

The Marine Hospital Cemetery,
Presidio of San Francisco, California



WHERE THE SAILORS ARE BURIED.

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INTRODUCTION

The Marine Hospital Cemetery of San Francisco has been an enigmatic topic of study for researchers since its rediscovery in 1989, during the closure of the Presidio Army Base. In use from 1881-1912, in ruins by the 1930s, covered by construction fill and a parking lot by the 1970s, the cemetery's history lay hidden almost entirely in secret until hazardous materials testing teams—working in the hospital area during base closure proceedings—recovered evidence of the historic cemetery. Since that time, archival research and limited archaeological testing have revealed additional information about this lost resting place. Research regarding the history of the cemetery has become increasingly relevant to the Presidio Trust as it seeks to remediate the potentially hazardous Landfill 8, rehabilitate the Public Health Service Hospital structures, and maintain the little remaining integrity of the cemetery and its environs.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

As part of baseline studies conducted in preparation for the base's closure, several of the landfills created by the Army were tested, mostly for hazardous materials. In 1990, Woodward-Clyde Consultants, a private archaeology firm under contract to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Sacramento District, conducted limited backhoe trenching in the area now known as Landfill 8 in order to confirm the cemetery's continued existence. At a depth of approximately 15' below a stratum of construction debris, human remains were recovered, still within their original wooden coffins (Woodward-Clyde 1990). This discovery led to the Army funding an archival research project and report by Mary L. Maniery of PAR Environmental Services, Inc. in 1994, and further monitoring and trenching by Woodward-Clyde in 1995 and by URS Corporation in 2002. Maniery's research provided a starting point for in-depth archival research conducted in 2006.

METHODOLOGY

Over a period of six months in 2006, extensive archival research was conducted at several institutions, and personal interviews were conducted with individuals involved in the re-discovery of the cemetery in the 1980s. Through these methods, this project has sought to more fully shape our understanding of the cemetery's history and to identify as many of its occupants as possible. In the course of pursuing these objectives, knowledge regarding the lives and deaths of seafarers at the turn of the twentieth century was also acquired, from common causes of death to shipping routes to the importance of personal effects. Incidental knowledge of the Marine Hospital was also gained through hospital records and accounts—the Hospital itself has a rich history that has yet to be fully explored. This information, relevant although tangential to the central task of researching the cemetery, has also been reported here.

The following institutions were consulted during this phase of research. Italics in parentheses indicate information obtained from the source. More extensive bibliographic information on individual publications and sources is available in Appendix E.

- Bancroft Library (*Daughters of the American Revolution Cemetery Records*)
- California Genealogical Society Library (*San Francisco death records*)
- California State Library – Government Publications (*Hospital Division Circulars, Annual Reports of the Marine Hospital Service*)
- Library of Congress (*References to Public Health Service agency annual reports*)
- National Archives, College Park (*Correspondence of the Marine Hospitals*)
- National Archives, Pacific Region (*Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Repair, United States Customs Service, United States Shipping Board, the Office of the Army Staff, US District Court: Honolulu*)
- National Library of Medicine (*Correspondence of the Marine Hospitals*)

- National Parks Service – Golden Gate National Recreation Area Archives (*Historic maps, administrative records*)
- Olivet Memorial Park (*Historic graves of sailors*)
- San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park Library (*Marine Exchange Records: Vessel Arrivals and Sailings*)
- Sailor’s Union of the Pacific (*Death records*)
- San Francisco Public Library – Government Documents (*Legislation on removal of city cemeteries, Government budget documents*)
- San Francisco Public Library - History Room (*Biography files, Annual reports of the Ladies’ Seamen’s Friends Society, Files and Cross-reference cards regarding cemeteries, Historic undertakers’ records*)
- United States Geological Survey (*Historic maps*)

In addition, the following sources were contacted, but either had no relevant information or never replied to inquiries.

- American Medical Association Archives (*No relevant information*)
- Australian Consulate (*No reply*)
- British Consulate (*No relevant information*)
- Catholic Archdiocese’s Archives in Menlo Park (*No reply*)
- German Consulate (*No relevant information*)
- National Archives, Pacific-Alaska Region (*No relevant information*)
- Norwegian Consulate (*Referred to national archives in Norway*)
- Seafarer’s International Union (*No reply*)
- Society of California Pioneers (*No relevant information*)
- Sutro Library (*No relevant information*)
- Swedish Consulate (*Referred to Sailor’s Union of the Pacific, retains no historic records*)

The following individuals were consulted regarding their personal memories of the hospital and cemetery.

- Anderson Knud, former Public Health Service Hospital patient
- John Buck, United States Army Toxic and Hazardous Materials Agency (USATHAMA) investigator in 1981
- Lou Ferrari, former Action Officer for the Army during the transfer of the USPHS Hospital in 1981
- Mary Maniery, PAR Environmental Services, Inc. archaeologist who conducted 1994 cemetery research

Research conducted in 2006 drew heavily from suggestions for future research as outlined in Maniery's 1994 report. The following paragraphs provide a summary of Maniery's suggestions and updates based on current research.

National Archives, Pacific Region

Maniery recommended checking Record Group 21, Records of the Ninth United States Circuit Court regarding the estates of deceased and deserted seamen. In the intervening years, these records were moved to Record Group 41, the Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Repair, and the indexes were moved to Record Group 36, Records of the United States Customs Service. These were completely searched for relevant information, and any personal effects included in the files were photographed to assess exhibit potential (see Section 1 of Appendix A). The names of sailors listed in these records believed to be buried in the Marine Hospital Cemetery are noted as such in Appendix D. It should be noted that these records list only sailors who owed or were owed funds by ships based in the Ninth Circuit's jurisdiction, and not a complete record of all sailors who died in that jurisdiction. The records for the Hawaiian district were also checked to confirm this. The records were very sparse, and no relevant data was recovered. It is possible that other districts may have relevant records; these are listed in Appendix G.

National Archives, Washington, DC (College Park)

In 1994, it was noted that hundreds of letters and reports pertaining to the Public Health Service exist here. Presidio Trust Librarian Barbara Janis spoke with the Marjorie Sharlante, an archivist at College Park, who told her it was unlikely that they had anything regarding the cemetery (Sharlante 2006). During a visit, Janis found one relevant document, a letter regarding the receipt of effects of two deceased sailors.

National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD

Manieri notes that the Public Health Service Hospitals sent their records to the Carville, LA hospital as they closed, and when the Louisiana branch closed, all records were sent to the National Library of Medicine. Acting Historian for the Public Health Service, Alexandra Lord, did not know of any such records (Lord 2006). However, NLM Reference Librarian Steven Greenberg confirmed with Barbara Janis that the NLM does have the records, but the finding aid reveals that they are far from complete for each hospital (Greenberg 2006). Former PHS patient Anderson Knud stated that the San Francisco hospital sent most patient records to their last known addresses and destroyed the rest (Knud 2006). Unless the San Francisco PHS hospital retained copies of the records that were sent to Carville, it seems unlikely that such records will ever be recovered. During a visit to the NLM, Janis and Presidio Trust archaeologist Eric Blind recovered several documents that were peripherally relevant to the history of the cemetery, including letters from the surgeons-in-charge and hospital circulars.

Public Health Hospitals

In 1994, futile attempts were made to contact PHS Historian John Parascandola regarding the location of annual reports for each PHS institution. Mr. Parascandola retired in 2004. During his tenure, the Office of the Public Health Service Historian merged with the National Library of Medicine, and the collection is now overseen by Acting Historian Alexandra Lord. See previous sections for additional information.

San Francisco Department of Public Health – Vital Statistics Division

In 1994, this department held the only copies of the few existing death records from before the 1906 earthquake and fire. As of 2006, this is no longer the case. A copy of these records is now held by the California Genealogical Society in Oakland, and was used extensively and to great effect for the current research project. Records after 1906, however, are still only held by the city, and the same restrictions on use made research impossible. All post-1906 death records are on microfiche that are not available to researchers. General index ledgers are available to researchers, but only between 12 and 1 when staff is out to lunch, and these ledgers only contain names and certificate numbers. Certificates can then be obtained for \$12. As names alone would not have been helpful to this project, this resource was not used.

Maniery's guess that the deaths of sailors who were not American citizens were not reported to the City seems to be correct, at least in part. Early records do not seem to distinguish between citizens of the United States and other nations, until 1902, when almost all of the sailors whose deaths were reported include the designation "American Seaman" regardless of birthplace. Later years show a much lower number of deaths at the Marine Hospital than we know to have occurred from city municipal reports and Marine Hospital Service annual reports, indicating that many deaths were not reported, probably those of sailors with foreign citizenship.

It should be noted that one of the goals of this project has been to keep the research process as transparent as possible for any potential future researchers. A standardized form was created used to document the sources consulted, documents copied, and information obtained, including listings of sources that contained no relevant information. All of these forms, as well as all databases generated during research, have been duplicated in hard copy and on CD. A reference copy is available at the Presidio Archaeology Center.

THE HISTORY OF THE MARINE HOSPITAL CEMETERY

The first Marine Hospital to be built at the Presidio was constructed in 1874, on 86 acres of land leased to the Treasury Department by the War Department (Maniery 1994:7). The first official mention of a cemetery associated with this hospital occurs in 1881, when it is mentioned in the Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service (MHS) for that fiscal year (MHS 1881:27). The annual reports prior to that year make no reference to how deceased patients were being taken care of, but the 1881 report suggests that most Marine hospitals were contracting out to local cemeteries and mortuaries. The San Francisco Marine Hospital, however, was already maintaining a hospital cemetery, in which American sailors could be buried for free, and foreign sailors could be buried for a charge of \$6. (MHS 1881:27). By 1884, the price had gone up to \$10, where it seems to have remained (MHS 1884:44). Oddly, interments in the cemetery were not reported to the city for inclusion in the municipal reports until 1885. Considering that no prior Marine Hospital Service annual report mentioned the disposal of the dead, it seems likely that the cemetery could have been in operation for as long as the hospital had been there: since 1874. The cemetery was little known at any time, but considered a nice enough spot to earn an extensive descriptive article in the *San Francisco Call* in 1896 (see Section 2 of Appendix A for illustration). This article is the best description of the cemetery available, and as Maniery noted in 1994, it is worth quoting extensively.

...in a valley dreary with stunted growths and hummocks of half-tamed sand dunes, long rows of white posts bearing names and dates, and strangely suggestive of plantation nurseries, intrude upon the landscape. There are fences round these rows of painted boards, and then, as you draw near, there are mounds side by side, all of an equal length, and all sandy, save where nature has spread the golden eschscholtzia, and the blue nemophila amid tufts of weeds.

The garniture of the wilderness is in perfect harmony with this desert spot, for the place is very wild indeed, secluded from worldly sight by kindly hills and groves, and unknown only to an occasional pedestrian who leaves the beaten path for the Presidio hills...

Too often the journey to the hospital proves to be Jack's last voyage on earth, for every month the rollcall falls short in the local institution by four or five names. A short walk over the hill and those same names may be read upon the white boards, where flowers have not yet begun to bloom, upon the sand freshly turned. The rows of whitened boards have simply stretched out a trifle longer in the month, and the extension represents the names that were dropped...

Even amid the unlovely headboards and weeds one may learn a homely lesson from the work of some rough sailors, who are now God knows where. The touches of tenderness left upon the sandy mounds appeal to one with a pathetic earnestness, though, after all, they be nothing more than wooden monuments and frames, or fences, for an occasional grave, a tiny marble slab or a cluster of flowering plants...

When the summons comes for Jack to go aloft he is dressed in his own clothes, that is the apparel he wore on entering the institution. Then they place him, this rough sailor, with his dress of the sea, which perhaps still savors of the salt air and the unctuous pitch, into a plain, stout redwood coffin. There is not much ado over his interment. He is put under the sand with a board at his head, and, at least—he is with his mates
San Francisco Call 1896

It appears that the Marine Hospital performed most of its own funerary services. A faintly dated letter—it could be 1882 or 1892—states that the hospital purchased lumber for the purpose of making coffins (Vansant n.d.), and excavations in the cemetery have recovered nails and chunks of redwood coffins (Woodward-Clyde 1990). We know from photographs (see Section 2 of Appendix A) and the 1896 *Call* article that graves were marked by simple, whitewashed, wooden markers. It is possible, though somewhat unlikely, that more permanent markers may have been placed by friends and shipmates, such as stone markers or curbing. There is little likelihood that any crypts, vaults, mausoleums, or other monumental markers were constructed. Pauper's burials were quite common in this class-conscious era, and it was in no way unusual for the poor or other members of society's lower strata to be buried with no ceremony or marker at all. That the bodies were buried in coffins and that the graves were ever marked (as opposed to the mass pit graves common in pauper's burial lots) could even be seen as a testament to the devotion of hospital staff. The cemetery was maintained as cheaply as possible, as the hospital's Surgeon assured the Surgeon General in another faintly dated—1889 or 1899—letter (Hebersmith n.d.). As early as 1875, the surgeon general of the Marine Hospital Service was asking Congress for discretionary power over funds not claimed by a deceased patient's family (Marine Hospital Service (MHS) 1875:7). These funds were supposedly to be used to purchase "books for the patients" (MHS 1875:7). In 1898, it was mandated by the Bureau of Navigation, which at that time had charge of the Marine Hospital Service, that the deaths of foreign sailors be reported to the consul of their respective countries so that those offices could find and inform the families (MHS

1898:42). However, by 1921 Hospital Division Circular reminds the Medical Officers in Charge that they should be taking great care to find anyone with an interest in the burial of deceased patients, and that in an absence of such interest, the Officers themselves should make sure that disposition is conducted “in an appropriate manner” that “will not subject the Service to criticism”—suggesting that perhaps practices in this area had been less than appropriate in the recent past (Cumming 1921). Certainly playing into this shift in thought are the changing views of how death and human remains, regardless of the deceased’s social status, should be handled. In the era of cemetery use, tracking down long-lost family or friends simply wasn’t a priority when the funds and time could be put to other use.

From the City death records, it appears that some individuals’ burials may have been outsourced by the hospital to local undertakers (California Genealogical Society and Library 1894-1896). It is likely that in these instances, the sailor’s shipmates paid for a proper funeral for their fallen comrade. The most commonly used undertaker was Craig, Cochrane, & Associates—of whom no records appear to have survived—but there are also instances where N. Gray and H.F. Suhr were used. These last two undertakers’ historical records are in the possession of the San Francisco Public Library. A search indicated that these sailors were indeed given proper funerals, but not buried in the Marine Hospital Cemetery as the city records stated. In these cases, it seems more likely that the undertakers’ records would be correct, as they were tracking expenses such as removal of bodies, hearse and carriage fares, and cemetery fees. This lack of consistency in record-keeping only serves to underscore the socially-peripheral nature of the sailor’s existence on land.

Many of the sailors whose shipmates paid for funerals were buried in the City Cemetery plot maintained by the Ladies’ Seamen’s Friends Society (LSFS). It was previously thought that the Society’s cemetery may have been the same as the hospital’s cemetery, but further research has proven that this was not the case. Besides the undertakers’ records of burials in this particular plot, the annual reports of the Society itself state that members of the City Cemetery Committee were involved in the establishment of the Society plot (LSFS 1883:7, 14). Multiple other sources confirm that the Society’s cemetery was in the City Cemetery, including a map and plot guide from

1898 (Faust), an article about the diversity of those interred in the City Cemetery (*San Francisco News* 1938), and a 1914 guide to the city, which explicitly mentions the Society's plot and includes a picture of its monument (Todd 1914:186), still present in modern day Lincoln Park.

The LSFS's annual reports do mention the Marine Hospital, however, as the ladies had hoped to create an arrangement to have the hospital's dead buried in their plot (LSFS 1884:9). The reports also note that at least one deceased seaman was buried in the Marine Hospital Cemetery in 1883, though granted a permit for burial in the Society's plot (LSFS 1884:11). It is probable that the body was moved upon granting of the permit.

The 1883 burial does not appear in the municipal reports of the city of San Francisco. However, while the city's municipal reports may not contain perfectly accurate data, they can still tell us about general trends in the cemetery's use patterns for the years in which it does appear, 1885-1912 (see Appendix B for a full listing). The number of internments listed for the Marine Hospital Cemetery remained near 30 per year through the end of the 19th century and up until 1907, after which there appears to be a decline in burials, with the cemetery's period of use ending in 1912 (Maniery 1994:9-10). During this time, major changes occurred at the hospital, the most important of which was the administrative change to the Public Health Service, which occurred officially in 1902 (Maniery 1994:8), but wasn't effective at the hospital level until closer to 1912. The shift in departmental power may have been what led to the discontinuation of cemetery use.

As the years passed, the Public Health Service Hospital was forced to diversify its patient load from just merchant sailors to include "federal employees with work-related illnesses or injuries...military servicemen and persons with leprosy...veterans of war, coast and geodetic survey, lighthouse, and other uniformed maritime services personnel" (Maniery 1994:8). This increasing use of the hospital by the early 1930s necessitated the construction of a new hospital immediately to the west of the 1874 structure: a 472 bed, state-of-the-art facility was completed in 1931. Extensive documentation on the building's construction is still available in the National Park Service archives at the Presidio, including several letters regarding the grading of the surrounding landscape. One letter included in these files refers to the fact that the cemetery exists, and that a

"gentle grade" should lead "from the level just west of the grave yard to the site of the new hospital" (Creel 1929). Photographs of the new hospital (see Section 2 of Appendix A) show rows of white headstones present in the cemetery, though it had perhaps fallen into disrepair by this point (Maniery 1994:14).

The best sense of what happened after the 1930s comes from information revealed by Bill Bellamy, former Chief Engineer of the Public Health Service Hospital, who spoke about the cemetery to Lou Ferrari, the Army's action officer at the time that the Army was taking possession of the hospital grounds in 1981 (Ferrari 2006). Bellamy informed Ferrari that around 1950, the Treasury Department had allocated funds for the hospital to remove the cemetery to San Bruno. At this same time, the hospital was in the midst of funding a major expansion project. Ferrari speculated at the time of his conversation with Bellamy, and it is certainly possible, that the funds were shifted towards the construction of two new hospital wings (completed in 1952), because the cemetery was never removed. Bellamy asserted that instead, the cemetery was covered over by dirt excavated during the installation of the Nike missile site just north of the hospital (completed in 1954), and with construction debris from the new hospital wings. After Ferrari reported Bellamy's information, officials from the United States Army Toxic and Hazardous Materials Agency (USATHAMA) interviewed Bellamy and walked the boundaries of the cemetery with him, but no report was ever generated. No official documentation of the fill episode was found at the time, and USATHAMA officer John Buck recalled the entire situation being very mysterious (Buck 2006). Nonetheless, the sequence of events fits and makes enough sense to be considered as near to truth as one is likely to find.

Extensive cartographic research has greatly narrowed the time during which fill and construction periods may have occurred. The cemetery appears and disappears from maps fairly often, but appears to have been last officially surveyed—along with the rest of the hospital complex—in 1949, in preparation for the hospital expansion (see Map 1 in Appendix C). It does, however, appear on USGS maps as late as 1968, the same year which appears on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's plans for the hospital parking lot—in fact, for a much larger lot (see Map 2 in Appendix C). The parking lot, as it appears today, was completed in 1969.

Another interesting feature derived from several historic maps was the presence of a dirt road (see Map 1 in Appendix C) that almost perfectly outlines the northern and eastern boundaries of the cemetery. A survey by Presidio Trust archaeologists in June 2006 revealed that at least part of this road appears to still be in existence; fortunately, it is the northeast corner that remains. This reference point may be invaluable in calculating the boundaries of the cemetery on this much-changed landscape.

Later maps that were based on the 1949 survey also show the cemetery, such as the one used by the Communicable Disease Center in 1965 (see Map 3 in Appendix C) when remodeling the plague laboratory near the cemetery, and by consulting engineers Buonaccorsi & Associates in 1976 when laying new water mains. Interestingly, several plans also exist for development of the land over the cemetery, none of which were ultimately used—probably because someone along the way remembered the presence of the graves. For instance, in 1967, the Presidio Master Planning Division planned for an access road to cut right through the center of the cemetery (see Map 4 in Appendix C). However, that road was never built.

In 1981, the hospital was closed and the land and buildings reverted to the War Department (by this time the Department of Defense) as planned in the original lease over 100 years ago. At this time, the hospital's Environmental Health Officer supposedly provided documentation that no hazards existed on hospital grounds, since there had been concerns about the former plague laboratory on the site (Ferrari 2006). The Army's Action Officer, Lou Ferrari, by chance happened to speak with Bill Belamy, a former chief engineer of the hospital, who told him about the cemetery as discussed previously. Due to the extremely embarrassing nature of the discovery, it was kept very quiet, and any ideas the Army may have had to develop the area were dismissed. The hospital was used for various purposes during the 1980s, including housing the Defense Language Institute and various medical laboratories associated with the Letterman Army Hospital. It now stands vacant and deteriorating, inhabited only by pigeons and vandals.

It was not until 1989 that physical evidence of the continued existence of the Marine Hospital Cemetery was recovered. At that time, baseline studies of the Presidio were being conducted as part of base closure procedures. The vicinity of the cemetery had previously been designated Landfill 8, and trenching occurred in 1990 to discover the

nature of this landfill. Because historic maps revealed the presence of the cemetery, Woodward-Clyde Consultants monitored the trenching. Human remains were recovered 15 feet below current ground surface (Woodward-Clyde, 1990). This confirmation of the cemetery's continued existence led to extensive archival research by Mary L. Maniery of PAR Environmental Services in 1994, and further monitoring and trenching by Woodward-Clyde Consultants in 1995 and by URS Corporation in 2002. Disarticulated human remains were recovered in both instances, and another in situ grave was discovered in the 2002 monitoring (Woodward-Clyde Consultants 1995, URS Corporation 2002). All the discovered remains were handed over to the Coroner, per California state law. The future of the cemetery is, for the time being, uncertain.

JACK AT REST: THE IDENTITIES OF SAILORS

We know from funeral records that some sailors who died at the Marine Hospital were given full funerals and buried in private cemeteries by either family or shipmates. There are a variety of factors that may have caused so many to be buried in the Hospital Cemetery instead. Sailors may have died without informing either their doctors or shipmates about how to contact their families. They may not have had any family. Their ships may have sailed away from San Francisco, unable to wait for either death or recovery. A sailor may even have been disliked among his mates, so no one felt the need to put up the money for his burial. There are probably as many reasons for these sailors receiving paupers' burials as there are men interred in the cemetery.

It seems likely that most of these men have no known living descendants. This should not, however, mean that they must remain nameless, though many of them may. During the course of research, 838 names or initials of sailors likely interred at the Marine Hospital Cemetery were recovered. A complete list with biographical information is included in Appendix D. In the course of recovering these names, a wealth of information regarding the lives and deaths of sailors treated at the Marine Hospital was also acquired.

The sailors buried in the Hospital Cemetery hailed from ports all over the world. The list in Appendix D represents 30 of the United States and 43 countries. After American sailors, most came from Sweden, followed by Norway, Finland, Germany and

Ireland. Some even came from such exotic locales as Tahiti and the Cape Verde Islands. It is quite possible that these foreign sailors ended up in the Hospital Cemetery because they were unable to communicate information regarding family or friends to their doctors. It is necessary to note here that the historical records from which this data was gleaned are far from complete, and exhibit definite bias. As with all history, the person recording it made decisions as to what was worth recording and what was not. This was sometimes a conscious decision based on standards of the day, and sometimes unintentionally through basic clerical errors, both of which leave modern scholars with an incomplete record.

Around the turn of the century, among the things considered too unimportant to be recorded were the deaths of foreigners, particularly those of Chinese origin. The city death records (further limited by the destruction of the majority of the records during the 1906 earthquake and fire) mention few deaths of non-American citizens. In the records of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific, most members were of Scandinavian origin; there are no records of individual Asian or Latino sailors. It is possible that given the particularly anti-Asian sentiments of the day's labor unions, they were not permitted membership. The hundreds of autopsy reports included in the Marine Hospital Service's annual reports include several Japanese patients and some patients indicated as "negro" or "colored", making this perhaps the least racially biased set of records. At the time of cemetery use, however, institutionalized racial discrimination was standard practice, so we cannot trust all of the records to accurately record the lives or deaths of all sailors. The racism of the time also may have influenced which sailors were admitted to the Marine Hospital, despite the fact that its facilities were supposed to be free to all sailors regardless of origin. For instance, for all of their apparent lack of racial discrimination, the MHS autopsy reports do not include a single Chinese sailor. It is possible that these sailors were seeking treatment at the various healers and hospitals in San Francisco's Chinatown, whether to avoid discrimination or simply because of a preference for Chinese medicinal techniques.

As mentioned previously, many of the sailors probably had no family to take care of their funeral arrangements. Of those whose marital status is known (only 200), almost 80% were unmarried, and probably had no children. Life on the sea lent itself to a lack of

ties to life on land, and it was not unusual for young men to take to it because they were orphans or had lost their families. With shipmates in port for a limited time and with extremely limited funds, there was, in many cases, no one able to provide for burial.

Sailors treated at the Marine Hospital suffered from a wide variety of maladies from fractured bones to pneumonia. By far the most common cause of death was respiratory illness, usually tuberculosis. Given the cold, damp conditions of a life at sea, and the close quarters that greatly assisted the spread of disease, this is not surprising. Heart and kidney diseases were also very common. In the cases where cause of death is known (610, or about 73%), the instances of violent death, liver disease, and sexually transmitted diseases is somewhat surprisingly low. This could be a result of several factors: a low rate of mortality from these diseases despite their common existence, the Marine Hospital's relatively remote location resulting in many of these cases being treated at hospitals in more convenient locations, or simply a modern misunderstanding of historic sailors' lifestyles.

Though the Marine Hospital served only merchant seaman during the period of cemetery use, there are nevertheless several non-seafaring men buried in the Hospital Cemetery. Also present are one nurse, one hospital attendant, a gardener (possibly employed by the hospital), and a stillborn infant whose father was a doctor at the hospital. The complete stories of why these few non-sailors were interred at the Hospital Cemetery may never be known. We can speculate that perhaps the hospital employees were the cemetery's caretakers, or had developed an affection for the spot. Perhaps they, like so many of the men they served, had no families or others to care for their funeral arrangements. Perhaps the doctor wanted his infant son's resting place to be nearby, rather than far outside the city and county of San Francisco in Colma, San Mateo County. Whatever motivations resulted in these individuals being laid to rest in the Hospital Cemetery, they leave the way open for the possibility that other non-sailors also found it as their last resting place, making the search for the identities of the interred even more challenging.

Because only names of sailors possibly interred in the Marine Hospital Cemetery can easily be found, it is important to also document those who are definitely not buried there. During the course of searching city death records and funeral home records, a list

was kept of men who died in the Marine Hospital but were buried elsewhere (see Appendix E). Should any type of record of deceased patients ever come to light, this list will greatly assist researchers in eliminating those known to be buried elsewhere.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As part of an ongoing project to rehabilitate the Public Health Service Hospital area of the Presidio, the Presidio Trust will use the discoveries of over 12 years of research and monitoring to determine an appropriate plan for remediation and interpretation for the Marine Hospital Cemetery.

Despite the large number of names recovered during this phase of research, it is still very unlikely that a complete, verifiable listing of the interred could be compiled. The potential sources of further information listed in Appendix G are only that: potential. Their records may not contain any useful information. It is likely that all hospital-specific records of the cemetery were actively destroyed, if indeed they ever existed. Thus, reports to other agencies must be relied upon for such information. The most useful of these have been the City Death Records and the annual reports of the Marine Hospital Service. However, few deaths at the Marine Hospital were reported to the city after 1901, the extensive loss of records during the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire greatly hinders research into pre-1906 deaths, not all patients who died were autopsied, and the annual reports after 1901 may have changed format as the administration of the Marine Hospital changed to the Public Health Service. Any names other than those already listed will have to be found almost by chance in other records that may mention them in passing. There is no way to confirm such finds, and so it is recommended that a listing of names is not appropriate as a sole memorial. Also, the vast majority of the men buried in the cemetery were single and had no known family, so the likelihood of descendants coming forward is extremely slim.

It is important that the cemetery be respectfully maintained as the sacred space it is. In efforts to remediate the site, some digging will probably occur, and provisions for the discovery of human remains are being drafted for the Presidio Trust by Sandra Holliman of Sonoma State University. However, current proposed plans to cap the cemetery (and the hazardous elements contained in the fill above) with sterile sand,

without fully excavating the cemetery or fill, are appropriate. Excavating the cemetery would not be cost-effective, and would raise multiple ethical issues surrounding the treatment and ultimate disposal of the human remains recovered, which could number close to one thousand. It is far better that the landscape be maintained in a peaceful, respectful manner, with an appropriate memorial to the men at rest. Interpretation could be limited to the memorial, or possibly include panels on the lives of the sailors who were treated at the hospital and buried in the cemetery. Educational interpretation would greatly broaden the site's value and increase visitorship to the site, hopefully ensuring that it is never again abandoned and forgotten.

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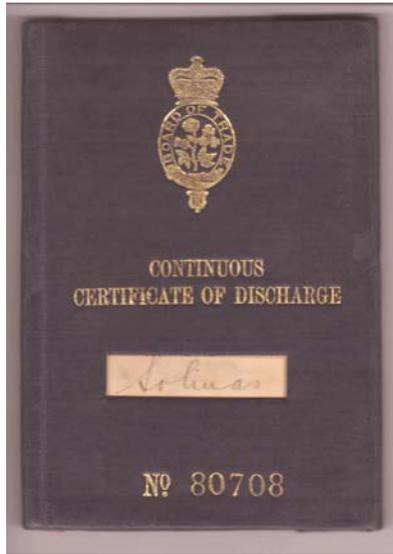
Appendix A

Photographs and Illustrations

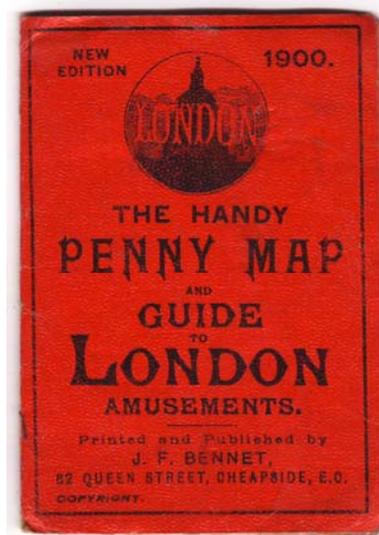
PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Section 1: Personal Effects

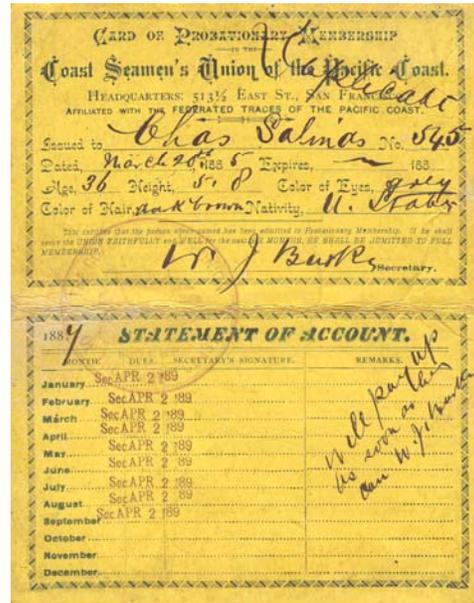
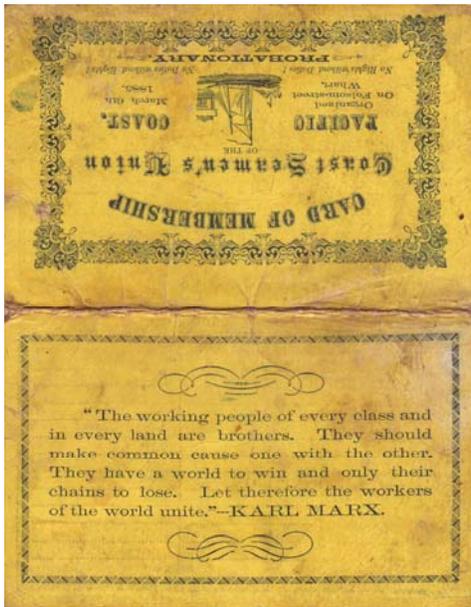
These personal effects were found among the records of the estates of deceased and deserted seamen in RG 41 at the National Archives in San Bruno. Photographs or scans were made by the author with permission of NARA.



Booklet containing certificates of discharge, owned by Charles William Solinas, who died in 1902.



Guide to London in 1900, owned by Charles William Solinas.



Membership card for the Coast Seamen's Union of the Pacific Coast, owned by Charles William Solinas.

Song Down in Aikey's Isle

1- Verse

In the fife and drum are beating I can no longer stay
 The Bugle love it sounding which calls me far away
 We are ordered down to New Orleans its many a weary mile
 To fight these Southern Soldiers away down upon Aikey's Isle

2- Verse

O my dearest O my don't leave me here alone
 O my dearest O my don't leave me here to mourn
 I remain waiting do you come that I can see it is a long while
 But I here your going a fighting away down upon Aikey's Isle

3- Verse

Now I cut off my curly locks and go along with you
 Now I cut off my curly locks and go to war too
 We'll fight them man to man my love which fortune put us smile
 With comfort due another away down upon Aikey's Isle

4- Verse

O the cornal gave the orders the orders went along
 the cornal gave the orders that no woman was to come
 For you waist it is too slender and your figure its not the style
 And I guess you would not answer away down upon Aikey's Isle

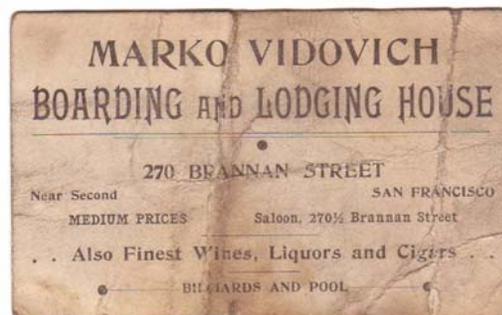
5- Verse

O my curse attend the war and the hour it first began
 It robbed New York and Boston of many the clever man
 It robbed us of our sweet hearts supporters of our side
 Their blood will stain the grass that grows away down upon Aikey's Isle

6- Verse

O now the war its over and home we will return
 Unto our wives and sweet hearts we left behind to mourn
 We'll kill them and kill them whilst heaven upon us shine
 And we'll be none a fighting away down upon Aikey's Isle

Lyrics to a "Song Down in Aikey's Isle, owned by Charles William Solinas.



Business cards for "Billy Moore's Sample Room" in Seattle and "Marko Vidovich Boarding and Lodging House" in San Francisco, owned by James McNally.

now I must conclude with
all our kindest love to
you Hoping we shall see
you soon as I remain
Your loving Friend
Carry Cose

20 Benton Street
Inorland Gardens
South Sploklands,
Cardiff, Wales

Jan 12/98

Dear Mack
with pleasure that we answer
your welcome letter & glad to hear
you are well as it leaves us all
well at present we were surprised
to hear that you are going to
Blonctide if you do I hope you
will have a safe journey there
and do with me have heard
a great deal about the folks
I have send you a paper
there is a lot of news on

Dear Mack we should like
to see you & your folks
I said it to us in our letter
had a very short time & we
will you a happy
New Year

Love letter from Carry Cose in Wales, to James McNally, whom she addresses as "Mack". McNally died in 1898 at Nanaimo,

it about Blonctide Dear Mack
any time you feel like coming
home we shall all be very
pleased to see you for as long
as we have got a home you
are welcome to it and we do
hope we shall have the pleasure
of seeing you some day dear
Mack Stella & her husband
didn't go to America after
all for I didn't like her little
children going so many miles
Charly Bains was on the Glasgow
when we heard about him last
year and Helen is on the
cable steamer the ...

Silvertowne Amy and Laurie
is still home & they are good
girls they have worked up
a first class trade and in the
dressing and are doing well
Bill Cook & his wife is quite
well dear Mack we often
wonder were you were not
getting a letter for so long we
hope you will write often
we often think & talk
do about you is long
to see you we don't never see
anything of Stokes family

Photograph of an unknown woman, perhaps Ms. Cose, owned by James McNally.





Wallet owned by William Hoare, containing various papers, a set of plastic cufflinks, and a lock of hair.

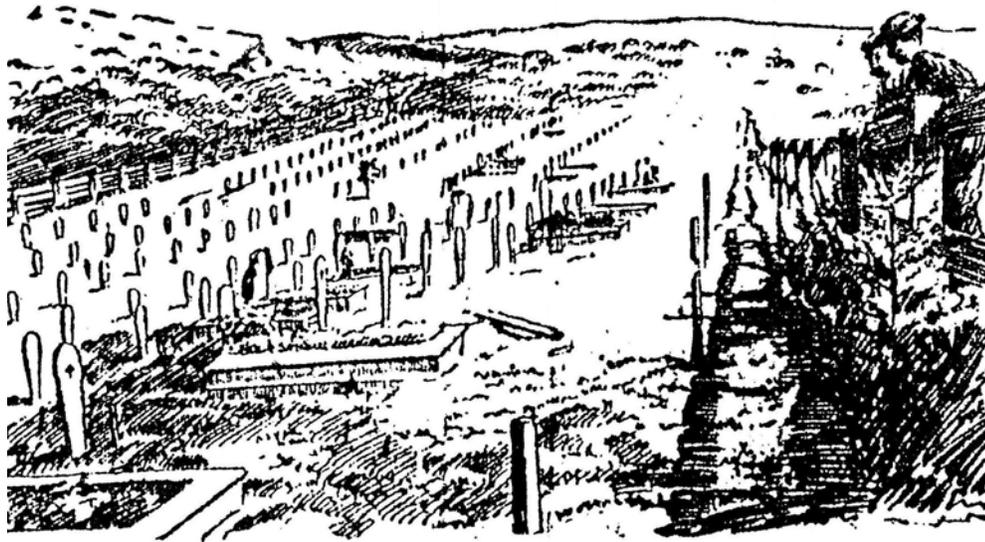


Photographs owned by William Hoare. On the left is an unknown man, and on the right is the crown prince of Germany, Friedrich Wilhelm.



Framed love poem owned by William Hoare, who died in 1887.

Section 2: Cemetery and Hospital Pictures



WHERE THE SAILORS ARE BURIED.

Illustration of the Marine Hospital Cemetery. *San Francisco Call*, 1896.



1935 photograph of Marine Hospital, with cemetery in background. From Maniery, 1994.

Appendix B

**Deaths, interments, and disinterments at the Marine Hospital
Cemetery, as recorded in San Francisco Municipal Reports,
1874-1933**

DEATHS, INTERMENTS, AND DISINTERMENTS AT THE MARINE HOSPITAL CEMETERY

As recorded in San Francisco Municipal Reports 1874-193. Updated from Maniery 1994:9-11.

| Fiscal Year Ending | No. Deaths | No. Interments | No. Disinterments |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1874 | 22 | -- ¹ | -- |
| 1875 | 35 | -- | -- |
| 1876 | 28 | -- | -- |
| 1877 | 25 | -- | -- |
| 1878 | 25 | -- | -- |
| 1879 | 29 | -- | -- |
| 1880 | 28 | -- | -- |
| 1881 | 33 | -- | -- |
| 1882 | 28 | -- | -- |
| 1883 | 26 | -- | -- |
| 1884 | 34 | -- | -- |
| 1885 | 20 | 17 ² | 0 |
| 1886 | 39 | 27 | 0 |
| 1887 | 41 | 27 | 0 |
| 1888 | 47 | 35 | 0 |
| 1889 | 50 | 37 | 0 |
| 1890 | 48 | 30 | 6 |
| 1891 | 50 | 38 | 0 |
| 1892 | 52 | 36 | 0 |
| 1893 | 43 | 32 | 0 |
| 1894 | 39 | 29 | 0 |
| 1895 | 46 | 32 | 0 |
| 1896 | 50 | 32 | 0 |
| 1897 | 43 | 32 | 0 |
| 1898 | n/a ³ | n/a | n/a |
| 1899 | 60 | 35 | 0 |
| 1900 | 32 | 24 | 0 |
| 1901 | 31 | 24 | 0 |
| 1902 | 25 | n/a | 10 ⁴ |
| 1903 | 24 | n/a | 2 ⁵ |
| 1904 | 40 | n/a | n/a |
| 1905 | 48 | n/a | n/a |
| 1906 | 46 | n/a | n/a |
| 1907 | 40 | 27 | 1 ⁶ |

| Fiscal Year Ending | No. Deaths | No. Interments | No. Disinterments |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1908 | 45 | 14 | 1 |
| 1909 | 42 | 20 | 0 |
| 1910 | 34 | 14 | 0 |
| 1911 | 51 | 19 | 0 |
| 1912 | 34 | 8 | 1 |
| 1913 | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| 1914 | 41 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915 | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| 1916 | 39 | 0 | 0 |
| 1917 | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| 1918 | 55 | n/a | n/a |
| 1919 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 1920 | 54 | n/a | n/a |
| 1921 | 59 | n/a | n/a |
| 1922 | 52 | n/a | n/a |
| 1923 | 67 | n/a | n/a |
| 1924 | 66 | n/a | n/a |
| 1925 | 75 | n/a | n/a |
| 1926 | 76 | n/a | n/a |
| 1927 | 77 | n/a | n/a |
| 1928 | 111 | n/a | n/a |
| 1929 | 98 | n/a | n/a |
| 1930 | 99 | n/a | n/a |
| 1931 | 93 | n/a | n/a |
| 1932 | 106 | n/a | n/a |
| 1933 | 95 | n/a | n/a |

Notes:

¹ --= No data included in report; cemetery not active

² First mention of Marine Hospital Cemetery in San Francisco Municipal Reports, although other city cemeteries and Presidio National Cemetery are included in earlier years.

³ n/a = reports not available for review/data not included in municipal report

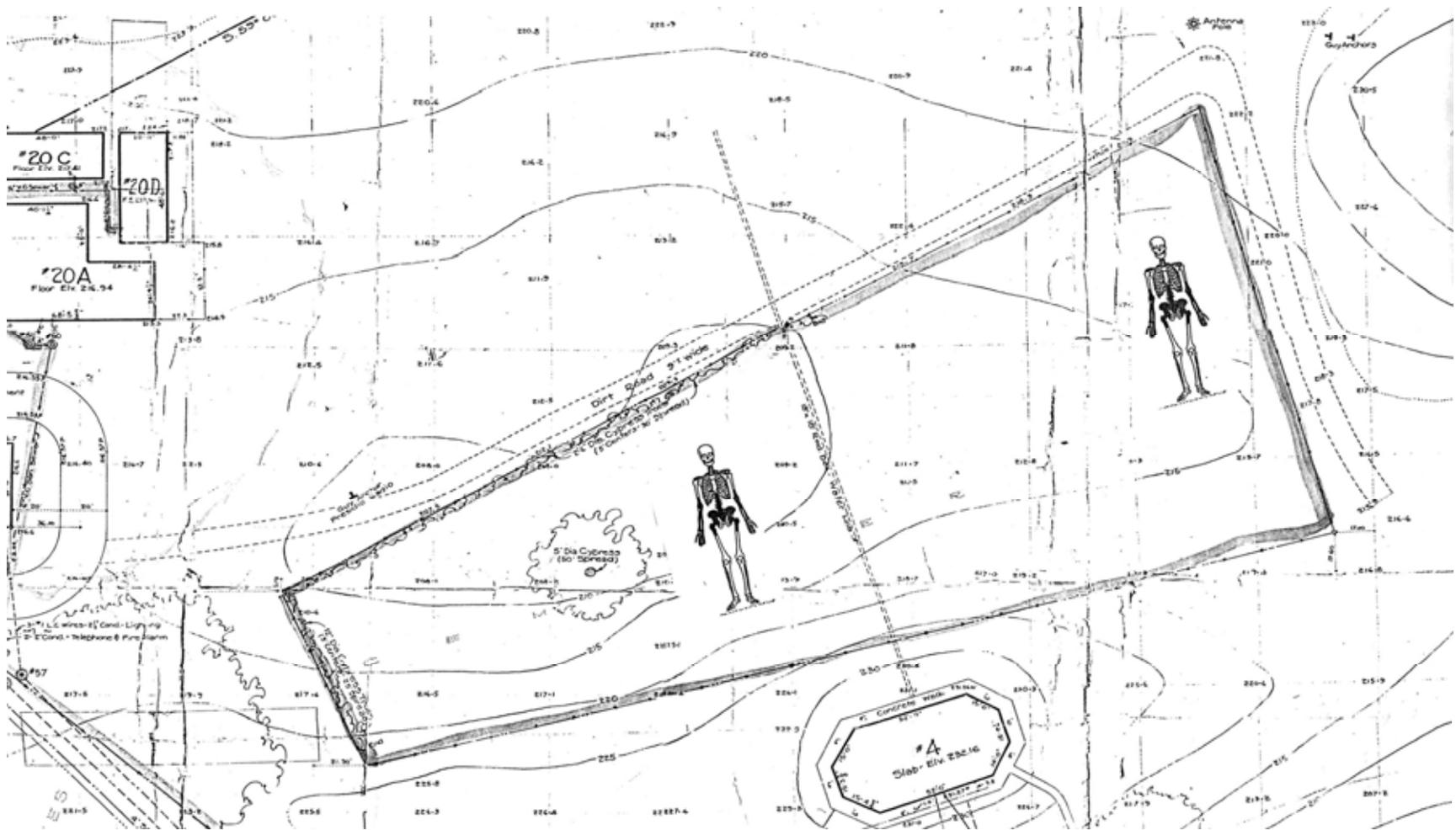
⁴ Statistic found in 2006; formerly "n/a"

⁵ Statistic found in 2006; formerly "n/a"

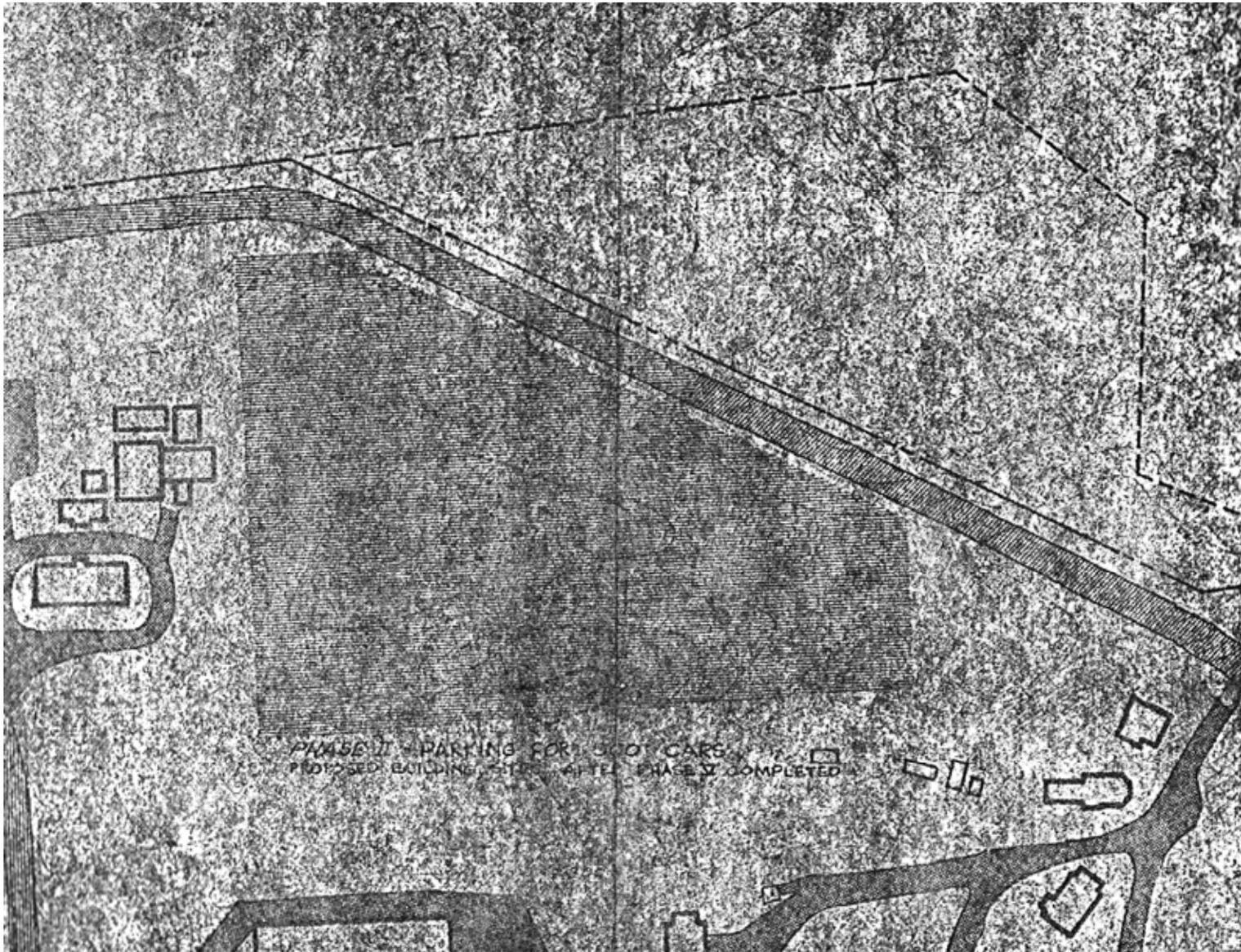
⁶ Statistic found in 2006; formerly 0

Appendix C

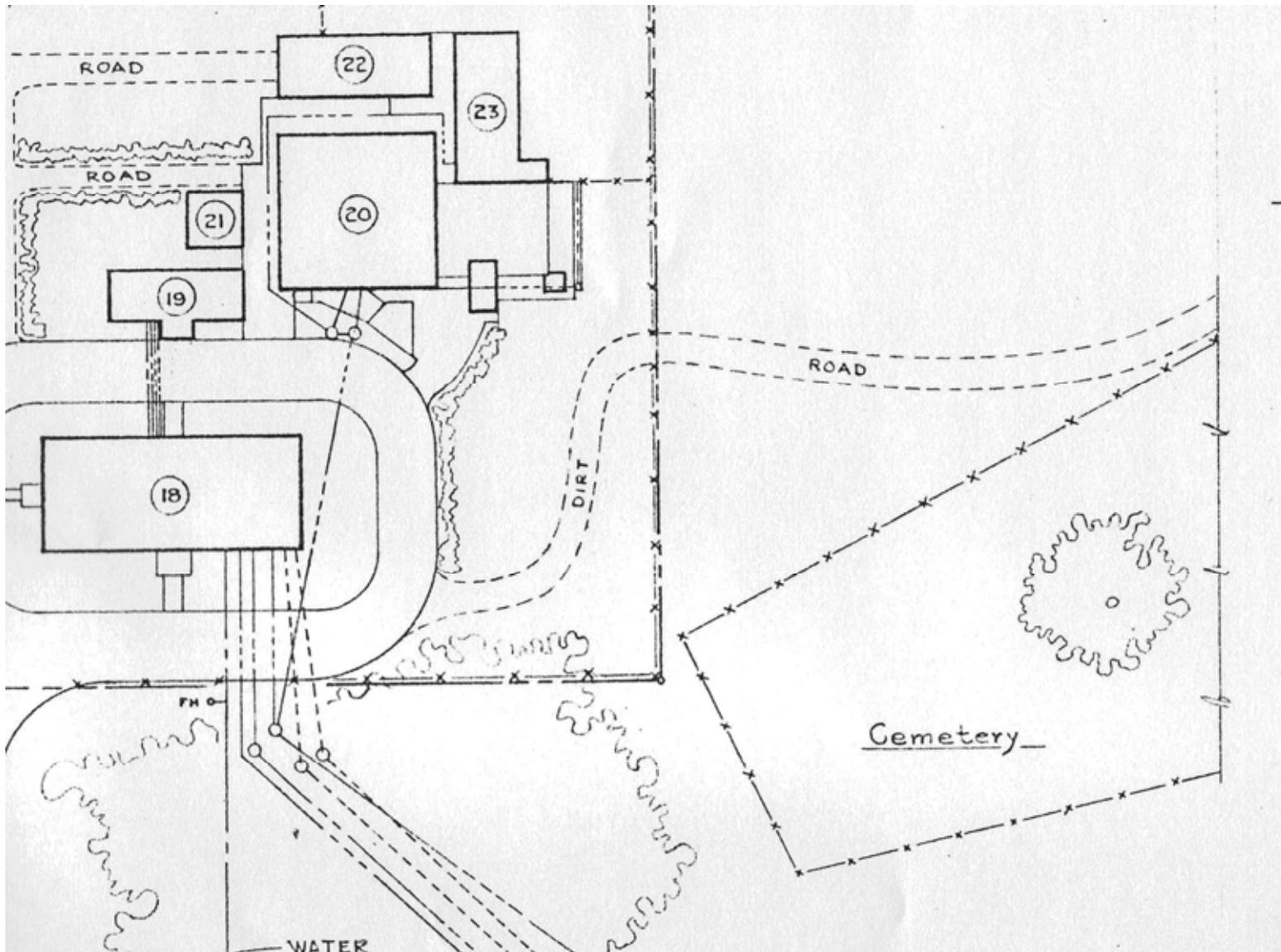
Maps



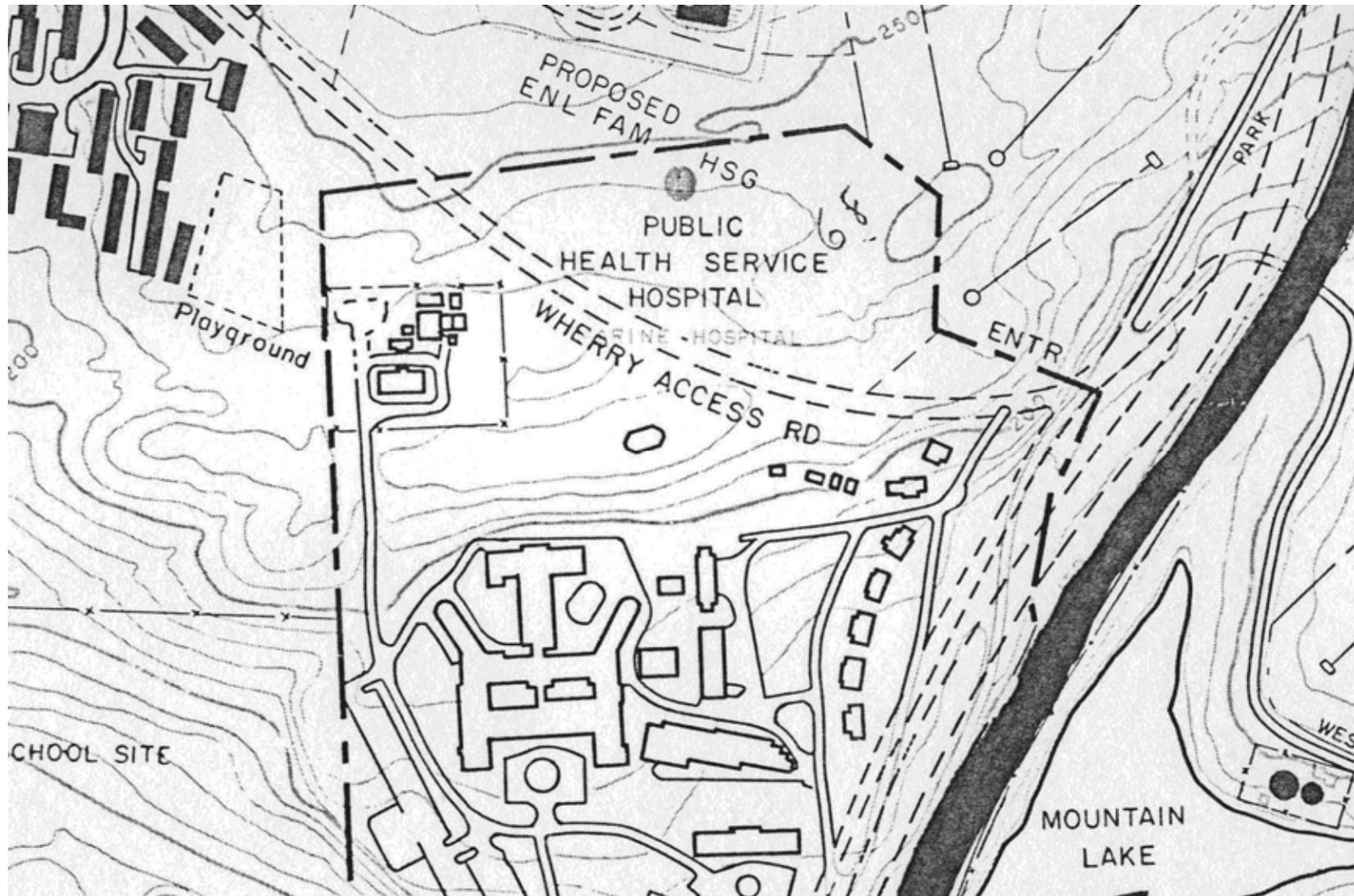
Map 1. 1949 survey of the Marine Hospital Cemetery, on file in the GGNRA Park Archives.



Map 2. 1968 plan for DHEW parking lot, over Marine Hospital Cemetery.



Map 3. 1965 plan for CDC laboratory remodel.



Map 4. 1967 Presidio Master Planning Division plan for access road over cemetery.