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Tyler Wilson

Honors Thesis

U. S. and Spanish Newspapers and the Coverage of the Land Campaign of Cuba in
the Spanish-American War: June 7 to July 16, 1898

Presented to the Board of the Lee Honors College and the Department of History

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Forward:

The Spanish articles mentioned in this paper were translated from Spanish to English through my interpretation. The Spanish newspaper articles were collected on my study abroad experience to the University of Santander in Santander, Spain, during the summer of 2013. All the newspapers cited in this paper were courtesy of the website of the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport. All works were digitized because very few of these Spanish newspapers still exist or are in good shape to handle, so I was recommended by members of the regional archives in Santander to look at the national website to further my research.

The newspapers from the United States are courtesy of the National Archives in Washington, D.C, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and Waldo Library at Western Michigan University. All of these sources were accessed digitally, except for the sources from Waldo Library which were collected from micro film roles.

I would like to thank Dr. Wilson Warren and Dr. Kenneth Steuer for their help in overseeing my honors thesis. Their guidance and expertise in the era and of the war gave me the direction I needed to successfully produce my paper. I also want to thank the Department of History at Western Michigan University for helping me fund my trip to Spain to search the archives through the History Emeriti Grant. Without their help I would not have been able to finish my thesis.

The end of the nineteenth century was a significant time period for the United States in many ways. As the United States prepared to enter the twentieth century, Americans prospered because of the economic growth courtesy of the industrial revolution that slowly transformed America into a great power. This expansion also occurred due to imperialism. As big businesses and corporations expanded abroad to obtain raw materials and resources and sell products in overseas markets, the United States spread its sphere of influence to the Caribbean and the Pacific. By 1898, the United States saw its economic and foreign interests collide with Spanish foreign policy through the Cuban Insurrection, an event that threatened American industry and Cuban freedom. This was America's opportunity to not only promote Cuban democracy and uphold the concepts of the Monroe Doctrine but it was also America's chance to expand its influence in the Western Hemisphere and compare itself to the great European nations of the time period.

At the same time, American journalism flourished in the 1890s and became widely accessible by becoming the primary source of domestic and foreign news. Journalists sought the latest information as events of the Spanish-American War unfolded, informing the general public of events on the battlefield. The same can be said with the journalists in Spain who scrambled to inform Spanish subjects of the latest news from Cuba, the "jewel" and pride of the Spanish empire, which they considered to be the most important Spanish colony economically.¹

As much as the press was helpful in breaking news from the front lines and acknowledging flaws in military operations, it did just as much harm by revealing too much information that contradicted America's dominant ideology that it claimed to have in its goal of spreading its sphere of influence and comparing itself with the great European powers of the day. It also proved to be a negative factor for the United States because many newspapers consistently

published false, scandalous information without fact checking and censorship for security purposes in the process. The negative effects of the newspaper coverage on the war hampered how the United States saw itself as a dominant world power because journalistic activity revealed the disorganization of the United States military, compromised military planning in the Cuban campaign that threatened national security, and exposed a military cover-up of casualties caused by yellow fever.

Both Spain and the United States relied heavily on their newspaper correspondents as the main sources of information. Both countries sent these correspondents to follow their country's military campaign as the war progressed through the summer of 1898. American and Spanish newspapers sent journalists to travel side-by-side with their country's forces. They recorded a first-person view of the ground war by writing on everything from the fighting in the jungles to the intolerable heat and morale of the troops.² All the information from the American front lines was transmitted via cable wire to other cities around the United States and then printed the next day.³ Information from American correspondents tended to not be censored as newspapers published every minute detail, including information that one would think as top secret such as numbers of troops, military movements, and headquarter locations. In the case of the Spanish newspapers, information was regulated and censored to keep not only the Americans from gaining intelligence from its newspapers but also to keep a positive outlook for the Spanish citizens as the war and military drastically began to fail. This same information from events did not appear in print until two days later, possibly due to censorship and deleted information. Years before radios became a main component in warfare, the cable station wires were essential in sending news back quickly to the printing presses the far distance from the front lines. The

cable lines in Guantanamo, Santiago de Cuba, and Havana would play a key role in the war and the press through the summer of 1898.

The presence of American agricultural interests (primarily sugar) in Cuba and the Caribbean kept Americans interested in the Cuban resistance against Spain. In the 1890s, Cuban rebels launched a second attempt to gain independence from Spain after their first uprising in the Ten Year's War (1868—1878) failed. Since Cuba is located some ninety miles from the Florida's southern coastline, the rebellion in Cuba meant that violence was close to home for many Americans. The men and women at the forefront in reporting the daily events of the war were the American journalists. The emergence of yellow journalism in the late nineteenth century portrayed the war effort by not in terms of only fueling public jingoism but also dangerous and inaccurate information that some newspapers used to increase circulation and arouse public opinion.

Yellow journalism played a major role in convincing the public to intervene in Cuba. It was a system that rapidly expanded the popularity of newspapers and periodicals in the late nineteenth century in three ways. First, newspapers took advantage of new printing technology which printed more papers efficiently for a massive audience at a cheaper price, with each issue of the *New York Journal* costing, for example, only one cent.⁴ Second, yellow journalism also promoted big business as newspaper companies began buying large areas of wooded lands to control its paper resources in each step from raw materials to the finished product. Third, the most important feature was its goal of making the most profit by selling the most newspapers with popular stories. This feature consisted of newspapers that were filled with headlines that screamed excitement by publishing lavish pictures and illustrations, falsified or altered information, and scandalous stories.⁵ Some of the most notorious newspapers that practiced

yellow journalism were William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and John Pulitzer's *New York World*; both used the war as fuel to increase profits by publishing—at times—scandalous and outrageous stories. Even though not every newspaper practiced this form of journalism, it played a key role convincing the public to support Cuban independence and military intervention which led up to the events of 1898.

The tension that resulted in the Spanish-American War was a bubble waiting to burst. In the last half of the nineteenth century, Spain struggled to keep order in Cuba as colonists revolted to gain independence. In the eyes of the Spanish, losing Cuba would be devastating to the morale of the kingdom and its economy. In the 1850s, Cuba alone produced one-third of the world's sugar; this industry raised money to balance Spain's global trade deficit and fueled the industrialization of northeastern Spain in the late nineteenth century.⁶ By 1898, Cuba was the world's largest sugar exporter, collecting massive profits and income for the Spanish treasury.⁷ With Cuba being of such great economical importance, Spain would not give up Cuba and it did whatever it could to quell the rebellion and continue its sugar domination in the Caribbean. Spain's control over the population and economy was at times brutal and inhumane, endangering some American industries situated on the island in the process. Americans learned about the horrible acts inflicted upon the Cubans through news correspondents, which helped spark pro-Cuban movements in the United States.

The Spanish welcomed the march towards war because it was deemed necessary to maintain the kingdom's great power status in the world. On the eve of war with the United States, Prime Minister Antonio Canovas of Spain declared, "Cuba is Spain's Alsace-Lorraine; the honor of Spain is at stake."⁸ The Spanish newspaper *La Epoca* published, "Spain without Cuba would be as little valued amongst the nations of Europe as Portugal, and would enter a

period of rapid and inevitable decadence.”⁹ In other words, if Spain lost Cuba to the United States it would lose international the prestige and glory that it held for over 400 years.

Throughout the war, American newspapers across the country mentioned countless times that Spain wanted to either give up Cuba, surrender, or sue for peace talks. However, these claims differed from the Spanish ideology as the kingdom’s reputation as a world power depended on a Spanish victory.

Yellow journalism during the war did not contribute in revealing military disorganization or secrets, but rather it played a major role leading American public opinion to support the Cuban rebels and intervene. The atrocities committed by the Spanish and its commanding officer, General Valeriano Weyler, crowded thousands of Cubans into concentration camps to quell uprisings, adding fuel to an American support for intervention. At the same time these actions affected American tourists and businessmen. The *New York Journal* announced on its front page that John Sherman, the U.S. Secretary of State, was in favor of a war with Cuba. He stated to the *Journal* that Spain was “murdering Americans” and that “we cannot stand idle while our citizens are being butchered in Cuba.”¹⁰ Frederic Remington, a sketch artist and correspondent for the *Journal* in Cuba, had his drawing of an open field published on the entire front page where dozens of Cubans were “thrown to the buzzards” and left to rot.¹¹ Remington also published a sketch in the *Journal* of an American woman being strip searched by Spanish officials, referring to a report that Americans were being unlawfully targeted and searched through unnecessary means. These publications influenced thousands of Americans to support Cuban independence, but its bluntness—especially with Sherman’s war rant—could have been seen a bit excessive since there was no evidence to suggest that Americans were targets of

Spanish brutality. Regardless of whether or not it was true, Americans were intrigued by the events in Cuba.

The publication of the Dupuy de Lôme letter revealed even more scandal and conspiracy which fueled America's desire to support Cuba. On February 9, 1898, *The New York Tribune* published a private letter from the Spanish Minister, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, to a member of the Madrid Government that criticized President William McKinley by calling him "weak, contributing to the rabble [of Cuban affairs]" and "a low politician."¹² Allegedly intercepted by a Cuban agent, this private letter was published overnight and spread quickly across the country, with one newspaper calling it "the worst insult to the United States in its history."¹³ The Spanish response came days later with anger and disgust, condemning the printing of the letter. Spanish newspapers called it "The Stolen Letter" and stated that its publication was "so much indignation of the despicable conduct of the yankees" in their ways of diplomacy.¹⁴ Even American newspapers were angry with *The Tribune* and *The New York Journal* for printing the letter. *The New York Evening Post* mentioned that Dupuy de Lôme's letter did not mean any harm, saying that the letter revealed "no deliberate intention of affronting our government; the Minister was unluckily caught by some unknown pilferer of the mails—that is all."¹⁵ This event is a clear, dangerous example of yellow journalism and the harm it caused in diplomatic relations and public opinion.

This is also reflected in the event of the explosion of the *USS Maine*, on February 15, 1898 in Havana Harbor, when the battleship's boiler exploded killing 266 sailors and two officers, according to the official report from the United States Department of the Navy.¹⁶ Despite a professional investigation by both the United States and Spanish governments, some American newspapers claimed a conspiracy had been carried out by the Spanish. *The New York*

Journal, one of the notorious yellow journalist newspapers, reported on its front page two days after the explosion that Navy officers believed the Spanish were behind the sinking and that a \$50,000 award was available for anyone who could detect the perpetrator of the event, headlining that the sinking of the *Maine* was the work of the enemy.¹⁷ This article became controversial since the United States Navy did not release a report blaming anyone until a month later, on March 23, when the official report was published and the Navy officers never mentioned Spain as the guilty party; *The Journal* immediately blamed the Spanish before any concrete information surfaced. According to the war records, the *Maine* was sunk by a submarine mine and not by a conspiracy of individuals like *The Journal* claimed.¹⁸ Spain's response was opposite to these accusations; instead, they sent the kingdom's condolences and deepest sentiments, and offered aid and resources to find the cause of the explosion.¹⁹ Despite a thorough investigation of the destruction of the *Maine*, American public opinion believed that Spain was behind the explosion, despite no concrete evidence to support the claim. Yellow journalism's goal of attracting readers through its controversial and scandalous headlines worked, swaying public opinion to support the Cuban independence movement. While yellow journalism persuaded Americans to support the Cubans, it was the average newspaper—non-biased and not influenced by yellow journalism—that reported negative events and features that revealed the disorganization of American forces in the war in Cuba.

After Congress declared war on Spain on April 25, 1898, newspapers across the United States sent many journalists to the front lines to report on the latest action. Americans were then addicted to the reporting on the Cuban conflict and newspaper readers demanded the latest information from the front lines. Reporters from across the United States—many from Hearst's New York companies and other newspapers dependent on yellow journalism—scrambled to

Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Florida. Once United States forces began assembling land forces for an invasion of Cuba, newspapers found it necessary to cover these units in America's "splendid little war."²⁰ Rather than keeping these military movements secret, these newspaper stories became a dangerous weapon in the upcoming land campaign in Cuba.

The land campaign in Cuba officially began when U.S. Marines landed near the town of Caimanera outside Guantanamo Bay on June 7, 1898. Their mission was to secure a beachhead, drive the Spanish out of the region, destroy all cable wires connecting Cuba to Spain, and control the harbor that could protect coaling operations for American ships that required calm seas and safe areas away from enemy incursions, ultimately creating an advanced naval base in southern Cuba.²¹ The Marines' operations were stationed in Key West, Florida, separate from the bulk of the Army in Tampa, Florida, where the Marines carried out their orders independently. The Marines landed quietly and secured their area while burning the countryside to rid the area of Spanish soldiers and yellow fever. More importantly, they secured the only functioning cable station connecting Cuba to New York, located in Guantanamo, while destroying cable wires used by the Spanish to communicate with Madrid. It was a successful operation that led the way for the Army landings a few weeks later.

One big difference between the United States Marines and the Army was that the Army was followed around by correspondents who took advantage of lots of press time. It was almost as if the soldiers in the Army were celebrities and the correspondents were paparazzi; every movement and quote from soldiers and officers was recorded and published. Despite such a quick, easy, and well-executed mission with few casualties, the Marines did not play a major role in the rest of the war. Instead, the Army took over the rest of the land campaign leaving the Marines almost voiceless and forgotten.

Unlike the U.S. Army, the U.S. Marine Corps was more successful in carrying out their operations under secrecy. Their activities were concealed well, and newspapers from the United States—and other European countries and Spain for that matter—did not publish the results of their campaign until days after the initial attack began. This is because naval officers did not allow journalists onboard warships; since the officers conducted orders on their ships, these plans were discussed in secrecy whereas journalists could easily accompany the Army on land. The Marines' assault on the area near Guantanamo Bay was the first major step towards paving the way for the success of the U.S. Army, which was considered an essential feat that resulted in much greater public awareness of and support for the small force that led the land campaign in Cuba.²²

The bulk of the American forces joined the land campaign when the Army landed near the town of Daiquiri on June 22, 1898. Located seventeen miles from the city of Santiago de Cuba, the vanguard of the American Army landed over 3,000 troops and supplies in a surprise beach assault on the southern coast of Cuba where the Army established a beachhead.²³ With help from naval bombardments of the coastline, the Army easily landed without much resistance from Spanish forces who were entrenched in the countryside. This was a major achievement for the United States as it finally put months of planning into action, with one newspaper reporting the landing of the vast number of troops under General William "Pecos Bill" Shafter as "a task of immense proportions,"²⁴ that broke "all records in modern history"²⁵ by being one of the biggest invasion forces in U.S. history.

Right from the beginning of the Army landings, American newspapers began compromising military movements and they revealed information that the Spanish forces could have used to their advantage. Not only did these newspapers expose military secrets, they also

published false information that contradicted official war records. On June 23, *The New York Sun* published a map of the area of Santiago de Cuba which included all the beachheads. News correspondents claimed that the Army had multiple beachheads covering a distance of forty-two miles stretching from the beaches of Sigua to Asseraderro, saying that the Army would probably surround the city on a two front offensive.²⁶ This report turned out to be false because General Shafter's army only landed at Daiquiri. He kept his army together rather than separating his forces across forty-two miles of hostile territory. *The Sun's* correspondent then gave the location of the important cable station headquarters at Playa del Este where the U.S. Government and *The Sun* were receiving dispatches.²⁷ This was very dangerous information to publish because this cable station was the only line that connected the front lines with Washington and the United States mainland. If the Spanish knew of the location of such a crucial communication hub, Spanish forces could have located the position where some of the American's top officers were stationed and then cut off contact to the United States. Since the Spanish-American War pre-dates the use of radio communication, cable stations were the primary source of communication to generals, commanding officers, and orders from the War Department in Washington. In fact, the Playa del Este cable connected to the Guantanamo cable station which connected to a French station in Haiti at Mole St. Nicholas, which ultimately relayed dispatches to New York, a process that sent messages over thousands of miles.²⁸ There was no direct cable from Cuba to the United States. The fact that *The Sun* published this information—even though it was just one line on the front page of the issue—could have put U.S. military communications in jeopardy.

Throughout the land campaign and its preparation for the invasion of Cuba, the United States Army was at center stage in the press. American news correspondent and journalists recorded the army's every move often romanticizing and elaborating the war. One example was

Stephen Crane, author of the novel *Red Badge of Courage* and a news correspondent for the *New York Herald*, who followed the troops across the battlefield and published “The Red Badge of Courage Was His Wig-Wag Flag” in *The Herald* on June 23, 1898, glorifying the troops in battle.²⁹ Crane wrote the following after observing the troops in battle:

The firing-drill of the marines was splendid. The men reloaded and got up their guns like lightning, but afterward there was always a rock-like beautiful poise as the aim was taken. One noticed it the more on account of the Cubans, who used the Lee [rifles] as if [they] were squirt-gun[s]. . . As for daring, that is another matter. They paid no heed whatever to the Spaniards’ volleys, but simply lashed themselves into a delirium that disdained everything. Looking at them one could hardly imagine that they were the silent, stealthy woodsmen, the splendid scouts of the previous hours. . . The dripping marines looked with despair at their empty canteens. The wounded were carried down to the beach on the rifles of their comrades. [As for Spanish casualties,] some said sixty; some said one hundred and sixty; some laughingly said six.³⁰

The account was well-received by the American people as good news from the front lines and the bravery of the Marines. However, Crane exaggerated the battle using words like “squirt-guns,” and phrases like “got up their guns like lightning,” and even saying the soldiers laughed at the guessing game of the number of Spaniards they killed. These stories in Crane’s writings conflict with what other correspondents witnessed on the battlefields. Multiple newspapers reported of desperate situations that the Marines confronted, especially when these troops were almost driven into the sea by an overwhelming Spanish force early in the campaign causing chaos and fear among Marines.³¹ Despite the “War is Hell” quote from Civil War General William T. Sherman, Crane and many other reporters tried to paint an inaccurate view by publishing descriptions of adventurous war stories that seemed fun and entertaining for folks to read back home.

Preparations for the landings at Daiquiri took months of planning and coordination to make sure it was successful. According to the War Department, General Shafter’s expeditionary corps consisted of 15,337 officers and men that included infantry, artillery, signal corps,

engineers, hospital detachments, and cavalry.³² Since mid-May 1898, the Army had gathered troops and supplies in Tampa, Florida in the hopes of confronting the Spanish forces in early June. After long delays and postponements, the Army finally disembarked on June 13 and would not arrive until June 22 off the coast of Daiquiri under heavy protection from ten gun boats and battleships from the Atlantic Fleet.³³ Days before landing troops, the Americans met with Cuban generals who directed them to land at Daiquiri where there was no Spanish resistance; before this meeting, the American command did not know where to land. Their goal was to rendezvous with Cuban rebel fighters at Daiquiri and push toward Santiago de Cuba where the majority of the Spanish forces were entrenched. This feat marked a turning point in the Cuban land campaign since the United States Army made a beachhead and established a base of operations close to the major Spanish stronghold in Santiago de Cuba.

Despite such a vital part of the war effort, the United States War Department had difficulty organizing the invasion force. Not only did average Americans know about these plans but the Spanish and most of Europe knew of the troops' status in Tampa and of the general location of the landings days before the invasion of Cuba took place. War correspondents from the United Kingdom deserted the terrible disorganization of the United States Army in *The London Times*. *The London Times* stated the following as Britain's view of the war:

The cause for the delay of Gen. Shafter's expedition is, doubtless, the weakness of the military administration in Washington. The United States War Office is almost badly constituted as our own . . . [and] the United States has at present no corresponding alleviation of a bad system. Scarcity of provisions and want of transports will doubtless prevent the Spaniards from offering a vigorous defense at a distance . . . which they have had ample opportunity for strengthening, but the task for Gen. Shafter in moving and supplying his troops is sufficiently serious. . . No direct military object will be gained by the capture of Santiago, which is remote from and independent from the center of Spanish power in Cuba. Upon Santiago, however, the military energies of the United States will now be concentrated, and the operations against Puerto Rico and Havana must be postponed.³⁴

This article notified the European audience of the weakness of the American military, as well as the need for the British military to improve its army as well.³⁵ The British believed that Havana, the capital of Cuba, was worth more militarily and much more logical to capture since it was closer to the American mainland. London even knew that the army was on its way to Santiago two days before the invasion took place, giving Spain a head start in defending the region. There is no doubt that the British believed that the fatigued Spanish army in Cuba had a chance in defeating the Americans.

In the War Department's eyes, Santiago de Cuba was a greater threat to national security and the primary target despite British opinions to take Havana. This threat was the Spanish Atlantic Fleet that posed a danger to America's coastline. Spanish Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's fleet sailed toward the Americas on April 24 to defend Cuba; however the U.S. Navy Department had no idea where he was going to land or even knew the location of the fleet. Rumors circulated in newspapers that Cervera's fleet could have landed anywhere from Santiago de Cuba to Havana or even attack the American coast. Many Americans were scared that the Spanish were heading their way when sources in New York reported seeing Spanish torpedo boats off Nantucket believing them to be units of Cervera's fleet, causing chaos in New England.³⁶ When news reached Washington that Cervera's fleet was anchored in Santiago de Cuba on May 19, the Navy Department established a blockade of the port and persuaded the War Department that the city must be taken so that the fleet could be destroyed, since it posed a threat to the American invasion force. Once the port of Santiago de Cuba was blockaded by the Navy, trapping the Spanish fleet in the harbor, the U.S. Army now had a strategic target: to either seize the port or force the Spanish Atlantic Fleet to go to sea and break through the blockade.

The analysis by a major British newspaper coincided with the frustration of the War Department as they tried to mobilize the troops to invade Cuba. Since June 1, President McKinley and the War Department ordered Shafter and his generals to ship off to Cuba as soon as possible due to weather and disease conditions, but the delays continued longer than expected. The disorganization of the military was evident when transport ships arrived that were not fit for transporting soldiers. General Nelson Miles, the commanding general of the United States Army, sent a complaint to Secretary of War Russell Alger about the ships he was given by saying, “these transports are built chiefly for freight and not suited or properly ventilated for troopships. I urge that suitable ships be chartered or obtained . . . [with] my recommendation that the Atlantic liners be obtained, at least for a short while.”³⁷ On top of that, the Army had problems landing their equipment on the beaches as the invasion began. The Army supposedly packed all its artillery and ammunition at the bottom of the boats while packing non-military supplies on top, causing chaos when Shafter’s forces landed in Daquiri when troops expected essential ammunition. Because plans were not thought through, soldiers had to toss equipment overboard—including all the animals that had to swim ashore—while in the process losing two men who drowned within sight of the beach.³⁸ Despite being at war with Spain for nearly a month and a half, the United States military did not know how to pack and unload a transport ship in an efficient way and almost had to resort to convert cruise liners as military transports to carry troops to Cuba.

American newspapers revealed a great deal of information that showed the military’s unpreparedness and poor organization. The *New York Times* reported multiple instances where the Army was still working to purchase supplies and aid for its troops even though the war had already started months earlier. On June 18, nearly two months into the war and days before the

invasion at Daiquiri, *The New York Times* presented a story on how the U.S. Depot Quartermaster finally signed contracts with private companies to buy essential military gear such as tents, barbed wire cutters, clothing for troops, and mosquito netting.³⁹ In the same issue, the Congressional Finance Committee notified readers that the Red Cross was in desperate need of volunteers and money, with the article saying that “there is a great need of supplementing the authorities’ efforts” for the war.⁴⁰ *The New York World* even published a political cartoon showing Uncle Sam sitting at the War Department office surrounded by “Wanted” signs, each asking for blankets, coats, haversacks, canteens, and other essential equipment not yet purchased for the soldiers that should have already been available.⁴¹

Even food was poorly prepared for distribution as many soldiers fell sick and some died after consuming canned beef during the campaign. The embalmed-beef scandal of 1898 sparked concerns on meat production as poor handling and preparation were to blame for the quality of the canned meat. While Major General Miles believed that injected chemicals were to blame for the tainted beef in his testimony to the Dodge Commission, the poor handling of beef was the main cause of concern as many meat companies admitted that “only the poorest quality of beef went into cans.”⁴² *The St. Paul Globe* reported Miles’ claim of the beef as a major factor in causing troops falling ill. The report said that this “embalmed beef”—as the soldiers called it—furnished the army in the field and 327 tons of the refrigerated beef was sent to troops; Miles even suggested that this food was sent to his army under the pretense of an experiment.⁴³ This commission revealed that uninspected meat was sent to the troops on the front lines, causing many deaths due to the poorly regulated inspections by the U.S. government. The embalmed-beef scandal alarmed legislators and the public of tainted beef, which eventually led way for legislation being passed to improve meat inspection during the Theodore Roosevelt presidency.

Even though these supplies and support were contracted and on their way to troops, they did not arrive on time. For weeks before the invasion at Daiquiri, the Army's plan for the invasion was delayed due to supplies arriving days, sometimes weeks, behind schedule. The War Department was so disgusted that they sent an inquiry to investigate the delays in the supply chain when 400 railroad car loads of supplies ordered three weeks earlier did not arrive.⁴⁴ Before the Army could leave for war, it was already fighting an uphill battle obtaining the equipment and rations it needed.

These articles revealed important problems at this time. First, the United States Army was disorganized and unprepared to fight the war with Spain. It took the War Department two months before it began receiving equipment for its troops. Records show that the Army's departure to Cuba was supposed to begin on June 8; however, the Quartermaster General experienced great difficulty and confusion in getting the supplies from the railway cars and distributing them to the expedition to Cuba delaying the operation two weeks.⁴⁵ Some claim that this unpreparedness was due to the Army's focus on fighting Native Americans during the Great Indian Wars, patrolling the West while fighting an enemy that was small, dispersed, and heavily outgunned. The Spanish-American War changed the Army's focus as Americans fought against a European nation, causing a massive rush to modernize an army that had not fought another nation since the Mexican-American War in 1846 -1848. The war also was America's first time fighting in tropical warfare since U.S. General Winfield Scott's forces invaded the port of Veracruz, Mexico in 1847. Accustomed to deserts and moderate climates, military commanders in 1898 had no experience fighting in sub-tropical regions which caused problems with ordering accurate and reliable supplies for troops.

Second, the military fought another war against the delays by the private companies, contractors, and railroads that transported and supplied the army in Tampa. A telegram sent to Washington from General Miles stated that among the stationary train cars located outside Tampa the vast majority contained ammunition, horse equipment, siege weapons, and commissary stores; one of these cars, containing uniforms and clothing, was at a standstill 25 miles away from Tampa.⁴⁶ Men were so restless and frustrated because of the lack of food and clothing that they began breaking into the cars to get supplies along with their commanding officers.⁴⁷ Tampa's railroad system was small with only one rail line entering the city, which explained the congestion of hundreds of railcars trying to operate on just one railroad line. This also brings the question why Tampa was chosen to be the headquarters when there was only one track to bring in supplies in the first place. Records show that the traffic jam of trains and the sloppy organization of the transfer of equipment caused chaos and disorder among the ranks, with troops looting items off the trains and destroying railcars. This angered the hundreds of men who arrived in Tampa who brought nothing with them—weapons, uniforms, or even blankets or tents—expecting the Army to supply those essential things for them.⁴⁸

Third, the war revealed the lack of communication between the Army and the Navy. Before the war, the Army and Navy rarely worked together; this was the first time in the late nineteenth century that both branches of the military had to collaborate since Veracruz and the Civil War. Even though the war forced the branches to work together, there were many issues that caused logistical problems during the land campaign. Frequently supply ships were late, which caused unrest among the troops already fighting in Cuba. A newspaper reporter for *The New York Times* stated on the front page that “the officers and men were completely out of rations” six days after the landings at Daiquiri and that the troops were “complaining bitterly.”⁴⁹

One would think that the Army would consistently supply its forces on the battlefield, especially since it had already secured a beachhead and shipping lane six days after the successful landing in Cuba; however, this was not the case. The war acknowledged this miscommunication between the services and supply chains which would improve after the war.

To add to the chaos in supplying troops, army pack trains and wagons in Cuba were slowed or stuck due to what the army called “impassible roads,” causing troops to go longer without rations and supplies.⁵⁰ This is an interesting vantage point since war records and telegrams do not mention impassible roads or road conditions except when General Shafter described the roads as just “dusty” when questioned by members of the War Department.⁵¹ These problems, with the congestion of the railroads and delays in the contracts and ships to support the soldiers, prolonged the war possibly many weeks and the American public and the world learned about it through the newspapers.

Spain even knew of the United States Army movements and location in Tampa and that the Americans were on their way to Santiago. The Barcelona-based newspaper *La Vanguardia* posted that the American army was sighted near Key West and that they were on their way to the southern coast of Cuba; all of this information was published as early as seven days before the landings at Daiquiri. The article stated, “The War Department in Washington announced that from Cayo-Hueso [Key West] an expedition has already left with the majority of the American troops” and that the cavalry on those transport ships “will result in being not useful” in the thick brush and terrain of Cuba.⁵² The next newspaper issue on June 16 provided more information on the troops by saying:

According to news reports from Washington, it is officially confirmed that two days ago General Schafter’s expedition left Cayo-Hueso. It compose[d] of 32 big transports with more than 46 ships in total carrying Captain Taylor. It is said that the expedition will

arrive on Wednesday [June 23] at dawn. . . Shafter's expedition will land near the Bahia de Baconal, between Guantanamo and Santiago.⁵³

Other newspapers across Spain confirmed the United States Army's departure from Florida to Cuba, especially the newspaper *La Correspondencia de Espana*, one of Spain's major newspapers from its capital in Madrid. It stated even more information a day earlier than *La Vanguardia* by saying:

It is official from Washington that the [United States] army under Shafter has left Cayo-Hueso and is in route to Santiago de Cuba. The same official note says that the expedition contains 773 officials and 14,564 soldiers. There are 32 transports escorted by 16 warships. The army consists of 16 regiments of regular infantry, two volunteer regiments, and one cavalry. The [Spanish] ministry of war has officially announced a second expedition is under way. . . a telegram from New York confirms Shafter's plan by landing near Bahia de Baconal with his important forces.⁵⁴

This article continued by being even more specific in the numbers of troops and officers, the types of ships in the expedition, and the types of troops preparing to land in the coming days.

This information came from London newspapers and was dispatched to Spain, according to the article. What is astonishing is that these numbers matched the official reports from the United States War Department records perfectly, with all the numbers of troops and officers adding up to 15,337, the exact same number listed in the war records. It is puzzling to know how such important information leaked out, especially the precise number of men and ships and the location of the landings.

These articles confirm the fact that the Spanish knew almost one week in advance when and where the U.S. Army was going to land. Even though one report predicted the wrong date of the landing (it was only one day off) and, probably the most intriguing part of the article, the Spanish knew in advance the general location of the landings. One would believe that the Army would attack Havana or land on the northern coastlines due to its close proximity to the United

States. Santiago de Cuba—located on the southern-most coast of Cuba—was far away and risky to send thousands of troops and transports. The Bahia de Baconal is less than ten miles away from the landing site at Daiquiri, according to official War Department maps.⁵⁵ Despite not identifying the correct location of the landings at Punta Berraco (the coastal location of the landing near Daiquiri), the Spanish were only a few miles off their prediction.⁵⁶

One should wonder how the Spanish were nearly accurate on the exact landing area of the U.S. Army and how they received this information nearly a week before the event. The War Department records confirmed that 48 transports and warships made up the convoy toward the southern coast of Cuba; the Spanish were off by just two ships in their intelligence observations.⁵⁷ It is hard to believe how such top secret military orders and plans were leaked to sources as far as Spanish and European audiences. How could information slip past U.S. military censors or be leaked to newspaper companies, endangering American troops?

American newspapers even belittled their Cuban allies at times during the war. There were a few instances where newspaper reporters insulted the Cuban revolutionaries on their work ethic and willingness to fight and went as far to publish these views. On top of that, the newspapers also tried falsifying reports of potential war crimes that did not happen, initiating claims of barbarous acts by the Spanish Army through the practice of yellow journalism.

The New York Times published an article that described the Cuban rebels in the eyes of a reporter. According to the story, the Americans pushed on into the fight while the Cubans sat around and relaxed. The article degraded the Cubans as lazy and unmotivated to fight. On the front page of the *Times*, the reported stated:

The Cubans . . . seem to be utterly worthless. All day they sit in the shade of their palm-thatched camps, and at night they smoke cigarettes and gorge on Uncle Sam's rations, while in the sight of Uncle Sam's boys, with empty stomachs and not a bit of tobacco in

[the United States' soldiers'] pipes, build roads all day under the blazing sun and sleep on their rifles . . . at night.⁵⁸

The fact that reporters scorned Cuban troops—many who have been fighting for years for independence—and then went as far as to publish it in a well-read newspaper would be very frustrating and appalling to Cuba's morale and trust in the United States. One could say that Americans had no room to talk in such a manner, especially since the United States was completely unprepared to fight and that it took nearly two months before they could assist the Cubans in a land campaign. Also, it is highly likely that the Cuban troops were practicing the *siesta*, the Spanish tradition of resting during the hottest parts of the day. With scorching temperatures and humidity levels at its apex during the afternoons, the Cubans rested while the American forces—used to working all day in a moderate climate without resting—battled the intense weather. This is a clear sign of cultural differences between the two allies, as United States forces and reporters were not familiar with the climate or culture of the island. There is no evidence that Cubans responded to the article, but it could possibly have soured relations.

Another more stereotypical example of scandal and disgrace was the fictional stories of war crimes and mutilation of bodies. Early on in the fighting, a newspaper correspondent from *The New York Sun* said that he saw the remains of killed Marines that had been “mutilated barbarously” causing horror among troops about Spain's treatment of the dead.⁵⁹

This caused much commotion among the newspapers across the country. From New York and Washington, D.C, to Texas and Nebraska, the newspapers reported on the disfigurement of U.S. Marines angered the country. A congressman from Minnesota wrote to the Secretary of the Navy to bring this to the Senate to inform them of the mutilation of the Marines after their death and transmit official correspondence and reports on the matter.⁶⁰ *The*

Houston Daily Post reported, “The officials [in Washington] were very reluctant to believe that the Spaniards who fought the Marines at Great Heights had been guilty of the horrible barbarism of mutilation of the bodies of the soldiers.”⁶¹ *The Sun* expressed the most outrage by saying,

To mutilate the dead of the enemy is not merely to hack it with knives and swords, according to the definition by army officers, is to commit atrocious indignities to it. The Indians [Native Americans] practice mutilation in its most depraved form on their enemies, but among civilized nations such deeds are usually punishable by death.⁶²

This is classified as yellow journalism because there was no evidence to support the claim.

There were also no pictures or photographs of the bodies as proof that the atrocities happened as reporters quickly wrote down what they saw and sent it back to New York. Before a surgeon or a medical professional could examine the bodies, reporters already cried foul and determined that the Spanish troops were barbarians.

These claims would be proved false when the U.S. Surgeon General conducted a full autopsy of the dead soldiers. *The New York Times* reported that an army surgeon wrote a letter to Surgeon General Van Reypen describing the victims of the so-called “atrocities” on the hospital ship *Solace*. In a letter written to *The New York Times*, the report said the bodies were not mutilated but were results of special, altered bullets. The surgeon declared, “The wound of exit is an entirely different wound from that made by a Lee rifle. It is a very ugly opening, and it led some to suppose the first dead had been mutilated. This is now believed to be an error.”⁶³

Three days later, Admiral William T. Sampson confirmed the surgeon’s observations in a telegram to Washington which said, “It is reported to me that the apparent mutilation was probably due to the effect of small calibre bullets fired at short range, and I withdraw the charge of mutilation.”⁶⁴ It is difficult to tell if journalists either knew that these bodies were not mutilated and then they altered the stories or if they reported on what they saw. Some could say

that reporters were even influenced by observations from U.S. soldiers on the battlefield. Regardless of whether or not this inaccurate information was published on purpose, this story was printed without immediate fact checking, which caught major attention from readers back home.

There are many theories that could answer this mystery bullet; however it is highly likely that these wounds were the results of what historians call “dumdum bullets.” These bullets were altered by hand in a way to have similar effects to an exploding projectile causing enormous damage to the body to aggravate wounds and increase the suffering of the wounded.⁶⁵ The descriptions of its effects match the reports published from the Hague Declaration of 1899, which outlawed the use of the dumdum bullets in warfare. During the Spanish-American War, these bullets were still legal and it continued to cause terror throughout the Cuban land campaign.⁶⁶

By the end of June, the U.S. Army was closing in on the city of Santiago de Cuba. The closer the troops reached the city, the more intense the fighting became and the battle casualties increased as swarms of Spanish attacked from the bushes and fortified positions. The Americans underestimated the morale of the Spanish forces as the U.S. Army faced numbers that completely outnumbered their own. On June 24, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt’s Rough Riders and around 1,000 Americans stumbled upon Spanish forces that were estimated over 2,000 strong in an immense ambush at Sevilla Heights near Juragua five miles outside Santiago de Cuba.⁶⁷ The American troops took on a Spanish force that was willing to fight back, which represented a major change in Spanish tactics, especially since the first few days after the Daiquiri landings there was little resistance and that many American newspapers claimed that the Spanish were on the brink of surrendering. Because of their focus and discipline, the American soldiers stood

their ground and repulsed the attack; one newspaper correspondent wrote, “When attacked they were hysterical and half out of their minds. All courage would have been scorched out of less thoroughbred men” and they pushed back the Spanish forces despite being outnumbered two to one.⁶⁸

The Spanish reached a different conclusion regarding the battle by claiming a Spanish victory and declaring Roosevelt’s account of the battle false. A Spanish correspondent said that Washington received news of an American defeat at Sevilla Heights and President McKinley sent letters of condolences to the families of the fallen soldiers, even mentioning the name of a soldier who was killed in the surprise attack. The article also claimed that Roosevelt censored information—such as changing the outcome and altering of numbers of troops, since it was impossible to tell exactly how many Spanish troops fought in the engagement from his point of view— about the battle and that his negligence on the field had contributed to the American defeat.⁶⁹ Regardless of what the Spanish wrote, Roosevelt and his men were able to share their self-proclaimed great victory through the newspapers as Americans read of the heroic actions of their soldiers.

However, other American soldiers were not so lucky in the advance towards Santiago de Cuba. In many cases, American soldiers were either in full retreat after the attack or were nearly wiped out by Spanish forces. Spanish correspondents claimed the U.S. forces were in a critical situation since the Spanish conducted constant night attacks and the rebels failed to support the Americans when needed, causing the Americans to fall back to the coast.⁷⁰ *The Atlanta Constitution* published an article of the accounts of some soldiers who escaped death and were forced back to the safety of the beaches where American gunboats could protect them. One reporter wrote that United States forces had lost an engagement and the situation was considered

desperate as the soldiers conducted a full-out withdrawal back to the coast.⁷¹ At one point, many Marines were placed in danger of “being driven into the sea” and faced possible annihilation which led to many soldiers becoming disheartened of the operations and the war itself.⁷² Not only were troops exhausted from the constant fighting and limited amounts of sleep, they were disappointed in the military command’s decision of not backing up its forces when summoned. In other words, the soldiers were fighting without any rest or reinforcements for days. One correspondent wrote, “Were it not for the protecting guns of the fleet the [troops] would be annihilated by the Spanish troops in overpowering numbers from Santiago de Cuba.”⁷³

The act of relieving battle fatigued troops on the front lines was a necessary action to increase morale, by rotating fresh troops to replace tired forces, and ensuring a constant supply line to support frontline operations. However, in the case of the United States Army during the war, commanders had a difficult time reinforcing its soldiers from the beginnings of the operations in Caimanera up to the very end of the war. Despite having a beachhead in Daiquiri and enjoying naval superiority throughout the entire campaign, American forces complained about having little or no access to reinforcements when requested and were bitter about the slowness of the arrival of supply trains. American readers learned about these problems straight from correspondents who could have compromised military operations giving the Spanish an edge given the information of poor American command and control and especially logistical support operations.

At this time, U.S. forces had to advance through dense jungle terrain to surround Santiago de Cuba. Since railroads and waterways were unavailable in southern Cuba, the Army referred to traditional means to transport supplies by using pack animals, such as horses and mules, to carry supplies across the American West. However, the pack animals were affected by

the climate and terrain just like the troops. Many horses and mules succumbed to tropical diseases which undermined operations and stalled Army advancements. In fact, many pack animals were killed during the beach landings at Daiquiri when many were thrown overboard due to poor planning in Tampa. These logistical problems slowed down Army advancements, causing major issues on the road to Santiago de Cuba.

The Marines were fortunate to have their operation in proximity to the sea where gunboats covered their advance. However, as the Army advanced farther inland they left the range of the gunboats and help from the Navy and they relied on reinforcements, local Cuban guides, and revolutionaries to ensure their safety. These factors proved to become major issues as the troops advanced closer to Santiago de Cuba. When Roosevelt and his forces were ambushed by a superior Spanish force outside the town of Juragua at Sevilla Heights, he was almost fourteen miles away from naval support and hours help away from any reinforcements at Daiquiri. The Americans relied on Cuban insurgents and some soldiers claimed that the Cubans led them to the ambush site.⁷⁴ The Spanish command believed that the Americans could not advance or survive without the help of the Navy covering their moves, which gave the Spanish an even playing field. One would believe that the Spanish correspondents were correct in this observation since most of the deadly fighting took place farther inland out of the reach of the American naval artillery. This information was shared with millions of readers around the world revealing that the U.S. military was at a disadvantage without the assistance of the Navy.

An analysis of the Cuban land campaign cannot be completed without explaining the influence of yellow fever and its effects on both sides. It is interesting to find that the official war records do not mention yellow fever as a major factor in the number of deaths for the Americans as it only states the number of men killed and wounded in battle.⁷⁵ Why the War

Department left the disease out of the records is fascinating because newspapers from both Spain and the United States mentioned numerous times the deadly influence of the mosquito-borne disease that left countless numbers of soldiers affected as well as thousands dead. This viral disease is prevalent throughout Latin America as mosquitoes transmit the disease to humans and other animals; if not treated or recognized in time, anything from mild symptoms to severe illness and death are imminent.⁷⁶

At this time, Army doctors claimed that yellow fever was caused by filth and dirty conditions. Cleanliness and sanitary conditions were thought to be the best way to prevent the disease, and in an interview with the Surgeon General Van Reypen of the Navy Department, a newspaper correspondent stated the following:

Santiago [de Cuba] is about the least healthful place in Cuba, and the greatest caution must be observed as soon as the place falls into the possession of the United States. There is no sewerage; dead cats and other carcasses are seen in the streets which are used as latrines and . . . the harbor is never cleansed. In view of the danger of yellow fever, [Dr. Van Reypen] thinks that our soldiers ought to prevent from occupying the city and required to make their camps in the neighboring hill country.⁷⁷

In order to protect themselves from the yellow fever, the Marines burned an entire village when they first landed to prevent the spread of the disease.⁷⁸ Without the knowledge of mosquitoes being the culprits, soldiers had to fight the Spanish and the paranoia of yellow fever which affected thousands of soldiers in such a short war.

Spanish and loyal Cuban forces, which were mostly immune to the disease through natural or acquired immunity, saw the effect of yellow fever on the American soldiers as a major advantage in warfare and did not hesitate to report the pandemic that swept through the invading American expeditionary force. Spanish correspondents notified its readers that symptoms of yellow fever were spreading among American soldiers, even on naval ships anchored off the coast. Private telegrams to Madrid intercepted by reporters said that yellow fever was raging

among the encamped Marines and spread to the nearby ships where several cases were reported.⁷⁹ The Spanish believed that this disease—which the Americans had no immunity or vaccine for at the time—was so lethal that it would decimate the American forces before they could continue the invasion of Cuba.⁸⁰ The pro-Spanish newspaper *La Bandera Espanola* in Santiago de Cuba said that yellow fever was rampant in the U.S. ships blockading the island, saying that there was “absolutely reliable news...that 40 deaths have already occurred” due to yellow fever on the American ships.⁸¹ One could say that the Spanish used the mosquitoes as a form of biological warfare against their enemy which claimed the lives of thousands of U.S. soldiers while the Spanish waited in heavily fortified earthworks and fortresses.

What made yellow fever so influential in the coverage of the war was that the War Department seemed to cover up the disease. This is not a surprise since the Surgeon General and Red Cross did not have a cure for it, let alone know the source of the disease. Reporting high casualties to a disease without a cure could have caused panic in the United States and reveal disorganization of military officials and the Red Cross. American newspapers undermined the policy of keeping the illness a secret as reporters kept mentioning this disease as a nuisance and problem on the front lines. *The Omaha Daily Bee*, for example, mentioned that as the battle for Santiago was underway, yellow fever and dysentery appeared and swept through American troops as 40 soldiers were hospitalized.⁸² Without official numbers from the War Department, it is difficult to find an accurate number of the total affected, but some sources say that the disease claimed the lives of over 5,000 soldiers while battle-related deaths were only 345.⁸³ The statistics gave a different view point of the war as Americans realized that many of their soldiers were dying not on the battlefield but from diseases that were still unknown to modern medicine at the time.

Soldiers affected by the yellow fever epidemic in the Cuban and Puerto Rican campaigns returned to the United States, but were quarantined in special camps along the East Coast. Camps were built from New York to South Carolina to inspect and disinfect troops exposed to yellow fever before returning to society. The Marines organized a hospital service on Daufuskie Island, South Carolina, to stop the spread of the disease to the mainland by isolating potential patients away from civilization, invoking large-scale efforts to provide adequate quarantine inspections of troops and baggage.⁸⁴ Farther north in New York, the Army organized another camp at Camp Wikoff on Montauk Point where affected troops were sent, a facility far away from major population centers. A correspondent for the *Journal* was astonished at the sight of walking ghosts where one soldier's knees gave out from under him, resulting from almost no strength. His report continued with an interview with a surgeon at the camp that said that those affected were "just about beyond treatment" and the patients in the "camp ghost" were too far gone and could not be admitted to a hospital.⁸⁵ The military not only isolated these camps to prevent the spread of yellow fever—even though yellow fever is not contagious, but this was unknown at the time—but also to keep the public eye away from such horrific sights of walking ghosts and the effects of the incurable disease courtesy of the war.

The last phase of the Cuban land campaign was the siege and capture of Santiago de Cuba. As American forces advanced from the east, Cuban rebel forces cut off the lines of Spanish communication to the north and west, effectively sealing off the city. After days of fighting around the city, the Spanish ultimately surrendered the city due to starvation and low morale that plagued the city. The Battles of San Juan Hill and El Caney on July 1 was the beginning of the fall of Santiago de Cuba as Spanish soldiers retreated the city defenses after the defeat to only be surrounded by United States forces and finding no way of retreating. With

American control of the heights surrounding the city, U.S. artillery units could now shell the Spanish fleet. Admiral Cervera realized that he now had only two choices: surrender the Spanish Atlantic Fleet or try to break the U.S. Navy blockade on escape to another port. Rather than accepting surrender, he chose the course of valor. On July 3, Cervera fired up his boilers and tried to break the American blockade. This action led to the Battle of Santiago as the U.S. Navy sank or grounded five of the six ships escaping. After heavy casualties on both sides, the siege eventually ended on July 17 as American forces entered the city and hoisted the U.S. flag over the main government building; they accepted the surrender of 7,000 arms and 600,000 rounds of ammunition from Spanish forces.⁸⁶ The capture of Santiago de Cuba sealed the fate of Cuba as Spain would sue for peace a few days later. The Spanish defeat marked the end of the Spanish Empire in the Americas and Santiago de Cuba lost its strategic importance.

After the fall of Santiago de Cuba, the land campaign was considered over. Southern Cuba was now under complete control of the United States and its Cuban allies while other cities in the north were bombarded by the Navy. The Spanish Atlantic Fleet was destroyed, thousands of Spanish troops were dead and wounded, and Spanish morale was non-existent. Spain's fate in the Caribbean was sealed as Cuba slowly surrendered to the American forces. By this time in the war, newspapers were no longer publishing information that put American military maneuvers and organization in danger as the Spanish could do nothing but surrender and fall victim to a peace protocol that was signed in August 1898.

The time frame from the beginning of the war to the start of peace talks between the United States and Spain over the future of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other Pacific islands was a total of only three and one-half months. The Spanish-American War ended Spain's foothold in the New World, dismembering an empire that began 400 years earlier with

Christopher Columbus' voyages. As for Spain, the results ended in its own subjects distrusting the Spanish government and an economy that would suffer for many decades. Cuba was under occupation and administration by United States forces until 1902 and remained under American protection for thirty-two years. The Platt Amendment was incorporated into the Cuban constitution and gave American businesses access to the island's resources as well as the U.S. government's right to "restore order" and stability of the island's inhabitants until the FDR administration finally pulled out of Cuba in 1934 as part of Roosevelt's New Deal policy.⁸⁷

Despite being such a short conflict, historians know a great deal about the daily events of the war due to the dedication and hard work by the news correspondents from both the United States and Spain. However, was this work of recording every detail and publishing it for the world to read worth the risk of placing military operations in danger, revealing the military's hardships in supplying its troops, and publishing false claims against its enemy to ensure daily sales to their readers? There is no doubt that American correspondents and editors exercised their First Amendment Right of Freedom of the Press, but was there a point when the First Amendment became too dangerous?

American newspapers and the information they printed attracted Spanish spies. New York City was the center of information during the war and the city also had the only cable station that connected directly to generals, officers, and correspondents at Playa del Este and Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Spanish spies were ironically captured in New York, far away from Washington, D.C. and the military centers. One newspaper mentioned that the Spanish spies seized in New York were trying to leave the country with maps, charts, and information about coastal defenses in the United States in their possession.⁸⁸ In fact, *The New York Times* reported of a major spy ring operating in New York was detected by a just as the war began, collecting

information to send back to Europe; unfortunately, the spies were able to escape before government officials arrived to arrest them.⁸⁹ Spanish spies even worked at the Army and Marine encampments in the United States gathering information. In Key West, soldiers exchanged fire with “suspicious characters around the batteries” surveying the area near the Marines’ camp who were identified as Spaniards who successfully escaped.⁹⁰ This extensive spy network knew the location of boats patrolling the Gulf of Mexico and even the major squadrons defending American harbors—stationed in New York and Hampton Roads—as well as the names of the ships, which was published in *La Rioja* on May 19.⁹¹ This evidence proved the fact that the Spanish were working in the United States and that New York—the only major cable hub connecting the war in Cuba to the United States—was the center of the espionage activity.

Many times Spanish newspapers printed the vast majority of their latest news from the United States courtesy from New York City. There were a myriad of instances when newspapers across Spain mentioned special reports and telegrams sent from New York to Spain. For example, *La Vanguardia* mentioned a few times of “special telegrams” sent from *The New York Herald*—a newspaper that often practiced yellow journalism—by stating in articles that “it is said from New York” and “confirmed from New York” as the opening sentences as news from the United States.⁹² Another newspaper published breaking news from New York City “from our special correspondent” about massive numbers of troops heading to Cuba.⁹³ This evidence does not prove that spies stole information from American newspapers since some information came from the front lines in Cuba, but it is a coincidence that spy rings and special Spanish correspondents operated and transmitted information across the Atlantic Ocean from New York where the major cable hub was located.

What the newspaper did for the United States in the Spanish-American War was reveal both good and bad images of the military. The newspaper—the only news media to report information about the war in Cuba and around the world—kept its readers informed with detailed accounts of the war with dialogue, literary language, intrigue, and curiosity as Americans scuffled daily to purchase newspapers to find out the latest news from the front lines. However, the newspaper contradicted America's dominant ideology by exposing American military disorganization and negative information that made the United States look weak. Censorship seemed to not exist at this time, especially when the Spanish knew when Shafter's expeditionary force was going to land in Cuba and the general location of the beachhead. Spanish newspapers were well-censored with some information not reported until days later, keeping its citizens focused on Spain's triumphs. When the Spanish did report information immediately, it was well-written and concise. This is because the Spanish government employed newspapers as propaganda machines to censor military defeats and built up support for the war effort. American newspapers practiced their Freedom of the Press as it followed a war that was unorganized on both sides.

The newspaper was responsible for recognizing war heroes and reporting the gallant fighting conducted by American forces in Cuba. The best example of the American press idolizing its soldiers was Theodore Roosevelt who would be forever remembered for his actions at Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. These engagements were where Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt claimed national prestige. On July 2, Roosevelt and the Rough Riders advanced up Kettle Hill and secured the summit after heaving fighting; Roosevelt led his men to attack the heavily fortified position atop of San Juan Hill, just a few miles from Santiago de Cuba. *The New York Herald* and *The San Francisco Call* each published detailed accounts of the Rough Riders'

advance toward the Spanish defenses. The volunteer cavalymen were targets of intense gunfire in an open field as Roosevelt led the charge on horseback. Even when his horse was shot from beneath him, he continued the advance on foot. *The Call* reported the following:

[Roosevelt's] Rough Riders . . . rushed against San Juan's defenses with fury which is irresistible. Their fierce assault was met by the Spaniards with a stubbornness born of desperation. Hour after hour the troops on both side fought like madmen. . . [b]ut the Rough Riders did not flinch. Fighting like demons, they held their ground tenaciously, pressing forward. The Spaniards were no match for Roosevelt's Rough Riders.⁹⁴

Roosevelt became a household name because of the bravery and charisma he possessed on the battlefield, and correspondents did not hesitate to report his exploits. After the war, his courage and title as a war hero would help him win the governor race of New York and become the Vice-President in 1900. He became the 26th president of the United States in 1901 after McKinley died of his wounds which he received at the hands of a deranged assassin.⁹⁵

The American press also made major contributions in recording the war and preparing for future wars in the twentieth century. The Spanish-American War was a complex war that covered multiple fronts across two oceans. The War Department referred to journalists and correspondents on the front lines to understand what happened in the war when War Department historians wrote the official history. Journalists and correspondents were the best primary sources because they were at the scenes of battle and followed the troops, and the War Department believed that their articles gave a portrayed picture of the war. Evidence is shown when parts of the official war records—published in 1901, three years after the end of the war—were copied word-for-word from articles from *The New York Sun* on events of the war in 1898. William Randolph Hearst's correspondents also contributed dozens of photographs of the Cuban landscape and the fighting to the War Department, giving the agents actual pictures of the countryside, soldiers, and dead Spanish troops on the battlefield rather than using only artists'

sketches to include in the official records.⁹⁶ The newspapers also revealed the disorganization of the military command and logistical issues. This information helped analysts in the War Department reflect on what when wrong during the campaign and how they could develop ways how to avoid these mistakes in future conflicts.

What this evidence shows is that the War Department used photographs and portions of articles written by news correspondents from large American newspaper companies as a major factor in recording the entire Cuban land campaign. This could have provided future historians with a truly precise view of the events that occurred in the Spanish-American War since these journalists were alongside soldiers. One could question why the War Department had to resort to collect some information from newspapers and not from its own officers. This could lead to questions about the War Department's organization of resources in obtaining accurate accounts of the war rather than referring to news correspondents who may have altered information to make their stories sound more controversial in order to sell more newspapers back in the United States. One example is Henry Watterson, an author and journalist for *The Courier-Journal* in Louisville, Kentucky who published a book on the official history of the Spanish-American War at the end of 1898. He claimed that America was ready for war and the military's superiority and preparedness wiped out Spanish rule in Cuba. However, nowhere did he mention the disorganization of military plans, delays in providing transports and supplying troops, deadly diseases which harmed thousands of troops, or near-annihilation scenarios that newspaper editors from around the country published. There is a possibility that the War Department could have had their Official War Records filled with information falsified by journalists like Watterson who stretched the truth.

From an editor's point of view, the war pushed the limits on how First Amendment practices affected military efforts during wartime. Fortunately for the United States, its military planning and secrets put in print did not hinder America's quick victory over the Spanish. However, as the United States entered World War I, censoring practices were put in place to protect military organization since the U.S. confronted an advanced and organized German military network.⁹⁷ The Spanish-American War began an era of what some call the golden age of journalism that shaped the design of the newspapers of today. These newspapers contributed to the creation of banner heads and free use of pictures which assisted in growing bigger, bolder, and wider headlines to catch the attention of readers.⁹⁸ These tactics were successful as they brought in readers to learn the latest news from Cuba as newspaper tycoons sought to print and sell the most newspapers possible, even if the information was scandalous or compromised military interests. Further into the twentieth century, fact checking and censorship for security interests became a standard for journalists as it continues to inform its readers up to modern day and for the future.

Endnotes

1. Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire: 1898 – 1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 7.
2. Henry Watterson, *History of the Spanish-American War* (St. Louis: L. F. Smith & Co., 1898), 118. Watterson was not only was an author and journalist but he also was a soldier for the Confederate States of America during the American Civil War. He became a supporter of Reconstruction after the war and even ran as a presidential candidate, according to *The Chicago Tribune* on November 22, 1883.
3. General Marcus J. Wright, *Wright's Official History of the Spanish-American War* (Washington, D.C.: War Records Office, 1901), 185. Wright was an analyst and author for the United States War Department who collected documents and other materials for publication for military records. Wright gained the rank of general as an officer for the Confederate States of America during the American Civil War and he kept his rank when he joined the War Department in 1878.
4. Joseph W. Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2001), 101.
5. Campbell, 7.
6. Balfour, *The end of the Spanish Empire: 1898 – 1923*, 8.
7. Antoni Kapcia, "One hundred years of solitude: 1898 and 1998 in the Cuban search for national identity," *Spain's 1898 Crisis: Regenerationism, Modernism, Post-colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 231.
8. Balfour, 7.
9. Balfour, 7.
10. "Sherman for War with Spain for Murdering Americans," *The New York Journal*, February 22, 1897, 1.
11. "'Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men,' as it is in Cuba," *The New York Journal*, April 11, 1897, 1.
12. "The Alleged Letter," *The New York Tribune*, 9 February 1898, 1.
13. Balfour, 23 – 24.
14. "La Carta Robada," *La Opinión: Diario de Salamanca*, February 17, 1898, 1.

15. Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies*, 108.
16. Wright, *Wright's Official History of the Spanish-American War*, 66 – 67.
17. “Destruction of the War Ship Maine Was the Work of the Enemy,” *The New York Journal*, February 17, 1898, 1.
18. Wright, 86 – 87.
19. “Voladura del ‘Maine,’” *La Vanguardia*, February 17, 1898, 5. What is interesting about *La Vanguardia* is that all of the news of the Spanish-American War was found on pages four and five of its daily newspaper. Other Spanish newspapers published the latest news from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines on their front pages or within the first three pages. In each case *La Vanguardia*—based out of Barcelona, a region notorious for its long attempt to secede from Spain—placed foreign news close to the back of the paper.
20. John Mack Faragher, et al, *Out of Many: A History of the American People*, Third Ed. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000), 603.
21. David E. Kelly, “Marines in the Spanish-American War: A Brief History,” *Marines in the Spanish-American War 1895 – 1898: Anthology and Annotated Bibliography* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Marine Headquarters, 1998), 18.
22. Wright, 13.
23. Wright, 310.
24. “Troops are Landing,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, June 23, 1898, 1.
25. “Landing the Army a Feat,” *The New York Times*, June 28, 1898, 2. This newspaper was the most reliable in research because it was the most neutral. While other newspapers, such as the *Journal*, *World*, or *Tribune*, practiced yellow journalist view that focused on American triumphs, the *Times* remained focused mostly on fact checking and printing accurate articles. Reporters for the *Times* were more experienced and professional, but it was also one of the most expensive newspapers to buy at this time, being sold at five cents a copy.
26. “The Scene of Operations,” *The New York Sun*, June 23, 1898, 1.
27. “The Scene of Operations,” 1.
28. Wright, 310.

29. Kelly, "Marines in the Spanish-American War: A Brief History," 28.
30. Stephen Crane, "The Red Badge of Courage Was His Wig-Wag Flag," *Marines in the Spanish American War 1895 -1898: Anthology and Annotated Bibliography* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Marine Headquarters, 1998), 102 – 103.
31. "Marines in Danger," *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 15, 1898, 1. This newspaper is different among the other newspapers used because it is located in Atlanta, Georgia, deep in the heart of the original Confederate States of America. While Northern newspapers were pro-military and published articles that were optimistic about the war and praised U.S. forces, this newspaper had more pessimistic perspectives of the fighting and expressed negative views of the war at times. In one issue, the newspaper called General Wheeler "the gallant ex-Confederate cavalry general" while ignoring the accomplishments of the other Northern generals. One could believe that tensions from the Civil War were still felt at this time, which could be a reason why this newspaper published such negative views of the military at certain times during the war.
32. Wright, 92.
33. Wright, 294.
34. "London Views on the War," from *The New York Times*, June 20, 1898, 1.
35. This news article was a call for reform of the British Army administration and to update its military, which had not been seriously revised since the Crimean War (1853-1856). Britain's observations of the Spanish-American War helped prepare its military for the Boer War of 1899 in South Africa.
36. "Warships off Nantucket," *The Salt Lake Herald*, May 13, 1898, 1.
37. "Telegram from General Miles to Secretary of War Alger," June 12, 1898, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1993), 41. Throughout the campaign, politics played an important role in military decision making and contributed to delays and critical comments from officers. General Miles—an officer for the Union Army in the American Civil War and general in the Indian Wars—was a Democrat who disagreed with decisions made by the Republican McKinley administration. He was a presidential nominee at the Democratic National Convention in 1904, but Alton Parker received the party's nomination.
38. "Telegram from General Miles to Secretary of War Alger," 53-54.
39. "Supplies for the Army," *The New York Times*, June 18, 1898, 3.
40. "Money for the Red Cross," *The New York Times*, June 18, 1898, 3.

41. "Waking Up!" *The Houston Daily Post*, June 8, 1898, 4.
42. Wilson J. Warren, *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meatpacking* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007), 145-146.
43. "'Embalmed Beef' the Soldiers Called It," *The St. Paul Globe*, December 22, 1898, 1.
44. "Board to Investigate," *The New York Times*, June 18 1898, 2.
45. Wright, 290 – 291.
46. "Telegram from General Miles to Secretary of War R. A. Alger," June 4, 1898, 24-25, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain*. Troops even sized transports so they would not be left behind in Tampa. Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders, for example, abandoned most of their horses so they could board a ship for Cuba.
47. "Telegram from General Miles to Secretary of War R.A. Alger," 24.
48. "Telegram from General Miles to Secretary of War R.A. Alger," 24.
49. "Completely out of Rations," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1898, 1.
50. "Regular Siege May Be Necessary," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1898, 1.
51. "Telegram from General Shafter to Secretary of War Alger," June 28, 1898, 60.
52. "Una expedición," *La Vanguardia*, June 15, 1898, 5.
53. "La expedición Schafter," *La Vanguardia*, June 16, 1898, 4.
54. "La guerra," *La Correspondencia de España: diario político y de noticias*, June 15, 1898, 1.
55. Wright, 20.
56. "Telegramas oficiales," *La Correspondencia de España*, June 23, 1898, 1.
57. Wright, 309 – 310.
58. "Completely out of Rations," June 28, 1898, 1.
59. "Spanish Mutilate the Dead," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, June 15, 1898, 1.
60. "Marines Not Mutilated," *The New York Times*, June 23, 1898, 2.

61. "Guantanamo Not Healthy," *The Houston Daily Post*, June 15, 1898, 1.
62. "Atrocities on our Fallen," *The New York Sun*, June 15, 1898, 1.
63. "Marines Not Mutilated," *The New York Times*, June 23, 1898, 2.
64. "Not Mutilated by Spaniards," *The New York Times*, June 26, 1898, 2.
65. Robin Coupland and Dominique Loye, "The 1899 Hague Declaration Concerning Expanding Bullets: A Treaty Effective for More than 100 Years Faces Complex Contemporary Issues," *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge/International Review of the Red Cross*, 2003: 137.
66. Dumdum bullets were popular with the rebel Boers in the Boer War of 1899 against the British in South Africa. This controversial use of dumdum bullets led them to be banned in the proceedings of the Hague Convention of 1899. Even in modern times, dumdum bullets are still banned in warfare.
67. "Battle of Sevilla Heights," *The New York Times*, June 24, 1898, 1.
68. "The Battle Near Sevilla," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1898, 2.
69. "Derrota yankee," *La Vanguardia*, June 28, 1898, 5.
70. "Situación apurada," *La Vanguardia*, June 16, 1898, 5.
71. "Marines in Danger," *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 15, 1898, 1.
72. "Marines in Danger," 1.
73. "Situation Has Gone Desperate," *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 15, 1898, 1.
74. "The Battle Near Sevilla," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1898, 2.
75. Wright, 617.
76. World Health Organization, "Yellow Fever," *WHO Report on Communicable Disease Surveillance and Response*, Geneva, 2000: 11.
77. "Santiago Health Conditions," *The New York Times*, June 21, 1898, 1.
78. Kelly, 15.
79. "A Yellow Fever Yarn," *The New York Times*, June 19, 1898, 1.

80. "La fiebre amarilla," *La Vanguardia*, June 23, 1898, 6.
81. "A Santiago Journal's 'News'," *New York Times*, June 26, 1898, 2. The Spanish believed that yellow fever would do much harm to the American forces and knew that it was only a matter of time before the first cases broke out among the Americans. The Spanish used this tactic to their advantage because yellow fever affected and killed many American troops, so Spanish forces retreated to fortified positions to let the disease kill off the enemy.
82. "Rumor of Spanish Victory," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, June 29, 1898, 1.
83. Faragher, 603.
84. Ramunas Kondratas, *Images from the History of the Public Health Service* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1994), 17.
85. Brian P. Pace and Jennifer Reiling, editors, "The 'Camp Ghost' at Camp Wikoff," *Journal of the American Medical Association* Vol. 280, no. 6, 1998.
86. "Up Goes the Flag," *The New York Sun*, July 18, 1898, 1.
87. Kapcia, 230.
88. "Are Said to Be Spanish Spies," *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 12, 1898, 1.
89. "Spanish Spies Disappear," *The New York Times*, May 29, 1898, 1.
90. "Spies Fire on a Sentry," *The New York Times*, May 28, 1898, 1.
91. "La Guerra Naval," *La Rioja: Diario Imparcial de la Mañana*, May 19, 1898, 1.
92. "Noticias de origen yankee," *La Vanguardia*, June 16, 1898, 5.
93. "La Guerra," *La Correspondencia de España*, June 15, 1898, 1.
94. "Renewal of the Attack on Santiago," *The San Francisco Call*, July 3, 1898, 1.
95. Roosevelt eventually received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his actions at San Juan Hill. Interestingly enough, Roosevelt wrote to friends in the Senate encouraging them to nominate him for the medal Public Law 105-371, H. R. 2263, of the United States Congress enacted a vote to "request the President to award the congressional medal of Honor posthumously to Theodore Roosevelt for his gallant and heroic actions in the attack on San Juan Heights, Cuba, during the Spanish-American War," on November 12, 1998, one hundred years after the battle.

96. Wright, 334 – 395.
97. The Allies, already fighting a total war for over two years, demanded that the U.S. Army censor journalists before their articles could be published.
98. Campbell, 151.

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