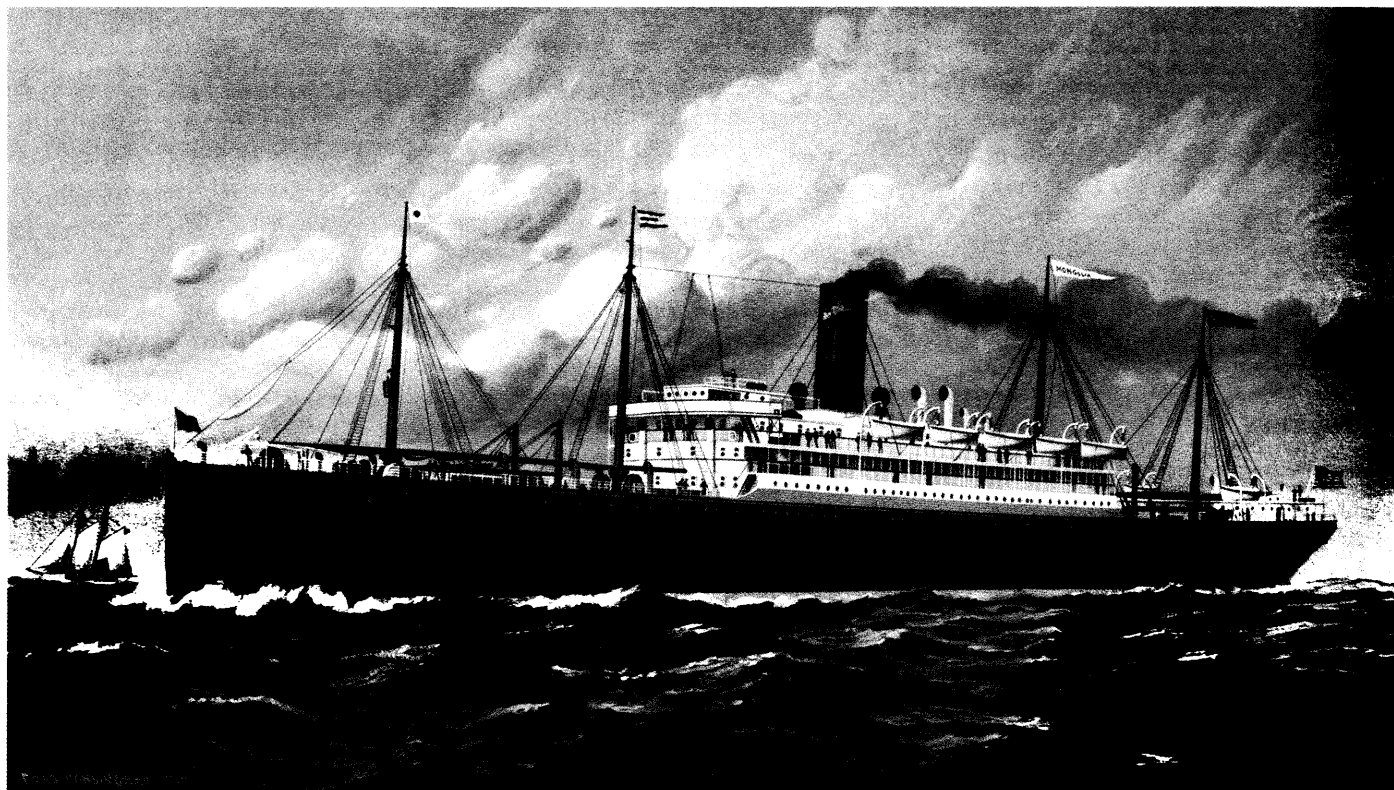


The Scandalous Ship *Mongolia*

By Robert Barde



The Pacific Mail Steamship Company's *Mongolia* as depicted by artist Fred Pansing. – Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, The University of California, Berkeley.

On April 25, 1917, the steamship *Mongolia* had her moment of glory. With but a single shot, she sank—or disabled, depending on the source—a German U-boat off the coast of England. Captain Emery Rice was hailed as a hero, as the captain of “the ship which boasts of being the first of Uncle Sam’s maritime traders to sink a U-boat... the steamship *Mongolia*.”¹ Nearly fifty years later, this feat was recounted in detail in this journal in George Seeth’s article “The Illustrious Ship *Mongolia*.”²

When I first made the *Mongolia*’s acquaintance, this event and Seeth’s article were unknown to me. The vocation of the ship I knew, though the very same vessel, had been carrying passengers and freight across the Pacific between San Francisco and the Orient. That career came to an ignominious end in October 1915, and in my mind she had always been “The Scandalous *Mongolia*.”

The big steamer’s last voyage across the Pacific could have been a gracious farewell. After thirteen years—and fifty-three round trips³—ferrying travelers

and cargo between China, Japan and California, the *Mongolia* was being transferred to service out of New York. She wasn’t a particularly old ship, but her owners, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, were getting out of the shipping business and selling her. The *Mongolia*’s Pacific career was set to end when she arrived in San Francisco on Wednesday morning, October 27, 1915.

“Arrival” meant more than steaming right up to Pier 42 and having the ship’s passengers walk down the gangway. The process of clearing

a ship—especially one capable of carrying over 1,500 passengers,⁴ plus cargo—began well before a ship tied up. After navigating the “Golden Gate” and passing the grounds of the Panama Pacific Exhibition,⁵ the *Mongolia* stopped opposite Meiggs’ Wharf⁶ and received, as required, a small flotilla of government boats and agents. As this was known as the quarantine point, a cutter belonging to the U.S. Public Health Service’s Quarantine Station arrived. A Coast Guard cutter also came alongside, carrying the U.S. Customs Service boarding officer as well as several newspaper reporters and a representative of Pacific Mail. They were soon joined by the Immigration Service’s cutter *Inspector*, carrying Acting Commissioner Mehan, Inspector Clendennin and other Immigration inspectors. The *Mongolia*’s Captain, Emery Rice, provided the inspectors with a list of all aliens aboard, and the Immigration men immediately began their examinations of the passengers.

As the *Mongolia* resumed her progress toward Pier 42,⁷ aided by the tug *Arabs*, Cabin Class passengers were inspected in their cabins. “Steerage” passengers—nearly all of whom were Chinese—were inspected in the *Mongolia*’s steerage eating areas. This was the era of the Chinese Exclusion Acts—Federal laws first enacted in 1882 that allowed only certain categories of Chinese to enter the country.⁸ Some Chinese were cleared for landing right away—“natives” (i.e., Chinese born in the United States), First Cabin Chinese holding Section 6 certificates stating that they were bona fide merchants, and Chinese officials. All Caucasians, of course, were immediately admitted. Everyone else was destined for the Immigration Service’s detention center on Angel Island.

Captain Rice and Chief Officer Ryland Drennan were on the bridge as the *Mongolia* eased into the Pacific Mail’s Pier 42. By the time she was firmly berthed, fifteen Immigration officers were aboard and perhaps thirty or forty customs officers were also on hand. Plainclothes agents of the Treasury Department were on the dock. This was all standard operating procedure, nothing out of the ordinary. The *Mongolia*’s last Pacific crossing had come to an end. She had given good service, service that deserved a stately salute at its conclusion, but her

actual reward would be two acts of the inelegant—first farce, then scandalous high drama.

Act I reprised the struggle over precisely who was in control of the port and which government agency was not doing its fair share of the work—as if any one person or organization could be said to control a port like San Francisco and its Bay. The Commissioner of Immigration, with power over those who would enter the country by sea, could not be ignored. The Surveyor of the Port had his claim to overall authority, and the Collector of Customs—the Treasury Department’s local satrap—controlled all goods moving in and out of San Francisco. On October 27 their conflicting claims surfaced in miniature. What venue could have been better suited to acting out this drama than that most American of stages, the movie set? And what cinematic story line could have been more tailored to San Francisco than a raid on Chinese opium smugglers? As *The San Francisco Chronicle* told it the next day on page one, the “Movie ‘Opium Raid’ is Cause of Customs Squabble”:

Surveyor of the Port Justus S. Wardell and Collector of Customs John O. Davis are far from agreed as to the propriety of permitting a motion-picture concern to have free run of the dock upon the arrival of the Japanese liner *Nippon Maru* and the Pacific Mail liner *Mongolia* in a “correct imitation” of “A Terrible Opium Raid.”

“I have been informed that the motion-picture actors were actually permitted to wear regulation uniforms and badges,” said Surveyor Wardell yesterday. “This can serve no good public purpose and tends to belittle the United States Customs Service.”

Collector of Customs Davis, who is said to have approved of the “movie” of the customs opium squad, was not at his office yesterday.

The matter has been put up to Special Agent W. H. Tidwell. The latter said he would investigate, but was inclined to think there had been no serious violation of the Government rules, where the motion-picture people had not represented themselves as Government agents.⁹

No further news of this incident appeared in the newspapers. Wardell was not served—certainly not by Special Agent Tidwell, no matter how “wroth” the Surveyor may have been. As the next day’s headlines made clear, Tidwell had another investigation to attend to, and it was about nothing so frivolous as a motion picture.

Treasury Department Special Agent Tidwell had been worrying about smuggling, and he had been worrying about it for some time. As Special Agent in Charge of the United States Customs Service at the Port of San Francisco, that was his job. Import duties were the Federal government’s biggest source of revenue—this was two years before the first Federal income tax laws—and his office, as in every port, was charged with making sure that duties were collected. His many responsibilities included two that differentiated San Francisco from, say, New York: he was charged with—among many other things—preventing the entry of smuggled opium and, increasingly, smuggled Chinese and Japanese trying to enter the United States.

A year earlier he had received a disturbing letter from “a native born Chinaman at this port,” allegations that must have landed like a small bombshell:

One of the most graftiest bunch in the U.S. Services of the Pacific Coast, is the immigration band with its organization in San Francisco.

The writer, a young man with keen observations, through years of experiences in representing of Chinese Societies and Tongs have gained the knowledge of the secrets and systems by which the grafting deeds is carried.

The business of making money in the immigration services is to employ Chinese secret agents so as to landed Chinese labours unofficially. And the bunch of Chinese inspectors is those that reaped the golden harvest.

In order to give a slight idea of their games; the writer have frequently seen scores of Chinese came off of the gang plank from Oriental Liners with only a pass ticket. The pass is suppose to issued only for the Chinese crew that employed by the Steamships Companies where the bearer have

U.S. TO DROP SMUGGLING INDICTMENTS OFFICERS MAY FACE GRAND JURY

Preston to Ask Dismissal of True
Bills Against Immigration
Men and Crew of Mongolia

Mongolia's Men, Now Wit-
nesses, May Be Defend-
ants, Says Preston

CAPTAIN IS ONE NAMED

SECRETARY WILSON ORDERS SWEEPING ALIEN INVESTIGATION BIG CHINESE SMUGGLING PLOT FOUND

ohn B. Densmore, Assistant to U. S. Sec-
retary of Labor, Is Here to Take Personal
Charge of Greatest Probe of Conditions
That Has Ever Been Started on Coast

Federal Inspectors Implicat
White Officers of Mongolia

86 HIDDEN CHINESE CAPTURED ON LINER

Agent had his letter rushed downstairs to the Immigration department, which maintained its City Office in the same building, where someone could translate it. The letter was not long, and the translation was not long in coming back:

The steamer *Mongolia* has stowaways on board. The No. 1 boatswain has eight of them. Fireman Cheung has 25. The No. 1 Saloon waiter has 20. The Chief Engineer gets \$100.00 (gold) for each one. The trip before, the No. 1 boatswain had 4, No. 1 Fireman had one, the Interpreter and the No. 1 Saloon waiter had 10. All were safely landed. It was done through collusion with the "fat boy" in the Department of Labor, who whenever passengers were landed, would stand at the head of the gangway to take up the passenger tickets. The name of the "fat boy" is Mr. Graham. This is for the information of Enlow. Do not let any of the crewmen go ashore. Do not let the fat boy be at the steamer. Do not let the crewmen go ashore. Make a careful muster of all aboard. As to those who have arrived before, the Japanese Line and the Pacific Line have had two or three hundred. The Chief Fireman Huey Tsan on the *Manchuria*¹¹ on a former trip (or on a former occasion) had stowaways—seven females and eight males. Be very, very sure to notify the Commissioner of Immigration. Don't let one person land until you have searched the vessel and you will then know what is what.¹²

If his informant was right, Tidwell knew that even if all the stowaways were caught, the daily newspapers would still rant that everyone had known, or at least suspected, that large-scale smuggling had been going on for a long time and why hadn't the incompetents at Customs and the Immigration Bureau done something about it? The newspapers would crucify everyone if a big batch of Chinese were proven to have been smuggled in right under the various federal noses. His anonymous tipster was right about the smugglers, and Tidwell was right about the papers; the story would be on the front page for weeks.

Immediately after digesting the

The *Mongolia* incident was big news as this montage of headlines from the San Francisco *Chronicle* indicates.

to put up a certain bond for such pass as to have an off leave on shore. Whereupon, such pass were bogusly issued to the stowed away coolies, thus making the landing unofficial...A spurious merchant or a bogus son immigrated to this port could pass the Government inquisition with a couple hundred dollars in compliments, and it goes, etc.¹⁰

A year later, Tidwell received another tip, this time from an anonymous source. On October 27, 1915, the day the *Mongolia* steamed into San Francisco, a letter was delivered to the Customs office, addressed to Tidwell. It arrived shortly before noon, about three hours after the *Mongolia* had tied up, and was in Chinese—all except the word "Graham," which was written clearly in English. The Special

letter's contents, Tidwell got on the telephone and called Angel Island. For the first two years of the Immigration Station's existence, calling it meant first calling the Presidio, asking for Fort McDowell on Angel Island, which in turn relayed the call to the Immigration Station. In December 1912 the telephone company finally laid a cable across the Bay from the mainland to the immigration station, and now he could get through to the Immigration Service pretty much directly¹³—not that being able to talk to the Immigration people solved their communication problems. Even though, just downstairs from Tidwell's office in the Appraisers Building, Immigration had its City Office, working with Immigration wasn't easy.

Just two weeks before, Immigration had dillied and dallied when a big Pacific Mail liner full of Chinese arrived. Someone had tipped off Immigration that the *Manchuria* had a load of stowaways to be smuggled in, and Tidwell heard the news soon enough. He was ready to have his men join a search of the ship the night of its arrival, but for some reason the Immigration men wanted to wait. It was never revealed why, but they waited. Not until the next morning did a force of forty Immigration and Customs agents search the ship, and by then it was clean. Not a stowaway was found.¹⁴ Something was fishy, but nothing that Tidwell could act upon.

But on that Wednesday, October 27, it was Tidwell who had the tip, and this time he would not let such information go to waste. In just a few minutes he was on the phone with Assistant Commissioner William Boyce at Angel Island, who said he would send two inspectors over on the first available boat, agreeing that this time the *Mongolia* would be closely guarded by Immigration and Customs officers until morning, when they would make a thorough search.

Inspectors Frank Hays and Joseph Strand, though ordered to get to San Francisco as fast as possible, were obstructed by the very isolation that had commended Angel Island as a site for detaining immigrants. Getting from Angel Island back to the city was not something done on the spur of the moment. There was nothing but the government ferry, the *Angel Island*, and it was not a high-speed

conveyance. The next sailing—the last sailing, in fact—wasn't due to leave the Island until 4:30 that afternoon. There was no alternative but for Hays and Strand to join all the other employees finishing their day's work and heading home. They watched as the ferry passed the East Garrison, rounded the southern shore of the Island, then lurched southwest past Alcatraz. It was 5 P.M. by the time they finally made shore at Pier 7, now the Public Access and Fishing Pier, at the foot of Pacific Street.

Apparently this was to be a Customs operation, even though the smuggling of people came under the jurisdiction of Immigration. That Customs did not trust Immigration was well known, having been reported a year and a half earlier under the headline "Nobody Wants to Catch Smugglers."¹⁵ Certain Customs officials suspected any smuggling of Chinese was carried out with the connivance of corrupt Immigration officers. Everyone had heard such gossip—newspapers printed such rumors as a matter of course—and the suspicion had wide currency in San Francisco.

Assistant Commissioner Boyce had instructed them to meet up with Captain Samuel Sackett of the Customs Service, and the Inspectors hurried the few hundred yards to the Ferry Building to meet him. They found Sackett in the Customs officers' assembly room. He had a force of 125 men at his disposal, plus however many the Immigration Service could add. Sackett already had a few men aboard the *Mongolia*, and he could have thirty on and around the ship in short order. Whatever was going on aboard the *Mongolia*, forty or fifty men should be able to handle it.

By the time Strand and Hays reached the Pacific Mail's docks at Pier 44, it was 6:30 and dark. Two Customs guards were on the dock and one was on the ship's deck, keeping watch on the offshore side. If anyone had tried to jump off the ship, either onto the dock or into the Bay, one of the guards would have seen him. Even in the dark, it seemed unlikely that anyone could have come ashore in any way other than down the gangway. That possibility immediately confronted the two Inspectors when they found that most of the Immigration officers had already gone home, and most of the ship's passengers were *already* off the

ship. During the day the *Mongolia's* passengers had all been examined; some had been landed, and most of the others—the Chinese who were to be detained—had been transferred to Angel Island on the Pacific Mail's own tugboat, the *Arabs*. Only 93 remained on board, waiting to be transferred to Angel Island the following morning. Perhaps Strand and Hays were too late; perhaps the horses were already out of the barn.

A nighttime search of such a large ship did not seem like a good idea. The two Immigration Inspectors thought it best to spend the night on board, then organize a search party in the daylight. That plan changed immediately upon Sackett's arrival at 7:15 P.M.

The Customs captain insisted on at least a preliminary search of the ship, and so all three, unannounced, went below decks to the steerage quarters. They found what seemed like a very large number of Chinese, all dressed and walking about—certainly more than the 93 passengers supposedly remaining on the ship, and quite clearly not people readying themselves to spend the night in their quarters aboard ship. Hays motioned for one of the Chinese men to show him his steamship ticket. He had no ticket. Hays asked the next man—no ticket either. Stowaways, without a doubt. The tipster had been right.

By midnight Sackett had nearly thirty Customs men on the *Mongolia*, and he set them to searching every possible hiding place.

They found 86 Chinese stowaways.

There were stowaways everywhere imaginable, some in places that spoke of great inventiveness. There were ticket-less Chinese under benches in the dining room, others in the fire room. Some had mingled with the Chinese crew and wore uniforms. "Ten were found hidden under an enormous steel bucket which had been buried under the coal in the bunkers, where there were blankets and remnants of food. The stowaways had spent the long days and nights in darkness, but were supplied with rice and dried fish. Two tubs of *shoyu* and teapots were also found in the lair. Others had apparently had a little the better of it, evidently having lived sumptuously in the crew's quarters, only concealing themselves when Captain Rice and his officers made daily inspections."¹⁶

CAPTAIN EMERY RICE and Chief Officer Ryland Drennan of the liner *Mongolia*, who have been called upon by the Federal authorities to explain the presence of eighty-six unbidden alien "guests."



Captain Emery Rice and First Officer Ryland Drennan as pictured in a newspaper of the period. — Author's collection.

Eighty-six stowaways! None of the searchers could remember ever having seen so many discovered all at once—small parties of four or five, perhaps, but never eighty-six. And those were just the ones they caught; others, surely, had gone undetected or had already made it to the mainland. Someone had said there were supposed to be a hundred, so some had possibly escaped the

search. Strand, Hays and Sackett knew that this was going to be big news, and it was not going to be pleasant reading about it in the papers. The new Commissioner of Immigration for San Francisco, Edward White, was not going to like it, either. Only four days in office, and this to deal with!

Soon Strand and Hayes had nearly twenty of their own men guarding the *Mongolia* and the stowaways, keeping

them on the ship until morning, when they could be transferred to Angel Island. The Immigration men would interrogate the stowaways and launch a search for possible escapees. But none of those actions could minimize the impact on the Service once the news became public. They could be sure that both the U.S. Attorney and the newspapers would play the story for all it was worth. Friday's headlines proved them right on both counts.

On Thursday, the *Call* and the *Examiner* had small stories on page one: "86 Hidden Chinese Captured on Liner" was the *Call*'s headline. By Friday, all three of the major San Francisco dailies had pushed the story to the top of the page, in big, bold type. The headlines had been dominated by news from the European front in World War I, but on Friday the "Wholesale Smuggling of Chinese" (the *Call*) and "Big Smuggling Plot Found" (the *Chronicle*) had superseded news that the "Kaiser Masses Army to Invade" (*Call*).

Over the next few days, the newspapers offered San Franciscans a smorgasbord of graft, corruption, incompetence, and bureaucratic infighting and ineptitude. What kept these stories alive were charges that the *Mongolia* affair was not an isolated incident, but part of an organized conspiracy that enabled Chinese to enter the United States illegally.

Among the first follow-up stories were newspaper accounts purportedly based on interviews with the stowaways, by then being held at Angel Island. All available Chinese interpreters had been summoned to the Island, and all Immigration Service inspectors were on hand to interrogate the stowaways. Each day the reporters added detail to a pattern of immigrant smuggling that was both wider and deeper than anything in recent memory. Money, of course, was assumed to be the prime lubricant in the smuggling machinery, and the amounts most commonly rumored were \$250 per stowaway, with \$8,000 to \$10,000 of that supposedly having been paid to the ship's white officers. The conduit to the *Mongolia*'s officers was reported in the newspapers to have been a wealthy Chinese merchant in San Francisco, although no name was mentioned.

Among the most sensational

statements was that the *Mongolia* had been preceded into San Francisco by three other Pacific Mail ships, each bearing its own cargo of Chinese stowaways. One of the *Mongolia*'s stowaways is reported to have said that in Hong Kong he boarded the ship *Manchuria* with about 100 other Chinese. He remained in hiding for two days, and then was told that he would have to get off because there were too many stowaways aboard. About a dozen left, but the majority of those who originally went aboard remained. Those who left later boarded the *Mongolia* and were allowed to remain there—for a price.

Other Chinese interrogated at Angel Island reportedly knew of stowaways on other Pacific Mail ships that had recently steamed into San Francisco—the *Siberia* and the *Korea*. Like the *Mongolia* and the *Manchuria*, they were on their last runs from China to San Francisco under the Pacific Mail's flag. Estimates were that between the *Siberia*, the *Korea*, and the *Manchuria*, over three hundred Chinese had been smuggled in. These disclosures were so amazing, said the *Call*, that "officials of the United States Immigration Service find them almost unbelievable."

Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, found them believable enough. He took the Friday night train from Washington, announcing to the *Examiner* that he would take personal charge of an investigation into whether "United States Immigration inspectors connived with members of the crew of the steamer *Mongolia* and with agents ashore to permit the landing of the contraband Chinese who were found aboard the vessel fourteen hours after it tied up." It probably irritated him that while he was rushing out to California, his new San Francisco Commissioner of Immigration, Edward White, thought the appropriate response was to head down to Watsonville to pass the Sunday at home. The Secretary of Labor would shortly dispatch his top investigator, John B. Densmore, to San Francisco "to discover whether the United States Immigration Service at this port is demoralized as a result of lack of discipline, connivance for individual gain and because of political intrigue in the rank and file of the service."

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company immediately launched its own investigation. This was not entirely without self-interest; the Pacific Mail was on the hook for transporting the 86 stowaways—plus any others that might be caught—back to China, and it looked as though it would be at least a month before space could be found for them on a steamer. In the meantime, their care and feeding at the Angel Island Immigration Station would be at Pacific Mail's expense.

Criminal investigations were left to the United States Attorney for San Francisco, John W. Preston, who announced that he was immediately convening a new Federal Grand Jury. Even before the prospective grand jurors were summoned to meet at 1 P.M. that Saturday, between forty and fifty subpoenas had been issued for the officers and crew of the *Mongolia*. Preston let it be known that people could also expect the arrest of local officials and steamship company officers at any time. "I intend to shake every branch of the immigration tree at Angel Island," he was reported as saying.

The newspapers gave a running account of those being quizzed by the U.S. Attorney. On November 4 Preston and White examined Sackett, six of his inspectors, Watchman David Graham, and eight night officers. Several days later he summoned M.H. Hunt, purser of the *Mongolia*; Joseph Wolf, steward; Steward Richardson; First Officer Ryland Drennan; James Campbell, checker for the Pacific Mail; and J.C. Hamilton, the company's ticket agent in Hong Kong who had arrived aboard the *Mongolia*. By the time the *Mongolia* case was actually presented to the Grand Jury on November 11, Preston had already questioned dozens of people, including employees of the Immigration Service.

At the same time, Preston set about making sure that no potential witnesses left town. Customs officers had already taken fifteen Chinese crew members into custody on Saturday, October 30. Much of the rest of the crew had been preparing to return to Hong Kong on the steamer *China*, a former Pacific Mail ship now under the ensign of the new, Chinese-American-owned China Mail Steamship Company. First Officer Drennan had been slated to take command of the *China*. The

China did leave port, but not under the command of "Captain" Drennan. Deputy United States marshals had taken him from the bridge of the *China* and detained him pending results of the investigations. Captain F. E. Frazier, formerly of the Pacific Mail's lower coast service, was hurriedly substituted as master of the *China*, that she might make her 1 P.M. sailing.

None of the *Mongolia*'s officers were Chinese, but all seem to have come under suspicion. Captain Rice was supposed to take the *Mongolia* to New York and on to Europe, and she was scheduled to leave on November 9. With the prospect of a lengthy investigation, it looked as though Rice might have to remain in San Francisco. Over the next few days, more Pacific Mail employees were identified as objects of the DA's investigation. Captain Rice, Chief Engineer Robert Paul and Assistant Engineer Walter Scott were both detained, then released on \$1,000 witness bonds. Pacific Mail's assistant general manager, H.A. Frey, added the company's assurances that the three would appear before the Grand Jury even if they were permitted to leave the city temporarily.

Over the next few months, the *Mongolia* scandal gradually faded from view. Densmore reported to the Secretary of Labor that he had found no evidence of criminality in the Immigration Service. With little in the way of sensational new developments to report, the newspapers turned to other things—the war in Europe, the forthcoming election, the trial of Germany's consul in San Francisco for conspiring to violate American neutrality, and armed forays and incursions along the Mexican border. Every two weeks Preston obtained a continuance, until in September he finally decided to drop the indictments.

On September 21, it was announced that twenty of the *Mongolia*'s Chinese crew and stowaways who had been held at Angel Island as detained witnesses at the Government's expense since October would now be deported at an average cost of \$60 per man. Witness fees in each instance, one dollar per day, had amounted to about \$6,000, and did not include the costs for housing and boarding them.

That same day, the District Attorney asked that *all* pending indictments

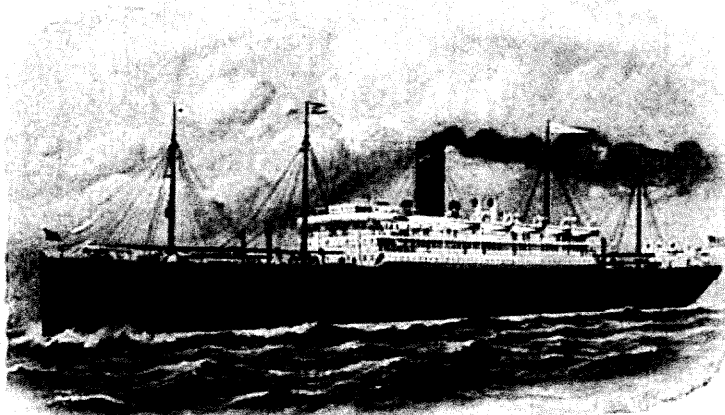
PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY

FLEET

S.S. "MONGOLIA"
Twin Screw 27,000 Tons

S.S. "MANCHURIA"
Twin Screw 27,000 Tons

S.S. "KOREA"
Twin Screw 18,000 Tons



FLEET

S.S. "SIBERIA"
Twin Screw 18,000 Tons

S.S. "CHINA"
18,200 Tons

S.S. "PERSIA"
8,000 Tons

NEW YORK, 366, 1158 AND 1 BROADWAY. BOSTON, 12 MILK STREET. PHILADELPHIA, 832 CHESTNUT STREET.
SYRACUSE, 212 W. WASHINGTON STREET. BALTIMORE, 29 W. BALTIMORE STREET. SAN FRANCISCO, FLOOD BUILDING.
WASHINGTON, D. C., 905 F STREET, N. W.

This is a Pacific Mail Steamship Company advertisement from the time of the *Mongolia* incident.
— Author's collection.

be dismissed for lack of sufficient evidence to go to trial. The Great Scandal that was to have shaken the Immigration Service to its very roots resulted in not a single conviction; no one was even put on trial.

But Densmore would be back. New evidence would result in a second Densmore Investigation, and this time he would get it right. More indictments would result, fifteen Federal employees would be sacked, and several would go to prison—all as a result of the last Pacific voyage of "The Scandalous *Mongolia*."

And what of the ship whose career in the Pacific ended so ingloriously? On November 9, 1915, the *Mongolia* left San Francisco as planned, to join the fleet of the International Mercantile Marine to which she had been sold. Captain Rice, out on bond, took her to New York to begin a new life dodging U-boats and hauling freight and the odd passenger to England. When American neutrality ended in March 1917 with the United States' declaration of war on Germany, Rice and the *Mongolia* were put even more directly in harm's way—and more surely on the illustrious path to glory. ♪

NOTES

- 1 San Francisco *Examiner*, April 26, 1917, page 1.
- 2 George Seeth, "The Illustrious Ship *Mongolia*," *Steamboat Bill*, 1966, 100, 123-126.
- 3 "Alphabetical Index of Ship Arrivals in San Francisco." Series 1-431. Record Group G, National Archives and Records Administration.
- 4 The *Mongolia* was built to carry 346 passengers in first cabin, 66 in second cabin, and 1,300 in Asiatic steerage."
- 5 One of the remaining buildings is the Palace of the Legion of Honor.
- 6 Near present-day Pier 39, more or less at the foot of Powell St.
- 7 At the south end of the Embarcadero: odd-numbered piers were to the north of the Ferry Building, even-numbered ones to the south of it.
- 8 An admirable description of enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Acts is Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During The Exclusion Era, 1882-1943*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 9 San Francisco *Chronicle*, October 28, 1915, p. 1.
- 10 Tidwell to Secretary of the Treasury, November 11, 1914. Source: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, editorial advisor, Alan Kraut. Series A, Subject correspondence files,

Supplement Reel 4. These documents are available on microfilm, and are referred to hereafter as "INS Microfilms." All errors of grammar, spelling, etc., are in the original document.

11 The *Manchuria*, like the *Mongolia*, was a passenger liner that had belonged to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Both ships had recently been sold to the Atlantic Transport Company, then leased back to Pacific Mail for their final trip across the Pacific.

12 Report of John B. Densmore to Secretary of Labor, January 11, 1916. Source: INS microfilms, Supplement Reel 4.

13 San Francisco *Call*, December 21, 1911, p. 4.

14 This incident came to light after the *Mongolia* story broke. See the *Call*'s front-page headline and story on "Wholesale Smuggling of Chinese" on Friday, October 29, 1915.

15 San Francisco *Call*, July 21, 1914

16 Information on the various hiding places comes from contemporary newspaper accounts, especially the *Chronicle*. Densmore's report minimized the role of the Customs officials and omitted the colorful detail so dear to the dailies.

About the author

Robert Barde is Deputy Director/ Academic Coordinator of the Institute of Business and Economic Research at the University of California, Berkeley. His most recent publication is *Prelude to the Plague: Public Health and Politics at America's Pacific Gateway, 1899 in the April 2003 issue of Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. He is co-author (with Susan Carter and Richard Sutcb) of the *Immigration chapter for the Millennial Edition of Historical Statistics of the United States (Cambridge University Press, 2004)*. He is currently writing a book on the early 20th century immigration industry centered on San Francisco, Island of Angels.

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SUMMER 2004

N A S S A U
C U B A &
M E X I C O

