street.<sup>64</sup> That location may have been selected after market forces intruded on Endeavorer plans. The *Chronicle* reported, “An effort was made by the Christian Endeavorers to establish a free entertainment

and lunch room on one of the vacant lots near the tents to counteract the influence of the great number of cheap groggeries that have sprung up, but a liquor dealer got a lease of the property which the Endeavorers wanted.”<sup>65</sup>

Christian Endeavorers ministered to soldiers in ways that closely paralleled the YMCA’s activities. YMCA officials, however, maintained that the association’s commission was the one organization through which evangelical churches and young people’s societies should coordinate their efforts. Berry unwittingly challenged YMCA supremacy when she urged the United Christian Endeavor to dispatch a representative to the Philippines. She made the request of her parent Endeavor organization after YMCA officials had secured the privilege of sending delegates overseas.

Berry’s request found its way into the *San Francisco Call*, prompting the “Y” to pursue its coordinating authority more vigorously.<sup>66</sup> Less than two weeks after the Endeavorer initiative became public, YMCA supporters moved to gain hegemony over all Protestant young people’s societies. At an assembly to establish the “Y’s” Christian Commission of California, Reverend Dr. E.R. Dille and Rolla V. Watt declared that “Endeavorers would hereafter have to work through the Christian Commission and subject themselves to its authority.”<sup>67</sup> H.J. McCoy, general secretary, San Francisco YMCA, and newly appointed treasurer, Army and Navy Christian Commission of California, adopted a similar yet more appeasing position. He outlined his views in a letter to the editor of *The Examiner*, “The idea is to unite all the forces of these churches, as in other States, in one union effort. . . . known as the Christian Commission. . . . There is no desire whatever to interfere with any line of work now being done; all will receive due credit, but will be under a national organization.”<sup>68</sup>

The Endeavorers subsequently embraced McCoy’s vision of a unified evangelical ministry coordinated by the Christian Commission. The *Call* published an article noting that the Christian Endeavorers’ national officers had advised societies in the eastern states to work through the YMCA’s Christian Commission “so that there may not be any misunderstanding or conflict of forces.”<sup>69</sup> The *Chronicle* subsequently reported that the Christian Endeavorers and other young people’s societies from Oakland and Alameda “unanimously decided to co-operate with the Christian commission.”<sup>70</sup>

Other indicators reflected the Endeavorers’ acquiescence to the Christian Commission. In late June, the Young People’s Society of Christian Endeavor, Epworth League, and other societies of Fresno county joined in

arranging a benefit for the commission.<sup>71</sup> On 7 July, the Christian Endeavorers' Golden Gate Union met at the San Francisco YMCA and "decided in the future to direct all their efforts in the Army work through the Christian Commission."<sup>72</sup> When the 1st New York began to arrive in the city, a number of the unit's Christian Endeavorers asked the Christian Commission to provide a tent for their use.<sup>73</sup> The commission, therefore, had established itself as the coordinating authority among evangelical Christian groups operating within the camps.

Although the Christian Endeavorers and Mothers' Club acquiesced to the YMCA, they did not disappear. To the contrary, Endeavorer ministries flourished throughout the Bay Area to support the military. The local newspapers continued to cite the organization's contributions. Public recognition of their work reflected a fulfillment of McCoy's pledge that "all will receive due credit, but will be under a national organization."<sup>74</sup>

### **In the Camps**

Christian Endeavorers worked to offer troops a comfortable environment, one that presented an attractive alternative to San Francisco's "darker" leisure activities. The Mothers' Christian Endeavor Club that formed on 31 May pursued three specific objectives in the camps: to furnish free writing materials and writing and reading tents to each regiment, to provide refreshments and entertainment each night at the headquarters on 5th Avenue and B Street, and to receive and distribute comfort bags to the soldiers.<sup>75</sup>

Members of the Mothers' Club aggressively pursued these goals. The Endeavorer organization, like the YMCA, moved rapidly to establish structures where soldiers could spend some of their free time reading, writing, and socializing. The "Y" and Christian Endeavors jointly sponsored a reading and writing room on the second floor of the Fontana warehouse, home of several units from the 1st Washington.<sup>76</sup> The first tent the Endeavorers erected went into the 20th Kansas encampment by 27 May.<sup>77</sup> Soldiers of the regiment pitched in and surprised the Endeavorers by constructing wooden floors for the structure.<sup>78</sup> By 6 June, seven regimental campsites included tents that the society provided. Later in June, Endeavorers erected shelters among the North and South Dakota regiments as well as the 14th and 18th Regulars.<sup>79</sup> Women took charge of tent activities during the day. Men supervised the facilities at night until 2200.<sup>80</sup>

Just as the YMCA canvas shelters offered diversions from military life, Endeavorer tents hosted activities designed to look after the troops' welfare. The society typically stocked money orders "and many little

things which the young people think are needful." Mothers' Club ladies would mend Regulars' and Volunteers' clothing.<sup>81</sup>

Members of Merritt's command often visited the tents to correspond with family and friends. Inside these shelters, troops could shield themselves from the elements and sit at tables to write their letters. Endeavorers furnished ink, pens, paper, and envelopes.<sup>82</sup> At one tent on 11 June, 25 soldiers sat and composed letters while several hundred men stood in line, waiting their turn for a seat.<sup>83</sup> Both the *Call* and *The Examiner* published articles estimating that an average of 200 letters a day were written in each of the Endeavorer tents.<sup>84</sup>

Although the society engaged in activities that fostered the soldiers' material welfare, Endeavorers routinely tended to the Regulars' and Volunteers' religious well-being. Every evening through the week, Endeavorers conducted 30-minute religious services in regimental tents.<sup>85</sup> A reporter for the *Chronicle* observed in late June that the Christian organization received letters from soldiers' families and friends all over the country, "thanking the Endeavorers for the manner in which they are attending, not only to the material wants of the soldiers, but also to their spiritual needs."<sup>86</sup>

The Mothers' Club launched an initiative to meet its second objective on 6 June. That night, the Congregational Church provided entertainment for approximately 200 soldiers at the Endeavorers' Camp Merritt headquarters on 5th Avenue and B Street. Troops listened to recitations, vocal and instrumental music, and an address by Reverend F.B. Cherington. At the end of the program, guests enjoyed hot coffee, sandwiches and cakes the hosts provided.<sup>87</sup>

Thereafter, Endeavorers scheduled entertainment Monday through Saturday at their headquarters. Open from 0900 until after taps at 2200, the "commodious barn" gave troops a chance to relax in an environment that offered periodicals, games, secular and religious books, stationery, tables, chairs, and a piano. Each evening, one of the Christian Endeavor unions or a church organization in the San Francisco-Oakland area sponsored a program of music and "recitations and speeches, all of a patriotic character." Toward evening's end, as many as 400 soldiers could be served refreshments consisting of "coffee, sandwiches, and other acceptable things."<sup>88</sup> By mid-June, these social events attracted so many troops that some soldiers were turned away.<sup>89</sup> The Endeavorers subsequently expanded their capability to entertain at headquarters, occasionally hosting 700 to 800 troops a night.<sup>90</sup>

Later in June, the Endeavorers revised their evening programs at camp headquarters. Hosts took time from “socials” to conduct short “praise” services. The *Call* reported that “at a service held the other evening about forty rose to confess Christ.”<sup>91</sup> The First Baptist Church led the evening program for soldiers on 24 June. *The Examiner* reported that the church pastor, Dr. E.A. Woods, requested of “those desiring to become Christians to rise, and twenty responded—truly, a very successful meeting.”<sup>92</sup>

Headquarters activities also catered to soldiers in additional ways. Troops with colds and other maladies visited for medicines that the Endeavorers’ medical department stocked.<sup>93</sup> Miss D. Brooks oversaw hospital work. Her committee delivered milk, soups, and flowers to sick troops in the camps. Next to the assembly hall, civilian volunteers at the headquarters maintained a large room that catered to readers and letter-writers. As they did in their other camp facilities, Endeavorers maintained a supply of paper, envelopes, and stamps for the soldiers. A mail carrier dropped in to collect letters. Two newspapers, the *Call* and *The Examiner*, furnished dailies each morning. The San Francisco News Company donated periodicals. Troops also availed themselves of the sewing and mending services that “many earnest workers” offered.<sup>94</sup>

### **Fitting Out for the Voyage**

Sewing related very closely to the third objective the Mothers’ Club pursued. The women stitched and distributed comfort bags before the troops departed on expeditions to the Philippines. Precedent existed for this activity. Several years before the war, “floating committees” of the California State Christian Endeavor Union began to provide sailors with kits of personal items, sometimes called “ditty bags” or “housewives.” At least two weeks before the Mothers’ Club formed, Endeavorers committed their state organization to provide personal kits to troops encamped at the Golden Gate.<sup>95</sup>

The state organization prescribed the contents of kits in a circular dispatched to all of California’s 700 societies. Each ditty bag was to contain a small New Testament, marked; paper, envelopes, and a pencil; needles and pins; coarse black and white thread; court plaster; a bandage; and Vaseline. Endeavorers of the California Union asked that “a personal letter of Christian cheer” accompany each kit. The circular directed that societies forward complete kits to Mindora Berry at the missionary extension headquarters in San Francisco. Acknowledging that smaller societies would probably not be able to furnish all articles, the state union assured all that “donations of articles or money for the purchase of the same will be thankfully received.”<sup>96</sup>

By the end of May, the Mothers' Christian Endeavor Club, which Berry helped to organize, had identified comfort bags as a priority activity.<sup>97</sup> Mrs. C.S. Wright, chairman, Mothers' Club of California, and an active member of the Red Cross, scheduled a meeting with churchwomen of San Francisco to give them the pattern for "housewives" and enlisted their support in preparing the kits for soldiers and sailors.<sup>98</sup> Endeavorers also petitioned young people's societies throughout the state for their assistance in creating the kits.<sup>99</sup>

Solicitations paid dividends. By Sunday, 19 June, an average of 200 comfort bags arrived each day at Endeavorer headquarters in Camp Merritt. By that date, the organization had amassed nearly 3,300 bags for the troops. Men of the 1st Colorado Regiment received theirs on 11 June. Endeavorers supplied the second expedition's remaining forces before they sailed for Manila on 16 June. These units included the 1st Nebraska, 10th Pennsylvania, Utah batteries, and battalions from the 18th and 23d US Infantry Regiments. As the third expedition prepared to depart on 27 June, Endeavorers passed out more than 4,000 bags. Mrs. Emily Fowden, a Mothers' Club volunteer who supervised the "efficient corps of workers who sew, supply stamps and find out those who are in need of more clothing or who are sick," managed the distribution.<sup>100</sup> Members of the second expedition also benefited from one other Endeavorer project. The California Christian Endeavor Union supplied ships with games, writing material, and hymn books that troops would use during their long voyage to the Philippines.<sup>101</sup>

### **Initiatives to Care for Troops Abroad**

The issue over which, if any, evangelical Christian organization would coordinate the ministry efforts of Protestants at home and abroad was settled in June. The matter reached resolution when Endeavorers moved to extend the overseas work they had begun in San Francisco camps. After the state union appointed a representative to the Philippines, the YMCA's Christian Commission asserted and established its primacy in coordinating Protestant work with the military.

Miss Berry, state superintendent of missions for the California Christian Endeavor Union, triggered the confrontation. She urged the national Endeavor organization to appoint and dispatch a society representative to supervise a ministry among soldiers and sailors around Manila. On 5 June, Berry sent the following telegram to John Willis Baer, general secretary, United Society of Christian Endeavor, Boston: "Urge McKinley endorse work and subsistence Endeavorer Philippines. Worker ready. California

financially responsible. Answer.”<sup>102</sup> The worker about whom she wrote was Arthur P. Alexander of Oakland.<sup>103</sup>

Berry also wrote a letter to MG Merritt seeking permission for Alexander to accompany the force deploying to the Philippines. On 7 June, Merritt endorsed Berry’s request and directed that he be assigned “transportation to one of the ships now preparing.”<sup>104</sup> The following day the Mothers’ Christian Endeavor Club of California pledged \$40 to outfit Alexander.<sup>105</sup> By the middle of the month, the Union had purchased a 20-by 40-foot tent for Endeavorer work in Manila.<sup>106</sup>

Alexander never sailed. Shortly after Merritt approved Berry’s request, the Christian Endeavorers’ national officers directed member societies to work through the YMCA’s Christian Commission.<sup>107</sup> The California Christian Endeavor Union conformed with the directive and supported troops at home and abroad through the commission. When Charles Glunz and Frank Jackson of the YMCA’s Christian Commission sailed for Manila with the third expedition, they took with them an American flag presented by the Young People’s Society of Christian Endeavor, First Presbyterian Church, Oakland.<sup>108</sup>

Alexander did not disappear. In what must have been intended a sign of good faith offered to the Endeavorers, the commission found a role for Alexander in San Francisco. *The Examiner* reported on 1 July, “A.P. Alexander of the Christian Endeavor Society has been employed by the Commission (YMCA) to have general charge of the tents at Camp Merritt and will enter upon his duties to-day.”<sup>109</sup>

## **Fundraising**

Endeavorer solicitations produced only a few contributions. A group called the King’s Daughters donated \$32. The Wellesley Hill Christian Endeavor Society gave \$10. Mrs. C.A. Heffner and George M. Sponsler offered \$1 and 50 cents respectively.<sup>110</sup> The *Call* reported on contributions that 1st Nebraska Volunteers made during one payday, “Wherever the men’s pay amounted to odd cents the difference in change was given by the soldiers to the Christian Endeavor Society.”<sup>111</sup>

The Endeavorers asked for money, but they did not solicit donations as vigorously as the Red Cross. The California Christian Endeavor Union requested financial assistance not only from societies in the state but also from those in other states that dispatched troops to the Philippines via San Francisco.<sup>112</sup> Results of these calls for assistance were not as widely publicized as the Red Cross or YMCA’s Christian Commission’s comparable efforts.

## **Goods and Services**

The Christian Endeavor Society supported troops in San Francisco with goods and services donated by its members and those mobilized on behalf of its cause. Individual citizens often rallied to calls for assistance. Scott and McCord, commission and dealers in hay and grain, donated letter paper, envelopes, seals, and most significantly, a large barn on 5th Avenue and B Street. The structure became the Mothers' Club headquarters facility where Endeavorers hosted numerous activities for soldiers at Camp Merritt.<sup>113</sup> To assist in transforming the barn into an activities facility, Mrs. A.W. Scott provided 53 chairs. Other citizens offered lamps, reading material, stationery, and flowers. William Patterson gave one writing desk, writing material, one ham, six cans of fruit, and five cakes of soap. Major Johnson furnished two tents.<sup>114</sup> G.H.T. Jackson assisted in stocking the Endeavorers' medical department when he donated three cases of Napa soda.<sup>115</sup>

Various church groups and Endeavorer societies assumed responsibility for the California Christian Endeavor Union's tent work. Christian Endeavor sections, including those from the Alameda County Union, First Presbyterian Church, Central Methodist Episcopal, and Cavalry Society, each took charge of an Endeavor tent within regimental campsites.<sup>116</sup> Either a San Francisco or an Oakland church often sponsored socials held nightly at the Endeavorers' Camp Merritt headquarters.<sup>117</sup>

Other enterprises and organizations rendered valuable assistance. The Mills' College Red Cross sent 32 comfort bags. Lowell High School donated 14 lamps. Denman School gave 12 bandanna nightcaps and 54 button bags. Union Lumber Company supplied one load of lumber. Renton-Holmes Lumber Company contributed one tent, scantlings, and boards.<sup>118</sup> J.R. Gates and Company, wholesale and retail druggists, furnished a large supply of medicine for the sick.<sup>119</sup>

## **The Catholic Truth Society**

### **Background**

Like the YMCA, Catholic Truth Societies (CTSs) traced their origins to England. First conceived in 1872 but formally established in 1884, the original society evolved under the direction of Bishop Herbert Vaughn and James Britten, a layman in the Catholic church. The organization held two principal aims: to distribute inexpensive devotional and educational works among Catholics and to spread information on Catholicism among Protestants. Membership subscriptions provided most of the financial support for the society's projects.

The society spawned other organizations that pursued its goals in hospitals, workhouses, and various guilds. In 1891, members formed a special committee to work for Catholic seamen's spiritual welfare. The CTS established clubs and homes for the benefit of these men. By the late 19th century, the organization had spread to other countries as well, including the United States.<sup>120</sup>

## **Local Organization**

In San Francisco, two Catholic priests exercised leadership responsibilities within the local Truth Society. The first, Reverend Father Philip O'Ryan of St. Mary's Cathedral, served as the organization's president.<sup>121</sup> He also exercised responsibilities as director, League of the Cross.<sup>122</sup> The other, Reverend Father Peter C. Yorke, emerged as a leading figure within the society's Executive Council.<sup>123</sup>

On 1 June, Yorke addressed the CTS and emphasized several themes that defined the organization. First, in reflecting on the regiments arriving in San Francisco, the priest proclaimed that Catholics were doing their fair share of military duty. He asserted that the ratio of Catholics to non-Catholics in these units exceeded the results of a similar comparison among the general populace. He claimed that Catholic manpower constituted 75 to 100 percent of several military organizations reaching the Bay Area.

Second, Yorke cautioned that while the CTS should take pride in these statistics, members should be concerned by the lack of "spiritual attention" Catholics in uniform received. Non-Catholics dominated both the leadership positions and chaplains' billets within each regiment. Characterizing the Army's leaders as "too broad minded to tolerate religious injustice," Yorke urged members to create public opinion to get Catholic chaplains appointed.

Third, he decried an example of religious persecution. He recounted that during the last week of May, ladies of the society were discouraged from distributing sepulchers, medals, and other religious symbols among members of the 13th Minnesota Infantry. The chaplain of the regiment, a Methodist clergyman, allegedly declared that soldiers of the Minnesota regiment would attend his service or none at all. Yorke argued that soldiers should be permitted to attend services conducted by clergymen of their own faith. To those ends, the reverend father announced that within a week the CTS would constitute a physical presence in the encampments.<sup>124</sup>

The incident involving the Protestant chaplain from Minnesota and CTS members, as relayed to Father Yorke second-hand, appears to have been an isolated incident in the camps. Newspapers did not follow up on

what Yorke labeled religious persecution, nor did they report similar infractions.<sup>125</sup>

## In the Camps

By 4 June, the CTS established a headquarters at Camp Merritt in a huge tent east of the Idaho Regiment at Fulton Street and Second Avenue. The shelter, dubbed “Father Yorke’s Church,” seated about 2,000 people. First and foremost, Catholics established the structure to provide the “spiritual attention” to members of the faith, particularly in those terms envisioned by Yorke. City priests agreed to provide day and night coverage for confessions. Reverend fathers conducted masses on weekdays and Sunday.<sup>126</sup>

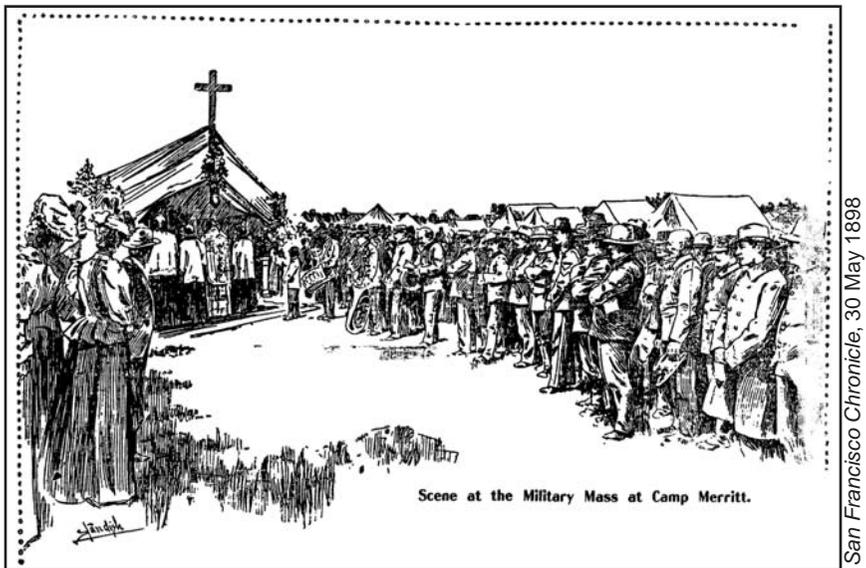
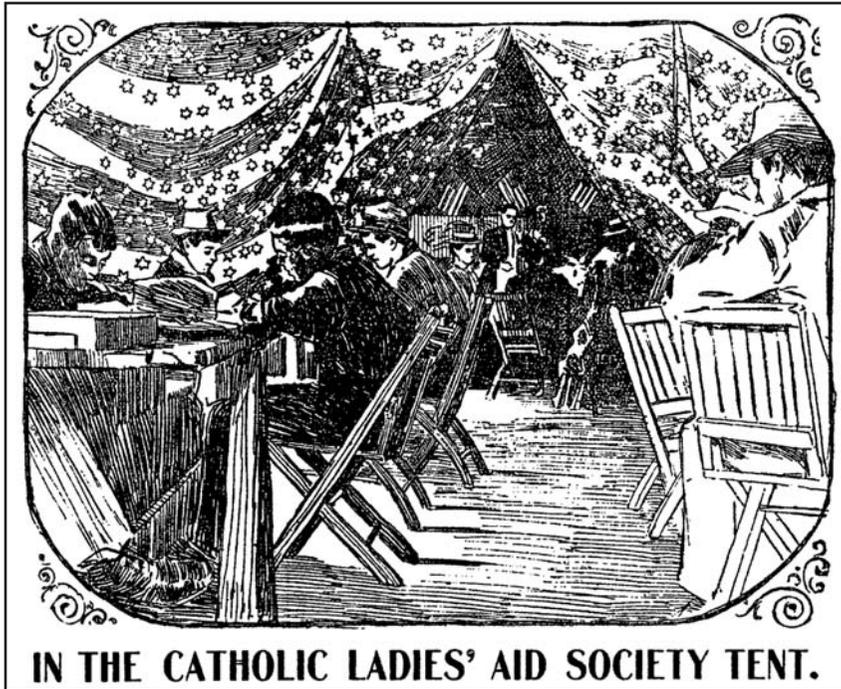


Figure 85.

In sermons to the troops, priests emphasized proper moral conduct. On 5 June, during the first Sunday service performed in the CTS tent, Father Yorke advised soldiers to be prepared both to go to war and to meet their God “not cursing and swearing and blaspheming.”<sup>127</sup> A week later, Yorke declared in his message that “it is calumny on your arms, and scandalous that anyone should think you cannot be good soldiers, and at the same time decent men.”<sup>128</sup> On 19 June, Father O’Ryan urged the troops to take the League of the Cross pledge to “abstain from liquor and the frequenting of saloons.” He warned those in attendance that “men who go to Manila with systems weakened by alcohol will surely fall victims to the climate.”<sup>129</sup> In

early July, the *Chronicle* reported that more than 150 soldiers had taken the pledge. Much work, however, remained to be done to secure promises of abstinence from Bay Area troops. The population of Camp Merritt had reached 10,900 by 1 July.<sup>130</sup>

In addition to its headquarters facility, the CTS worked out of smaller tents located in several regimental areas: 20th Kansas, 1st Montana, 1st South Dakota, and 1st Idaho.<sup>131</sup> When Camp Miller was established at the Presidio in late July, the CTS opened an operation on the reservation.<sup>132</sup> It also erected a tent at the 8th California encampment in Oakland.<sup>133</sup> The Catholic Ladies' Aid Society, working in support of the CTS, sustained troops with the 1st North Dakota, South Dakota Battalion, 51st Iowa, and later the 7th California.<sup>134</sup> Although religious services targeted Catholics, the organization pursued general activities to support all soldiers in the encampments.



San Francisco Chronicle, 25 June 1898

Figure 86.

Women affiliated with the CTS or Catholic Ladies' Aid Society led support efforts. These civilian volunteers formed committees that organized around major tasks. Troops in need of services the military did not provide could find some relief. Members of the hospital committee, for example, were among the busiest female volunteers. Regimental surgeons

and hospital corpsmen lacked the resources to care and provide for all of those warranting medical attention. To assist, the ladies threw themselves into a host of projects designed to alleviate the troops' suffering.

Like some women affiliated with Red Cross organizations, Catholic ladies visited the sick and convalescent among the regiments. Members of the hospital committee tended to those with minor ailments who were according to the *Chronicle*, "compelled to lie in their hot tents through the day without the care of a doctor and deprived of food other than coarse Army fare."<sup>135</sup> They brought soldiers food baskets composed of appropriate "delicacies."<sup>136</sup> Baskets often contained calf's-foot jelly, wine jelly, beef tea, oranges, and fresh eggs.<sup>137</sup>

The troops certainly appreciated their work. In a letter to the Catholic Ladies' Aid Society on behalf of those ill in Company D, Private Nathan McCorkle, 51st Iowa Regiment, thanked the women for the assistance they rendered. McCorkle expressed appreciation for the milk and "delicacies" that the ladies delivered to his comrades.<sup>138</sup>

One state commander in chief also recognized the work the Catholic ladies performed. On 18 July, Montana Governor Robert R. Smith wrote the society, thanking members for "the kind and generous ministration of your society to our sick and needy soldiers." He closed his note with an expression of hope that their "good work will meet with deserved recognition both in this world and in the life to come."<sup>139</sup> Governor Smith justifiably acknowledged the society's efforts on behalf of his state's Volunteers. Each morning a CTS worker checked with company first sergeants of the Montana regiment to learn of the men reported as being sick. The ladies used company stoves to prepare foods for those who were too ill to leave their tents.<sup>140</sup>

The ladies also worked among other military organizations. On 8 June, local hospitals dismissed 25 men from the 1st Idaho Regiment to recuperate from a bout with the measles. The troops reached the Idaho encampment late in the afternoon. Knowing the men would have to sleep on the ground with only one blanket, the regimental surgeon requested that the society provide one additional blanket to each for their recovery. Representatives found one dry goods store still open for business. They paid \$5 for each blanket and donated them to the men.<sup>141</sup>

In a noteworthy exception to the otherwise superb relations between the society and the military, the *Daily Report* revealed on 8 June that "ladies of the Catholic Truth Society have complained that the people in charge of the field hospital do not give proper care to the patients."<sup>142</sup>

Certainly there were grounds for criticism. Physicians at the Independent Division's hospital did not have the necessary supplies to care for their wards. On 15 June, doctors asked the society for "linseed and cottonseed oil and other drugs for the ninety-five patients under their charge." The ladies dispatched the necessary medications.<sup>143</sup>

When demand for medical care exceeded the capabilities of both military and society, the Catholic ladies took steps to secure assistance. Just like the Red Cross, the CTS referred seriously ill troops to local hospitals. Unlike the Red Cross, the CTS did not operate medical facilities. The ladies secured beds in the civilian hospitals for soldiers who needed more advanced medical care than regimental surgeons could provide. Some of the sick were sent to the French Hospital. When patients began to exceed the 35-bed capacity of the "free ward," the society spent the "nominal sum" of \$10 a week for additional patient care. The ladies sent others, some of whom were afflicted with pneumonia and tonsillitis, to St. Mary's, which offered 12 beds, and the Waldeck Hospital that provided free space for four patients.<sup>144</sup>

Women of the mailing department comprised another busy group among the CTS volunteers. Volunteers and Regulars could go to the organization's "Big Tent" at Fulton Street and Second Avenue or many of the smaller regimental facilities and find an environment conducive to writing. The ladies set up tables and provided paper, envelopes, and stamps at no charge to the troops.<sup>145</sup> One Volunteer wrote in a letter, "These people of the Catholic Truth Society are nice and obliging. While I am writing this there are at least 300 other soldiers doing the same. The society furnishes everything free."<sup>146</sup>

Due to the quantity of letters written throughout the week at the society's headquarters on Camp Merritt, two ladies worked continuously to post the soldiers' mail.<sup>147</sup> The society provided postage for a daily average of 1,800 to 2,000 letters by late June. At 2 cents apiece, stamps cost the society \$250 to \$280 each week.<sup>148</sup> Sometimes the CTS simply ran out of stamps and called for donations. On 11 July, nearly 1,000 letters could not be mailed because the society lacked sufficient postage.<sup>149</sup>

One other committee, the sewing department, performed a service that soldiers sincerely appreciated. Sometimes the society engaged from 30 to 35 ladies and five sewing machines to help soldiers who dropped in at the Big Tent.<sup>150</sup> In general, the women stayed busy "making, mending, and fitting clothes and fastening on stripes and chevrons."<sup>151</sup> The *Call* observed that quartermasters issued clothes but did "not bother to change for a bet-

ter fit.” The ladies of the CTS emerged to provide a rudimentary tailoring service.<sup>152</sup> For many of the troops, the headquarters tent offered troops one-stop services of sorts where they could read, write, and have their clothes mended.<sup>153</sup>

The society also addressed other needs from their headquarters, which the *Chronicle* described as “such wants attended to as arise from the lack of woman’s care in a military camp.”<sup>154</sup> The commissary department operated out of a kitchen arranged in the headquarters. Members of this committee worked to have food prepared for soldiers who visited the Big Tent over the course of the day. The literary department provided reading material, such as copies of the *Soldier’s Manual*, to uniformed visitors.<sup>155</sup> By early June, the CTS had conceived a plan to print pocket-sized prayer books for the troops.<sup>156</sup> On 20 June, the organization published 5,000 copies.<sup>157</sup> Distributing to the troops an assortment of religious publications, particularly references that related to Catholicism, was a fundamental CTS goal.

### **Fitting Out for the Voyage**

The CTS offered assistance to the first three expeditions destined for the Philippines. When the first expedition prepared for departure in May, the CTS placed a “good library” aboard each transport. One of the local newspapers observed of the contribution: “Novels, histories, biographies and travels were among the books, and none of them were trashy.”<sup>158</sup> The society accorded special services to the second expedition’s men just before their transports sailed in mid-June. Ladies focused on some last-minute mending.<sup>159</sup> Father Yorke announced during mass at the Society’s tent on Sunday, 12 June, that another mass would be celebrated the next morning at 0700 for those who were departing.<sup>160</sup> Members of the CTS provided numerous items for the troops who departed on the third expedition in late June. The organization dispensed 600 abdominal bandages, 800 comfort bags, 560 caps, 22 suits of underclothes, and three cots.<sup>161</sup>

### **Initiatives to Care for Troops Abroad**

Beginning in July, the CTS sponsored an activity in camp designed to benefit the troops once they reached the Philippines. The CTS sponsored Spanish classes. Two women, Mrs. Howard and Miss Heney, offered free Spanish lessons every day at 1600. They presented their first instruction in July. Soldiers could get their lessons by visiting the society’s Big Tent on Camp Merritt.<sup>162</sup> The *Chronicle* reported in late July that the classes were “very popular, and a large number of enlisted men attend them throughout the afternoons.”<sup>163</sup> (See figure 87.)



San Francisco Call, 8 July 1898

Figure 87.

## Fundraising, Goods, and Services

The CTS operated facilities at Camp Merritt and the Presidio that incurred numerous expenses. To meet obligations, the society depended on daily contributions from those who were willing to respond to the organization's solicitations. The organization had no general fund to finance its efforts.<sup>164</sup> The margin between solvency and debt was frequently narrow. As of 3 July, for example, total receipts were \$647. Of that amount, \$371 was used to pay for stamps and \$115 covered incidentals. The CTS had a balance of \$161 to undertake any remaining projects.<sup>165</sup>

During the first half of June, most contributions came from individuals. Monetary donations received at Room 37, Flood Building, ranged from a few cents to several dollars. Citizens offered bread, beef, ham, raw fresh eggs, hard-boiled eggs, and beef tea to feed the troops or tend to the sick. Others gave blankets, comfort bags, books, magazines, stamps, writing material, eiderdown caps, flannel, and muslin in response to the society's requests.<sup>166</sup>

In the latter part of June and through the rest of the summer, various communities, organizations, and individuals joined in substantially assisting the society. Citizens from Vallejo sent 90 dozen eggs.<sup>167</sup> Several people in Virginia City, Nevada, sent a total of \$39.<sup>168</sup> Three lumber com-

panies pooled their assets and furnished a stove, coal oil, and 800 feet of lumber.<sup>169</sup> An anonymous “friend” made three separate \$100 contributions.<sup>170</sup> Various Catholic Ladies’ Aid Societies responded with contributions.<sup>171</sup> The Consumers’ Ice Company gave a daily donation of ice. Numerous drugstores offered various medications and drugs, including cough medicines.<sup>172</sup> The Del Monte Milling Company dispatched “a liberal donation” of flour and meal.<sup>173</sup> Mr. J.D. Spreckels, president of the Western Sugar Refining Company, sent a 100-pound bag of sugar.<sup>174</sup> Mayor Phelan gave \$25, and nine city supervisors contributed sums from \$5 to \$25.<sup>175</sup> The San Francisco Post Office Branch of the Red Cross Society also gave \$100.<sup>176</sup>

Like other welfare organizations that operated from generated revenues, the CTS sponsored benefits to increase its funds. The first fundraising event occurred on Tuesday, 12 July, at Mission Parlor Hall on 17th and Valencia Streets. Hosted by the Thomas Aquinas Reading Circle, the benefit performance included piano and vocal solos. Company G, League of the Cross Cadets, performed a drill. Volunteers also participated in the “Military Promenade.” Members of the 51st Iowa Regiment Band and 1st Tennessee Regiment Vocal Quartet performed at the 12 July event.<sup>177</sup>

On Friday, 29 July, Miss Ella McClosky and Miss Eva McClosky hosted a “musicale and literary entertainment” and dance in Turn Verein Hall on 18th Street near Valencia. Performers included “many of the well-known celebrities of the amateur stage.” Tickets cost 25 cents per person, 10 cents for children under age 12. The performance netted more than \$27. The League of the Cross scheduled a third event for Friday, 5 August, at Metropolitan Hall.<sup>178</sup>

Citizens of the Golden Gate region actively supported Merritt’s command in a host of ways. Many contributed goods, money, or time on behalf of soldiers who prepared for missions abroad. Others labored as members of major local organizations, some of which were supported by larger national associations, that looked after troops in a variety of ways.

The YMCA, Christian Endeavors, and CTS focused on the Regulars’ and Volunteers’ spiritual welfare. While each group followed agendas that perpetuated the evangelical Protestant or Catholic faiths, all fought for the souls of troops assembled in the region. The three organizations gave precedence to spiritual pursuits in the camps. They assisted military chaplains, hosted worship services, and provided religious literature. Additionally, all ensured that part of their ministry was devoted to the material and physical well-being of the men who used their services.

Long before Army troops could rely on the United Service Organizations (USO) for morale support, soldiers in late 19th-century San Francisco discovered the welfare projects that local religious groups hosted. Often working out of tents or shelters established in the midst of encampments, YMCA, Endeavorers, and CTS volunteer workers labored to provide assorted activities for troops in their leisure time.

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133. "Truth Society's Willing Workers," *The Examiner*, 16 July 1898, 5.
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159. "Helping the Troops," *San Francisco Daily Report*, 15 July 1898, 1.
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171. "Delicacies for Soldiers," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 July 1898, 5.
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## **Chapter VII**

### **Deployment Considerations**

After his stunning victory at Manila Bay on 1 May 1898, Commodore George Dewey cabled Washington and requested a “fast steamer with ammunition.”<sup>1</sup> From Cavite three days later, Dewey sent Navy Secretary John Long an intriguing assessment, “I control bay completely and can take city at any time, but I have not sufficient men to hold.”<sup>2</sup> Dewey’s announcement reinforced the McKinley administration’s inclination to follow up the naval victory with a US Army occupation force, the size of which would have to be determined.

Even as Regulars and Volunteers assembled in San Francisco preparatory to duty in the Philippines, the military did not have the means to deploy sizable Army units across the Pacific. One officer observed at the time that “the Army had never done anything of this kind; we had never transported troops by sea; it was something new to the Army of the United States.”<sup>3</sup> Securing the requisite steamers became one of the war’s major undertakings. Outfitting each transport to accommodate troops and equipment overseas was a closely associated task.

The transportation challenge brought with it another vexing problem: Which units would deploy and when? Sufficient vessels could not be contracted or purchased to dispatch MG Merritt’s command in one movement. What criteria would be used to designate regiments a part of a specific expedition? Merritt and MG Otis faced these questions and the often unsolicited advice of other military and political authorities as to which organizations to move abroad and in what order.

Departing expeditions impacted the campsites around San Francisco. Originally established in four locations, bivouac areas increasingly faced the scrutiny of newspaper reporters, medical officers, businessmen, and local citizens. These groups exerted pressure to reposition troops onto the Presidio. As units deployed and reduced the number of troops remaining near the Golden Gate, senior officers began moving units to the military reservation. All of the troops would eventually relocate but not before a peace protocol ended hostilities between the United States and Spain.

#### **Securing the Transports**

By the time McKinley announced the 12 August protocol, 19 chartered vessels had transported 15,719 officers and men to Manila.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, three coast steamers dispatched 982 troops (charging the Army a per capita rate) to Honolulu for garrison duty.<sup>5</sup> Transactions often involved the

Assistant Secretary of War, quartermaster officers, and senior leaders in the Department of the Pacific.

The first vessel secured for Pacific troop duty actually came into federal service without input from Army personnel. On 7 May 1898, Secretary Long informed Dewey that the *City of Peking* would sail with ammunition and stores to replenish the Asiatic station's naval force.<sup>6</sup> Responding to Dewey's request to resupply his squadron after the battle of Manila Bay, the Department of the Navy had chartered the *Peking* from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company for \$1,000 a day. The 24-year-old ship measured 435 feet long and 48 feet wide. Engaged in Pacific trade since 1875, the vessel had completed 100 round trips between the United States and China by February 1898. Although signed in early May, the contract became effective at midmonth because the *Peking* was still at sea on a return voyage from Hong Kong.<sup>7</sup>

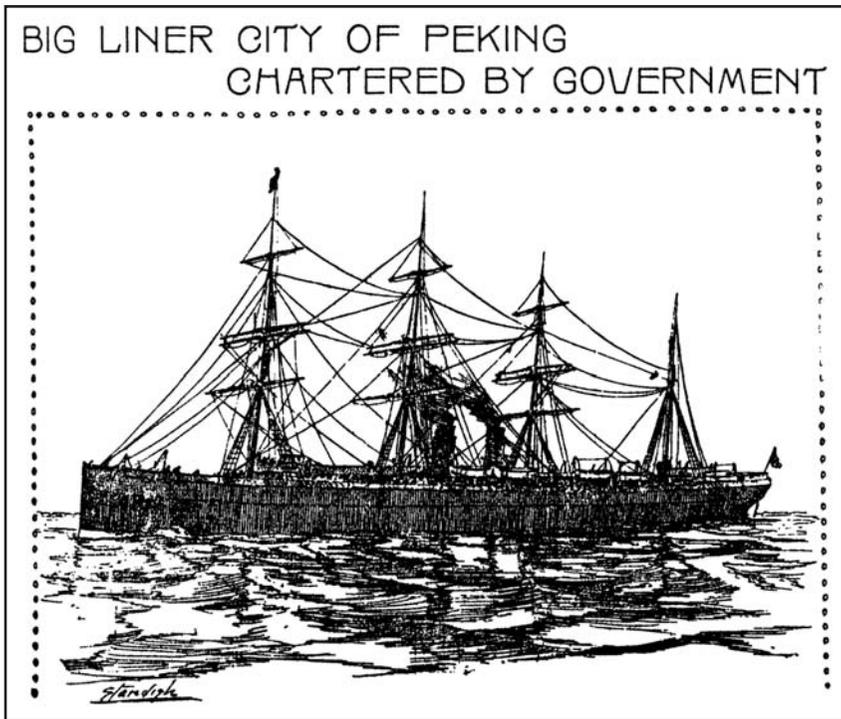


Figure 88.

Just after the ship docked at a San Francisco wharf on 9 May, Secretary Long offered the War Department space aboard the *Peking* to transport troops. In addition to supplies for Dewey, the ship could accommodate “1,200 men and 75 officers, including naval contingent.”<sup>8</sup> While that num-

ber was impressive, it was well short of the 5,000 men the commodore desired and a fraction of the “12,000 men, or one army corps” figure the Adjutant General was considering for Philippine service on 13 May.<sup>9</sup>

The *Peking* would be the first and only vessel the Navy would charter that conveyed Army troops to the Philippines. On 10 May, War Department personnel began to procure oceanic transports for the thousands of men selected for duty in the Philippines.<sup>10</sup> From Washington, Assistant Secretary of War George de Rue Meiklejohn routinely worked charter issues.<sup>11</sup> William McKinley had appointed Meiklejohn, a Republican from Nebraska who had served two terms in the US House of Representatives, to the position on 14 April 1897.<sup>12</sup>



Harper's Pictorial History of the War With Spain

Figure 89. Assistant Secretary of War Meiklejohn's room.

Meiklejohn worked closely with officers from the Quartermaster Department who handled a myriad of details associated with securing vessels. At first, BG Marshall I. Ludington, Quartermaster General, designated COL Charles Bird to arrange for all water transportation.<sup>13</sup> Bird and Meiklejohn collaborated to establish bids for vessels, to negotiate with steamship companies, and to execute charters.<sup>14</sup> By 30 June, this team contracted through six companies to use 14 steamers that could transport 13,688 men and their equipment to destinations in the Pacific.<sup>15</sup>

From the vantage of commanders in San Francisco, War Department efforts that Meiklejohn and Bird led were not producing sufficient transports when needed. A day before the first expedition sailed, MG Otis wrote that other units were fit enough to deploy, but “the great obstacle to moving is vessel transportation.”<sup>16</sup> On 2 June, Merritt cabled the AG, BG Corbin, that he had “more men ready to embark” than the then-contracted vessels could accommodate. The general ended his message, “It is important of course that additional transports be chartered at once.”<sup>17</sup> Four days later in another dispatch to Corbin, Merritt reiterated how vessel shortages prevented more forces from deploying. “I consider it important that the authorities in Washington should know how matters are dragging with the Philippine expedition,” began Merritt. First, the next deployment would be delayed “owing to changes necessary to be made in the chartered transports.” Second, pronouncing “plenty of men as fit to go,” the general highlighted the need to acquire more transports, asking “can they not be hurried? I am not complaining, but report the facts, as they do not seem to be understood in Washington.”<sup>18</sup>

A day later, Merritt’s frustration with available shipping spilled over into newspapers. On 7 June, the *Call* published an article giving the general’s personal assessment of his command, including training, equipment, and deployments. Merritt observed, “The only complaint now is the delay in the furnishing of transports. I have represented to the War Department that the transports are coming in very slowly.” Then, perhaps recalling an earlier need to offer “semi-retraction” statements when his alleged remarks about poorly disciplined Volunteers appeared in May’s New York newspapers, Merritt added, “I do not wish to be understood as making any complaint or any criticism of the War Department. I am merely making a statement of facts in reply to your inquiries. I think the War Department is doing everything in its power to facilitate the rapid movement of troops to the Philippines. The shortage of transports is no fault of the War Department.”<sup>19</sup>

Of course, that statement was more for public consumption, given the

tone of his personal communiqués to Corbin. In actuality, Washington officials had been working diligently to meet the Department of the Pacific's needs. Between May and June, the Quartermaster Department engaged nearly all suitable vessels on the West Coast.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, shipping contracted over those two months could accommodate only about 70 percent of the troops allocated for duty in the Pacific.<sup>21</sup>

Responding to Merritt's appeals and the need for more shipping on the Atlantic Coast as well, the War Department changed tactics. Although three more Manila-bound vessels would be chartered before the 12 August peace protocol, the War Department in late June began to procure transport ships through outright purchase. The Secretary of War subsequently established a "division of transportation" in the Quartermaster Department to spearhead the effort.<sup>22</sup> Under the direction of COL Frank Hecker, a Detroit manufacturer commissioned in the Volunteers, the division used federal funds to buy 17 vessels, two of which were assigned to steam the Pacific.<sup>23</sup>

As much as the military needed ships to deploy forces, the Army refused to take all vessels offered. In recounting his experience working the purchase of ships, Hecker observed, "Ninety per cent of the ships tendered the Government were found wholly unsuited because of their age and unseaworthiness, because they would require immediate and extensive repairs to machinery, or because it was not practicable, in the short time at the disposal of the Department, to ventilate them, even partially." To this list of shortcomings he also could have included exorbitant costs. For example, Hecker recalled how the Canadian Pacific Railway Company offered two steamers at a price he considered too inflated, given their "history." Negotiations for both ships continued throughout the war but were never completed.<sup>24</sup>

Although War Department officials played a key role in acquiring or rejecting ships offered for Pacific service, their decisions were often shaped by information they received from military authorities on the West Coast. Merritt, for example, seemingly acquired considerable authority to secure steamers after he complained that a lack of shipping hindered timely deployments. Corbin informed Merritt that "any action on your part looking to speedy supply of transportation will be approved." After apprising Merritt of the need to keep his office informed of efforts made, Corbin assured him that "the President as well as the Secretary of War give you the widest latitude in this matter."<sup>25</sup>

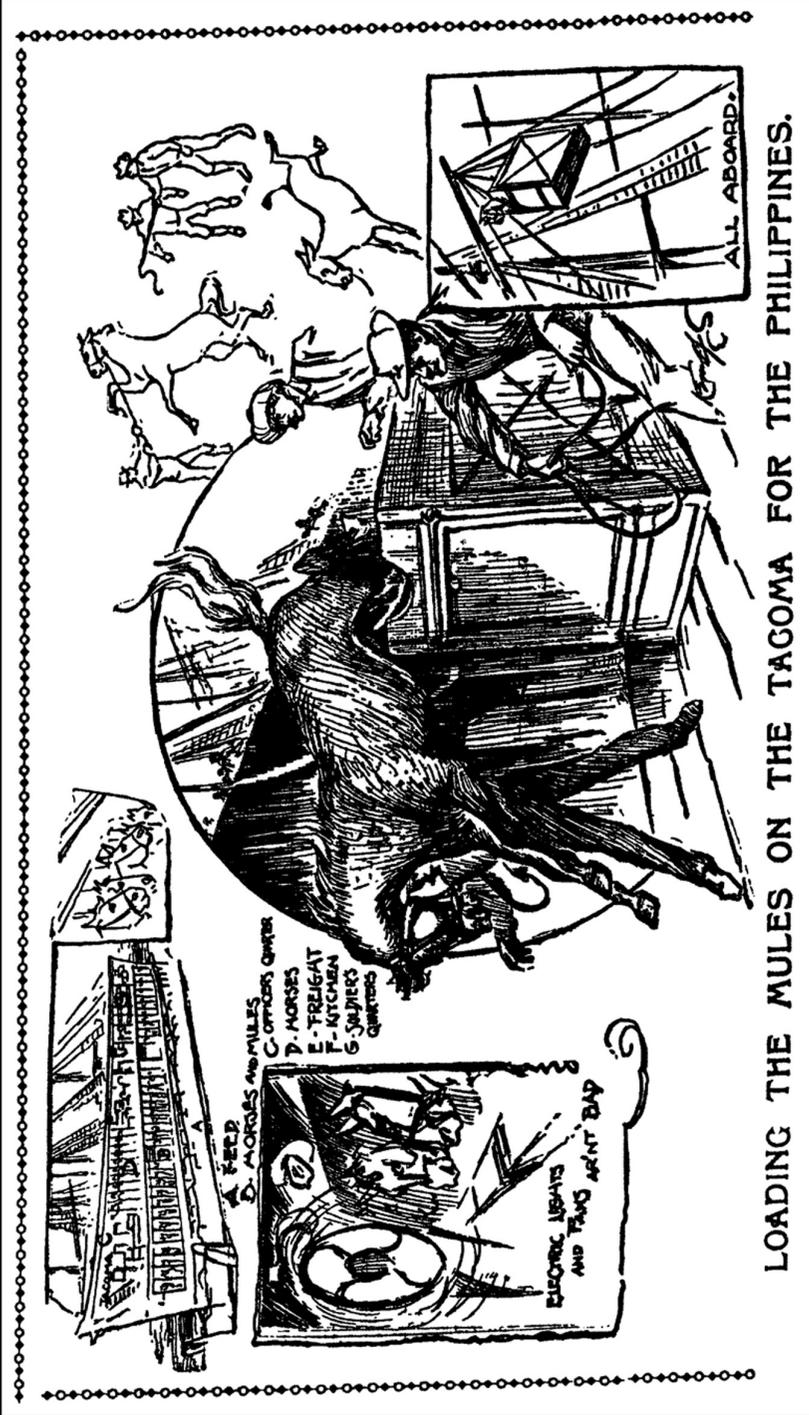
About a month after receiving this cable, Merritt requested that the

government purchase the *Newport*, a chartered steamer on which he was taking passage to the Philippines. He recounted the ship's attractive features, calling the "vessel admirably adapted in every way for one of the permanent fleet of transports."<sup>26</sup> COL Hecker, who ultimately considered Merritt's request, found the asking price "so much in excess of her intrinsic value that it would not be advantageous for the Government to purchase her."<sup>27</sup> The Secretary of War concurred with Hecker's assessment, leaving Corbin with the task of informing Merritt that the ship would retain its charter status only.<sup>28</sup>

Others in San Francisco exerted a decidedly greater influence in the transport appropriation process. Before Merritt's late May arrival in the city, MG Otis offered the War Department extensive observations on ships considered for charter. On 18 May, a day after reaching San Francisco, Otis submitted a report to BG Corbin assessing the readiness of ships already contracted. He also named several vessels suitable for troops that could be available in the future and identified a few ships that possibly would be "available only by seizure." He deemed one particular vessel, the *Conemaugh*, "not suited for troops but adapted for animals and freight."<sup>29</sup> That ship was never chartered for any units of the Philippine expeditionary force.

On 19 May, Otis received instructions from Secretary Alger to assume command of expeditionary troops and directions to confer with the president of Pacific Mail Steamship Company "to ascertain from him whether it is not possible to get charter of other ships." In the meantime, Otis was to report the largest number of soldiers who could be accommodated by ships that already were chartered. If contracted vessels could not give passage to all troops, then Alger believed that other ships might have to be pressed into service.<sup>30</sup>

MG Otis met with representatives of Pacific Mail and discussed chartering two vessels. The War Department subsequently contracted both ships.<sup>31</sup> After Merritt departed at the end of June, Otis personally directed the charter of two additional watercraft: the *St. Paul*, another troopship, and the *Tacoma*, a vessel used to move stock and forage to the archipelago.<sup>32</sup> The War Department supported his initiative and executed contracts for both vessels. At the same time, the department opted not to complete a contract for the *Titania* after Otis communicated his reservations about the vessel to the Assistant Secretary of War.<sup>33</sup> The *Chronicle* reported that the vessel was "unsuited for troops, and would have to undergo many repairs and changes before she could be made habitable."<sup>34</sup> Meiklejohn trusted Otis's judgment, so much so that on 10 July he gave



LOADING THE MULES ON THE TAGOMA FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

Figure 90.

Otis the authority to “make all arrangements necessary for the charter of steamers for transportation of troops to Hawaii.”<sup>35</sup>

A major reason for Otis’s ability to render such an informed judgment on acquiring or rejecting ships rested with his willingness to conduct personal inspections of vessels or to accept reports from others on the conditions of potential transports. The general “inspected nearly all of the vessels used” to dispatch troops abroad.<sup>36</sup> Those not contracted may well have been eliminated because of observed shortcomings noted through personal assessments.

The *Centennial*, for example, failed to pass inspections in San Francisco and never joined the chartered transport fleet to the Philippines. The War Department looked to contract the ship from Peter Larsen of Seattle a little more than a month into the war. When the vessel docked at San Francisco’s Folsom Street wharf on 4 June, the depot quartermaster and a medical board of survey conducted an examination for its fitness to carry troops. They reported considerable concern over the space allocated for soldiers, suggesting the ship needed “to be overhauled and entirely renovated before she will be ready for sea.”<sup>37</sup>

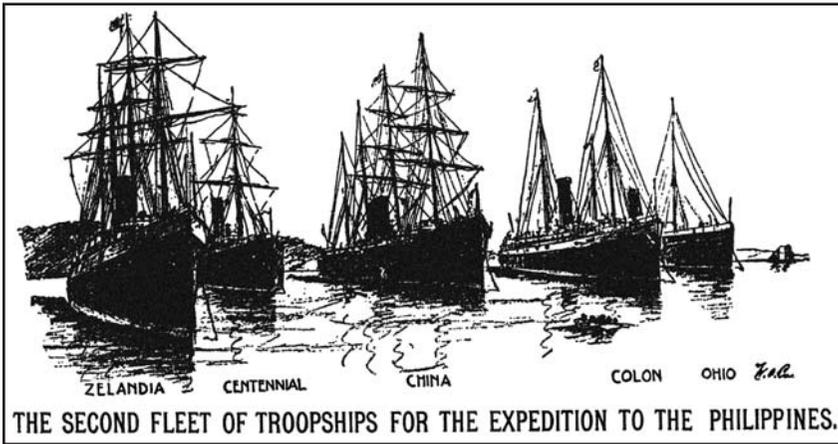
Alerted to potential problems with the *Centennial*, Secretary Meiklejohn ordered an extensive inspection. MG Merritt reported that Lieutenant Lopez and Naval Constructor Snow found the ship unseaworthy.<sup>38</sup> In addition to limited troop space, the boilers’ poor condition precluded the ship from joining the transport fleet.<sup>39</sup> Although the owners threatened to sue and the US Senate heard arguments as to possible collusion among ship-owners in San Francisco, the *Centennial’s* charter was not executed.<sup>40</sup>

Had legal action been taken, those representing the *Centennial* could not have based their argument on the premise that it was the only ship not taken after an inspection. Military authorities examined numerous vessels that never received a contract. Local newspapers reported that the *Belgic*, *Cleveland*, *Whitgift*, *Titania*, *Conemaugh*, and *Roanoke* underwent formal scrutiny, but the War Department declined to charter them.<sup>41</sup>

Major Oscar Long, the depot quartermaster, was another military officer in San Francisco who exerted considerable influence over the transport appropriation process. With the War Department having assigned the Quartermaster General responsibility for securing steamers, Long served a critical role at the expeditionary force’s port of embarkation. Although ships were chartered in Washington, Long led the effort “to inspect them and to certify to their fitness.”<sup>42</sup>

Through May into early June, Long and other inspectors often board-

ed vessels to evaluate specific areas related to transporting troops. The US Inspectors of Steam Vessels toured the first expedition's *City of Peking*, *City of Sydney*, and *Australia* "and found that the extra berths were properly made and that there were enough life-preservers on board."<sup>43</sup> A Sanitary Commission examination of the *Peking* contributed to MG Otis's decision to decrease the number of troops aboard given space restrictions.<sup>44</sup> A medical examining board that consisted of Army surgeons scrutinized the second expedition's *China*, *Colon*, and *Zealandia* before receiving orders to check the *Morgan City* and *Senator* "as to their capacity, sanitary condition and needed changes."<sup>45</sup>



San Francisco Call, 29 May 1898

Figure 91.

A day after Long and his medical survey team assessed the *Centennial*, two additional examinations were scheduled. Captain John H. Bermingham, supervising inspector of hulls and boilers, was scheduled to "go over the steamer and see that she conforms to all the requirements of law and a board of naval officers will see to it that she is fit to act as a United States troopship."<sup>46</sup>

Shortly after reporting the *Centennial's* shortcomings to Washington, MG Merritt reassessed the inspection process and appointed his own board "for the purpose of hastening the preparations" of the Philippine expeditions. Knowing Major Long, who never belonged to his command, to be overwhelmed "with the depot quartermaster's affairs," Merritt named two Army quartermasters and a Navy lieutenant to check vessels for transport suitability. The general, however, instructed his board to work closely with Long in their endeavor.<sup>47</sup> This board became a part of an inspection process that, by 19 June, the *Call* reported as constituted by

“four examinations in all, and every one of the strictest character.” Those included assessments that “officials of the Treasury Department, Navy Department, Medical Board and Quartermaster’s Department” rendered.<sup>48</sup>

Merritt also instructed the quartermaster officers of his inspection team to perform one other Herculean task associated with deployment. The general ordered them “personally [to] superintend the fitting and preparation of the ships for the reception of troops.” Merritt asserted that Major Long, as the depot quartermaster, would “provide the material and labor necessary for the outfitting of the ships” in addition to other required assistance.<sup>49</sup>

Transforming vessels into troop transports often required the performance of numerous tasks, depending on the findings of the several inspection teams. COL Charles Bird estimated that 10 days were required in San Francisco to prepare the steamers as oceanic troop carriers.<sup>50</sup> That figure likely did not include the amount of time taken to offload cargo on many vessels that docked in the city about the time their charters would take effect.

On 1 October 1898, Long wrote the Quartermaster General, “Our transports were provided with every modern convenience which intelligent foresight or thought could secure for the welfare and comfort of the troops.”<sup>51</sup> Recalling the work done to chartered vessels during his duty tour in San Francisco, MG Otis wrote, “Cooking and cold-storage facilities were improved and enlarged; comfortable bunks and means of ventilation were provided; the vessels were thoroughly policed.”<sup>52</sup>

While both officers’ observations give a sense of what was generally accomplished to prepare transports, Major Long and his quartermaster peers supervised or observed considerably more work to prepare vessels for departure. First, ships were “thoroughly cleaned from stem to stern . . . then fumigated and otherwise disinfected.”<sup>53</sup> Ships had to be coaled for the approximately 7,000-mile journey lasting 25 days.<sup>54</sup> Carpenters, joiners, and mechanics worked to paint; put up bunks; and build extra galleys, lavatories, and closets where needed.<sup>55</sup> Several ships stocked additional life preservers after the inspectors of steam vessels called for them.<sup>56</sup>

Stevadores and troops hauled aboard stores and unit equipment.<sup>57</sup> Supplies loaded on the four vessels of the second expedition included “boxes of roast beef, barrels of sugar, bags of salt and other provisions.”<sup>58</sup> The *Daily Report* observed vessels in the third expedition taking on “canned goods of every kind, lumber, telegraph wire, barbed wire, lumberor houses, probably officer’s quarters; cement, picks, shovels and wheelbarrows.”<sup>59</sup>

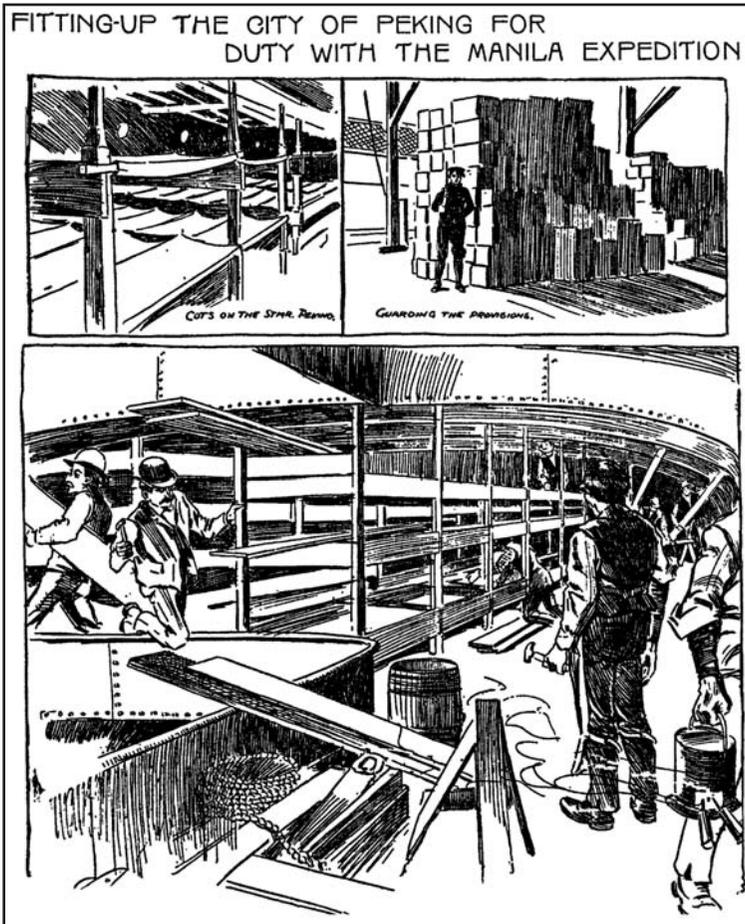
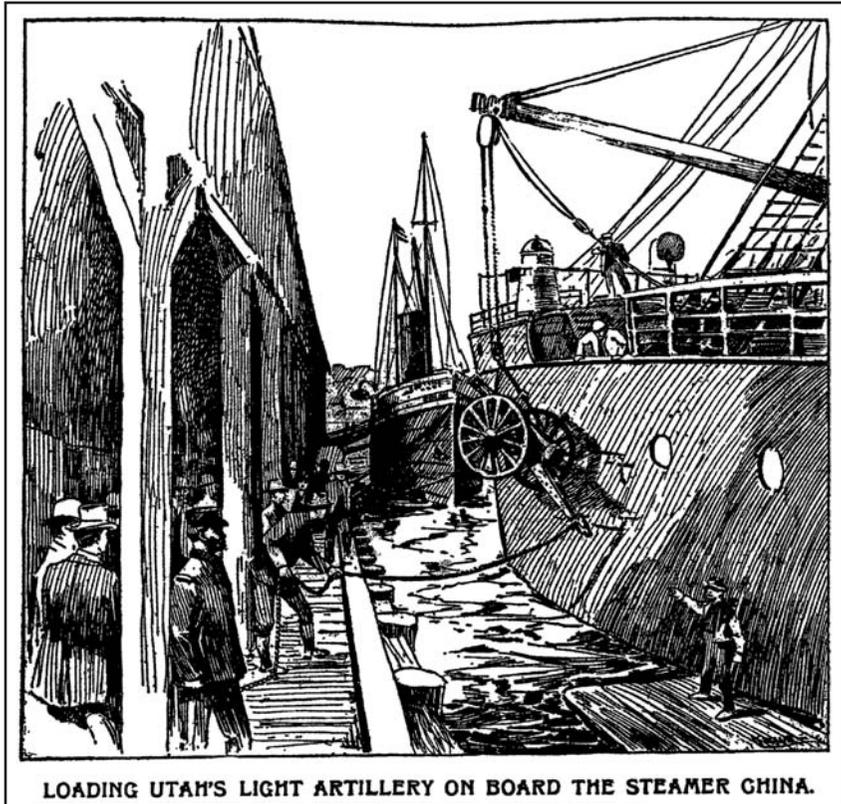


Figure 92.

Sometimes the loading process did not go smoothly or was not thought through carefully. The *Daily Report* complained that for the first expedition's *City of Peking*, "the loading has proceeded very, very slowly, being done and undone, and done over again."<sup>60</sup> CPT W.E. Birkhimer, 3d US Infantry, who sailed on the third expedition's *Ohio*, wrote, "Nothing is plainer than this fact: in loading a vessel it is important to have everything conducted in a systematic, pre-arranged, and orderly manner, so that everything will have an ascertained place and be placed just there." Apparently, that advice had not been heeded when the *Ohio* was loaded. Birkhimer lamented, "There was not, perhaps, in the military community on board the ship, one person who did not, at various times during the voyage, have reason to regret the want of well established order in loading the supplies intended for this convenience or necessities."<sup>61</sup>

Some ships received special attention. For example, laborers lashed four 4-pound Hotchkiss guns to the deck of the *Peking* should some protection be needed against armed Spanish ships.<sup>62</sup> When the Utah Battery deployed with the second expedition, three of its guns remained intact, one each mounted aboard the *Colon*, *Zealandia*, and *China*.<sup>63</sup>



The Examiner, 13 June 1898

Figure 93.

## Selecting the Units

The US Army dispatched seven expeditions to the Philippines before 12 August. These deployments occurred as steamers became available. The first three expeditions, the only ones to participate in combat operations against the Spanish at Manila, traveled in clusters of three to five ships. Recognizing that the need for haste coupled with limited troopship availability precluded dispatching the entire command in one deployment, department officers had to make decisions on the organization of each force that sailed from San Francisco.

# PICTURE STORY OF THE TRANSPORTS AND VESSELS ON THE WAY TO MANILA

## The Routes, the Distances and the Probable Position of Each of the Transports on Each Day Till It Reaches Admiral Dewey's Fleet, Philippine Islands.

On May 21 the first fleet of transports consisted of the Olympia, Philadelphia and the other transports sailed out of the Golden Gate on its way to Manila. The second fleet is still there, the third fleet of transports will sail about July 25 next.

The day in June 18 and a party and convey. On the same date the Olympia, Philadelphia and the other transports sailed out of the Golden Gate. The transports that sailed on May 21 were the City of Peking, City of St. Louis, City of St. Paul, City of St. Peter, City of St. James, City of St. John, City of St. George, City of St. Andrew, City of St. Patrick, City of St. Nicholas, City of St. Elizabeth, City of St. Anne, City of St. Agnes, City of St. Ursula, City of St. Cecilia, City of St. Dymphna, City of St. Margareta, City of St. Katarina, City of St. Christina, City of St. Juliana, City of St. Barbara, City of St. Anastasia, City of St. Agatha, City of St. Lucy, City of St. Theresia, City of St. Agatha, City of St. Lucy, City of St. Theresia.

On June 1 the first fleet of transports consisted of the Olympia, Philadelphia and the other transports. After a day or two they were sighted by the fleet. After a day or two they were sighted by the fleet. After a day or two they were sighted by the fleet.

Calculating on the time spent in reaching Honolulu and providing there with provisions, it is estimated that the first fleet must now be very close to the Philippines.

But, granting that all is well, the second fleet will stop at the Ladrone Islands. The transports are 200 miles from the Philippines, which would be reached on or about July 11. It is not known whether the second fleet is in the exact state of affairs at this point. The transports are 200 miles from the Philippines, which would be reached on or about July 11. It is not known whether the second fleet is in the exact state of affairs at this point.

On the fourth of July the volunteers of the second fleet will be ordered to leave for Manila. The second fleet will be ordered to leave for Manila. The second fleet will be ordered to leave for Manila.

The third fleet of transports will sail about July 25 next.

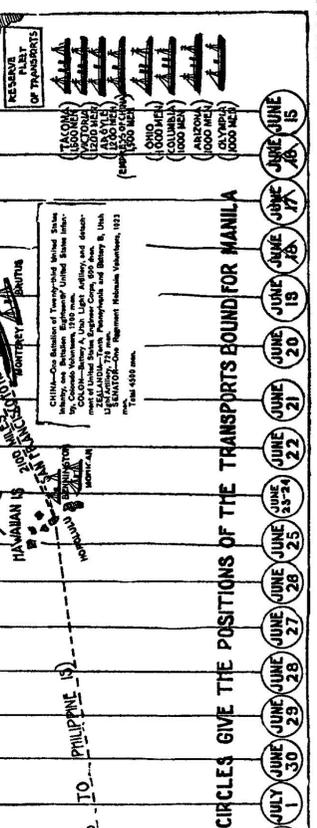
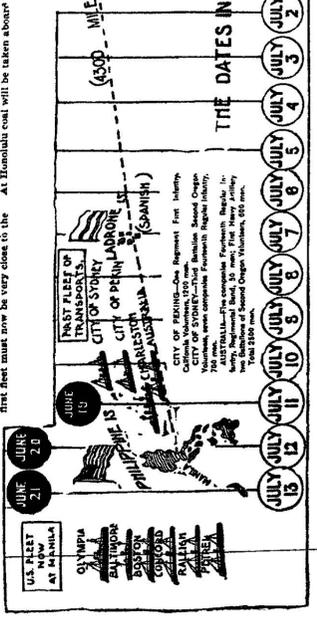


Figure 94.

Some department leaders' decisions produced common features among numerous expeditions. General officers commanded the first four deployments and five of seven overall. Infantrymen sailed in numbers much greater than those of other service branches. State Volunteer organizations dominated the units composing each force, although Regulars formed the core.



Figure 95.

Just as proximity to San Francisco became a key consideration for assigning a unit to MG Merritt's command, so, too, did this factor influence the makeup of the first expedition. On 14 May, in the absence of general officers at the Golden Gate, the War Department issued deployment orders to the 1st California and four companies of the 14th Infantry.<sup>64</sup> Although other California infantry and artillery Volunteers had reached San Francisco, only one steamer, the *City of Peking*, was available to carry abroad these troops and a small naval contingent. When military authorities on the West Coast reported that the *Australia* and *City of Sydney*, both chartered on 10 May, could be ready to sail with the *Peking* after 20 May, this development called for more troops to join the first expedition.<sup>65</sup>

MG Otis, who arrived in the city on 17 May, designated those troops. Two days later, after having "inspected the three vessels already chartered and casually the troops which have arrived," Otis designated "the regiment of Oregon volunteers now here and in fair shape" to sail with the 1st California and five companies of the 14th Regulars.<sup>66</sup> This decision would be the first of many that would leave troops bitter in the 7th California. From their perspective, the regiment would always be overlooked or ignored in favor of other state organizations that had more influence with military or political authorities.

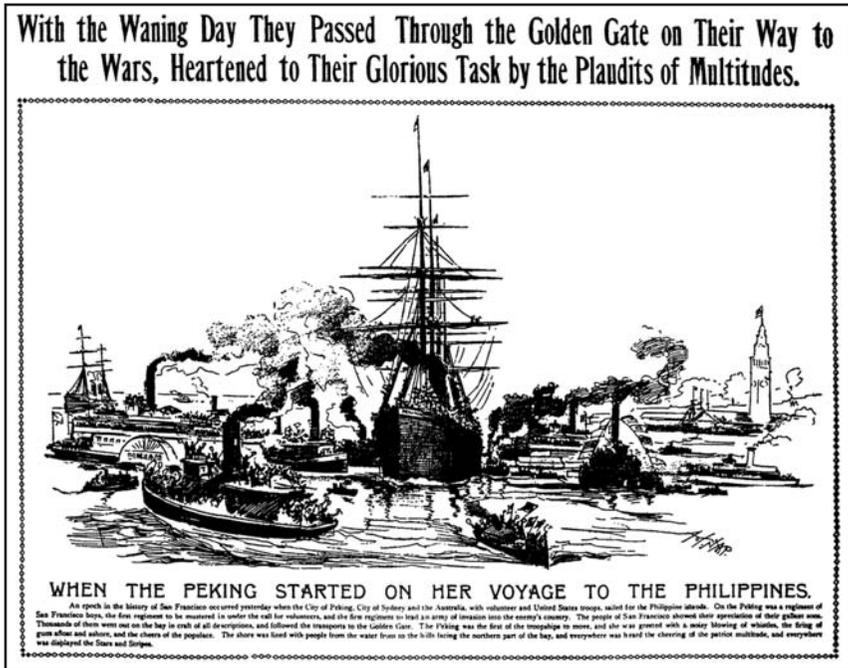


Figure 96.

In addition to these infantry units, Otis ordered deployed personnel representing two other service functions, the medical and artillery. He found sufficient space aboard the *Sydney* to billet hospital corpsmen. The general also manifested “an officer and 50 men detached from the battalion of heavy artillery California Volunteers, which includes all members who have any knowledge of the service of artillery.”<sup>67</sup> Apparently Otis was not inspired by the “combined arms” concept that wedded two service functions on the battlefield. More appropriately, Private Charles R. Detrick, 1st California Infantry, suggested, “It was thought that with the taking of various strongholds of the Spaniards in the islands, the American forces would come into possession of much valuable ordnance, and the artillerymen would be needed to care for it, and even to man the captured cannon for use against the enemy.”<sup>68</sup>

Regular infantry continued to form the core of the expeditionary forces in all subsequent deployments. Arriving in San Francisco on 29 May, the undermanned 18th and 23d Infantry Regiments each trained and prepared four companies for the second expedition that sailed on 15 June. Units from these two regiments that did not deploy remained in the city. They awaited recruits, some of whom were attached to four more companies from each

regiment that departed with the third expedition at the end of June. As the 18th and 23d Infantry continued to recruit and train new members of the regiment, five companies of the 14th Infantry either organized or arrived in the city to join the fourth expedition.<sup>69</sup>

When units from specific noninfantry service branches, whether Volunteer or Regular, arrived at the Golden Gate, Merritt and Otis frequently manifested them with the next force to leave San Francisco. This practice held true especially for artillerymen and engineers. Merritt had either requested or welcomed both kinds of troops in additional numbers.<sup>70</sup> The Astor Battery reached the city on 20 June and sailed with the third expedition on 27 June. An engineer company moved into camp on 29 May, then deployed in increments with the next two expeditions. Cavalrymen did not sail until the fourth expedition and failed to reach the archipelago before the peace protocol.<sup>71</sup>

With these priorities established, Merritt, Otis, and subsequently Merriam had to determine the deployment sequence of the state Volunteer infantry. After the first expedition, geography stopped favoring the selection of West Coast units to ship overseas. Volunteer organizations from Nebraska, Kansas, Wyoming, Colorado, Minnesota, Idaho, Utah, Pennsylvania, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Iowa reached San Francisco before 15 June and were available to be assigned to the second expedition. Given the paucity of transports to move troops, however, not all could go at once. Essentially, these organizations started on an equal footing in terms of being close to the port of embarkation. Other considerations, therefore, weighed more heavily in determining the composition of expeditions that deployed in June and July.

Militarily, the major discriminator dealt with unit readiness to deploy. From Merritt and Otis's viewpoint, the key component of readiness centered around state troops having the requisite individual and organizational equipment, including weapons and ammunition, to make the trip and stand garrison duty abroad. Neither of the expedition's most senior commanders conducted thorough troop inspections to determine readiness. Instead they depended on their inspectors general (IGs), COL Robert P. Hughes and CPT John S. Mallory, to assess the units encamped at San Francisco.

Mallory served on Otis's staff.<sup>72</sup> Shortly after reaching the city on 17 May, he began to examine the equipment at Camp Merritt and the Presidio. As the IG, Mallory scrutinized the 2d Oregon's haversacks and rifles and the 20th Kansas's tents and ovens.<sup>73</sup> Other commands stood ordnance inspection to determine their weapons' serviceability and whether state property could

be federalized.<sup>74</sup> On 29 June, the *Call* reported that Mallory's inspection of National Guard weapons the 1st Tennessee brought revealed that most were "in a bad condition, and very few of them were accepted by him."<sup>75</sup>

After Hughes arrived in San Francisco to become Merritt's IG, the Department of the Pacific initiated a systematic inspection of all Volunteer infantry. These checks required organizations to move to the Presidio where they would be inspected in "heavy marching order" by both Hughes and Mallory. Private Karl Kraemer wrote that this formation called for troops to shoulder "blankets, haversacks, canteens and guns."<sup>76</sup> The *Chronicle* reported that the haversack was "a fifty-pound pack with everything needed for a campaign in the field."<sup>77</sup> For several weeks beginning 3 June, the team checked all Volunteer infantry in camp.<sup>78</sup> Their work provided an instant source of information for Merritt and Otis on the state of command readiness.

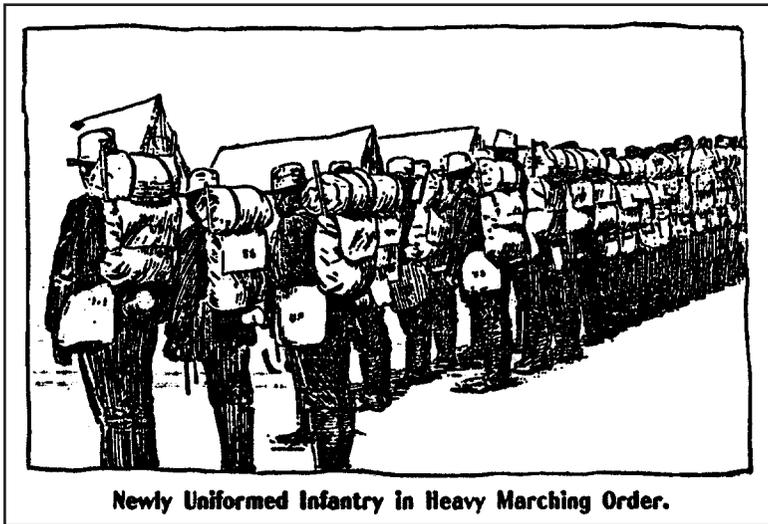


Figure 97.

The two generals desperately needed this sort of unvarnished assessment of state Volunteer units. Several organizations presented incredibly positive, sometimes misleading, images of their logistics status to attain an overseas assignment. Writing after the 12 August protocol, Major Long observed that "in several instances those from States whose quotas were presumably perfectly equipped, and which had heralded their arrival by telegraphing in advance that they required nothing in this regard, were found, when their requisitions were filled, to be deficient in the most essential requirements of equipment. (This was the case with the Colorado, Iowa and Pennsylvania troops)."<sup>79</sup>

Dominated at first by logistics considerations, “readiness” evaluations did not initially include an assessment of a unit’s drill proficiency. Three expeditions departed before the command established a procedure to appraise organizational training. On 27 June, two days before Merritt sailed for the Philippines, COL Hughes inspected and drilled the 7th California at the Presidio. The *Daily Report* noted that “each command has been assigned a day this week upon which it will have to go through the same maneuvers.”<sup>80</sup> Hughes evaluated the 20th Kansas on 29 June and the 1st South Dakota on 30 June.<sup>81</sup> Drill proficiency then became a factor that could have influenced the selection of the 1st Montana and 1st South Dakota, the last two Volunteer regiments to sail for Manila before the United States and Spain signed the peace protocol.

While readiness to deploy may not have exclusively determined the precise order in which units sailed from San Francisco, this criterion was sufficient to award the lowest deployment priority to the 1st Tennessee. On 20 June, Merritt observed, “The Tennessee regiment, which just arrived, is completely destitute of equipment in any direction, and of instruction and drill to a great extent.” He judged those Volunteers as “unlikely to be fit for some time to become a part in this expedition.”<sup>82</sup>

Long wrote that along with the 1st Tennessee, the 20th Kansas and 1st Montana had arrived in San Francisco “almost entirely unequipped.”<sup>83</sup> Merritt, too, found the 20th Kansas lacking, but for a different reason—regimental leadership. “The Kansas regiment has been here some time,” Merritt noted, “and has made itself prominent by its want of capacity, so far as officers are concerned.” He did, however, welcome the recent arrival of the regiment’s commander, COL Frederick Funston, suggesting “the colonel may improve these conditions, but as it now stands the regiment is unfit to embark.”<sup>84</sup> Funston worked to train and discipline his unit, but the effort did not expedite the Kansas Volunteers’ deployment. Both the 20th Kansas and the 1st Tennessee were among the last units to sail for the Philippines in October and November 1898.<sup>85</sup>

Leadership, or more accurately leader preferences, may have accounted for the reason why specific units with readiness shortcomings deployed before others. Beginning with the second expedition, Merritt and Otis collaborated to choose the order in which Volunteer infantry would sail for Manila. They selected the 1st Colorado and 10th Pennsylvania, two regiments that Long judged “deficient in the most essential requirements of equipment” when they arrived in San Francisco on 21 and 25 May, respectively.<sup>86</sup> Quartermasters worked to erase these deficits, given the sailing priorities both general officers fixed.

Otis, who had most recently commanded the Department of the Colorado before his assignment to the Philippine expedition, showed a preference for Volunteers from the Rocky Mountain state shortly after his arrival. The *Daily Report* offered as an explanation for this policy, "General Otis was a resident of Denver for a long time, and is personally acquainted with a number of the officers of the Colorado regiment. He has seen the regiment at work and knows what he may expect of it." The newspaper suggested that the Coloradans would likely leave on the first available expedition.<sup>87</sup>

The newspaper surmised correctly. When an outbreak of measles threatened to eliminate the 2d Oregon from the first expedition, Otis recommended that the 1st Colorado take its place. In a telegraph to Corbin, Otis stated, "First Colorado, of full regimental strength, well equipped, well officered, and having superior medical officers, will arrive in morning, and I suggest that it be placed on vessel as soon as practicable."<sup>88</sup> Apparently, the measles did not spread within the Oregon regiment, and Otis discovered equipment shortfalls in the 1st Colorado. The 2d Oregon retained its position with the first expedition.

This outcome nevertheless failed to diminish Otis's advocacy of the Colorado Volunteers. On 24 May, he informed Corbin that "the Colorado, Minnesota, and Nebraska regiments are in fair condition; need to be outfitted with certain necessary stores not yet received, but arrive in two or three days. These regiments are being inspected to ascertain what ordnance is necessary. They can be placed in condition to sail early next week."<sup>89</sup>

The second expedition subsequently departed with the 1st Colorado and 1st Nebraska, but the 13th Minnesota gave way to the 10th Pennsylvania. One reason for the change may have been that limited space was available on the outgoing transports. If that were so, the smaller Pennsylvania regiment with 640 Volunteers may have been more feasibly manifested than the 13th Minnesota with 1,030 men.<sup>90</sup>

Yet another explanation acknowledges Merritt's preference for state troops from the East Coast. The 10th Pennsylvania came from one of the two largest National Guard programs in the country. The other belonged to New York, a state that subsequently provided a Volunteer regiment to garrison Hawaii. As commander, Department of the East, Merritt was familiar with both programs and had confidence in the abilities of units drawn from either state. The *Daily Report* claimed that "General Merritt has always been known to lean toward the Pennsylvania regiment, and was instrumental in having it brought hither."<sup>91</sup>

Aside from Merritt's preferences, the presence of the 10th Pennsylvania in San Francisco reflected the existence of political pressure in forming expeditions. Just as Congressman J.B. Showalter influenced the assignment of his state's regiment to Merritt's command, so, too, did other politicians urge specific units' inclusion in expeditions to the Philippines.<sup>92</sup> The *Chronicle* charged that officers from the 1st Nebraska solicited the aid of a senator and Assistant Secretary of War Meiklejohn, a former lieutenant governor and congressman from the state, to ensure that the organization sailed with the second expedition.<sup>93</sup>

This particular case was likely nothing more than allegation and coincidence, but plenty of evidence exists to indicate that prominent citizens and noted politicians sponsored organizations for subsequent expeditions. This pressure became quite overt in July, about the time Otis decided to man the fourth expedition with recruits that belonged to organizations that had already sailed. The fear was that the war would end before state Volunteers assembled in San Francisco could get overseas.

On 8 July, MG Otis urged that a California unit be sent into the Pacific to take station in Hawaii.<sup>94</sup> BG Corbin responded, "There is no objection to the Eighth California other than it is thought that as California has one regiment on the way to the Philippines the other States feel that details for service should be given to all the States alike. Two regiments from any one State are for these reasons objectionable. You have no idea the anxiety for service, and how any sign of favoritism is resented."<sup>95</sup> Decisions on assignments to locations in the Pacific were treated as discreetly as possible.

Essentially, the authorities in San Francisco began to receive strong suggestions from sources outside the Golden Gate on what units should go abroad. On 9 July, Secretary of War Alger advocated that the 1st South Dakota deploy.<sup>96</sup> Otis responded in the affirmative and the 1st South Dakota sailed with the sixth and seventh expeditions at the end of July.<sup>97</sup> From 10 July through 12 August, Merritt's command and the War Department entertained unsolicited requests on behalf of the 7th California, 8th California, 1st New York, 1st Montana, 51st Iowa, 20th Kansas, 1st Washington, and 1st Nevada.<sup>98</sup> By the end of November, all sailed for destinations in the Pacific except the two regiments from California. Neither organization deployed. As Corbin had reminded Otis, the 1st California had already sailed and represented the state overseas. (See appendix A.)

## **Restructuring the Camps and Commands**

Troop organizations selected for expeditions often marched to the docks amidst the same pomp and ceremony that had characterized their arrival

at the Golden Gate. The earliest departures were particularly noteworthy for the attention the San Francisco community gave them. Ordered on the first expedition, Private Charles Detrick, 1st California, wrote of his unit's march from the Presidio to the Pacific mail dock, "every foot of the way was crowded with the families, friends, and well-wishers of the boys."<sup>99</sup>

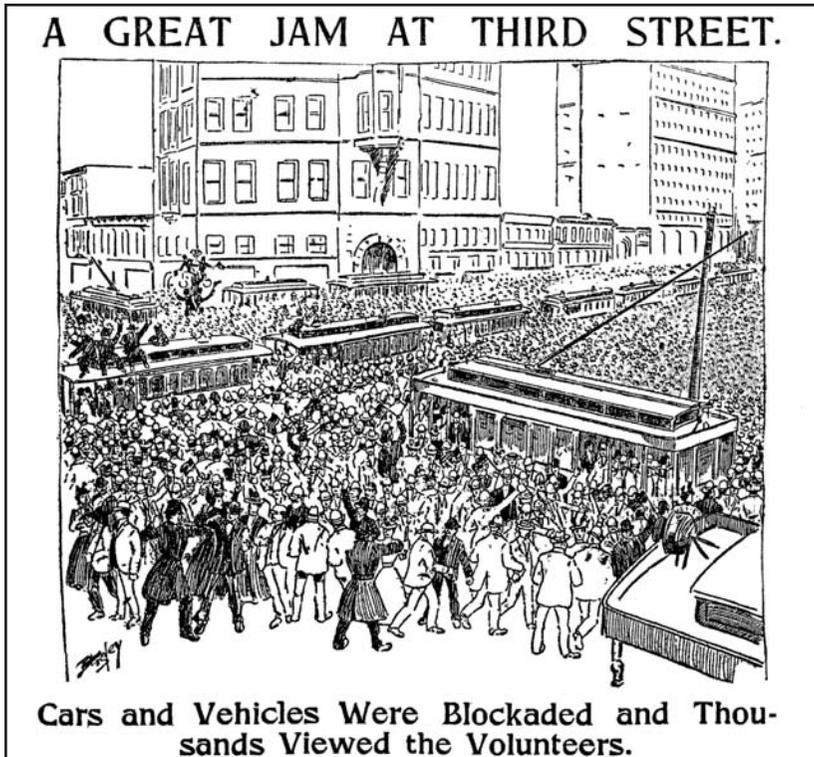


Figure 98.

June send-offs were comparably enthusiastic. The 1st Nebraska experienced a similar farewell according to its regimental scribe. Assigned to the *Senator* of the second expedition, the regiment marched from Camp Merritt on 14 June. The 1st Nebraska chronicler wrote, "In the settled portion of the city, and all the way down to the dock, the streets were literally packed with patriotic crowds; bands played inspiring music, steam whistles and calliopes were blown, and guns were fired, in honor of the passing troops." He added that near the ship "the Red Cross Society served an excellent supper, for which the men were highly grateful."<sup>100</sup>

A North Dakotan, First Sergeant Phil H. Shortt, described his organization's movement to the docks on 27 June. Shortt wrote of "the streets

on the way to the steamer being filled with people who bade the regiment hearty farewells and wished it success and good luck. The scene at the wharf was beyond description. The docks were crowded with soldiers, and the ladies of the Red Cross were everywhere conspicuous.”<sup>101</sup>



Golden Gate National Recreation Area, National Park Service

Figure 99. Volunteers on transport *Rio de Janeiro* leaving San Francisco for Manila.

Departures frequently necessitated restructuring campsites and reorganizing commands. After forces from the first expedition vacated their bivouac sites, Otis began to separate his Independent Division organizations from those belonging to Merriam’s Department of California. At Camp Merritt, Otis maintained regiments, battalions, or detachments that were tentatively tagged for duty overseas. On the Presidio and at Fontana warehouse, Merriam retained the troops most likely to garrison Golden Gate posts or West Coast fortifications. In keeping with this concept, 7th California and 14th Infantry troops relocated to Richmond’s Bay District Racetrack area in late May.<sup>102</sup> The 6th California and 1st Washington remained at the Presidio and Fontana sites, respectively, since both organizations would see garrison duty in the Golden Gate region through the end of hostilities with Spain.

Upon reaching San Francisco after the first expedition sailed, Merritt ordered the Independent Division organized into major subordinate commands. Led by MG Otis, the division separated into four brigades composed of all organizations identified for service in the Pacific. Senior regimental commanders who had reached the city by 30 May took charge of each brigade.<sup>103</sup>

In the days surrounding the departure of two expeditions in June, the division reorganized to accommodate changes in brigade leadership and composition. Three days before the second expedition sailed on 15 June, Otis revamped his division's structure. He named newly appointed brigadier generals to command each of his four brigades. He dropped units that sailed from the existing organization, retained all Regulars in the 1st Brigade, and placed the two least ready regiments, the 20th Kansas and 1st Tennessee, into the 2d Brigade.<sup>104</sup> About the time the third expedition and MG Merritt sailed in late June, Otis reorganized again. With the departures of one of his brigade commanders, BG Arthur MacArthur, and additional Volunteer and Regular forces, Otis consolidated the division into three brigades.<sup>105</sup>



Figure 100.

The most dramatic reorganizations within commands at the Golden Gate occurred when flotillas left the bay in July. As Otis prepared to leave with the fourth expedition on the 15th, he relinquished “command of all troops in this vicinity known as the ‘Expeditionary Forces’” to the current 1st Brigade commander, BG Marcus P. Miller.<sup>106</sup> In a separate order, Otis directed that for the near term, units still in the city were to “be re-brigaded and constitute at least two brigades under division formation.”<sup>107</sup> Miller

saw to those details when, on 20 July, he closed out the 3rd Brigade and assigned Volunteer regiments to the remaining two.<sup>108</sup>

Otis’s departure signaled one other major change in the command structure. After 15 July, the Department of the Pacific stopped exercising direct control over the Independent Division in San Francisco. In the

San Francisco Chronicle, 16 July 1898



Figure 101.

absence of both Merritt and Otis, the department’s highest-ranking officers, the War Department transferred authority over the division to MG Henry C. Merriam. On 10 July, Secretary of War Alger ordered that the “remaining troops heretofore destined for the Philippines will, until return transportation or other orders issued, report to the commanding general Department of California for his orders.”<sup>109</sup> Merriam therefore resumed control over the command he had originally influenced for only a few days in May.

Merriam assumed his additional responsibilities as departures for the Philippines and the occupation of Bay Area defenses invited the restructuring of existing encampments. Nearly two weeks before Merriam took control of the Independent Division, four major campsites in the city had been reduced to three. The last troops to occupy Fontana’s warehouse departed on 2 July when the 1st Battalion, 1st Washington, ferried to Angel Island

to man defense works.<sup>110</sup> Actually, the troop exodus from Fontana had begun only days after the California Heavy Artillery and 1st Washington occupied the structure during the second week of May. On 16 May, “a sharp report like that of a rifle shot” stirred troops trying to sleep on the second story’s hardwood floor. Believing the structure about to collapse, all 600 artillerymen emptied Fontana and anxiously spent a night under the stars.<sup>111</sup>



Figure 102.

Private Charles R. Detrick, 1st California, described the building as “a ramshackle affair” where the wind and fog rushed through its broken windows. Detrick hypothesized that troops who had trained inside the warehouse had loosened joints holding the second story’s hardwood floor together.<sup>112</sup> *The Examiner* rendered similar observations, but also suggested that boisterous play may have taken its toll. The newspaper reported, “The march step of hundreds of men has had a tendency to shake the floors pretty

lively. A few days ago 300 men indulged in a tug of war contest on the second floor. They shook things up so lively that the officers compelled them to cease the sport.”<sup>113</sup> A civil engineer with the Department of California investigated and deemed the structure safe. He surmised that the cracking noises were caused by wood “‘checking’ from the heat engendered by a number of stoves” the Red Cross provided to keep the troops warm.<sup>114</sup>

The engineer’s report failed to mollify artillerymen who were only too ready to bid farewell to Fontana. They relocated into permanent barracks at the Presidio on 18 May.<sup>115</sup> Unlike their California comrades, Volunteers from the 1st Washington never found the warehouse disagreeable. They remained billeted in the structure with Merriam’s blessing until ordered out in early July. Adjutant William L. Luhn, 1st Washington, wrote, “The 1st and 2d Battalions in Fontana Barracks were very comfortably quartered compared to the many troops who were put in camp on the sand hills of San Francisco, known as Camp Merritt.”<sup>116</sup>

That particular encampment, which included two sites in the Richmond District, referred to as the Bay District Racetrack and Jordan Tract, had become a target for criticism from several sources in the San Francisco area. Coincidentally, this scrutiny intensified as expeditions departed, reducing the number of troops bivouacked in the area. Ironically, the officer most active in establishing the Richmond encampment, MG Merriam, regained control over Camp Merritt and its troops in mid-July when objections to the area reached their zenith.

For more than a month leading up to that point, local newspapers ran articles and editorials that faulted Richmond sites and urged improvements to the Presidio. On 8 June, the *Daily Report* announced that Richmond citizens were about to petition MG Otis for help. The article observed that “the presence of 14,000 soldiers in Richmond has given local business a boom and in various ways benefited the region.” The reporter nevertheless proclaimed that “some of the soldiers who patronize the saloons are getting a little too lively for the peace and comfort of quiet and orderly citizens. . . . There is another nuisance in the camp—the cesspool nuisance—which the people of Richmond are anxious to see abated.”<sup>117</sup>

On 9 June, the *Chronicle* ran an editorial exposing the “sanitary, moral and military” shortcomings of Camp Merritt. First, filthy sinks dug in lieu of sewers posed a sanitation hazard by threatening the troops’ “health and that of the city.” Second, unlike the Presidio, this encampment stood on private property divided by city streets. Sentinels had no power to close thoroughfares into the camp. The inability to close streets poisoned

the camps' moral environment by giving access to those the newspaper described as "disreputable people of both sexes." Just across the same streets, soldiers could find ample intoxicants available in numerous sa- loons or groggeries. Third, the camps were not conducive to military train- ing. With 11,159 Volunteers and Regulars spread out over both Richmond sites, units had no place to drill unless they marched to Golden Gate Park or the Presidio.<sup>118</sup>

That same theme ran through editorials and articles of other news- papers. The *Call* questioned why the Army continued to maintain Camp Merritt and not work to accommodate more troops on the large military reservation by the bay.<sup>119</sup> A *Daily Report* editorialist urged the military to develop the Presidio for use as a campsite and warned that Camp Merritt invited "trouble" between soldiers and civilians.<sup>120</sup>

The newspapers found allies among others in San Francisco who joined in questioning the military's encampment decisions. On 20 June, a *Daily Report* editorial revealed that the city's Board of Health had warned that Camp Merritt, "owing to its lack of sewerage, threatened to cause an epidemic."<sup>121</sup> Acting on this report, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, led by Mayor James Phelan, prepared a resolution for Secretary of War Alger. Reprinted in the *Chronicle*, the resolution stated that military authorities had established a camp "on private and unsew- ered blocks directly to the windward of the most populous portion of the city." Through their resolution, the board argued that "the placing of from 10,000 to 12,000 soldiers on these city blocks unnecessarily exposes the soldiers to demoralizing influences and also menaces their sanitary wel- fare and that of the city." City supervisors maintained that the military had actually few options other than to establish sites in the Richmond District because of the Presidio's inability to host a large body of troops. The su- pervisors urged Secretary Alger to support the kind of improvements to the Presidio that would lead to a greater accommodation of forces on the military reservation.<sup>122</sup>

Another development likely inspired the Board of Supervisors to act. After President McKinley issued a second call for Volunteers, California brought another regiment into federal service. Instead of joining their com- rades at San Francisco encampments, members of the 8th California es- tablished their bivouac site in Oakland. In an article published on 22 June, the *Chronicle* quoted regimental commander COL Park Henshaw for an explanation of the site selection. Henshaw stated, "The reason for select- ing some place other than San Francisco for the rendezvous is the desire to have a quiet and comparatively isolated spot where the men will be free

from outside influence. They will be given all that is necessary for their welfare, and, being removed from temptations, will be better able to devote their time and attention to drills and military discipline.”<sup>123</sup> Then, after the third expedition departed, the *Call* reported on 3 July that “Oakland residents are making a strong effort to have the First New York located here.”<sup>124</sup> This particular regiment had recently been added to Merritt’s command and was making its way west.

Still in command of the force at Camp Merritt, MG Otis took steps to address several of the problems that San Francisco papers and political authorities identified. On 23 June, he ordered all sinks in the Richmond encampment disinfected and that “Brigade Commanders will see to it that the sinks of each organization of their respective brigades are inspected daily by the regimental surgeon or medical officer attached.”<sup>125</sup> By 1 July, he accepted the appointment of Major W.S.H. Matthews, 51st Iowa, as inspecting surgeon of Camp Merritt.<sup>126</sup> Soon after, Matthews’ observations on the sanitary conditions of the camp found their way into the *Daily Report*. A new voice could be added to those heretofore nonmilitary sources arguing for changes at the camps.

On 5 July, the *Daily Report* commented on Matthews’ efforts to assist the 1st Tennessee with its sinks. The paper’s correspondent summarized, “No notice has been taken of this by the officers, and nothing toward remedying this evil undertaken. The odor from the sinks is bad enough when they are covered, and as they are at present it is intolerable.”<sup>127</sup> A day later, the same newspaper revealed that Matthews ordered more sinks prepared, and then quoted him, “If we were to stay here for only a week or ten days more that might be good enough, but when we shall have to stay here or somewhere in this neighborhood for a month at least, as the prospects at present are, the only safe thing to do is to remove the camp.”<sup>128</sup>

On 7 July, four days after Oakland announced its effort to acquire the 1st New York, Matthews rendered an official report to the division’s chief surgeon, stating, “I have made an inspection of Camp Merritt and find that the sanitary conditions and the health of the men in this camp is not what it should be.”<sup>129</sup> Still the camp did not move, nor were preparations made to improve the Presidio as a bivouac site.

The 1st New York’s arrival on 13 and 14 July changed the situation. COL Thomas Barber, the regiment’s commanding officer, objected to the Camp Merritt grounds where the 1st New York was assigned. Formerly occupied by the 23d Infantry since 29 May and only recently vacated, the block area was “one stretch of dry sand, mixed with debris and decayed

matter.” Barber ordered a sanitary inspection by his regimental surgeon who subsequently reported “that a permanent encampment at the place allotted to the First New York would be a menace to the health of the men.”<sup>130</sup>

Barber took his concerns directly to MG Otis in the Phelan Building. He requested that the 1st New York relocate onto the Presidio reservation. In one of his final decisions as commander of the expeditionary forces assembled in San Francisco, Otis concurred. His decision was made easier in part because of the New York regiment’s official status. Barber’s infantry was bound for Honolulu. Hawaii fell within the Department of California’s jurisdiction; any unit assigned duties there belonged to MG Merriam. Units assigned to the Department of California were quartered on the Presidio or at coast defense sites. Moving the 1st New York onto the Presidio could therefore be justified as assigning the organization to its parent headquarters.<sup>131</sup> Merriam approved Barber’s appeal as well, and the New Yorkers established their bivouac at the Presidio on 15 July, the same day Otis sailed for the Philippines.<sup>132</sup>

Relocation fueled more protests over the Richmond camps’ continued existence. On 16 July, Hugh Craig, president, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, renewed his crusade to condemn Camp Merritt. He and other San Francisco businessmen had to be concerned about Oakland’s challenge to secure military camps. The longer Richmond encampments existed, the greater the chance that military or political authorities could decide to relocate across the bay. This action would be a blow to San Francisco’s commerce.

In early June, Craig had asked Secretary of War Alger for assistance in this endeavor, only to be referred to the local commander. This time he wired President McKinley. His message dated 16 July read: “Camp Merritt, in San Francisco, has been condemned by our Board of Supervisors because of its unsanitary condition, protested against by the neighbors, and is a blot upon the Administration. The ladies of the Red Cross are heartbroken at the increasing mortality, entirely unnecessary. The New York regiment, just arrived, would not accept quarters there and is now camped at the Presidio.” He asked the president “to compel the removal of this disgraceful condition of affairs,” while promising that the chamber would “sewer and supply with fresh water the Presidio grounds.”<sup>133</sup>

Craig realized at least part of the solution that he desired. On 18 July, the AG, BG Corbin telegraphed MG Merriam: “Secretary War further directs that Camp Merritt be abandoned and these troops be placed in camp

on the Presidio Reservation.”<sup>134</sup> Alger’s directive, however, did not mark the end but rather “the beginning of the end” for Camp Merritt. Merriam received no timetable for closing the Richmond sites. The Presidio could not be transformed hastily to accommodate all the troops in San Francisco awaiting deployment. Repositioning the forces too quickly would overburden the military installation’s services. Merriam decided to gradually withdraw from the city, starting with displacing the division hospital to a barracks at the Presidio on 21 July. After three more expeditions departed with troops by 29 July, Merriam began to transfer regiments out of Richmond. Camp Merritt ceased to exist on 26 August when the last troops marched onto the Presidio.<sup>135</sup>

One of the military’s remarkable accomplishments was acquiring ocean transports for Merritt’s command. Quartermasters on both coasts and generals at the Golden Gate secured suitable vessels for Regulars and Volunteers. Each vessel was inspected for safety threats and health risks. Not all available ships were chartered or purchased. Some accepted into service had to be refurbished before admitting passengers and commencing the voyage.

The transportation challenge created an associated problem. The Department of the Pacific had to determine the order in which units deployed overseas. Merritt and Otis ultimately designated Regular infantry companies as the core of each expedition. Around this nucleus the generals added sections of Army medical personnel, artillerymen, and engineers as they became available. State Volunteer infantry constituted most of each deploying force. The order in which Volunteer units sailed depended on diverse criteria—proximity to the coast, logistics preparedness, drill proficiency, political influence, and general officers’ preferences.

As the Department of the Pacific’s strength dwindled about the Golden Gate, commanders reassessed the need for campsites. Originally established in four locations, bivouac areas increasingly became the subject of criticism levied by businessmen, newspaper reporters, local citizens, and some military officials. These groups advocated consolidating the troops on the Presidio reservation. Successive deployments reduced the number of military organizations remaining in the San Francisco area, which created the opportunity to close encampments. Toward the end of July, commanders began to move troops to the Presidio. All of the troops would eventually move out of city camps and relocate, either overseas or on the Presidio, but not before a peace protocol ended hostilities between the United States and Spain.

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## Chapter VIII

### Epilogue and Conclusions

The United States and Spain ended their hostilities with a protocol in August 1898. Fittingly, both the opening and closing battles of the war were fought in the environs of Manila Bay. Buoyed by Dewey's victory on 1 May, Filipino rebels, who had renewed their drive for freedom in 1896, encircled the Spanish garrison around Manila. Though not strong enough to mount a decisive attack, the Philippine army was sufficiently powerful to keep Spanish forces contained in the city. An uneasy stalemate settled over much of Luzon as both the Asiatic squadron and Philippine insurgents awaited the arrival of US Army expeditions from San Francisco.

Forces from the Department of the Pacific began to arrive at Cavite in summer 1898. BG Thomas Anderson's first expedition reached Manila on 30 June. BG Francis V. Greene's second expedition joined Anderson's men on 17 July. Transports of the Army's third expedition, led by BG Arthur MacArthur, began to anchor in Manila Bay on 25 July. MG Wesley Merritt arrived in the Philippines with the third expedition. By then designated the US Army VIII Corps, Merritt's command consisted of nearly 11,000 Regulars and Volunteers. (See appendix B.)

Merritt would note that by the time of his arrival, Philippine insurgents "held military possession of many points in the islands other than those in the vicinity of Manila."<sup>1</sup> While General Emilio Aguinaldo, commander, Philippine army, and his forces had begun operations around the archipelago's Spanish capital several weeks after Dewey's victory, Filipino resistance challenged the Spanish military elsewhere in Luzon. Insurgents also attacked Spanish outposts in other parts of the Philippines, including Mindoro, the Visayas, and Mindanao.<sup>2</sup>

Merritt and Dewey conferred about Manila. In the short term, both viewed the city's capture to be important to American negotiators who would terminate the war with Spain. The two officers were aware that the president wanted flexibility to determine America's relationship with the Philippines after the conflict ended. That condition meant that an attack on Manila should be conducted unilaterally to minimize any concessions to the Filipinos for their participation in a final offensive. Additionally, the US military feared that Filipinos would exact a bloody revenge upon the Spanish for the revolution if they joined the assault on the capital.

Seeking to secure American objectives without going into battle, Dewey attempted to entice Manila's Spanish garrison to surrender. He worked through intermediaries, particularly the Belgian consul in Manila,



Harper's Pictorial History of the War With Spain

Figure 103.

Edward Andre. Using Andre to deliver messages, Dewey negotiated with the recently appointed Spanish governor general, Don Fermin Jaudenes y Alvarez. Jaudenes refused to capitulate; however, he did specify that his Manila batteries would not fire on Dewey's vessels if American ships did not bombard the city. Both the Spanish and American commanders were concerned about indirect fire raining down on a city that numerous non-combatants still occupied. Jaudenes also specified how he would indicate surrender if he decided to yield after an American attack on his defenses.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, he refused to concede without putting up a fight.

In joint messages to Jaudenes a week before the attack, Merritt and Dewey could not inspire Jaudenes to change his mind and give in.<sup>4</sup> The two American commanders, however, persuaded Aguinaldo to allow the Americans to seize Manila. VIII Corps troops gradually replaced many of the Filipino soldiers in the trenches that surrounded the city. On 13 August, the Americans attacked, unaware of the protocol signed earlier. Supported by the

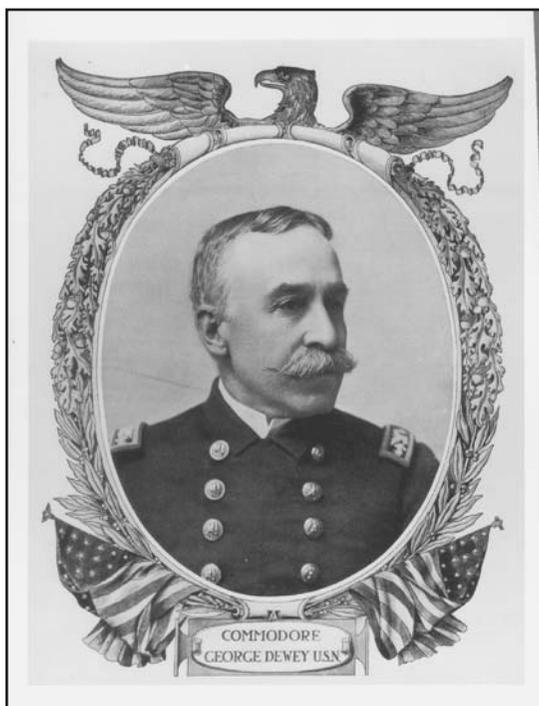


Figure 104.

guns of Dewey's squadron, Merritt's command overwhelmed the Spanish garrison. At day's end, the United States controlled Manila. Spanish troops stationed at various posts throughout the archipelago subsequently surrendered and were repatriated.

American forces, however, did not redeploy to the United States. While the president wrestled with his options concerning the fate of the Philippines, MG Merritt established a military government in a proclamation to Filipinos on 14 August 1898.<sup>5</sup> MG Elwell S. Otis, who replaced Merritt as commander, Department of the Pacific, and military governor in the islands on 30 August 1898, soon confronted indigenous opposition to American hegemony. President McKinley would subsequently decide to annex the islands. Not long after this decision, Aguinaldo, supported by many of his countrymen on Luzon, established the Republic of the Philippines. The United States refused to recognize the new government. Incidents, some violent, escalated between Filipinos and Americans. On 4 February 1899, the two former uneasy coalition partners went to war against each other.

Between February and November 1899, both belligerents fought in a conventional, Western style. They fielded large units, performed extensive

maneuvers, and waged major battles. Whenever the two armies clashed, however, Otis' VIII Corps always prevailed. By November, Aguinaldo decided that his forces could not achieve independence by conducting orthodox military operations against the US military.

Aguinaldo reorganized his army into small, decentralized guerrilla units. He made them responsible for attacking and eroding the Americans' will to remain in the Philippines. For a while, these tactics prolonged the war. Aguinaldo, however, could not break the United States' resolve to retain the Philippines. The war continued into 1902 when most of the organized Filipino resistance dissolved. President Theodore Roosevelt declared the war over in July 1902.

America's involvement in Philippine affairs that began after Dewey's victory continued into the 1990s. Over nine decades, the United States established a political, economic, social, and military presence in the archipelago that extended well beyond the islands into the Pacific and parts of Asia. For almost a century, the US military took station at Luzon. From there it campaigned against a host of belligerents, indigenous and foreign, that threatened American hegemony and later Philippine independence.

For the US Army, challenges associated with establishing and sustaining a lengthy presence in the archipelago developed quickly. By virtue of this endeavor and the great bureaucratic machine that had to be created to command, control, clothe, equip, and train an overseas force, the War Department embarked upon a transformation. Starting in May 1898, the Army converted from a frontier constabulary that picketed the Great Plains of North America to a combat expeditionary force that engaged in operations 7,000 miles west of San Francisco. A fundamental component of this transformation matured at the Golden Gate. From various locations in San Francisco, the US Army developed a process to receive, stage, and deploy troops to the Philippines that began with Dewey's victory and lasted through the Cold War.

From a study of the process that evolved in 1898, several impressions emerge. The speed of the Army's response warrants recognition. The president issued a call for 125,000 Volunteers in late April 1898. On 4 May, he directed that troops converge at the Golden Gate to prepare for duty in Manila. On 25 May, the American Army deployed the first of seven expeditions to the Philippines. Composed of 158 officers and 2,386 men, the initial flotilla included Regular infantry troops moved from Alaska and state Volunteers organized in California and Oregon. In less than 21 days the Army had initiated a process to assemble, screen,

organize, outfit, and dispatch a body of men to exploit Dewey's success at Manila Bay.

The National Guard made significant contributions in the effort to identify Volunteers and gather forces around San Francisco. Adjutant General BG Henry C. Corbin's calculations on the average number of militiamen in a Volunteer company were interesting but stopped well short of capturing the influence the National Guard exerted in mobilizing manpower. Except for Kansas, states that dispatched forces to Merritt used the National Guard organization as a foundation upon which to create units for deployment abroad. While the Army's AG may have dwelled on raw numbers, the National Guard institution worked effectively to process veterans, guardsmen, ex-guardsmen, and citizens for muster into federal service. One of the reasons San Francisco was so attractive as a port of embarkation was that the California National Guard maintained an infantry regiment in the city. The Army therefore had the authority to muster the 1st California at the port of embarkation and assign the regiment to the first expedition.

The effective use of railroads during the mobilization deserves acknowledgment. No "on-the-shelf" contingency plan or military transport system existed to facilitate the assembly of forces from various states or territories at the Golden Gate. Nevertheless, the Army's Quartermaster General, working with departmental quartermasters, quickly secured the requisite rail transportation to move Regulars and Volunteers to San Francisco. COL Charles Bird, in charge of the Army's transportation division, maintained that only one Volunteer regiment was unable to board trains when ready. This situation developed because the Army was unwilling to pay the rate the particular railroad company demanded. Otherwise, to Bird's knowledge, rail transportation awaited all units after their muster into federal service.<sup>6</sup>

These same quartermaster officials were largely responsible for creating an oceanic transport fleet to move units overseas. When the president decided to send land forces to Manila, the Army had neither plans nor means to get them there. The Navy secured the first vessel, the *City of Peking*, but thereafter Major Oscar Long and COL Frank Hecker worked to charter or purchase passenger and freight vessels. Eventually, the Army developed the US Transport Service, an organization that controlled a small flotilla of ships used to convey forces to and from various Pacific outposts.

The senior commanders of the Department of the Pacific gave the VIII Corps its organization and substance. Unlike the president and War

Department officials who viewed the Philippine expedition as an occupation force, MG Merritt comprehended the need to bolster his command's ability to fight an armed opponent as well as to garrison an overseas outpost. He argued for additional Regular infantry, artillery, and engineers. While he and MG Nelson A. Miles disagreed over the purpose of the expedition, Merritt recognized that the president chose not to identify clear political objectives for his command. Merritt, not unlike naval officers who made policy assumptions to create prewar contingency plans, believed that his force could be directed to seize the islands. Should the president and Congress decide to annex the Philippines (as they subsequently did), the VIII Corps would be in a stronger position to achieve that objective with the forces that Merritt wanted added to his department.

MG Otis commanded the VIII Corps' Independent Division. While Merritt fought his battles with Washington, Otis worked through his subordinates to organize, train, quarter, and equip the division's Regular and Volunteer forces at San Francisco. He knew where to focus his efforts so as to complement his commander. Before Merritt arrived at the Golden Gate, Otis dispatched clear, concise summary reports to the War Department that identified the command's actions and needs. He worked with local quartermasters to secure ordnance and transportation for his men. Once he relocated to Camp Merritt from the Phelan Building, he systematically prepared the troops for duty overseas. In this regard, he tapped into Presidio resources and depot or arsenal assets managed by local quartermaster, ordnance, subsistence, and medical officers. Merritt's command, however, could not depend exclusively on military assistance in tending to expeditionary forces. In that regard, the Department of the Pacific did not need to look far for much-needed support.

The San Francisco community assumed an invaluable role in caring for Army troops who gathered at the Golden Gate. Many citizens were swept up in a spirit of volunteerism. They acted individually or collectively to support those who assembled for duty overseas. Years before the United Service Organizations evolved to sustain the military during World War II, associations and leagues in San Francisco offered their assistance without larger national societies prodding them into action.

Area hospitals, church groups, school children, and business people collaborated to produce medical assistance, personal items, welcoming festivities, and financial support for the military. These citizens and institutions frequently acted through or in support of the Red Cross Society or Patriotic Home Helpers to generate relief efforts on behalf of the troops or, in some cases, their families. Well before the American Red Cross asked

Californians to assist, Bay Area residents initiated support activities. Led by women who served on the Board of Directors at Children's Hospital, the community sponsored both a local Red Cross Society and state association before the end of May.

While some residents joined or supported relief societies that nurtured the sick or destitute, others labored on behalf of community religious organizations having ties to national associations. As was the case with the Red Cross, these groups did not need prompting from parent affiliates to look after troops in a variety of ways. The YMCA, Christian Endeavorers, and Catholic Truth Society (CTS) focused on the spiritual welfare of all men in uniform. While each group pursued goals that were appropriate to the faiths they represented, all labored to fortify souls against temptations that could be encountered locally or abroad. The three organizations prioritized their spiritual ministries in the camps. Nevertheless, all ensured that part of that ministry was devoted to the material and physical well-being of all men who used their services.

Almost a century after Merritt's command prepared troops for duty overseas, the US Army Chief of Staff observed, "The Army's new operations doctrine emphasizes readiness for rapid deployment. It calls for being able to project three divisions as far as 7,500 nautical miles from U.S. shores within thirty days."<sup>7</sup> Over time, the need to project combat power into a complex environment is likely to require even greater speed. If this should be the case, then certainly the roots of this endeavor can be traced to the US Army's efforts to mobilize and deploy expeditionary forces from San Francisco to the Philippines in 1898.

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## Glossary

AG	adjutant general
BG	brigadier general
btries	batteries
CE	Christian Endeavorers
CGSC	US Army Command and General Staff College
COL	colonel
cos	companies
CPT	captain
CTS	Catholic Truth Society
detach	detachment
DJMO	Department of Joint and Multinational Operations
1LT	first lieutenant
GGNRA	Golden Gate National Recreation Area
GPO	US Government Printing Office
ID	identification
IG	inspector general
LTC	lieutenant colonel
MG	major general
NPS	National Park Service
PHH	Patriotic Home Helpers
USO	United Service Organizations
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association



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## Appendix A

### Units Assembling in/Deploying From San Francisco, 1 May-12 August 1898

Unit	Arrived San Francisco	Date Deployed	Philippine Expedition
1st California Infantry	Present	25 May	first
3d US Artillery (4 btries)	Present	27/29 June	third
7th California Infantry	7 May		
6th California Infantry	8/9 May		
California Heavy Artillery	9 May	25 May (detach)	first
14th US Infantry	9 May	25 May (5 cos) 15 July (5 cos)	first fourth
2d Oregon Infantry	13 May	25 May	first
1st Washington Infantry	14 May		
1st Nebraska Infantry	19 May	15 June	second
20th Kansas Infantry	20 May		
1st Wyoming Infantry	21 May	27/29 June	third
13th Minnesota Infantry	21 May	27/29 June	third
1st Colorado Infantry	21 May	15 June	second
1st Idaho Infantry	22 May	27/29 June	third
Utah Light Artillery	22 May	15 June (2 btries)	second
10th Pennsylvania Infantry	25 May	15 June	second
Utah Cavalry	26 May		
1st Montana Infantry	28 May	19 July	fifth
18th US Infantry	29 May	15 June (4 cos) 27/29 June (4 cos)	second third
23d US Infantry	29 May	15 June (4 cos) 27/29 June (4 cos)	second third
US Engineer Company	29 May	15 June (detach) 27/29 June (1 co)	second third
1st North Dakota Infantry	31 May	27/29 June	third
1st South Dakota Infantry	1 June	23 July (8 cos) 29 July (4 cos)	sixth seventh
4th US Cavalry	5 June	15 July (6 troops)	fourth
Signal Corps Detachment	8 June	27/29 June	third
51st Iowa Infantry	10 June		
Nevada Cavalry	15 June		
1st Tennessee Infantry	17 June		
Astor Battery	20 June	27/29 June	third
6th US Arty (2 btries)	27 June	15 July (2 btries)	fourth
Wyoming Battery	28 June		
1st New York Infantry	13 July	6 August (5 cos) 10 August (2 cos)	Hawaii Hawaii

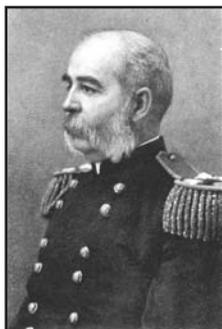
btries    batteries  
cos        companies  
detach    detachment



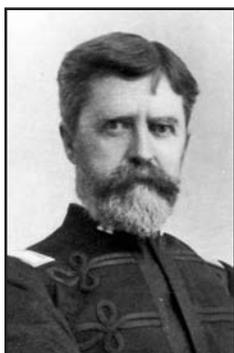
**Appendix B**  
**Department of the Pacific and**  
**VIII Army Corps Leadership, June 1898**



MG Wesley Merritt, Commander,  
Department of the Pacific and VIII Army Corps



MG Elwell S. Otis, Commander,  
Independent Division, VIII Army Corps



BG Thomas M. An-  
derson, Commander,  
First Expedition



BG Francis V. Greene,  
Commander, Second  
Expedition



BG Arthur MacArthur,  
Commander, Third  
Expedition



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