

Humanitarian Crucible: The American Red Cross and the War in the Caribbean Islands at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

(人道の坩堝——20世紀転換期のアメリカ赤十字
とカリブ海における戦時救護事業)

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SUMMARY IN JAPANESE: 本稿は、アメリカ合衆国（米国）における赤十字運動の発達を、20世紀転換期のカリブ海での戦時救護事業に焦点を当てて考察する。1860年代に開始された国際赤十字運動は、戦場における傷病兵の中立的な救護を唱導し、赤十字国際委員会を中心に各国赤十字社が連携・協力する国際的ネットワークを構築した。1880年代に活動を開始した米国赤十字は、1898年に勃発した米西戦争を契機として組織的な急成長を遂げるようになった。米国赤十字は、国内外の軍医療施設に看護師を派遣し、多方面に展開する米軍の活動を医療面で支えた。また、国内各地に乱立した地方赤十字組織は、戦時下で高揚した人々の愛国主義を吸収することで急拡大した。その一方で、こうした米国赤十字の戦時事業は、赤十字人道主義の国際的枠組みを基盤として方向づけられていた。本稿は、20世紀転換期の米国の海外進出を通じて、赤十字業のなかで愛国主義と人道主義が融合していく過程を跡づける。

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Introduction

“[T]he year of 1898 brought the one great change for which we looked with anxiety and solicitude.” Clara Barton, the founder of the American Red Cross (ARC), thought back thus in her report on the sequence of events that occurred in the course of that turbulent year. The war in the Caribbean Sea fueled patriotic fervor among people in the United States, who thence *discovered* the “Red Cross” as one of the major outlets for their wartime aspirations to serve the nation. During the war of 1898, Barton stated, a variety of Red Cross organizations “sprung up everywhere like magic.” “From the pine lands of Aroostook, and the sterile soil of New England, to the orange and palm of the Carolinas and Florida, from California, across the alkali plains and the teeming prairies of the West, down the valleys of the great Father of Waters and all its tributaries, alike sprang this marvellous [sic.] growth.”¹

Ironically enough, the increasing popularity of the Red Cross evoked a heightened sense of “anxiety and solicitude,” as Barton discreetly remarked in her report, among ARC officials who practically lost control of a mushrooming number of self-appointed “Red Cross” societies that emerged at various localities all over the country. Despite their anxiety, however, the wartime chaos consequently gave a critical momentum to the rapid development of the ARC machinery that came to be extended beyond national borders. This essay examines the growth of the American Red Cross movement by focusing on its close entanglement with the US military operations in the Caribbean Sea at the turn of the twentieth century.

In the early history of the international Red Cross movement, humanitarian ideals were inextricably intertwined with modern warfare and the institution of nation state. The Red Cross movement formally began in 1863 when Henry Dunant and other Swiss citizens organized the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for the rescue of sick and wounded soldiers regardless of their side on the battlefields.² Unlike its predecessors in humanitarian ventures such as anti-slavery movements that had developed through a transnational network of concerned people across the ocean, advocates of the Red Cross movement elaborated their own version of humanitarianism with a nation state as a basic unit of action.³ The founders of the ICRC urged each country to establish a national Red Cross

society and orchestrated the humanitarian endeavors of national societies during wars under the guidance of the ICRC. The Geneva Convention in 1864 offered a legal basis for humanitarian relief in war by providing that treaty countries shall cooperate with each other for “the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in armies in the field” under the banner of the Red Cross.⁴ Constructed on a solid network of national societies and endorsed by the international law, the ICRC created an intergovernmental treaty system of wartime humanitarian relief based on European institutions of nation and state.

Since its foundation in the 1880s, the ARC had attempted to widen the scope of Red Cross humanitarianism beyond the original scheme of wartime relief set in Europe. Deviating from the major tenets of the Geneva Convention that had not covered civilian relief until the revision of the treaty in 1949, the ARC had developed its civilian and other related relief activities outside battlefields since its formative years.⁵ At the first meeting of the “American Association of the Red Cross” on 21 May 1881, the founding members of the association adopted it as one of their major goals “[t]o organize a system of National Relief and apply the same in mitigating the sufferings caused by war *pestilence famine and other calamities*.”⁶ From the late 1880s to the early 1900s, the ARC invested much effort in natural disaster relief within the national borders.⁷ In a series of disaster relief operations in the North American continent, Barton boasted, “the American National Red Cross has held a prominent place and taken an active part.”⁸ Through its continuing commitment in the fields of disaster and civilian relief, the ARC added a new dimension to the Red Cross movement, which had initially limited its mission to rescue activities in wartime. Marian Moser Jones points out that the ARC underwent distinctive growth in its burgeoning period by “Americanizing the Red Cross.”⁹ Deliberately disregarding potential criticism against the ARC’s deviation from the existing framework of the war-centered Red Cross movement, Barton herself referred to this expansion of their activities as an “American amendment,” the ARC’s distinct contribution to the progress of Red Cross humanitarianism.¹⁰

World War I further provided a crucial impetus for the ARC to extend the “Americanized” version of Red Cross humanitarianism on a global scale. Focusing on the ARC’s massive relief operations in Europe, historians have emphasized the World War I era as a watershed in the history of the American

Red Cross movement. During the world war, membership of the ARC skyrocketed from about 22,500 in 1915 up to 20,390,173 in 1918, making it the most powerful Red Cross organ in the world.¹¹ With its abundant financial resources, the ARC developed multifaceted aid programs in war-torn Europe. Julia F. Irwin demonstrates that these aid programs the ARC provided in Europe during and after the war came to function as a new diplomatic tool for Americans to commit themselves to international affairs in the name of humanitarian assistance.¹² Furthermore, in the postwar period, the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) inherited the American aspiration in civilian relief.¹³ Created under the leadership of Henry P. Davison, the chairman of the ARC war council, in 1919, the new international organization expanded American-style civilian relief in peacetime by advocating “the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.”¹⁴ In parallel with the rising tide of Wilsonian internationalism in the early 1920s, the LRCS helped enlarge the unique path the ARC had trod since its inception toward the global trend in the Red Cross movement.

Overlooked in these previous scholarly discussions on the history of the ARC is the critical impacts the war in the Caribbean Sea exerted on the development of the Red Cross movement in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Until the war of 1898, the ARC had remained a minor organization managed by Clara Barton and her followers with a philanthropic mind. It was not until June 1900 that the federal government formally recognized the ARC as a national semi-public organ endorsed by the congressional charter.¹⁵ The nationwide publicity the flag of the “Red Cross” gained in the war of 1898 led to federal recognition of the as-yet small society that had formerly worked on a voluntary basis. Departing from the previous historiography that has highlighted the heroic relief endeavors by ARC workers in Europe during World War I, this essay explores the ways in which the American Red Cross movement achieved a striking growth through the chaos that prevailed during the war in the Caribbean Islands.

The wartime relief in the Caribbean Islands illuminates an imperial origin of the American humanitarian movement at the turn of the twentieth century. The wide spread of infectious diseases in the US army fighting in the tropical environment necessitated large-scale mobilization of nurses and other medical workers for the care of sick soldiers at the reserve hospitals in the US mainland.¹⁶ The US army ventured to employ women who graduated

from training schools for nurses at various localities by direct contract and dispatched female nurses to the military camps overseas for the first time in its history.¹⁷ Along with the domestic development of female nursing education since the 1870s, wartime emergencies provided the thrust to propel the advancement of American women in the field of military nursing.¹⁸ A substantial number of these female nurses participated in the military service under the auspices of the Red Cross branches and auxiliaries. The war consequently facilitated overseas ventures of Red Cross nurses, who worked initially in the Caribbean islands and later in the Philippines and other newly acquired territories in the Pacific. The ARC thus came to extend its field of service overseas as an integral part of the military in tandem with the imperial expansion of the United States during and after the war.¹⁹

In close entanglement with the US imperial expansion overseas, the rapid growth of the ARC during the war of 1898 illustrates an ideological contradiction that loomed in the Red Cross movement. By the turn of the twentieth century, ICRC officials had gradually elaborated the guiding ideals of their humanitarian mission, such as impartiality and neutrality in relief and protection.²⁰ Yet, driven by patriotic fervor that spread over the country during the war, the Red Cross movement in the United States came to deviate from these basic ideals of humanitarianism. John Hutchinson points out that, at the turn of the twentieth century, the national Red Cross societies tended to prioritize providing patriotic support for their armies as an efficient medical auxiliary over implementing their ideals of humanitarianism in war as a neutral organization.²¹ By tracing the ARC's relief activities during the war in the Caribbean islands, this essay argues that it was the imperial intervention overseas that triggered the uneasy amalgamation of patriotic service and humanitarian dedication in the Red Cross movement in the United States. A detailed analysis of wartime relief in the colonial islands unveils the hidden process in which the humanitarian organization evolved into a patriotic institution along with the international expansion of US influence in the age of imperialism.

I. War and Relief in the Caribbean Sea

In early 1898, the ARC swiftly jumped into Cuban affairs once the destitution of *reconcentrados*, native civilians forcibly relocated under Spanish military rule, came to the attention of the American people. On 1 January, the Department of State appointed the Central Cuban Relief Committee (CCRC) for “the speedy relief of the distressing destitution and suffering which exists among the people of Cuba.”²² Under the supervision of the Secretary of State, the CCRC functioned practically as an external organ of the ARC with the Red Cross insignia. Stephen E. Barton, the second vice-president of the ARC, worked as the chairman of the committee. The duties originally assigned to the CCRC were limited to collecting donations and supplies in the US mainland and delivering them to the US Consulate General in Havana, Cuba. Amid the deepening turmoil in the island, however, the CCRC soon came to assume more extensive roles. In late March, Secretary of State John Sherman extended the authority of the CCRC to “the supervision of distribution of relief supplies and the carrying out of all necessary relief measures” in liaison with the ARC as its actual executive body.²³ Although the distribution of relief materials decreased sharply after the belated declaration of war in April, the CCRC-ARC shipped a total of 4,442 tons of supplies at various ports in Cuba by January 1899 (Fig. 1).²⁴

From the outset, the ARC’s relief activities in Cuba proceeded outside of the conventional scope of Red Cross relief for sick and wounded soldiers on the battlefield as originally specified in the first Geneva Convention of 1864. In parallel with the CCRC-ARC efforts in the distribution of relief supplies, ARC President Clara Barton herself traveled to the forefront of relief in the Caribbean island. On 6 February, Barton left Washington, DC, for Cuba with a small group of doctors, nurses, and clerical staff. Although Barton alleged that she visited Cuba “simply in the capacity of an individual helper,”²⁵ people perceived her every action in the island as representing the ARC. American newspapers constantly reported in minute detail the activities of “Clara Barton and her fair Red Cross aids” who were “laboring nobly and wisely to alleviate the misery of the destitute, ill and helpless reconcentrados.”²⁶ Yet, the relief endeavors of Barton’s party in alleviating the distress of non-combatant Cuban civilians before the belated declaration of war in April deviated practically from the ordinary manner of Red Cross relief protocol

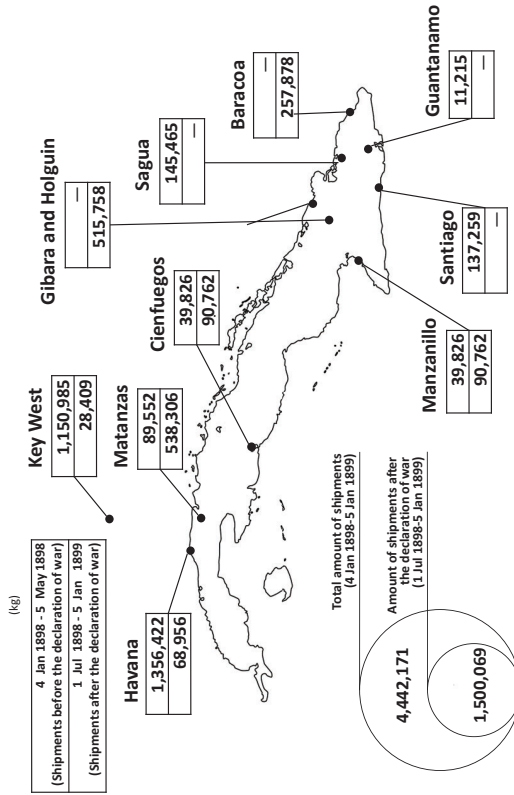


Figure 1. Distribution of Supplies in Cuba under the Central Cuban Relief Committee
 Source: *Central Cuban Relief Committee, Report of the Central Cuban Relief Committee, New York City, to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. (New York: J. B. Watkins, 1899), 71, 89.*

that limited its field of operations to wartime aid and protection for debilitated former combatants.

In the early months of 1898, until the formal declaration of war, Barton and her staff worked out their aid programs mainly in the area of civilian relief. In Havana, Barton's party soon encountered the extreme destitution of Cuban civilians relocated forcibly to several designated locations by the Spanish army. At Los Fosos, an internment site where over 400 Cuban women and children were crowded, their misery deeply shocked Barton and her staff. "Some of the inmates could walk, as many could not, —lying on the floors in their filth—some mere skeletons; others swollen out of all human shape," Barton observed. "Death-pallid mothers, lying with glazing eyes, and a famishing babe clutching at a milkless breast."²⁷ In order to ameliorate the terrible conditions prevailing among Cuban civilians, Barton rented a house near their "Red Cross residence" in Cerro, a suburb of Havana, and refurbished it into an orphanage with a capacity for seventy-five inmates.²⁸ At the orphanage commonly called "Asilo de Niños," Red Cross medical workers also instituted outpatient clinics and provided medical and other treatment for destitute civilians in cooperation with the Cuban doctors and nurses.²⁹

While starting these relief programs in Havana, Barton also made inspection tours to Jaruco, Matanzas, Artemisa, Sagua La Grande, and Cienfuegos, and discussed with local officials in these cities to set arrangements for the distribution of supplies from the US mainland. Yet, the actual efficacy of these relief efforts remained ambiguous. Albert LeGendre, who worked as a local aide to Barton while she stayed in Cuba, later looked back on his impression of the legendary ARC president. "She looked a very tired old lady, but she kept going," observed LeGendre. "To most folks it appeared she was just sight seeing [sic.]," he stated, implying his doubts about the nature of Barton's work in the island, adding somewhat satirically that "to me it was noticeable how the organization of the Red Cross would always pop up on her conversation."³⁰

During the war, the ARC's relief programs in the Caribbean islands continued to be unstable and sometimes haphazard. On 11 April, Barton's party left Cuba temporarily for the US mainland. After a short stay in Washington, DC, Barton soon decided to return to Cuba by the *State of Texas*, a steamer chartered by a New York group of humanitarians, with a cargo of

1,400 tons of relief supplies. The *State of Texas* departed from New York on 23 April and arrived at Key West five days later. Due to the start of military campaigns after the declaration of war on 25 April, however, the US navy did not permit the steamer to break into the Caribbean Sea. Consequently, Barton and other Red Cross workers had to wait at Tampa, Florida, for the next fifty days.³¹ The *State of Texas* was finally allowed to depart from Key West for Cuba on 20 June and subsequently started relief and distribution in the island. But it took nearly another month for the steamer to finally unload its supplies with the permission of the military authorities at the port of Santiago on 18 July.³²

After the fierce battles were over, Red Cross workers gradually expanded their field of activities at the outer edge of the military medical system. A. Monae Lesser, the executive surgeon of the Red Cross Hospital in New York City, came to work at the Reserve Divisional Hospital of the Fifth Corps in Siboney, Cuba. In early July, Lesser was busy taking care of sick and wounded soldiers flooding the hospital. “The work was performed almost without intermission, every surgeon employing all his energies,” Lesser reported. The hospital facilities were not adequate for the massive number of invalid soldiers sent back from the battlefield in Santiago. “No food had been prepared for the large number of wounded lying on the cots or on the ground on blankets or canvas, a great many of them were too helpless even to turn.” Once the number of patients started to decline at the military hospital in late August, however, Lesser turned to the medical treatment of Spanish prisoners while resuming the care of Cuban civilians as he did under Clara Barton during their first expedition to Havana before the declaration of war. “. . . I was called to the camp where the Spanish prisoners were located. I prescribed for their ailments, while the Sisters supplied their food. In addition I answered the calls which came from Cuban families in Siboney.”³³

Hastily set up in wartime emergency, the actual relief practices by Red Cross workers in the Caribbean islands lacked uniformity in standards and varied widely by location. Maud Cromelien, a Red Cross nurse, visited camps and hospitals in the islands as a field inspector and reported on the different conditions that existed at these medical facilities. In San Juan, Puerto Rico, Cromelien inspected a house called “Officers Hospital,” where Anna Boulogny and Margaret Chanler, both Red Cross nurses, offered private nursing care only to sick officers who paid \$1.00 per day. In contrast,

Red Cross medical workers were more fully incorporated into the military organization at Arecibo, a town about seventy kilometers east of San Juan, where seven nurses worked at the general military hospital under the charge of Major F. B. Robertson.³⁴ According to Cromelien's observation, the standards of nursing service deteriorated due to the mixture of different types of nurses at military hospitals. In Ponce, Puerto Rico, the general military hospital accommodated about 130 patients. These inpatients "were divided, half being in charge of the Sisters, the other half being cared for by trained nurses." Yet the superintendent of nurses "did not have good control of her nurses and did not have any special regime for them to follow." In the absence of discipline and order, "[t]wo of the s-called[sic.] immune nurses (untrained) had been sent back to New York by General Henry for drinking and disorderly conduct in the town," which, Cromelien lamented, did "not bring credit upon the trained nurses who are unfortunately obliged to work with them."³⁵ Cromelien found similar frictions between trained and untrained nurses at the military hospital in Santiago, Cuba, where 22 "so-called nurses" cared for 235 patients. "[O]nly a third of the nurses were trained; the remainder were untidy, disorderly and unattractive in every way."³⁶

II. The Growth of the American *Red Crosses*

Whatever the actual service the ARC rendered in the Caribbean islands might have been, the name of "Red Cross" soon attracted the patriotic enthusiasm of various people and groups in the US mainland.³⁷ The ARC headquarters received a massive number of letters of inquiry from all over the country. Lelia Cunningham, a resident of Crichton, Alabama, personally sent a letter of self-recommendation to the ARC president: "I am very anxious to become a member of the Red Cross Society. . . . I am twenty-four years of age—a graduate of Barton Academy in Mobile am used to the climate and know I could be of some use to the Society."³⁸ Some people considered that the ARC would provide an option to serve the US military other than by fighting as a soldier. J. H. Hicks of Wrightsville, Georgia, wrote to Representative William Brantley that "he and others in his vicinity are desirous of connecting themselves with the Red Cross Society for the purpose of going with the U.S. Army to Cuba and other places."³⁹ Others endeavored

to raise funds and collect supplies for the military by creating a local Red Cross association in their community. J. B. Tuttle, an attorney in Detroit, Michigan, wrote to the ARC national secretary “for the purpose of inquiring the mode in which the work ought to be done. Do we establish branch relief associations at different points in the state? How ought we to organize in the state?”⁴⁰ As the *Cleveland Leader* accurately pointed out, “Auxiliaries of the American National Red Cross Society are the fad of the day. . . . Every city has women who are Red Cross workers or who are willing to be such; every town has its group of workers; every village has its circle.” According to a feature article “How to Form a Red Cross Auxiliary” in the newspaper, “[t]o become an auxiliary of the American National Red Cross Society it is only necessary to write to Miss Clara Barton, Red Cross headquarters, Washington, D.C. In reply you will get a very nice letter of advice and you will secure recognition from headquarters.”⁴¹

The explosive popularity of the “Red Cross” did not necessarily mean the growth of the ARC as a national organ. In the course of the “splendid little war,” local “Red Cross” societies and associations sprang up like mushrooms throughout the country. In order to coordinate these local groups for the unified relief efforts, the American National Red Cross (ARC) Relief Committee was formed by a New York group of philanthropists as a wartime governing body with de facto endorsement of the ARC headquarters on 3 May 1898. The ARC Relief Committee reorganized local “Red Cross” groups, mostly on the East Coast, into 92 official “auxiliaries” working in connection with the national society.⁴² Meanwhile, the ARC headquarters dispatched field representatives to California and other western states to consolidate relief endeavors in these localities under the banner of the Red Cross. Yet, the local groups practically continued to maintain relative autonomy from the national society. A North Dakota group, for instance, refused to hand over the control of funds they raised to the national society. Mrs. F. C. Gardner of Fargo, North Dakota, wrote to the ARC headquarters, inquiring whether they “will be at liberty to use the funds raised in this state to send and maintain a Red Cross nurse to Manila to look after the needs of the North Dakota troops at that place.” “It is the desire of the people here to do this,” emphasized Mrs. Gardner, “and they are not willing to contribute to any extent unless the funds will be used in this way.”⁴³ In response to the demand for local autonomy from its auxiliaries, the ARC Relief Committee

Table 1. Supplies Sent to Camps by the American National Red Cross Relief Committee

Camp	Amount (\$)
Santiago	62,536
Puerto Rico	35,985
Camp Wikoff	71,226
Camp Thomas	30,870
Camp Algar	10,123
Florida Camps	28,586
State Camps	11,756
Naval Vessels	3,516
Hospital Ships	20,835
Emergency Hospital, Long Island City	6,255
Post Hospital	18,767
Local Hospitals and Armories	21,274
Convalescent Homes	6,677
Soldiers' Comfort Committees	965
Distribution to Soldiers at Supply Depot and YMCA	18,543
Spanish Prisoners, Seavey's Island	1,137
Manila	17,544
Total	\$366,595

*Amount in US Dollar equivalent

Source: American National Red Cross Relief Committee, Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee, May 1898-March 1899 (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899), foldout facing 278.

had to carry a resolution that “each Auxiliary was given the right to raise money for special purposes.”⁴⁴

The nationwide increase of local “Red Cross” societies and associations did not automatically lead to the spread of the Red Cross ideals of humanitarianism in the United States. The ARC Relief Committee issued a public appeal for donations with a brief explanation on the mission of the Red Cross movement: “The Red Cross here, and throughout the civilized world, by a wide and varied experience in recent wars, recognizing by international treaty, the sacred obligations of helpfulness for the suffering, wherever found, has so perfected its organization,” and therefore “it becomes the recognized and legitimate channel for contributions from all classes of individuals and every variety of auxiliary association.”⁴⁵ Insisting on its international legitimacy as a wartime relief organization, the ARC Relief Committee collected a large amount of contributions from across the country and sent a massive volume of supplies to camps and hospitals in and outside of the US mainland (Table 1). But those driven by patriotic fervor rarely understood the Red Cross philosophy of rescuing sick and wounded soldiers regardless of their side on the battlefield. A. Monae Lesser lamented an overall lack of understanding about Red Cross humanitarianism on the part of local societies and auxiliaries. “Bettina and I are teaching Red Cross at the various Committees and auxiliaries and you may be sure it is as hard as A B C to the boy on entering school.” Lesser encountered a similar indifference to the Red Cross principle of neutrality in relief when he joined a governmental committee, where officials of the War, Navy, and State Departments “announced the fact that they only desired to work for the American soldier, although their charity may extend to the foreigners.”⁴⁶ The massive wave of wartime patriotism gave national prominence to the Red Cross while practically swallowing its original ideals of humanitarianism.

III. Patriotic Service at Home and Abroad

Among the myriad of local auxiliary societies coordinated under the ARC Relief Committee, the Society for the Maintenance of Trained Nurses in New York, commonly known as the Auxiliary No. 3, played a pivotal role in extending American humanitarian relief beyond national borders. With

wealthy New York philanthropists in its administrative board, the Auxiliary No. 3 specialized in providing support for nurses working at army hospitals and camps. In addition to collecting donations for the maintenance of nurses in the army service, the auxiliary set up the Committee on Nurses in order “to select nurses and arrange for their transportation, and to make all final decisions as to the relations of the Society with the Government in respect to nurses.”⁴⁷ Under the leadership of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, wife of a well-known Republican politician who also exercised public influence as the chief owner of the *New York Tribune*, the committee launched a campaign for the recruitment of Red Cross nurses for the army service. When the awaited call for nurses came from the military authorities on 30 June 1898, the committee was ready to send out its first party of nurses, consisting of twelve trained nurses, one immune nurse, and one assistant, to Tampa immediately.⁴⁸ The second and third detachments soon followed, and the auxiliary nurses gradually increased their presence at army medical facilities.

At first, the military medical authorities strictly restricted, and practically inhibited, the overseas activities of these auxiliary nurses, the bulk of whom were women. Laura D. Gill, the head of the first Red Cross party of nurses, frankly confessed that “[t]here has been such great objection to allowing women upon transports” to Cuba.⁴⁹ On 19 July 1898, the US transport *Lampasas* sailed into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba with twenty-nine female nurses under the auspices of the American Red Cross. But army officers ordered the nurses not to go ashore on account of the outbreak of yellow fever in the city. Barred from landing on the Cuban island, consequently “having failed to meet Miss Barton or Dr. & Mrs. Lesser, and receiving no communication of any kind from the Red Cross Authorities,” the band of auxiliary nurses thereupon proceeded to Puerto Rico, where army officers again ordered the steamship to anchor off the harbor of the island. Not allowed to work at camps and field hospitals in the islands, on 7 August, the *Lampasas* party had to go back to Fort Monroe in the US mainland with sick and wounded soldiers transferred from the battlefields.⁵⁰ Surgeon General Sternberg was “quite willing to employ female nurses” but initially did “not approve of sending female nurses with troops in the field or to camps of instruction” in the Caribbean islands.⁵¹ Medical officers were more or less skeptical about the efficacy of the Red Cross nursing service at army facilities. Charles Smart, Deputy Surgeon General of the Army, stated rather

candidly, “Evidently it will be a long time before our American National Red Cross will be enabled by existing conditions to be of value. . . .”⁵² It was only after early 1899 that the military authorities changed their former restrictive policy and encouraged Red Cross nurses to work under the US military administration in Cuba.⁵³

In the US mainland, Red Cross nurses had to work in chaos at army medical facilities to which military transports brought debilitated soldiers from the Caribbean islands in a steady stream. Alice M. Wykoff, a Red Cross nurse dispatched to the steamship *Concho* that had just come back from Santiago and had been anchored in New York Harbor, observed the extreme conditions of the “pest ship.” “On a mattress on the floor lay a man with a drawn, emancipated face. The eyes were rolled up and fixed and the character of the breathing told us trained nurses plainly enough that the flame of life was flickering and would soon go out. . . . A little farther on lay another man, a great, gaunt Texan, yellow as gold from the Dengue fever.”⁵⁴ The incessant transfer of infected soldiers worsened the working conditions of nurses at army hospitals and camps. At Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, “[o]ften one hundred would go out and three hundred would come in on the same day. Orders would be left over night to have, say fifty men ready to start by 7 A.M.”⁵⁵ Irene H. Sutcliffe, a Red Cross nurse working at Camp Black, described “a most deplorable condition” caused by a massive influx of infected soldiers. “There were about one hundred and fifty patients at that time, all suffering with Typhoid or Malarial fever, being cared for by men who knew nothing of nursing, many of them much afraid of the disease, and working very reluctantly.”⁵⁶

The formal status of Red Cross nurses in the US military system remained ambiguous and practically fluctuated throughout the war. At military hospitals and camps, the US army hired directly the bulk of army contract nurses who worked under the supervision of the Acting Assistant Surgeon General of the Army. In contrast, Red Cross nurses initially joined the army nursing service without government contracts. Detailed mostly by the Auxiliary No. 3, these Red Cross nurses started to work at military facilities by the special permission of the Surgeon General of the Army. In order to incorporate Red Cross nurses more fully into the army nursing service, Auxiliary officials and the Acting Assistant Surgeon General discussed the matter after the armistice with Spain in August 1898 and

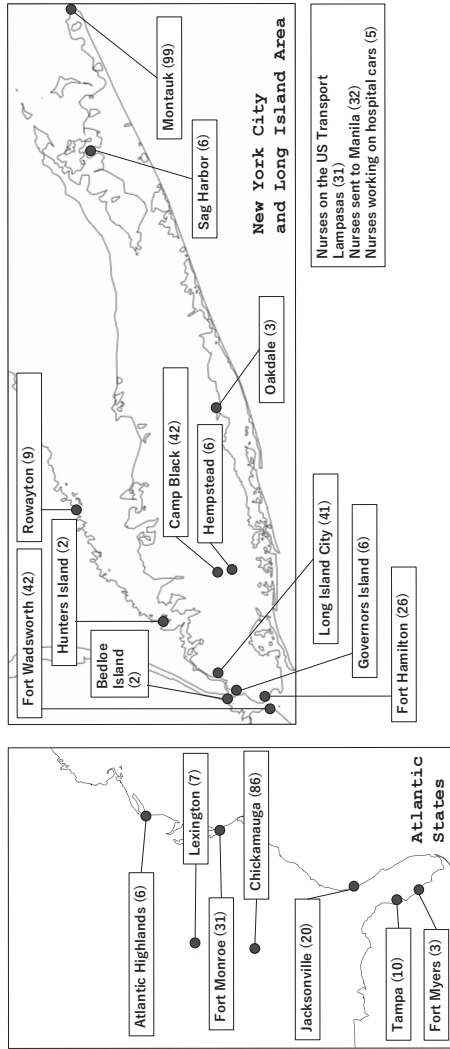


Figure 2. The Number of Red Cross Nurses the Auxiliary No. 3 Sent to Military Facilities
Source: "List of Nurses Who Served during the American War under the American Red Cross with Auxiliary No. 3." A report created in c. June 1930. RG200: Records of American National Red Cross, Entry 900.03: Spanish American War 1898, Auxiliary No. 3, Lists of Nurses, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.

reached an agreement that “the Society [Auxiliary No. 3] would allow the [Red Cross] nurses to sign Government contracts when so required.”⁵⁷ Yet, those Red Cross nurses who consequently signed contracts with the government still maintained their ties and identity with the Auxiliary No. 3. “I might become, for the time being, a contract nurse,” stated Effie Bruce Freer, a nurse working at West Tampa Hospital, Florida, “and be none the less a Red Cross nurse.”⁵⁸ The Auxiliary No. 3 continued to assume financial responsibility for the maintenance of Red Cross nurses regardless of their government contracts. But the Auxiliary’s financial assistance was often haphazard and erratic, paying “maintenance and transportation in some cases, in others only transportation,” which sometimes caused rumblings of discontent among nurses.⁵⁹ Maud Cromelien complained of poor remuneration for her service. “I would be willing to go on with my work at the hospital if I was paid \$1.50 per day. That is at the rate of 50 cents an hour. . . . If my services are not worth that much I shall be perfectly willing to resign my position then.”⁶⁰

IV. Humanitarian Connections Beyond Borders

Driven by wartime patriotism and working within the US military system, Red Cross nurses devoted themselves chiefly to the relief of American soldiers at hospitals and camps in East Coast states. Yet, although intertwined inextricably with patriotic war efforts, the relief activities under the banner of the American Red Cross barely remained a part of an international movement that advocated the impartiality of humanitarian aid in wartime. Working in the international network of Red Cross societies, the ARC managed to uphold the ideal of humanitarian devotion that coexisted with the reality of patriotic service in a fragile balance during the war.

While almost losing control over patriotic pursuits by self-appointed “Red Cross” societies that suddenly emerged across the country, Clara Barton and her national headquarters continued to act as an American champion of Red Cross humanitarianism in international settings. The US government practically endorsed the ARC as a “national civil society” that represented the nation in international negotiations with foreign Red Cross societies under the Geneva Convention.⁶¹ Since the outbreak of the war, the ARC headquarters had indeed maintained constant communication with the

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).⁶² In early June 1898, Clara Barton proudly reported to Gustave Moynier, the president of the ICRC, that “. . . the flag of American National Red Cross will soon be placed on the ocean. Our first vessel will be named the Moynier.”⁶³ Under the guidance and coordination of the ICRC, Red Cross societies in European countries offered support and assistance to their fellow humanitarians in the United States and Spain.⁶⁴ The French Red Cross Society, for instance, collected a body of subscriptions for the support of relief activities by the American and Spanish Red Cross societies.⁶⁵ By the middle of August, the ARC had received a total donation of 45,000 francs from the French society.⁶⁶ Working in this international milieu, ARC officials developed a clear awareness of their humanitarian mission in the Red Cross movement. When Chung Par Hei, the Chinese consul in New York, requested the ARC to extend its emergency relief to the Chinese population in Cuba, Barton immediately pledged “the same care and attention” for these Asian residents in the island. Barton ostentatiously declared to Chung that the “Red Cross as a benevolent organization knows no nationality, no creed, no sex, no sect.”⁶⁷

The humanitarian ideals as advocated in the international Red Cross movement influenced the otherwise only patriotic activities of local branches and auxiliaries as well. During the war of 1898, the Red Cross ideal of impartiality became manifestly illustrated in the care for Spanish prisoners of war in the US mainland. In July 1898, the Auxiliary No. 3 dispatched six relief workers to Portsmouth Harbor for the relief of Spanish prisoners of war. At Seavey’s Island in the harbor, the US navy constructed barracks and other buildings for the accommodation of approximately 1,600 Spanish prisoners who were captured in the naval battle of Santiago on 3 July.⁶⁸ The navy authorities assigned Red Cross relief workers two pavilions where they cared for 107 Spanish prisoners. James M. Dalziel, a Red Cross relief worker, described the grave condition of prisoners at the camp. “Without exception, they were full of malaria, half of them were jaundiced and the other half had mumps. Nearly all of them developed abscesses [sic.] from their low condition (one lad had fourteen cut). We had one ‘idiot’ and one case had the ‘black vomit’ just before he died.”⁶⁹ Through the nursing service at the camp, Red Cross relief workers built a cordial relationship with the debilitated prisoners. Dalziel observed that “the patients were a decent lot of fellows, had not wished to fight us and were glad it was over and grateful for the



Figure 3. Spanish Prisoners of War with Red Cross Brassards. Seavey's Island, Navy Yard in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1898.

Source: NH121096, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington, DC.

kindness shown them.”⁷⁰ With the help of six Spanish prisoners who worked as assistants for the nursing service, Red Cross relief workers endeavored to systematize the nursing service at their pavilions, where “idle hands and empty beds were not in our line.”⁷¹

During the war, the multinational network of Red Cross societies on both sides of the Atlantic facilitated a new development in the humanitarian protection of war prisoners. Immediately after the outbreak of the war in April, the Portuguese Red Cross Society proposed to

act as an “intermediate agent” between the American and Spanish Red Cross societies for the exchange of correspondences between war prisoners detained abroad and their families and friends at home.⁷² On 20 May, Clara Barton accepted this offer and sent the first twelve letters of Spanish prisoners from Key West, Florida, to the Portuguese society for their transmission to Spain.⁷³ The Portuguese society played a pivotal role in facilitating the communication between Spanish prisoners interned in the US mainland and their families left in the Iberian Peninsula. After the transfer of war prisoners from Cuba to Seavey’s Island started in mid-July, the number of letters the Portuguese society carried from Spain to these prisoners skyrocketed up to the end of the month. From late June to mid-August, the Portuguese society forwarded a total of 727 letters to the prisoners across the Atlantic in close coordination with the American and Spanish societies.⁷⁴

Since the Brussels Declaration of 1874, the treatment of war prisoners had continued to be a focal point of discussion among European humanitarians.⁷⁵ Yet, at the time of the 1898 war, Euro-American states still lacked international consensus on the practical details of war-prisoner questions. When the correspondence service came to an end in October, the Duke of Palmella, the president of the Portuguese society, looked back on their activities as a venture “quite new in the annals of War” and confessed a vague sense of fear he had initially felt “that the Red Cross would find itself hopelessly out of place in the unusual position it was about to fill.”⁷⁶ The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 subsequently promulgated international standards for the protection of war prisoners, whereas the ICRC thence turned these standards into practice by creating the International Prisoners-of-War Agency during World War I. Ahead of these later developments, the correspondence service during the war of 1898 opened up a new multinational platform for the humanitarian support of war prisoners through the extensive network of the Red Cross societies.

In the aftermath of the ceasefire, ARC nurses further supported the repatriation of Spanish prisoners by accompanying them on their homeward voyage across the Atlantic. On 12 September, Red Cross relief workers boarded the US-chartered transport *City of Rome* for the care of Spanish prisoners on their way back to Spain. After eight days of Atlantic crossing, the transport arrived at Santander in Spain, where US officials turned over the prisoners to the Spanish authorities.⁷⁷ In Spain, American Red Cross workers

received a series of warm welcomes from local Red Cross organizations. Once their repatriation work was over, the “Red Cross Society of Santander” entertained American nurses at the northern port city. M. E. Brayman, the head of the American Red Cross party, reported the courteous hospitality they received. “We were most cordially welcomed by them and enjoyed two days in their company most pleasantly.”⁷⁸ At Bilbao, the central city of Biscay Province, Spanish Red Cross officials welcomed the American party. Before the American party departed from the city, the American and Spanish representatives exchanged their brassards inscribed “Neutrality, Humanity.”⁷⁹ While entangled inseparably with the domestic groundswell of patriotism, the ARC’s wartime activities remained barely tied to the broader circle of Red Cross humanitarians beyond national borders.

Conclusion

The war of 1898 in the tropical islands was a critical ordeal for the growth of the Red Cross movement in the United States. The first major war the ARC had ever experienced since its foundation brought utter chaos to its relief operations. During the war, haphazard actions of local societies and auxiliaries newly established across the country became almost beyond the control of ARC officials at the national headquarters. At military hospitals and camps, Red Cross workers faced a series of frictions and conflicts in their relationships with military officials and other medical workers. Swallowed by the massive wave of wartime patriotism, the ARC’s relief activities often deviated from the Red Cross principles of impartiality and neutrality.

With all these troubles and embroilments, the “splendid little war” nevertheless facilitated the organizational development of the ARC. Until the war broke out in 1898, “[t]he Red Cross was a name to most known only in an indefinite way” in the United States.⁸⁰ During the war, the ARC gained nationwide publicity. Now, even those Americans who lived in rural and remote areas recognized the Red Cross as a legitimate organ through which all the people were to contribute to the nation in times of emergency. The war of 1898 paved the path to the nationalization of the American Red Cross movement, which later culminated in the ARC’s massive drives and campaigns during World War I.

The war in the Caribbean islands produced the precarious combination of patriotism and humanitarianism in the ARC's relief efforts, which came to characterize the Red Cross movement in the United States throughout the twentieth century. During the war of 1898, Red Cross workers ardently provided patriotic service for their own soldiers while extending their relief and aid activities outside of the US mainland in close contact with various groups of people with different nationalities such as Cuban *reconcentrados* and Spanish prisoners of war. The armed conflicts in the tropical islands offered an initial testing ground for the ARC to pursue the two different goals of patriotism and humanitarianism in the single name of the Red Cross.

The wartime relief in 1898 epitomizes the advent of a new era in the history of the Red Cross movement. In the aftermath of the war, the territorial expansion of the United States overseas accelerated the transnational movement of people with various backgrounds.⁸¹ Through their wartime relief efforts in the Caribbean Sea, American Red Cross workers spearheaded this larger trend in human flows across the oceans in an era which Michael Barnett calls "the age of imperial humanitarianism."⁸² After the war, the ARC endeavored to institutionalize their overseas activities in the newly acquired US territories. In 1912, the ARC declared that "the authority cited by the [War] Department for the organization of [the ARC's] State Boards and Chapters has been construed by the Red Cross to extend to the exterior possessions of the United States."⁸³ Red Cross humanitarians now came to broaden their scope to include colonial enterprises for their mission. Closely intertwined with wartime patriotism, the American Red Cross movement opened up a new field of humanitarian mission in the age of imperialism.

Notes

1. Excerpt from the Report of the President, Washington, DC, 10 July 1900. RG200, Entry 900: Spanish American War 1898, NARA, College Park. Part of this essay initially appeared in Yoshiya Makita, "Humanitarian Entanglements: War, Colonial Rule, and the Red Cross in the Asia Pacific, 1881-1926," (PhD diss., Hitotsubashi University, 2022).
2. For the history of the international Red Cross movement, see John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); Pierre Boissier, *From Solferino to Tsushima: History of the International Committee of the Red Cross* (Geneva: Henry Dunant Institute, 1985); André Durand, *From Sarajevo to Hiroshima: History of the International Committee of the Red Cross* (Geneva: Henry Dunant Institute, 1984); Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarianism Contested: Where Angels Fear to Tread* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011); and François Bugnion, *The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Protection of War Victims* (Geneva: Macmillan, 2012).
3. Since the turn of the nineteenth century, humanitarian ventures had developed as the long-distance advocacy for the protection and relief of slaves, colonized natives, and others in remote regions. See Peter Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Andrew Porter, "Trusteeship, Anti-Slavery, and Humanitarianism," in *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. III of *Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 198-221. Whereas the Red Cross movement was launched based on the intergovernmental treaty system as its institutional foundation, these humanitarian ventures grew up through transnational networks of concerned people, which evolved in tandem with the territorial expansion of empires. See Rob Skinner and Alan Lester, "Humanitarianism and Empire: New Research Agendas," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (December 2012): 729-47; Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, eds., *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Tony Ballantyne, "Humanitarian Narratives: Knowledge and the Politics of Mission and Empire," *Social Sciences and Missions* 24 (2011): 233-64; Emily Baughan, "The Imperial War Relief Fund and the All British Appeal: Commonwealth, Conflict and Conservatism within the British Humanitarian Movement, 1920-25," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (December 2012): 845-61; David Lambert and Alan Lester, "Geography of Colonial Philanthropy," *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 3 (2004): 320-41; and Anna Bocking-Welch, "Imperial Legacies and Internationalist Discourses: British Involvement in the United Nations Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1960-1970," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (December 2012): 879-96.
4. The Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field. Geneva, 22 August 1864.
5. Marian Moser Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 25.
6. Proceedings of the American Association of the Red Cross, Washington, DC, 21 May 1881, RG200, Entry 110, NARA, College Park. Emphasis added.
7. Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal*, 37-60.

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8. Report of Red Cross Relief, Galveston, Texas, 1900-1901, 4. Clara Barton Papers, Series: Red Cross File, 1863-1957, Box 105, Folder: Relief Operations. Galveston, Texas. Reports, 1900-1901, undated. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
9. Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal*, 25-33.
10. Clara Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War* (Washington, DC: American Historical Press, 1906 [1899]), 103.
11. Membership statistics are from *Annual Reports of the American National Red Cross*, 1916-1920.
12. Julia F. Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). See also John Branden Little, "Band of Crusaders: American Humanitarians, the Great War, and the Remaking of the World," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009).
13. Yoshiya Makita, "The Alchemy of Humanitarianism: The First World War, the Japanese Red Cross, and the Creation of an International Public Health Order," *First World War Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 117-29; and Clyde E. Buckingham, *For Humanity's Sake: The Story of the Early Development of the League of Red Cross Societies* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1964).
14. *Bulletin of the League of Red Cross Societies* 1, no. 1 (15 May 1919): 4.
15. Charter and By-Laws of the American National Red Cross, 10 July 1900. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 95, Folder: Incorporation. National Incorporation and Insignia Protection. Charter and Bylaws, 1900-1903, undated.
16. As to the spread of infectious diseases during the war of 1898, see Vincent J. Cirillo, *Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999); Vincent J. Cirillo, "'Winged Sponges': Houseflies as Carriers of Typhoid Fever in 19th- and Early 20th-Century Military Camps," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 49, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 52-63; Vincent J. Cirillo, "Fever and Reform: The Typhoid Epidemic in the Spanish-American War," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 55, no. 4 (October 2000): 363-97. See also Walter Reed, Victor C. Vaughan, and Edward O. Shakespeare, *Abstract of Report on the Origin and Spread of Typhoid Fever in US Military Camps during the Spanish War of 1898* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900); and Matthew Smallman-Raynor and Andrew D. Cliff, "Epidemic Diffusion Processes in a System of U.S. Military Camps: Transfer Diffusion and the Spread of Typhoid Fever in the Spanish-American War, 1898," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 1 (March 2001): 71-91.
17. Yoshiya Makita, "Professional Angels at War: The United States Army Nursing Service and Changing Ideals of Nursing at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 24 (2013): 67-86. See also Mercedes H. Graf, "Women Nurses in the Spanish-American War," *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 3-38; Philip A. Kalisch, "Heroines of '98: Female Army Nurses in the Spanish-American War," *Nursing Research* 24, no. 6 (November/December, 1975): 411-29; and Mary T. Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
18. As to the development of nursing education in the late nineteenth-century United States, see Jane E. Mottus, *New York Nightingales: The Emergence of the Nursing Profession at Bellevue and New York Hospital, 1850-1920* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Susan Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Barbara

- Melosh, *"The Physician's Hand": Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); and Jo Ann Ashley, *Hospitals, Paternalism, and the Role of the Nurse* (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1976).
19. Julia F. Irwin, "Nurses without Borders: The History of Nursing as US International History," *Nursing History Review* 19 (2011): 78-102; Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 31-77; Charles McGraw, "'The Intervention of a Friendly Power': The Transnational Migration of Women's Work and 1898 Imperial Imagination," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 137-60; and Laura R. Prieto, "Dazzling Visions: American Women, Race, and the Imperialist Origins of Modern Nursing in Cuba, 1898-1916," *Nursing History Review* 26 (2018): 116-37.
 20. Gustave Moynier, *Ce Que C'Est que la Croix Rouge* (Geneva, Switzerland: Imprimerie B. Soullier, 1874); and Daniel Palmieri, "Les principes fondamentaux de la Croix-Rouge: Une Histoire Politique," CICR document (July 2015) <<https://www.icrc.org/fr/document/les-principes-fondamentaux-de-la-croix-rouge-une-histoire-politique>>. The "fundamental principles of the Red Cross," as formulated by Jean Pictet in 1955, were therefore a set of ideals that were not articulated at the inception but gradually elaborated in the long history of the Red Cross movement. Jean Pictet, *The Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross: Commentary by Jean Pictet* (Geneva, Switzerland: Henry Dunant Institute, 1979). See also International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, "Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief," CICR document <<https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-1067.pdf>>.
 21. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 202-78.
 22. Central Cuban Relief Committee, *Report of the Central Cuban Relief Committee, New York City, to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.* (New York: J. B. Watkins, 1899), 11.
 23. Central Cuban Relief Committee, *Report of the Central Cuban Relief Committee*, 17.
 24. Central Cuban Relief Committee, *Report of the Central Cuban Relief Committee*, 71, 89.
 25. Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 519.
 26. *The World*, 21 February 1898.
 27. Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 521.
 28. Report of C. H. H. Cottrell, the financial secretary of the Barton's party, in *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 602.
 29. Medical Report of E. Winfield Egan, in *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 642-43.
 30. Albert LeGendre, "Clara Barton & I in Havana Cuba," an excerpt from *Vetribune*, 16 March 1956. RG200, Entry 900: Spanish American War 1898, NARA, College Park.
 31. Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 549-50, 605.
 32. Report of C. H. Cottrell in *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 620-21. See also Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1988 [1963]), 205-06.
 33. Report of Dr. A. Monae Lesser, the surgeon in chief of the ARC, a proofread for an article in *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 August 1898. RG200, Entry 900: Spanish American War 1898, NARA, College Park.
 34. Report of inspection by Maud Cromelien to the Red Cross Auxiliary No. 3, 14 November 1898, 2. RG200, Entry 900: Spanish American War 1898, NARA, College Park.
 35. Report of inspection by Maud Cromelien to the Red Cross Auxiliary No. 3, 3-4.

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36. Report of inspection by Maud Cromelien to the Red Cross Auxiliary No. 3, 6.
37. Newspapers and magazines reported daily the ARC's relief activities in Cuba, which helped enhance the surge of patriotism in the country. Charles McGraw points out that idealized images of Red Cross nurses that appeared in media during the war emphasized sisterly care of these nurses while concealing "colonial relations of power" involved in their relief activities in the Caribbean islands. See McGraw, "The Intervention of a Friendly Power," 137-41.
38. Lelia Cunningham to Clara Barton, 20 June 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 122, Folder: Auxiliaries and Memberships. Correspondence, January-July 1898.
39. W. Y. Brantley to the secretary of the ARC, 4 July 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 122, Folder: Auxiliaries and Memberships. Correspondence, January-July 1898.
40. J. B. Tuttle to the secretary of the ARC, 22 June 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 122, Folder: Auxiliaries and Memberships. Correspondence, January-July 1898.
41. *Cleveland Leader*, 26 June 1898.
42. American National Red Cross Relief Committee, *Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee, May 1898-March 1899* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899), esp. 27-173.
43. Mrs. F. C. Gardner to Stephen E. Barton, 31 August 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 122, Folder: Auxiliaries and Memberships. Correspondence, August 1898-December 1899, undated.
44. American National Red Cross Relief Committee, *Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee*, 13.
45. Report of American National Red Cross Relief Committee, 28 October 1898, 2. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 122, Folder: Auxiliaries and Memberships. Reports, 1898-1899, undated.
46. A. Monae Lesser to Clara Barton, 15 May 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 137, Folder: Special Correspondence. Lesser, A. Monae and Bettina H., 1897-1899, undated.
47. American National Red Cross Relief Committee, *Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee*, 40-41.
48. American National Red Cross Relief Committee, *Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee*, 41.
49. Laura Gill to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, 10 July 1898. RG200, Entry 900.3: Spanish American War 1898, Auxiliary No. 3, Nurses, NARA, College Park.
50. Isabelle E. Ruddy, Report of Red Cross Expedition Aboard the S.S. *Lampasas*, 10 August 1898. Quotation from the covenant of the *Lampasas* party. RG200, Entry 900.83: Spanish American War 1898, S.S. *Lampasas*, NARA, College Park. See also Lavinia L. Dock, et al. eds., *History of American Red Cross Nursing* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1922), 31-34; Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 492-93.
51. George M. Sternberg to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, 19 July 1898. See also George Kennan to J. Addison Porter, 8 June 1898; and Sternberg to P. J. A. Cleary, 9 June 1898. All in RG200, Entry 900.02: Spanish American War 1898, U.S. Army, NARA, College Park.
52. C. R. Smart, Deputy Surgeon General of the Army, to Robert Elliot, 21 July 1898. RG200, Entry 900.02, NARA, College Park.
53. R. A. Alger, Secretary of War, to John R. Brooke, Major General, Military Governor of Cuba, Havana, Cuba, 3 January 1899. See also R. A. Alger to Clara Barton, 29 December 1898; William McKinley to

- “General,” 29 December 1898. RG200, Entry 900.02, NARA, College Park.
54. Report of Alice M. Wykoff, Governor’s Island, 31 October 1898. RG200, Entry 900.303: Spanish American War 1898, Auxiliary No. 3, Hospitals in the United States, NARA, College Park.
55. “Hospital Days at Camp Wikoff,” a report of a nurse (anon.), Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, n.d. RG200, Entry 900.303, NARA, College Park.
56. Report of Irene H. Sutcliffe, Camp Black, 27 October 1898. RG200, Entry 900.303, NARA, College Park.
57. American National Red Cross Relief Committee, *Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee*, 48-49.
58. Report of Effie Bruce Freer, West Tampa Hospital, Tampa, Florida, 14 October 1898. RG200, Entry 900.303, NARA, College Park.
59. American National Red Cross Relief Committee, *Reports of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee*, 49.
60. Maud Cromelien to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, 19 July 1898. RG200, Entry 900.3: Spanish American War 1898, Auxiliary No. 3, Nurses, NARA, College Park.
61. William R. Day, the secretary of state, to Bellamy Storer, 2 June 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
62. ARC to the International Committee of the Red Cross, 20 April 1898; and Gustave Moynier to Clara Barton, 21 April 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
63. Clara Barton to Gustave Moynier, 8 June 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
64. See, for example, cablegram from Count R. Taverna, the president of the Italian Red Cross, to Clara Barton, 26 April 1898; Vice-Consul of Belgium in New York to the secretary of the American Red Cross, 23 April 1898; the vice-president of the American Red Cross to Albert Van Schelle, 27 April 1898; US Embassy in Berlin to the Central Committee of the German Red Cross Society, 23 September 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
65. Circular of the Central Council, the French Red Cross Society, enclosed in the Secretary General of the French Red Cross Society to Clara Barton, 25 April 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
66. Clara Barton to Duke d’Auerstaedt, the president of the French Red Cross, 16 August 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
67. Chung Par Hei to Cuban Central Relief Committee, 18 May 1898; Clara Barton to Chung Par Hei, 19 May 1898, quoted in the press release, n.d. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
68. *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1899* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 155-56.
69. Report of James M. Dalziel, 27 October 1898. RG200, Entry 900.303, NARA, College Park.
70. Report of James M. Dalziel, 27 October 1898.

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71. Report of M. E. Brayman, 14 October 1898. RG200, Entry 900.303, NARA, College Park.
72. Duke of Palmella to Clara Barton, 26 April 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
73. Clara Barton to the president of the Portuguese Red Cross Society, 20 May 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
74. Letters from the Portuguese Red Cross Society to the American Red Cross Society from 29 June to 16 August 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
75. François Bugnion, *The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Protection of War Victims* (Geneva: Macmillan, 2012), 70-71.
76. Duke of Palmella to the secretary of ARC, 22 October 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 142, Folder: Relief operations. Spanish-American War. International Committee of the Red Cross, 1898-1899.
77. Report of M. E. Brayman, 14 October 1898.
78. Report of M. E. Brayman, 14 October 1898.
79. Barton, *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, 507.
80. Report of Washington State Red Cross from June 1898 to October 15, 1898. Barton Papers, Red Cross File, Box 122, Folder: Auxiliaries and Memberships. Reports, 1898-1899, undated.
81. For the transnational circulation of people, ideas, and institution along the US imperial expansion at the turn of the twentieth century, see Alfred W. McCoy, Francisco A. Scarano, and Courtney Johnson, "On the Tropic of Cancer: Transitions and Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. McCoy and Scarano (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 3-33. See also Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); and Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).
82. Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 29-32.
83. Second Indorsement of the American Red Cross. Washington, DC, 24 April 1912. RG200, Entry 161.1: Philippine Board, 1910-1917, NARA, College Park.