

UNDER TWO FLAGS: RAPPROCHEMENT AND
THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL SHIP *MAINE*

A THESIS

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BY

AUBRI E. THURMOND, B.A.

DENTON, TEXAS


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TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY
DENTON, TEXAS

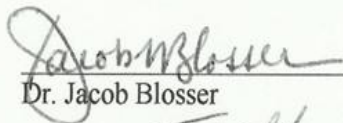
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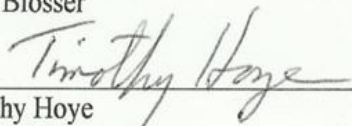
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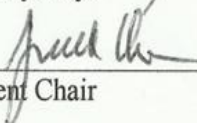
I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Aubri E. Thurmond entitled "Under Two Flags: Rapprochement and The American Hospital Ship *Maine*." I have examined this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in History.


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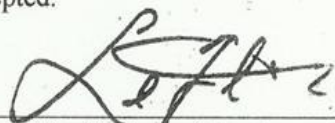
We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:


Dr. Jacob Blosser


Dr. Timothy Hoyer


Department Chair

Accepted:


Dean of the Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

AUBRI E. THURMOND

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This thesis is an examination of the creation and mission of the American Hospital Ship *Maine* by twenty American women living in England during the Boer War. Attention is given to the funding, outfitting, and staffing of the *Maine* as well as the work of the *Maine* on its first voyage to South Africa. Due to the patriarchal time in which they lived, the identities of many of the American women behind the *Maine* were till this time unknown. With much effort, biographical information had been recovered and is included here. This study builds upon existing rapprochement scholarship to demonstrate the ways in which the *Maine* corresponds to British-American relations at the end of the nineteenth century, therefore highlighting the international importance of the American Hospital Ship *Maine*.

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CHAPTER I
RAPPROCHEMENT AND AN INTRODUCTION TO
THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL SHIP *MAINE*

On a cool, breezy December day, prestigious Britons gathered in Southampton to witness and celebrate an historical event. The Duke of Connaught was to present the Union Jack, on behalf of Queen Victoria, to fly atop the mast of the American Hospital Ship *Maine*, alongside the Stars and Stripes.¹ The Duke “made a most felicitous speech,” noting that “Never before has a ship sailed under the combined flags of the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes; and it marks, I hope, an occasion which brings out that feeling of generosity and affection that the two countries have for each other.”² The British flag was raised to the mast as the Scots Guard band played “Rule Britannia” and soon the band switched to the “Star Spangled Banner” as the American flag was lifted to a second mast.³ Then a Red Cross flag was raised to the third mast. It was a moving scene as Lady Randolph Churchill remembered, “It was a great moment for us all, and I confess I felt a lump in my throat.”⁴ This marked something new, a turning point, foreshadowing a strong friendship that was still yet to come.

¹ The Hospital Ship *Maine* is not to be confused with the *U.S.S. Maine* that exploded in the Havana harbor on February 15, 1898. Although they have the same name, they are two different vessels.

² Mrs. George Cornwallis-West, *The Reminiscences of Lady Randolph Churchill* (New York: The Century Co., 1908), 320.

³ *Ibid.*, 321

⁴ *Ibid.*

Great Britain and the United States currently enjoy a firm friendship and an even stronger political alliance which emerged during World War I. Considering the American Revolution and the War of 1812, this was not always the case.¹ The Civil War again brought discord between the two countries as Great Britain favored the Confederacy, allowing Confederate warships to be constructed in its ports.² Yet, even from the beginning the relationship between the nations has been unique. Historian Cushing Strout writes, “As America’s most ancient enemy [England] has been the prime villain of the Old World. As the mother country she has been a favored exception to the general rule.”³ Following the Civil War, British-American relations took a new turn and started down a path toward friendship, though not without tensions. This period, one of rapprochement, saw major economic, military, cultural, technological, and geo-political changes, thus helping to redefine the relationship between the two countries.

The outbreak of the Boer War in October of 1899 was one of the major events of the period with significant international implications. In 1806, during the Napoleonic Wars, Britain captured the Cape of South Africa and in 1814, purchased the Dutch colony there for six million pounds.⁴ The Dutch settlers received poor treatment at the hands of the English and in 1836, calling themselves Boers, (meaning farmers or peasants) they left the British Cape Colony in what is called the Great Trek, establishing the Orange

¹ Howard Temperley, *Britain and America Since Independence* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 8-16 and 20-32.

² Charles S. Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement: The United States and Great Britain, 1783 – 1900* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974), 134.

³ Cushing Strout, as quoted in Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States 1895-1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 6.

⁴ James Bryce, “The Historical Causes of the Present War in South Africa,” *The North American Review* 169, no. 517 (Dec, 1899): 738.

Free State and the Transvaal Republic.⁵ For several decades Britain walked a careful line between acknowledging Dutch autonomy and meddling in their affairs, until gold was discovered in the Transvaal in 1881, totaling an estimated seven hundred million pounds.⁶ Immigrants from throughout the Western world flooded into the Transvaal as mining companies were established. These immigrants, called Uitlanders, many of whom were English, were heavily taxed, providing approximately 85% of the country's revenue, while being disenfranchised therefore lacking a political voice. Because Uitlanders outnumbered Boers, Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal, viewed disenfranchisement as a method of self-preservation, knowing that if British immigrants were allowed to vote, the Transvaal would cease to be Dutch and eventually become a British colony.⁷ Other issues which seemed to threaten Britain's dominance in the region were also at play. Britain's two South African colonies, Cape Colony and Natal, controlled much of the region's railways as well as the maritime shipping route around the Cape, earning significant revenue from taxes, import duties, shipping fees, etc. However, a new port facility was under construction at Delagoa Bay in Portuguese East Africa which would allow the Transvaal and Orange Free State to conduct trade without the use of British rails or shipping.⁸ Furthermore, Kruger's administration was perceived as inefficient, unpredictable, and corrupt which made large mining syndicates nervous

⁵ Ibid., 740.

⁶ Ibid., 745-749. See also, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Great Boer War*, 5th ed. (1902; repr., Createspace, an Amazon Company, 2013).

⁷ Doyle, *Great Boer War*, 12-13; and Bryce, "Historical Causes," 752-753. President of the Orange Free State, M. T. Steyn, and President Kruger had formed a military alliance in March 1897.

⁸ Peter Henshaw, "The Origins of the Boer War: The Periphery, the Centre, and the 'Man on the Spot'," in *The International Impact of the Boer War*, ed. Keith Wilson (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 11-16.

about future prospects.⁹ Britain felt its economic and political predominance in South Africa threatened by the Transvaal government and other European powers with interests in the region (such as Germany, France, and Portugal); Britain, therefore, desired to establish a united South Africa as part of the commonwealth, much like that of Canada or Australia.

According to historian Peter Henshaw, Sir Alfred Milner, the British proconsul in South Africa, saw Uitlander rights “as a way of persuading the British government to take a strong stand against the Transvaal and, in effect, to force it into a united British South Africa.”¹⁰ He effectively linked “the demands of the mining capitalists for an economic transformation of the Transvaal and the desire of the British government to assert Britain’s supremacy in the region” by campaigning for Uitlander rights.¹¹ Henshaw notes Milner’s role in the conflict, writing that in serving as intermediary between the South African colonies and London and in exercising “a critical degree of control over the course and timing of events, Milner helped to create a situation in which war was almost inevitable.”¹² Under pressure from mining capitalists and the British government, the Transvaal declared war on England in October of 1899.¹³ According to Henshaw, England was prepared to fight “because it seemed to be the best way to place southern Africa—and all that was at stake there for Britain’s power and prestige—more

⁹ Ibid., 10-11

¹⁰ Ibid., 19.

¹¹ Ibid., 18.

¹² Ibid., 21.

¹³ Great Britain had begun shipping troops to its South African Colonies, stationing them on the border of the Transvaal, while a British delegation tried to negotiate with Kruger regarding Uitlander rights. Mining capitalists were also petitioning the Transvaal government for the right to vote.

firmly under British control.”¹⁴ The war lasted through May of 1902 and resulted in the annexation of both the Transvaal and Orange Free State into the British Empire.¹⁵

Directly following the eruption of war in South Africa, a group of American women living in England formed the American Ladies Hospital Ship Fund Committee. Under the leadership of Lady Randolph Churchill, these women procured, outfitted, funded, and staffed a hospital ship, calling it the *Maine*. The American Hospital Ship *Maine* sailed to South Africa on December 23, 1889, and treated 354 wounded British soldiers before returning to Southampton in April of 1900.¹⁶ The *Maine* embarked upon one more trip to South Africa before heading to China to help those wounded during the

¹⁴ Henshaw, “Origins,” 20-21.

¹⁵ The Boer War, was actually the Second Anglo-Boer War as a previous war with the Boers had been fought in 1880-1881. After declaring war on Great Britain the Boers immediately struck an offensive blow by laying siege to three British cities: Mafeking, Kimberly, and Ladysmith. The British troops then suffered a series of humiliating defeats from December 10th-15th, in what became known as “Black Week.” British troops had severely underestimated the Boers; the war was not going to be over quickly as they had initially believed. The battle of Spion Kopje, fought from January 16-24, was a notable British defeat. Under General Buller, the British suffered between 2500-2700 casualties, while the Boers lost less than 200. In February, the tide of the war began to turn in favor of the British under the leadership of Lord Roberts. The British occupied the Dutch city Bloemfontien, relieved Kimberly, and after three failed attempts, finally relieved Ladysmith on February 28th. By June of 1900, Lord Roberts occupied Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, and annexed the Transvaal as a British colony on September 1, 1900. Refusing to surrender the Boers embarked on a guerilla campaign against British occupation. The British responded with what has been termed the “scorched earth” policy, begun under Lord Roberts and carried out fully under Lord Kitchner. British troops systematically burned the countryside, destroying homes, crops, and livestock. Refugees were placed in British concentration camps. Still the Boers continued fighting. Peace finally came in April 1902, after the Boer defeat at Roodewal. The war officially ended on May 31, 1902 with the Treaty of Vereeniging and the annexation of the Transvaal and Orange Free State as British colonies. Information taken from Fransjohan Pretorius, “The Second Anglo-Boer War: An Overview,” *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 30, no. 2 (2000): 111-125.

¹⁶ Eleanora Kinnicut, “Letter to the Associated Press,” September 6, 1901, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Library of Congress.

subsequent Boxer Rebellion.¹⁷ It is this writer's contention that the Hospital Ship *Maine* was organized by Americans, both citizens and ex-patriots, and intended for deployment in a British war. As such, the *Maine* gained international attention and should therefore, along with the women who initiated the endeavor, be included in rapprochement scholarship. The American Ladies Committee intentionally created the *Maine* for the purpose of establishing a permanent friendship between the U.S. and Great Britain and the tremendous response to their effort suggests they were, in part, successful. Furthermore, this study reveals that the creation of the American Hospital Ship *Maine* during the Boer War contributed to the continued normalization of British-American relations.

Several scholars, such as D. A. Campbell, Howard Temperley, Bradford Perkins, and Charles S. Campbell, have examined the process of rapprochement between Great Britain and the United States, focusing specifically on issues hindering and promoting friendship. Scholars have identified four primary factors that were obstacles to the formation of friendship between the two countries at the end of the nineteenth century. First, during the Civil War a number of Confederate war ships, most famously the *Alabama*, were built in Britain and released from British ports. As a result, the U.S. government held Britain responsible for the damage caused by these ships and for the

¹⁷ The Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901) was a violent uprising of Chinese peasants/farmers called Boxers whose aim was to destroy the ruling Qing dynasty and drive all westerners and western influences from China, including missionaries. The work of the *Maine* during the Boxer Rebellion, while significant, occurred in a different international context than the Boer War and therefore is outside the purposes of this paper and not included here.

prolongation of the Civil War.¹⁸ For seven years after the war, the U.S. and Great Britain attempted to arrive at a solution. The matter ultimately went to international arbitration; in September, 1872, Britain was found at fault and required to pay 15.5 million dollars to the United States government.¹⁹

Canadian fisheries and fur seal hunting also posed a problem. In 1866 the Marcy-Elgin treaty, which gave American fishermen access to Canadian waters in Newfoundland, expired and in 1870, Canada closed its waters to U.S. vessels.²⁰ A number of agreements followed, renewable every two years, allowing the sale of tariff-free Canadian fish in the United States and open access to Canadian waters for American fishermen. When the agreement expired in 1886, Canadian authorities seized three American ships from their waters, eventually releasing two of them. In return, the U.S. banned all imports of Canadian fish.²¹ Simultaneously, a similar issue arose in the Bering Sea off the coast of Alaska. The Alaska Commercial Company was given a lease from the U.S. government to the Pribilof Islands, a fur seal sanctuary, from May to November. This monopoly was challenged however, when Canadians began hunting seals at sea, soon flooding the market with seal skins, and reducing prices. In 1886, three Canadian sealing vessels were seized in the Bering Sea. Members of the crew were tried before a United States District Court and sentenced to jail for one month.²² Great Britain then demanded compensation. The fishery issues were resolved by a *modus vivendi* instituted

¹⁸ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 134 and Temperley, *Britain and America*, 76.

¹⁹ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 134.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

²² *Ibid.*, 155-156.

by British statesman Joseph Chamberlain and renewed every two years until being replaced by a permanent treaty in 1912.²³ The fur seal hunting issue was settled by an arbitral tribunal in 1892 which proscribed regulations for hunting in the Bering Sea and required the U.S. pay \$473,151 to Great Britain in retribution for seizing Canadian vessels. However, the settlement was only the beginning of a long term resolution; in 1911, Japan, Russia, the United States, and Great Britain reached a permanent agreement regarding fur seal hunting in the Bering Sea.²⁴

The third issue hindering friendship was the Venezuela Crisis of 1895-1896. Goldfields were discovered in Venezuela in proximity to the British Guiana border. Venezuela claimed that “by extending the borders of British Guiana to include the goldfields, Britain was infringing on the Monroe Doctrine.”²⁵ President Cleveland appointed a committee to investigate the matter and sent correspondence to London addressing the issue at hand. In the four months before receiving Britain’s response, tensions mounted and the U.S. government believed that it was its duty to protect the territory belonging to Venezuela “by every means necessary.”²⁶ A headline in the *New York Sun* read “War if Necessary.”²⁷ The dispute, however, was resolved on October 3,

²³ Ibid., 159-160, 163.

²⁴ Ibid., 171-173.

²⁵ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 77. Issued by U.S. President James Monroe, the Monroe Doctrine declared the western hemisphere closed to any further colonization and that any attempts by European countries to colonize or control any country in the western hemisphere would be met with force. When the Doctrine was issued in 1823, the United States did not possess the needed military or naval power to realize Monroe’s policy, instead Great Britain agreed, under the authority of British foreign minister George Canning, to use its naval fleet to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine serves as an early example of Anglo-American cooperation.

²⁶ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 15-20; and Temperley, *Britain and America*, 77.

²⁷ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 77.

1899 through international arbitration, awarding most of the disputed territory to Great Britain.²⁸

The final deterring issue recognized by rapprochement scholars is the presence of Anglophobia in the United States. According to Kramer, “The fear of British imperial tyranny was older than the United States and still audible at any Fourth of July address in the late nineteenth century.”²⁹ Anglophobia was perhaps most strongly personified in the Fenian Brotherhood “whose aim was to foment a war between Britain and the United States in the hope of furthering the struggle for Irish independence” and who attempted an invasion of Canada on three separate occasions.³⁰ The strength of the Irish voting bloc caused the U.S. government to overlook their extra-legal activities. Anti-imperialism and Pro-Boer attitudes also fueled Anglophobia in the United States. At the end of the nineteenth century, Civil War claims, Canadian fisheries and fur seal hunting, the Venezuela Crisis, and Anglophobia were issues that threatened to push Great Britain and the United States farther apart.

Likewise, scholars agree there were four primary factors that were drawing Great Britain and the United States closer together. First, America’s new imperial exploits in the Spanish-American War created a strong commonality between the two countries. Understanding this commonality as a foundation for friendship, Britain “carried out an unmistakably pro- American neutrality policy” demonstrating “their great determination

²⁸ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 185-187.

²⁹ Paul A. Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910,” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (March 2002): 1338.

³⁰ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 76.

to cultivate American goodwill.”³¹ Likewise, the U.S. showed the same friendly neutrality towards the British during their conflict in South Africa. The U.S. and Britain also joined efforts in China during the Boxer Rebellion.³²

Secondly, the emergence of “Anglo-Saxon racial exceptionalism” created strong heritage ties between the United States and Great Britain.³³ Based on Herbert Spencer’s application of evolutionary theory to society and directly connected to imperialism, Anglo-Saxonism argued that the English-speaking peoples of Britain and America had developed superior civilizations.³⁴ Bradford Perkins notes, “Individualism, political liberties, perhaps peace and Protestantism—these characteristics gave Anglo-Saxons their uniqueness, their superiority—and their bond.”³⁵ By the end of the nineteenth century, America and Britain saw themselves “as full partners in the fate of the English-speaking race.”³⁶

The third issue drawing the U.S. and Britain closer together was the increasing strength of other European powers, particularly Germany and Russia. The U.S. was apprehensive about Russia’s presence in China and feared it would “jeopardize the

³¹ William N. Tilchin, “The United States and the Boer War,” in *The International Impact of the Boer War*, ed. Keith Wilson (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 108.

³² Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 195 and Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 239.

³³ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1318.

³⁴ Spencer was an English philosopher who applied biological evolution to all aspects of human society and it was he who coined the term ‘survival of the fittest.’ His theories came to be understood as Social Darwinism, a term he never used, although he did express his ideas in Darwinian language. Social Darwinism became very popular in the late nineteenth century as a way to explain, and justify, inequality. For more, see Edward Caudill, “Social Darwinism: Adapting Evolution to Society,” in *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, 2nd ed., ed. Leon Fink (Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 253-262.

³⁵ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 82.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

potential market” there.³⁷ Similarly, German influence in Latin America, was perceived by the U.S. as “threatening the Monroe Doctrine and the potential canal.”³⁸ Britain was also uneasy about growing Russian pressure in Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf and the threat to British India.³⁹ Following the Jameson Raid in Johannesburg (December 29, 1895-January 2, 1896), Britain discovered that the German Kaiser sent a note to Paul Krueger, President of the Boer Republic, congratulating him on diffusing the raid without Germany’s assistance.⁴⁰ Great Britain was furious and “suddenly, the significance of German naval expansion seemed clear: they were bent on challenging Britain’s control of the seas.”⁴¹ Common threats posed by Russia and Germany caused the U.S. and Britain to peer across the Atlantic seeking friendship and empathy.

The final occurrence noted by scholars giving rise to amity between the United States and Great Britain was the creation of a transatlantic culture at the end of the nineteenth century. According to Kramer, “Accelerating travel and communication enabled greater contact between the British and American upper classes; middle-class

³⁷ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 202.

³⁸ Ibid. In 1850, the U.S. and Great Britain signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in which they agreed that any canal built to connect the Atlantic and Pacific would be a joint Anglo-American undertaking.

³⁹ Wolfgang J. Mommsen, “Introduction,” in *The International Impact of the Boer War*, ed. Keith Wilson (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 2.

⁴⁰ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 78. Outrage in Uitlander communities had reached a tipping point in 1895 when plans for a rebellion began taking shape. Leander Starr Jameson joined with Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, in plotting to overthrow President Krueger and capture the Transvaal. Jameson prematurely led 500 men in an attack on Johannesburg on December 29, 1895, assuming that Uitlanders there would immediately join him. Instead, his allies refused to participate and he was chastised from authorities in London. Boer forces easily foiled the raid; Jameson was forced to surrender on January 2, 1896. Following the raid, Jameson spent three weeks in jail in Pretoria before returning to England for trial. Kenneth Wilburn, “Jameson Raid, Origins of South African War: 1895-1899,” in *Encyclopedia of African History*, ed. Kevin Shillington (London: Routledge, 2004), *Credo Reference Online*, accessed September 22, 2014, http://ezproxy.twu.edu:2048/login?url=http://ezproxy.twu.edu:2346/content/entry/routafricanhistory/jameson_raid_origins_of_south_african_war_1895_1899/0.

⁴¹ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 78.

tourists; business, professional, and academic elites; and abolitionists, temperance, civil service, and Progressive reformers.”⁴² Due to more stringent copyright protections, people of both countries further shared literature and art. Trade connections and “interimperial sub-contracting” strengthened economic ties between the two countries even more.⁴³ Additionally, hundreds of strategic transatlantic marriages occurred, “often between American heiresses and British diplomats, military officers, or imperial officials.”⁴⁴ Americans and Britons were now connected by genealogy. Despite tensions, imperial conflicts, Anglo-Saxonism, the increasing strength of European powers, and an emerging transatlantic culture, created a favorable environment in the late nineteenth century for the growth of American-British friendship.

Interestingly, the hospital ship *Maine* and any discussion of its international significance, along with the American Ladies Committee, are almost entirely omitted from the works of prominent rapprochement scholars. In his book, *From Revolution to Rapprochement: The United States and Great Britain, 1783-1900*, Charles S. Campbell focuses primarily on the issues hindering friendship in the period following the Civil War. In chapters seven through thirteen, he identifies the following issues that worked against the development of an Anglo-American friendship. First, he mentions the Confederate warships, most famously the *Alabama*, that were built in England and sailed from English ports during the war and resulted in the payment of 15.5 million dollars to

⁴² Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1326.

⁴³ Ibid., 1328; and Temperley, *Britain and America*, 84.

⁴⁴ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1327; see also Richard W. Davis, “‘We are all Americans Now!’ Anglo-American Marriages in the Later Nineteenth Century,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 135, no. 2 (June 1991): 144-145.

the U.S.⁴⁵ Second, Campbell points to disputes over Canadian fishing waters and fur seal hunting rights in the Bering Sea.⁴⁶ The final issue identified by Campbell is the Venezuela Crisis of 1895-1896, in which Venezuela claimed that Great Britain was extending the borders of British Guiana, due to the discovery of goldfields, and therefore violating America's Monroe doctrine.⁴⁷

While Campbell's text includes an extensive diplomatic history, highlighting the way in which U.S. and Great Britain resolved their differences, he only briefly comments on the dynamics that were promoting an Anglo-American friendship in the last chapter of his text. These are identified as a policy of friendly neutrality toward one another during each country's respective imperial wars; transatlantic trade and marriage; the increase of German and Russian power; and Anglo-Saxon patriotism. Unfortunately, Campbell spends little time exploring the strength and effects of these elements.⁴⁸

Like Campbell, Howard Temperley also identifies the issues hindering an Anglo-American friendship at the end of the nineteenth century in his book *Britain and America Since Independence*. In addition to those issues mentioned by Campbell, Temperley also argues that Anglophobia was still quite present in America. For Temperley, Anglophobia was most visible in the actions of the Fenian Brotherhood, Irish-American patriots who invaded Canada on three separate occasions and hoped for a war between the U.S. and Great Britain to further the cause of Irish independence. Anglophobia was also present in

⁴⁵ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 134.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 152-156.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 180-189.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 191-204.

anti-imperialism movements and widespread Pro-Boer feeling.⁴⁹ Again, Temperley identifies the same four dynamics that promoted friendship between the U.S. and Great Britain: a policy of friendly neutrality toward one another's imperial pursuits and direct cooperation during the Boxer Rebellion; worry over the increasing power of other European countries, namely Germany and Russia; the creation of a strong transatlantic culture; and pride in their common Anglo-Saxon heritage.⁵⁰

D.A. Campbell's *Unlikely Allies: Britain, America and the Victorian Origins of the Special Relationship* recounts the same rapprochement narrative, as does David Dimbleby and David Reynold's *An Ocean Apart: The Relationship between Britain and America in the Twentieth Century*.⁵¹ Both texts continue the focus on England's affability with the South during the Civil War; the Venezuelan Boundary Crisis; and fishing and hunting issues in Canada. Likewise, both texts argue that imperial exploits, transatlantic culture, anxiety over the increased strength of Germany and Russia, and Anglo-Saxonism were the factors that culminated in the strong friendship and military alliance that occurred during World War I.

Stuart Anderson's *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904*, examines one aspect of the rapprochement process—race. Anderson examines the origins of Anglo-Saxonism and the way in which it was applied to foreign policy. Anderson aptly defines Anglo-Saxonism as the belief “that the

⁴⁹ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 76.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-88. Anglo-Saxonism refers to a widely held belief, in both England and America, that the success of English-speaking civilizations reflected racial superiority.

⁵¹ Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 171-251 and David Dimbleby and David Reynolds, *An Ocean Apart: The Relationship Between Britain and America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1988), 28-49.

civilization of the English-speaking nations was superior to that of any other group of people on the planet; and that the primacy of English and American civilization was largely due to the innate racial superiority of the people who were descended from the ancient Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain.”⁵² In chapter four of his text, Stuart examines the Anglo-Saxon beliefs of policy makers in both the United States and in Great Britain, including: Joseph Chamberlain, Arthur Balfour, Cecil Spring-Rice, Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, and Alfred Thayer Mahan.⁵³ Importantly, Anderson discusses the events of rapprochement, focusing on the way Anglo-Saxonism informed behavior on both sides of the Atlantic. During the Venezuelan Boundary Crisis, for example, Anderson demonstrates the widespread belief that a war between the U.S. and Great Britain would be “fratricide.” He writes, “The popular belief that the two peoples were racial kinsmen, fellow Anglo-Saxons, contributed significantly to the feeling of revulsion that came over many individuals at the prospect of an Anglo-American conflict.”⁵⁴ Anderson continues, arguing the same was true regarding the Canadian issues of hunting and fishing. He devotes the last three chapters of his text to the relationship between Anglo-Saxonism and imperialism and the role of imperial conflicts in the strengthening of Anglo-American Relations. In examining the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, and the Boxer Rebellion, Anderson demonstrates that with each

⁵² Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1981),11-12.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 73-94.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*,105. The strong belief in racial kinship and Anglo-Saxon superiority developed in the later part of the 19th century (following the American Civil War) as it did not serve to prevent violent conflict during the War of 1812.

conflict, the United States and Great Britain grew closer together.⁵⁵ He provides a more detailed look at the racial and imperial affinities that formed the “special relationship” between the two countries. Still, like other rapprochement scholars, Anderson fails to mention the hospital ship *Maine*.

Only one rapprochement historian, Bradford Perkins, refers to the efforts of the American women who created the *Maine*. He does not, however, believe them to be significant, dismissing them with a few sentences in *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914*. He fails to include the women’s names, simply the men they married, and notes the *Maine* effort was “really only half American.”⁵⁶ Still, Perkins subtly suggests that their effort made an impact. He concludes, “The ‘American’ hospital ship strengthened [English] opinion that respectability was on their side.”⁵⁷

Richard J. Kahn is the sole scholar who has authored anything specifically about the American Hospital Ship *Maine*. His article “Women and Men at Sea: Gender Debate aboard the Hospital Ship *Maine* during the Boer War, 1899-1900” examines the relationships between the male and female members of the ship’s staff and the tensions flowing from gendered notions of authority during the *Maine*’s first voyage to South Africa.⁵⁸ Kahn notes the remarkable nature of the hospital ship. He writes, “It is a story of a group of influential and capable American women in control of a British military

⁵⁵ Ibid., 112-173.

⁵⁶ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 94.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Richard J. Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea: Gender Debate aboard the Hospital Ship *Maine* during the Boer War, 1899-1900,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 56, no. 2 (April, 2011): 111-139.

hospital ship in wartime, surely a highly unusual circumstance.”⁵⁹ He commits several pages to address the logistics of the *Maine* effort and its work in South Africa. The main focus of his article, however, is gender-relations onboard. Kahn seeks to understand why female nurses were present on the *Maine*’s first voyage, yet the *Maine* held only male nurses on its remaining voyages. He argues this occurred for two reasons. The first is that conflict resulted from “having women in a position of authority over men.”⁶⁰ Secondly, there were increasing complaints that society women were coming to South Africa to volunteer, but were more trouble than they were help.⁶¹ Although an excellent examination of gendered conflict surrounding the *Maine*, Kahn’s article fails to tie the hospital ship *Maine* or the efforts of the American Ladies Committee to larger issues of rapprochement.

Gail MacColl and Carol McD. Wallace give brief attention to the *Maine* in their book *To Marry an English Lord, or How Anglomania Really Got Started*. Although they only offer three pages to the *Maine*, MacColl and Wallace stress the American nature of the hospital ship and highlight the extensive fundraising that was needed to support the *Maine*. They also connect the naming of the hospital ship with the *U.S.S. Maine* which sank in Cuban waters on February 15, 1898.⁶² For the remainder of their text, MacColl and Wallace examine New York and London high society during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. They provide relevant information regarding the transatlantic lifestyle,

⁵⁹ Ibid., 112.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 126.

⁶¹ Ibid., 131.

⁶² Gail MacColl and Carol McD. Wallace, *To Marry an English Lord, or How Anglomania Really Got Started* (New York: Workman Publishing, 1989), 270-274.

as well as a directory of American heiresses who married Englishmen. However, MacColl and Wallace also overlook the ways in which the creation of the *Maine* intersects with rapprochement.

In his book, *The Atlantic Transport Line, 1881-1931: A History with Details on All Ships*, Jonathan Kinghorn provides a detailed look at Bernard Baker and the creation, life, and ultimate failure of the Atlantic Transport Line.⁶³ His interest in the history of the Atlantic Transport Line is personal, as his great-grandfather worked for the company as an engineer for thirty years. Kinghorn gives an extensive history of each ship operated by the line, including its construction, the crew, type of cargo carried, financing, repairs and retirement. The seventh chapter titled, “Giving to a Good Cause—Hospital Ships” discusses the American Hospital Ship *Maine*, donated for humanitarian service in wartime.⁶⁴ Though he includes much of the same information and uses similar sources as others writing about the *Maine*, Kinghorn’s interest in the Atlantic Transport Line and his use of company records gives a unique perspective. Still, in his approach to the *Maine* as a small part of the much larger history of the Atlantic Transport Line, Kinghorn fails to examine the international value and context of the *Maine*.

Dana C. Cooper examines the transatlantic lives of American women in her chapter titled “Country by Birth, Country by Marriage: American Women’s Transnational War Efforts in Great Britain, 1895-1918,” which appeared in *Women and*

⁶³ Jonathan Kinghorn, *The Atlantic Transport Line, 1881-1931: A History with Details on All Ships* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2012).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 93-102.

Transnational Activism in Historical Perspective.⁶⁵ She focuses her research on transatlantic marriages and the American brides of English gentlemen. Through the activities of Lady Randolph Churchill and the American Women's Club of London, Cooper demonstrates that American women were exercising agency through activism in a way that influenced Anglo-American relations even though they were denied official diplomatic status. Out of twenty-six pages, Cooper devotes five and one-half to the American Ladies Committee and the hospital ship *Maine*. She presents an abbreviated account of the *Maine* effort, from the dawn of the idea to the return of the *Maine* from South Africa. Her focus is primarily on the role of Lady Churchill and the skill she demonstrated in leading the effort.⁶⁶ The intention of the Committee and the outcome of their efforts were given little attention, as were the additional women involved with the *Maine*. Cooper focuses primarily on the fact that the women of the Committee were acting in an international capacity. She does place the Committee and the *Maine* within a context of imperialism, Anglo-Saxonism, and transatlantic culture, however, she fails to use the term rapprochement, or make a connection to rapprochement scholarship.

Additionally, there are several issues with Cooper's scholarship that need to be addressed. Opening her discussion regarding the *Maine*, Cooper alludes that the idea of outfitting the hospital ship was Lady Churchill's. She writes "Approaching the war from her distinctly unique transnational status, Lady Churchill entertained the idea of

⁶⁵ Dana Cooper, "Country by Birth, Country by Marriage: American Women's Transnational War Efforts in Great Britain, 1895-1918," in *Women and Transnational Activism in Historical Perspective*, ed. Kimberly Jensen and Erika Kuhlman (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Republic of Letters Publishing: 2010), 37-64.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 47-52.

organizing an American hospital ship to take to South Africa to tend the wounded soldiers, which she felt could do a great deal of good for both of her countries.”⁶⁷ She corrects her mistake in a footnote however, which reads “The idea for an American-sponsored ship was originally suggested by Mrs. A.A. Blow.”⁶⁸ Cooper omits this detail in her narrative; it appears only in the footnote. Cooper also states that the members of the Committee, which she calls American Amazons, are all married to Englishmen. She writes, “But in addition to being American-born, British-wed women living in London, members of the committee may have had more than charitable interests in mind.”⁶⁹ She emphasizes her point by remarking on the Committee members who were married to Englishmen: “Lady Essex, Mrs. Arthur Paget, and Mrs. Joseph Chamberlain, all Anglo-American brides.”⁷⁰ Interestingly, a number of the women on the Committee were American-born, American-wed and living in London because of their husbands’ business interests. For example, Mrs. Lois Van Duzer, Mrs. Lydia Haldeman, and Mrs. Carrie Griffin, founder of the American Women’s Club of London (AWC), were all married to Americans.⁷¹ Yet Cooper overlooks this fact in her text.

Furthermore, Cooper misrepresents some correspondence that Lady Churchill received in response to the work of the *Maine*. She writes “Just before the ship returned

⁶⁷ Ibid., 47.

⁶⁸ Ibid., n27.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 48.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “About Mrs. Hugh Reid Griffin”, American Women’s Club of London Archives, p. 1; Theodore M. Banta, *Sayre Family: Lineage of Thomas Sayre, Founder of Southampton* (New York: The De Vinne Press, 1901), 413, digitized by Google Books; and Elizabeth Gadsby, *Lineage Book: National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution*, vol. 27 (Harrisburg, PA: Telegraph Printing Co., 1909), 92-93, digitized by Google Books.

to Great Britain, Lady Churchill received a letter of thanks from a group of soldiers. . . . She also received letters of thanks from Elihu Root, (United States Secretary of War, 1899-1904), the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, Vice Admiral E.H. Seymour, and the United States War Department.”⁷² While it is true that Lady Churchill received letters of thanks from all of those people, only the soldiers were thanking her for the work done in South Africa. Elihu Root, the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, Vice Admiral E.H. Seymour, and the United States War Department were thanking her for the work of the *Maine* in China during the Boxer Rebellion. However, Cooper completely omits the *Maine*’s voyage to China and the Boxer Rebellion from her text.⁷³ Lastly, Cooper separates the *Maine* Committee from the American Women’s Club of London (originally called the Society for American Women in London), calling the Society “a departure from previous efforts and groups such as the American Amazons.”⁷⁴ According to an official history of the American Women’s Club of London, however, members of the AWC were directly involved with the creation of the Hospital Ship *Maine*.

The Boer Wars (1899-1902), a conflict between the British Empire and the Dutch-descended population of Boers or Afrikaners in what is now South Africa, mobilized the Society of American Women. They undertook the ‘re-equipment’ of the hospital ship *HMS Maine*—a gift to the British government by a wealthy American—which brought British survivors home from the war. The *Maine* made two journeys to South Africa. It later became the first international hospital ship to enter Chinese waters in aid of allied forces during the Boxer Rebellion.⁷⁵

⁷² Cooper, “Country by Birth,” 51

⁷³ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 457-460.

⁷⁴ Cooper, “Country by Birth,” 53.

⁷⁵ “Early Years: 1899-1916,” *History of the American Women’s Club of London*, AWC Archives, 3-5.

Also, members of one group were often members of the other. Lady Churchill, chairman of the *Maine* Committee was an active member of the AWC. Likewise, Mrs. Carrie Griffin, founder and president of the AWC, was an active member of the *Maine* Committee. The work of the two groups was not mutually exclusive, as Cooper suggests. Although Cooper is the only historian to place the American Ladies Committee and the hospital ship *Maine* in the context of international relations in a meaningful way, there are serious issues with her scholarship.

Biographers of Jennie Jerome, Lady Randolph Churchill; Mary Endicott Chamberlain; and Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough, three women involved in the creation of the *Maine*, invariably include the *Maine* effort in their narratives. However, their biographies focus on the logistics of acquiring and outfitting the ship and the women's own sentiments regarding the *Maine*, without placing their efforts in an international context or weighing the influence of the *Maine* on British-American relations.⁷⁶ Additionally, Sally E. Svenson has written a biography of Committee member, Lily, Duchess of Marlborough, but the American Ladies Committee and the *Maine* are not included in her text.⁷⁷

The following chapters explore the creation and the international significance of the American Hospital Ship *Maine*. "Twenty American Women" introduces the American women involved in the *Maine* effort. It is important to note that no scholar has

⁷⁶ Ralph G. Martin, *Jennie: The Life of Lady Randolph Churchill*, vol. 2, *The Dramatic Years, 1895-1921* (Englewood cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1971); and James Brough, *Consuelo: Portrait of an American Heiress* (New York: Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan Inc., 1979). See also, Anne Sebba, *American Jennie: The Remarkable Life of Lady Randolph Churchill* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007).

⁷⁷ Sally E. Svenson, *Lily, Duchess of Marlborough (1854-1909): A Portrait with Husbands* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2012).

examined the women of the Committee individually as part of the discussion surrounding the hospital ship *Maine*. As noted above, biographies have been written about four of the women on the Committee, but there is nothing substantial written about any of the others. In the few works regarding the *Maine*, the women of the Committee are commonly referred to by their husbands' names, with the few exceptions of Lady Churchill (Jennie); Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough; and Mary Endicott Chamberlain. With much effort, several of their first, and maiden, names have been uncovered and are included here. While including a full biography of each Committee member is not the major focus of this work, acknowledging who these women were and what brought them abroad will further shed light on the purpose and intentions behind the creation of the hospital ship *Maine*.

“To Dispatch Immediately a Suitable Hospital Ship” examines both the logistics of creating the *Maine* and the work accomplished by the *Maine* during the Boer War, specifically on the ship's first voyage. Attention is given to the transatlantic fundraising efforts organized by the American Ladies Committee and the careful selection of the American medical staff that sailed with the *Maine*. The transformation of the ship into a floating hospital and the medical care provided on board are also included.

The intentions of the American Ladies Committee and the response to the hospital ship *Maine* are explored in “Making History.” This chapter addresses the motivating factors—international factors reaching beyond nursing wounded soldiers—that were behind the creation of the *Maine*. The response of American officials and the American

public to the *Maine*, along with the response of British officials and the British public, are also included.

The final and concluding chapter, “A Place for the *Maine*,” looks at the ways in which the *Maine* effort coincides with existing rapprochement scholarship. As previously noted, the hospital ship *Maine* and the American Ladies Committee have been almost entirely ignored by rapprochement scholars. The Anglo-American nature of the *Maine* effort and the international attention it received, place the hospital ship *Maine* firmly within the context of the larger dialogue regarding British-American relations at the end of the nineteenth century. This chapter explores how the *Maine* effort and rapprochement scholarship intersect in the following ways: transatlantic culture, imperialism, and Anglo-Saxonism. The manner in which the *Maine* influenced British-American relations, however small, is appraised, determining its international and diplomatic importance.

While extensive research has been done regarding the era of rapprochement, the effect of the *Maine* on British-American relations has not yet been examined. The *Maine* and the efforts of the American Ladies Committee correspond with the extensive rapprochement scholarship, and still scholars continue to overlook its international significance. Although outside the official world of politics and war, the American Ladies Committee used their influence in creating the *Maine* to forward the friendship between the United States and Great Britain. Recalling the *Maine*, Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough writes, “This ship, called the *Maine*, was the precursor of an

endless tide of American generosity, which reached the high mark in World War II.”⁷⁸

For her, the current bond enjoyed between the two nations started with the *Maine*. In October of 1899, a group of American women living in Great Britain had an idea, an idea that if successful could alter the international stage. This is their story and this writer’s thesis.

⁷⁸ Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan, *The Glitter and the Gold: The American Duchess – In Her Own Words* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1953), 109-110.

CHAPTER II

TWENTY AMERICAN WOMEN

The period between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the First World War has many names. These years are often called the Gilded Age, the Age of Empire, the Age of Industrialization, the Victorian/Edwardian Era, and the Progressive Era. This was the age of industrial revolution, intense immigration, and the growth in wealth that created the glittering New York of the Vanderbilts, Morgans, Goulds, and Astors.

Despite what one chooses to call this period, the inferior status of women is a common fixture. Not only were women denied suffrage and formal political or corporate influence, social rules required that they remain at home, in the “private” as opposed to the “public” sphere.¹ According to Michael McGerr, “Victorianism urged men and women to marry and create homes. A wife was expected to devote herself to making that home both a soothing refuge for her husband and a nurturing preparation for her sons’ eventual emersion in the economic struggle.”² The organization of gender roles “into separate spheres of feminine domesticity and masculine society” primarily applied to the middle and upper classes.³ The gender roles of the working-class were defined by necessary labor; women often worked inside or outside the home, even after having

¹ Kathleen A. McLennan, “Women’s Place: ‘Marriage’ in the Gilded Age,” *Theatre Journal* 37, no. 3 Staging Gender (Oct., 1985): 345-356.

² Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

³ McLennan, “Women’s Place,” 346.

children.⁴ Because the women who organized the *Maine* effort belonged to the privileged class, greater attention is given here to the social roles prescribed to wealthy women.

Gilded Age society was patriarchal in every way. As mentioned above, men held positions of political and economic power; they could vote and serve in the military.⁵ Men organized social clubs where they could go to escape their wives and the domestic realm.⁶ They were able to conduct extra-marital affairs, while those around them turned a blind eye.⁷ Husbands and fathers were the ultimate authority in the home and their interests were placed above all others. Kathleen McLennan notes, “Women had to internalize a sense of duty to their husbands and children which negated any sense of identity separate from the role of wife and mother.”⁸ Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough, succinctly describes the patriarchal nature of marriage, calling her first husband “the man who now ruled my life.”⁹ The masculine sphere included sailing, horse racing, the collection of fine arts, and even the ballroom. According to Greg King, the ballroom “was the province of the gentleman.”¹⁰ He continues, “No lady could ask a gentleman to dance, and while gentlemen might wander freely through the room, it was

⁴ McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, 17.

⁵ Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 21.

⁶ Greg King, *A Season of Splendor: The Court of Mrs. Astor in Gilded Age New York* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2009), 91. Women also formed their own social clubs in the late nineteenth century. The first women’s club, Sorosis, was founded in 1868 in New York City as a venue for women’s self-improvement and study of literature. For more on women’s clubs, see Mildred White Wells, *Unity in Diversity: The History of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs* (New York: General Federation of Women’s Clubs, 1953); and Jan Doolittle Wilson, “Disunity in Diversity: The Controversy Over the Admission of Black Women to the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, 1900-1902,” *Journal of Women’s History* 23.2 (Summer, 2011): 39-63.

⁷ McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, 48.

⁸ McLennan, “Women’s Place,” 351.

⁹ Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 48.

¹⁰ King, *Season of Splendor*, 364.

considered improper for any lady to do so without an escort.”¹¹ King also notes the discrepancies in education received by men and women. As boys, privileged men were educated outside the home in day schools or boarding schools and they attended college, often an ivy league institution. Women, however, received their early education at home from private tutors and while some did attend day schools, they did not attend college. King writes, “Too much education was considered forward; indeed, society gentlemen on the whole tended to steer clear of a young lady more clever than himself.”¹² Instead, women were instructed in largely “ornamental knowledge,” meaning they learned French and/or German, painting, the piano, needlepoint, and importantly, they learned proper etiquette; all qualities “designed to secure suitable husbands.”¹³

A woman’s upbringing culminated in her first social season. The New York social season began in mid-November with the New York Horse Show at Madison Square Garden and came to a close in March with the onset of Lent.¹⁴ The New York season was full of events. As King points out, “in one typical season, New York society enjoyed 301 receptions and teas, 205 dinner parties, 35 luncheons, 23 musicales, and 17 balls, not counting evenings at the theater and the opera.”¹⁵ Each of these activities was dictated by strict rules of etiquette governing dress, location, behavior, conversation, and invitations. For example, at a New York dinner party etiquette required that “the hostess always

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 73.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 337-338.

¹⁵ Ibid., 337.

entered the dining room last.”¹⁶ An invitation to a ball was always on engraved velum paper and never mentioned the word “ball” only “dancing,” giving “no further mention of the purpose of the evening.”¹⁷ The opera, however, was the most important event of the New York social season and all other activities were planned around its schedule.¹⁸ As queen of New York society, Mrs. Caroline Astor set the tone for opera attendance. She always arrived at the Metropolitan Opera House at nine, during the first act, and leaving the opera before her was a social *faux pas*.¹⁹

Following Easter, society dames headed across the Atlantic for the London season before heading to Newport for the summer months. The creation of the steam liner had made transatlantic travel much easier in the later part of the nineteenth century.

According to Maureen Montgomery, “The mobility afforded by steam travel enabled New Yorkers to spend a season in different parts of the country, if not the world. They moved like migratory birds, in flocks and at certain times of year.”²⁰ Boarding White Star, Cunard, or Hamburg Amerika liners, wealthy patrons found luxurious accommodations much like those of their Fifth Avenue mansions.²¹ King writes, “Surrounded by such splendor and indulged at every turn, these grand dames and their families arrived on the continent fully rested, armed with thousands of dollars set aside

¹⁶ Ibid., 353.

¹⁷ Ibid., 362.

¹⁸ Ibid., 344-345.

¹⁹ Ibid., 348.

²⁰ Maureen E. Montgomery, *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 19.

²¹ King, *Season of Splendor*, 378

for shopping, and determined to win entrée to the royal courts of Europe.”²² The London season was the pinnacle of European society. Consuelo Vanderbilt writes, “There were seasons in European Capitals – the Paris season, the Vienna season, the St. Petersburg season – but nowhere was there anything to equal the sustained brilliance of the London season.”²³

In some ways the London season was similar to the season in New York: a whirling round of balls and dinner parties; evenings at the theater; the opera at Covent Garden; and the occasional polo match.²⁴ In contrast to New York however, English society was severely hierarchical and steeped in hundreds of years of tradition. The English peerage system created a “hierarchical society in which the differences in rank were outstandingly important.” Consuelo Vanderbilt remembers, “society was definitely divided into castes.”²⁵ Such hierarchy often made it difficult for Americans to be accepted into the royal circles of London society. Queen Victoria was officially society’s leader, however, her son Prince Albert, later King Edward VII, was the acting leader of fashionable society. His inner coterie, the highest of high society, was known as the Marlborough House Set. It was through Prince Albert’s Marlborough House Set that many Americans gained access to London society as “here money, amusing personalities, and – for ladies – beauty opened previously closed social doors.”²⁶ Society ladies, American ex-patriots, and friends of Prince Albert, Minnie Stevens Paget and Consuelo

²² Ibid.

²³ Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 76.

²⁴ Ibid., 76-86.

²⁵ Ibid., 63.

²⁶ King, *Season of Splendor*, 381.

Yznaga, Duchess of Manchester, were relied upon to make important introductions in London Society for hopeful American women.²⁷

Access to the royal circles of London society was often motivated by a single goal: to broker an aristocratic marriage. According to King, “By the turn of the century, it had become fashionable to seek aristocratic husbands during these journeys to Europe, men who might be impoverished but who possessed the kind of respectable lineage and proud titles that no amount of American money could buy.”²⁸ Marriage to an American heiress included a substantial monetary gift from the bride’s father to her new European husband. Heralded in the press as an exchange of money for titles, these American brides were termed the “dollar princesses.”²⁹ The dollar princess phenomenon emerged in the 1870s and historian Sven Beckert has counted that “by 1915 there were forty-two American princesses; seventeen duchesses; thirty-three viscountesses; thirty-three marchionesses; forty-six ladies, wives of knights, or baronets; sixty-four baronesses; and one hundred and thirty-six countesses.”³⁰ In his article, “We Are All Americans Now! Anglo-American Marriages in the Later Nineteenth Century,” Richard W. Davis argues that money and titles were not the primary motivation for Anglo-American marriages. Instead he cites shared business interests; increased transatlantic contact made possible by improvements in transportation; and an attraction to English traditions and the English

²⁷ Ibid., 382.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 261.

³⁰ Ibid., 261-262.

landscape as alternative motivations for Anglo-American marriages.³¹ Davis does however note that transatlantic marriages did provide “a means for social ascent” and that “money had always been a critical consideration in aristocratic British marriages, and it remained so.”³² Whatever the motivations behind Anglo-American marriages, it is of interest to note that of the twenty women on the American Ladies Hospital Ship Fund Committee, six were married to landed British aristocrats; one to a powerful British politician; one to an untitled but wealthy British businessman; two to British military officers; and one to a Austrian aristocrat. All married between 1870 and 1915, these women were participants in the “dollar princess” phenomenon.

By marrying foreigners, these American women lost their American citizenship and gained the citizenship status of their husbands.³³ As Candice Lewis Bredbenner explains in her book *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Laws of Citizenship*, “Choice of a spouse was the overriding legislative determinant of a married woman’s citizenship, and assuming her husband’s nationality was an unwritten part of a woman’s nuptial contract.”³⁴ Laws in both the United States and Great Britain worked together to deny transatlantic brides voluntary citizenship. The British Naturalization Act of 1844 stated that any foreign woman married to a British citizen was automatically granted British citizenship.³⁵ Similarly, the American Naturalization Act of 1855 stated

³¹Davis, “ ‘We Are All Americans Now!’ ” 164-169.

³² *Ibid.*, 154, 164.

³³ Bredbenner, *Nationality of Her Own*, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁵ British Parliament, The Naturalisation Act of 1844 (CAP 66), British Nationality, summary, section 3.1, accessed July 22, 2014, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/267913/britnatsummary.pdf.

that any foreign woman married to an American citizen became an American citizen.³⁶ The British Naturalization Act of 1870 went further, stating that any British woman who married a foreign citizen lost her British citizenship.³⁷ The U.S. again followed suit, and in 1907 passed a similar act denying American citizenship to any American woman married to a foreigner.³⁸ Yet these transatlantic brides did not lose their American identity. Even while being denied a political voice, a woman's citizenship status remained significant. Following her return to America during the German occupation of Europe, Consuelo Vanderbilt notes, "And now back in my native land, having regained a citizenship I would have never resigned had the law of my day permitted me to retain it, I look back on a long life under three flags."³⁹

It was in this male-centered environment that the American Ladies Hospital Ship Fund Committee was formed to outfit the *Maine* for service in the Boer War. Despite society's proscribed belief that women should not have a 'public' life, and especially not a political one, the women of the Committee used their connections and their elevated social positions to become directly involved in the international politics of war. They acquired, renovated, staffed, and funded the hospital ship *Maine* during the Boer War to further the friendship between their country of origin and the country they now called home.

³⁶ Bredbenner, *Nationality of Her Own*, 15.

³⁷ British Parliament, The Naturalisation Act of 1870, British Nationality, summary, section 3.3, accessed July 22, 2014, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/267913/britnatsummary.pdf.

³⁸ Bredbenner, *Nationality of Her Own*, 4.

³⁹ Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, xiv.

As previously mentioned, the first, or Christian, names of many of the American women behind the *Maine* effort have until now, remained unknown. In all previous scholarship, the members of the *Maine* Committee have been referred to by their husbands' names. Four members of the committee: Jennie Jerome, Lady Randolph Churchill; Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough; Lily, Duchess of Marlborough; and Mary Endicott Chamberlain, are the exception as biographers have chronicled their transatlantic lives. The task of uncovering the other women's first and maiden names has previously been avoided, perhaps due to its difficult and time-consuming nature. Even in the records of the *Maine* and her voyages, these women are referred to primarily by their husbands' names. The omission of their first names from primary sources stems from the patriarchal nature of the period; Victorian women were expected to show deference to the men in their lives in every way. In her biography of philanthropist Mrs. Russell Sage, Ruth Crocker explains of nineteenth-century women, "their roles in founding institutions and expanding state capacity have remained elusive, in part because their self-representation was often misleading or deliberately self-effacing, but also because they used different institutional settings and social spaces."⁴⁰ Victorian women who were active in the public sphere cloaked their work in terms of domesticity and motherhood, therefore making it seemingly less important than their male counterparts' official public roles.⁴¹ King gives a more direct explanation, yet one still rooted in patriarchy, for the omission of these women's first names. He explains that

⁴⁰ Ruth Crocker, *Mrs. Russell Sage: Activism and Philanthropy in Gilded Age and Progressive America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 2-3, ProQuest Ebrary.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

according to proper etiquette, a society woman “never used her own Christian name while her husband lived.”⁴² The lack of first names in the historical record only serves to perpetuate the omission in secondary scholarship, continuing the patriarchal tradition. Of the twenty American women living in England who organized the *Maine* effort, nineteen of them are introduced in this chapter.⁴³

Lois Marion Miller Van Duzer was originally from Albany, New York. On September 12, 1878 she married Frederick Conkling Van Duzer of Newburg, New York.⁴⁴ F.C. Van Duzer was a Freemason and the Honorable Secretary of the American Society in London.⁴⁵ Although both Americans, they resided in London where Van Duzer’s firm sold American cosmetic products.⁴⁶ The couple had four children: Selah, Lois, Catharine, and Aline.

Lydia Maude Riddle Haldeman was from Middletown, Pennsylvania, and was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She married Donald Carmichael Haldeman, also from Pennsylvania, and the couple resided in London.⁴⁷ Her husband

⁴² King, *Season of Splendor*, 71.

⁴³ Biographical information was not found for Mrs. Taylor, respectively.

⁴⁴ Banta, *Sayre Family*, 413.

⁴⁵ Letter from F. C. Van Duzer to Theodore Roosevelt, February 27, 1903, Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library, Manuscripts Division, The Library of Congress, accessed November 6, 2013, <http://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record.aspx?libID=o40532>.

⁴⁶ Caswell A. Mayo, *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record: A Monthly Illustrated Journal of Practical Pharmacy*, Vol. 62 (New York: American Druggist Publishing Co., 1914), 62-64, digitized by Google Books.

⁴⁷ Gadsby, *Lineage Book*, 92-93.

was the manager for the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York in England and Ireland and the Chairman of the American Society in London.⁴⁸

A descendent of Mayflower passenger John Endicott, Mrs. Ralph Vivian was born Sarah Endicott in Salem, Massachusetts. She was the third wife of Marshall O. Roberts, a successful New York merchant, government contractor, and art collector. Together they had one son, Marshall O. Roberts Jr.⁴⁹ Roberts, Sr. died in 1880, leaving Sarah a substantial fortune. In 1891, she married an Englishman—retired Colonel Ralph Vivian of the Scots Guard. Sarah was quite the hostess. Her New York home on Fifth Avenue “was a social centre” before she married Col. Vivian, and in England, she entertained King Edward VII at her Norfolk home, Houghton Hall.⁵⁰

Mary Alice Palmer was married to Baron Adolf von Andre, an international railroad man and a former Austrian consul to Hong Kong.⁵¹ The couple moved to London in 1882 as von Andre became a financier with his firm André, Mendel and Co. Baroness von Andre was an accomplished golfer and an avid opera fan. She could often

⁴⁸ Letter from F. C. Van Duzer to Theodore Roosevelt, February 27, 1903, Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library; and see also *The Bankers', Insurance Managers', and Agents' Magazine*, Vol. 72 (London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1901), 101-105, digitized by Google Books.

⁴⁹ “Marshall O. Roberts to Wed,” *The New York Times*, March 13, 1903, *New York Times* digital archive; see also, *Mrs. Marshall O. Roberts* (portrait), Print Collection Portrait File, Digital Gallery, New York Public Library, <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?2006405>.

⁵⁰ “Marshall O. Roberts to Wed,” *Times*; and “Marshall O. Roberts Dead,” *The New York Times*, September 12, 1880, *New York Times* digital archive; see also, “King Edward the Guest of Mrs. Ralph Vivian,” *The San Francisco Call*, December 24, 1905, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

⁵¹ Victoria & Albert Museum, “Monsieur Adolf von André (1844-1911), as Benvenuto Cellini,” Lafayette Archive, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://www.rvondeh.dircon.co.uk/incalmprose/andre1.html>.

be seen at Covent Garden in the royal opera box and she and her husband were frequent guests at the British Court.⁵²

Adele Grant of New York married George Devereux de Vere Capell, the Earl of Essex, on December 14, 1893 at St. Margaret's in London.⁵³ Adele made her social debut at a ball held at Delmonico's in New York City, in the fall of 1893. She was a tall and slender brunette with "very beautiful" eyes.⁵⁴ Despite her delicate health, Adele enjoyed cycling and traveling, but was not a skilled motorist.⁵⁵ According to *The Bystander*, "Lady Essex has had several unfortunate motoring mishaps" including, on one occasion injuring a pedestrian.⁵⁶ The Earl and Countess of Essex had two daughters, Lady Iris and Lady Joan.⁵⁷

Prince Albert's favorite hostess, Mary (Minnie) Stevens Paget was the daughter of Paran Stevens, the owner of the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City. Because Stevens' fortune was self-made and Marietta, his wife, was a grocer's daughter, they were not welcomed into fashionable New York society.⁵⁸ The Stevens belonged to the group of newly wealthy society hopefuls deemed "parvenus, climbers, crashers, or arrivistes" by established members of New York society.⁵⁹ When her husband died in

⁵² Victoria & Albert Museum, "Madame von André, née Mary Alice Palmer, later Baroness Wedel Jarlsberg (1859-1941), as Desdemona," Lafayette Archive, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://www.rvondeh.dircon.co.uk/incalmprose/andre2.html>.

⁵³ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 335.

⁵⁴ "Essex – Grant," *The Illustrated American* 14, no. 26 (December, 1893): 754, digitized by Google Books.

⁵⁵ "Lady Essex," *The Bystander: An Illustrated Weekly Devoted to Travel, Literature, Art, the Drama, Progress, Locomotion* 7, no. 95 (September 27, 1905): 638, digitized by Google Books.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ "Personal and Otherwise," *The New York Times*, October 8 1905, *New York Times* digital archives.

⁵⁸ King, *Season of Splendor*, 118.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

1872, Marietta took Minnie to Europe, hoping to conquer society abroad. Minnie did well in Europe, receiving at least four marriage proposals. In 1878, she married Captain Arthur Paget, who would later be knighted by King Edward VII.⁶⁰ As a friend remembers, she had “quick wit and worldly standards” and was “considered handsome.”⁶¹ Prince Albert favored Minnie and she became a prominent figure in the Marlborough House Set.⁶² Minnie also helped other American heiresses by sponsoring their introduction to London society, as she did for seventeen year old Consuelo Vanderbilt.⁶³

A woman of extravagant taste, Cornelia Sherman Bradley-Martin inherited \$7 million dollars from her father, a prominent New York merchant.⁶⁴ In 1869, she married Bradley Martin, a banker from Troy, New York.⁶⁵ Cornelia was a short, stout woman with piercing blue eyes and was considered somewhat of a snob by those who knew her.⁶⁶ King writes, “One of the largest and most impressive of all jewelry collections was that of Mrs. Cornelia Sherman Bradley-Martin.”⁶⁷ She had an extensive collection of diamonds and precious jewels, including a number of pieces of the French Crown Jewels, one of which was a diamond and ruby necklace worth \$75,000 that supposedly belonged to Marie Antoinette.⁶⁸ After their daughter’s marriage in 1893, the Bradley-Martins spent

⁶⁰ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 44-45.

⁶¹ Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 32.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 86-88.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, and King, *Season of Splendor*, 119; see also Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 32..

⁶⁴ King, *Season of Splendor*, 225.

⁶⁵ McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, 4.

⁶⁶ King, *Season of Splendor*, 374, 225.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 226.

considerably more time abroad at their estate in Scotland and their London home.⁶⁹ It was during this time that their last name “Martin” was hyphenated and became “Bradley-Martin,” presumably because it sounded more aristocratic.⁷⁰ In the winter of 1897, the Bradley-Martins returned to New York to throw a magnificent costume ball at the Waldorf Hotel. New York was in the midst of an economic depression that had left many unemployed. Although Cornelia insisted her ball would boost the economy, the cost and extravagance of the event made it the center of public criticism and controversy.⁷¹ The ball cost an estimated \$369,000 and afterward, city officials significantly increased the Bradley-Martin’s property taxes. This, coupled with heavy and widespread criticism, spurred the couple into what McGerr has called “a self-imposed exile.” They sold their Fifth Avenue home and settled in London, permanently.⁷²

The only daughter of a North Carolina planter, Meeta Armistead Capehart married Thomas Littlejohn Feild, also a native of North Carolina, on February 10, 1891.⁷³ In *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, Meeta is described as “one of the most noted belles and beauties of North Carolina. . . . She is petite, with delicately carved features, absolutely perfect in contour, dark eyes heavily fringed, and a complexion of creamy

⁶⁹ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 266. Although not involved in the *Maine* effort, their daughter, Cornelia Martin, married into the English aristocracy. Heiress to her father’s large fortune, Cornelia married the Earl of Craven in April 1893, thus becoming a “dollar princess.”

⁷⁰ King, *Season of Splendor*, 225.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 371-372.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 375; and McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, 6.

⁷³ “Armistead Family Tree,” Sally’s Family Place, accessed July 9, 2014, <http://www.sallysfamilyplace.com/Rayner/armistead2.htm>; see also, Mrs. Virginia Armistead Garber, *The Armistead Family: 1635-1910* (Richmond, VA: Whittet and Shipperson, 1910), 247, digitized by Google Books.

fairness.”⁷⁴ Due to business interests in the Baltimore Shipping Exchange, Feild had long been a resident of London and the couple continued to reside there into the 1930s. He was a founding member of the American Club and, like the husbands of Committee members Lois VanDuzer and Lydia Haldeman, he was also member of the American Society in London.⁷⁵ Thomas and Meeta had two sons, Armistead Littlejohn Feild and Robert Durant Feild, who despite the citizenship of their parents, both elected to be British citizens and enlisted in the British Army at the outbreak of World War I.⁷⁶

Founder of the American Women’s Club of London, Carrie Louise Blackall Griffin was born in Chicago, the only daughter of William Wells Beach. After spending the first five years of her life in Chicago, her family moved to Waterbury, Connecticut, but she received her education in New York and Germany.⁷⁷ She married Hugh Reid Griffin, from Rochester, New York and together, they had two daughters.⁷⁸ Griffin sold American harvesting machinery in Europe and the couple lived in London over twenty years, before moving to Paris.⁷⁹ In 1898, Carrie was appointed Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution with the hopes of establishing a London chapter. Instead,

⁷⁴ “Mrs. Thomas L. Field,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* 72, no. 1862 (May 23, 1891): 266, digitized by Google Books.

⁷⁵ “Thomas L. Field,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1937, 25, *New York Times* digital archive.

⁷⁶ “A Link Between North Carolina and the Battle-Fronts of Europe,” *The State Journal*, February 23, 1917, 10, accessed on July 9, 2014, <http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/56206916/>.

⁷⁷ “About Mrs. Hugh Reid Griffin,” AWC Archives, 1; see also “Women’s World: A Club For Women,” *The Minneapolis Journal*, May 17, 1901, 11, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

⁷⁸ “About Mrs. Hugh Reid Griffin,” AWC Archives, 1-2.

⁷⁹ “Women’s World: A Club For Women,” *Minneapolis Journal*; and Thomas Stirton, “Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at York,” *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 3rd series, vol. 11, 474, digitized by Google Books; see also “Brief Submitted by Hugh Reid Griffin, European Manager of the Johnston Harvester Co., Batavia, N.Y.,” *Tariff Hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives*, Sixtieth Congress, 1908-1909, Schedule N: Sundries, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 7312-7313, digitized by Google Books.

Carrie created a club for American women who lived in England. The Society of American Women in London (later called the American Women's Club of London) was founded in May of 1899, with Carrie as its first president.⁸⁰ According to the *Minneapolis Journal*, Carrie had "a beautiful personality and a charm of manner which creates a social atmosphere in which everyone is seen at her best."⁸¹ The AWC was involved in the *Maine* effort; many members of the Hospital Ship Fund Committee were also members of the AWC. Carrie herself managed the ways and means for the Committee in its fundraising efforts.⁸²

Texas ranching woman, Cornelia Wadsworth Ritchie Adair was born in Philadelphia on April 6, 1837. She was the daughter of well respected Civil War General James Wadsworth, who fought and died for the Union at the Battle of the Wilderness.⁸³ She spent her formative years in New York, England and France. Her first husband, Montgomery Ritchie, died in 1864.⁸⁴ Five years later, in 1869, she married her second husband, John G. Adair, an English aristocrat with extensive estates in both England and Ireland. Adair was also a businessman, brokering loans in America through English banks.⁸⁵ In 1877, Adair and Charles Goodnight purchased the JA Ranch in the Texas

⁸⁰ Mrs. Hugh Reid Griffin, "The History of the First Five Years of the American Women's Club, London," *The American Women's Club Magazine*, 8, AWC Archives.

⁸¹ "Women's World: A Club For Women," *Minneapolis Journal*.

⁸² Griffin, "The History of the First Five Years," 9; and "Early Years: 1899-1916," *History of the American Women's Club of London*, AWC Archives, 3-5.

⁸³ Nancy Baker Jones, "Adair, Cornelia Wadsworth," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, accessed November 22, 2013, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fad02>; and Cornelia Adair, "American Hospital Ship 'Maine,' Under the Red Cross," 3, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁸⁴ Jones, "Adair, Cornelia Wadsworth."

⁸⁵ H. Allen Anderson, "Adair John George," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, accessed November 23, 2013, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fad03>.

Panhandle. When her husband died in 1885, Cornelia became Goodnight's partner and in 1887, she bought Goodnight's interest and became the sole owner of the JA Ranch.⁸⁶ Although Cornelia kept a home near the ranch in Clarendon, Texas, she spent most of her time abroad in England and Ireland. Still, she funded the Adair Hospital and the first YMCA in Clarendon, and supported the Boy Scouts.⁸⁷ Cornelia was Vice-Chairmen of the *Maine* Committee and her business acuity was celebrated as an asset. A many times reprinted article from the *New York Herald* writes, Mrs. Adair "owns the largest cattle ranch in the Texas Panhandle. The energy with which she manages this property she is now devoting to the *Maine*."⁸⁸

Mary Frances Cater Ronalds was born in Boston in 1840. In 1859, she married Pierre Lorillard Ronalds and they spent much of their time in Europe.⁸⁹ Together they had four children, one of whom preceded them in death. Fanny and Pierre were separated in 1867, making her somewhat of an outsider in New York society.⁹⁰ After their separation, Fanny became a singer and actress at the Jerome Theater, a private theater belonging to Leonard Jerome, father of the future Lady Randolph Churchill.⁹¹ She and Jerome began a love affair and Fanny developed close relationships with his three daughters, taking them ice skating, having them for tea, and giving them private

⁸⁶ Jones, "Adair, Cornelia Wadsworth."

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "'The Concert,' Organized by Mrs. Hugo de Bath, In Aid of the Hospital Ship Fund for South Africa," Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁸⁹ "Mrs. Pierre L. Ronalds Dead," *The New York Times*, June 4, 1910, *New York Times* digital archive.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 27.

singing lessons.⁹² Jerome was not the last person Fanny would romance; she had affairs with August Belmont, Arthur Sullivan, and the Duke of Edinburgh.⁹³ She moved permanently to London in the early 1870's to No. 7 Cadogan Place, where her Sunday afternoon musical entertainments were a great success and where King Edward was often a guest.⁹⁴ Fanny was the honorable treasurer for the *Maine* Committee; all donations went directly to her.⁹⁵ She participated in a variety of charity work and was described by Princess Louise as "one of the kindest and most unselfish of women."⁹⁶ She was awarded the Royal Cross for her work with the Red Cross and was named a Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem for her generosity.⁹⁷

The flower of New York society, Consuelo Vanderbilt was born in 1877, the first child of William K. and Alva Vanderbilt.⁹⁸ Her mother, Alva, was controlling and demanding, dictating every moment of Consuelo's childhood. Consuelo was pushed into a marriage of convenience by her mother, despite the fact that she loved another.⁹⁹ According to her, she spent the moments before the wedding ceremony, "in tears and alone."¹⁰⁰ On November 6, 1895, Consuelo Vanderbilt married Charles Richard John Spencer-Churchill, the 9th Duke of Marlborough. She was now the mistress of Blenheim

⁹² Ibid., 28.

⁹³ Ibid., 361.

⁹⁴ "Mrs. Pierre L. Ronalds Dead," *Times*, and MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 361.

⁹⁵ "The American Hospital Ship: Completing Arrangements," *The London Globe*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁹⁶ "Funeral of Mrs. Ronalds," *The New York Times*, August 3, 1916, *New York Times* digital archive.

⁹⁷ Ibid., and "The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England," *The London Gazette*, Friday, July 5, 1901.

⁹⁸ King, *Season of Splendor*, 57.

⁹⁹ Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 5-11, 35, 39-45.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 45.

Palace.¹⁰¹ Together Consuelo and Sunny, as her husband was called, had two sons, the first called Blandford (whose full name was Albert Edward William John) and the second, Ivor.¹⁰² Consuelo and Sunny's marriage was not a happy one; she attempted to give her ritualistic life significance with charity work and he resented these attempts as too independent.¹⁰³ When the Boer War broke out, her husband was sent with Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief, to South Africa.¹⁰⁴ Sunny and Consuelo were legally separated in 1906, and because "in Edwardian circles divorce or separation was not recognized as a solution for marital discord," they were no longer welcomed at Court.¹⁰⁵ It was not until 1920 that they were able to secure a divorce.¹⁰⁶ After the separation, Consuelo found happiness in philanthropy, supporting numerous causes such as the rehabilitation of first offenders, a home for working girls, employment and housing for prisoners' wives, women's education, and others.¹⁰⁷ In 1919, she ran and was elected to a position on the London County Council.¹⁰⁸ According to Consuelo, her political and philanthropic work gave her life "a meaning it had hitherto lacked."¹⁰⁹ In 1921, she married Frenchman, Jaques Balsan and together, they continued to use their resources for the benefit of those less fortunate.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 353.

¹⁰² Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 104-106.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 158-159.

¹⁰⁶ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 312.

¹⁰⁷ Balsan, *Glitter and the Gold*, 159-162, 190-191.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 191-194.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 203.

The three Jerome sisters – Clara, Jennie, and Leonie – were all members of the *Maine* Committee and were all married to Englishmen. Clara, the eldest, was named after her mother, Clarissa who was the sole heiress of an old New York Family. Their father, Leonard, was a Wall Street speculator who made and lost three separate fortunes.¹¹¹ Clara Jerome was blonde and had blue eyes. Her mother had taken her daughters abroad in the 1860s and Clara made her social debut in Paris at the Court of Napoleon III. Due to the war between France and Prussia, the Jerome women made their way to England in 1870.¹¹² In 1881, Clara married Moreton Frewen, an untitled second son of an old Sussex family. He invested in a series of unsuccessful business ventures, always looking to making his fortune, and the family encountered one financial crisis after another.¹¹³ Like the Adairs, Frewen owned a cattle ranch in Wyoming and maintained a home there called the “Castle.”¹¹⁴ They supplemented their income by leasing their Irish estate Innishannon.¹¹⁵ Despite their financial troubles, it appears the Clara and Moreton were happy together and remained faithful to one another.¹¹⁶ They had three children, Hugh, Clare and Oswald.¹¹⁷

Much has been written about Jennie, the middle Jerome sister. She met her husband, Lord Randolph Churchill at the first ball she attended in England at the Royal Yacht Squadron Castle in 1873. It was here that she also met Prince Albert, who would

¹¹¹ Elisabeth Kehoe, *The Titled Americans: Three American Sisters and the British Aristocratic World into Which They Married* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004), xx.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid., xxi, 201, 210 and MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 337.

¹¹⁴ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 123-124.

¹¹⁵ Kehoe, *Titled Americans*, 209.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 221-222.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., xxi.

be a lifelong friend.¹¹⁸ Within three days of meeting, Jennie and Lord Randolph were engaged. His parents were angry and hers were shocked.¹¹⁹ Prince Albert spoke to the Churchills on Jennie's behalf and they finally agreed to let them marry, but only after Lord Randolph had been elected to Parliament.¹²⁰ In 1874, Lord Randolph was elected to the House of Commons, and in April of that same year Jennie and Randolph were married in Paris.¹²¹ In the wedding settlement, Leonard Jerome agreed to give the couple £50,000 or £2,000 annually. He also gave Jennie her own allowance of £1,000 annually which greatly angered Randolph's lawyers because according to English custom, wives were to be totally dependent on their husbands.¹²² Lord Randolph was a skilled politician and orator, and Jennie learned much from him about English politics.¹²³ The couple had two sons, Winston, who would later be Prime Minister, and John, who was called Jack.

Lord Randolph died in 1895 following a long struggle with syphilis.¹²⁴ Jennie, or Lady Churchill, stayed active in both British society and politics. During the Venezuelan Crisis in 1895, she used her influence to persuade her powerful friends of the validity of the American position.¹²⁵ She began publishing a Review titled the *Anglo-Saxon Review*, a quarterly magazine designed to appeal to English-speaking peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.¹²⁶ Only ten volumes were printed due to publishing troubles and the high price

¹¹⁸ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 30.

¹¹⁹ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 38-39.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 42 and *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Lord Randolph Churchill", accessed November 24, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/117261/Lord-Randolph-Churchill>.

¹²² MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 39-40, 42.

¹²³ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 35-37.

¹²⁴ Kehoe, *Titled Americans*, xxi, and Martin, *Jennie*, 1.

¹²⁵ Kehoe, *Titled Americans*, 200.

¹²⁶ Martin, *Jennie*, 163.

of five dollars an issue.¹²⁷ In 1900, she married George Cornwallis-West, a much younger man, and divorced him in 1913. She married a third time in 1918, again to a man much younger than herself, Montagu Porch.¹²⁸ Jennie had both a dynamic personality and determination. Biographer Ralph Martin writes, “This was part of the reason for her effectiveness in political campaigns, in fund-raising, in organizing. She had more than charisma; there was a kind of radiation from within her so full of warmth and sincerity that it reached almost everyone she met.”¹²⁹ Jennie put her connections and force of personality to good use as Chairman of the *Maine* Committee.

The youngest Jerome sister, Leonie, was married to Sir John Leslie on October 3, 1884.¹³⁰ John Leslie was the first-born son of a wealthy Anglo-Irish family, whose family estate, Castle Leslie, was eventually inherited by John and Leonie.¹³¹ Of the three sisters, Leonie was known as “the witty” one.¹³² She spent the social season in Ireland, and the rest of the year in her house in London, which was right down the street from both Jennie’s and Clara’s homes.¹³³ Leonie was very close friends with Arthur, the Duke of Connaught (son of Queen Victoria) and likely his lover. The two travelled together to Egypt and India.¹³⁴ Leslie, like many other Englishmen, was sent to South Africa with his

¹²⁷ Ibid., 164, 261-263, 283.

¹²⁸ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 337.

¹²⁹ Martin, *Jennie*, 4.

¹³⁰ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 338.

¹³¹ Ibid., and Kehoe, *Titled Americans*, xxi-xxii.

¹³² MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 309.

¹³³ Ibid., 363, and Kehoe, *Titled Americans*, xxii.

¹³⁴ Kehoe, *Titled Americans*, xxii.

regiment during the Boer War.¹³⁵ John and Leonie had four sons, Norman, Seymour, Lionel, and Shane, who became a renowned author.¹³⁶

Jennie Matteson Goodell was born in Denver, Colorado to General Roswell E. Goodell and Mary Matteson.¹³⁷ Jennie's impressive American lineage gained her membership to the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Mayflower Society, and the United States Daughters of 1812.¹³⁸ In 1885, she married Albert Allmand Blow, originally from Virginia, but his mining interests lead him to Colorado.¹³⁹ In 1896, Albert's business interests took them first to London and then to the Transvaal in South Africa. There, he managed the Sheba Gold Mining Co., until the Boer War broke out, moving the couple back to London.¹⁴⁰ It was Jennie, who first suggested the creation of an American Hospital Ship to serve the British soldiers fighting in South Africa.¹⁴¹ For her part in the *Maine* effort, Queen Victoria awarded her the Lady of Grace Order of St. John. Jennie and Albert had two sons, George and Allmand, and they moved back to the U.S. in 1904.¹⁴²

A New Yorker, Eliza Warren Price (called Lily) was born in the Empire State's leading city on June 10, 1854 to naval officer Cicero Price and his wife Elizabeth Paine Price. As a child, Lily spent her time in Troy, New York and Washington D.C. and as a

¹³⁵ Ibid., 211.

¹³⁶ Ibid., xxi.

¹³⁷ *Sketches of Colorado in Four Volumes: Being An Analytical Summary and Biographical History of the State of Colorado*, vol. 1 (Denver: The Western Press Bureau Company, 1911), 282, digitized by Google Books.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ "Albert Allmand Blow," *Engineering and Mining Journal* 105, no. 3 (January 19, 1918): 152, digitized by Google Books.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 308.

¹⁴² "Albert Allmand Blow," *Engineering*, 153.

young woman she resided in Washington with her aunt and uncle. She was very well educated, tutored in mathematics, composition, history and French.¹⁴³ She married Louis Carre Hamersley in November of 1879 and upon his death in 1883, Lily inherited a large real estate fortune.¹⁴⁴ Her generous inheritance made her an attractive catch, at least the Duke of Marlborough thought so. Lily and the Duke were married on June 29, 1888 and Lily became “the highest ranking American woman in England.”¹⁴⁵ Interestingly, the Duke of Marlborough was Lord Randolph Churchill’s older brother, and Lily and Jennie became fast friends.¹⁴⁶ Because of the Duke’s soiled reputation (he was a notorious womanizer and had divorced his first wife), Lily was largely excluded from London society so she turned her efforts to improving Blenheim, the Marlborough ancestral home.¹⁴⁷ Lily almost always dressed in white. She was an excellent croquet player, enjoyed salmon fishing, and won awards for her prize Blenheim spaniels. She also was involved in various charitable activities and was determined to improve the lives of Blenheim tenants.¹⁴⁸ According to her biographer, Sally E. Svenson, evidence suggests that Lily was addicted to opium, the main ingredient in laudanum and many other medicines used in this period.¹⁴⁹

In November 1892, the Duke unexpectedly died from heart failure, and Lily was widowed once again. She was married a third and final time to Lord William Beresford,

¹⁴³ Svenson, *Lily, Duchess of Marlborough*, 5-6,11, 16, 20-21.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 32, 46, 48-50.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 133-135, 138-139, 153, 154-155.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 18, 142, 206.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 130-131

a decorated war hero, in April 1895. Lily gave birth to her only child, William Warren Beresford on February 4, 1897 when she was forty-two years old.¹⁵⁰ Lily was widowed a third time, when Lord Beresford passed away in December 1900. Despite her third marriage, Lily continued to be called Lily, Duchess of Marlborough, throughout her life and she maintained ties with her Marlborough/Churchill family, with one exception. She and Sunny, the Duke's eldest son and husband of Consuelo Vanderbilt, had a rapidly deteriorating relationship after the death of his father.¹⁵¹ It seems that Lily and Consuelo understood the importance of the hospital ship *Maine* and put aside their differences for the effort.

Originally from Ithaca, New York, Rita Carr Mack married John Walter Earle on April 17, 1879. Ten years later, Earle's work for the Remington Typewriter Company took him abroad and the couple moved to London.¹⁵² Like the husbands of Lois Van Duzer, Lydia Haldeman, and Meeta Feild, John Earle was a founding member of the American Society of London. He also brought America's favorite pastime to Great Britain as co-founder and vice-president of the London Baseball Association.¹⁵³ Together the Earle's had three sons: Charles, Harold, and Donald. The couple returned to Ithaca in 1902.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 180, 211, 217, 234-235.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 253, 221, 230-233, 250-252.

¹⁵² W.F. Brainard, *Who's Who in New York City and State: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporaries*, 5th ed. (Brooklyn, NY: Press of WM. G. Hewitt, 1911), 297, digitized by Google Books.

¹⁵³ R. G. Knowles and Richard Morton, *The "Oval" Series of Games: Baseball* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1896), 66-67, digitized by Google Books. See also, "Obituary: J. Walter Earle '73," *Cornell Alumni News* 18, no. 38 (June 29, 1916): 457, accessed October 8, 2014, file:///C:/Users/owner/Downloads/018_38.pdf.

Finally, Mary Endicott Chamberlain was born on March 15th 1864, in Salem, Massachusetts. Her father, Judge William Endicott, served as Secretary of War in the Cleveland Administration.¹⁵⁴ Mary was “high-spirited and intelligent” and also “a bit of a tomboy.”¹⁵⁵ Her mother and grandmother spent their time teaching Mary how to be a lady. As a girl, she spent many days in her father’s office “listening to his talk with legal and political friends,” which began to prepare her for her future in English politics.¹⁵⁶ Mary first met her husband, Joseph Chamberlain, when he came to Washington as Chief Plenipotentiary for the British-American Fisheries Conference in 1887.¹⁵⁷ They were married in November 1888. Chamberlain was twenty-eight years her senior; he was twice widowed and the father of six.¹⁵⁸ In June of 1895, Chamberlain was named Colonial Secretary under Prime Minister Salisbury. Mary took a genuine interest in her husband’s political career. She entertained important guests; she almost always accompanied him when he spoke in public; and she traveled with him to England’s many colonies.¹⁵⁹ That same year, Mary joined the executive committee of the Colonial Nursing Association (CNA). She focused her efforts primarily on raising funds and by 1898, she had raised £5,000 for the CNA.¹⁶⁰ Because Chamberlain was the British Colonial Secretary, the outbreak of the Boer War was personal for Mary. She joined

¹⁵⁴ Diana Whitehall Laing, *Mistress of Herself* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishers, 1965), 18,33; see also, Dana Cooper, “From New England to Old England: The Anglo-American Life of Mary Endicott Chamberlain Carnegie, 1864-1957,” *Massachusetts Historical Review* 13 (2011): 96-125.

¹⁵⁵ Laing, 21.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 14-15, 35-36.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14, 55-57.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 78 and Cooper, 110-111.

¹⁶⁰ Laing, 98-99.

Lady Randolph Churchill on the *Maine* project and was invited to Windsor Castle by Queen Victoria to discuss the hospital ship effort.¹⁶¹ After the War was over, the Chamberlains visited the British holdings in South Africa on a special trip designed to bring reconciliation between Boers and British residents in the region.¹⁶²

Though by no means exhaustive, these brief biographies give a unique understanding of the women on the *Maine* Committee as individuals. Hilda Smith warns historians of approaching women as a homogeneous group instead as individual people. She writes, “When women are lumped together as a unit, while men are studied both as individuals and members of groups, historians come to view men as historical actors and women as a group which merely reacts to historical events.”¹⁶³ With this charge in mind, and in the hopes of keeping them from becoming abstract, members of the Committee were examined first as individuals, before an examination of their accomplishments as a group.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 128.

¹⁶² Ibid., 150-167.

¹⁶³ Hilda L. Smith, quoted in Edward P. Crapol, “Introduction,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*, ed. Edward P. Crapol (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1992), xi.

CHAPTER III
TO DISPATCH IMMEDIATELY A SUITABLE HOSPITAL SHIP

After the outbreak of the Boer War on October 11, 1899, Lady Randolph Churchill (Jennie Jerome) was approached by Mrs. Jennie Blow, wife of the manager of the Great Sheba Mine in South Africa.¹ Mrs. Blow wanted Lady Churchill to organize an effort to send an American hospital ship to South Africa. At first Jennie was skeptical. She writes, "I confess the scheme did not strike me as very practical, and for some days I gave it no thought."² She then discussed the idea with Sir William Garstin, and he convinced her that she would be "making history." After hearing this, Jennie "made up my mind to do it."³

On October 25, 1899 the first meeting of the American Ladies Hospital Ship Fund Committee was held in her home.⁴ The committee was comprised of American women currently living in England, some of whom were connected to very influential British men. Lady Jennie Churchill served as chairman; Mrs. Cornelia Adair served as vice-chairman, Mrs. Fanny Ronalds; served as treasurer; and Mrs. Jennie Blow served as honorary secretary.⁵ During that first meeting the committee resolved:

¹ M. Eugenie Hibbard, "With the Maine to South Africa (continued)," *The American Journal of Nursing* 1, no. 5 (February 1901): 319.

² Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 396.

³ *Ibid.*, 396-399.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁵ *Ibid.*

That the American women in Great Britain, whilst deploring the necessity for war, shall endeavor to raise, among their compatriots, here and in America, a fund for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers and refugees in South Africa. It is proposed to dispatch immediately a suitable hospital ship, fully equipped with medical stores and provisions, to accommodate 200 people, with a staff of four doctors, five nurses, and forty non-commissioned officers and orderlies.

To carry the above resolution into effect, the sum of \$150,000 (£30,000) will be required.⁶

At once, the Committee organized a series of fundraisers, both in the United States and in Great Britain. Jennie Churchill describes the Committee's fundraising efforts, "concerts, matinees, and entertainments of all kinds were arranged. . . . Cheques and donations from 2s. to £1,000 were given to us by private individuals, whose generosity seemed to know no bounds."⁷ A benefit at Claridge's Hotel starring American entertainers and hosted by Mrs. Brown Potter, was advertised in the *New York Times*.⁸ Another was held at Sherry's in New York, "featuring a variety of entertainment, as well as an 'American Bar,'" and still others at the Hotel Cecil and Hotel Carlton.⁹ According to an article in the *London Globe*, the American community in Paris "joined hands with that in London in helping forward the scheme."¹⁰ To encourage further donations, the *New York Herald* published donor names and amounts given.¹¹ Even Barnum and Bailey donated a circus performance to raise funds for the *Maine*.¹² Consuelo Vanderbilt,

⁶ Ibid., 400.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "The Hospital Ship Maine: Lady Randolph Churchill May Go to the Cape," *New York Times*, November 5, 1899, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹ Martin, *Jennie*, 206 and Peregrine Churchill and Julian Mitchell, *Jennie, Lady Randolph Churchill: A Portrait with Letters* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), 161.

¹⁰ "The American Hospital Ship, Completing Arrangements," *The London Globe*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Churchill and Mitchell, *A Portrait*, 161.

Duchess of Marlborough, traveled to Rome and held “entertainment there for the benefit of the Maine, to which the King and Queen of Italy have promised to go.”¹³ The Committee’s Honorary Treasurer, Mrs. Ronalds, “raffled a diamond and moonstone pendant.”¹⁴ Their tremendous effort paid off; although their initial goal was to raise £30,000, within two months time they raised had £41,597.

The hospital ship *Maine* was originally a cattle ship belonging to the Atlantic Transport Line. The Line donated the ship to the British Admiralty for “service during the South African War in a spirit of splendid generosity” reflecting that of the British during the Spanish-American War.¹⁵ When Bernard Baker, president of the Atlantic Transport Line heard about the American Ladies Committee, he requested that the Admiralty give the ship over to them, which they did.¹⁶ Baker additionally offered to pay for the maintenance of the ship’s crew of 44 men led by Captain Stone, an amount equaling \$15,000 to \$20,000 each month.¹⁷ The American Ladies Committee worked tirelessly to turn the cattle ship, reaching a length of three hundred and fifteen feet, into a proper hospital.¹⁸ In converting the ship, the Committee was at a loss, as “there was no precedent that one could go upon in England of a properly constituted floating hospital

¹³ “The Maine Doing Good Work,” *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1900, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁴ Churchill and Mitchell, *A Portrait*, 161.

¹⁵ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 319.

¹⁶ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 401.

¹⁷ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 319 and “The American Hospital Ship – Completing Arrangements,” *London Globe*, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers.

¹⁸ Major Julian M. Cabell, M.D., “Report as Chief Medical Officer of the Hospital Ship Maine”, addressed to Elisabeth Mills Reid and dated May 30, 1900, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

for war times.”¹⁹ The Committee was assisted by the men of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, on loan from the Army and Red Cross Medical Department, and the Atlantic Transport Company which had outfitted the *Missouri* in the same way during the Spanish-American War.²⁰ Members of the Committee were in constant contact with the War Office and the Admiralty: “Would they supply us with this? Would they guarantee us that? We would not take No as an answer.”²¹ As they prepared for the *Maine*’s maiden voyage, the Committee met almost daily. Jennie remembers, “The daily accounts of horrors and sufferings only doubled our activity. We had not time for tears. . . . The *Maine* committee worked with such will and fire that they carried all before them.”²²

The *Maine* was refitted as a hospital ship by Messrs. Fletcher, Son & Fearnall Ltd. of London.²³ When the renovations were finished, the *Maine* had two brand new decks, a promenade, an operating room, and five wards named ‘Whitelaw Reid,’ ‘Britannia,’ ‘Bernard Baker,’ ‘Columbia,’ and ‘Committee.’ According to the superintending nurse, M. Eugenie Hibbard, “are all painted a light green and are bright and cheerful.”²⁴ Together the wards contained one hundred and seventy-five beds “of white enamelled iron run in rows lengthwise of the ship and are provided with sliding bed-trays, head-rests, and pulleys extending from the ceiling, by means of which a patient can easily change his position.”²⁵ Above each bed hung the name of its American donor,

¹⁹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 402.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 403.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 96.

²⁴ Hibbard, “With the *Maine*,” No. 5, 320-321.

²⁵ Hibbard, “With the *Maine*,” No. 5, 321.

considered by a New York paper to be “men and women with sympathies broad enough to stretch forth into the unknown for the unknown.”²⁶ Each ward was connected to the promenade deck by an elevator, had its own bathroom, electric lights, and was stocked with medical supplies and linens.²⁷ The *Maine* was also equipped with an operating room, described by the Chief Medical Officer on board as “large and remarkably well fitted in every way.”²⁸ The Whitelaw Reid ward was connected to the operating room and “some of the most serious surgical cases were admitted to this ward.”²⁹ Just as many were contributing funds to the *Maine* effort, others donated needed material items. Hibbard remembers, “With the exception of the linen store the supplies are nearly all contributions, and include not only necessities, but many luxuries for the sick and wounded.”³⁰ Perhaps the most prized donation was the “Roentgen-Ray apparatus” described by a London paper as “the finest we have so far seen.”³¹

The *Maine*’s medical staff, which the Committee insisted must be American, was chosen by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid. Elisabeth Mills Reid was born in New York City on January 6, 1858. She was the daughter of Darius Ogden Mills who made his large fortune in mining interests in California and Elisabeth spent much of her childhood in

²⁶ Eleanor Kinnicutt, Narrative of the *Maine* for the Associated Press of New York, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²⁷ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 321.

²⁸ Cabell, “Report as Chief Medical Officer,” May 30, 1900, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 321.

³¹ Ibid. The Roentgen-Ray Apparatus is an early form of X-ray machine developed by Rector Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen in 1895. For more, see Alexi Assmus, “Early History of X-Rays,” *Beam Line* (Summer 1995), accessed March 14, 2014, <http://www.slac.stanford.edu/pubs/beamline/25/2/25-2-assmus.pdf>.

San Francisco.³² In April of 1881, she married Whitelaw Reid, the owner and chief editor of the *New York Tribune* and a man with significant political connections. He served as the U.S. Minister to France from 1889-1892 and the U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain from 1905-1912.³³ Elisabeth was a dedicated philanthropist and had a strong interest in nursing. As secretary of the New York chapter of the American Red Cross during the Spanish-American War, she convinced President McKinley to utilize six hundred Red Cross nurses in the Philippines and Cuba.³⁴ Elisabeth served on the board of the Mills Training School for Male Nurses at Bellevue Hospital and she funded the building of several hospitals throughout the U.S.³⁵ Because of her experience with nursing and the Red Cross, Elisabeth was asked by the Committee to select the medical staff for the *Maine*.³⁶ She continued her work with Red Cross nurses, supporting the American Red Cross and the Red Cross in England and France during the First World War.³⁷

Employing American nurses for work on a British ship violated official War Office policy which only allowed for nurses that graduated from a British nursing school. Fortunately, Lady Churchill was well connected. According to Richard J. Kahn, Lady Churchill “negotiated an agreement with the British government giving the committee of

³² Raymond S. Milowski, “Reid, Elisabeth Mills (Jan. 6, 1858 – Apr. 29, 1931),” in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, Radcliffe College, 1971, *Credo Reference Online*, accessed April 24, 2013, http://ezproxy.twu.edu:2134/entry/hupnawi/reid_elisabeth_mills_jan_6_1858_apr_29_1931. See also, Bingham Duncan, *Whitelaw Reid: Journalist, Politician, Diplomat* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1975).

³³ Milowski, “Reid, Elisabeth Mills.”

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 119.

³⁷ Milowski, “Reid, Elisabeth Mills.”

the American Hospital Ship *Maine* Fund ‘unusual privileges’ including permission to select a medical and nursing staff of American graduates.”³⁸ Chosen for the *Maine*, were four female nurses called ‘sisters,’ eleven male nurses, and M. Eugenie Hibbard as nursing superintendent.³⁹ Hibbard praised Mrs. Whitelaw Reid’s ability in selecting the staff. She writes, “The service rendered by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid during the Spanish-American War was of inestimable value, and in securing her sympathy and cooperation the committee were to be congratulated.”⁴⁰

A Canadian, Mary Eugenie Hibbard was born in Quebec Province, on July 5, 1856. She was the fifth child of eight to parents Ashley Hibbard and Sarah Perry Hibbard.⁴¹ Mary attended the Mack Training School for nurses in 1884-1886. During this time she became known as Eugenie.⁴² While there, she met Princess Louise, Queen Victoria’s eldest daughter, who was the patroness for the school.⁴³ Upon her graduation she became Lady Superintendent of the Mack Training School for nurses, serving until 1887.⁴⁴ She then became the Principal of the Training School at Grace Hospital in Detroit when it opened in 1889.⁴⁵ She left Grace Hospital in 1893 and was elected to the

³⁸ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 119.

³⁹ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 320 and Phyllis Foster Healy, “Mary Eugenie Hibbard: Nurse, Gentlewoman, and Patriot,” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin: UMI Dissertation Publishing, 1990), 157, ProQuest. The female nurses were: Miss Virginia Ludekins, Miss Jennie A. Manly, Miss Margaret J. MacPherson, and Miss Sara MacVeau. The male nurses were: Charles S. Austin, Victor C. Bates, A.H. Chapman, Ralph W. Ellsworth, Leon M. Howard, W.C. Cruder, Charles Nast, John M. McClintock, John J. Reilly, W.B. Ruth, and Archibald Gillies.

⁴⁰ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 320.

⁴¹ Healy, “Mary Eugenie Hibbard,” 22, 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 30, 66-68.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 83, 89.

American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools in 1896.⁴⁶ Hibbard was working in New Jersey, when the Spanish-American War erupted and she responded to an urgent call for Army nurses. Although she only intended to stay for a period of two weeks, she remained stationed in Florida for months.⁴⁷ After suffering and recovering from typhoid fever, Hibbard was named Chief Nurse at the U.S. General Hospital in Savannah, Georgia in March 1899.⁴⁸ In June of the same year, she was transferred to Washington D.C. and worked as the assistant to Dr. McGee in the Surgeon General's office. As the Spanish-American War was well over by this time, she was released from her duties that fall. It did not take long for her to again find employment in the midst of war. Her strong history of leadership and her wartime experience made Hibbard an excellent candidate for the *Maine*; she was selected to be the Superintending Nurse aboard the ship on its maiden voyage to South Africa.⁴⁹ Following her return from South Africa, Hibbard continued to exert leadership in the nursing profession in Cuba and in Panama during the canal's construction.

According to Richard J. Kahn, "Hibbard and the nursing sisters were examples of ambitious elite nurses able to direct training schools, travel, and return to their previous positions. The *Maine* gave them status and well-deserved recognition on a world stage."⁵⁰ The female nurses wore matching uniforms, "consisting of a long white skirt and a short white jacket, a brassard with *Maine* and a Red Cross embossed on it, and a

⁴⁶ Ibid., 119.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 131-133.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 141-143

⁴⁹ Ibid., 157.

⁵⁰ Kahn, "Women and Men at Sea," 138.

white cap that peaked in the middle.”⁵¹ Jennie Churchill, who would accompany the *Maine* on its maiden voyage, wore the uniform too, and the men on the ship even referred to her as ‘sister Jennie’ even though she was not a trained nurse.⁵²

In order to be recognized as a military hospital ship sailing as part of the British fleet, the principal military officer on the *Maine* had to be an Englishman. Initially, the Commander-in Chief, Lord Wolseley, thought that as an American ship, the *Maine* should be independent from the British fleet. However, the Committee continued to pursue the issue. Jennie Churchill explains, “Although the *Maine* was an American hospital ship, it was very important for its welfare that we should have it under the aegis of the British Government. There were many privileges which they alone could give us.”⁵³ Lord Wolseley finally acquiesced, citing his appreciation of their effort on behalf of the British wounded.⁵⁴

Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Hensmen, A.M.D., of the British Admiralty, was brought out of retirement for special assignment as the chief military officer in command on board the *Maine*.⁵⁵ His presence on board was considered advantageous due to his knowledge of required procedures and documentation as well as his expertise in inspiring discipline.⁵⁶ Understanding their *Maine* project as an American endeavor, the Committee believed a senior American commander to sail with the *Maine* was also necessary. Kahn notes, “Major Julian M. Cabell, a retired U.S. Army surgeon, was superintendent of the

⁵¹ Martin, *Jennie*, 224.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 404.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 120.

Columbia Hospital in Washington D.C. when he was given leave to become the senior American surgeon aboard the *Maine*.⁵⁷ Cabell was to oversee all medical care given aboard the *Maine* and would be responsible for all the surgeries performed. He brought with him a staff of four American physicians: Dr. George Eugene Dodge, Dr. H.H. Rodman, Dr. C. Henry Weber, and Dr. Thomas Wood Hastings.⁵⁸ The stores of medicine aboard the *Maine*, donated by a firm in London, were put under the care of Albert Spotts and Herbert Haig, two New York pharmacists.⁵⁹ The funds were secured; the ship had been renovated; and the staff was selected—the *Maine* was ready to sail.

Before the *Maine* set off for South Africa, a dedication ceremony was held in the harbor. Jennie and her Committee had asked both Queen Victoria and President McKinley to present the *Maine* with each country's respective flag. The Queen was delighted to present a Union Jack to the American Ladies Committee and was grateful for their efforts. However, President McKinley refused, twice, due to pro-Boer sentiments in America, putting Jennie "in rather an awkward position, as the Queen in presenting a flag, was under the impression that the President was doing the same."⁶⁰ The day of the ceremony, the Duke of Connaught presented an English flag to the *Maine* in the Queen's name. He made a "most felicitous speech," of appreciation and hope of future friendship

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 120-121 and Hibbard, "With the Maine," No. 5, 322. Dr. Thomas Wood Hastings has also been listed as Dr. R. H. Hastings and Dr. H.H. Rodman has alternatively been listed as Dr. Heth Hodman in "Hospital Ship Maine: Said to be Best Equipped of Those in British Service Now, *London Globe*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁵⁹ Hibbard, "With the Maine," No. 5, 321. See also, "Off For South Africa: Last Installment of American Personnel for the American Hospital Ship Maine," unidentified newspaper clipping, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁶⁰ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 410.

between the U.S. and Britain.⁶¹ The flag was hoisted up the mast as the Scots Guard band played “Rule Britannia.” The band switched to the “Star Spangled Banner” as an unsanctioned American flag quietly procured by Jennie, was raised to a second mast. The Red Cross flag was then raised to the third mast. It was a moving scene as Jennie remembers, “It was a great moment for us all, and I confess I felt a lump in my throat.”⁶² With the flags in place, the *Maine* sailed for South Africa on December 23, 1899.

The first half of the journey aboard the *Maine* was difficult and unpleasant. Delayed by thick fog, the *Maine* had to anchor just a few miles from the West India dock. The next day again brought thick fog and the *Maine* anchored in the mouth of the Thames.⁶³ Finally entering the Bay of Biscay, the *Maine* was beset by stormy weather and the staff was tortured by sea sickness for nearly ten days.⁶⁴ Jennie Churchill described the storm to Mrs. Elisabeth Reid, writing, “I have been in a good many ships and on a good many seas and I was never in a worse gale.”⁶⁵ Miss Hibbard also noted the terrible storm, claiming those aboard the *Maine* were “ungraciously, unmercifully, and unkindly treated by the far-famed ‘Bay of Biscay’.”⁶⁶ On January 3, 1901 the *Maine* docked at Las Palmas the capital of the Canary Islands. Major Cabell commented on the irony of stopping at the Canary Islands, a Spanish holding, in a ship named the *Maine*. He explains, “In spite of our ‘Maine’ uniforms, we were treated very civilly in Las

⁶¹ Ibid., 410-413.

⁶² Ibid., 414.

⁶³ Cabell, “Report as Chief Medical Officer,” May 30, 1900, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers.

⁶⁴ M. Eugenie Hibbard, “With the Maine to South Africa,” *The American Journal of Nursing* 1, no. 1 (October 1900): 2.

⁶⁵ Jennie Randolph Churchill in a letter to Mrs. Elisabeth Mills Reid, January 8, 1900, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁶⁶ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 1, 2.

Palmas.”⁶⁷ Although they spent only one day at Las Palmas it proved a much needed relief. Miss Hibbard remembers, “[we] left Las Palmas much benefited physically and morally by our stop” and they delighted in collecting “the most delicious oranges” found on the island.⁶⁸ After dinner that evening the *Maine* again started for Cape Town. The latter part of their voyage was spent preparing the *Maine* to receive its first patients. M. Eugenie Hibbard writes, “On inspection we fully realize that much hard work has been done since we left Las Palmas. . . . The hospital wards are in trim order and the appearance of the ship is much improved.”⁶⁹ Although much work was done on the voyage to Cape Town, the ship’s crew and medical staff did take time to enjoy themselves. On Lady Churchill’s birthday, January 9, a light-hearted ceremony presided over by “Father Neptune” was held to celebrate crossing the equator.⁷⁰ A “grand smoking concert” was also given on the poop-deck and religious services were held on Sundays with Lady Churchill providing accompaniment on the organ.⁷¹ On Monday, January 22, 1900 the *Maine* finally reached Cape Town. Upon reaching the harbor full of vessels, Miss Hibbard notes the general feeling on the ship, “We feel proud to be numbered among the many that have come to give assistance and are privileged to be present at this interesting place at this momentous time.”⁷²

⁶⁷ Cabell, “Report as Chief Medical Officer,” May 30, 1900, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers. In February 1898, the *U.S.S. Maine* exploded in the Havana Harbor. Although it is now understood that the explosion was an accident, at the time the Spanish were believed to be at fault. The explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine* was used to defend the U.S. war against Spain.

⁶⁸ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 1, 2-3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, and Churchill and Mitchell, *A Portrait*, 167.

⁷² Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 1, 4.

At Cape Town, the *Maine* and her passengers were heartily greeted. American refugees from the Transvaal gave a reception at the Mount Nelson Hotel “to meet Lady Randolph Churchill and the Staff of the American hospital ship *Maine*.”⁷³ As it waited in Table Bay, the *Maine* had many visitors, including: James G. Stowe, the American Proconsul; Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor General of the Cape Colony; Captain Sir Edward Chichester of the Royal Navy and friend of Admiral Dewey; Lord Roberts; and many officers of the medical department.⁷⁴

After three days in Cape Town, the *Maine* was ordered to Durban.⁷⁵ Three days into the journey, the *Maine* was again beset by a terrible storm. Heavy rain, hailstones one inch in diameter, and hurricane force winds pummeled the ship, tearing several awnings off the deck and into the sea.⁷⁶ Once again, work needed to be done. Upon reaching Durban, medical authorities ordered the *Maine* to be filled up with patients and sent back to England immediately. Lady Churchill had been informed of this plan in Cape Town and she protested vehemently, citing the “purpose and mission of the ship.” In Durban, she contacted Sir Redvers Buller and other influential friends to reverse the decision.⁷⁷

The *Maine* received its first patients on February 5, 1900. Sixty-one wounded soldiers arrived by train from the Battle of Spion Kopje, a disastrous British defeat fought

⁷³ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁴ Ibid., and Cabell, “Report as Chief Medical Officer,” May 30, 1900, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers.

⁷⁵ Lady Churchill’s youngest son Jack had joined the South African Light-horse Brigade, much to Jennie’s dismay. He met her in Cape Town and rode on the *Maine* to Durban, where Winston joined them for a two-day holiday visiting Pietermaritzburg at the invitation of the Governor of Natal. Jack would later return to the *Maine* as a patient.

⁷⁶ Hibbard, “With the *Maine*,” No. 1, 7 and Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 424-427.

⁷⁷ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 420-423.

from January 16-24. Under General Redvers Buller the British suffered between 2500-2700 casualties, the Boers suffered less than 200.⁷⁸ According to Lady Churchill, “As soon as their names, etc., had been registered the poor fellows were given something to eat and drink, which, after their hot and dusty journey, was very acceptable.”⁷⁹ She was quite distressed at the soldiers’ appearance when they arrived. “The men were nearly naked, their khaki hanging on them in shreds. . . . Surely a reserve of uniforms or ordinary clothing might be kept for extreme cases such as this.”⁸⁰ The patients were placed in the ‘Britannia Ward’ and “apart from the surgical and operating cases, the treatment consisted principally of antiseptic dressing, electricity, and massage, the use of the gymnasium apparatus giving excellent results.”⁸¹ The medical staff worked wonders on some of the more unusual cases. One of the wounded from Spion Kopje “was shot through the brain from side to side. He had a wonderful recovery, with no worse symptoms than occasional headaches and dizziness.”⁸² The surgeons took turns being

⁷⁸ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 322 and Pretorius, “The Second Anglo-Boer War,” 113-114.

⁷⁹ Lady Randolph Churchill, “Letters From a Hospital Ship,” in *The Anglo-Saxon Review*, vol. 5 (London and New York: John Lane, June 1900), 224, digitized by Google Books.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁸¹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 430-431. The use of electricity in medicine, called galvanism, became increasingly popular in the late 19th century. Electric current passed through the body from gold leaf connected to a battery. It was considered beneficial for treating muscle cramps, paralysis, tumors, and tetanus. In modified forms, electric treatment is still used today. The gymnasium apparatus was introduced in the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia by Dr. Gustav Zander, a pioneer in therapeutic exercise. His machines were designed to slowly build muscle strength. It is unknown whether the gymnasium apparatus aboard the *Maine* was designed by Dr. Zander, but it can be assumed that the machine was similar and used to rehabilitate injured soldiers. For more information on the use of electricity in medicine, see Jan Marsh, “Health and Medicine in the 19th Century,” Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed September 27, 2014, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/h/health-and-medicine-in-the-19th-century/>; and The Institute of Engineering and Technology, “Galvanism and Medicine,” accessed September 27, 2014, <http://www.theiet.org/resources/library/archives/exhibition/medical/galvanism.cfm>. For more on Dr. Zander and the gymnasium apparatus, see Carolyn Thomas Pena, *The Body Electric: How Strange Machines Built the Modern American* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

⁸² Cabell, “Report as Chief Medical Officer,” May 30, 1900, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers.

“officer of the day.” According to Major Cabell, “the officer of the day inspected the male nurses and orderlies every morning. . . .he also inspected all of the meals and the wards and was held responsible for the discipline during the day.”⁸³ Two days later seventy-nine more wounded soldiers arrived on the *Maine*, filling the ‘Whitelaw Reid Ward’ and the ‘Columbia Ward’ and making a total of one hundred and forty patients.⁸⁴ Patients in the field hospitals were often transported to other hospitals or hospital ships to make room for the recently wounded. Lady Churchill writes, “The parties of sick and wounded men who came to us were drafted from the different hospitals of Fere, Estcourt, Mooi River, and Pietermaritzburg.”⁸⁵ She remembers her impressions of the soldiers writing, “They delighted in giving their histories and experiences, and particularly the crowning one of how they received their wounds, which, with the slightest encouragement, they would proudly show, and the extracted bullet, if they had one.”⁸⁶ Jennie also spent much of her time writing letters dictated to her by wounded soldiers unable to write.

On February 13, Jack Churchill, Jennie’s youngest son, came aboard the *Maine* with a wounded leg bringing a letter from his brother Winston, who was also in South Africa as a war correspondent for the *Morning Post*.⁸⁷ His letter read, “It is a coincidence that one of the first patients on board the *Maine* should be your own son.”⁸⁸ Certainly

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Hibbard, “With the *Maine*,” No. 5, 323.

⁸⁵ Churchill, “Letters,” 225.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 224.

⁸⁷ Martin, *Jennie*, 223-224; and Sebba, *American Jennie*, 245. See also, Churchill and Mitchell, *A Portrait*, 160.

⁸⁸ Letter from Winston Spencer Churchill to Lady Randolph Churchill as quoted in Martin, *Jennie*, 224.

Jennie would have been glad to be near her wounded son. On March 2, fifty-three additional wounded men came on board the *Maine* and four more, all officers, arrived the next day.⁸⁹

The first death aboard the *Maine* occurred on February 16, the “result of typhoid and complications.”⁹⁰ Typhoid fever and dysentery plagued the British troops in South Africa; in the entirety of the war, 8,022 died from typhoid fever and 1,343 from dysentery.⁹¹ The American doctors and nurses aboard the *Maine* treated typhoid with the “Brand,” or cold-bath, treatment, “consisting of an ice-water bath for fifteen to twenty minutes every three hours for temperatures over 103 degrees.”⁹² This was a departure from the British method of treating the disease and the *Maine* had been outfitted with moveable bathtubs with the Brand treatment in mind. The employment of the cold-bath treatment was at least partially successful; on the *Maine*’s first voyage, there was only one typhoid related death. The patients on the *Maine* were treated for a variety of ailments. Kahn outlines the first voyage to South Africa, writing:

Twenty-eight officers and 326 noncommissioned officers and men were treated on board; of these, 12 officers and 151 noncommissioned officers and men were transported home. Of the twenty-eight officers treated aboard, sixteen were wounded, three injured, and nine were sick, chiefly of fever and dysentery. The 326 noncommissioned officers and men included 168 with gunshot or shell wounds and the rest with injuries, fevers, rheumatism, or dysentery. Twenty operations were performed aboard, thirteen under ether and seven under cocaine. Of the three deaths that occurred on board, one was due to a complication of typhoid fever, one to a ruptured aortic aneurysm, and the last to tuberculosis.⁹³

⁸⁹ M. Eugenie Hibbard, “With the *Maine* to South Africa (continued),” *The American Journal of Nursing*, 1, No. 9 (June, 1901): 619.

⁹⁰ Hibbard, “With the *Maine*,” No. 5, 324.

⁹¹ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 128.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 129.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 127.

When a soldier onboard was thought well enough to return to duty, Colonel Hensman met with the surgeon in charge of his ward. An application was then made for travel papers to the General Depot in Pietermaritzburg. Upon approval, the nurse would make travel arrangements with the patient and set a departure date. On the set day, the soldier was inspected by a doctor one final time, and then escorted to shore by a non-commissioned officer.⁹⁴ Discharged patients were given food and water for their journey, soap, a sewing kit, and their uniforms were washed, or replaced if needed. Lady Churchill attributed the successful recovery of their patients to the sea air and excellent care received on board the *Maine*. She writes, “The medical care and nursing and innumerable comforts we had to give the patients combined with the cool fresh air one can only get on board ship brought so many of them round that we have been able to discharge a good many as fit for duty.”⁹⁵

On the *Maine*, life “became a round of daily duties, varied only by excitement in regard to war news.”⁹⁶ The soldiers were eager for news of the front and newspapers were distributed daily. Lady Churchill also thought of an interactive way for the men to keep up with the war, although it did not turn out exactly as intended. She framed a large map of South Africa and hung it in one of the wards. Each day she tacked British and Boer flags on the map according to current military situation. In a spirit of patriotism, the soldiers removed the enemy flags and “daily the Union Jacks would fly at Pretoria,

⁹⁴ Churchill, “Letters,” 230-231.

⁹⁵ Churchill, “Letters,” 226.

⁹⁶ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 443.

Johannesburg, [and] Ladysmith,” major Boer strongholds.⁹⁷ The *Maine* received her final patients following the relief of Ladysmith, which Boer forces held under siege since the outbreak of war.⁹⁸ News of the relief of Ladysmith came to the *Maine* on February 29 and the patients filled the ship with cheers “of hearty goodwill for the valiant men who had secured through supreme effort, after one hundred and eighteen days, the relief of Ladysmith.”⁹⁹ The end of the battle at Ladysmith meant more wounded soldiers for the *Maine*. Six thousand wounded British soldiers would have to be transported to England in order to make room in the field hospitals for those coming from Ladysmith and some of these soldiers were to travel home on the *Maine*.¹⁰⁰ On March 17, 1900 the *Maine* received its final group of patients. The *Maine* then sailed from Durban to Cape Town.¹⁰¹ There was a change of plans at Cape Town and the *Maine* was ordered to unload its passengers and wait for further instructions. For Jennie, this was not acceptable. She insisted the *Maine* sail for England and contacted the Minister of War, Lord Lansdowne who enforced her wishes.¹⁰² The *Maine* started home and as Hibbard remembers, “Great demonstrations were made in our honor on our departure by the vessels in the harbor. . . . many hearty cheers were given for the ‘*American hospital ship Maine*’.”¹⁰³ The *Maine* arrived safely in Southampton on April 23, 1900.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Churchill, “Letters,” 230.

⁹⁸ Ladysmith was relieved on February 28, 1900.

⁹⁹ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 9, 618.

¹⁰⁰ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 450.

¹⁰¹ Sebba, *American Jennie*, 246.

¹⁰² Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 451.

¹⁰³ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 9, 620.

¹⁰⁴ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 129.

On May 3, 1900 the *Maine* began its second voyage to South Africa, this time without any female nurses or Lady Churchill on board. The reasons for this change in staffing are somewhat vague but there are some suggestions of poor gender relations on board. In a letter to Mrs. Elisabeth Reid, Lady Churchill comments on her decision to reorganize “the nursing staff, leaving the sisters and Miss Hibbard out” by assuring Mrs. Reid that it “in no way implies any dissatisfaction with their work which has been most efficient and thorough.”¹⁰⁵ She instead cites issues with the male nurses, writing, “they do not seem to think that they can obey an order from a sense of duty but more as a favor.”¹⁰⁶ Also, she claims the male nurses frequently complained regarding their “comfort” but according to Lady Churchill, their accommodations were much nicer than those of any English staff.¹⁰⁷ Major Cabell, the American medical officer on board, indicated that the male nurses were jealous of the attention given the female sisters. He writes, “Some of them feel that they should be made as much of as the sisters. . . .”¹⁰⁸ The discord was felt not only between the male and female nurses, but was apparent among leadership as well. In a letter to Mrs. Reid from on board the *Maine*, Cabell complains that Miss Hibbard is exercising too much authority. “She absolutely ignores me and in no way recognized my authority while we were in London. She went to the

¹⁰⁵ Lady Randolph Churchill to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, May 8, 1900, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Major Julian Cabell to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, December 22, 1899, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Committee directly for her instructions.”¹⁰⁹ After the *Maine* set sail, Miss Hibbard “continued to do about as she wanted to do about everything.” Cabell tried to speak with her about this, but in his words, “She simply wished from the start to take too much [illegible] authority on her hands.”¹¹⁰ Interestingly, the Committee may have anticipated gender authority issues on the *Maine*. The employment contract that all male nurses were required to sign clearly states, “The said Mr. _____promises and agrees to perform the duties of nurse on said Hospital Ship ‘Maine’ or in the Transvaal, and *also agrees to recognize the authority of the Superintendent of Nurses,*” referring to Miss Hibbard (emphasis added).¹¹¹

Richard J. Kahn cites another possible reason for the absence of women on the *Maine*’s second voyage. According to Kahn, between 1899-1900, there was an influx of society women volunteers to South Africa.¹¹² He writes, “Any woman with means, with or without credentials or experience, could go to South Africa and offer her nursing services.”¹¹³ These female volunteers were not considered a great help to the war effort, instead they were viewed as frivolous, flirtatious, silly, a hindrance, and a distraction. Five days after the *Maine* returned from its first voyage, well-known surgeon Frederick Treves called the influx of female volunteers a “plague of women,” and asked “who can deny that. . . . the picture of a number of elaborately dressed ladies masquerading in

¹⁰⁹ Major Julian Cabell to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, January 5, 1900, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Employment Contract for Male Nurses on board the *Maine*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹¹² Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 135.

¹¹³ Ibid.

summer toilets and arranging picnics about Cape Town is a blot on the campaign?”¹¹⁴ His remarks appeared widely in the press, and he was not alone in his views, Milner, Chamberlain, and even Queen Victoria spoke out against society ladies visiting South Africa during the war.¹¹⁵ Kahn argues that this was a public relations nightmare for the *Maine* and the Committee. He explains:

. . . .the *Maine* returned to Britain just as the newspaper articles were creating images of diseased and dying men attacked by a plague of frivolous society women. Instead of receiving kudos, the hard work of Lady Churchill, the committee, and the professional female nurses aboard the *Maine* was tarred with [a] general brush attacking untrained women.¹¹⁶

The outcry and bad press regarding amateur female nursing volunteers combined with the gender issues experienced on the ship’s first journey were enough to cause the Committee to reorganize the *Maine*’s medical staff to include only men.

Just one month later, on July 3, 1900, the *Maine* returned from its second voyage to South Africa. On its second trip the *Maine* primarily served as a transport, carrying home 160 patients, almost all of whom were sick with fever or dysentery.¹¹⁷ Although the *Maine* was intended for a third trip to South Africa, Kinghorn asserts that “by this time there were several hospital ships in service and facilities for the wounded in South Africa had become highly organized.”¹¹⁸ Therefore, the War Office decided the hospital ship should be sent to China to nurse those wounded during the Boxer Rebellion. The *Maine* remained stationed in Chinese waters for five months, caring for a total of 354

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 132.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 131.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 136.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 136.

¹¹⁸ Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 101.

men from every nation involved in the conflict.¹¹⁹ In July 1901, Bernard Baker and the Atlantic Transport Company officially gave the *Maine* to the British government. The American Ladies Committee likewise donated the medical fittings and supplies.¹²⁰

The American Hospital Ship *Maine* found a permanent place in the Mediterranean Squadron as the HMHS *Maine*.¹²¹ According to Kinghorn, the *Maine* was named a Royal Fleet Auxiliary vessel in 1905 and “on July 27, 1910, RFA *Maine* was one of the 165 British naval vessels that took part in the Coronation Fleet Review off Torbay.”¹²² Unfortunately, the *Maine* was run aground on July 19, 1914 near the Scottish Isle of Mull after sailing through a thick fog and had to be abandoned.¹²³ Kinghorn comments, “Because she was unique in the Royal Navy the British found themselves without a single hospital ship when WWI broke out a few weeks later.”¹²⁴ The *Mediator* was in the process of being converted into a hospital ship and was renamed the *Maine* “in honor of the ‘women of America’ and the Atlantic Transport Company for their efforts during the Boer War.”¹²⁵ After the original hospital ship *Maine* was lost, there have been four additional ships named the *Maine* in the Royal Navy; the last treating the wounded during the Korean War.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Major nations involved in the Boxer Rebellion include: Austria-Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, France, Russia, and the United States.

¹²⁰ Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 101 and Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 137.

¹²¹ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 137.

¹²² Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 102.

¹²³ Ibid. and Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 137.

¹²⁴ Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 102.

¹²⁵ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 137.

¹²⁶ Ibid., and Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 102.

CHAPTER IV

MAKING HISTORY

Thus far, the effort behind the *Maine* and its maiden voyage have been examined, along with the process of rapprochement, the pressures of Gilded Age high society, and the lives of the women involved. There is still a question left to be asked: Why did these women spend so much time and energy creating the hospital ship *Maine* for service in the Boer War? The women of the Committee created the *Maine* to encourage rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain. It is important to remember that the ladies of the *Maine* Committee were operating in a patriarchal environment with certain expectations and limitations placed upon them because of their gender. Indeed, until now, their work on the *Maine* has been described primarily as a humanitarian endeavor in the traditionally female work of nursing. However, for the women of the Committee, creating the *Maine* was a political act. These American women stepped into the masculine ‘public’ sphere of international politics, which they navigated with skill, eliciting a tremendous transatlantic response. A careful examination of their words and actions, along with the context in which they appeared, demonstrates that the American Ladies Committee consciously perceived the *Maine* as a vehicle for rapprochement between Great Britain and the United States.

From the beginning, the Committee was determined that the *Maine* would be a purely American effort. Lady Churchill describes their persistence, “no stone was left

unreturned to procure money—much money, and it had to be all American money.”¹ The ship, too had to be American. “We were anxious to secure an American ship if possible.”² Furthermore, the medical staff on the *Maine* was to be American. “We were determined that the staff of doctors and nurses should be American.”³ According to Hibbard, their preparations were intended “to bring clearly to mind the American character of the undertaking.”⁴ In a letter to Elisabeth Mills Reid dated February 2, 1900, Jennie Blow refers to the *Maine* effort as an “American undertaking.”⁵ Similarly, Cornelia Adair, also writing to Mrs. Reid, calls the work of the *Maine* “this eminently American scheme.”⁶ It was clearly important to the Committee that the *Maine* be completely American in nature and that it be regarded as such.

In an interview with the *New York Times*, Lady Churchill plainly stated the purpose of the *Maine*. “There is but one motive, one reason, for the project of sending a hospital ship to the Cape. We have had oratory and societies for the promotion of Anglo-American friendship. This is the golden opportunity to put that expression of good will into tangible form.”⁷ She recalled a November 12th meeting of the Committee in her *Reminiscences*, noting that she reminded the women of the Committee that “deeds were better than words,” pointing out that “the *Maine* would probably do more to cement the

¹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 399.

² *Ibid.*, 401.

³ *Ibid.*, 402.

⁴ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 5, 319.

⁵ Letter from Jennie A. Blow to Elisabeth Mills Reid, February 2, 1900, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁶ Letter from Cornelia Adair to Elisabeth Mills Reid, 1900, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁷ “Plans of American Women: Lady Randolph Churchill Issues a Statement about Relief Work,” *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1899, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

friendship between England and America than any amount of flag-waving and pleasant amenities.”⁸ She repeated the purpose of the *Maine* at a meeting given at Walsingham House for fundraising partners, stating “As regards the international value of what we are doing, we have often talked of the friendship between America and Englandand we may justly hope that the hospital ship Maine may do more to cement that friendship.”⁹ She concluded by thanking her audience for their support of the *Maine* and for furthering an Anglo-American friendship. “And it is owing to your efforts that this great result will be achieved.”¹⁰ In her official report, Lady Churchill again firmly stated the Committee’s purpose in creating the *Maine*, writing “. . . .and to further cement with their active sympathy for the wounded that bond of brotherhood which exists between the Anglo-Saxon Nations, by establishing a fund destined to equip and maintain the Hospital Ship Maine.”¹¹

The purpose behind the creation of the *Maine*, seemed exceedingly clear to those watching from afar. A foreign correspondent for *The Morning Post*, stationed in Rome, explains to readers the Italian perception of the *Maine*’s significance. He writes, “The fitting out of the hospital ship Maine by American initiative with American money and with American doctors and nurses has conveyed an idea of the strength of good feeling existing between Great Britain and the United States such as no amount of official

⁸ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 404.

⁹ “American Hospital Ship,” *The Morning Post*, Monday, November 13, 1899, British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Churchill and Mitchell, *A Portrait*, 160. A portion of Lady Churchill’s Official Report is printed in *A Portrait*, for the full report, please see the *American Hospital Ship ‘Maine’ Fund: Reports, List of Subscriptions, Donations, Etc.*

speaking and protestations of friendliness could have given.”¹² The purely American nature of the effort, which the Committee insisted upon, indicated that the *Maine* was intended for a larger purpose than treating the British wounded. According to the correspondent, “No circumstance in connection with the war. . . . has made more impression in Italy than the sympathy and practical aid given by Americans to Great Britain.”¹³ The people of Italy, a decidedly pro-Boer nation, understood the international value of the *Maine* as a means of furthering Anglo-American rapprochement.

As the only member of the Committee who traveled with the *Maine* to South Africa, Lady Churchill ensured the *Maine* played its purpose well. On arriving in Cape Town, it was learned that the *Maine* was to be filled with patients and immediately sent back to England. Jennie had to act; this would ruin the purpose of the Committee’s efforts. Lady Churchill went to the chief medical officer in Cape Town, “I remonstrated and explained to him the purpose and mission of the ship, pointing out the fact that were it to be treated merely as a transport for convalescents the international value of the gift [the *Maine*] would certainly suffer.”¹⁴ She was so forceful, that he relented and told her to talk to the authorities once the *Maine* arrived at Durban. Anne Sebba explains, “She did not shrink now from exercising her social position and personal appeal to get her way.”¹⁵ With help from some of her “influential friends,” including Sir Redvers Buller and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, Jennie was successful in keeping the *Maine* in South Africa for

¹² “Effect of American Sympathy,” *The Morning Post*, Saturday, September 2, 1899, British Newspaper Archive.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 420.

¹⁵ Sebba, *American Jennie*, 244.

two months. In her *Reminiscences*, she proudly writes, “I am happy to say I was able to successfully frustrate three times these endeavors to send us back.”¹⁶

Lady Churchill again had to pressure the authorities into cooperation following the relief of Ladysmith. To make room in field hospitals for the thousands of wounded men arriving from Ladysmith, the *Maine* was asked to transport soldiers back to England, and Jennie agreed to go.¹⁷ However, the day before the *Maine* was to begin her return journey, new instructions arrived, ordering the *Maine* to remain in South Africa. This was unacceptable. According to Jennie’s grandson, Peregrine Churchill, her decision to return to England was motivated “by the desire to gain the éclat of being the first hospital ship to return with the heroes of Ladysmith.”¹⁸ Returning at this moment would secure prestige, publicity, and a hero’s welcome for the *Maine*; Jennie would not lose this opportunity. She again admonished the chief medical officer in Cape Town telling him, “I intended the *Maine* to leave at daybreak the next morning, as previously arranged.”¹⁹ She used her connections, this time going straight to London, cabling Lord Lansdowne, Minister of War. Kahn notes, “Her social position and personal appeal, as well as the British-American politics of the situation, allowed her to exercise a degree of authority not usually tolerated by the military.”²⁰ Lord Lansdowne responded to her request the same day, and confirmed that the *Maine* return to Britain immediately. Glowing in

¹⁶ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 423.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 450-451.

¹⁸ Churchill and Mitchell, *A Portrait*, 167-168.

¹⁹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 451.

²⁰ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 127.

victory, Lady Churchill wrote, “I won the day.”²¹ Through her persistence, Lady Churchill preserved the “international value” of the *Maine* by ensuring its position as a unique vessel, a symbol of the coming rapprochement.

From the outset, the American Ladies Committee incorporated representations of the British and American flags flying together in their efforts on the *Maine*. At a fundraising concert hosted by Mrs. Brown Potter at Claridge’s Hotel, the stage was decorated with “drapery. . . . fashioned out of the Stars and Stripes and Union Jacks.”²² According to *The Morning Post*, attendees could purchase handkerchiefs embossed with the two flags for half a crown.²³ Similar decorations were seen at another fundraising event hosted by Mrs. Carrie Griffin, president of the Society of American Women in London and member of the Committee, at Hotel Cecil. According to a writer for *The Standard*, “The Union Jack and Stars and Stripes figured prominently in the decorations, large flags draping the balcony of the banqueting hall, while strings of smaller emblems ran from wall to wall.”²⁴ Additionally, the Committee had commemorative medallions cast, engraved with the hospital ship on one side and the British and American flags on the other, which they sold to raise funds for the *Maine*. Special stationary was even made for the *Maine*, depicting the two countries’ respective flags as well as the Red Cross flag which was used for all official correspondence regarding the hospital ship.²⁵

²¹ Mrs. George Cornwallis-West, *The Reminiscences of Lady Randolph Churchill*, 3rd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), 352.

²² “The Hospital Ship Maine: Mrs. Brown Potter’s Concert,” *The Morning Post*, Monday, November 20, 1899, British Newspaper Archive.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ “Reception at the Hotel Cecil,” *The Standard*, Tuesday, December 5, 1899, British Newspaper Archive.

²⁵ Sebba, *American Jennie*, 242.

In fact, the Committee used the symbol of the two flags so frequently, that the image was considered the “badge of the Maine.”²⁶

The Committee’s desire to secure both the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes to fly aboard the *Maine* particularly demonstrates their intention to inspire rapprochement. Years before the *Maine*, during the Venezuela Crisis, Joseph Chamberlain expressed an almost prophetic hope, stating “I should look forward with pleasure to the possibility of the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack floating together in defense of a common cause sanctioned by humanity and justice.”²⁷ It is unknown whether Chamberlain’s statement inspired the American Ladies Committee, but in the *Maine*, it found fulfillment. The Committee decided, as a sign of friendship, to fly the British and American flags together on the *Maine*. Authorized sailing under two flags was certainly unprecedented; historically, sailing under two flags implied piracy.²⁸ The Committee was fully aware of the implication. Lady Churchill noted in her *Anglo-Saxon Review*, “. . . .our sailing under two flags, which constitutes us a pirate.”²⁹ According to the nursing superintendent, M. Eugenie Hibbard, sailing under two flags was “a most unusual occurrence and marking a historical event.”³⁰ It indeed was a historical event, and it was intended to be so. This marked the first time a ship had sailed under both the British and American flags. In her interview with *The Richmond Dispatch*, Lady Churchill noted this

²⁶ “Hospital Ship Maine,” *The Standard*.

²⁷ Joseph Chamberlain, quoted in Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 183.

²⁸ Roberts, *Churchills in Africa*, 273.

²⁹ Lady Randolph Churchill, “Letters,” 220.

³⁰ Hibbard, “With the Maine,” No. 1, 1.

significant occasion, stating the *Maine* was “the first Anglo-American vessel on the high seas. That alone was something worth accomplishing.”³¹

The decision to fly the flags of two countries on the *Maine* received much attention and the implication of friendship was noted in the press. Following the flag presentation, a writer for the *Dallas Morning News* suggested that the press was eager to attach importance to the occasion. He wrote, “The morning papers express the hope that the incident means something more than a pretty ceremony.”³² Another newspaper article is more direct, referring to the *Maine* sailing under both the British and American flags as “evidence of the affection existing between the two countries.”³³ By utilizing the image of the British and American flags flying together and by actually flying the two flags together on the *Maine*, the women of the Committee identified the hospital ship *Maine* as an act of rapprochement between nations. The American Ladies Committee saw to improve the relationship between their country of origin and their country of residence; the *Maine* provided them an effective way to do so.

By creating the *Maine* for the purpose of furthering rapprochement, the women of the Committee were actively engaging in international politics. The women of the Committee undoubtedly understood the political sentiments of their fundraising audience and modified their message accordingly to gather support. During the Committee’s

³¹ W. B. Northrop, “Lady Churchill Writes of English as Compared with American Women,” *The Richmond Dispatch*, Sunday, September 28, 1902, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

³² “England’s Black Week,” *The Dallas Morning News*, December 12, 1899, *The Historical Dallas Morning News, 1885-1977*.

³³ “Hospital Ship Maine,” *Houston Daily Post*, Sunday, December 17, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

fundraising efforts, there seemed to be a question of whether Boers would be treated on board also. A journalist with the *New York Times* writes, “. . . . the movement is entirely devoid of political significance, as the Red Cross knows no politics, and will treat Briton and Boer alike.”³⁴ In another *Times* article, Jennie Blow is quoted as saying, “The Maine is under the Red Cross, and the wounded of both sides are received and treated with equal care and interest.”³⁵ Americans, both in the U.S. and abroad, were the primary audience of the Committee’s fundraising efforts and therefore it is important to examine these remarks within the context of American politics at the time. The American public was outspoken in their sympathy with the Boers. Many Americans viewed the Boers, in relation to their own history, as an oppressed people fighting for their independence against the British Empire. According to historian Donal Lowry, there was “a strong pro-Boer popular sentiment,” particularly within Irish and German communities, leading to a fear “that the war would produce an Irish-German electoral pact to destabilise the political system.”³⁶ President McKinley indeed cited popular pro-Boer feeling as his reason for refusing to present the Committee a U.S. flag for the *Maine*. Additionally, a political cartoon in *Punch* shows a worried Britannia looking out on a mass of U.S. voters holding signs reading “Krueger Forever” and “Welcome Boer Delegates,” while Columbia leans over and tells her “You musn’t mind those noisy men of mine. You know, my dear, it’s election time.”³⁷ It was not a secret that many Americans sympathized with the Boers; it would have been unwise, in the hopes of raising American money, for the Committee to

³⁴ “The Hospital Ship Maine: Lady Randolph Churchill May Go to the Cape,” *New York Times*.

³⁵ “The Maine Doing Good Work,” *New York Times*.

³⁶ Donal Lowry, “When the World Loved the Boers,” *History Today* (May 1999): 48.

³⁷ “Quite Understood” (illustration), *Punch, or the London Charivari*, May 16, 1900.

publicize the *Maine* as an aide solely for British troops. Instead, when addressing the American press, the Committee emphasized the humanitarian nature of the *Maine*, pointing to the Red Cross, and claiming to provide aide to the wounded on both sides. This was more than a misrepresentation however; it was simply not true. There is no account of any wounded Boers being welcomed aboard the *Maine*. Kinghorn notes, “In practice the *Maine* does not appear to have cared for any Boer casualties.”³⁸ He continues, completely removing any doubt, arguing that “her [*Maine*] conversion proved to be the most publicized pro-British effort by Americans during the war.”³⁹

Committee Vice-Chairman, Cornelia Adair, demonstrated her political acumen in a fundraising pamphlet she addressed to American women. In it she spoke to Irish-American women, entreating them to support the *Maine*. This was a bold request. The relationship between Ireland and Britain was fraught with difficulty, often erupting in violence, and the Irish-American community strongly sided with the Boers. Mrs. Adair appealed to their sentiments writing, “And you from Ireland, are you not moved by the splendid bravery of your countrymen in this war, whose heroism has made them the admiration of the world, and are you not proud that when reverse followed reverse, and England was torn with doubt it was to an Irishman she turned?”⁴⁰ After appealing to their sense of patriotism, Mrs. Adair then attempted to create in her audience a sense of obligation by exploiting her father’s charity during the Irish potato famine. She

³⁸ Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 96.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ “American Hospital Ship ‘Maine’: Under the Red Cross,” Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Cornelia Adair is referring here to Lord Roberts.

explained, “. . . .as the daughter of one who is not forgotten in his own country—General Wadsworth—who years ago when Ireland was starving, chartered a ship at his own expense, filled it with corn from his own land at Genesco, and sent it across the Atlantic to help the Irish people.”⁴¹ Mrs. Adair understood her fundraising audience and she carefully constructed a message that would appeal to a certain group, in this case Irish-Americans.

The claim in the *Times* that the *Maine* effort was “completely devoid of political significance,” is also suspect. Several Committee members were interested and active in British politics and, on at least one previous occasion, in diplomatic relations between the United States and Britain.⁴² In an interview for the *New York World*, Lily, Duchess of Marlborough, claimed that after moving to Blenheim Palace she immediately took an interest in politics. She explained, “You couldn’t live in an English community a week without catching the political fever.”⁴³ Similarly, Lady Churchill and Mary Chamberlain were among the so-called “ultra-political ladies,” that sat in the Ladies Gallery during Parliamentary sessions.⁴⁴ Mary Chamberlain acted as her husband’s “unofficial but principal political secretary” and was praised for her understanding of global politics.⁴⁵ In 1884, Lady Churchill began her public involvement in political affairs by founding the Primrose League, a political organization dedicated to upholding the Crown and

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² A number of women on the Committee used their transatlantic connections to pursue a diplomatic resolution to the Venezuela Crisis, 1895-1896.

⁴³ Svenson, *Lily, Duchess of Marlborough*, 159.

⁴⁴ Cooper, “New England to Old England,” 110.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 114-115.

furthering the British Empire.⁴⁶ Furthermore, a writer for *The Richmond Dispatch* described Lady Churchill as “the woman who, though an American, has exerted more influence in English politics than any other of her sex.” The author further noted that she “represents a real power through her political and social standing.”⁴⁷ When the Venezuela Crisis erupted in 1896, Lady Churchill, Mary Chamberlain, and eight other American women living in Britain began hosting small private parties for guests with influence on both sides of the Atlantic. They provided a secure venue for sensitive conversations and served as mediators, encouraging a diplomatic solution.⁴⁸ Commenting on the role played by these American women in the resolution of the Venezuela Crisis, a U.S. General claimed, “They have untold power of international arbitration. . . . Their influence, thrown upon the scales, would turn it whichever way they bent themselves.”⁴⁹ The women of the Committee were knowledgeable of and active in British politics. It is unlikely, then, that, as the *Times* reported, they were oblivious to the international political significance of their work on the *Maine*.

The *Maine* attracted attention from both sides of the Atlantic and the response was an outpouring of support and appreciation. As previously mentioned, the American government, while carrying out a policy of friendly neutrality towards Great Britain,

⁴⁶ Northrop, “Lady Churchill Writes of English as Compared with American Women,” *The Richmond Dispatch*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Cooper, “New England to Old England,” 112-113, and Cooper “Country by Birth, Country by Marriage,” 40-42. It is uncertain who the other eight American women are who joined Lady Churchill and Mary Chamberlain in their efforts during the Venezuela Crisis. Cooper speculates that the group may include other Committee members: Clara Frewen, Leonie Leslie, Lily, Duchess of Marlborough, Consuelo Vanderbilt, Jennie Blow, Cornelia Adair, and Fanny Ronalds.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Cooper, “New England to Old England,” 113, and Cooper “Country by Birth, Country by Marriage,” 41. See Also, Martin, *Jennie*, 74.

declined to openly support the *Maine* effort. The American military, however, did supply the chief medical officer for the *Maine* and some perceived this act to be a sign of the McKinley Administration's support. According to an article appearing in *The Morning Post*, "The Administration is also showing its feeling in the matter in a practical manner. The Secretary for War has granted leave of absence to Sergeant-Major Cabellin order that he may join the *Maine*."⁵⁰

American citizens were slow to realize the significance of the *Maine*, owing to strong pro-Boer sentiments. A journalist for *The Freeman's Journal* notes, "I am told that the response from the States is not at all answering expectations they have their own sick and wounded to look after, to say nothing of the policy and the object of the war in the Transvaal."⁵¹ In an interview for the *New York World*, reprinted in the *Dallas Morning News*, Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont explained why she refuses to support the *Maine*. "She said she did not feel that any American should show sympathy against a free people fighting for their rights and country."⁵² Once it appeared, however, that the war in South Africa was not to be a quick and decisive victory and that it was going to continue for some time, the *Maine* quickly gained in importance. According to one newspaper, now in America "every woman is asking 'Are there hospitals enough, ambulances sufficient to transfer the wounded, food supplies for the besieged?' Money poured into the coffers. . . .And the London committee of women is having its

⁵⁰ "American Ambulance Aid," *The Morning Post*, Monday, November 13, 1899, reprinted from the *New York Times*, British Newspaper Archive.

⁵¹ "London Correspondence," *The Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, November 9, 1899, British Newspaper Archive.

⁵² "Mrs. Belmont Said No," *Dallas Morning News*, November 25, 1899, 4, The Historical *Dallas Morning News*, 1885-1977.

victory.”⁵³ Not only did American individuals donate funds to the *Maine* effort, but American companies made donations as well. Companies including Tiffany and Co., The Carnegie Steel Company, American Waltham Watch Company, and Steinway and Sons donated amounts ranging from £500 to £5 and 5s. Others, including the American Tobacco Company, Taylor Brothers Company, H.J. Heinz and Co., and National Biscuit Company donated items ranging from thermometers to ketchup; for on board entertainment, Chappell and Co. donated an organ.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Atlantic Transport Line, an American company, donated the ship and the company president, Bernard Baker covered the *Maine*’s operating expenses. Even the location of their meetings in London was provided through an American connection. The Washington D.C. *Evening Star* did its “part in the American movement toward assisting the Hospital Ship *Maine* to start on her errand of mercy” by loaning its London correspondence office to the Committee to hold its meetings.⁵⁵ It was private American citizens, and companies, who cheered the efforts of the American Ladies Committee and through their generosity, funded the *Maine*.

Britain’s response to the *Maine* was more intense and was officially sanctioned, unlike the American response. After all, these American women had gone to great lengths to provide a hospital for British soldiers. Upon arrival in London, the American staff of the *Maine* was “lionized, luncheons and dinner parties and every sort of entertainment being given them, including one organized by the matrons and nurses of

⁵³ “American Women in London,” *The Sunday Call*.

⁵⁴ “The Hospital Ship *Maine*,” list of subscriptions, *The Morning Post*, Tuesday, December 5, 1899, British Newspaper Archive.

⁵⁵ “American Hospital Ship *Maine*,” *The Evening Star*.

the London Hospitals.”⁵⁶ Sarah McVean, one of the four female nurses selected for work on the *Maine*, was surprised but “delighted” with the welcome they received in London. In a letter to Elisabeth Mills Reid she wrote, “We are the guests of London. . . . We had not expected quite so much from English people.”⁵⁷ She continued, noting how busy the nursing sisters have been since their arrival writing, “When I tell you we often have four engagements for a day and some times five you will have some idea of the way we are being entertained.”⁵⁸ In her brief letter, Sarah mentioned invitations to Warwick Castle, Blenheim Palace, and a visit to Windsor Castle to meet the Queen. Before the *Maine* set sail, Queen Victoria invited the American doctors and nurses to Windsor Castle to thank them. According to M. Eugenie Hibbard, the Queen was introduced to each one of them and then said “I am very pleased to see you. It is very sweet of you to have come, and I want to say to you how much I appreciate your kindness in coming here to help take care of *my men*” (author’s original emphasis).⁵⁹

The soldiers who were patients on the *Maine* expressed their gratitude during the long journey home to England. In a letter to Jennie Churchill, they wrote “It is impossible to express in a few words adequate thanks for all the comforts we have received on board, but we hope you will convey to the Committee, &, as far as possible,

⁵⁶ Ibid., 407.

⁵⁷ Letter from Sarah McVean to Mrs. Elisabeth Mills Reid, December 4, 1899, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1490, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ M. Eugenie Hibbard. “The Queen’s reception of American Doctors and Nurses,” *The American Journal of Nursing* 1, no. 6 (March 1901): 402.

the donors, our heartfelt thanks for what they have done for us.”⁶⁰ After the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, the Committee had a commemorative gold medal cast honoring the *Maine* and presented it to King Edward VII. In accepting the medal, the King replied, “the fact that it had been intended for his beloved mother made it specially valued and that the culminating present of the ship to the British government he trusted would always remain as a lasting link of friendship between the two countries.”⁶¹ For her work on the *Maine*, Lady Churchill received the Order of the Red Cross. Both Lady Churchill and Fanny Ronalds were also honored by appointments to Lady of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem for their services on the *Maine*.⁶² A cartoon appearing in *Punch* expresses the feeling of the British people regarding the gift of the *Maine*. The Princess of Wales is pictured holding the hands of Columbia with the *Maine* shown in the background, saying “Thank you, sister, for your friendship and generous help.”⁶³ The people of Great Britain were exceedingly grateful to the American Ladies Committee for the medical care given to wounded soldiers and for the picture of Anglo-American rapprochement found in the *Maine*.

⁶⁰ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 454. Officers who signed the letter of thanks to Lady Churchill are: Captain Eric Streatfield, Captain Blackburne Tew, Lieutenant W. Wingfield, Lieutenant R.T. Meiklejohn, H. R. Gunning, Lieutenant E. G. Caffin, Lieutenant A. J. Campbell, Major H. Capel Cure, Captain G. M. Gloster, Lieutenant F. D. Byrne, Lieutenant A. Wise, and Lieutenant M. Carbery.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 460.

⁶² Sebba, *American Jennie*, 255; and “Court of Claims,” *The London Gazette*, Friday, July 5, 1901.

⁶³ John Tenniel, “Sisters of Mercy” (illustration), *Punch, or The London Charivari*, November 22, 1899.

CHAPTER V
A PLACE FOR THE *MAINE*

In the years following the American Civil War, the United States and Great Britain began to move toward the friendship and strong military alliance that is enjoyed today. As mentioned before, several scholars have analyzed this process, called *rapprochement*, exploring factors and circumstances which influenced the relationship between the United States and Great Britain in the period from 1865-1914. These scholars, including Howard Temperley, D.A. Campbell, Bradford Perkins, and Charles S. Campbell, have identified four factors that were obstacles to the formation of friendship and four factors that promoted the formation of friendship between the two countries.

To review, the first factor identified by scholars as hindering friendship is that several Confederate war ships were constructed in and sailed from British ports during the Civil War. Following seven years of dispute, Britain was held responsible for prolonging the war and was required to pay a 15.5 million dollar settlement to the U.S. government.¹ The second factor arose from territorial disputes regarding fur seal hunting in the Bering Sea and access to Canadian fishing waters.² The third factor was the Venezuela Crisis of 1895-1896, wherein Great Britain was accused of violating the Monroe Doctrine by extending the borders of British Guiana to include Venezuelan

¹ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 134.

² *Ibid.*, 112, 152-156; and Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 188.

goldfields. The matter was settled in favor of Britain through international arbitration, though not before the U.S. considered the possibility of armed conflict.³ The final obstacle to friendship between the United States and Great Britain was the presence of Anglophobia in the U.S., most prominently expressed in Irish-American communities and through anti-imperialism and pro-Boer attitudes.⁴

Likewise, rapprochement scholars have identified four primary factors which promoted a growing friendship between the United States and Great Britain. First, the emergence of the U.S. as an imperial power during the Spanish-American War created a commonality between the two countries and served as a foundation for friendship.⁵ Second, the commonly held belief in “Anglo-Saxon racial exceptionalism” pulled the countries closer together as the peoples of Britain and the U.S. saw themselves as superior and more civilized than non-English speaking peoples.⁶ Additionally, the growing powers of other European countries, particularly Germany and Russia, caused a sense of uneasiness and created, in both countries, the need for friendship.⁷ Finally, the fourth factor which promoted friendship between the United States and Great Britain was the creation of a transatlantic culture at the end of the nineteenth century made possible

³ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 77; and Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 15-20.

⁴ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1338; and Temperley, *Britain and America*, 76.

⁵ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 195; and Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 239.

⁶ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1318; and Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 82, 88. One of the qualities which Anglo-Saxons believed made them a superior race was their use of the English language. During this period, race and nationality were often considered synonyms and were used interchangeably. Citizens of European countries that would today be considered Caucasian were considered to be of a different ‘race’ than Americans and Britons. For example, the French were members of the Latin race, Germans of the Teutonic race, and Russians of the Slavic race. Additionally, the British were fighting the Dutch in South Africa, whom they considered a less civilized people. It was the English Language and English institutions that set Anglo-Saxons apart.

⁷ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 202; and Mommsen, “Introduction,” 2. See also, Temperley, *Britain and America*, 78.

by ease of travel, frequent exchange of literature and art, expanding business connections, and numerous marriages between Americans and Britons.⁸

Unfortunately, the American Ladies Committee and the voyages of the *Maine* have been almost entirely ignored by rapprochement scholars. Bradford Perkins, the first modern rapprochement scholar, is the exception. Perkins mentions the Committee's efforts on the *Maine* in his *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914*, calling the hospital ship "really only half American."⁹ He omits the nursing sisters from the narrative writing, "Lady Randolph and a complement of medical men sailed for Africa" and like others, misrepresents the women of the Committee as all married to important Englishmen.¹⁰ He also claims that Lady Churchill met her second husband, George Cornwallis-West, while she was in South Africa with the *Maine*, which further research shows is not true.¹¹ However, Perkins clearly saw something in the Committee's efforts on the *Maine* that related to Anglo-American relations because he included it in his study on rapprochement. He subtly suggests as much noting, "the 'American' hospital ship strengthened [English] opinion that respectability was on their side."¹²

⁸ Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons," 1326-1327; and Temperley, *Britain and America*, 84. See also, Davis, "We are all Americans Now!" 144-145.

⁹ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 94.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ George Cornwallis-West was in South Africa with his regiment but was sent home to recover from severe sunstroke at the same time as Jennie was headed to South Africa on the *Maine*. While she was gone, the two exchanged a series of letters wherein George scolded her for going with the *Maine* and desperately begged her to return to England to take care of him. Jennie gently refused his pleas to carry out her mission on the *Maine*. They were later married but they never saw each other in South Africa.

¹² Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 94.

Despite some confusion of the facts surrounding the creation and voyage of the *Maine*, Perkins' connection, though somewhat dismissive, of the *Maine* to Anglo-American relations is significant. An entirely American endeavor, the hospital ship *Maine* was deployed in the midst of a British war, sailing under both the U.S. and British flags. The Committee created the *Maine* as a gesture of friendship and intended their efforts to improve relations between their country of origin and country of residence. Therefore, the connection between the hospital ship *Maine* and rapprochement should be examined further.

The American Ladies Committee and the hospital ship *Maine* correspond to the broader study of rapprochement in three of the four previously identified changes that were working to draw the United States and Great Britain into a closer relationship at the end of the nineteenth century. First, the *Maine* represents the new imperial connection and its basis for a growing friendship between the two nations. During the Spanish-American War, the countries of Continental Europe took a disapproving stance of the United States' behavior in intervening in Cuba and the Philippines; though not directly involved in the conflict, the Continent supported Spain. Great Britain, however, did not join Europe in support for Spain, instead giving its support to the United States. Perkins writes, "Unlike Europe, where most people hoped against hope that Spain would fight off her assailant, England resounded with applause for the Americans."¹³ Throughout the war, Britain maintained an official policy of neutrality, but "so managed her policy as to

¹³ Ibid., 42.

benefit the Americans.”¹⁴ Upon hearing news of American victory, London exploded with celebrations, displaying the Stars and Stripes, cheering in front of the American Embassy, and singing the American national anthem.¹⁵ The Spanish Queen-Regent, Maria Christina, was Queen Victoria’s niece, making Great Britain’s friendly neutrality and enthusiastic response to America’s victory of great importance. British favor continued during the Filipino Insurrection that followed. British naval officer Captain Edward Chichester joined Admiral Dewey in Manila and Great Britain loaned several landing craft to the American Navy.¹⁶

The U. S. government responded in kind when the Boers declared war on Great Britain in 1899. Again, European countries were at odds with Britain. These nations gave support to the Boers. Campbell writes, “Among the powers only the United States, mindful of Britain’s help during the Spanish war, stood by her.”¹⁷ The American public expressed decidedly pro-Boer sentiments and officially, the U.S. remained neutral. According to the *Dallas Morning News*, a group in Philadelphia was raising money “for the purpose of sending a hospital ship to the Boers.”¹⁸ An article in the *Kansas Agitator* favorably refers to General Cronje as the “lion-hearted Boer commander” and criticizes

¹⁴ Ibid., 43. See also, U.S. Department of State, “Protection of American Interests by British Representatives During War with Spain,” Foreign Relations Correspondence: Great Britain, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, 1899, pp. 348-350, accessed on April 24, 2013, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=article&did=FRUS.FRUS1899.i0017&id=FRUS.FRUS1899&isize=M>.

¹⁵ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 42.

¹⁶ Ibid., 47, 50.

¹⁷ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 195.

¹⁸ “Hospital Ship For Boers,” *Dallas Morning News*, December 30, 1899, 5, The Historical *Dallas Morning News*, 1885-1977.

Britain for exiling him to St. Helena.¹⁹ However, the McKinley administration provided war supplies to Britain and allowed New York banks to fund the British war effort.²⁰ According to Perkins, America's emergence as an imperial power and the simultaneous imperial conflicts, "assured that the burdens of empire—and almost all but the most unreasonably sanguine assumed the burdens would be heavy—would to some degree be shared."²¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, the United States and Great Britain understood their status as imperial powers as a firm foundation for friendship.

The Committee references this imperial connection in the resolution they issued during their first meeting. They linked the *Maine* to the friendly neutrality each country showed the other during their respective imperial troubles, writing "And whereas the people of Great Britain have by their sympathy and moral support, materially aided the people of the United States of America in the war in Cuba and the Philippine Islands."²² While the *Maine* was completing its work in South Africa, the Committee continued making the imperial connection to encourage donations. In a fundraising pamphlet written for an American audience, the Committee explains, "It [the *Maine*] is, moreover, a proper recognition of the moral support and sympathy, tendered to us by the English

¹⁹ "General Cronje," *Kansas Agitator*, April 1900, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

²⁰ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 79. See also, U.S. Department of State, "Protection of British Interests at Pretoria by United States Consul," *Foreign Relations Correspondence: Great Britain, Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, 1899, pp. 350-351, accessed on April 24, 2013, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=article&did=FRUS.FRUS1899.i0017&id=FRUS.FRUS1899&isize=M>.

²¹ Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 67.

²² Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 400.

people in the Spanish-American War. . . . which no American should fail to appreciate.”²³

Because the hospital ship was named the *Maine*, it immediately brought to mind the *U.S.S. Maine* which sunk in an explosion off the coast of Cuba in 1898. In fact, some historians believe the Committee named their hospital ship the *Maine* to draw on that imperial connection. Ralph G. Martin writes, “The ship was called the *Maine* after the vessel that had been sunk in Havana Harbor before the start of the Spanish-American war.”²⁴ MacColl and Wallace agree with Martin, claiming “the ship—called the *Maine* after the boat sunk in the Spanish-American War.”²⁵ However, others maintain that the ship was already called the *Maine* before it came into the Committee’s possession. Jonathan Kinghorn, historian of the Atlantic Transport Line, claims the ship was already called the *Maine* and was “not, as is sometimes reported, renamed in 1898 to mark the explosion of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in the harbor at Havana.”²⁶ Richard J. Kahn agrees writing, “she was originally named the *Swansea*, and had already been renamed the *Maine* by 1889, according to the *Lloyd’s Register* of that year.”²⁷ No matter the origins of the ship’s name, the American Ladies Committee used it to their advantage, promoting imperial sympathies to stir publicity and raise funds. The supposed attack in the Havana Harbor had sparked the slogan “Remember the *Maine*,” and “the women

²³ “American Hospital Ship Fund for South Africa: Under the Red Cross,” Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²⁴ Martin, *Jennie*, 203.

²⁵ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry an English Lord*, 271.

²⁶ Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 182.

²⁷ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 118.

adopted it for their fundraising campaign.”²⁸ Their use of the slogan was so well known that upon returning from South Africa, the *Maine* was greeted in Southampton with banners inscribed with “ ‘We Remember the *Maine*’ entwined with American and British Flags.”²⁹

Even the ship itself and its crew, connected Britain’s imperial conflict in South Africa with America’s imperial conflict in the Philippines. According to an article in the *London Globe*, “The *Maine* is a duplicate of the *Missouri*, which was used in the Spanish-American War, and several of those who will serve under Col. Hensman gained their best experience in that campaign.”³⁰ Just as Bernard Baker of the Atlantic Transport Line donated the *Maine* to the British Admiralty during the Boer War; he donated the *Missouri* to the American Navy for service in the Spanish-American War.³¹ Furthermore, as previously mentioned, Elisabeth Mills Reid selected the nurses for the *Maine*, just as she had worked with the Red Cross in selecting nurses for work in the Philippines.³²

Individual members of the American Ladies Committee also acknowledged the growing friendship between America and England based on similar imperial exploits.

²⁸ Brian Roberts, *Churchills in Africa*, 272. The full slogan inspired by the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine* was ‘Remember the Maine, To Hell with Spain.’ In the months following the explosion, several journalists, most notably William Randolph Hearst of the *New York Journal*, published sensationalized and exaggerated news stories highlighting Spanish cruelty in the colonies and blaming Spain for sinking the *U.S.S. Maine*. This form of yellow journalism heavily influenced the decision to declare war on Spain in April 1898. “William Randolph Hearst,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, accessed September 19, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/258328/William-Randolph-Hearst>.

²⁹ “The *Maine* at Southampton,” *New York Times*, April 24, 1900, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

³⁰ “Hospital Ship *Maine*,” *The London Globe*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³¹ “The American Hospital Ship : Completing Arrangements,” *The London Globe*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; and Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 137.

³² Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 119.

Cornelia Adair, owner of the J.A. Ranch in the Texas Panhandle and vice-chairman of the Committee, appealed to American women in a fundraising pamphlet, calling the *Maine* “a message of sympathy from America” to Great Britain.³³ She continued stating, “every American should look upon it with pride, and should always feel that glow of sympathy which has swept over America towards the Mother Country has been expressed in this practical way.”³⁴ An article in the *New York Tribune* called the *Maine* an “example of good feeling” which is “worth more than diplomatic assurances or official acts of politeness in developing sympathy” between the United States and Great Britain.³⁵ Across the Atlantic, a writer for the *London Morning Post* confirmed the *Maine*’s “message of sympathy,” writing “most Americans regard the opportunity as a fitting one in which to show their sympathy for Great Britain.”³⁶ He continues, “. . . .and it is not difficult to assume that the sympathy of the bulk of Americans is with Great Britain, and would, if necessary, be shown in a practical manner.”³⁷ The creation and mission of the hospital ship *Maine* are a direct response to Britain’s show of support during the Spanish-American War and intended to demonstrate that the U.S. was returning the favor.

Mary Endicott Chamberlain, wife of British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain and member of the Committee, invoked the imperial connection in her

³³ Cornelia Adair, “American Hospital Ship Maine: Under the Red Cross, To the Women of the United States,” 1, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁵ “The News of Two Capitals,” *New York Tribune*, Sunday, December 10, 1899, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

³⁶ “American Ambulance Aid, From Our Correspondent,” *London Morning Post*, November 12, 1899, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

essay “An Obligation of Empire.” She remarks that “recent developments of policy, arising out of the Spanish-American War, have brought before the citizens of the United States many of the problems that for generations have confronted” England.³⁸ She argued that looking to the example of Great Britain might help her fellow Americans in their developing role as an imperial power, writing “It may be useful to those Americans whose thoughts are turning to the consideration of new needs and new obligations to have before them some of the results of the experience which the world wide Empire of Great Britain has afforded her sons and daughters.”³⁹ The American Hospital Ship *Maine*, reflects the increasing goodwill between the United States and Great Britain based on imperialism.

Second, in creating the *Maine*, the American Ladies Committee was inspired by the emerging sentiments of Anglo-Saxonism. In his *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904*, Stuart Anderson defines Anglo-Saxonism as the belief that “the civilization of the English-speaking nations was superior to that of any other group of people on the planet; and that the primacy of English and American civilization was largely due to the innate racial superiority of the people who were descended from the ancient Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain.”⁴⁰ Belief in racial superiority was attributed to certain characteristics inherent to Anglo-Saxons including: individualism, intelligence, political liberty, industry, love for adventure, Protestantism,

³⁸ Mary Endicott Chamberlain, “An Obligation of Empire,” *The North American Review* 170, no. 521 (April, 1900): 493.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 12.

self-restraint, and a “talent for self-government.”⁴¹ Anglo-Saxonism held within it evolutionary principles of struggle and competition which applied not only to individuals, but also to nations on a global stage. This had implications for international politics generally, and for Anglo-American relations specifically. Anderson explains, “The Darwinian overtones of Anglo-Saxonism forcibly suggested that Great Britain and the United States were natural allies who should stand together against the rest of the world.”⁴²

At the end of the nineteenth century, Anglo-Saxonism was closely related to imperialism. Kramer notes, “Wherever and however they conquered, Anglo-Saxons were racially destined to spread empires of liberty.”⁴³ The understood superiority of the “English-speaking peoples” created a sense of duty to civilize “lesser races” immortalized in Kipling’s “The White Man’s Burden.”⁴⁴ Together, people in the U.S. and Britain shared, according to Anderson, a “conviction that it was the duty of the

⁴¹ Ibid. and Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 82. Clearly defining who is a member of the ‘Anglo-Saxon race’ presented a problem for those adhering to Anglo-Saxon superiority. Many qualities were attributed to racial heritage that modern scholars understand to be cultural values or learned behavior. The term was vague and was easily manipulated to serve its promoters. For this reason, many preferred the term ‘English-speaking peoples’ over ‘Anglo-Saxon.’ For more on the ambiguity of ‘Anglo-Saxon’ see Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions and Anglo-Saxons.”

⁴² Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 13. Darwin’s scientific theory of evolution applied only to the biological world. It was Herbert Spencer, an English philosopher, who applied Darwin’s biological evolution to human society.

⁴³ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1322.

⁴⁴ Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 57-58, and Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement*, 84-86. Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden” was first published in *McClure’s* magazine in February 1899.

Anglo-Saxon race to regenerate the earth through the extension of its institutions and ideals.”⁴⁵

Although there were large populations in the United States and Great Britain that were not Anglo-Saxon, policy makers, diplomats, and influential people were of an elite Anglo-Saxon heritage and held a belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority. Leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, Andrew Carnegie, Whitelaw Reid, Henry Cabot Lodge, Cecil Spring-Rice, Joseph Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes, W.T. Stead, and Arthur Balfour strongly believed in Anglo-Saxonsim and worked for closer ties between Britain and the U.S. Upon his return from a trip to America in 1888, Colonial Secretary and the foremost supporter of an Anglo-American alliance, Joseph Chamberlain declared, “. . . . I think that we may trust to the good feeling and common interests, and more than all to the common blood, and common origin, and common traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race, to preserve unbroken the amity and peace which are essential to the progress and civilization of the world.”⁴⁶ He continued, “In the case of the United States of America Our course has been marked out for us as separate and independent, but I hope as friendly nations.”⁴⁷

As two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, sharing a common heritage, the peoples of the United States and Great Britain were tied together by blood; they were

⁴⁵ Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 23. Economic gain was also a motivating factor for imperialism. Expansion provided access to raw materials and new markets for goods, along with social and political power that accompanies commercial success.

⁴⁶ Joseph Chamberlain, “Relations with the United States and the Colonies,” Devonshire Club, April 9, 1888, in *Mr. Chamberlain’s Speeches*, vol. 1, ed. Charles W. Boyd (1914; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), 321-322.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 322.

brothers. At an Easter banquet in London in 1898, the American ambassador John Hay explained to his audience, “We are bound by a tie which we did not forge and which we cannot break; we are joint ministers of the same sacred mission of liberty and progress, charged with duties which we cannot evade by the imposition of irresistible hands.”⁴⁸ In fact, the first popular expression of Anglo-Saxonism as a basis for Anglo-American goodwill appeared during the Venezuela Crisis in 1895-1896 as news headlines in the U.S. read “War if Necessary.” For the first time, possible war with Britain was denounced as “fratricide;” any violent conflict between the two countries would mean brother killing brother.⁴⁹ By the summer of 1898, Anglo-American Leagues had been formed in London and New York in the hopes for “an intimate and enduring friendship between these kindred peoples.”⁵⁰ Nineteenth century British academic and statesman, James Bryce noted the significant impact of Anglo-Saxonism arguing “The sympathy of race does not often affect the relations of states, but when it does it is a force of tremendous potency; for it affects not so much governments as the people themselves, who, both in America and in England, are the ultimate depositories of power, the ultimate controllers of policy.”⁵¹ A common belief in Anglo-Saxon racial exceptionalism

⁴⁸ John Hay, as quote in Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 83.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁰ Interview with representative of the Anglo-American League in New York, *Chicago Tribune*, August 24, 1898, quoted in Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1334. Anti-imperialist clubs, most notably the American Anti-Imperialist League, also formed throughout the country in opposition to America’s policy in the Philippines and Cuba. Several prominent Americans were actively involved in the anti-imperialist movement including: Mark Twain, Jane Adams, Henry James, Samuel Gompers, and Ambrose Bierce.

⁵¹ James Bryce, quoted in Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 11.

combined with a sense of duty to create a global Anglo-Saxon hegemony motivated Anglo-American cooperation and friendship at the end of the nineteenth century.

At the same time Jennie Churchill was leading the *Maine* effort, she was also serving as editor of the *Anglo-Saxon Review*, a transatlantic journal designed to further an “understanding” between Americans and Britons based on their common racial heritage.⁵² The *Anglo-Saxon Review* was Lady Churchill’s magazine; it was her idea, she created it and arranged for the literary contributions of her friends and contacts. In the first volume, published in June 1899, Lady Churchill opened with an introductory letter to readers. She explained the name of the publication, writing, “he bears a name which may sustain him even in the hardest struggles, and of which he will at all times endeavor to be worthy—a name under which just laws, high purpose, civilising influence, and a fine language, have been spread to the remotest regions.”⁵³ She contributed her own piece at the close of every volume titled “Impressions and Opinions,” in which she commented on the Boer War, life in the British Colonies, and the qualities of the English people. According to Dana Cooper, Lady Churchill believed “the production of a transnational publication could bring about improved relations and a better understanding between her Anglo-American kinsmen and women.”⁵⁴ Lady Churchill clearly held a strong belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority. Explaining the role of the British in Africa and India she argues, “We are bound to set an example to these dusky peoples, not only in superior strength, but of superior civilisation, superior humanity, superior gentleness and

⁵² “The Anglo-Saxon Review,” *New York Times*, July 12, 1899, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵³ Lady Randolph Churchill, “Introductory by the Editor,” *The Anglo Saxon Review*, vol. 1 (London and New York: John Lane, June 1899), 2.

⁵⁴ Cooper, “Country by Birth, Country by Marriage,” 43-44.

consideration.”⁵⁵ Again, she explains, “. . . . in our dealings with savage peoples, whether in war or peace, we are to act as ‘White Men’ should.”⁵⁶ Her *Anglo-Saxon Review* published literary pieces with titles such as “Sikhs and Boers: A Parallel,” “Our Colonial Kingdoms,” and “The Oriental Character.” After only ten volumes, publication came to end due to financial troubles. Though short-lived, Cooper argues *The Anglo-Saxon Review* “increasingly identified Lady Churchill as a leading and credible authority regarding Anglo-American relations.”⁵⁷

Mary Endicott Chamberlain also, was concerned with the common racial identity of Americans and Britons and the Anglo-Saxon role in world events. She argued, “The control of the tropic devolves more and more on the Anglo-Saxon race, and it carries with it the responsibility for the civilization and welfare of the vast populations which turn to English-speaking people for protection and good government.”⁵⁸ In a fundraising pamphlet, Cornelia Adair celebrates Anglo-Saxonism in order to compel readers to give to the *Maine* effort. She claims:

I know that from one end of America to the other generous hearts are saying to themselves: “How can we send a word of comfort to our own kith and kin?” They know that this Mother Country is not the same to them as any other country. They recognise that those splendid Anglo-Saxon qualities which have made the glory of England, have also made the greatness of America!⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Lady Churchill, “Impressions and Opinions,” *The Anglo-Saxon Review*, vol. 1 (London and New York: John Lane, June 1899), 248.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Cooper, “Country by Birth, Country by Marriage,” 46.

⁵⁸ Chamberlain, “Obligation of Empire,” 503.

⁵⁹ Adair, “American Hospital Ship Maine: Under the Red Cross,” Elizabeth Mills Reid Papers.

It was not just single members of the Committee who believed in the racial exceptionalism of Anglo-Saxons. The American women behind the *Maine* effort “subscribed to what Walter La Faber calls: ‘the Anglo-Saxon mission to reshape the world in the mold of western civilization’.”⁶⁰ The Committee as a whole cited the Anglo-Saxon connection in their resolution from their first meeting, writing “That whereas Great Britain is now involved in a war affecting the rights and liberties of the Anglo-Saxon people in South Africa, and has under arms 70,000 troops to maintain such rights and liberties. . . .”⁶¹ Further, during the flag dedication ceremony, the Duke of Connaught, in his speech, connected the *Maine* to Anglo-Saxonism. He commended “that charity which a large number of American ladies and gentlemen have shown towards the soldiers of her kin, speaking their own language, who are now fighting gallantly in South Africa.”⁶² Historian Dana Cooper also argues strongly that the creation of the *Maine* is closely tied to a belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority, writing “these women also held contemporary views regarding the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race representative of the period.”⁶³ For Cooper, the ladies behind the *Maine* effort perceived themselves first and foremost as Anglo-Saxons. She explains, “These women saw themselves neither wholly American nor British but rather Anglo-Saxon.”⁶⁴ Drawing from the words of Rudyard Kipling, she even goes as far as to claim that in creating and

⁶⁰ Walter La Faber, quoted in Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 115.

⁶¹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 399-400.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 413.

⁶³ Cooper, “Country by Birth, Country by Marriage,” 48.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

funding the *Maine*, members of the Committee were carrying out the “white woman’s burden.”⁶⁵

The cabinet created to hold the medicines on the *Maine* even further demonstrates the connection of the United States to Great Britain on the basis of an Anglo-Saxon Heritage. A *London Globe* reporter describes the cabinet for his readers in great detail writing:

. . . .on the top panel of which appear the Union Jack and Stars and Stripes, entwined portraits of the Queen, George Washington, and President McKinley, and representations of the American Eagle and the British lion. On the front panel are the portraits of the three ladies already mentioned [Lady Randolph Churchill, Fanny Ronalds, and Jennie Blow], and the panels on each end of the chest represent Britannia and Columbia supporting a Red Cross Banner. On the chest which is made of oak and covered with Carthaginian cowhide, is inscribed Keble’s line “No distance breaks the tie of blood.”⁶⁶

By portraying the Union Jack and Stars and Stripes together, along with symbols of the two countries and members of the *Maine* Committee, the cabinet maker(s) was drawing attention to the ship’s correlation to Anglo-American relations. The inscription of a line from John Keble’s poem—“No distance breaks the tie of blood”—further highlights the connection of the *Maine* to widespread belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 52.

⁶⁶ “Hospital Ship Maine: Said to be Best of Those in British Service Now,” *The London Globe*, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1491, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. John Keble was an early 19th century English clergyman and poet. He was a professor of poetry at Oxford and a leader in the Oxford Movement, which aimed to return the Anglican Church to 17th century ‘high church’ practices. This line is quoted from his poem titled “Second Sunday After Trinity,” published in his *The Christian Year* (1828), one of the most popular books of religious verse in its time. For the complete poem see, John Keble, *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holidays Throughout the Year*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1828), 184-188, digitized by Google Books. For more information, see “Keble, John (1792-1866),” in *Who’s Who in Christianity* (Routledge, London: Routledge, 2001), *Credo Reference Online*. “Keble, John (1792-1866)” in *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), *Credo Reference Online*. “Keble, John,” in *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), *Credo Reference Online*.

bond of brotherhood between English-speaking peoples. Evidence suggests the *Maine* was an expression of Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism and responsibility to bring civilization to the world.

Third, the creation of the *Maine* demonstrates a British-American connection through a transatlantic culture. Following the Civil War, advances in technology made communication across the Atlantic expedient. Permanent cable lines laid by the Atlantic Telegraph Company, Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, and the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, meant “the days of waiting for important information by ship had come to an end.”⁶⁷ Changes in technology also made transatlantic travel easier and enjoyable. For well-to-do travelers, ocean liners, now propelled by steam power, provided luxurious accommodations where all types of comforts could be had. There no longer was anything unpleasant or inconvenient about transatlantic transportation.⁶⁸ Even the design of travel fostered relationships as Americans and Britons journeyed together on the same ships. According to Temperley, communal dinners, deck games, evening entertainments, and club rooms “offered opportunities for relaxation and social intercourse not available to earlier generations of transatlantic passengers.”⁶⁹ Ease of travel promoted transatlantic associations and cultural, political, and economic exchanges. For example, in 1873, Lord Rosebery became the first British Prime Minister ever to visit the United States. On the other end of the spectrum, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Exhibition made its British debut in 1887 for Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee and

⁶⁷ Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 227.

⁶⁸ Temperley, *Britain and America*, 82.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

was wildly popular.⁷⁰ According to Kramer, “such complex and long-standing exchanges widened and deepened as accelerating travel and communication enabled greater contacts” between the two countries.⁷¹ Anglo-American connections were strengthened in the late nineteenth century by increasing contact through travel and communication.

An expanding exchange of literature and art also contributed to the creation of a transatlantic culture. After a fifteen year campaign, copyright laws were effectively changed in 1891 by an agreement between the United States and Great Britain “securing to the authors of each country the full recognition of property rights in both countries.”⁷² The resulting market for literature created a transatlantic “publishing revolution” in the 1890s.⁷³ Kramer argues, “The new publishing circuits helped create an ‘imagined community’ of literate, English-speaking, Americans and Britons with common affiliations and reference points, even among the less traveled.”⁷⁴ Authors such as Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, Ambrose Bierce, Oscar Wilde, Rudyard Kipling, and H.G. Wells, traveled across the Atlantic for lecture tours while others, like Henry James, made permanent moves.⁷⁵ Magazines and periodicals were also increasingly exchanged. For example, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Century Magazine*, and *Scribner’s* all had significant numbers of American and British subscribers.⁷⁶ D.A. Campbell notes the importance of a transatlantic exchange of literature arguing that it “represent[ed] the increasing

⁷⁰ Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 216, 230-232.

⁷¹ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1326.

⁷² Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 229.

⁷³ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1326.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 241-245, and Temperley, *Britain and America*, 84.

⁷⁶ Kramer, “Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons,” 1326.

interconnectedness of cultural ties to the extent that it was becoming increasingly difficult to demarcate where American and British ideas and activities both began and left off.”⁷⁷

As the U.S. became an economic power through expanding industrialization, the two countries forged strong economic ties. According to Campbell, “In the 1890s Great Britain was by far the principal market for American goods. . . . and the chief supplier of imports and capital.”⁷⁸ From 1890–1894, eleven percent of British exports were sent to the U.S. and twenty-three percent of British imports came from the U.S.⁷⁹ American industries swarmed British markets and American products were seen everywhere. John Foster Carr notes, “Close trade relations foster friendship, and there has been no part of English life that has not been affected by American enterprise.”⁸⁰

Anglo-American cultural connections were solidified by the hundreds of transatlantic marriages that occurred between 1865-1914. Maureen Montgomery explains the cultural connections created by these unions, writing “Americans were integrated into London society more than in any other European city because of strong kinship ties created by the large number of transatlantic marriages.”⁸¹ The kinship ties continued to influence Anglo-American relations as their children gained titles or began political careers. Two children of transatlantic unions became Prime Minister: Winston Churchill and Harold Macmillan. In his extensive research, Richard W. Davis has

⁷⁷ Campbell, *Unlikely Allies*, 224-225.

⁷⁸ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 201.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁸⁰ John Foster Carr, “Anglo-American Unity Fast Coming,” *The World’s Work*, vol. 6, edited by Walter Hines Page and Arthur Wilson Page, New York: DoubleDay, Page, and Co. (May 1903 – Oct 1903): 4018, digitized by Google Books.

⁸¹ Montgomery, *Displaying Women*, 27.

counted a total of 451 Anglo-American marriages in the period from 1865-1914.⁸² Usually, but not always, the woman was American and contemporary commentators made much of their unions. In December 1898, the cover of *Puck* magazine featured a drawing of an American girl with Uncle Sam on one side and John Bull on the other. The caption read, “One of the Causes. The American girl is bringing them closer together.”⁸³ Though foreign born, many of these American brides married into the British peerage or married British politicians, putting themselves in positions of influence. For example, Mary Leiter, American wife of George Nathaniel Curzon, became the Vicereine of India in 1898, and thus the second highest-ranking woman in the British Empire (second only to Queen Victoria).⁸⁴ Davis writes, “It was primarily this kind of broad social influence that made this generation of American women the force they undoubtedly were in bringing the sea-change in Anglo-American relations at the turn of the century.”⁸⁵ Transatlantic marriages connected the United States and Great Britain through genealogy and reinforced the growing cultural ties of the period.

New ease of travel and communication made it possible for the American Ladies Committee based in London to raise over £41,000 of primarily American funds and acquire an American ship in less than two months time. Committee members in London communicated with Mrs. Elisabeth Mills Reid about the medical staff by telegraph

⁸² Davis, ““We Are All Americans Now!”” Appendix, 176-199.

⁸³ Udo J. Keppler, “One of the Causes” (cover illustration), *Puck*, vol. 44, no. 1138 (December 28, 1898), accessed June 27, 2013, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/picture/item/2012647513>.

⁸⁴ MacColl and Wallace, *To Marry*, 340.

⁸⁵ Davis, ““We Are All Americans Now!”” 175.

several times a week to ensure all was going as planned.⁸⁶ Several fundraising events were held New York and the Committee asked Mrs. Reid to approach J.P. Morgan for his assistance in managing a transatlantic fund. She explains in a letter to Mr. Morgan, “A cable dispatch from Mrs. Adair in London asks me if I would not speak to you on behalf of the Committee of Ladies in London of American originwith reference to having your banking house act for them in receiving and forwarding such subscriptions as they are going to seek in this country.”⁸⁷ The Committee chose an Anglo-American institution to hold and disperse their funds as Morgan’s New York based bank had a strong presence in London.⁸⁸ Newspapers in England were covering the *Maine* as were their American counterparts in places like Washington D.C., Omaha, and San Francisco.⁸⁹ Articles that appeared in the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* were reprinted in British papers like London’s *Morning Post* and vice versa. Easy communication with the Committee’s transatlantic contacts fueled the *Maine*’s success.

Additionally, several of the women on the Committee were among the hundreds of American women who married across the Atlantic in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ In fact, “most of the influential women in England” were involved in creating the *Maine*. Several of the Committee members, such as Mary Endicott Chamberlain;

⁸⁶ Collection of telegraph communication through Western Union Telegraph Company, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁸⁷ Elisabeth Mills Reid to J.P Morgan, Part 1, Box 1 B53, Folder 1489, Elisabeth Mills Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁸⁸ Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York: Grove Press, 1990), xi-xiii, see also Part 1: The Baronial Age, 1838-1913, 3-161.

⁸⁹ “American Hospital Ship *Maine*,” *The Evening Star*; “They Ride to Victory on the *Maine*,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*; and “American Women in London Who Helped Fit Out the South African Hospital Ship *Maine*,” *The Sunday Call*.

⁹⁰ Davis, “We Are All Americans Now!” 144-154.

Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough; Minnie Paget; Lily, Duchess of Marlborough; and the Countess of Essex, were married to politically influential men. Jennie Churchill was herself the widow of the late Lord Randolph Churchill and was very connected politically. As wives, they “all took a keen and well-informed interest in politics on both-sides of the Atlantic, and all were their husband’s political confidantes.”⁹¹ In commenting on the volume and influence of these transatlantic marriages, Lady Dorothy Nevil remarked, “at the present day, so close has the union between ourselves and the United States become that Americans are hardly looked upon as foreigners at all, so many people having American relatives. . . . It may with justice be said that it is by the American girl that we have been conquered.”⁹²

Not all of the Committee members were married to influential Englishmen. Many, including Lois VanDuzer, Carrie Griffin, Lydia Haldeman, Meeta Field, and Jennie Blow, were married to Americans residing in England for business interests. Campbell notes, “At the end of the century a large community of business men and financiers moved back and forth between the two countries, at home in both. Their fortunes depended on the Atlantic economic connections and therefore on good Anglo-American relations.”⁹³ A variety of industries including cosmetics, shipping, life insurance, and agricultural machinery brought these American women to London. Even though their husbands were not British peers or politicians, they were not without

⁹¹ Ibid., 174.

⁹² Lady Dorothy Nevil, quoted in Davis, ““We Are All Americans Now!”” 142.

⁹³ Campbell, *From Revolution to Rapprochement*, 202.

influence. Campbell argues, “Such men enjoyed public esteem; governments headed their counsel.”⁹⁴

The American Ladies Committee was both a product of transatlantic culture and an active participant in it. Their transatlantic marriages and business connections uniquely situated them to achieve such a task. Committee members had created extensive Anglo-American networks which gave them influence in both the United States and Great Britain. It was only through these transatlantic connections that they were able to make the *Maine* a success.

Scholars have spent much effort examining the way in which Anglo-American relations changed in the period from 1865-1914. With the exception of a brief mention in Bradford Perkins work, the hospital ship *Maine* and the American Ladies Committee is almost entirely absent from the rapprochement narrative. However, the *Maine* clearly corresponds to rapprochement scholarship in three distinct ways. The *Maine* embodied the connection formed between the two countries during their respective imperial conflicts and acted as a message of sympathy and reciprocity from the United States to Great Britain. Second, the creation of the *Maine* was directly tied to beliefs in Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism and the Committee members’ understanding of the mission to civilize the ‘lesser’ races. Finally, the Committee utilized and strengthened the transatlantic cultural connections of the late nineteenth century to make the *Maine* a success. The *Maine* effort provides a strong example in three of the four ways identified by scholars that British-American relations were improving during this period. The

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Anglo-American nature of the hospital ship *Maine*, the Committee, and the international response to their efforts, place the ship and the American women behind it, firmly within the context of rapprochement scholarship.

Conclusion

Bernard Baker and the American Ladies Committee gifted the hospital ship *Maine* and its fittings to the British Admiralty on July 1, 1901. The Earl of Selborn, First Lord of the Admiralty, considered the *Maine*, a “most gracious gift.”⁹⁵ Newspapers were again filled with news of the *Maine*. According to the *Princeton Union*, the *Maine* was received as “a sign of the cordial relations existing between the United States and Great Britain.”⁹⁶ The *Maine*’s legacy endured as the British Navy honored the American women and their efforts by continuing to have a vessel called the *Maine* as part of its fleet until the close of the Korean War.⁹⁷

Today, Great Britain is perhaps the United States’ strongest ally. Just over a century ago the relationship between the two countries was still uncertain and fraught with tensions. Through a process of rapprochement, strong connections and similarities emerged, drawing the U.S. and Great Britain toward friendship. This author’s research demonstrates the significance of the American Hospital Ship *Maine* in the development of rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain. To have American women in charge of a military hospital ship deployed in the midst of a British war

⁹⁵ “Hospital Ship Maine,” *The Princeton Union*, Thursday, July 1, 1901, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Kahn, “Women and Men at Sea,” 137 and Kinghorn, *Atlantic Transport Line*, 102.

represents something quite remarkable. Though previously ignored by rapprochement scholars, this study reveals that the American Ladies Committee created the *Maine* in order to establish a permanent friendship between the United States and Great Britain. The impressive response of both countries, highlighted in this work, suggests that they were, in part, successful in improving Anglo-American relations. An editorial, originally appearing in the *Daily Chronicle* but reprinted in the *New York Times*, poetically captures the success of the *Maine*. It reads:

. . . . It was a ship in Boston Harbor which caused the first quarrel between Britons and Americans and the Alabama nearly brought the two nations to blows again. . . . It is a ship which, in Mr. Baker's graceful phrase, is an emblem of the cordial relations existing between the citizens of the United States and those of the mother country. . . . Great Britain will 'Remember the Maine.'⁹⁸

Using their transatlantic connections and social influence, these American women entered the male-dominated realm of international politics. Outside any official authority, they were able to launch the first ship to sail under both the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack. Remembering her efforts on the *Maine*, Lady Churchill considered it “the most important public work I have ever tried to do.”⁹⁹

⁹⁸ “Hospital Ship Maine Given to British Navy,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1901, *New York Times* digital archive.

⁹⁹ Cornwallis-West, *Reminiscences*, 463.

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