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THE RESCUE OF EVANGELINA CISNEROS:
"WHILE OTHERS TALK THE JOURNAL ACTS"

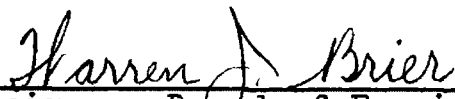
By

Kyle Hunter Albert

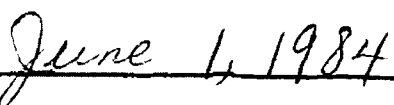
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Albert, Kyle Hunter, Spring 1984

Journalism

The Rescue of Evangelina Cisneros: "While Others Talk the Journal Acts"

Director: Warren J. Brier WJ^B

The New York Journal's coverage of the rescue of Evangelina Cisneros from a Havana prison in 1897 is examined and analyzed in this study.

Miss Cisneros, 17, niece of the leader of the Cuban revolutionary forces, escaped with the help of Karl Decker, a correspondent for William Randolph Hearst's Journal.

An opening section chronicles the involvement of the yellow press in the Cuban insurrection up to the time of the rescue and provides background about the circulation war between Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer.

Analysis of the coverage begins with the first mention in the Journal (Aug. 14, 1897) of Miss Cisneros' incarceration. The study then traces Hearst's crusade to free her and her subsequent arrival in New York. The crusade included a petition to the Queen Regent of Spain signed by more than 15,000 women in the United States and Britain and letters to the Pope from several prominent women.

The writer's primary sources were microfilm copies of the Journal and a book, The Story of Evangelina Cisneros, Told by Herself: Her Rescue by Karl Decker, published in 1897.

The study concludes that Hearst's incessant promotion of the Cisneros affair influenced public opinion and helped push the United States into the war with Spain.

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EVANGELINA CISNEROS

(From Brown, p. 369)

CHAPTER I

The Circulation War

In 1895 America was still recovering from the wounds of the Civil War. Farmers were burning wheat they were unable to sell, unemployment was burgeoning and the cities were plagued by poverty. Those problems manifested themselves in the Homestead Riot and the Pullman Strike of 1894.

But for William Randolph Hearst, it was a time of speculation, of new adventure. He moved to New York and took a bachelor apartment in Madison Square near Broadway and Twenty-Fifth Street. He used profits from his successful San Francisco Examiner to buy the foundering New York Morning Journal and the German-language companion paper, the Morgen Journal. He was 32 years old and embarking on one of the greatest adventures in journalism's history.¹

Hearst was the son of a California miner who had struck it rich in the Comstock Lode and who had later invested wisely in the Anaconda Copper Company and in ranchland in Mexico and the American West. William Randolph Hearst was an only child who inherited his

father's ambition along with his millions.

Hearst attended Harvard for two years and became the business manager of the campus humor magazine, the Lampoon. He was expelled in his sophomore year for drawing portraits of his professors on chamber pots. While at Harvard, Hearst paid rapt attention to the success of the sensational New York World, which was prospering under the guidance of its new owner, Joseph Pulitzer. Hearst returned home to California and instituted some of the techniques he had observed in Pulitzer's paper at his San Francisco Examiner. This proved so successful that the profits from it enabled Hearst to acquire the New York Journal, as the paper came to be called, and begin his war with Pulitzer.²

Pulitzer had come to New York earlier. He was an ambitious German immigrant who had worked as a soldier, waiter, stoker and hackman (the turn-of-the-Century equivalent of a cab driver) before being hired as a reporter with Carl Schurz's Westliche Post. He then worked for the New York Sun, another major daily newspaper, until he saved enough money to buy the St. Louis Evening Post, which later became the Post-Dispatch.³ In 1883 Pulitzer bought the New York World from tycoon Jay Gould. Pulitzer promised to make the World into "a journal that is not only cheap but bright, not only bright but large, not only large but truly democratic--dedicated to the causes of the people rather than the

purse-potentates--devoted more to the New than the Old World--that will expose all fraud and sham, fight all public evils and abuses--that will serve and battle for the people with earnest sincerity."⁴

That became the manifesto of what would be called "yellow journalism." It initiated in the annals of newspaper history an era that never has been equaled in its vitality and sensationalism.

The two giants of yellow journalism were Hearst and Pulitzer. Both stood six-foot-two, both were millionaires who spent money royally while espousing the causes of the masses, and both were shy. But that's where the similarities ended.

Hearst was in perfect health, placid and courteous. Pulitzer had poor eyesight, was nervous, and was known to fly into profane rages. Hearst was at his office daily, and when the Spanish-American War broke out, he was in Cuba covering the action from the front lines. Pulitzer rarely appeared at his splendid, gold-domed skyscraper office. Hearst believed in fighting the Spanish almost from the beginning of the Cuban insurrection in 1894, while his rival came around on the side of the Cuban rebels because, as he later admitted, it meant increased circulation.⁵

There were four major morning newspapers in New York in 1895 in terms of circulation: the Journal, the World,

the Sun, and the Herald. The leaders among the evening papers were E. L. Godkin's conservative Evening Post, the Commercial Advertiser and the Mail & Express.⁶

Pulitzer's innovative management raised the World's daily circulation from 15,000 in 1883 to 742,673 in April of 1896.⁷ Hearst realized from the outset that the big money could be earned by catering to the tastes of the vast, lower-class public that patronized Pulitzer's paper. Hearst's taking on Pulitzer has been likened to Luxembourg invading Germany. In the ensuing battle for the pennies of New York's proletariat, the two forced each other to use more and more sensationalism and to pander more to the puerile tastes of the masses.⁸

Hearst fired the first round in the war for circulation by dropping the Journal's price from two cents to a penny and expanding it from eight pages to 16, which was done at a loss. He also emulated Pulitzer's practice of giving extensive coverage to crimes of passion, freaks of nature and scandals to titillate readers. Hearst was quick to recognize the circulation-boosting potential of the tales of bloody atrocities committed by the Spanish military against the rebels in Cuba. Meanwhile, the intellectuals read the New York Times and Godkin's Post, both conservative papers opposed to American involvement in the Cuban insurrection.

Hearst poured money into billboards, advertisements

in elevated trains and streetcars, and even used brass bands to convey the idea that the Journal gave twice as much news as the World at half the price. In August 1896, Hearst sponsored the "Trans-Continental Yellow Fellow Bicycle Relay" as a publicity stunt. Hearst was a firm believer in vigorous progress, and the bicycle, a new invention, symbolized the dawning of an era in personal transportation. A rider dressed in yellow left the offices of the New York Journal on August 25 and--13 days, 29 minutes and four and one fifth seconds later--another rider arrived at the offices of the San Francisco Examiner.⁹ Hearst devoted several pages of the Journal each day to news of bicycles and bicycle races.

Hearst was betting that his short-term financial losses would reap him the major share of the market in the long run.

Many innovations that are today standard practices in the newspaper business were first employed by Hearst to steal readers from Pulitzer before the Spanish-American War. Banner headlines, the boldface proclamations set in three-inch-high type that spanned the entire top of the front page, were first used in this way. After the destruction of the U.S.S. Maine claimed the lives of 261 American seamen, these headlines became a regular fixture on the front pages of the yellow journals.

On Sunday, Oct. 17, 1897, the first special eight-page color comic section appeared in the Journal. Hearst had purchased a mammoth Hoe color press especially for the comics in the expanded Sunday issue. In that same issue, Hearst described the innovation as "eight pages of irridescent polychromous effulgence that makes the rainbow look like a lead pipe."

The Spanish-American War was also the first time that the press, especially the yellow press, went to such great logistical lengths to cover an event. Hearst and his rivals sent scores of artists and reporters to Key West, Florida, and Havana to gather news early in the conflict. Special telegraph cables and a fleet of chartered boats were also employed.

At one point, Hearst had two yachts, an ocean-going tug, six steamers, a Brazilian cattle boat and a Red Cross ship involved in the coverage at a cost of about \$1,500 a day.¹⁰

The Spanish censored all reports leaving the cable offices in Havana, so the juicier morsels of news were smuggled to Key West and cabled to New York. This smuggling and the general clandestine aura surrounding the American press in Cuba fostered Spanish resentment. Political cartoons in Madrid newspapers constantly showed Americans caricatured as pigs, which is how they were often referred to in print on the editorial page as well.¹¹

The Vamoose was the first press boat Hearst employed in the shuttle between Havana and Key West, but its operating costs became too great and it was abandoned. Another ship, the Olivette, ran twice a week on the same route and was involved in many incidents with the Spanish navy. The press hired as many as 25 boats at one time. This drove the price of charter boats in southern Florida up to \$100 a day, an outrageous sum in those days. The press boats were sources of news from other naval vessels, so the American Navy didn't mind their presence. Life aboard the press boats was reportedly tedious; mutinous crews, filth, seasickness and difficulties with port authorities kept things lively. And routine stops for coal often slowed the boats and prevented their getting to battles.¹²

Boats belonging to rival papers often raced each other to Key West to get a "scoop." The Journal tried, without success, to use carrier pigeons to send messages between ships. Another plan, to send reporters aloft in a balloon to observe action far away, was also scrapped. The press boats were not versed in the military codes of the day and were unable to identify themselves; this often led to confrontations with both Spanish and American warships. The Journal's Anita was once chased by two Spanish gunboats from Puerto Rico to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, where she narrowly escaped. After

the battle of Santiago later in the war, the U.S.S. Potomac fired three shots in daylight at the Associated Press's Cynthia as she lay alongside the wreck of the Spanish cruiser Vizcaya. (The tale of the ill-fated Vizcaya is told in Appendix F.) The American battleship Oregon once chased another AP ship for 100 miles before identifying it as friendly.¹³

Cable stations around the Caribbean were used by the correspondents, with various degrees of satisfaction. Messages sent from Kingston in Jamaica, St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands or Haiti cost about 50 to 80 cents a word. Messages from New York to points in the Caribbean cost about \$2.50 a word. The fare from Key West to New York was only five cents a word, which is one reason Key West was favored as a message center. But even at this cheap rate, some messages ran up to 5,000 words at the cost of \$250. The Associated Press's story of the sinking of Spanish Admiral Cervera's fleet cost about \$8,000 to send from Kingston to New York, via Panama and Central America.¹⁴

Only two cable offices connected Key West with the mainland. One was used constantly by the U.S. government; the other was the object of fierce competition among correspondents. For a while, dispatches were sent to Miami by boat, but this took much longer than cabling directly from Key West, so it was abandoned.

Besides the infighting for the use of this single cable, the correspondents faced the problem of Spanish censorship. All messages were required to be in "plain language" (i.e., no codes) and were required to be submitted in Spanish. Correspondents were allowed to send requests for money in English. There were so many reporters during the height of the war that the censors were hard-pressed to enforce the rules. The American censors in Key West also restricted the reporters' messages to prevent leaking strategic information to the Spanish.

James Creelman, one of Hearst's correspondents in Cuba, recalled this story of a typical encounter with a Spanish censor:

"The Spanish army retreated," wrote one correspondent.

"I can't pass that," growled the Spanish military censor. "I will not allow anyone to cable such a statement. You must correct it."

"Right," said the correspondent. "I made a mistake." Then he wrote "The Spanish army advanced gallantly rearward."

"Good!" cried the Spaniard, whose knowledge of English was somewhat hazy. "That is the truth. Spanish soldiers never retreat."¹⁵

The four major New York dailies that covered the war each spent more than \$200,000. The Journal reported more than \$300,000 in expenses since the Maine disaster.

The AP spent \$284,510 between March and October of 1898. Dispatch boats and reporters' salaries accounted for \$141,402; cables cost \$124,554; and sending the news

to subscribing papers cost the AP \$18,544. Cable bills from June and July, after the war was over, amounted to \$32,065 and \$43,485, respectively. Melville Stone, then head of the AP, said it spent more than \$300,000 to cover the war. The expenses were astronomical by peacetime standards; renting a serviceable boat could cost from \$5,000 to \$9,000 a month and another eight percent of the boat's value was added each month for insurance, amounting to 96 percent of the boat's value per annum. Coal and supplies for the boats had to be bought at wartime prices and crews demanded extremely high wages, due to the dangerous nature of the work. There was also a \$60 port charge to enter the harbor at Key West at the end of each trip.¹⁶

Most of the illustrations in the newspapers were drawings (the Journal employed Frederick Remington), but a "good action photograph" could cost a paper \$500. The Herald conducted two costly experiments without success: it rented the telegraph cable at Key West at a cost of \$50 an hour and set up a series of long-distance photoelectric instruments to send a picture directly to New York every 20 minutes. Other costs of covering the war were the many frequent "extra" editions, which vendors often were unable to sell.¹⁷

The petition to the Queen Regent of Spain was not the first instance of Hearst's recognizing the potential power of the women of America: he had dedicated a special

section of the Sunday Journal, called "The American Woman's Home Journal," to them. However, many cartoons in the comic section poked fun at the women's suffrage movement, as well as at blacks and orientals.

Another Sunday addition instituted by Hearst was the "Popular Periodical" section, the forerunner of today's weekly magazine sections carried by many large dailies. The section varied in size and housed, with the weekly comics, articles about the arts and literature, sheet music to popular songs, and humorous stories. The Journal was growing; the Easter Sunday edition in 1897 set a record of 116 pages. The special Christmas Sunday edition the preceding year was 112 pages.¹⁸

A favorite tactic Hearst used in the battle for circulation was to lure journalists away from rival papers, especially the World. George Luks and R. F. Outcault, the artists who created the "Yellow Kid of Hogan's Alley" cartoons that some say were the basis of the term "yellow journalism," were two of Hearst's first conquests from Pulitzer. The full-page cartoons depicted an engaging slum urchin whose words appeared on his bright yellow nightshirt.¹⁹ The cartoons satirized everything from the condition of the streets in New York to the war in Cuba, and they always adhered strictly to the Journal's editorial stance on these topics.

On Feb. 10, 1896, two years almost to the day before the Maine was scuttled in Havana, Pulitzer lowered the price of the World to a penny. He was finally admitting that he was being financially hurt by Hearst and was going to fight him on his own terms. But the move had a crippling effect on some other New York dailies, most notably the tiny Morning Advertiser and the small Press. Hearst purchased the Advertiser and changed the name of his daily to the Journal & Advertiser on April 2, 1897, but it was still referred to as the Journal. Pulitzer raised his advertising rates to compensate for the drop in revenue, which resulted in the loss of a few large accounts to Hearst. Hearst added to his rival's woes by luring the World's business manager, Solomon S. Carvalho, to the Journal.²⁰

Hearst claimed that the circulation of the Journal rose by 1,500 each day during his first year at the helm. By 1897, the combined circulation of the morning and evening Journals was 700,000, only 100,000 behind Pulitzer's morning and evening Worlds at 800,000. Both papers supported the Cuban rebels and advocated American involvement in the war. The third major New York daily, the Sun, also pro-war, had a circulation of 150,000. The New York Herald, Evening Post, Tribune and Times were anti-war, but their combined circulations totaled only 225,000 in contrast to the combined 1,560,000 in favor of war.²¹

The clearcut, black-and-white, hero/villain concept of the Cuban insurrection set forth in the yellow press was simple and satisfied the American masses. They found it more exciting to read of the murder of Cuban babies and the rape of Cuban maidens by the Spanish than to contemplate the delicate and complex political and diplomatic matters involved.

In Defense of Yellow Journalism

James Creelman wrote the following in defense of his colleagues in yellow journalism:

If the war against Spain is justified in the eyes of history, then "yellow journalism" deserves its place among the most useful instrumentalities of civilization. It may be guilty of giving the world a lopsided view of events by exaggerating the importance of a few things and ignoring others, it may sometimes proclaim its own deeds loudly; but it has never deserted the cause of the poor and the downtrodden; it has never taken bribes--and that is more than can be said of its most conspicuous critics.²²

The yellow journalists were not alone; other parties were vitally interested in Cuba Libre. As early as 1809, Thomas Jefferson had written to James Madison:

Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it.²³

Jefferson also envisioned Canada, Florida and Texas one day becoming part of the United States.

Popular ideology also contributed to the surge of interest in the fate of Cuba. Charles Darwin's Origin of Species had been published in 1859, and its concept of survival of the fittest was creeping into all forms of public policy. A further reflection of this trend was a best-selling book published in 1885 by Josiah Strong, a Congregational minister, entitled Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis. This book carried the concept of natural selection to the races of humanity: "This powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond."²⁴

Economics was also a factor in the Cuban question. Territorial expansion and the exploitation of the frontier, which had fueled the American economy, were at a standstill. By 1893 the nation was experiencing a depression termed acute by some experts. This, in turn, was spawning a plethora of political factions, such as the Populist Movement, the Free Silver Movement in the West, and many other, smaller movements of a similar stripe. Those protest groups were about to take charge of the Democratic Party, and the specter of radical upheaval loomed in the minds of the incumbents.

Trusts were eliminating business competition, which

had been the backbone of the American economy. With all the frontiers except Alaska gone, the supply of new lands that had fed the growth-oriented market was seemingly at an end. Capitalists were seeking expansion in foreign lands to assuage their waning profits. Among those advocating expansionism and imperialism, "The White Man's Burden" by Rudyard Kipling became the symbolic credo of their cause.²⁵

Along with the resurgence of intellectual interest in socialism, there arose a plague of hot-headed rhetoric and jingoism among politicians. Jingoism was the perfect tool to restore pride in America, mend party fences and divert attention from internal discontent. Between 1891 and 1895, three major incidents fueled by jingoism could have led to war: Secretary of State Blaine's tart and insensitive reply to the Italian minister about 11 Italians lynched in New Orleans; friction with Chile over the Valparaiso riot in which two American sailors were killed; and in 1895 the United States' fiery dispute with Britain over the boundaries of Venezuela. In each case war was contemplated and press response was enthusiastic. But the public never dreamed that this trend would soon result in a war with Spain, a major world power, and the acquisition of the far-off Philippine Islands.²⁶

On Dec. 16, 1896, the Chicago Tribune, a pro-war paper, reported that "Boston is on Fire for Cuba Libre,"

and the same issue reported:

106 men of Butte, Montana, had signed the roll [to fight] for Cuba. A company of young men enlisted in Arkansas City; two companies were formed in Denver; several companies in Des Moines; a company of 60 men in Portsmouth, Ohio; a group of 12 men in Zanesville, Ohio; several men in Springfield, Illinois; and in 24 hours, 800 were enlisted by the Cuban Junta in New York City. In Pittsburgh, members of the National Guard resigned to fight in Cuba and a Spanish flag was burned in Lexington, Kentucky.

The governor of South Carolina offered to lead his state militia into battle in Cuba, and the "American Volunteers Legion" reportedly had companies in more than 20 states by spring of 1897. This was a secret organization of men pledged to leave for Cuba on 24 hours' notice.²⁷

The epidemic of jingoism was not confined to the small-time ward heelers. In December 1896 in his annual message to Congress, President Grover Cleveland said of Cuba: "A situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be suspended by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."

The following year, President William McKinley gave a similar speech before Congress; he spoke of the horrors of the war in Cuba and hinted that a time might come when the United States would be forced to intervene on behalf of the rebels.²⁸

McKinley had been the keynote speaker at the 1895 convention of the National Association of Manufacturers before announcing his candidacy. In that speech he said that he saw overseas expansion as the "only promise of relief" from the vast surpluses that flooded domestic markets. That organization also campaigned for vigorous governmental support of reciprocity treaties that would enable American industry to obtain cheap raw materials and wider markets for its products.

McKinley was also the featured speaker at the 1897 meeting of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, where he told his audience "No worthier cause [than] expansion of trade can engage our energies at this hour."²⁹

The President was trying to remove distraction, establish control on trade in the Caribbean and begin, through warfare, expansion into the mythical panacea of the China market.

The Journal had polled all of the governors and Congressmen in 1897, asking these questions:

1. Do you favor on the part of the United States such interference in the Cuban revolution, by recognition or the giving of material aid, as would promote the war of independence?
2. How many volunteers would your state furnish for the sea and land forces in case of a war with a foreign power?³⁰

Author Marcus Wilkerson called the polling of these officials "an insidious means of spreading propaganda."³¹ The papers made exaggerated claims based on the results of this poll. Also, Wilkerson pointed out that the number of people polled was too small to be a good representation of public opinion and that those who responded were those who felt strongly about war.

Publicity-seeking Congressmen were in turn motivated to fire off crackpot remarks from the floor of the Senate and the House about Cuba and the United States' obligation to aid the cause of liberty. Secretary of State John Sherman also listened gravely to testimony by the Journal's Frederick Lawrence, a rear-echelon correspondent who freely admitted that he got his facts secondhand from rebel sympathizers whom he trusted.³²

Thus, the politicians were not only misguided by epidemic jingoism, but grossly misinformed as well.

The military also had been watching Cuba and the Philippines. Alfred Thayer Mahan, founder of the United States Naval Academy and author of its main text at the time, The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, was regarded as an expert on military strategy. He was also a firm believer in what was to be called "gunboat diplomacy." Before the Spanish-American War, Mahan had written many magazine articles that pointed to Cuba and the Philippines as prime locations for new American naval bases and coaling

stations. Mahan said these bases would enable the United States to better defend South America and control trade routes to the orient. He also envisioned the United States controlling "an Isthmian canal," similar to the Panama Canal.³³

According to Richard Miller's book on turn-of-the-Century American imperialism, Navy Department records and Admiral George Dewey's memoirs confirm that as early as 1873 the United States had contemplated an attack on the Spanish fleet at Manila.³⁴ After the Maine disaster, the Philippines became even more enticing.

Theodore Roosevelt, then assistant secretary of the Navy under John D. Long, sent a historic telegram to Dewey on the afternoon of Feb. 25, 1898, authorizing Dewey to take the Philippines. However, similar and more comprehensive orders had been sent to Dewey a week before at McKinley's behest.

Most historians cite Roosevelt's telegram as Dewey's first orders because of the colorful story that surrounds it. Long, Roosevelt's boss, was not feeling well on that fateful afternoon in February. He left the office in Roosevelt's hands and went home early. Roosevelt, as legend has it, engineered the takeover of the Philippines in the space of those few hours. But Roosevelt himself later stated that he felt the Philippines were far beyond the proper perimeters of American control at the time.

(The text of that famous telegram is in Appendix A.)

The blame for pushing the nation into the Spanish-American War has been debated by historians for many years. Swanberg, one of Hearst's biographers, calls the activities of Hearst and Pulitzer and their colleagues in yellow journalism "the most disgraceful example of journalistic falsehood ever seen."³⁵

Hearst himself blamed all of the agitation over Cuba on his arch rival, Pulitzer, who naturally passed the buck back to Hearst. It seemed that after the tide of public opinion started to carry the nation toward war, no one wanted to claim responsibility for starting it, though Hearst often called it "The Journal's War" in print. Here is a typical editorial, taken from the March 29, 1897, Journal, in which Hearst lays the blame at the feet of his rival:

[Pulitzer is] a journalist who made his money by pandering to the worst tastes of the prurient and horror-loving, by dealing in bogus news and by affecting a devotion to the interests of the people while never really hurting those of their enemies, and sedulously looking out for his own.

Many authorities agree there is no doubt as to whether the yellow press was largely responsible for pushing the nation into the Spanish-American War. Swanberg summed up the collective opinions of many historians when he wrote:

Given a situation where war and peace hung in the balance, the clacking Underwoods and Remingtons in the grubby warrens around Printing House Square in New York would decide whether it would be the olive branch or the sword.³⁶

Regardless of who was to blame, both of the leading New York dailies were trying to beat one another in covering the rebellion in favor of the rebels. Hearst typified their logic in an editorial Oct. 11, 1895:

The rebels are animated by the same fearless spirit that inspired the counsel of the patriot fathers who sat in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July, 1776.

As of Feb. 24, 1898, a little more than a week after the Maine disaster, the Journal was already profiting from the imminent war. The circulation of the Sunday Journal rose to 519,032--"a record never before equalled by any afternoon paper published in the English language or any other language,"³⁷ the Journal boasted.

Hearst has been repeatedly characterized by his biographers as bashful, which stands in drastic contrast to the inflammatory rhetoric of his editorials. "The external Hearst [of the editorial page] was a fraud,"³⁸ Swanberg wrote, once again speaking for many of Hearst's biographers, including Charles H. Brown and Edmund D. Coblentz.

A side of Hearst's personality often overlooked, especially by those who condemn him as a warmonger and a panderer to the seedy tastes of the masses, was his genuine humanitarianism. The Journal financed several

free-soup kitchens for the poor of New York City before the Spanish-American War and from time to time Hearst sent warm clothing and blankets to the poor as winter approached. Again, Hearst's biographers and colleagues agree that Hearst began supporting the cause of Cuba Libre just as much out of sincere caring for the welfare of the Cuban people as out of lust for increased circulation figures.

In his second biography of Hearst, William Randolph Hearst: A New Appraisal, Winkler mentions that, in retrospect, the Spanish-American War was not all bad. It encouraged America to develop a more powerful navy and brought the nation closer to building the Panama Canal. It liberated Cuba from the tyranny of Spanish colonial rule. It gave the nation one of its most illustrious presidents, the former leader of the "Rough Riders," Theodore Roosevelt. Another benefit was not as readily apparent: it was the first time since the Civil War that the North and South had united in a common goal, which built badly needed unity.³⁹ (See Appendix B for a sampling of political cartoons to this effect.)

Several firsthand accounts written by people who worked with Hearst state that he supported the Cuban rebels out of humanitarianism. The 1890's were an age when chivalry still held a place in the world. The word "lady" was a complimentary term, rather than having the

derogatory sexist overtones that it carries today. It is therefore entirely possible that a newspaper tycoon could still be motivated by ideals more lofty than out-selling his competitors. The story of the rescue of Evangelina Cisneros appeals strongly to these sensitivities. Instead of a medieval dungeon, the fair maiden in distress was being held prisoner against her will in a foul Spanish prison on a tropical island.

It has been suggested that the Spanish-American War was the last hurrah of chivalry. The story of the Journal's rescue of Senorita Cisneros certainly is consistent with this analogy. However, Hearst was by no means a saint; he was quick to recognize the circulation potential of the rescue story, and nothing could stop him from making it a sensational exclusive coup for the Journal.

Before correspondents were sent to Cuba, Hearst's reporters got news of the plight of the Cubans from a dubious New York organization of expatriated Cuban nationals who romantically called themselves "The Cuban Junta." Headed by Tomas Estrada Palma, the silver-mustached former schoolteacher destined to become independent Cuba's first president, the junta sent money and arms to the rebels. Palma's office at 66 Broadway became the nerve center of intrigue, with people arriving and departing at all hours on secret missions and all the other sundry trappings of cloak and daggerism.

The junta office also disseminated manufactured reports of rebel "victories" and Spanish "atrocities."⁴⁰ Each afternoon reporters from the major New York dailies would gather at the office and get the "news" from Palma. The junta always supplied peanuts for the reporters to munch on during these sessions, which quickly earned the nickname "The Peanut Club." Palma gave as his sources heroic rebels who risked their lives stealing through the Spanish lines with dispatches. The junta wanted to convince the American public that the favorite sport of the Spanish was to murder Cuban children, rape their mothers, poke out their fathers' eyes, and otherwise torture the rebels into submission.⁴¹ And the yellow journals were more than happy to cooperate with the junta by printing the sensational accounts.

The New York papers often published accounts during this period of battles and atrocities that never actually occurred. Several times they reported the death of one rebel leader, General Antonio Maceo, and once they reported his suicide when he actually was alive and well. General Maximo Gomez, the purported kingpin of the rebel force, was also periodically reported killed in the yellow press. Havana was reportedly captured by rebels when in fact none were within 20 miles of the city. On Oct. 23, 1895, the Journal reported that the Spanish drowned their prisoners and fed them to sharks. Almost a year later, on

Oct. 7, 1896, the Journal falsely accused the Spanish of "roasting 25 Catholic priests alive."⁴²

The fire of revolution in Cuba was being fanned into a major blaze by this hot wind from the cable office in Key West. After reading the yellow press's accounts, the emboldened rebels told the people that anyone who did not aid their side would be considered an enemy and dealt with accordingly, so many peasants supported the rebels out of fear.

The rebels' strategy was to burn sugar plantations and towns, wreck railroads and flee, which in turn further damaged the foundering Cuban economy. The hatred between partisans became so great that prisoners often were hanged or disemboweled. There is no doubt that much of the gore reported in the yellow press was legitimate. (Appendix E contains examples of the yellow press's atrocity stories.)

The War Correspondents

To protect civilians from further violence and make it easier to ferret out the rebels, Spanish Captain-General Valeriano Weyler, the Queen Regent's officer in command of the forces in Cuba, issued orders to "reconcentrate" the civilian population in camps on the coast so that fighting could be carried on in the island's interior. Those orders fed the resentment among those

forced to uproot their families and businesses and was used by the yellow press as yet another example of "Spanish cruelty."

One such incidence of Spanish brutality was documented at Campo Florida, a village eight miles from Havana where Weyler had between 40 and 50 unarmed Cubans "dragged from their homes, and without accusation or trial, butchered on the roadside by order of the local military commander."⁴³

"I made a vow in that moment that I would help to extinguish Spanish sovereignty in Cuba,"⁴⁴ Creelman wrote, "if I had to shed my blood for it." When confronted with the story of the massacre, Weyler reportedly cried "Lies! Vile lies! The Cuban agitators have deceived you!" He then expelled Creelman from Cuba for his writings.

At this time few newspapers spoke out against the tactics employed by Hearst and Pulitzer, and their voices were lost amidst the clamor for war. However, E. L. Godkin of the New York Evening Post and the Nation was one editor who objected. (One of his editorials lambasting the yellow journalists is in Appendix C.)

The effects of the anti-Spanish propaganda printed in the yellow journals manifested themselves in a variety of ways in the United States before the war. On Dec. 31, 1895, school children in Chicago were reported to be busily raising funds for the junta and burning General Weyler in effigy.⁴⁵

Weyler had been sent to Cuba by Queen Regent Maria Christina of Spain to quell the rebellion on the island. He was a silver-haired, 59-year-old professional soldier who, in younger days, had served as a military attache at the Spanish legation in Washington, D.C., and had accompanied General William T. Sherman on his march through Georgia during the Civil War.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the Journal dubbed Weyler "The Butcher." An editorial Feb. 23, 1896, said, in part:

. . . Weyler the brute, the devastator of haciendas, the destroyer of families, the outrager of women . . . pitiless, cold, an exterminator of men. There is nothing to prevent his carnal, animal brain from running riot with itself in inventing tortures and infamies of bloody debauchery.

Creelman interviewed Weyler, and here are a few of his recollections of the man, the yellow press nicknamed "The Butcher:"

He was a short, broad-shouldered man, dressed in a general's uniform, with a blood-red sash wound around his waist. His head was too large for his body. The forehead was too narrow, the nose and jaws prominent and bony; the chin heavy and projecting. The sharp lower teeth thrust out beyond the upper rows, giving the mouth a singular expression of brutal determination. The eyes were grey and cold. The voice was harsh and guttural--a trace of his Austrian ancestry--and he jerked his words out in the curt manner of a man accustomed to absolute authority. It was a smileless, cruel face, with just a suggestion of treachery in the crow's feet about the eyes; otherwise bold and masterful.⁴⁷

Creelman referred to Weyler as:

. . . the fierce disciple of Cortez and Alva, at the mention of whose name the women and children of unhappy Cuba shuddered; the incarnation of the surviving spirit if medieval Europe, desperately struggling to retain a foothold in the Western world. He was the guardian of the last remnants of Spanish authority in the hemisphere once controlled by Spain; a worthy instrument to close the most unspeakable period of colonial government.⁴⁸

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Weyler was simply the agent of a political theory that discontent should be cured by stern repression rather than remedial legislation. It is a policy as old as the human race. It has always been a failure, but it springs up in every age.

He did his work honestly and frankly. Cubans who refused to recognize Spanish authority must be killed. There were plenty to take their places.⁴⁹

However, in the following paragraph, Creelman calls Weyler a "stubborn tyrant" who blamed the papers for everything. Weyler reportedly told Creelman:

If it were not for the encouragement of the Americans, the Cubans would lie down like whipped dogs. The American newspapers are responsible. They poison everything with falsehood. They should be suppressed.⁵⁰

Much of the hatred for Weyler on the part of the press resulted from Weyler's ban on reporters, Spanish and American, at the battlefront. American Major-General William R. Shafter, commander of the American forces in Cuba, also banned the press from the front lines once the United States entered the war and was hated by the press for his action as well. Shafter weighed about

300 pounds and was the butt of many jokes among the press corps. From the viewpoint of a professional soldier, a war was going on and the "meddlesome scribblers," as Weyler called reporters, were a dangerous nuisance. Consequently, most of the "news" that came out of the war before the United States became directly involved came from random dispatches delivered by questionable Cuban informers, many of whom were rebel sympathizers. Most of the American correspondents spent their time lounging around the plush Hotel Inglaterra in Havana awaiting these dubious couriers.

But Creelman wasn't always so harsh in his criticism of Weyler. After all, Weyler was just carrying out his orders, the same as the press corps. Creelman also interviewed the Spanish Prime Minister, Don Canovas del Castillo, who he said resembled "an old lion." Creelman quoted Castillo as saying "Spain will make no concession" where Cuba was concerned. (Appendix D contains more of Creelman's report on Castillo.)

During the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848, newspapers paid army officers to act as their agents and send news from the front. During the Civil War, papers sent their own correspondents. These men, generally unwelcome, often were chased out of camps and denied information and access to the telegraph. Reporters were regarded as another species of camp follower.⁵¹

The correspondents employed by the yellow press during the Spanish-American War were a flamboyant group of young men who, if not for their journalistic talents, would not have been out of place riding with Theodore Roosevelt and the "Rough Riders." Standard equipment for these reporters included field glasses and a pistol in addition to writing materials. Richard Harding Davis, one of the more prominent correspondents and the author of several books, actually was the official correspondent of Roosevelt's company. Davis worked for the New York Sun, the Journal, the Herald, the London Times and Scribner's Magazine. He was described as being the "Gibson Man," the incarnation of Charles Dana Gibson's ideal gentleman of the 1890's. Davis was offered a captaincy in the "Rough Riders," which he reluctantly declined.⁵²

Stephen Crane, author of the classic The Red Badge of Courage, was one of Pulitzer's correspondents. Crane was one of the few who had any experience as a war correspondent because the last war in which the United States was involved had been the Civil War, 30 years before. Crane's exploits during the Spanish-American War were notable; he supposedly singlehandedly captured the town of Juana Diaz in Puerto Rico and led a bayonet charge on a Spanish blockhouse during the battle of El Caney in Cuba.⁵³

Requirements for correspondents were sketchy in the Spanish-American War and most reporters were novices.

The exploits of these men led the military to establish guidelines for correspondents' conduct by the time of World War I.⁵⁴

Coverage of the Spanish-American War was not always as colorful as these examples. In the early stages of the war, the World's correspondent in Cuba, William Shaw Bowen, wrote balanced, fair-minded accounts that gave the Spanish their due. He was soon replaced by the spectacular young Sylvester Scovel, a fiery graduate of the University of Michigan who sent back vivid descriptions of Spanish atrocities, which made for more exciting reading and boosted circulation.

Scovel's livid prose triggered the further tightening of Spanish censorship and eventually led to his being jailed by the Spanish in February, 1897. This gave Pulitzer an opportunity to describe the incident as an example of Spanish "suppression" and to make a martyr of Scovel in the name of free speech and press. (A picture of Scovel and an example of the work that got him incarcerated are in Appendix E.)

Scovel continued to write for the World and smuggle his "news" to New York even while in prison. The World's circulation rose by more than 8,000 during this period. Other papers across the nation, including the Journal, defended Scovel and demanded his release. The Chicago Tribune said in a Feb. 28, 1897, editorial that "the

outside world may easily infer that the rest of [Cuba] is a seething volcano of insurrection." Groups as diverse as the U. S. Senate and the University of Michigan Alumni Association petitioned the secretary of state on Scovel's behalf. In turn, Secretary of State John Sherman demanded of McKinley ~~that~~ Scovel be released and "granted all the rights guaranteed by treaty to American citizens."⁵⁵

Hearst jealously watched the boost Pulitzer's newspaper gained from the Scovel incident. This prompted Hearst to leave for Havana on a chartered Baltimore Fruit Company steamer with a group of correspondents that included the debonair Richard Harding Davis; James Creelman, a star correspondent whom Hearst had lured away from Pulitzer; and artist Frederick Remington. The party left New York harbor in darkness "to hide their identity from Spanish spies," the Journal said. Scovel was released on March 10, less than a month later, without a trial. The Spanish were beginning to fear the power of the yellow press.⁵⁶

Hearst was not content to sit in his office and vicariously experience the war as Pulitzer did. Hearst's personal accounts of the fighting were as vivid as those of his correspondents. (Examples of Hearst's dispatches are in Appendix B.)

Another World correspondent, Ona Melton, was taken prisoner by the Spanish aboard the newspaper boat Competitor and was sentenced to be shot along with the ship's crew.

Melton continued to smuggle dispatches out of prison during the months he spent there and, after the manner of Scovel, was released. In a front-page story April 4, 1897, the Journal said Melton's incarceration was "a typical instance of the contempt in which American citizenship had been held by Captain-General Weyler, and under the permission of Grover Cleveland."⁵⁷

The antics of correspondents during the Spanish-American War were incredible by modern standards. During the naval battle of Santiago, the Journal pursued the action with a vengeance. When Hearst's boat finally caught up to the smoldering wreck of the Spanish warship Vizcaya, his crew took the 29 surviving Spanish sailors captive. (A more detailed account of the incident, written by Hearst, is in Appendix F.)

James F. Archibald of the San Francisco Post directed an attack by a squad of American troops during the early stages of the Spanish-American War. The Journal's own Richard Harding Davis acted as an officer in a skirmish at Las Guasimas, and Creelman led American troops in the capture of the fort at El Caney.⁵⁸ Karl Decker, the correspondent Hearst chose to rescue Evangelina Cisneros, was a member in good standing of this dashing fraternity. However, Decker's name is not as well remembered as those of Davis and Creelman because only one book was published about his exploits. It consisted of articles written for

the Journal on Decker's triumphant return to New York after the rescue.

Correspondents repeatedly ran afoul of the Spanish authorities right up to the Maine disaster. Honore Laine, a Journal correspondent, was arrested March 4, 1897, by an agent of the Spanish secret police outside the Inglaterra Hotel in Havana. Laine had published information that Havana Harbor was mined, which could have been significant in the coming crisis with the Maine. Laine was later released.⁵⁹

George Clarke Musgrave, a British correspondent who worked for Hearst, disappeared about 5 p.m. March 30 and was last reported seen being hustled into a carriage by two men believed to be agents of the Spanish police. Spanish officials denied any responsibility for the abduction. An investigation was demanded by the House of Commons April 2; Musgrave turned up later aboard a Spanish ship bound for Madrid, a free man.⁶⁰

James Creelman wrote in the May 17, 1896, World:

No man's life, no man's property is safe [in Cuba]. American citizens are imprisoned or slain without cause. Blood on the roadsides, blood on the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood! A new Armenia lies within 80 miles of the American coast. Not a word from Washington! Not a sign from the President!

Inflammatory dispatches such as this eventually prompted authorities to expel Creelman from Cuba in May, 1896, with two Journal men, correspondent Frederic W. Lawrence and artist Thomas Robinson Hawley, Jr. Hawley

had been jailed eight times for trying to send pictures of the fighting in Cuba to New York. (Further examples of Creelman's style are in Appendix E.) An editorial in the May 7, 1896, World said:

The expulsion of Mr. Creelman puts the Spanish attempt to suppress the Cuban revolution in its true light, as an appeal to cruelty, an affront at extermination and a relapse into ferocity and barbarism which marked the original conquests of Spain on this continent.

Hearst lured Creelman away from Pulitzer on Creelman's return to the United States. Hearst waited until America entered the war, then sent Creelman back to Cuba to cover the war for the Journal.

After the war, Palma, former head of the junta, cabled Hearst and said: "I do not believe that we could have secured our independence without the aid which you rendered."⁶¹ Palma was then president of Cuba.

Hearst was presented, in absentia, with Cuba's highest decoration, the Grand Cross of Manuel Cespedes, for his assistance in gaining Cuban independence.

In July 1940, Hearst reflected on the Spanish-American War as a "war of adventure--a knight errant war--a war in the ancient manner . . . there was no draft--enlistment was voluntary. People contributed whatever the government required--money, Red Cross units, yachts for gunboats."⁶² In the same article, Hearst put the Spanish-American War in sharp contrast to the then-imminent

World War II: "No warfare between mechanized monsters [tanks]--no murdering of innocent non-combatants--no lying propaganda, no cut-and-dried communiques. Just regular fighting and good honest news."

By 1897 the New York Journal was known as a place where a young man willing to risk his life in Cuba could gain instant fame as a war correspondent. One such adventurer was Ralph D. Paine, a bright young reporter just two years out of Yale. Hearst called Paine into his office one afternoon with a proposition: he wanted Paine to smuggle a \$2,000 gold-plated, diamond-studded ceremonial sword to rebel General Gomez. The blade bore the inscription "Viva Cuba Libre."

"These inscriptions would be devilishly hard to explain to the Spanish army, if you happened to be caught, wouldn't they?" Paine said. Then he turned to Hearst and grinned: "Perhaps I can swallow it." Hearst was impressed and sent him packing for Cuba.⁶³

This episode was typical of the Hearst approach. He strove for the biggest, best, most bombastic headlines possible and money was no object in their attainment. Hearst once hired Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) to write an account of the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's coronation. When the dismembered body of a Mr. Guldensuppe turned up in the East River, Hearst's reporters worked like detectives and beat the police in tracking down the

murderer, garnering a sensational "scoop."⁶⁴

In the early days of the Cuban insurrection, long before the United States had entered the conflict, Hearst staff artist Remington was said to have sent the following telegram to Hearst in New York from Havana:

Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. I wish to return.

Hearst reportedly replied:

Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war.

Whether the anecdote is true remains in doubt. Hearst denied it. No copy of the telegram is known to exist.⁶⁵

Swanberg summed up the situation rather succinctly in his biography, Citizen Hearst:

Had not Hearst, with his magnificently tawdry flair for publicity and agitation, enlisted the women of America in a crusade they misunderstood, made a national heroine of the jail-breaking Miss Cisneros, made a national abomination of Dupuy De Lome, made the Maine a mistaken symbol of Spanish treachery, caused thousands of citizens to write their Congressmen, and dragged the powerful World along with him into journalistic ill-fame, the public would have kept its sanity, McKinley would have shown more spunk, at least four more Senators would have taken counsel with reason, and there would have been no war.⁶⁶

In short, Hearst and his newspapers were influential in the nation's move toward war.

Hearst was often assailed by fellow journalists for his brash headlines. However, the dauntless Journal scoffed at "the sneers of the tired representatives of the

old journalism attempting to discredit the Journal's exclusive news."⁶⁷

"The new journalism prints what is new and prints it first,"⁶⁸ Hearst added. And as for the situation in Cuba, the Journal declared "Weyler ought to understand that no threats will prevent the American press from reporting the facts."⁶⁹

Creelman later wrote in defense of yellow journalism:

How little they know of "yellow journalism" who denounce it! How swift they are to condemn its shrieking headlines, its exaggerated pictures, its coarse buffoonery, its intrusions upon private life, and its occasional inaccuracies! But how slow they are to see the steadfast guardianship of public interests which it maintains! How blind to its unfearing warfare against rascality, its detection and prosecution of crime, its costly searchings for knowledge throughout the earth, its exposures of humbug, its endless funds for the quick relief of distress!⁷⁰

Creelman also wrote of the valor of his fellow field correspondents:

No true history of the war which banished Spain from the western hemisphere and released the Philippine archipelago from her tyranny can be written without an acknowledgement that whatever of justice and freedom and progress was accomplished by the Spanish-American War was due to the tenacity and enterprise of "yellow journalists," many of whom lie in unremembered graves.⁷¹

The Journal publicized many incidents of Spanish "cruelty" and "treachery" before the Spanish-American War besides Creelman's account of the massacre at Campo Florida. The highlights:

- An article written by the widow of Cuban rebel Dr. Ricardo Ruiz in the March 21, 1897, Journal, which described Spanish tortures used against rebels.
- Extracts from "A Primer For Patriots," a dubious article allegedly written by rebel General Gomez to instill patriotism in Cuban children, appeared in the Journal March 28, 1897.
- The Journal claimed credit for the State Department's request for World correspondent Ona Melton's release by the Spanish. An editorial in the April 13, 1897, Journal declared "The persistence of the Journal in directing public and official attention to the case of Ona Melton is bearing fruit." A letter from Melton written in his cell in Las Cabanas prison appeared in the Journal two days later.
- On April 25, 1897, the Journal featured many sketches by Remington depicting Spanish tortures and cruelties.
- The adventurer Ralph Paine wrote an article that appeared in the June 27, 1897, Journal. It was titled "The Story of a Yankee Filibuster" and told of how Paine and his colleagues aboard the Three Friends were about to invade Cuba.

Both Hearst and Pulitzer were striving to outdo each other in arousing public sentiment against Spain. An editorial aimed at Hearst concerning his propagandizing on behalf of Evangelina Cisneros in the Aug. 21, 1897, World said "The Spanish in Cuba have sins enough to answer for, as the World was first to show, but nothing is gained for the Cuban cause by inventions and exaggerations that are past belief."

Hearst also noticed that Pulitzer's paper had been rewriting stories that Hearst correspondents had gotten first, disguising the fraud with official-looking Havana bylines, so Hearst set a trap. On June 8, 1897, the Journal reported that a Colonel Replipe W. Thenuz, an Austrian artilleryman aiding the cause of the rebels, had been killed in action. That evening the World published its customary rewrite of the Journal's story. Two days later, in a front-page broadside, Hearst exposed the fraud. When rearranged, the mythical colonel's name spells "We Pilfer The News."⁷² The Journal suggested the World erect a monument to the "dead hero" and several burlesque sketches of the proposed edifice were presented as the Journal laughed at its joke for more than a month.

The case of the Widow Ruiz was similar to the case of Evangelina Cisneros, for both were "Cuban martyrs" promoted by Hearst. On Feb. 21, 1897, Journal correspondent George Eugene Bryson reported that a Cuban dentist who claimed to be a naturalized American citizen, Dr. Ricardo Ruiz, had been arrested by the Spanish on charges of train robbery. After 13 days in solitary confinement, the doctor was found hanged in his cell. Bryson reported that there was "strong evidence to show that this man was murdered." The official Spanish report said that Ruiz had committed suicide, but the yellow press neglected to mention that. The February 20 Journal ran this front-page headline:

AMERICAN SLAIN IN SPANISH JAIL

The Journal promptly brought Ruiz's widow and five children to Washington to appeal to Secretary of State John Sherman and President McKinley. Hearst ran the headline "Sherman for War with Spain for Murdering Americans" over an article in which Sherman was quoted as saying, "If the facts are true, as reported, and American citizens are being murdered in Cuba in cold blood, the only way to put an end to the atrocities is to declare war on Spain."⁷³

That story appeared in the morning edition of the Feb. 22, 1897, Journal. In the evening edition of E. L. Godkin's conservative New York Post that same day, Sherman denied Hearst's article and said, "It is a lie from beginning to end. I am surprised that the Journal should make such a statement."

Again, the majority of the public didn't listen to the less cacophonous voices of reason. The American public was enraged over Ruiz's "murder," despite the fact that Ruiz had used his American citizenship to carry on a subversive attack against the Spanish government. Hearst sent the widow and her five youngsters off on a barnstorming tour of major cities to raise support for the cause of Cuba Libre. Mrs. Ruiz lectured mostly to civic groups and women's clubs.

By now the junta was taking its stories directly to Hearst. Ralph Paine was still on his quest to take the

jewel-encrusted sword to General Gomez, somewhere in the interior of Cuba.

Another story of "Spanish treachery" and martyred Cuban femininity appeared Feb. 12, 1897, on the Journal's front page just before the Ruiz affair. It concerned the search and seizure of the press boat Olivette by Spanish naval officers. A huge sketch by Remington of a beautiful Cuban girl being stripped naked by leering Spanish sailors dominated that front page. The female passenger in question was suspected of carrying top secret intelligence reports to a rebel base in Key West.

Neither Remington nor Richard Harding Davis, who wrote the accompanying story, was aboard the Olivette when the event took place. If they had been, they would have known that the senorita was searched decorously in the privacy of her own cabin by a matron instead of having her clothes torn away by nasty, drooling Spanish seadogs.⁷⁴

To Hearst's surprise, the Olivette incident aroused the self-righteous wrath of American women. In the March 8, 1897, World, Miss Nellie Bly, the reporter who had earlier made headlines by traveling around the globe in 72 days, announced that she planned to recruit a regiment of volunteer women to fight for Cuban independence. The New York Tribune reported March 14 that the Youngstown, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce had struck a blow for freedom by voting to boycott the Spanish onion.

"The Cubans are fighting us openly," Weyler lamented, "The Americans are fighting us secretly. . . . The American newspapers are responsible. They poison everything with falsehood."⁷⁵

The gold rush to the Klondike also was making the front page of the Journal regularly. Joaquin Miller, the Journal's Klondike correspondent, was one of the most popular figures in the August Journals. The Aug. 8, 1897, Journal featured an article on a bold woman prospector in the "American Woman's Home Journal" section. That paper also told of a shipment of arms bound for the Cuban rebels.

George Eugene Bryson was ordered expelled from Cuba Aug. 3, 1897, at Weyler's command because of the correspondent's "vivid descriptions of the horrible butcheries perpetrated by the Spanish soldiery upon the field hospitals of the insurgents."⁷⁶ According to Bryson, the Spanish troops executed the rebel wounded with machetes. Edward (Eduardo) Garcia of the New York Sun was also expelled for similar reasons. Bryson had reported the Ruiz scandal and the Ona Melton story. He would also break the Evangelina Cisneros story before leaving Cuba.

When Spanish Prime Minister Don Canovas del Castillo was assassinated, the Journal correctly speculated that a more liberal minister, Senor Sagasta, would be appointed to replace him. "Will an Assassin's Hand Free Cuba?" asked an Aug. 10, 1897, Journal headline. Sagasta eventually

withdrew the hated Weyler, but he did not "set Cuba free."

The Journal's campaign of propaganda against the Spanish was unrelenting. The same issue that carried the news of the assassination of Castillo also devoted four columns of page four to pictures of Spanish instruments of torture supposedly used on prisoners in Barcelona.

"Anarchists' Nails Were Torn Off, They Were Fed on Salt Fish Without Water, and Their Bodies Were Terribly Beaten," a headline declared. Another article described the horrors of life in Cueta, a Spanish penal colony in Africa. Eight former Cueta inmates escaped to New York aboard the French steamer Normandie and were interviewed by the Journal. Half of the prisoners there were reported to have been Cubans. "They were given food that was not fit to be put before dogs," the Journal reported: "They were beaten wantonly by guards."

In less than a week, news would arrive in New York that young Evangelina Cisneros was to be sent to Cueta by "The Butcher" because she refused to cater to the lecherous desires of one Spanish Colonel Jose Berriz, military commandant of the Isle of Pines.

ENDNOTES

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⁵²Ibid., p. 55.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 11-13.

⁵⁴Correspondents in World War I were required to "appear personally before the Secretary of War or his authorized representative and swear that he would convey the truth to the people of the United States," while refraining from disclosing facts that would aid the enemy. The correspondent was also required to write--not with a typewriter, but with a pen and ink--an autobiographical sketch, which had to include an account of his work, his experience, his character and his health. He had to say what he planned to do when he reached Europe and where he planned to go. Then he or his newspaper had to pay \$1,000 to the Army to cover his equipment and maintenance and post a \$10,000 bond to ensure that he would comport himself as "a gentleman of the press." If he was sent back for any infraction of the rules, the \$10,000 would be forfeited and given to charity. Correspondents were not required to wear uniforms, but were obliged to wear a green armband with a large red "C" on it to identify themselves. (Barbara Hershey, "Sons O' Guns of August," Dateline, Overseas Press Club of America, 1966, pp. 44-45.)

⁵⁵Wilkerson, p. 12.

⁵⁶Edmund D. Coblentz, William Randolph Hearst: A Portrait in His Own Words, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952), p. 54.

⁵⁷Wilkerson, p. 116.

⁵⁸Charles H. Brown, The Correspondents' War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), p. vii.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 137.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 113.

⁶¹Swanberg, p. 127.

⁶²Coblentz, p. 62.

⁶³Swanberg, p. 104.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 107.

⁶⁵Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, third edition, (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1962), p. 529.

⁶⁶Swanberg, p. 114.

⁶⁷New York Journal, Jan. 14, 1897.

⁶⁸Ibid., Jan. 29, 1897.

⁶⁹Ibid., June 27, 1897.

⁷⁰Creelman, p. 177.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 175-176.

⁷²Swanberg, p. 149.

⁷³Ibid., p. 112.

⁷⁴Wilkerson, p. 144.

⁷⁵Swanberg, p. 119.

⁷⁶New York Journal, Aug. 3, 1897, p. 2, col. 2.

⁷⁷Ibid., Aug. 10, 1897, p. 10, col. 1.

CHAPTER II

The Crusade Begins

On Aug. 14, 1897, the front page of the Journal was once again occupied with Joaquin Miller's reports of instant riches in the Klondike. But on page four, in the fourth column, appeared a three-inch item with a multi-deck headline larger than the body copy. It carried Bryson's byline and was datelined Havana:

NO MERCY FROM SPANISH

Evangelina Cisneros, now Confined with Outcasts,
Will Be Put in Chains For 20 Years.

This was the first mention of the Cisneros case in the Journal. Most historians ignore it and instead cite the August 17 article as the first mention. She was one of 86 prisoners charged in the Isle of Pines "riot," and she already had spent nine months in the Recojidas prison in Havana when the story was released:

Direct appeal to the Queen Regent by a well-known Austrian diplomat in Madrid in Evangelina Cisneros' behalf, like more recent petitions to the Minister of War from Spanish residents in Havana and Bishops, amounted to nothing.¹

The idea of a petition to the Queen Regent was not a Hearst original. But he was prepared to carry the idea of

freeing Evangelina to its ultimate solution. The failure of the earlier petitions did not dismay Hearst. If his petition failed, he could at least use it as a means of publicizing the case and arousing public sympathy.

The following day, August 15, there was no news of Evangelina's plight. The growing importance of women in American society was reflected in a story from that day's Journal on Pauline Rodney, Wall Street's first female barber. Business was reportedly brisk in her shop.²

Another Journal article that day told of Cuban silver dollars being circulated in New York, Chicago and New Orleans. Lenora Molina, a daughter of a member of the junta, was the model for the head of Liberty on the coins.³

Trumped-up news of war in Cuba also appeared in the August 15 Journal. The rebels reportedly planned to attack Havana, Matanzas and Cienfuegos simultaneously.

"We have all the men we need so far," a confident rebel commander reportedly said, "and our supplies of arms and ammunition are increasing daily."⁴

This bold plan was never mentioned again.

In a more serious vein, the August 15 Journal carried a front-page story on the newly appointed Spanish Premier Sagasta. He was quoted as saying, "If we go to war in Cuba, it shall be on provocation from the United States." The Journal reported little change in Spain's official policies

as a result of Sagasta's appointment to his new post.

Graphic reports of the wounds suffered by Prince Henri of France and Prince Turin of Italy in their recent duel occupied the Journal's front page on August 16. The Cisneros case was not mentioned for the second day in a row in the Journal. However, in the sweltering heat of the New York afternoon that day, Hearst sat in his office awaiting the daily dispatch from his Havana bureau. Suddenly, a clerk rushed in and handed him a telegram from Bryson:

Evangelina Cisneros, a pretty girl of 17 years, related to the president of Cuban Republic, is to be imprisoned for 20 years on African coast for having taken part in uprising of Cuban political prisoners on Isle of Pines.⁵

Upon reading this dispatch, Hearst was heard to exclaim "We've got Spain now!"⁶ He immediately began planning the petition drive to enlist the hearts of the women of America and the backup plan--the rescue of Evangelina by Karl Decker.

Evangelina's father, a rebel, had been sentenced to death by Weyler. She had then pleaded with the general until he commuted the sentence to life imprisonment on the Isle of Pines south of Cuba. The Isle of Pines was not a maximum-security facility: inmates worked on a farm and had private living quarters. Many even brought their families and loved ones along to help soothe their sentences.

Evangelina's mother had passed on, so she went to live with her father on the Isle of Pines.

The evidence points to Evangelina's involvement in a plot to kidnap Colonel Jose Berriz, the lecherous commandant of the prison, by luring him into a trap with her feminine wiles. The World later reported that Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee had said: ". . . that she was implicated in the insurrection at the Isle of Pines there could be no question. She, herself, in a note to me, acknowledged that fact, and stated she was betrayed by an accomplice."⁷ Lee would tell this story when he returned to New York two weeks later. Meanwhile, Hearst was whipping up public sympathy for Evangelina.

The lead story on the front page of the August 17 Journal concerned Evangelina, or "The Cuban Girl Martyr," as stated in the caption of the three-column-wide portrait. The accompanying article said that a Spanish tribunal already had sentenced her to 20 years in Cueta, the African penal colony. The Journal further described Cueta:

No woman prisoner has ever been sent to this African hell. It is just across from Gibraltar on the Morocco coast, with a desert scoured by wild Moors behind it and the Atlantic Ocean before it. Doctors, lawyers and literary men of Havana break stone and shovel in the trenches shoulder to shoulder with murderers, ravishers and robbers from the peninsula.

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They work in chains, keeping entire silence. A single word brings the lash of

the guard down on the offender, and when his day's work on the stonepile is done he is tied up in the prison yard and flogged until he faints. They are fed food that has become foul under the fearful heat of the African sun, and they are tortured, with all of the ingenuity and ferocity of the Inquisition.

Every traveller who has bribed his way to a sight of the poor wretches toiling at Cueta has remarked [about] the dried blood on the faces and in the hair of the prisoners. They are housed in cells cut in the damp rock, crowded in like steers in a cattle car. Their food is cast in through the bars as the animals at the zoo are fed.

Cultivated, scholarly men who know as much of civilization and comfort and clean linen as the average clubman of New York, have been kept so for years.

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The punishment for every transgression is the lash, and it is as much a transgression to faint at your work in Cueta as to refuse to do it.⁸

Evangelina was described in this same article as "young, beautiful, cultured, guilty of no crime save that of having in her veins the best blood in Cuba." She was a "true daughter of the Revolution" who had been forced to suffer "hideous imprisonment of nine months in a jail filled with the vilest women of Havana."⁹ Bryson continued:

She was born to wealth, she was nurtured and reared as carefully as the daintiest maid on Fifth Avenue. She had maids to braid her dark hair, a coachman to drive her carriage. She was a beauty, an heiress. Her uncle was a marquis, her mother a handsome aristocrat.

Another Journal correspondent in Havana, Marion Kendrick, had much to add about the history of the case:

Spain has not progressed to the point of considering a prisoner a human being. When the delicate girl was arrested she was cast in the prison in Havana for vicious women. She had been visiting her father in the Isle of Pines when he was taken prisoner, and was there when an encounter occurred among the captives. With other respectable Cuban women she was thrown into this jail of outcasts, most of them negresses of such a grade that they were too low to be allowed on the streets of Havana, which is as tolerant of evil women as any city in the world. Probably no young girl has been subjected to such scenes as this one saw in modern times.¹⁰

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The harridans, enraged at the refusal of the gentle Cuban women to mix with them, rioted several times and attacked the unfortunate ladies. They resented the youth and beauty of Evangelina [which] particularly incensed them, and she narrowly escaped injury at their hands.

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No woman has yet been sent to Cueta, and there is no provision for caring for a woman or for protecting her from the wolves in chains or the wolves that lash them.¹¹

Racist overtones would continue to color the Journal's coverage of the Cisneros case. A four-column drawing of Cueta appeared on page five of the August 17 Journal, with the continuation of Bryson's article. He ended his piece with a paragraph full of powerful imagery:

This girl is no Amazon to take the chances of war like a soldier; she is little more than a child in years, delicate and educated. She is not even a conspirator. She is as powerless to harm Spain as a babe in its mother's arms. If Spain must have her as a victim, it would be better for the girl to

be stood against a stone wall and shot to death than to be condemned to 20 years of such hideous shame and slavery as the prosecutor has asked for her.¹²

The seed of public sympathy had been planted and would flourish rapidly. Page two of the August 18 Journal carried a three-column portrait of Senora Agromonte de Sanchez and Senorita Aguilar, two genteel Cuban ladies who had been in Recojidas prison with Evangelina. Sanchez was described as "a courtly old lady of 72 years. Her benignant countenance and whitened hair bespeak a nature of true kindness." Because many of the men in the Senora's family had been rebels, Weyler had locked her up in spite of her age. These ladies had taken pity on Evangelina and had given her food, clothing and toilet articles. When her friends were released from Recojidas, Evangelina became depressed. Sanchez made this appeal in Evangelina's behalf:

It would be more merciful to throw her among wild beasts than to put her so absolutely within their [guards'] powers as she will be in Cueta. Oh! Can nothing be done to save her, so young, so beautiful, so refined from that terrible fate?¹³

Senorita Aguilar added "Has not the Casa de Recojidas been hell enough for her [Evangelina] to satisfy even the cruel Spaniards?"¹⁴

The Appeal

The first glimmer of public sentiment in the Cisneros case appeared in the August 18 Journal on page two. It was a letter from Mrs. W. E. D. Stokes of the Society of Women of Newport, Rhode Island:

Our press has daily recorded the battles and struggles of our Cuban men for liberty and freedom, but at last it is for the New York Journal to reveal to the world the privations and sufferings of our women.

The circumstances of her [Evangelina's] arrest make it patent that her sentence was prepared before her trial, and it will be only the universal protestations of her sex that will save her. May the Journal act quickly in its errand of mercy.¹⁵

If Hearst was already considering sending Decker to Havana on "an errand of mercy," that letter certainly would have reinforced the idea.

The Cisneros case returned to the Journal's front page the following day under the headline "Women's Noble Appeal for Miss Cisneros." The accompanying article was written by Julia Chambers and bore a huge multi-deck headline:

Pen and Word and Open Hand Offered in Her Service
Society's New Mission

The Salvation of the Cuban Martyr Taken Up as a Duty
Her Gentle Advocates

Mrs. Jefferson Davis Intercedes with the Queen Regent of Spain
Mother Turns to Mother

Julia Ward Howe Petitions the Pope
To Urge the Spanish Government to Extend
Mercy to the Girl Prisoner.

The reporter commented on the letter written to the Queen Regent of Spain by the widow of the late president of the Confederacy:

No doubt recollections of the great struggle made by the Southern people, and led by her distinguished [late] husband, found place in her mind as she contemplated the awful fate of this gentle Cuban girl.¹⁶

Mrs. Davis told the reporter that "Anything that I can do I will willingly do to aid that unfortunate child: I am a mother and my heart goes out to her." She had written the letter after being urged to do so by a reporter from the Journal. The text of Mrs. Davis' letter and of one written to Pope Leo XIII by Julia Ward Howe, author of the stirring "Battle Hymn of the Republic," both appeared in boxes on this front page, set off with fancy little type figures called "dingbats." (The full text of both letters is in Appendix G.)

The fact that the widow of Jefferson Davis and the author of the marching song of the North were the first two prominent women whose appeals were featured on the front page of the Journal is significant. Hearst must have been aiming to cut through the animosities between North and South that festered after the Civil War and unite the women of the United States in a common cause. This was quite a brilliant strategic move on Hearst's part. The Spanish-American War as an event served to further unite the men of the North and South, who fought side by side.

Here is the crux of Julia Ward Howe's letter to the Pope (the entire text of the letter is in Appendix G):

We implore you, Holy Father, to emulate the action of that Providence which interests itself in the fall of a Sparrow. A single word from you will surely induce the Spanish Government to abstain from this act of military vengeance, which would greatly discredit it in the eyes of the civilized world.

We devoutly hope that your wisdom will see fit to utter this word, and to make not us alone, but all humanity, your debtors.

Momentum was growing in support of Evangelina among the well-off:

Society, which usually finds little to interest itself with here, except an unceasing round of dinners, dances, golf and tennis, has at last awakened to the fact that there is something outside of all this where it can be of help.

Many [society people] on reading the graphic descriptions of Spain's African hell, have said it is the duty of every American woman and mother to lend their name and aid if it will be the slightest service to avert the girl's fate.¹⁷

An article on page two of that same issue, under Kendrick's byline, told of the turmoil which the publicity over the Cisneros case had created:

DuPuy de Lome cabled the Journal's story from Washington [D.C.] to Weyler, asking how the secret proceedings of the military tribunal had reached the newspaper. Weyler was furious.¹⁸

Kendrick added that Weyler and De Lome were being pressed to drop the case, "though to do that is to admit that the riot on the Isle of Pines was merely the exiles there endeavoring to protect her from Colonel Berriz's advances."

Coverage of the Cisneros case slipped to page three of the August 19 Journal. A two-column series of sketches depicted the privations suffered by Evangelina at the hands of the Spaniards. James Creelman's byline appeared over a story with the headline:

AMERICAN WOMANHOOD ROUSED

Journal's Picture of Miss Cisneros' Awful Peril
Has Raised Up Sympathizers Everywhere.

Creelman began his story on this dramatic note:

Nothing that has yet emerged from the confused and confounding story of the Spanish crime and brutality in Cuba has so stirred the heart of men and women of America as the proposed imprisonment of Evangelina Cossio Cisneros.¹⁹

Now the Journal was admitting, in using the phrase "proposed imprisonment," that Evangelina had not yet been sentenced. She had been tried and convicted by a Spanish military tribunal, and it had suggested a 20-year sentence to Weyler, but "The Butcher," as the press called him, had not yet carried out the sentence. But that news would not have promoted Hearst's campaign to free Evangelina, so it was dutifully omitted. However, in reality, the girl still had a chance of being set free: according to Lee, Weyler had given his word to free her.

Creelman wrote of Berriz's attack on Evangelina: "her beauty excited his lust." Creelman added that Berriz was presently in Havana attempting to influence Weyler into passing sentence on Evangelina.

A letter from Chauncey De Pew appeared on the front page of the August 20 Journal, congratulating the paper for its "magnificent" actions and calling for Evangelina's release. De Pew wanted the girl to be saved from "the vengeance of a military tribune."

The Women's National Cuban League's appeal in behalf of Evangelina spanned three columns of page three of that same issue of the Journal. This appeal was representative of the many that were to follow from every imaginable civic women's group across the nation--all of which were printed in the Journal. (The text of this appeal is in Appendix H.)

Most of the appeals were from upper-crust Eastern matrons, especially at first. The August 20 Journal also carried an appeal from Mrs. George R. Roberts, president of the Wilmington, Delaware, Ladies Cuban Aid Society. It called for "a united appeal from women of the civilized world on behalf of their sex."²⁰

This was August, the month that found most of East Coast society vacationing. Mrs. M. L. Jennings, secretary of the Columbian Daughters of New York, apologized for most of the members of her organization being away on vacation and consequently unable to render any real help on behalf of Evangelina, but she added "I do most sincerely hope the Journal will be able to devise some way of averting the terrible fate hanging over the young girl."

Miss Mary Leonard of the Helping Hand Society seconded this: "Surely the women of America will not permit this helpless girl to become a victim."

Perhaps the most outraged was Mrs. Clara Foltz of Temple Court, who wrote: "Every true woman must feel a thrill of indignation at the mere contemplation of such an indignity in this civilized age."

A long letter from Angelina M. De Quesada, president of the Daughters of Cuba, appeared on the page alongside Chauncey De Pew's appeal.

The Cisneros story made the front page of the Journal the next day, August 21. A picture of Bryson appeared in columns six and seven. A headline declared "Weyler Resents the Journal's Cisneros Appeal by Expelling Bryson." The accompanying article credited Bryson with breaking the Cisneros story and called him "the Journal's fearless and conscientious war correspondent."

Mrs. John A. Logan, wife of the Civil War general, also sent an appeal on behalf of Evangelina which appeared on the first two pages of the August 21 Journal. "I think the U.S. Government has dilly-dallied long enough in this Cuban question," she wrote. She likened Evangelina to the heroine of Henry Sienkiewicz's novel, Quo Vadis, a martyr who was persecuted by Roman Emperor Nero for her Christianity. Mrs. Logan was confident that the Queen Regent would grant clemency in the case: "The very action of the Queen

in refusing steadfastly to allow her son to witness the brutal bull fights shows her nature to be without the brutality of composition so inherent in the Spanish make-up."²¹ Throughout this period, the Journal repeatedly characterized the "Spanish race" as brutal by nature. A lengthy excerpt from Quo Vadis, complete with dramatic illustrations and comprising several chapters of the book, appeared later in a special Sunday edition of the Journal.

Colonel Robert W. Ingersoll, the man who interceded for the pardon of Mrs. Surratt in the conspiracy to assassinate President Lincoln, wrote a letter in Evangelina's behalf. The colonel asserted that women should not be involved in the penalties of war. He argued that the United States "should use its influence and, if necessary, its power, to rescue Miss Cisneros from the claws and fangs of General Weyler."²²

In a box below Ingersoll's appeal was another from Sister Julia, American Superior of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Washington, D.C.:

We also pray the Queen of Spain to listen to this appeal from America's women. Her mother love, her Christian mercy, her woman's compassion will surely nerve her to a favorable reply.

In contrast to Sister Julia's gentle appeal for mercy, columns four and five of the same page of the Journal exhibited this hawkish headline:

Intervention for Cuba at Last!
 Minister Woodford's Mission to Sound European Govts.
 McKinley Ready to Act.

The body copy echoed the threat of the headline:
 "Minister Woodford's instructions are to intimate to the Spanish that the United States will intervene unless the situation in Cuba speedily improves."²³

The following day, Aug. 22, 1897, a banner headline on the front page of the Journal declared:

AMERICAN WOMEN UNITE TO SAVE MISS CISNEROS.

Beneath the banner lay a three-column by ten-inch drawing of Evangelina and a cameo portrait of the following prominent supporters: Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett (author of Little Lord Fauntleroy), Clara Barton, Mrs. Jefferson Davis and Mrs. John A. Logan. To the left of the picture of Evangelina were cameos of "Mrs. W. C. Whitney, who begs the Queen to free Miss Cisneros," and the wife of Secretary of State John Sherman, who "Intercedes for Evangelina Cisneros at the throne of Spain." The article said:

If the prayer of Mrs. Sherman, of Mrs. Hanna, of the thousands of other brave and good and sympathetic women who are hastening to sign the Journal's petition be granted by the Queen Regent, the daughter of the gallant President of the Cuban Republic will be saved from a fate worse than the garrotte.²⁴

Apparently there was some confusion at the Journal as to Evangelina's pedigree. On August 22 she was listed

as the Cuban president's daughter, where before she was said to be his niece. Meanwhile, the World was attempting to discredit her relation to the president entirely.

Historians agree she was his niece.

The August 22 Journal also contained the first mention of its petition for Evangelina's release--a petition that was being circulated among America's women. The document appeared in a box in columns six and seven of the front page:

To Her Majesty Maria Christina,
Queen Regent of Spain.

In the name of civilization and humanity, we, the undersigned American citizens, ask Your Majesty to extend your royal protection to Evangelina Cossio Cisneros, now lying in prison in Havana and threatened with a sentence of 20 years' imprisonment. We ask you to set this innocent young girl free and send her to live among the women of the United States.

The names of 55 signatories, women of Washington, D.C., society, were listed in column one. They included Mrs. Scott C. Bone, wife of the managing editor of the Washington Post, and Miss Eugenia Washington, grandniece of George Washington. About the same number of names of signers from Colorado and Kentucky also were printed there.

An article on the petition drive under James Creelman's byline occupied columns six and seven. "It is believed that the Queen Regent and the Government of Spain will yield to the united protest of the women of America to

save Miss Cisneros," Creelman wrote. The previous day the World printed a dispatch it had received from Captain-General Weyler concerning the case. Weyler simply wrote that Evangelina had been tried for attempting to assassinate the military governor of the Isle of Pines but had not been sentenced yet.

Weyler closed with, "I answer the World with the frankness and truth that characterize all my acts."

In response to Weyler's letter, Creelman wrote:

The World printed this astounding libel upon the character of a girl of gentle birth and spotless reputation, with lying headlines intended to convey the idea that Miss Cisneros had not been tried and was not in peril.

Creelman further suggested that the World reporter responsible for the offending story, William Shaw Bowen, was Weyler's friend and even had been decorated by the Spanish for assisting them in Cuba, an outright lie.²⁵

Octogenarian author Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth's appeal on behalf of Evangelina, printed in this same issue of the Journal, invoked divine intervention:

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and in the name of mothers, sisters and daughters of civilized nations, I entreat you to use your power to release Miss Evangelina Cisneros from the terrible punishment with which she is threatened.²⁶

Creelman made another stab at the competition:

Think of a Spanish militart governor of a penal colony, forcing himself into the chamber of a young and beautiful girl whose father was in his power! What did he go there for? The Journal correspondents in Cuba told the story long before the World came to Weyler's assistance.²⁷

A picture of Ohio Senator Mark Hanna's wife and her letter to the Queen Regent in Evangelina's behalf appeared in the third column of the page. The fourth column featured a drawing of Archbishop Ireland and his opinion that "This is a matter in which our government should interfere if interference is necessary." He wished the women of America and their petition success.

A lengthy letter from Red Cross founder Clara Barton to the Queen Regent appeared in columns six and seven. Barton had sent this cable to Her Majesty in the name of the American Red Cross:

We appeal to your Majesty, in humanity's name, to interpose for Senorita Cisneros in Cuba.

Page 65 of that same issue of the Journal carried a jingoistic report on McKinley's foreign policy. Unnamed diplomats cited an impasse with Spain over Cuba and what the headline termed "An Unwarranted, Inhuman War."

The following day, August 23, the Journal devoted four pages to the Cisneros case. A front-page banner headline proclaimed:

THE WHOLE COUNTRY RISING TO THE RESCUE
More Than Ten Thousand Women in All Parts of the United States Sign the Petition for the Release of Miss Cisneros.

The accompanying story was spread across the first two columns of the front page. Here is a part of it:

The whole United States is aroused. Ministers in their pulpits yesterday took their texts from the horrible atrocity contemplated by Weyler's secret military court, which would damn this girl for defending her honor against the modern Tarquin who came to her room at night when he thought there was nobody to protect her from his foul attentions. From all parts of the Union came expressions of honor.

Unless the appeals move the Queen there is no hope for Evangelina Cisneros.

The centerpiece of the front page was a four-column-by-ten-inch picture of two views of Evangelina, with the caption: "The Effect on Senorita Cisneros of One Year's Incarceration in a Spanish Prison." In the "after" picture, her face is sunburnt and gaunt and her fancy dress with its modest high collar is replaced by a coarse, mannish prison frock.

Beneath this tragic portrait was an article by Musgrave, datelined Havana. The headline contributed to the somber mood:

MISS CISNEROS IN DEATH'S SHADOW

The Fair Cuban Threatened With Quick Consumption Owing to Her Long Confinement in Prison.

Musgrave quoted the Recojidas physician:

Senorita Evangelina's health is bad indeed. She has had smallpox and a touch of fever, and is now suffering with biliousness and general debility through lack of wholesome and plentiful food.

Evangelina was also reported to have developed "a hacking cough--and the consumptive's flesh is already showing itself upon her typical delicate complexion."

Musgrave was helping build Hearst's case for his plan to rescue Evangelina from the horrors of Recojidas. Musgrave wrote of the recent expulsion of his colleague:

Weyler, on several occasions during the past year, has been on the eve of expelling Bryson, and would have done so except for the characteristic admiration of the Spanish race for those who fearlessly write over their own name without seeking the shelter of anonymity.²⁸

This crowded front page also had boxed statements of sympathy for Evangelina from prominent women. Jane Addams of Hull House wrote:

It seems to me that there is little that American women can do that will really aid Senorita Cisneros, but if there was any deed or word in my power which might save the poor child I should be very happy.

Helen N. Barker, a member of the Chicago chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, said:

As a body of women working for social purity and a higher order of civilization, the Women's Christian Temperance Union feels that no stone should be left unturned in the efforts of the American people to persuade the Spanish Government to mitigate the dreadful fate threatened Senorita Cisneros. We are living in an enlightened century, not the dark ages.

A headline on the second page proclaimed:

AMERICAN WOMEN SPEAK AS ONE
In a Mighty Chorus Their Voices Call the Queen Regent of Spain
For Pity Upon a Helpless Girl.

Beneath that headline was a three-column-by-eight-inch box with the headline:

ROLL of HONOR
Notable American Women Who Will Aid in Securing Liberty
For the Fair Cuban.

Among the notable signatories listed here are Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. John A. Logan, Mrs. Letitia Tyler Semple, daughter of President Tyler, and all of the dignified women whom the Journal had been quoting thus far. The entire remainder of page two and all of page four of this issue was taken up with the names of thousands of signers from the District of Columbia and 26 states.

The third page of the August 23 Journal was dominated by a three-column-by-seven-inch artistic rendering of the Journal's petition, replete with crossed flags and "E Pluribus Unum." A story in column two told of the Reverend Doctor Humason of Duluth, Minnesota, praising the Journal's efforts in Evangelina's behalf from his pulpit the previous Sunday. More evidence of support from clergy is in a group of five stories across the bottom of the page quoting New York churchmen.

More eyewitness news of the Cisneros case was presented in a story taking up all of columns six and seven (mostly a repeat of what already had been presented.). Their sources were given as escaped Isle of Pines inmates. Berriz is referred to as "the wolf."

An editorial on page six further recapitulated the Cisneros case and made sweeping negative generalizations about the Spanish national character.

Two more prominent women publicly came to the aid of Evangelina on the front page of the August 24 Journal. A four-column-by-12-inch portrait of President McKinley's mother dominated the page. A short interview story appeared in the upper left corner of the picture, datelined Canton, Ohio, McKinley's home town. Mrs. McKinley's message was simple:

I hope the Queen Regent will listen to the voices of the American women, her own conscience and womanhood, and consider the daughters and children of the country, the good opinion of the world, and set the Cuban child free.

The other prominent woman was Julia Dent Grant, the widow of the President. She had written to the Journal praising its efforts and had added her name to the list of signatories.

Page two of this issue was dominated by a five-column-by-13-inch drawing of lunchtime at Recojidas. Evangelina is shown suffering through a bowl of "bad, unwholesome soup" among the "depraved negresses." She looks forlorn.

Mrs. John G. Carlisle and Mrs. W. R. Morrison, wife of the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, were featured on this page as supporting the release of Evangelina. The remainder of the page was filled by a piece on the wretched conditions at Recojidas. Here are some typical excerpts:

THE VILEST PRISON OF CUBA

If the women's clothes fall off their backs, Spain gives them no others and they must go naked, as many now do. The delicately reared young Cuban girl has to scour the floors, and all her privileges have been withdrawn to gratify the Marquis of Cervera's [Berriz's uncle's] spite.

The Marquis is reported to be of monumental degradation. His name is synonymous in Cuba, not only among the natives, but among his own countrymen, with vileness, viciousness and dishonesty. He has served terms in Havana prisons for robberies and gambling frauds. He was degraded from his rank of colonel in the Spanish army for having filched money from fellow army officers in the barracks.²⁹

The Journal was not content with vilifying the character of Colonel Berriz--now it was taking on his uncle, the Spanish minister of war.

A three-column-by-12-inch portrait of Pope Leo XIII dominated the front page of the August 25 Journal. This was the first evidence of the Pope's direct involvement in the Cisneros case.

"In response to the petition cabled by the Journal to the Vatican, the August Pontiff will ask for the release of Evangelina Cisneros,"³⁰ the Journal proudly proclaimed.

Beneath that article was one datelined Butte, Montana:

ACTION BY CATHOLICS

Many Hundreds Sign Petitions to Pope
In Behalf of the Fair Cuban Girl.

Nearly every Catholic in this city has signed a petition to the Pope to speak for Evangelina Cisneros. Father Desiere made a personal request to a congregation today to sign the petition.

Another brief story on the page reported that more than 2,000 Catholics in Bridgeport, Conn., had signed a similar petition. The Journal was using these tidbits to show the scope of its sympathy campaign.

A portrait of Grant's widow also appeared on the front page, across columns one through three, with a note she sent to the Journal encouraging it in its efforts and adding her name to the list. Another article on this page said that everything looked good in Madrid for Evangelina's release. Letters from women of lesser social prestige were printed across the bottom of the page in tiny type.

Page two of the Journal was dominated by a three-column-by-nine-inch drawing of Evangelina scrubbing floors at Recojidas. The caption said: "This is the work which beautiful Evangelina Cisneros, gently born, daintily reared, is forced by vile negress overseers to do each day in the unspeakable den in which she is imprisoned in Cuba." Apparently, the appeal to the sensitivities of American women was successful: another article on the page put the number of signers of the Journal's petition at 15,000. "No wonder the benign and beloved mother of the President of the United States has appealed to the Queen Regent to wipe this stain from the name of Spain,"³¹ the article said.

Ten California society women and the vice-regent of the New York City chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution were quoted as adding their support to the

petition in boxed stories in columns one and two of page two. One was the wife of California Governor James H. Budd. Chicago women also were "roused," according to the article in column seven. More than 700 women in Chicago reportedly signed the petition "against the inhumanly cruel fate which threatens the young Cuban girl."

Another story in column seven told of the National Relief Association for Cuba's generous offer to take care of Evangelina if Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee could arrange for her release. Twelve clergymen from Fall River, Mass., added their names to the petition in an article at the bottom of column six.

A Lesser De Lome Letter

"De Lome, Defending Spain, Defames Miss Cisneros," claimed the banner headline across the front page of the August 26 Journal. Spanish Minister Enrique Dupuy De Lome had written a letter to Mrs. Jefferson Davis in response to her appeal to the Queen Regent on behalf of Evangelina. The Journal did not like De Lome and had said so before. It later helped force the Spanish government to fire the diplomat by publishing his letter to a friend that commented on President McKinley's lack of resolve. That letter was published less than a week before the Maine was destroyed by as yet unknown causes in Havana Harbor.

The letter De Lome wrote concerning Evangelina was highly critical of Hearst's tactics in the affair and was not nearly as defamatory as the material the Journal published in response. Here are excerpts from the De Lome letter, published in its entirety on that same front page:

The information received from Cuba by the Spanish Government and laid before Her Majesty, and that has been transmitted to me by cable, shows, in my opinion, that a shameless conspiracy to promote the interest of one or more sensational papers is at the bottom of the romance that has touched your good heart.

.

The absolute falsehoods of the press publications, in relation to concrete facts related to the case, is not favorable certainly to the exactitude of the considerations with which the innocence or the accused person pretends to be proved.

Next to the letter was a boxed editorial reply of equal dimensions. A sample:

To the Fifteen Thousand American Women
Who Have "Conspired" to Release Miss Cisneros.

You have stirred the chivalry of the civilized world and vindicated the right of women to be spared from blind military vengeance.

The article said Casa de Recojidas means "House of Abandoned Women." It said that De Lome's "astounding" letter to Mrs. Davis was sent "In an agony of diplomatic shame at the sight of his Government pilloried before the civilized world by the women of America."³²

An editorial in the same day's issue of Godkin's Post echoed De Lome's accusations of the yellow press:

Nobody appears to know how much discount should be made for the sensational tendencies of those newspapers to which the public is indebted for most of its information.

Hearst, in turn, referred to Godkin as "De Lome's one disciple."

A story with Bryson's byline on the front page of the August 26 Journal continued Hearst's characterization of the Spanish as ruthless: remarks were aimed at Weyler, Berriz and Spaniards in general. Some examples:

Weyler is trembling at the probably favorable outcome of the American petitions to the Pope and the Queen Regent. Despite the Captain-General's efforts to discredit the fact, the trial is virtually closed and the officials demand a 20-years' sentence, as indicated by my previous dispatches.

.....

All Spanish courts-martial are secret and mere farces; none are formal.

.....

A well-known Havana correspondent of a Madrid paper of prominence told me this morning that Berriz had been ordered to Madrid to defend himself against the Journal's charges.

Bryson reported that the sentencing in one of the Spanish courts was in the hands of one man, the Fiscal, or Crown Prosecutor. Mysteriously, the Journal never singled out the prosecutor in the Cisneros case and instead continued to carp at Weyler.

Another article on the same front page hinted at hope for Evangelina through the Catholic church. Monsignor Martinelli, papal delegate to the United States, stated that he was confident that the Pope would intercede in her behalf.

London correspondent Frank Marshall White reported that the women of that city were taking up a petition drive on behalf of Evangelina.

"The fate of the Cuban girl excites wide sympathy among English matrons and within a few days it is expected that many distinguished names will be added to the list asking for clemency," White wrote.

The fourth page carried a huge cartoon poking fun at Pulitzer and De Lome. Weyler, mounted on a stick horse, leads a ragamuffin group of marchers--"The Pulitzer Cadets"--who noisily bang a drum with "Publicity" inscribed on it. De Lome follows along carrying a placard that reads:

GREAT CONSPIRACY

Gen. Lee, Twenty-Five Thousand American Women
To Free a WICKED Little Cuban Girl
From the Attention of a
PURE Spanish Officer.

An ornately embellished facsimile of the Journal's petition appeared below the cartoon. The remainder of the page was filled with the names of additional signers. A short article with Bryson's byline appeared in column one. It told of Weyler seizing 18 pardoned Cuban exiles on

their return to Cuba, another stab at Weyler and the "Spanish character."

Page five of this Journal had this banner headline:

WOMEN WHO GIVE THEIR PRAYERS FOR
THE RELEASE OF SENORITA CISNEROS

Beneath the headline were two-inch-square cameo portraits of Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Burnett, Mrs. Logan, Clara Barton, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Sherman, Mrs. Carlisle, and Mrs. Whitney. The entire rest of the page was taken up with names of signers listed in small type.

"Evangelina Cisneros Will Soon Be Free," a headline over an editorial in the August 28 Journal predicted.

"All Cuba knows the truth, and the Journal has caused all Christendom to know it."

The front page of the following day's Journal had another story in reaction to De Lome's letter. An excerpt:

So far from hurting the cause of Evangelina Cisneros, Spanish Minister Dupuy De Lome by his slanderous denunciation of her to Mrs. Jefferson Davis has only strengthened the interest of the American women in the persecuted Cuban girl.

The article quoted one of the last dispatches sent by Bryson before his expulsion. He spoke of the legal aspects of the case and its progress so far. Bryson wrote that according to Spanish law, the case was decided by the military tribunal and the Fiscal set the sentence at 20 years, but Weyler still had to consent to it before Evangelina would be sent off to Cueta:

This free acknowledgement by the Public Prosecutor [Fiscal] that he had demanded a 20-year sentence for the girl makes it plain that Minister Dupuy De Lome wrote a deliberate falsehood in his letter to Mrs. Jefferson Davis and Mrs. [John] Sherman, whose appeal for mercy was carried by the Journal to the Queen Regent of Spain.

That was how the Journal set about proving that Evangelina was "in the clutches of Weyler" and that De Lome was a liar.

The same Senorita Aguilar who was interviewed in the August 18 Journal was again quoted on the front page of the August 27 issue in a story about the horrors of Evangelina's incarceration "among the inhuman harpies of Havana." The story was a narration of a dialogue between Senorita Aguilar and Mrs. Jefferson Davis. Mrs. Davis offered this advice:

I find that a woman's success lies in her plea for pity. Experience has taught me the lesson. From my husband I learned that the key to sympathy opened the heart always, and justice was not discussed for the time being.³³

That front page also carried a letter from the Queen Regent to Mrs. John Sherman in answer to her previous letter. The Journal said that Her Majesty decreed that Evangelina was "to be treated as a distinguished prisoner of state," and "now not a Spaniard of all those who heaped insult and contumely upon her dare harm a hair of her head."

That article also continued the campaign against the character of De Lome:

So the Spanish Minister, Dupuy De Lome, gained nothing for Spain and the unmanly persecution of Evangelina Cossio Cisneros by his overzealous letter to Mrs. Jefferson Davis.

Page two of the August 27 Journal was devoted to the Cisneros case and the De Lome letter. There was more of the conversation between Aguilar and Mrs. Davis, including a four-column-by-seven-inch drawing of the two women. Davis was quoted:

Who better than I can appreciate the unsuccessful efforts and grim determination of a people fighting for liberty? I have lived through it. I know every degree of suspense, despair, hope and exultation.³⁴

Mrs. Davis was referred to in the article as "the queen of American mothers." Mrs. Grant, on the other hand, hesitated to defame the Spanish in Cuba because of good memories of a trip she and her late husband had taken there in 1880: "Personally, I have only words of praise for the Spanish officers we met. They did not injure women nor shoot old men and children." Small wonder Hearst concentrated more on publicizing Mrs. Davis' comments.

Letters from philanthropic organizations and clergymen were pouring in at the Journal, praising the paper's efforts. Many were published on this same page, including one from Rabbi Julius Levy of New York City.

Another elaborately rendered, boxed copy of the Journal's petition to the Queen Regent appeared on the page, with the actual signatures of McKinley's mother,

sister, sister-in-law, niece and nephew, all from his home town of Canton, Ohio. Signatures of other various pillars of Canton society were included. This was an attempt to move McKinley closer to war with Spain by applying peer pressure. Hearst was certainly shrewd and brash enough to try it.

De Lome also wrote a letter to Mrs. John Sherman, wife of the secretary of state, in response to her public statements on the Cisneros case. Again, he pointed the accusing finger at Hearst: "The matter has been grossly misrepresented to you by the paper agitating this question,"³⁵ the Spanish diplomat stated. Again, De Lome denied that Evangelina had gone to trial or had been sentenced to 20 years in Cueta.

Page six of the August 27 Journal featured an editorial spread across three columns about De Lome's letters. (The entire text of this inflammatory editorial is in Appendix I.) Here are some excerpts:

No blacguard ever went at a dirty task with greater apparent zest.

The editorial said the letter was incriminating because it made the following "confession":

1. That Evangelina Cisneros is a virtuous girl, contrary to the expectations of the military commander of the Isle of Pines:
2. That she has been imprisoned without trial in a jail for abandoned women, with the companionship of such outcasts forced daily and nightly upon her:

3. That but for the Journal's exertions in her behalf the world would have heard nothing of the sufferings of this victim of the brute Weyler's tyranny and cruelty.³⁶

Another editorial appeared in the following day's issue of the Journal about the Cisneros case:

THE TRUTH TOO BLACK TO BE HIDDEN

The truth about the case of Evangelina Cisneros is more than the Spanish Government can face before an aroused world. Hence every agency at Spain's command is being employed to hide or distort the truth. To all inquiries in Cuba, including the American Consul-General [Lee], the authorities reply that Miss Cisneros has not yet been tried. It is deemed better to admit that an accused but unconvicted girl of good character, education and refinement has been kept in the Casa de Recojidas, "the house for abandoned women," for upwards of a year, than to acknowledge that it was the intention to send her to Cueta, the most loathsome of penal colonies, for 20 years.

This editorial claimed that the word of the expelled correspondent Bryson was worth more than "that of every Spanish official in Havana, where lying for the good of Spain is considered a patriotic duty, and has been organized into a system."³⁷ It seems Hearst could turn any new development into an indictment of the Spanish character or his favorite targets, Weyler, De Lome and Berriz.

The same day that the above editorial appeared was also the first day since the cable from Bryson arrived on August 16 that the case was not featured on the front page of the Journal. However, in addition to the editorial

there also appeared an entire page of accounts of life in the Havana jail, under the headline "Hours in Recojidas are Hours in Hell." The tone and content of page 14 can be summed up in this one marathon sentence:

Every device that lying diplomacy can suggest has been used to divert attention from the fact that this sweet girl, in whose veins runs the noblest blood of insurgent Cuba, has been held for more than a year in an unspeakably vile prison, and is in peril of the frightful sentence asked for by the Spanish prosecutor, simply because Colonel Berriz, the Military Governor of the Isle of Pines, a nephew of the Spanish Prime Minister, was seized by her unarmed fellow-exiles and thrashed when he forced his way into her room at night, thinking to find her alone and defenceless.³⁸

A lengthy letter from Eva Adam Rodriguez, an American citizen who had been in Recojidas with Evangelina, appeared on the same page. Rodriguez had been released upon demand of Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee. Two representative excerpts:

Every hour of the day this innocent girl must listen to the language of the brothel. She cannot escape it.

.

The women sleep huddled together like pigs in a sty. When I was in the Recojidas, 96 women were crowded into 11 small rooms. Dense, without ventilation, without beds, it is without a single one of the things necessary to a life of even comparative decency.

Rodriguez gave a vivid and detailed portrait of the plight of Evangelina. The following excerpts illustrate the kind of heartrending saga Hearst loved to present to his readers:

SHE MUST DRUDGE LIKE A SLAVE

In the daytime Evangelina must drudge unceasingly without the slightest distinction being made between her and the commonest creature of the streets who shares her prison.

When I first saw her in that Hell of Horrors, I avoided her as I avoided the others who were huddled there. She was pointed out to me, however, by one of the few ladies then imprisoned there, and my heart went out to her at once.

She was lonely, desolate, heartbroken. She was physically broken down by her tasks, mentally prostrated by her gross surroundings.

THE GRAVEST DANGER OF ALL

Although the physical suffering she is subjected to appeals most strongly to the women of the United States, the grave danger to her character cannot be underestimated. Contamination is gravely to be feared, unless she is released before long. The life about her must sooner or later make its impression upon her, and as she is but a mere child, there is awful danger to be apprehended unless some steps are taken to separate her from her companions, at least. She is daily subjected to advances of the prison officials, who implore upon her severely brutal tasks because of her virtuous endurance.

Pray Heaven the magnificent efforts of the Journal to release her may be successful!³⁹

An article bearing London correspondent Frank Marshall White's byline appeared to the right of Rodriguez's letter. A copy of the petition being circulated in London was printed alongside a portrait of Lady Russell, one of the more prominent signers. The English petition was much more verbose than its American counterpart, but it said essentially the same things. (The text of the English petition appears in Appendix H.)

Beneath the petition on the page was a story by Edward (Eduardo) Garcia. A correspondent for the New York Sun, he was expelled from Cuba with Bryson after being imprisoned for three months at Weyler's behest. Garcia, commenting on his interview with Evangelina, said: "Every one falls in love with her."

An article reprinted from the previous day's Washington Star, which the Journal called "one of the most conservative and carefully edited newspapers in the country,"⁴⁰ also appeared on this page. The Star was optimistic about Evangelina's fate, in spite of the Journal's meddling. This article is a good example of how the more conservative press viewed the incident:

While there have been perhaps misunderstandings of fact, exaggerations of statement and some resulting hysteria connected with the outburst of sympathy for the unfortunate Evangelina Cisneros, the Cuban girl now confined in prison in Havana on a charge of conspiracy, the mists that originally surrounded the case are clearing away sufficiently to show that there is good reason for the movement now on foot to persuade the Queen of Spain to pardon the young woman.

The Star sided with the Journal against Berriz and added that the Journal's efforts in the case increased the chances of her release. (The remainder of the Star story is in Appendix I.)

Below the Star article was another story concerned with the legal aspects of the Cisneros case. Though the source was "a distinguished Cuban lawyer," in reality it

was probably one of the staff of the New-York based Cuban Junta. The article is significant because it briefly uncovers a piece of information that could have altered the situation:

We are accustomed to see prisoners in Cuba arraigned, sentenced and shot all in less than a week after they were captured. Delay in sentencing Miss Cisneros shows that the case is not as clear against her as Senor Dupuy assumes. Besides, I know that efforts have been made to have the girl surrender the letters which she received from Colonel Berriz, asking her to be his mistress.⁴¹

Those letters from Berriz reportedly were given to one of Evangelina's friends for safe keeping in case she needed them as a bargaining tool. If this was true and the letters did indeed contain romantic overtures from Berriz, then Evangelina may not have been as naive and vulnerable as the Journal had portrayed her. This was the only mention of these letters in the Journal.

A banner headline on the front page of the August 29 Journal prematurely declared "Miss Cisneros Relieved by American Women." Correspondent Don Fernando Rodriguez wrote from San Sebastian, Spain, that the Spanish minister of foreign affairs had ordered Evangelina taken out of Recojidas and immediately placed in a convent. Rodriguez added, "The impression I have after conversations with the Government is that Evangelina is now out of personal danger."

A two-column-by-12-inch drawing of Pablo Supervielle, one of the men who allegedly helped rescue Evangelina from Berriz that night on the Isle of Pines, ran on this same front page. He appears well-dressed, urbane and handsome. His eyewitness account of the incident appeared to the right of his picture. Supervielle is described as "a man of irreproachable character, of fine family, a man for whom the French Government stepped in and saved from the death that was meted out to his comrades for their part in the events of that tragic night."⁴² He was a French national.

Of Weyler and De Lome's accounts of the incident, Supervielle said: "If they believe the version that they have sent out over their signatures, they are to be pitied for their monumental stupidity."

According to Supervielle, Berriz had threatened to send Evangelina's 65-year-old father to Chafarinas, "the terrible penal settlement in Africa," if she refused him sexual favors. Berriz then locked up her father to make her more vulnerable to his advances before stealing to her bungalow on that "tragic night."

This is how Supervielle described what he and his fellow "rescuers" found when they rushed into the bungalow:

We went into the room and found Evangelina in her night robe struggling against Berriz's efforts to overpower her. We knew it was Berriz immediately, for the man in his inordinate conceit, had come out in the full paraphernalia of his military rank, perhaps to thus dazzle the young girl.⁴³

The story continued on page two with a three-inch-by-three-column picture of Evangelina's Isle of Pines bungalow.

"Perhaps we did not beat him [Berriz] as much as he deserved," Supervielle reflected. He added that Berriz cried out and soldiers rushed in and the three "heroes" scattered. Then Berriz reportedly ordered his men to fire their rifles into the air and yell "Viva Cuba Libre!" to convince the island's residents that it had been a full-scale rebel uprising.

Supervielle and his colleagues were eventually caught. Rosendo Betancourt, Evangelina's erstwhile fiance, was also rounded up by Berriz's men, even though he took no part in the "rescue." Evangelina later denounced him for this and said that she was disillusioned with men because of it.

A three-column-wide editorial on the Cisneros case ran on page 52 of the August 29 Journal. It began with the by-now customary self-congratulations for the efforts of the paper, and displayed confidence that the petitions were enough to get Evangelina released. It also continued the campaign against De Lome:

It is comprehensible enough that De Lome should want to ingratiate himself with the new Prime Minister, but Americans are not likely to be patient with a man who to hold his diplomatic position assails the fair name of a helpless girl.

But the vile slanders of Weyler and De Lome were as useless as they were cruel. The Queen has a woman's heart, and has heeded the prayers of the noble women whom the Journal enlisted in the cause of the oppressed child.

That editorial, headlined "THE RESCUE OF EVANGELINA CISNEROS," ended on a prophetic note:

The Journal's work is not yet done. Delivering the girl from the awful surroundings of the Las Recojidas prison is a great victory, but the Journal will not cease its efforts until the endeavors of the noble women who have aided it in this girl's cause are entirely successful, and Evangelina Cossio y Cisneros is freed forever from the persecutions of the uniformed ruffians who beset her and is among the women to whom she owes her deliverance to live in peace.

Hearst was setting the stage for another of his spectacular publicity stunts. By this time, the dispatches from Decker must have built Hearst's confidence in the success of the jailbreak being planned in Havana.

The "Popular Periodical" section of the August 29 Journal carried a story of a Senorita Rizal, "The Cuban Joan of Arc," yet another of Hearst's martyrs in his charges of cruelty by the Spaniards. She reportedly had been married for only half an hour when her husband, a rebel prisoner, was executed by the Spanish in the Philippines.

A ten-inch-square sketch of Senorita Rizal appeared on page 28 of the "Popular Periodical." She was on a charging horse, a rifle slung across her back and a pistol blazing from one of her hands. This heroine, the daughter

of a British soldier, was no stranger to firearms. The unknown writer paints a reckless portrait of the girl:

She is tall--taller than the average woman, with a wealth of dark hair and eyes of a blue so deep that in anger they seem to be of burning black. In manner and dress and utterance she shows the marks of good breeding. All her girlhood was spent at a convent school, and she is cultivated far beyond most women of her years.

This soldier girl of 20 Summers is the real leader now of the Philippine rebellion. Powerful among the rebels as was Rizal, the blue-eyed girl to whom he gave his name on that awful morning in the dungeons of Lunetta, holds a greater sway than his.

They call her the new Joan of Arc. For months this slip of a girl has lived in the saddle, sharing the hard fare of the rebels, sleeping under the stars, with the earth for a pillow and her weapons by her side, plunging like a very angel of war into the midst of the bloodshed and powder smoke, taking life after life from the army of Spain in revenge for the one dear life Spain took from her.

In all of the insurgent army of the Philippines there is not a surer shot than she, with rifle or pistol, and as she picked off Spaniard after Spaniard she cried to her followers, "Remember Dr. Rizal!"

Fear she had left behind her. She was drunk with the excitement of war. Lying beside the men in the trenches, she blazed away with her Remington like an old sharpshooter.

Preparing for the worst, she provided herself with a vial of strychnine. She told her friends she would never die by Spanish hands.

She was expelled from the Philippines by Captain-General Rivera, Spanish military commander of the islands, and sent to Hong Kong, from whence she came to New York. A male that had done what she did would most likely have been shot immediately by the Spanish.

Page 30 of the same issue of the "Popular Periodical" contained accounts of "Remarkable Exploits and Adventures of American Women Last Week," such as Miss Maud Clayton of Chicago who swung off a cliff on a rope, "to prove she was as brave as a man." Miss Lillian Arnold took a "wild ride on a wheel [bicycle] down Mt. Utsangantha, in the Catskills." Miss Lu Verne Hall's working her way through college in Denver as a bootblack was unheard of. Miss Leota Elliot reportedly won a horserace in Danforth, Maine, against three other female jockeys.

The Cisneros case appeared on page two of the August 30 Journal. "Out of Recojidas, Liberty Next," a headline predicted. The tone of the article was gloatingly optimistic as it recounted how Berriz was "on his knees," pleading for Evangelina to withdraw her charges. Of course, the Journal claimed full credit for this:

It was not until the Journal found Pablo Supervielle and obtained his sworn statement of the events on the Isle of Pines that caused the innocent girl's immurement in the prison for abandoned women, that the full villainy of Berriz was known.⁴⁴

However, that same day's New York World declared that the Journal's publicity had kept Weyler from honoring his promise to Consul-General Lee and releasing Evangelina.

On the same page of the Journal alongside the optimistic story about Evangelina, another article of a

similar tone appeared under Bryson's byline. He had interviewed Evangelina's aunt, Mercedes Cossio, who lived in Key West. Her daughter received a letter from Evangelina that told of Berriz's offer. Berriz reportedly offered to release the girl and her colleagues if she would agree to drop her countercharges against him. If she refused, he assured her that "nothing could save her from Cueta."

Bryson also reported that Lee was confident that Evangelina would be released. Bryson added that Evangelina had written that she wanted to come to Key West and live with her aunt.

Another story on page five, also under Bryson's byline, accused Weyler of corruption:

Before I left Havana a prominent Spanish banker assured me that since Weyler's arrival in Cuba as Captain-General the latter had remitted the sum of \$7,093,356 to London and Paris for his private account.

The greater part of this amount was made, it is alleged, as a contractor in the construction of the western and central military trochas [forts] and in personal speculations in the purchase of American horses and mules for the artillery and cavalry, or as profits upon cattle confiscated in the field, driven in by his own troops and sold to the butchers of Havana, Cienfuegos, Santiago de Cuba and other coast cities and towns.⁴⁵

On page seven was an appeal for assistance from black rebel leader General Bandera for American blacks to come fight for freedom in Cuba. "Here we are all brothers," the general proclaimed.

The following day, August 31, news of the Cisneros case moved to page three of the Journal. That page displayed a three-column portrait of Pope Leo XIII, with the caption "Prince of Mercy." The Journal was confident:

As the Queen [of Spain] is a faithful daughter of the church, it is practically certain that she will use her influence with her ministers to give effect to the appeal of His Holiness.

The pope reportedly disliked any form of insurrection and was concerned with restoring peace in Cuba in general.

Havana correspondent Musgrave wrote that "Miss Cisneros was visibly affected today when she heard of the efforts the Journal is making in her behalf. Before I had finished [the interview], grateful tears were streaming down her cheeks."

"Thank them for me, oh, so much" was all she reportedly could manage to sob.⁴⁶

An editorial on page six reported that the recently expelled Bryson observed "a strong feeling growing up in favor of annexation to the United States" among the people of Havana.

Another article on the same page had Hearst again congratulating his paper for its efforts in Evangelina's behalf.

"By this time the persecuted girl should be in the custody of the pious nuns of Havana," the article said. However, she never went to the convent.

The editorial closed on a prophetic note:

When Evangelina Cisneros is on American soil, free at last from all danger from Spain's prisons or Spanish officers' brutality, the Journal will feel it has a right to accept the commendation and congratulations of its friends.

By September 2, coverage of the Cisneros case had moved to page four of the Journal: but that page was entirely devoted to her. A three-column-by-ten-inch portrait of her dominated the page. Below that was a three-column-by-eight-inch copy of a handwritten note in Spanish that she had sent to the Journal thanking it for all the publicity:

I wish to express my thanks to the Journal for the efforts taken in my behalf.

A story in column one, headlined "All Italy Alive With Sympathy for Her," told of the pope's plans to discuss her release with the Spanish ambassador to his nation. This was hardly "All Italy."

The most significant article on the page was below the story about the pope. It carried Karl Decker's byline and a Havana dateline--the first in a series. This meant that Decker had arrived in Havana and was plotting the rescue. It must have been encouraging to Hearst to know that all was going well so far. Decker lauded his paper early in the article, which was overall optimistic in its news of Evangelina's situation. This may have been a ruse to disguise his real purpose in Havana:

This benevolent attitude on the part of the Spanish Government is due solely to the great work done by the Journal, and to the wave of sympathy that swept the United States and found expression in the many messages to the Queen Regent.⁴⁷

The text of a letter Weyler wrote to Evangelina was also included, indicating that Decker had been in touch with Evangelina and had informed her of his mission.

Weyler's letter:

My dear Madam:

It having been impossible for me to as yet investigate the matter referred to in your letter to me of two months ago, as requested, nor to call and see as was my desire. In the meantime, until I am able to do so, I beg you that you indicate to me if you now have any complaint to make as to the treatment you receive in that establishment [Recojidas], and remain your servant who kisses your feet.

Those don't sound like the words of a man the yellow press called "The Butcher." Weyler begged her to tell him of any complaints--he referred to himself as her "servant," and the image of this hard-boiled professional Spanish soldier kissing the feet of a prisoner in the Havana jail for prostitutes is absurd. This affected hyperbole was merely for the benefit of the press, for most of Weyler's deeds were recorded daily by journalists.

Two other large drawings appeared on this page. One showed Evangelina being ostracized by the prisoners at Recojidas; the other depicted Spanish prison guards standing watch. Decker added this stab at the World:

The World, unable to accomplish all it desired from New York in the way of defeating the efforts of the Journal to secure the release of Evangelina or an amelioration of her condition, has enlisted George W. Fishback, and has him valorously at work in Havana assisting the Spanish agent who represents the Associated Press in the work of fostering in the United States the impression that Miss Cisneros is wrapped in luxury and needs nothing to make her condition one to be envied.⁴⁸

Decker added that Consul-General Lee had deserted Evangelina and was ignoring her plight by his statements that she was in no immediate danger. "Nothing could be further from the truth," Decker wrote. The correspondent elaborated on the horrors of life in Recojidas:

It is a filthy pig-sty of a jail, with a stagnant pool of slime festering in the gutters about the sides of the patio or central court. Burly, half-naked negro strumpets, some with children, lounge about in the white glare of the sun, a few puffing at big black cigars or cigarettes, while others peevishly pour forth floods of Spanish profanity, than which there is nothing more revolting in any language.⁴⁹

The dispute over Evangelina's lineage continued.

Decker wrote of the infamous De Lome letter:

He said that Evangelina was not of gentle birth [genteel], not related to the President of the Cuban Republic. Then he added the vile accusation that she had lured the military commandant of the Isle of Pines, Colonel Berriz, to have him assassinated to further the interests of the rebellion.

The Journal was able to bring the positive proof of direct witnesses to prove the utter falsity of the charges and of the villainy of Colonel Berriz.

It, of course, could make no difference what blood flows in the veins of the beautiful girl. The outrage would be equally great if she was a peasant child or a prince's daughter. To the Spanish mind, however, it seemed reasonable that sympathy with their victim would fail if she was shown to be a daughter of the common people. 50

A letter from Evangelina's first cousin, written in Spanish, was presented on this same page to support the Journal's claim of her "gentle birth."

An editorial on page eight criticized Evangelina's "enemies;" the World, Weyler and De Lome:

THE OUTPUT OF LIES IN HAVANA

The industry of Weyler and his agents in the manufacture of falsehoods knows no cessation. Even Consul-General Lee has been imposed upon to the extent of telling the State Department that Miss Cisneros is not related to the Marquis of Santa Lucia, the President of the Cuban Republic. Even if this were true it would not mitigate the barbarity of the Spanish treatment of this innocent girl, or prejudice her right to liberty and honor. Justice is not an affair of rank. 51

Articles from other newspapers supporting the efforts of the Journal were reprinted from the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, the Reading (Pa.) Times, the Oswego (Wis.) Times and the Knoxville (Ky.) Tribune. An article from the Washington Times joined the Journal in the attack on De Lome's character:

THE CROWNING INSULT

The letter of Enrique Dupuy De Lome to Mrs. Jefferson Davis is the foulest insult to the women of America, and to womanhood

generally, that well could have been imagined. In it he makes two points of importance. We will say in advance that in both instances, the contentions made are mendacious, infamous and worthy of the man who, 20 years ago, wrote a book in which he practically characterized all American women as unchaste.

In his first argument he represents the poor, persecuted girl, Evangelina Cossio y Cisneros, as having lured the Governor of the Isle of Pines to her house with the purpose of having him assassinated. The correspondents in Cuba of this journal, the New York Sun and the New York Journal are witnesses to the fact that this statement is a lie.

Let Enrique Dupuy De Lome understand this, as he does; and let every man in Washington who is a human being and not a dog, and who has seen the sun rise in the East and set in the West, understand it too! 53

The following day's World featured an interview with Evangelina and reported that conditions at Recojidas were not as terrible as the Journal had said. Six days later, on September 9, Consul-General Lee arrived in New York and told the World that Evangelina had two rooms at the prison, was well clothed and fed, and scrubbed no floors. He further stated that he didn't think that the Spanish government "ever for one moment intended to send her to the penal colony in Africa [Cueta] or elsewhere." He added that "she would have been pardoned long ago, had it not been for the hubbub created by the American newspapers."

The World was trying to discredit the efforts of the Journal to make Hearst look like a fool. If Pulitzer had discovered Evangelina first, things might have been

reversed and Hearst would have been out to undermine him instead.

On September 3, Hearst fired back in a Journal editorial entitled "Of Cisneros and Gentle Birth." He accused "the aristocratic Mr. Pulitzer's New York World" of snobbery and callous disregard for the fate of the Cuban girl. One would at least have to agree that Hearst was working for a good cause and, consequently, that Pulitzer's efforts to the contrary were rather malicious.

By September 3, the Cisneros story had moved to page five of the Journal. Frank Marshall White's progress report on the London petition appeared in the first column:

Hundreds of enthusiastic letters are received daily by the Journal, and the list of signatures to the petition to Queen Regent Maria Christina of Spain, pleading for the girl's release, has assumed extraordinary lengths.

Apparently the reports that Evangelina would be sent to a convent that caused so much rejoicing earlier were now showing to be false. She was still in Recojidas, among the "burly negro strumpets." Weyler had ignored the Queen Regent's request to place her in the care of the nuns, and he would continue to do so.⁵⁴ This may have been what made Hearst decide to proceed with the rescue plan: with Weyler angry, Evangelina's hope of being released was dim at best.

News of Evangelina's plight was sparse for the remainder of the month of September, except for Decker's dispatches. Reports of the United States becoming increasingly caught up in the martial spirit and exaggerated rebel "victories," mostly the work of the rumor factory at the junta headquarters, dominated the front pages of the Journal. With most of the correspondents expelled from Cuba, the New York reporters gobbled up the fictitious propaganda at the junta office along with free peanuts.

The Journal's interview with Consul-General Lee on page five of the September 9 Journal was the next major discussion of the Cisneros case. A two-column-by-six-inch "before-and-after" portrait of Lee on that page was captioned "Effect of War Time in Cuba on the Appearance of General Fitzhugh Lee." The "after" Lee had a scraggly moustache and goatee and pronounced wrinkles around his eyes.

Lee was confident: "The day I left Havana, General Weyler told me that Evangelina Cossio y Cisneros will soon be released from prison."⁵⁵ Perhaps his success in obtaining the release of Mrs. Rodriguez from Recojidas earlier had bolstered his sense of security. Lee was able to get the official who was substituting for Weyler at that time to view Evangelina's condition, whereupon she was moved to a more pleasant cell, among women of her own social rank.

"She is as comfortable as a prisoner in jail could be, I am informed," Lee said. He added that Weyler told him he would have probably released the girl already, except that the yellow press had "rubbed his hair the wrong way."

Lee admired Evangelina's spunk: "She has spirit enough to lead an army," he told the Journal. "Put that girl on a horse and I'd trust her to lead a cavalry charge."

Another Decker story appeared below the Lee interview. Decker announced that Weyler had ordered Evangelina "incomunicado"--she was to have no visitors and not to send or receive correspondence.

"This action has been taken to prevent friends interesting themselves in her behalf, and illustrates fully the character of persecution to which she is subjected," Decker wrote.⁵⁶

Decker claimed that Weyler had isolated Evangelina to keep her continued incarceration at Recojidas a secret from the Spanish press and the Queen Regent. "Deprived of the power of making public her sufferings, she will lose her last defense against the brutalities of her jailers and will be helpless in their clutches," Decker wrote. He also reported that Berriz had been sent to the front lines against his will by Weyler: "Berriz is sacrificed by Weyler as a grandstand play for the benefit of the Queen Regent," the article said.

The front page of the September 10 Journal reported falsely that a Spanish naval attache was spying on American fortifications at Sullivan Island and Charleston Harbor. The article, intended as further criticism of the Spanish national character by Hearst, was soon forgotten.

The following day, the Journal's price was raised from one cent to two. Reports of a rebel victory at Victoria de la Tunas and the capture of artillery there were enthusiastically printed on page four.

One of the most blatant displays of jingoism on the Journal's front page appeared Sept. 14, 1897. A large war eagle is depicted over the banner headline "We Claim the Right to Intervene in Cuba." Correspondent Rodriguez wrote that American Minister to Spain Stewart L. Woodford presented quite a message to Spanish officials. "I am prepared to say that a demand will be made for the independence of Cuba," the correspondent wrote, "although I cannot give the terms."⁵⁷ He continued:

Nothing can exceed the hatred of the Spanish people for the American Government. President McKinley's message will be resented bitterly, and will stir up the passionate Spaniards to their depths.

To the right of Rodriguez's article was another telling of the U.S. Navy's plans for a war against the Spanish in Cuba. The following day's Journal's front page foretold the disastrous effects the imminent war would have on the Spanish economy. It seems the Spanish already

were grievously in debt for war supplies and political factions threatened the stability of the fledgling liberal Sagasta regime.

Karl Decker's byline appeared again on page ten of the September 17 Journal. "Evangelina to be Convicted," the headline declared. "The Butcher will oblige Berriz's Uncle, the War Minister, though it costs men's lives and woman's honor."

Weyler had released all of the prisoners held in connection with the Cisneros case except her former fiance and his brother. "The prisoners who are being released purchased their liberty with promises to testify against Evangelina when her case came to trial,"⁵⁸ Decker wrote. He continued:

Weyler's hatred for Evangelina has been intensified by the agitation in the American press in her favor, and he will now attempt to demonstrate that his course was right by proving through perjured witnesses that Evangelina was guilty of the crime charged against her. Sixteen other prisoners are to be released shortly on the same understanding.

Meanwhile, Colonel Berriz, the foul assailant of the defenceless girl, continues an honored officer of the Spanish army. Weyler is anxious to have the favor of General Azcarraga, the Spanish Minister of War and Berriz's uncle, and the mere matter of the honor and liberty of a Cuban girl cannot be permitted to interfere with his desire to oblige the Minister of War.

The trumped-up charge of a rebellion in the Isle of Pines would be ridiculous anywhere but in Cuba. When the girl's friends rushed to her rescue in response to her shrieks for help, they captured and

bound Berriz, the military commander of the isle. Had they been bent on rebellion they would have killed him then. They ran from the soldiers who came to Berriz's aid. The prisoners were without firearms, and were outnumbered by the Spanish troops on the island. Though describing the excitement as a sublevation [subterfuge], even the Spaniards did not report a single soldier injured. However these things will hardly count before a court-martial. They are formed to convict, and the prisoners whose choice is between perjury and execution will in all probability testify as they have been ordered. 59

An editorial on page six of that same Journal discussed the Cisneros case and provided some more sabre-rattling:

The nameless indignities inflicted upon women are in full harmony with the savage character of the entire system of organized deviltry which Weyler calls warfare. "War is hell," said Sherman, and the Spanish banditti in Cuba are exerting themselves to prove the accuracy of the definition.

The question for us is whether we intend to tolerate this infernal policy when we have the power to stop it in a week. 60

More rebel victories were reported in an editorial
September 21:

HAIL VICTORIOUS CUBA

Victories everywhere for the gallant army of the Republic of Cuba--General Garcia at Victoria las Tunas, General Gomez at Placetas and General Acosta at the very gates of Havana. The thunder of the patriot artillery is music in the ears of all liberty loving men and women. One Spanish stronghold after another has fallen to the onward sweep of Cuban forces. Spain is bankrupt, her leaders demoralized and

divided: her bloody head droops in defeat. Now is the time for the Government of the United States to raise its voice in behalf of civilization, humanity and liberty. Congress and the people will stand by the President.⁶¹

The front page of the Journal on the following day was even more garishly jingoistic than the display on the front page of the September 14 issue, eight days before. The September 22 front page was completely taken up with a gigantic, seven-column-by-11-inch drawing of a huge eagle with an Uncle Sam hat and a flag in its talons hovering over a gallant Cuban rebel with a broken sword and a tattered Cuban flag. A Cuban woman holds a baby and has two more children clinging to her skirts in the background-- fear and grief in their faces. A shield with stars and stripes on it protects the rebel, as cannons and rifles with fixed bayonets point at a caricature of Weyler on the left. Weyler drops his sword in fear, looking ridiculously cowardly in his full-dress military regalia. In the far background peasants' houses burn and bodies and skulls are strewn about in the aftermath of a massacre.

"United States Claims the Right to Intervene," the banner headline over the cartoon said. A reprint of the September 14 front page with the eagle is below the larger cartoon. The only copy on the page is in the lower third of columns one, two, six and seven, and most of this is in the form of attention-grabbing stacked headlines.

The article in the first two columns under the cartoon was datelined London and told of the European reaction to Ambassador Woodford's message to Spain. The London Evening News was quoted as saying the communique "is to all practical intents and purposes an ultimatum."⁶²

In columns six and seven an article by Frank Marshall White, datelined San Sebastian, Spain, reported that Woodford gave Spain one month to end the war in Cuba "or else the U.S. Government would do whatever it should deem most advisable to secure certain and lasting peace."⁶³

The front page of the Journal the following day reported a meeting between Spanish and English diplomats: England wanted to curb American expansionism before America cast its roving eye on Canada, the article said.

Karl Decker wrote of something besides the Cisneros case on that front page. He reported that rebel General Gomez was marching on Havana and preparing for "the final campaign of the war."⁶⁴ The story was only two paragraphs long and each paragraph included only one long sentence. Details were lacking: Decker could have written this report from barroom hearsay or propaganda from a rebel sympathizer. He may not have had to leave his room at the Hotel Inglaterra to get it, either. By this time he must have been busy planning the rescue of Evangelina and had precious little time to devote to gathering news. After all, he had a job to do.

Another article on the front page told of the Journal's poll of the governors of 23 states on the sentiments of their constituents on the question of American intervention in Cuba. Governor Robert B. Smith of Montana cabled this reply:

The sentiment in Montana is almost unanimous that the war in Cuba should be stopped, and that the United States should take such a decided stand as will eventually result in the liberty and independence of the Cuban people.⁶⁵

The Journal also printed an editorial in that issue urging the nation toward war with Spain. The following day the paper featured another editorial with the headline "Quite Ready for Spain." It told of the Navy's beefing up harbor defenses in New York and San Francisco as a preparation for war.

"Nobody of sense, of course, wants a war with Spain, but should a conflict come our navy would make a short work of that of Spain,"⁶⁶ the editorial boasted. It further stated that the responses of the 23 governors in yesterday's Journal "furnish a true index of the state of the public mind. There is everywhere a firm conviction that the war in Cuba should stop and that Cuba should be free."

"Cuba Will Be Free" predicted the headline over an editorial September 25. It quoted Ethan Allen, president of the Cuban League, who wrote the Journal a letter:

The hour of emancipation for Cuba is at hand. The commanding voice of the nation has at last reached the Executive. Though the delay has been much too long, still the retribution at hand will excuse past delinquency [sic].⁶⁷

An editorial September 27 in the Journal argued in behalf of the Monroe Doctrine:

Americans in general are unable to perceive what legitimate concern European nations have in the matter. The Cuban war is an American question, and will be dealt with as such.⁶⁸

One way to appeal to people's sense of decency is through sincere little children. Hearst used this technique to sell war fever. The September 28 Journal reported that ten-year-old Alberta Gavin of Buffalo, New York, had presented junta president Tomas Estrada Palma with a silk cavalry flag she had made. In a letter accompanying the flag, she wrote, "God love Cuba and punish the Spaniards for their cruelty to little ones." The Journal also reported that the junta had received several letters from Senator William Mason's daughter, each containing a dollar for the cause of Cuba Libre.⁶⁹

A story by Frank Marshall White in the September 30 Journal reported that the entire Spanish cabinet, including Berriz's uncle, War Minister Azcarraga, had resigned. White blamed Spain's current financial problems.

An editorial in that same issue said that the previous day's issue of the Madrid Imparcial told of a movement

in the Spanish government to oust Weyler from his command.

The Journal again referred to Weyler's personal finances:

While Weyler has been a failure as a soldier, he has been a distinguished success as a personal financier. He saved four million dollars in a few years on a salary of \$40,000 a year in the Philippines, and in Cuba, though his salary is \$50,000 a year, his fortune, it is said, has increased to six millions. The success of Weyler the moneymaker will probably adequately salve the disappointment of Weyler the general.⁷⁰

The September 30 Journal also carried one of Decker's last articles on the Cisneros case before the actual rescue. He reported that Weyler was "pushing forward the Isle of Pines [Cisneros] case for trial."⁷¹ Evangelina was still in Recojidas, and Decker reported she would have a hard time getting a lawyer to defend her.

Decker also wrote that a note from Evangelina smuggled out to him told of her "rapidly breaking health." Decker attacked Dr. H. H. Gwain of Havana who told the press that Evangelina was well cared for by a female attendant in a nicely carpeted cell:

Dr. Gwain was never inside Recojidas, never saw Evangelina, and could not have talked with her if he had, as his interpreter deserted him months before his departure from Havana. If there were a carpet in the cell of Miss Cisneros it would be the only piece of carpet in Havana, and could be classed as an instrument of torture. It is such statements as these that tend to harm this poor girl as much as the implacable hatred of Weyler.⁷²

The article closed with a reminder of Evangelina's plight, which contained racist overtones: "In the meantime the girl languishes through the hot Cuban days, in a foul-smelling prison filled with black women of the lowest character."⁷³

An article directly below Decker's told of the possible killing of 28 members of an American filibustering expedition to Cuba. Another article boasted of insurgent chief Acosta's escape to New York City from Havana. A third reported a rumor from London that the United States was planning the acquisition of Greenland.

An editorial October 1 in the Journal predicted that Weyler would be relieved of his command by the new Spanish war minister. This in turn would weaken Berriz's support considerably in the Cisneros case, the Journal predicted.

An editorial the following day expressed alarm at learning that Pope Leo XIII was ill and praised him for his appeal to the Queen Regent on behalf of Evangelina.

Another Decker story about rebel victories appeared in the October 2 Journal. The insurgents reportedly had attacked Santa Maria de Rosario in Havana Province and cut off the railroad supply line to the Spanish garrison there. Decker also told of a flood near Havana killing many peasants. The entire dispatch contained two paragraphs.⁷⁴

Weyler was again the victim of the Journal's editorial vendetta October 3. The article was by far the most caustic attack on his character to date: "He is not a Nineteenth-Century figure at all, but a contemporary of the Spanish conquistadores." It continued:

His are not the methods of the soldier but of a Geronimo. The life of peaceful peasants, the chastity of their women, their little homes, have been sacrificed by him on system [systematically]. Innocence and helplessness make no appeal to his pity. Witness the ruthless and inexpressibly cowardly persecution of the girl Evangelina Cisneros, who, for the offence of repelling a brute in a Spanish officer's uniform, has been immured for upward of a year in the foulest prison of Havana. Even he descended to attempts to blacken her name when he was called to plead at the bar of a civilization which he hates and cannot understand.⁷⁵

A letter from an anonymous Cuban appeared next to the editorial: "It is due to the Journal's efforts that Evangelina Cisneros is not dead or exposed to the bestialities of an African penal settlement."

There was much concern in the Journal at this time over whether Weyler would be ordered out of Cuba. A front-page story October 4 said Dupuy De Lome had advised the Queen Regent that getting Weyler out of Cuba would solve most of the problems on the island. However, it was rumored that De Lome himself might be recalled. An editiroal October 4 accused Weyler of wanting to hold his position out of greed, again referring to the alleged seven million dollars accumulated by him in Cuba.⁷⁶

Decker's final byline before the rescue was yet another report of a rebel victory. On page seven of the October 4 issue of the Journal, he reported that an ambush of a Spanish force crossing the Canasi River had resulted in 100 Spanish casualties. He also reported rumors of a sketch of the rebel victors at Las Tunas "burning, roasting, broiling and eating their male, female and infant victims."⁷⁷ No more news of Evangelina appeared until she had escaped.

An October 5 Journal editorial said: "The Cisneros case will stand long as the crown of Spanish infamy, as the one issue which arrayed all humane and civilized peoples against Spain." Hearst was trying to keep the story in the minds of the public until the rescue was complete.

Another editorial succinctly set forth the credo of yellow journalism:

The Journal holds the theory that a newspaper may fitly render any public service within its power. Acting on this principle, it has fed the hungry, brought criminals to justice and enforced by legal methods the responsibility of public officials. And while these proceedings have not won the approval of contemporaries that preferred to confine themselves to speaking parts, they have been surprisingly popular.

The journalism that does things has come to stay. There is still room for the old journals, however. They can occupy themselves in telling what the new journals are doing.⁷⁸

Perhaps Hearst was preparing his defense well in advance against charges of violating international law which might result from his planned rescue of Evangelina Cisneros.

"Better Days For Cuba" were promised in an editorial page headline on October 6. The recent appointment of Moret y Pendergast as minister of the colonies in Madrid boded more freedom for the island, the article said. This man had abolished slavery on the island earlier in his capacity as minister of foreign affairs.

But more bad news was not far away: an article on page nine of that issue reported that the new Spanish war minister, General Correa, was reluctant to recall Weyler. This was reportedly causing friction between Correa and Pendergast, who wished to see "The Butcher" removed from Cuba.

An article the following day said of Woodford's note to Spain:

It is not an ultimatum, but simply a note couched in very friendly terms and expressing great consideration toward Spain, as is natural and logical, if good relations that have always existed between both countries are taken into account.⁷⁹

However, Spain was to give answer to the American demands by October 25, the article said. After four hours of debate, the Spanish cabinet reportedly decided to continue the war in Cuba, despite Woodford's note.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 2, col. 6.

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- ¹⁷New York Journal, Aug. 19, 1897, p. 1, col. 1.
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- ²⁴Ibid., p. 2, col. 4.
- ²⁵New York Journal, Aug. 22, 1897, p. 1, col. 1.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 1, col. 7.
- ²⁷Ibid., p. 2, col. 1-2.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 2, col. 1.
- ²⁹New York Journal, Aug. 23, 1897, p. 2, col. 3.
- ³⁰New York Journal, Aug. 24, 1897, p. 2, col. 7.
- ³¹New York Journal, Aug. 25, 1897, p. 1, col. 4.
- ³²Ibid., p. 2, col. 6-7.
- ³³New York Journal, Aug. 26, 1897, p. 1, col. 6.
- ³⁴New York Journal, Aug. 27, 1897, p. 1, col. 2.
- ³⁵Ibid..

- ³⁶Ibid., p. 6, col. 1-3.
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CHAPTER III

The Rescue

On the sultry afternoon of Aug. 16, 1897, as William Randolph Hearst sat in the steamy New York heat, public sympathy for Cuba Libre was waning. When it's that hot, it's hard to get people agitated. But Hearst recognized the potential for renewed interest in that cable from Bryson telling of Evangelina's plight.

Hearst reacted enthusiastically and reportedly said:

We can make a national issue of this case. It will do more to open the eyes of the country than a thousand editorials or political speeches. The Spanish minister can attack our correspondents, but we'll see if he can face the women of America when they take up the fight. That girl must be saved if we have to take her out of prison by force or send a steamer to meet the vessel that carries her away--but that would be piracy, wouldn't it?₁

Hearst realized what had to be done. First he set in motion the wheels of the petition to the women of America to mobilize public sympathy. But that alone would not guarantee Evangelina's freedom. About that time word had reached Hearst that the Spanish were bribing the other prisoners in the case and promising

them clemency in exchange for their testimony against Evangelina when the case came to trial.²

"That Weyler would insist upon sentencing the girl to Cueta was known, and that he was powerful enough to succeed was certain,"³ Karl Decker later wrote. Decker claimed his mission was a noble, last-minute effort to save the girl.

Decker was working at the Journal's Washington, D.C., bureau when he was summoned by Hearst on August 24. Hearst reportedly said, "I want you to go to Havana, get this girl out of Recojidas, and send her to the United States." Decker replied: "If you will give me my own time to work in, and leave me absolutely unhampered until I succeed, I will bring Miss Cisneros back with me."⁴

Four days later, on August 28, Decker arrived in Havana armed with a Smith & Wesson .44 revolver, his knowledge of the city and a line of credit from Hearst.

Despite the hyperbole, the description of Decker by Journal reporter Julian Hawthorne in the introduction of the only book written about the incident is the most detailed one available: Decker was characterized as "a young American of the best and oldest strain, with the Constitution in his backbone and the Declaration of Independence in his eyes":

In spite of his quietness and modesty, his face shows boldness to the verge of rashness, and perhaps a little beyond that

verge, upon occasion; but tempered with an abiding sense of humor and sterling common-sense and sanity. Beyond his frank and simple bearing was conveyed the impression that here was one who could keep his own counsel: could hide a purpose in the depths of his soul, as a torpedo is hidden in the sea, and explode it at the proper moment in the vitals of his adversary. He had imagination to conceive, ingenuity to plan, coolness and resolution to carry out, and then--best of all-- that wonderful power of belief in the possibility of the impossible which is the final cause of most of the memorable exploits of men. Of course he had the courage to risk his life--many have that: but to risk it in such a long-drawn, hopeless way! We have to go back to Cushing, Paul Jones and Nelson to parallel that.⁵

Decker was 33. He stood six feet tall and weighed 200 pounds and was reported to be "as straight and lithe as an Indian."⁶ He grew up in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, the son of a Confederate colonel.

Hawthorne's description of Evangelina was also true to the Journal's image of her:

No fairy princess could be more lovely than this fairy-like Cuban maiden; her features have the delicate refinement only given by race; her eyes are liquid darkness, her smile flashes like light, expressions vibrate over her vivid face like the play of colors on the humming-bird; her movements are all grace and charm. She is a heroine worth daring an army of Ogres for, even for her own sake.⁷

Evangelina had been discovered by George Eugene Bryson and George Clarke Musgrave during a visit to the Recojidas. The two correspondents immediately wanted to help free her, and planned to bribe a military judge to

this end. But the judge demanded \$2,000 in gold, which was deemed prohibitive. After Bryson's expulsion from Havana at Weyler's behest, Musgrave abandoned his plan to abduct Evangelina from Recojidas and spirit her from the city concealed in a freight car with the help of a sympathetic engineer on the Matanzas railroad.⁸

When Decker visited Evangelina on his arrival in Havana, he reported, "She had not been tainted or contaminated in any fashion by her loathsome imprisonment."⁹

Decker went about arranging for her escape under the identity of "Charles Duval," the Journal's Cuban correspondent. He spent time socializing with the other members of his profession in the bar at the Inglaterra Hotel and had an office in the Casa Nueva, the same building that housed the U.S. consulate--hardly a clandestine existence. However, he soon found some trustworthy accomplices, with the aid of Consul-General Lee, who lent him two of his aids, Carlos Carbonelle and William MacDonald.¹⁰

The conspirators' first plan was to knock out the guards outside the Recojidas and make "a wild dash for liberty."¹¹ Then they considered dynamiting the wall of Evangelina's cell. A note was smuggled to Evangelina (who was being held "incommunicado" at this time) asking her for suggestions. She wanted to eat away the bars of her cell with acid, drug the guards and her cellmates and climb out the window down a rope.¹²

Decker and his accomplices rented an apartment at No. 1 O'Farrill Street, across the street from the Recojidas. The prison was not fenced or surrounded by land to separate it from the rest of the town, which aided Decker's plan.

Mariano Fernandez, the landlord of No. 1 O'Farrill Street, rented the apartment to the men in a casual way. "The men were well dressed, apparently quite respectable, and were well supplied with money,"¹³ Fernandez told the Havana police after the escape.

The neighborhood of the "prostitutes' prison" assuredly was not the most affluent in Havana. The apartment Decker and his accomplices used to plan and execute the rescue was not plush. "It had been unoccupied for some time, and the stray cats of the neighborhood had made it their home,"¹⁴ Decker later wrote. But there were advantages to this seedy locale, in addition to its proximity to Recojidas. For one, the residents of places like that are seldom on friendly terms with the police and are not inclined to ask questions. Also, that part of town was poorly lit: ". . . except on moonlight nights, O'Farrill Street was dark as the pocket of a winter overcoat,"¹⁵ Decker recalled.

The period between Decker's arrival in Havana on August 28 and the actual rescue October 6 is not well documented. Because Decker sent dispatches to New York regularly, presumably he was spending part of his time

actually doing the work of a correspondent; all that is known is that Decker and his confederates spent the 46 days from his arrival until the rescue planning every detail and awaiting the opportune moment.

Decker made no effort to conceal himself from the Spanish during his stay in Havana. "They searched for us in all the hiding places, and didn't find us, because we were in plain sight,"¹⁶ he later told Julian Hawthorne. "I was giving dinners at the hotel [Inglaterra] before and after the night of the escape. When they resolved to arrest me because of the fact that the Journal was the first to get the news had made them suspicious--they kept a strict watch on all the foreign steamers, but never thought of watching the Spanish one that I actually came on." In fact, the boat Decker took to New York was a cruiser in the Spanish naval reserve.¹⁷ Decker also told Hawthorne in that same interview that he thought the Spanish to be "very stupid."

It was reported in the October 10 Journal that Evangelina used candy laced with sedatives to lull her cellmates to sleep. No mention of the drugged sweets was made in the book published about the incident soon afterward, written by her and Decker. However, it is documented that she put the drug laudanum in the coffee of her cellmates. She had feigned a toothache to get the drug from the prison dentist for this purpose.¹⁸

The rescue was cut short on the first attempt October 5, the evening before the actual escape. Decker and his accomplices used a ladder carelessly left behind by a workman to get from the roof of No. 1 O'Farrill Street to the roof of Recojidas. Decker then stole up to the window of Evangelina's cell and filed at the bar for two and a half hours while she watched to make sure her cellmates did not awaken. A piece of the cornice of the Recojidas's roof came loose and fell to the street, startling a guard and nearly waking one of Evangelina's cellmates.¹⁹

Decker and his confederates crouched low in the moonlight and drew their revolvers. In the street below, Recojidas warden Don Jose Quintana poked his sleepy head out to see what the commotion was about. The three men on the roof were prepared to shoot to kill, Decker later wrote. But soon the silence of the tropical night returned and the three departed to finish their work the next night.

The next day Decker prepared coded messages to be sent to New York after the escape and took a long bath because of the stiffness in his limbs "from the climbing and clambering of the night before, and from lying on the cold stone floor of the hut in O'Farrill Street."²⁰ After dinner that evening he got a large and a small Stillson wrench and his revolver and went back to No. 1 O'Farrill Street to meet with his accomplices.

"By the time I reached the street I felt like a walking arsenal and hardware store combined,"²¹ Decker recalled.

At 8 p.m. he met MacDonald and Carbonelle at their O'Farrill Street apartment. The three gave the appearance of innocence. MacDonald went as far as to invite Don Jose, the warden, to go drinking with them sometime. "Night was still, hot and oppressive," Decker recalled. It had looked like rain earlier, but now the full moon shone brightly through a cloudless sky, which was not the best of circumstances for a jailbreak. The three played poker for matches to pass the time until their neighbors had retired for the night.²²

When at last it was time to take to the rooftops, there was a cheerful sign: Evangelina had tied a white handkerchief to the half-sawn bar of her cell window as a sign to her rescuers that their work of the previous night had not been discovered. Still, Decker recalled that the three were wary of an ambush, despite the pre-arranged signal.²³

The sight of Decker's returning to finish the job of sawing through the bars of her cell window reportedly made Evangelina so excited that she gave little cries of delight and babbled blessings on them in Spanish until MacDonald bade her to silence.²⁴

Decker used the Stillson wrenches to break the bar and then to bend it out of the way. He then lifted the girl out of the window and set her down on the roof. She had forgotten her shoes and her rescuers had to hush her and assure her that she would be able to get others, once she was safely out of the prison. This must have been a scene the rescuers remembered for a long time for its comedy: Evangelina burst into "a joyous carol of freedom,"²⁵ and Decker clamped one of his hands over her mouth to stifle her as he carried her to the ladder that led from the roof of the Recojidas to the roof of No. 1 O'Farrill Street and freedom. In the confusion of the moment, one of the conspirators left a loaded .44 pistol on the rooftop of the jail for the Spanish police to find the next day.

It was later revealed that the guards had been bribed with Hearst money and were ignoring the buffoonery on the roof.²⁶

A carriage waiting outside No. 1 O'Farrill Street spirited Evangelina away to a "safehouse" owned by Carbonelle in a better quarter of Havana. She remained in hiding for three days while Weyler's men made a house-to-house search of the city for her.²⁷ Meanwhile, Decker was being shadowed by a pair of Spanish detectives because of the Journal's bold announcement of its rescue of Evangelina. He took care to stay clear of the safehouse to protect her.

Passage to New York was booked for Evangelina aboard the American steamer Seneca. She was provided with a bogus passport with the name "Juana Sola," and disguised as an 18-year-old professional seaman. Her costume comprised a blue serge suit, a butterfly necktie and a large slouch hat. Her hair was plastered down with pomade and trimmed short at the sides to fit under the hat.²⁸

Decker and his accomplices shadowed her at a distance on her short walk between the safehouse and the Seneca, watching for Spanish spies. Her hat reportedly was blown off by a gust of wind when she stepped out of the house-- "For a moment our hearts ceased to beat,"²⁹ Decker wrote. "Every man gripped his gun and waited."

Evangelina was given a big cigar with a picture of Weyler on the band to complete her disguise. The smoke from it was so thick that it hid her face from the customs officials, but Evangelina later told the Journal:

That cigar was almost as bad as the prison. They did not come near [to] killing me in Recojidas than that cigar did on the steamer. The whole world swam around me. The boat seemed to rise toward me. The water was yellow and the sky was black. Ay di mi, how can men smoke them?³⁰

Once aboard the Seneca, a sailor ushered Evangelina to a cabin where she hid herself under a lower berth and fell asleep. An hour later she was awakened by a friend whom she never identified and got cleaned up. The following day she donned the red dress she had worn while

escaping from Recojidas and was warmly received by her fellow passengers up on deck.³¹

Once Evangelina was safely on her way out of Havana, Decker and his accomplices proceeded to drink in celebration. The next morning he awoke to find that there was a warrant out for his arrest, so he cut the revelry short and, incognito, boarded the Spanish steamer Panama for New York.³²

The photograph below, titled "Rescuer and Rescued," is taken from The Story of Evangelina Cisneros, Told by Herself: Her Rescue by Karl Decker, the only book about the incident, which was published in 1897.



RESCUER AND RESCUED.

The Press Takes Over

The news of Evangelina's escape appeared on the front page of the October 8 Journal. The story was not detailed: it was reported that her absence had been discovered at rollcall on the morning after the escape and that the bars of her cell window were found sawn in half and bent out. A three-column-by-six-inch picture of her cellblock in Recojidas accompanied the story.

A large portrait of Evangelina with this outline dominated the front page of the October 9 Journal: "Despite Weyler's spies, the guards in the streets and the cordon about the city, her friends brought her safely out of Havana."

"The rescue of Evangelina Cossio y Cisneros from Recojidas prison was an incredibly daring piece of work," the Journal proclaimed. Weyler was reportedly in an "impotent rage" and was expected to take it out on Evangelina's father and former fiance, who were still imprisoned.

Details of the rescue equipment and the act itself were reported on the same front page. The other papers with correspondents in Havana did not have this information yet. (Small wonder the Spanish suspected Hearst of being behind the rescue.) A paragraph at the end of the

story mysteriously hinted at further details: "The Journal expects to lay before its readers Sunday morning the full details of the escape of Miss Cisneros."³³

The front page of the October 9 New York Times had a short, understated story on the rescue under the headline "Miss Cisneros Had Help." The staid Times was not going to be dragged along on the path of yellow journalism.

The London Times gave the story even less play than that. In a two-inch article October 9 it merely stated the facts that her cell window had been sprung and that she was missing.³⁴ This was the only mention of the rescue printed in that paper.

News of Evangelina's escape didn't reach readers of the Missoulian until October 13. This is all that appeared: "Senorita Cossio y Cisneros, who escaped from a Cuban jail, is now in New York City, it is claimed."³⁵

The Journal ended an October 9 editorial titled "Out of Weyler's Clutches" with these pious words:

Let it be hoped that ere this poor girl is forever out of the clutches of the monster Weyler and well on her way to the United States, here to live in security until her countrymen in arms have achieved independence and made of Cuba a land in which womanhood is respected.³⁶

The entire front page of the October 10 Journal was devoted to news of the rescue. A five-inch-high banner headline boasted of the Journal's feat and was the first time Hearst had publicly taken credit for the rescue:

Evangelina Cisneros Rescued by the Journal:
 An American Newspaper Accomplishes at a single
 Stroke What the Red Tape of Diplomacy Failed
 Utterly to Bring About in Several Months.

Three portraits of Evangelina also appeared on that front page. Two compare her appearance before and after her 16 months of incarceration in Recojidas. The third was captioned "The Rescued Martyr in Prison Garb."

However, Decker's alias, "Charles Duval," was still being used as the byline above the story to protect him in case he had not gotten out of Havana yet. Decker told his own story:

The Journal, finding that all other methods were unavailing, decided to secure her liberation through force, and this, as the specially selected commissioner of the Journal, I have succeeded in doing.

I have broken the bars of Recojidas and set free the beautiful captive of monster Weyler, restoring her to her friends and relatives, and doing by strength, skill and strategy what could not be accomplished by petition and urgent request of the Pope.

Weyler could not blind the Queen to real character of Evangelina, but he could not build a jail that would hold against Journal enterprise when properly set to work.

To-night all Havana rings with the story. It is the one topic of conversation: everything else pales into insignificance. No one remembers that there has been a change in the ministry. What matter if Weyler is to go?

A plot has been hatched right in the heart of Havana, a desperate plot, as shown by the revolver found on the roof of the house through which its escape was effected, and as the result of this plot, put into effect under the very nose of Spanish guards, Evangelina is free. How was it done? How could it have been done?

These are questions asked to-night by the frequenters of the cafes, small bodegas, boticas and barberias throughout the city where the Habaneros congregate. It is conceded by all, by the officials of the palace included, to be the most daring coup in the history of the war, and the very audacity of the deed is paralyzing.

No one knows where Evangelina Cisneros is now and no one can know. To the story of the escape, briefly, I came here three weeks ago, having been told by the editor of the Journal to go to Cuba and rescue from her prison Miss Cisneros, the niece of the former President of the Cuban Republic, a tenderly reared girl, descended from one of the best families of the island, and herself a martyr to the unsatisfied desires of a beast in Spanish uniform.³⁷

Decker gave pseudonyms for the two accomplices, "Joseph Hernandon" and "Harrison Mallory," because to reveal their true identities would have complicated the diplomatic side of the incident greatly. Decker also wrote that an "old negress" had smuggled the notes in to Evangelina in Recojidas.

An editorial on page six further praised the Journal's efforts:

Evangelina Cisneros is free. The Journal has taken her from the Casa Recojidas and carried her beyond the reach of her vindictive enemies. But the guilt of Berriz remains the same, and while he is unpunished the infamy is Spain's.³⁸

Secretary of State John Sherman was quoted in the October 11 Journal as saying "Everyone would sympathize with the Journal's enterprise in releasing Miss Cisneros." President McKinley added that Sherman's words "correctly voiced the unofficial sentiment of the administration."

Letters of congratulation from President Grant's widow, the wife of Secretary of State Sherman, Mrs. Carlisle, the wife of Illinois Senator William Mason and papal envoy Monseignor Martinelli were on that same front page.

The Journal's coverage of the Cisneros case took over the first four pages of the October 11 issue: the all-time high in coverage of the case was on October 17, when the paper gave it 1,232 column-inches. In all, the Journal devoted 375 columns to the incident before it was done. The New York Times devoted 10 columns: the New York Tribune, three and a half: the New York Sun, one: the New York World, 12 and a half: and the New York Herald, one.³⁹

The second page of the October 11 issue had six letters from governors congratulating the Journal. Montana Governor Robert B. Smith wrote: "Considering the cause for imprisonment and the fate that ultimately awaited Evangelina Cisneros, I believe that her liberation in most any way was justifiable."

The editors of the Chicago Times-Herald, Washington Post, Chicago News, Galveston-Dallas News, New York Evening Star, and Brooklyn Times had all sent letters of commendation to the Journal which were printed on the same page. Melville E. Stone, head of the Associated Press, wrote:

I hold that a newspaper should make news, not merely report and chronicle passing events. It is within the legitimate province of a modern newspaper to do things as well as to tell of others doing them.⁴⁰

Angus McSween of the Baltimore Sun wrote of "Duval":
"As I know him well, I am not surprised at his success."
Perhaps McSween knew "Duval" was really Decker, who had
formerly worked for the Journal's Washington, D.C.,
bureau.

Page three had a drawing of the window of Evangelina's
cell, with the center bar broken and bent. Other drawings
on the page showed Recojidas guards and a view of No. 1
O'Farrill Street. Decker's story of the previous day
(under the fictitious "Duval" byline) was also reprinted.
Correspondent Murat Halstead wrote in praise of Decker:

But we have to go back to the hairbreadth
escape of Mary Queen of Scots to find anything
like a parallel to the work of the heroes of
the Journal.

The newspaper man is trained on the ragged
edges of tragedies and lives dramas--writing
of realities that exceed in dramatic action
anything that has been put on the stage is a
daily duty of men of the press.⁴¹

Excerpts from articles in other New York City dailies
appeared on page four under the headline "What Our Con-
temporaries Don't Know About Miss Cisneros' Rescue."
The Herald wasn't sure whether the rescuers were Cuban
or American; the Times translated Casa de Recojidas to be
"House of Scrapings"; and the Tribune, World, Press and
Times all had reprinted a sketchy re-write of the account
the Journal had run the day before. This unfavorable
comparison must have infuriated Pulitzer.

News of the Journal's rescue had reached Washington, D.C., and the Journal reported "Everybody in the national capital concedes the rescue was a marvelous feat."⁴²

Journal correspondent Ralph Paine apparently had reached rebel General Maximo Gomez with the jeweled sword Hearst had sent: a dispatch from Gomez also appeared on the page, along with his congratulations on the rescue and his gratitude for the gift of the ornate weapon.

An editorial on page six set a pattern of self-congratulation that was to continue for some time in the Journal. The headline read: "The Journal's Rescue of Evangelina Cisneros." Most of the article justified the Journal's actions, pausing now and then to call Berriz "a bestial coward in a soldier's uniform." An excerpt:

The Journal is quite aware of the rank illegality of its action. It knows very well that the whole proceeding is lawlessly out of time with the prosaic and commercial 19th Century. We shall not be surprised at international complications, nor at solemn rebuking assurances that the age of knight errantry is past. To that it can be answered that if innocent maidens are still imprisoned by tyrants, the knight errant is yet needed.⁴³

At this time a daily feature of the Journal's editorial page was letters to the editor, under the standing headline "Editorials by the People." They always supported the Journal's editorial stance:

Surely journalism has reached the height of power when it can stir a reigning Pope to write a reigning Queen, set the wheels of a foreign government in motion and then boldly invade a garrisoned city, literally break the bars of a Spanish prison and restore a persecuted child of liberty to freedom.⁴⁴

Another eagle and more flags festooned the banner headline on the front page October 12: "International Complications May Result from the Cisneros Rescue," the headline admitted. Weyler had discovered the Journal's plot from a cable sent him by De Lome. The article reported that all the houses of Havana were being searched by Weyler's troops, "from the brothels on Azuacara Street to a convent on the outskirts of the city."⁴⁵

Former Senator James B. Eustis, an expert on international law and former member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was quoted as stating that for Spain to demand the extradition of Evangelina would be cowardly.

Secretary of War Elihu Root was quoted as saying that since the Spanish had not officially recognized the war in Cuba, they could therefore not demand Evangelina's return as a prisoner of war.

Although former Treasury Secretary John G. Carlisle stated the affair would ruin relations with Spain, the Journal reported that Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee "laughed at the very suggestion of trouble."⁴⁶

The October 12 editorial page was eloquent in its jingoism. This editorial was spread across the first three columns:

BEYOND WEYLER'S REACH

Evangelina Cisneros is free. She has been snatched from the bloody grip of Weyler, and his arm, long as it is, can never reach

her again. She is safe at this moment under the American flag, whose folds will protect her until Cuba becomes again a land in which patriotism in men and virtue in women cease to be crimes.

The Journal violated Spanish law in breaking into the foul jail of the Recojidas and helping the martyr prisoner out. It is happy in the knowledge. It would like to violate some more Spanish laws of the same sort. When right and wrong are turned upside down, when devilish ferocity and bestial lust are entrenched in power and innocence is under the ban of outlawry, there is a savage satisfaction in striking a smashing blow at a legal system that has become an organized crime. Spanish martial law in Cuba is not, thank God, the law of the United States. Weyler's bayonet writs do not run beyond one marine league of his desolated coasts.⁴⁷

On the subject of Carlisle and his fears, the Journal editorial continued:

Is there a war in Cuba, then and are 18-year-old girls the combatants? The world is quite acquainted with Weyler's predilection for fighting women and children, but it has not been aware hitherto that these formidable enemies of the Butcher of Havana have an international status as belligerents.

Next to the editorial were plaudits from the Buffalo Times, Columbus Dispatch, Brooklyn Standard-Union, New York Mail & Express, New Orleans Times-Democrat, Cleveland Leader, Pittsburgh Post and Boston Traveller.

Pages eight and nine also were devoted to the case. Eight four-by-six-inch drawings spanned the top of the two pages. Together with their captions, the pictures told the story of Evangelina's incarceration and rescue.

The captions:

The Baffling of Colonel Berriz: Pursuit of the Exiles: Capture of Evangelina: The Martyr in Recojidas: Berriz's Proposal in Jail: Drugging Cellmates with Candy: Escaping over the Roof, and The Wild Drive to Liberty.

Below these pictures were plaudits from a variety of people--Treasury Secretary Lyman J. Gage, a doctor, a shipyard worker ("bluejacket"), a woman who signed "One of the Motherhood," and Mrs. James Campbell of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

More letters from American women lauded the Journal's "chivalry." General Julio Sanguilly of the New York-based Cuban Junta wrote a letter glowing with praise:

The Journal's achievement in rescuing Miss Cisneros is the greatest happening in the history of journalism and fully worthy of New York's greatest paper. It is the most daring and the nerviest thing of the century, and I can scarcely find words to express my appreciation of the Journal's efforts in behalf of Cuba. Those who know Havana will realize the tremendous undertaking of the Journal's representative there. His task was herculean and dangerous, to say the least, and required the greatest nerve and level-headedness.⁴⁸

Sanguilly added that he had been a prisoner in Recojidas. In closing, he said that nothing seemed impossible for the Journal to accomplish.

The first three pages of the October 13 issue of the Journal were devoted to the Cisneros case. The front page told of McKinley and his Cabinet meeting to discuss the case, and a drawing of the scene was included. A letter of congratulations from McKinley's mother was

also on the page, along with a sketch of her.

"It was Journal day at the White House today," the article boasted. The rescue was reportedly "the first and most important topic at the Cabinet meeting." McKinley is quoted on the rescue:

It was a most heroic deed. I think we all have a natural pride in that young American who risked his life to get that girl out of prison. General Lee has showed me her photograph, and spoke in the highest terms of her character and disposition. I never saw a sweeter or more beautiful face.⁴⁹

Twin banner headlines spanned pages two and three: "Praise for the Journal from every Section of This Country" and "Europe Stirred over the Thrilling Rescue of Miss Cisneros."

Letters of commendation from Clara Barton and other American women filled the first two columns of page two. Columns three, four and five comprised letters from governors and senators. "West Virginia manhood always honors patriotism, and the persecution of a helpless woman is abhorrent to them," wrote West Virginia Governor George W. Atkinson.

Governor John W. Leedy of Kansas wrote: "I hope newspaper enterprise will continue to rescue those in trouble."

Governor Reinhold Sadier of Nevada added: "Why don't [sic] the Journal send 500 reporters to Cuba, with instructions to free the island?"⁵⁰

Page three featured plaudits from editors and clergy of Europe. An amusing piece was reprinted from the London Evening News:

NEWS POET AT WORK

"I burst her prison bars!" he cried;
 "I slew her gaolers where they stood;
 "I waded through a sea of blood,
 "Until I gained the damsel's side.
 "I raised her fair, unconscious form,
 "And swift my beauteous burden bore
 "To where, upon the surf-beat shore
 "My gallant bark rode on the storm.⁵¹

T. A. Cudlipp, chief editor of the London Morning Leader, wrote: "The daring way those Journal reporters effected her release stirs every drop of blood in my veins."

Paris boulevardiers were said to be enthralled with the romance of the rescue: "The French government takes the side of the Spanish Administration, but all the best instincts of the people are on the side of the Cubans."⁵²

Emmet R. Olcott, a reputed expert on international law, was quoted as saying that "neither Miss Cisneros nor her rescuers have aught to fear as to extradition by the United States Government."⁵³

The lead editorial on page eight further sets forth the credo of the "new journalism":

THE JOURNALISM THAT DOES THINGS.

Action--that is the distinguishing mark of the new journalism. It represents the final stage in the evolution of the modern newspaper. The newspaper of a century ago printed essays; those of 30 years ago--the "New Journals" of their day--told the news,

and some of them made great efforts to get it first. The new journalism of today prints the news, too, but it does more. It does not wait for things to turn up. It turns them up. 54

The remainder of the editorial congratulated the Journal for helping oust a bad naval inspector and for discovering that semaphore flags can be read at great distances in the dark if illuminated. It also mentions the Journal's gifts to New York's poor at Christmas and its assistance to victims of a recent fire on 35th Street. The East River murder (or Guldensuppe murder), which was solved by Journal reporters, was also touted.

Decker and Evangelina in New York

Evangelina's arrival in New York dominated the first three pages of the October 14 Journal. The article told of her escape disguised as "Juana Sola," an 18-year-old male. A caption across the bottom of the page said "The Heroine of Recojidas in her new home at the Waldorf." Hearst was sparing no expense in welcoming her to the United States.

A banner headline spanned the top of pages two and three: "Miss Cisneros' Father Weeps for Joy at his Daughter's Rescue, While Weyler, Baffled, Fumes in Hopeless Rage." An 11-by-12-inch drawing on page two showed Evangelina coming down the gangplank of the Seneca on her arrival:

The October wind in New York Bay is none too mild ordinarily, but yesterday even the weather seemed anxious to give her gentle welcome, and the breeze that lifted [her] curls was warm and balmy as her own Cuban zephyrs.⁵⁵

Evangelina told a Journal reporter that her rescue was "a happy, happy dream." She reported that after the Journal first printed news of her plight her captors treated her better. She and the other "decent women" were all moved to a separate section of the prison.⁵⁶

An eight-by-15-inch drawing of Evangelina wearing the red dress she had worn during the escape dominated page three. An advance notice of the welcome celebration scheduled for Saturday was also printed. It would begin with a private, invitation-only dinner party at Delmonico's, followed by a gala party in Madison Square. RSVP responses of prominent New Yorkers invited to the dinner at Delmonico's were also printed here.

A small article on page four said that Spanish Premier Sagasta would not pursue the matter of the escape. Hearst's plan had worked; Evangelina was safe in New York and there would be no messy international complications.

The editorial page featured a new headline that was to become familiar to Journal readers for a while: "The Journal's Motto: While Others Talk the Journal Acts." The "Others" in question were undoubtedly employees of Pulitzer. The lead editorial was an appeal to New Yorkers to turn out in force to welcome Evangelina Saturday night.

Sixteen editorials from other papers filled columns five and six of the editorial page. The Worcester (Mass.) Spy said: "Her escape seems to have been a happy solution of a very annoying problem."⁵⁷

All the editorials lauded the Journal's motives for the rescue, except one from the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, which was buried at the bottom of the last column: "If a Spanish newspaper should fit out an expedition and rescue a prisoner from a United States prison, how would the Journal like it?"

A review of "For Liberty and Love," a melodrama centered on a Cuban heroine who worked for the rebels, appeared in column seven. The lead role of "Carlotta Casanova" was played by Miss Lillian Lewis. Reviewer Alan Dale disliked her performance because of her habit of contorting her neck into "My Gawd" attitudes.

Pages eight and nine of the October 14 Journal were also dedicated to the rescue with these banner headlines across the top and bottom of both pages (respectively): "The Country Applauds the Journal's Rescue" and "Miss Cisneros in the Boy's Disguise Which Enabled Her to Pass Detectives."

An eight-by-24-inch drawing of Evangelina disguised as a merchant marine ran across the fold of the two pages. Most of the rest of both pages was occupied with detailed drawings of the men's clothing.

Reporter Clara Foltz declared that the rescue "shows that even in this time of lust for gold men are still good and brave, that their hearts are still human and healthy, and the fires of chivalry still burn with undiminished flame."⁵⁸

Plaudits from various society matrons and governors filled the rest of the pages. These letters of commendation were becoming so numerous that they were beginning to all sound alike. However, some were amusing.

A banner headline on the front page of the October 15 Journal reported that "Karl Decker ("Charles Duval"), who Rescued Miss Cisneros, is Here." All of page one and two were devoted to the rescue and the rescuer.

A 16-by-12-inch portrait of Decker dominated the front page. The caption revealed his special qualifications: "It needed just such a man to thus blend fox with lion for the perilous work of the Cisneros escape." (Indeed, the Journal was lionizing its correspondent.)

News of the rescue reportedly "caused great satisfaction in the Vatican, and there is much admiration expressed there for the part the Journal has taken in setting the young Cuban free."⁵⁹

Reporter Julian Hawthorne wrote of Decker's homecoming. This was their first meeting--Hawthorne was one of a party of newsmen awaiting Decker's arrival at dockside in New York.

Hawthorne wrote of Decker's handshake: "He gave us a grip in return which showed that he was the man to break prison bars at night." Decker carried a parcel with "30 or 40 stupendous black cigars, each with a belt round it on which was stamped the visage of General Weyler and his name."⁶⁰

Page two was dominated by an 11-by-13-inch drawing of Decker and Evangelina shaking hands at the Waldorf. A banner headline: "How Miss Cisneros Spent Yesterday; What She Will Do To-Morrow."

Reporter Emma Kemp wrote that Evangelina received many boxes of new clothing, which she was overjoyed with. Evangelina had made a vow in prison never to fall in love again, because of her disappointment with her former fiance, Betancourt: she was now reportedly planning to become a nun or an English teacher. (The latter would seem quite an undertaking, for she spoke little English on her arrival.)⁶¹

An editorial on page six honored Decker as "The Hero of Recojidas."

Thirteen editorials from other papers congratulating the Journal filled the page. The Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette spoke for its colleagues in saying of the rescue: "It contributes a dashing chapter to modern knight-errantry."⁶²

As usual, there was a single negative comment, this time from the Burlington (New York) Free Press: "Few Americans will commend the discretion exhibited by our zealous contemporary." This was positioned in the customary spot, buried at the bottom of column six.

An advertisement at the bottom of page nine promised "The Tragic Story of Miss Cisneros' Life" in the next Sunday Journal. This same ad also ran on page six of the next day's Journal. Other sensational fare promised in the Sunday issue included "A Modern Bluebeard in Real Life" and "The Tower of Babel Rebuilt."

The front page of the October 14 New York Times featured a 17-inch article about the rescue. Although its prose was not as florid as the Journal's, it did describe her disguise and the escape in great detail.⁶³

The October 14 Missoulian also ran the story of the rescue under the headline "She Wore Pants." It lauded the Journal: "Miss Cisneros' escape and safe arrival on the Seneca was one of the most daring feats ever attempted and successfully carried out."⁶⁴

The first two pages of the October 16 Journal were devoted to the rescue. The front-page banner headline: "To-Night Comes the Journal's Great Reception to Miss Cisneros." A large drawing depicted the receiving stand in Madison Square where she would appear before cheering throngs that evening. A copy of the engraved invitation

Hearst had sent to the guests at the Delmonico's dinner also was printed here.

Evangelina had applied for U.S. citizenship on October 15.⁶⁵ A drawing on the Journal's front page shows her holding a Bible in one hand with the other hand over her heart. "Miss Cisneros Renounces Allegiance to Spain," the caption said. A copy of her certificate of naturalization appeared on page two, along with a three-column story relating the details of her visit to the Naturalization Bureau. Evangelina was caught up in the thrill of becoming an American citizen. But it would be five years before she could become a full-fledged citizen.

Hearst gave thousands of column-inches to describing the details of the reception he was preparing. The descriptions began on October 16, the day before the event, and continued for three days.

Another article on the front page October 16 reported two pretty Cuban girls arrested in Havana for conspiracy against the Spanish government. "More Work for Decker," the headline said. But Decker had had enough of heroics, and chose to remain in the United States with his wife.

Decker's first byline since he returned from the rescue appeared in columns six and seven of that page. All of the accounts of the rescue printed in the Journal under either his byline or Evangelina's were later incorporated into a book on the incident.

A page-two article described Decker as "a naturally retiring fellow" who greatly admired Evangelina's pluck. "She had her wits about her always and she took instructions as literally as a Dutch policeman,"⁶⁶ Decker said. (Perhaps he had forgotten her over-zealous "carol of freedom" on the night of the rescue which prompted him to physically stifle her, or the time her hat blew off en route to the Seneca.)

Page three told of the speeches praising the Journal and the courage of the Cuban girl by prominent politicians scheduled for that night.

An editorial on page eight said the reception for Evangelina would "have a very happy effect upon our relations with Spain."⁶⁷ It went on to call De Lome "the diplomatic blackguard who has done Weyler's dirty work in Washington." The editorial claimed that he was responsible for distributing leaflets defaming Evangelina.

Plaudits from 18 more newspapers and magazines filled the remainder of page eight. The Bridgeport (Conn.) Post wrote: "Probably [the rescue] has been the most important journalistic enterprise ever undertaken and it shows the best side of the new journalism."⁶⁸

The Missoulian added its voice to those praising the rescue in a two-inch story:

Carl [sic] Decker, a reporter for the New York Journal, is the man who released Miss Cisneros from a Cuban prison. She did

a gallant thing, though perhaps a foolish one. If Mr. Decker have reportorial luck he will be fired for allowing another paper to scoop him on a two-line item.⁶⁹

As promised, the first three pages of the "Popular Periodical" section October 17 were devoted to the story of Evangelina's life, emphasizing the period after her father's imprisonment on the Isle of Pines. Since her English was faltering and limited at best, the story was written through an interpreter. Sketches showed her personal effects and toilet articles in her cell at Recojidas and the broken bar on her cell window. The narrative portion of this article is contained in the book published soon afterward.

Fourteen drawings, each four-by-eight inches, accompanied the text on pages two and three. Their captions helped narrate the highlights of the story.

The entire first three pages of the Oct. 17, 1897, Journal are occupied with news of the reception the previous night in honor of Evangelina. The whole front page is a drawing of the crowd scene, with the caption: "In Madison Square a Mighty Throng Voices the Nation's Welcome to Miss Cisneros and her Rescuers." In all the coverage of the triumphant return, there was no mention of the two accomplices, Carbonelle and MacDonald. One can assume they also slipped out of Havana after the rescue, but their arrival in New York was either ignored by the press or hushed up by the government.

Decker spoke to the crowd in Madison Square:

It makes me proud to feel that I have won such distinction, and yet I have only done what I would do one thousand times over were I assigned to the work by the Journal.⁷⁰

The crowd reportedly cheered him for ten minutes when he rose to speak.

An article on the reception on page three had Decker grown to "six feet two of brawn and muscle."

Evangelina expounded on patriotism in her speech:

The ovation to-night was like an ovation to a queen. I have been treated this way ever since I landed in America. Truly this is the land of the brave, and the women were so beautiful and so kind. They all treated me as though they were my sisters.

Is it a wonder that I love everything American? I can only say "God Bless America."⁷¹

The October 17 New York Times ran a 17-inch story about the reception. However, most of the praise and glorification of Evangelina and Decker were absent and it was covered more as an event.⁷² An editorial on page 12 of the Times quoted Lee as saying that Weyler had given him his word that Evangelina would be released. The Times called the Journal's feat "a remarkable case of unobstructed rescue," referring to the ease with which the escape was carried off.

News of the death of New York Sun editor Charles A. Dana displaced the Cisneros case on the front page of the October 18 Journal. A recapitulation of the reception

was on page five, next to a story about a fight between a pit bull and a horse on Broadway. A spectator drew a pistol and shot at the bulldog in the excitement.

An editorial on page six said that the huge turnout at the reception was proof of the American people's support of the cause of Cuba Libre. Letters of praise from 13 readers and Alabama Governor Joseph F. Johnston filled the rest of the page.

By October 19, the Journal decreased the coverage of the Cisneros case to a single column on page six. That article was an account of the applause she received while dining at the Waldorf Hotel.

The editorial page of the October 20 Journal displayed 12 more editorials praising the Journal's rescue from other newspapers.

The October 21 Journal featured 14 more editorials. One from the Butte Miner:

The modern journalism has done much toward exposing corruption in high places, righting wrongs, hunting down murderers, unravelling mysteries, etc., but all other feats have been eclipsed by that of the Journal-Examiner correspondent, or rather agent, sent to Havana for the express purpose of securing the freedom of Miss Evangelina Cisneros. The feat may be decried as not being within the province of a newspaper nor within the legitimate field of journalism. But if the stories sent out from Havana as to the young woman's treatment there be half true, the people will [condone] any method employed to secure her freedom. 73

An article on page fourteen of the October 21 Journal by correspondent George Clarke Musgrave told of rejoicing in Havana and in the rebel camps at the news of the rescue. "Even the most loyal Spanish ladies have openly applauded the daring act which is causing their lords and masters pangs of rage and bitterness,"⁷⁴ he wrote.

Page six of the October 22 Journal featured 18 more plaudits from the editorial pages of other publications. The Pawtucket (R. I.) Tribune called the feat "the most daring bit of newspaper reporting on record. Yellow journalism has a good deal of red, white and blue in it."⁷⁵

"The American Press Rings with Praise for the Cisneros Rescue," claimed a headline over 20 more plaudits on page six of the October 23 Journal. "It seems that there are no bounds to the enterprise of journalism in these days,"⁷⁶ the Birmingham (Alabama) Herald wrote.

The cover of the weekly "American Woman's Home Journal" section of the October 24 Journal featured a photograph of Evangelina and a large drawing of Joan of Arc in her armor. The caption: "Is the age of chivalry dead, that governments should thus war on women?"

Page three of the section cited three other women as "examples of brutality of government and tyrants." Former Empress Carlotta of Mexico was reported to be wasting away in an insane asylum while her brother "squandered her fortune of ten millions of dollars."

A Mrs. Maybrick was unjustly accused and convicted of murdering her husband in Britain and was reported to be "serving a life sentence because the British government [would] not admit it has made a mistake." The wife of Guatemalan insurgent leader Morales had reportedly been imprisoned by her husband's rival, a man who reportedly had been a friend of their family before the revolution.

The "Popular Periodical" section of the same issue also carried news of the rescue. A banner headline spanned pages 24 and 25: "Karl Decker Tells Just How He Rescued Miss Cisneros for the Journal." These two pages were taken up with sketches of Evangelina being lifted out of the cell window by Decker and the equipment used in the escape. All of this material was included in the book published that same year.

A four-inch banner headline on the first page of the October 24 Journal reported that more than 100,000 residents of Washington, D.C., turned out to cheer Evangelina and Decker when Mrs. John A. Logan took them to meet with President McKinley. Decker told the crowd: "Ex-Secretary [of Treasury John G.] Carlisle says that if Spain wants her we must surrender her. If Spain wants her, let Spain come and take her!"⁷⁷ The roar of the crowd after that last remark was reportedly loud enough to be heard at the White House, more than a mile away, where McKinley waited to see the Journal's heroes.

The following two pages and an editorial on page 54 were all about the visit to Washington. "She [Evangelina] is a daughter of America now," the editorial claimed, "and America is proud of the acquisition."

News of the rescue was absent from the Journal until a brief story appeared October 27 concerning a banquet held in Decker's honor in Washington, D.C.. More than a hundred of his fellow journalists gathered at the Hotel Raleigh to toast him. The article was mostly a list of those who attended.

The front page and editorial page of the Journal was usually full of jingoistic war news at this time. Spain was reported to be busy building warships,⁷⁸ getting loans and contracting for ammunition.⁷⁹ Spain was generally characterized as lacking the power to be a serious threat to the Cubans, let alone the United States Army.⁸⁰

ENDNOTES

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²Evangelina Cossio y Cisneros and Karl Decker, The Story of Evangelina Cisneros, Told by Herself: Her Rescue by Karl Decker, (New York: Continental Publishing Co., 1897), pp. 54-55.

³Ibid., p. 61.

⁴Ibid., p. 62.

⁵Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁶New York Journal, Oct. 15, 1897, p. 1.

⁷Cisneros, p. 26.

⁸Charles H. Brown, The Correspondents' War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), pp. 96-97.

⁹Cisneros, p. 65.

¹⁰New York Journal, Oct. 10, 1897, p. 1, col. 1.

¹¹Cisneros, p. 71.

¹²Ibid., p. 73.

¹³New York Journal, Oct. 9, 1897, p. 4, col. 3.

¹⁴Ibid..

¹⁵Ibid., p. 4, col. 4.

- ¹⁶New York Journal, Oct. 15, 1897, p. 1, col. 3-4.
- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 6, col. 2.
- ¹⁸Cisneros, pp. 199-203.
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 82.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 84.
- ²¹Ibid., p. 85.
- ²²Ibid., pp. 86-87.
- ²³Ibid., p. 96.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 99.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 101.
- ²⁶W. A. Swanberg, Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 125.
- ²⁷Cisneros, p. 107.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 207.
- ²⁹Ibid., p. 108.
- ³⁰New York Journal, Oct. 14, 1897, p. 1, col. 2.
- ³¹Cisneros, p. 211.
- ³²Ibid., p. 117.
- ³³New York Journal, Oct. 9, 1897. p. 4, col. 4.
- ³⁴London Times, Oct. 9, 1897, p. 7, col. 2.

- ³⁵Missoulian, Oct. 13, 1897, p. 4, col. 2.
- ³⁶New York Journal, Oct. 9, 1897, p. 8, col. 1.
- ³⁷New York Journal, Oct. 10, 1897, p. 1.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 6, col. 2.
- ³⁹Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media, third edition, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 366.
- ⁴⁰New York Journal, Oct. 11, 1897, p. 2, col. 3.
- ⁴¹Ibid., p. 3, col. 6.
- ⁴²Ibid., p. 4, col. 2.
- ⁴³Ibid., p. 6, col. 1.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 6, col. 3.
- ⁴⁵New York Journal, Oct. 12, 1897, p. 1, col. 1.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 1, col. 6.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., p. 6, col. 1.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 9.
- ⁴⁹New York Journal, Oct. 13, 1897, p. 2, col. 3.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 2, col. 6-7.
- ⁵¹Ibid., p. 3, col. 1-2.
- ⁵²Ibid..
- ⁵³Ibid., p. 3, col. 6.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., p. 8.

- ⁵⁵New York Journal, Oct. 14, 1897, p. 2, col. 1.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., p. 2, col. 2-3.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 6, col. 6.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., p. 8, col. 1-2.
- ⁵⁹New York Journal, Oct. 15, 1897, p. 1, col. 1-2.
- ⁶⁰Ibid..
- ⁶¹Ibid., p. 2, col. 1-6.
- ⁶²Ibid., p. 6, col. 6.
- ⁶³New York Times, Oct. 14, 1897, p. 1, col. 4.
- ⁶⁴Missoulian, Oct. 14, 1897, p. 1, col. 5.
- ⁶⁵Cisneros, p. 225.
- ⁶⁶New York Journal, Oct. 16, 1897, p. 2, col. 2.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., p. 8, col. 2.
- ⁶⁸Ibid..
- ⁶⁹Missoulian, Oct. 16, 1897, p. 2, col. 3.
- ⁷⁰New York Journal, Oct. 17, 1897, p. 2.
- ⁷¹Ibid., p. 3, col. 1.
- ⁷²New York Times, Oct. 17, 1897, p. 4, col. 3.
- ⁷³New York Journal, Oct. 21, 1897, p. 6, col. 4.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., p. 14, col. 1.
- ⁷⁵New York Journal, Oct. 22, 1897, p. 1, col. 1-2.

- ⁷⁶New York Journal, Oct. 23, 1897, p. 6, col. 4.
- ⁷⁷New York Journal, Oct. 24, 1897, p. 1, col. 1.
- ⁷⁸New York Journal, Oct. 27, 1897, p. 1, col. 1-2.
- ⁷⁹New York Journal, Oct. 28, 1897, p. 1.
- ⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 8, col. 2.

SUMMARY

The morality of Hearst's actions in the Cisneros case is not on trial here. If it was, Hearst's best defense would be this quote from correspondent Creelman's memoirs: "Surely, if it be right for a newspaper to urge others to act in any given direction, it is also right for the newspaper itself to act."¹

The "new journalism" of Hearst and Pulitzer was symptomatic of the era. The growth of trusts in industry, the genesis of the women's rights movement and what author Henry Steele Commager termed "the standardization, democratization and vulgarization of culture"² were creeping into journalism. In a way, the rescue was the last hurrah of old fashioned chivalry.

Rising costs of operation due to advances in technology were forcing newspapers to increase circulation, and one way to achieve this was through sensationalism. Author Edwin Emery blames Pulitzer for starting the trend, or "opening [the] Pandora's Box"³ of yellow journalism in his early efforts to boost the World's circulation. Pulitzer set a precedent, but Hearst was to go him one better in rescuing Evangelina Cisneros.

Hearst and his colleagues in yellow journalism did indeed cultivate public opinion on the matter of the Spanish-American War. But their seed fell on fertile ground: "Manifest Destiny" was not a recent invention. Americans were accustomed to forcing their democratic way of life upon the world since the days of "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!"⁴

Theodore Roosevelt was one of the legion of sons of Civil War veterans who were eager to prove their generation to be as gallant as their predecessors on the battlefield. Years later, he apologized for the jingoism of 1898: "It wasn't much of a war, but it was the best war we had."⁵

The United States also had a powerful navy in 1898. Emery writes: "The newspapers advocating intervention in Cuba were, in many cases, simply reflecting a desire to flex the nation's new muscles."⁶

Hearst also seized the opportunity to mobilize the nascent force of American womanhood. His reporters enlisted the support of prominent women of the United States and Britain, and encouraged 15,000 to sign the Journal's petition to the Queen Regent of Spain in Evangelina's behalf. Julia Ward Howe and several female clergy wrote to Pope Leo XIII on behalf of the Cuban girl, too.

After Evangelina was safely in New York, letters of congratulation poured into the Journal from Secretary of State John Sherman, the Bishop of London, Clara Barton,

Henry George and other luminaries. This confirmed the public sympathy on behalf of Evangelina and the cause of Cuba Libre in general. Even the indecisive President McKinley received Evangelina at the White House, in front of cheering throngs, and called the rescue "a most heroic deed."⁷

The Spanish Government in Cuba had been sucking the economic lifeblood out of its subjects in the form of abusive taxation. This was a scenario that Americans could relate to the days of their own revolution in 1776. Cubans were routinely arrested for no reason and "shot while trying to escape."⁸ The church, the courts and the law were all corrupt and inefficient in Cuba.

Captain-General Valeriano Weyler, whom the press had nicknamed "the Butcher" early-on, was doing his best to live up to his monicker. Half of the estimated 101,000 people of Havana Province held in his "reconcentration camps" on the coast were killed by the end of 1897.⁹

"Without Hearst Cuba might still be under the heel of Spain,"¹⁰ Mrs. Fremont Older wrote in her biography of Hearst. She added:

The wrongs of Evangelina Cisneros, her rescue, her beauty, the publicity given her life by Hearst, stirred the American people and quickened the war spirit in the United States. Americans realized that intervention was inevitable.¹¹

Frank Luther Mott expressed the thoughts of many of his fellow historians:

The "ifs" of history are usually more amusing than profitable, but there seems to be great probability in the frequently reiterated statement that if Hearst had not challenged Pulitzer to a circulation contest at the time of the Cuban insurrection, there would have been no Spanish-American War. Certainly the most powerful and persistent jingo propaganda ever carried on by newspapers was led by the New York Journal and World in 1896-98, and the result was an irresistible popular fervor for war which at length overcame the unwillingness of President McKinley and even swept blindly over the last-minute capitulation by Spain on all the points at issue.¹²

Swanberg wrote that while the Cisneros rescue alone was not impetus enough to draw the United States into a war with Spain, it did:

Create an impression of "Spanish brutality" in the minds of Americans.

Pointed to weaknesses in the McKinley administration that allowed Hearst's breach of international law to go unpunished.

Aroused hatred of Americans among Spaniards.¹³

The story of Evangelina Cisneros' plight and rescue fit well with the Journal's popular pro-war campaign. Once the petition drive was launched, the Associated Press carried the story to the far corners of America. The whole nation became outraged.

The Journal's coverage of the rescue of Evangelina Cisneros stirred public sympathy in the United States and made the atmosphere ripe for the country to push the vacillating President and Congress into the war with Spain after the destruction of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor the following February. Without the attention given to the rescue of Miss Cisneros, the country would not have been as emotionally prepared to go to war.

ENDNOTES

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²Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 69.

³Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media, third edition, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 350.

⁴Ibid., pp. 360-361.

⁵Ibid., p. 363.

⁶Ibid..

⁷New York Journal & Advertiser, Oct. 13, 1897.

⁸Commager, p. 420.

⁹Ibid., p. 421.

¹⁰Mrs. Fremont Older, William Randolph Hearst: American, (New York: D. Appelton-Century Co., 1936), p. 183.

¹¹Ibid., p. 180.

¹²Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History: 1690-1960, third edition, (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1962), p. 527. See also Creelman, pp. 174-176; Winkler, p. 146; Wilkerson, p. 132; and Wisan, p. 5.

¹³William A. Swanberg, Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 129.

APPENDIX A

The text of the famous telegram sent by Theodore Roosevelt to Commodore Dewey appears in Millis' book, The Martial Spirit, p. 112:

Secret and confidential. Order the squadron, except for Monocacy, to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war [with] Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands. Keep Olympia until further orders.

While engineering the takeover of the Philippines fits consistently with Roosevelt's "Rough Rider" image, he was not the actual progenitor of the scheme. Perhaps he was just carrying out orders from Naval Secretary John D. Long. However, most historians credit Roosevelt's actions on that frenzied afternoon in February of 1898 with the acquisition of the Philippines.

APPENDIX B

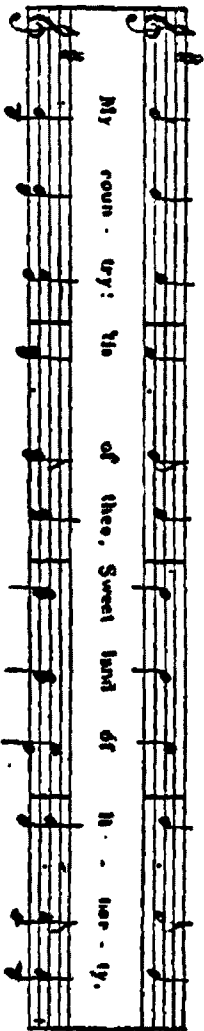
The cartoons reproduced on this and the two following pages are from Cartoons of the Spanish-American War, published in 1898. This venerable old volume listed no author or editor. It also lacked page numbers. But its collection of newspaper cartoons from American and foreign papers is priceless since the original newspapers and even the microfilms of the originals are badly damaged by age.



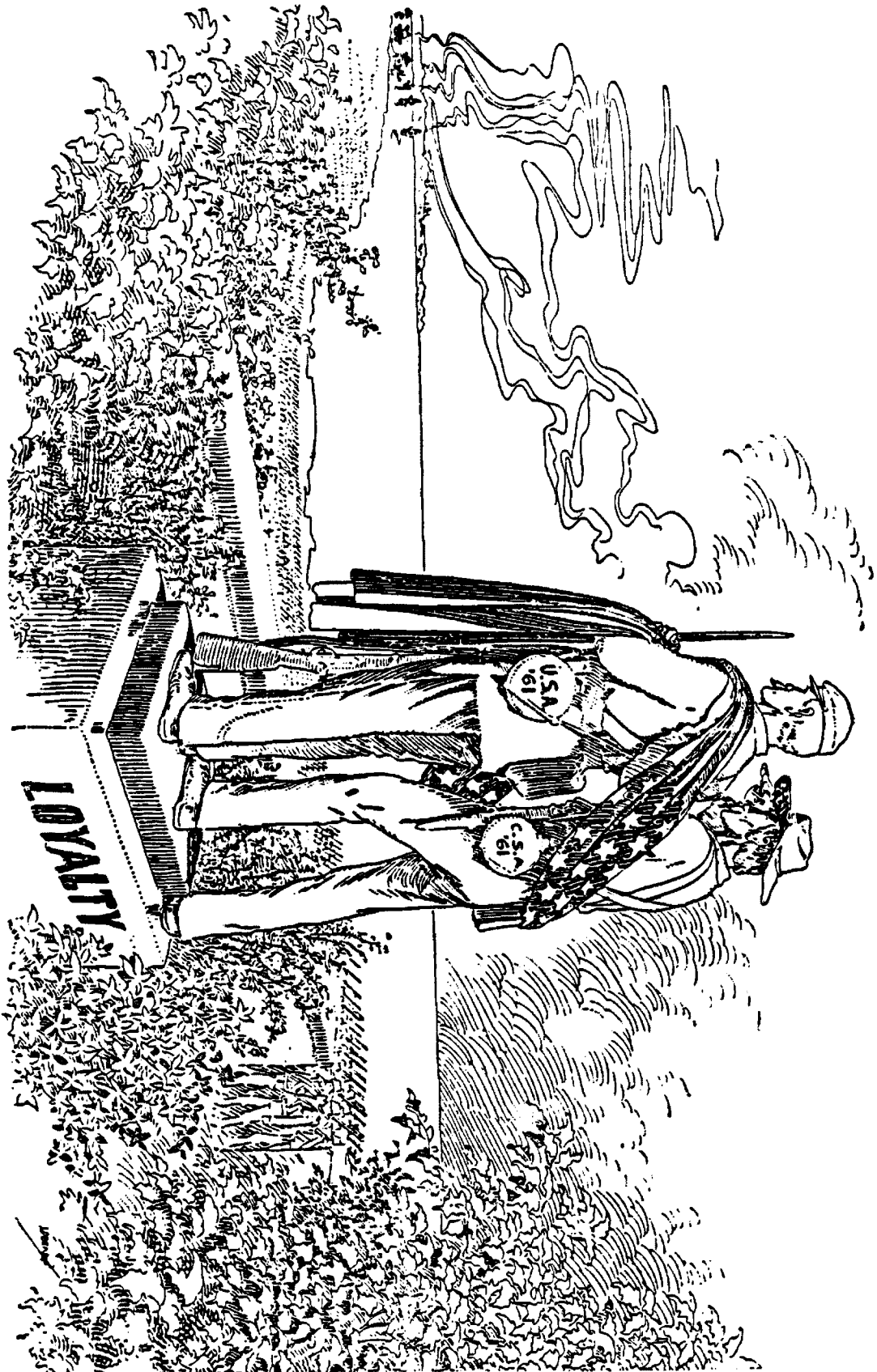
If the war brings nothing else, for this we are thankful.
—New York Herald



“NOW, THEN, ALL TOGETHER” SING!



Singing school at the little red schoolhouse.—Chicago Tribune.



MEMORIAL DAY, 1898.

One decoration will do for both this year.—Chicago *Mirror* (reem).

APPENDIX C

The following editorial by E.L. Godkin, editor of the New York Evening Post, appeared in the Nation, March 3, 1898. (From Wilkerson, pp. 123-124.):

Certainly if ever the ministry feels itself called upon to withstand the active powers of darkness, the need of opposing and exposing the diabolical newspapers which are trying to lie the country into war must be obvious. The trouble is that the lying is so devilish that it perverts even words of truth and soberness that any sane and honest man may speak. It seems impossible to give the lie to these venal and unspeakable sheets in so explicit endorsement. Luckily the lying has been done on such a monstrous scale that nothing these papers say is now credited by any rational man without independent confirmation. A long course of lies, which, like the father that begets them are gross as a mountain, open, palpable, is at last working out the natural result of breeding universal distrust of anything seen in print. But the liars go jauntily on to the lake of fire prepared for them.

Nothing could be more curious than the contrast between the wild aspect of the first pages of our penny dreadfuls and the calm demeanor of the persons who are seen reading them. If half of what the "scare" headlines reveal were true, the first impulse of the reader would be to remove his family to a place of safety, dispose of his property as best he could, and make arrangements to leave the country. A few years ago the mere sight of a newspaper got up in this extraordinary style, with headlines in bill poster type reaching quite across the page, would have started a panic. People would have

inferred that nothing less than a most dangerous condition of affairs could have led the editor to such unusual demonstrations of alarm. Now they are read with entire passivity, even although they declare war to be imminent, and indicate that a majority of the American people including those of them who are in power, are either lunatics or maniacs. The new journalism has been steadily raising the tone of its yelling till it has reached the highest limit possible. The louder it shrieks, the less attention is paid to it. What would remain for it to do in case of real danger, or a real war, it is difficult to imagine. The resources of type have been exhausted. Nothing in the way of larger letters can be used, unless only a single headline is to be given on the first page. Red ink has been resorted to as an additional element of attraction and terror, and if we had a war, the whole paper might be printed in red, white, and blue. In that case, real instead of imitation lunatics should be employed as editors, and contributors.

APPENDIX D

Here is more of Creelman's account of his interview with Spanish Prime Minister Castillo. Castillo was assassinated and the more liberal Sagasta regime took over, right before the United States entered the war. Castillo said:

Spain will make no concession until the insurrection in Cuba has been brought under control, and until we can give, of our own free will, what we refuse to allow any one to take, either by armed insurrection or by treasonable intrigue with other nations. Independent Cuba would mean a government dominated by negroes; not such negroes as are to be found in the United States, but African negroes, African in every sense. Independent Cuba would mean civil war between whites and blacks; it would mean fifty years of anarchy; it would mean the destruction of the island and its commerce. Such a republic would be a menace to the United States If the United States forces war upon Spain, we are ready to defend ourselves, but we are determined that Spain shall be the nation attacked, and not herself the aggressor.

APPENDIX E

This appendix contains examples of the livid prose which eventually led Weyler to expel Creelman, Scovel and other war correspondents. The first article is one of Scovel's which appeared in the June 3, 1896, New York World (taken from Wilkerson, p. 34):

"I'll make you," said the Spaniard, and he proceeded to tear off her clothing. He then questioned her anew and receiving no answer from the woman who was crying hysterically unsheathed his sword and fell to cutting and slashing his victim, until her blood covered the floor and she fainted in a corner. Her shrieks and entreaties only served to provoke the brutal laughter of the soldiery. . . . With a convulsive movement the woman tried to shield her child with her own body, but the merciless bullets did their work. . . . The baby was not killed outright and one of the soldiers, moved by a sort of barbarous pity, crushed the little one's skull with the butt of his rifle. . . . A score of machetes flashed and in a few moments the prisoners were a mass of blood and rags. A drunken fancy seized the murderers. Cutting off the heads of their victims, they hung them to the key of the grocer's door, while the horror-stricken neighbors looked on without daring to interfere. Only under cover of night were the ghastly remains removed and buried.

This drawing of Sylvester Scovel appeared in the Feb. 7, 1897, New York World, with the announcement of his capture by the Spanish. This incident infuriated Hearst by stealing, if only for the moment, "his" war from him.

Scovel and his Hearst-supported counterparts, Richard Harding Davis and James Creelman most notably, were dashing young men who, if they had not been in the newspaper business, would have ridden with Roosevelt's Rough Riders. (Picture taken from Brown, p. 369.)



The sordid details of this article, written by Creelman for the World, helped to raise the tide of public opinion against the Spanish among American newspaper readers. If one can believe all the gruesome reports of Creelman and his colleagues, then the Spanish were deserving of hatred. (Taken from Wilkerson, pp. 33-34):

The skulls of all were split to pieces down to the eyes. Some of these were gouged out. All the bodies had been stabbed by sword bayonets and hacked by sabres until I could not count the cuts; they were indistinguishable. The bodies had almost lost semblance of human form. The arms and legs of one had been dismembered and laced into a rude attempt at a Cuban five-pointed star, and were satirically placed on the mangled forehead of a ghastly likeness of a horn. Fingers and toes were missing. All the bodies were further mutilated and again arranged in a manner so indescribably repulsive as to prevent description. Two of the mouths were split back to the angle of the jaw, so as to give an untellably ghostly grin to each mangled face. And the ears were all missing. These could not be found and I was forced to the conviction of what I had often heard but never believed, that the Spanish soldiers habitually cut off the ears of the Cuban dead and retain them as trophies. Our Indians were more cleanly than this.

This account of Creelman's being wounded is from pages 196-212 of his On The Great Highway:

Someone knelt on the grass beside me and put his hand on my fevered head. Opening my eyes, I saw Mr. Hearst, the proprietor of the New York Journal, a straw hat with a bright ribbon on his head, a revolver at his belt, and a pencil and notebook in his hands. The man who had provoked the war had come to see the result with his own eyes and, finding one of his correspondents prostrate, was doing the work himself. Slowly he took down my story of the fight. Again and again the tinging of Mauser bullets interrupted. But he seemed unmoved. The battle had to be reported somehow.

"I'm sorry you're hurt, but"--his face was radiant with enthusiasm--"wasn't it a splendid fight? We must beat every paper in the world," Hearst said.

APPENDIX F

This appendix contains part of Hearst's personal account of the "capture" of the Spanish cruiser Vizcaya, after it was destroyed in combat by the U.S.S. Oregon, by the crew of one of his press boats. This illustrates Hearst's zeal and his willingness to do just about anything to get the news of the war in Cuba before his competitors.

The poor Vizcaya: sent on a goodwill mission to New York, it was hounded in the harbor by Journal reporters. It ended up being sunk in a war that the Journal helped to foster. And, as a sort of final insult to the vessel, Hearst personally captured the 29 remaining members of its crew (From Coblentz, pp. 64-67):

The Viscaya [sic], the Spanish flagship, was already on the rocks. She was on fire. Her crew was jumping overboard and swimming for the shore. Some of them got there--not many.

As we followed the fighting fleets disappearing in the distance, we saw other Spanish ships beached and burning and many Spanish dead with lifebelts floating in the water.

On the next day we returned to the Viscaya [sic]. The fire had burned out. A gutted iron hulk was all that remained of the proud ship.

We lowered a launch and went aboard.

The cartridges were still popping occasionally on the hot decks like delayed Fourth of July firecrackers.

Some arms, a sextant and various articles of metal lay undestroyed, but warped and twisted beneath our feet.

One half-molten heap of silver money showed where some poor Spaniard had started to save his pay and then decided to save his life instead.

We gathered some of these objects as souvenirs and then dropped into our launch and headed for our steamer.

Suddenly the Dixie, a revenue cutter, appeared upon the scene.

They spied us. They lowered a boat and started after us.

We hustled for our floating home.

The Dixie's boat followed. Marines swarmed up our gangplank.

"What were you doing on that ship?" said the officer in charge.

"Just looking about, sir, at the results of the battle," said your columnist meekly.

"Can't you mind your own business?" said the officer.

"Not very well, sir, and be good newspapermen," we replied with returning confidence.

"Oh! You are newspapermen," said the officer.

"Well, just remember that you are civilians, and if you mix in this war you are very likely to be shot by one side or the other, or both."

"Yes, sir," said we, "some of us have been; but we can't help it and do our job."

The officer looked at us rather hopelessly and said:

"Well, anyway, I have warned you." Then he went down the gangplank.

We moved our steamer in toward the shore.

There was a crowd of half-dressed Spaniards assembled on the beach.

Looking through our binoculars, there seemed to be a score or more of them--survivors of the sea.

"Let's go ashore and take them prisoner," said your columnist.

"Did you hear what that officer said about getting shot?" protested the captain of our craft.

"These poor fellows have nothing to shoot anybody with," said we.

"Well, the fellows on the Dixie have," persisted the captain.

We looked at the Dixie. She was filling a boat with lifebelted marines.

"If we wanted to take these prisoners we would have to be quick about it."

We lowered a boat and pulled for the shore. The surf was breaking heavily in long lines. "Kick off your shoes, boys--we are likely to have to swim for it," said the writer, as he stood up in the stern and steered with an oar.

The Dixie's boat was just ahead of us. A big comber picked it up and turned it upside down.

The occupants were bobbing about in the foam. But we--fools for luck, you know--got safely through, and took prisoners.

The writer should make this a heroic incident, but it was not.

The poor Spanish sailormen--battered and bruised, half clothed, half drowned, half starved--were only too happy to be taken prisoners.

They helped us launch the boat back through the surf, and after several trips we got them all aboard our steamer.

There were twenty-nine of them.

We gave them food and drink and clothes.

The Dixie boat crew meanwhile righted their boat, bailed it out, and went back to their cutter.

Lieutenant Blue was in charge.

Later he was reported to have said that there was no use bothering with a lot of lunatics.

It is not likely that he referred to the prisoners.

After we had gotten our prisoners we did not know what to do with them.

After the fleet returned from its great battle, we drew up alongside the Oregon, which had made the historic trip around the Horn.

Bluff old Captain Clark was in command. He was on the bridge.

We shouted at him through a megaphone:

"We have twenty-nine Spanish prisoners on board. What will we do with them?"

"Keep 'em," said the bluff Captain. "You took 'em. You can take care of 'em."

"But Captain," we pleaded, "think of the glory."

"Think of the yellow fever," said the Captain.

We did think of it and that did not increase our desire to retain the prisoners.

None of the battleships seemed to want our prisoners.

They probably have plenty of their own.
Finally, we encountered the Harvard, a converted cruiser. We proposed to surrender our prizes.

"Are they all in good condition?" came the query.

"They are," said we.

"Bring them aboard, then," was the reply.

We lowered the launches and filled them.

Your columnist delivered the prisoners to an officer named Catlin on board the Harvard.

We knew that no one would ever believe that we had taken twenty-nine Spanish prisoners.

So we demanded a receipt.

We got it--signed, sealed and delivered:

"Received of W. R. Hearst twenty-nine Spanish prisoners."

We have it framed.

APPENDIX G

The following is taken from James Creelman's book On The Great Highway, pages 181-183. It is the most concise narrative I have found concerning the Journal's petition and contains the appeals written by Mrs. Jefferson Davis and Julia Ward Howe in Evangelina's behalf:

The petition to the Queen Regent was telegraphed to more than two hundred correspondents in various American cities and towns. Each correspondent was instructed to hire a carriage and employ whatever assistance he needed, get the signatures of prominent women of the place, and telegraph them to New York as quickly as possible. Within twenty-four hours the vast agencies of "yellow journalism" were at work in two hemispheres for the sake of the helpless girl prisoner. Thousands of telegrams poured into the Journal office. Mrs. Jefferson Davis, the widow of the Confederate President, wrote this appeal, which the Journal promptly cabled to the summer home of the Queen Regent at San Sebastian:

To Her Majesty, Maria Christina,
Queen Regent of Spain:

Dear Madam: In common with many of my countrywomen I have been much moved by the accounts of the arrest and trial of Senorita Evangelina Cisneros. Of course, at this great distance, I am ignorant of the full particulars of her case. But I do know that she is young, defenceless, and in sore straits. However, all the world is familiar with the shining deeds of the first lady of Spain, who has so splendidly illustrated the virtues which exalt wife and mother, and who has added to these the wisdom of a statesman and the patience and fortitude of a saint.

To you I appeal to extend your powerful protection over this poor captive girl--a child almost in years--to save her from a fate worse than death. I am sure your kind heart does not prompt you to vengeance, even though the provocation has been great. I entreat you to give her to the women of America, to live among us in peace.

We will become sureties that her life in [the] future will one long thank-offering for your clemency.

Do not, dear Madam, refuse this boon to us, and we will always pray for the prosperity of the young King, your son, and for that of his wise and self-abnegating mother.

Your admiring and respecting petitioner,
VIRGINIA JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Then Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," wrote this appeal to the Pope, which the Journal cabled to the Vatican:

To His Holiness, Leo XIII:

To you, as the head of Catholic Christendom, we appeal for aid in behalf of Evangelina Cisneros, a young lady of Cuba, one of whose near relatives is concerned in the present war, in which she herself has taken no part. She has been arrested, tried by court martial, and is in danger of suffering a sentence more cruel than death--that of twenty years of exile and imprisonment in the Spanish penal colony of Cueta, in Africa, where no woman has ever been sent, and where, besides enduring every hardship and indignity, she would have for her companions the lowest criminals and outcasts.

We implore you, Holy Father, to emulate the action of that Providence which interests itself in the fall of a sparrow. A single word from you will surely induce the Spanish Government to abstain from this act of military vengeance, which would greatly discredit it in the eyes of the civilized world.

We devoutly hope that your wisdom will see fit to utter this word, and to make not us alone, but humanity, your debtors.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

APPENDIX H

Here are two representative appeals on behalf of Evangelina Cisneros from the Journal. The first, from the Women's National Cuban League, appeared on pages one and three Aug. 20, 1897:

Thrilled with horror at the awful fate which awaits Evangelina Betancourt Cisneros at the hands of Spain, the Women's National Cuban League appeals to the President, the Cabinet, to the first women in our land and to all mothers and daughters to cry aloud for the freedom of this tender girl.

We call upon the young men of the country to arise and prevent this outrage upon Christianity and decency. We call upon all fathers of virtuous daughters to interfere.

We join our petition to that of Julia Ward Howe to implore the Chief of the Church of Rome to use his power to induce Christian Spain to set this pure and lovely maiden free.

In the name of the Almighty Father and His Divine Son, in the name of the Sacred Motherhood of the Virgin of Judes, we ask of the public, the press, all good people, public and private, to aid us in fighting this great wrong. We are sick with horror that such a thing could be in this century and on American ground.

In the majesty of motherhood, we say that Evangelina Betancourt Cisneros shall be free if the power, the pleas and the wit of American women can compass it.

And we pray unceasingly to the Great and Most Merciful God to avert this terrible calamity from one of the sweetest, bravest, purest and most innocent of her race and sex.

The second appeal is the petition circulated in London, which is more lengthy and verbose than the Journal's American petition. It was printed on page six of the Aug. 28, 1897, Journal, across columns three and four in a fancy box:

We, the undersigned Englishwomen, humbly petition Your Most Gracious Majesty on behalf of Evangelina Cossio Cisneros, upon whom we learn that a sentence of twenty years' penal servitude may be passed by Your Majesty's Captain-General in Cuba. We would add our prayers to those which have already reached you that you will graciously exercise your royal power to mitigate the sentence. We would recall to your mind the extreme youth and inexperience of this unhappy girl: We would venture to remind Your Majesty that such a sentence carried out on a young lady of culture and refinement means her utter ruin, physically, socially and morally. We do not believe that Your Majesty's clemency will be misplaced in serving this girl, only 18 years of age, from such a fate. We ask you, gracious lady, to consider favorably our petition, which is entirely unbiased by any political considerations; and your petitioners will ever pray.

APPENDIX I

This editorial appeared across the first three columns of page six of the Aug. 27, 1897, Journal:

DE LOME'S DEFENCE AND CONFESSION

The De Lome defence is in truth a blasting confession. In pleading not guilty for Spain to the charges of sentencing Miss Cisneros after trial to 20 years of Cueta he pleads guilty to the 13 months' imprisonment without a trial, of a pure and educated young girl in the prostitutes' jail of Havana!

In hope of withdrawing the sympathy of American women from the tortured Evangelina Cisneros, he assails her character. But again he proves too much and makes confession.

No blackguard ever went at a dirty task with greater apparent zest. De Lome is a man of intelligence, aware of the existence of the sentiment of chivalry among gentlemen, and his diplomatic career has cultivated in him deftness and cunning. When a Spaniard possessed of these exceptional qualifications for concealing the truth and making the worse appear the better cause can offer a plea in defense so little likely to carry conviction as that which he presents in his base and calumnious communication to Mrs. Davis, it can hardly be expected that Spain will be able to find a more capable attorney. Minister De Lome's attempt at justification in effect makes these admissions:

1. That Evangelina Cisneros is a virtuous girl, contrary to the expectations of the military commander of the Isle of Pines.
2. That she has been imprisoned without a trial in a jail for abandoned women, the companionship

- of such outcasts forced daily and nightly upon her.
3. That but for the Journal's exertions in her behalf the world would have heard nothing of the sufferings of this victim of the brute Weyler's tyranny and cruelty.

The only answer that Spain can make to the Journal's exposure of the bestial persecution of this girl which will meet the imperious demand of the civilized world is to open the doors of the Casa de Recojidas and set Evangelina Cisneros free. The Journal has saved her from Cueta, but it is still the damnable fact that she, a young woman, innocent, cultivated and sensitive, is herded with the offscourings of Havana's streets. Only a Weyler or a De Lome can think it possible to veil that hideous fact with Spanish lies.

This is the remainder of the article reprinted from the Washington Star in the Journal, Aug. 28, 1897, on page six, column five:

The most favorable aspect of the situation, from the Spanish point of view, justifies the outcry for the extension of consideration to the unhappy girl. It is perfectly apparent that the Governor of the Isle of Pines, who charges that he was "lured" by the prisoner that he might be assassinated, was himself guilty of a gross offence against her, and the suspicion is reasonable that much of the conspiracy story has been manufactured to conceal his wrongdoing.

There is enough evident equity in her case to warrant the presentation to the Queen of a powerful plea for her pardon, and apparently the movement in her behalf has attained such proportions and includes such a weight of influence that the petition will be seriously considered.

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