

## PERSHING IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

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LIEUTENANT John J. Pershing was somewhat displeased when he joined his regiment, the 10th Cavalry, at Chickamauga Park, Georgia, May 5, 1898. He was going to be in the war, and that pleased him. But he was going as a first lieutenant, and it seemed that he ought to do better than that. Promotions are made during wartime. Should this chance pass, no telling when another would come. He was almost forty years old and still only a lieutenant.

During May he sent off a spate of letters, applying for a vacancy in a Montana regiment, for a lieutenant colonelcy in the Adjutant General Department, for a colonelcy in the Nebraska volunteers, for a captaincy in one of the immune regiments, and for other positions.<sup>1</sup>

When the answers came back, they were always the same: "We [have] already united upon [someone else] for the place." "The number of such places . . . is quite limited, and the pressure for them is something tremendous." "I am sorry to discourage you about promotion. . . ." "The outlook is not encouraging. . . . The President is so overwhelmed with more important matters. . . ." "None of us here who are Republicans dare move very openly for you. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Wallace D. Dickinson to Pershing, May 7 and 19, 1898; George D. Meiklejohn to Pershing, May 24, 1898; J. H. Harley to Pershing, June 3, 1898; Charles G. Dawes to Pershing, June 2, 1898, Gen. Nelson A. Miles to Pershing, June 4, 1898—all in Box 316, Pershing Papers, Library of Congress. The Pershing Papers and their box numbers will be cited thus: PP 316.

<sup>2</sup> Lee Mantle to W. D. Dickinson, May 16, 1898; Meiklejohn to Pershing, May 24, 1898; H. S. Harwood to Pershing, May 25, 1898; Dawes to Pershing, June 2,

Pershing went off to war as a first lieutenant.

He was regimental quartermaster of the Tenth Cavalry and quartermaster affairs were a mess. Although the regiment was about to leave for Cuba, little had been done to equip it. Working far into the night, Pershing embarked on a crash program: issuing clothing, obtaining supplies, training drivers and mules. When the time came to leave he was still not ready. To make matters worse, on the way from the camp to the railroad station, horses ran away, wagons overturned, and regimental property scattered all along the route.<sup>3</sup>

At Tampa, Florida the embarkation point, affairs were hardly much better. "Little short of chaotic," was Pershing's way of describing it. The freight yard was jammed with railroad cars and no one had any idea what was in them or to whom it belonged; quartermasters had to go from car to car, break open their contents, and find supplies as best they could.<sup>4</sup>

On June 14, 1898 the expedition left for Cuba.<sup>5</sup> It had been ready on June 8, and

1898; Harwood to Pershing, June 3, 1898—all in PP 316.

<sup>3</sup> Pershing, "Autobiography," ch. vii, pp. 7-8, PP 380. The "Autobiography" will be cited thus: PA.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. Leonard Wood summed up Tampa in three words: "Confusion. Confusion. Confusion." Hermann Hagedorn, *Leonard Wood: A Biography* (New York, 1931), I, 155.

<sup>5</sup> For details on the embarkation and the trip see Herschel V. Cashin *et al.*, *Under Fire with the Tenth U.S. Cavalry* (New York, 1899), pp. 67-79, and Herbert H. Sargent, *The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba* (Chicago, 1907), II, 1-24. J. F. C. Fuller has a clear, concise account of the whole Santiago campaign in his *Decisive Battles of the U.S.A.* (New York, 1953), pp. 333-62. A longer, more recent account is Frank Friedel's *The Splendid Little War* (Boston, 1958).

again on June 10, but was twice delayed by a rumor that two Spanish warships had escaped Admiral Sampson's blockade and been seen near Nicolas Channel, through which the expedition would pass. By June 14 the rumor was definitely disproved. So after two false starts (each with much hoopla), the expedition sailed away unceremoniously. The only ones to see it off were three Negro women, three soldiers, and the stevedores on the dock.<sup>6</sup>

The expedition comprised some 16,000 men on thirty-two troop ships, guarded by a fourteen-warship escort. It was scattered over seven miles of sea in the three uneven columns.

The trip over was without incident. The men lounged about the decks, smoking, singing, and discussing the future,<sup>7</sup>

They were not impressed much with their commanding general, William Shafter, a fleshy old man weighing over three hundred pounds and too ill to perform his duties. Their choice would have been General Nelson A. Miles, then Commanding General of the Army. But Miles might emerge from the war a political rival of the administration; there was no such danger with Shafter.<sup>8</sup>

Nor were the men on Pershing's ship, the "Leona," impressed with their captain. They were not sailors, but it seemed to them that their vessel should not be sailing in as many circles as it did. "If I had been in command I should have put him in irons," Pershing said of the captain.<sup>9</sup>

By dawn of the third day the captain had succeeded in completely losing the convoy. Not a ship was in sight. There was little dan-

ger, since the Spanish lacked submarines and their fleet was corked up in Santiago harbor. Nevertheless. General Young, the Brigade commander, lined the upper deck with infantrymen under orders to shoot at any Spanish ship that appeared. To Pershing this seemed a ludicrous precaution.<sup>10</sup>

His diary listed suggestions for improving troop travel: "More air—hammocks for men—cooking arrangements on board should be provided—travel ration unpalatable & stale—more fruit necessary—clothing too hot. Canvas washable caps better than hats. Anxious to see landing facilities—look for a lot of confusion."<sup>11</sup>

It was confused, all right, but not as much as if the Spaniards had resisted the landing. Daiquiri, where the troops disembarked, presented a rugged shore line, backed by a low ridge about 150 feet high rising into the mountains. It was an excellent defensive position, especially if supported by artillery. The Spanish, however, retired without offering opposition.<sup>12</sup>

On June 22, after the Navy had shot up the countryside for an hour or so, preparations began for landing. Each soldier carried three days' field rations of raw bacon,hardtack, and coffee. On his back was strapped his rifle, 100 rounds of ammunition, a blanket roll, a shelter tent, and a poncho. So weighted down, it meant certain death if he fell into the water while boarding the landing craft.

Pershing watched the first boat load up. It was tricky work. The men had to drop ten or fifteen feet into landing craft which were bobbing and weaving in a rolling sea. No accidents occurred then, but two men drowned later when they missed the pier on shore.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (New York, 1898), p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> Davis, pp. 89-90; "An Address on the Campaign of Santiago Delivered on the Occasion of a Patriotic Thanksgiving Service at Hyde Park M. E. Church, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20, 1898, by John J. Pershing," p. 5, PP 369. Cited hereafter as ACS.

<sup>8</sup> PA, ch. vii, pp. 6 and 10, PP 380.

<sup>9</sup> *Pershing Diary*, June 19, 1898, PP 316.

<sup>10</sup> T. G. Steward, *The Colored Regulars in the United States Army* (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 157; PA, ch. vii, p. 11, PP 380.

<sup>11</sup> *Pershing Diary*, June 19, 1898, PP. 316.

<sup>12</sup> PA, ch. vii, p. 12, PP 380; ACS, pp. 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> PA, ch. vii, pp. 12-13, PP 380; Davis, p. 116.

Each landing boat held up to thirty men and was towed by a steam launch in groups of four or five. General Shafter's old regiment, the First Infantry, had the honor of going in first. Near the shore they hopped out and waded through the surf, amid cheers and whistles from the warships. As boatload followed boatload in an unopposed landing, the invasion took on aspects of a beach holiday. Men shouted and laughed as their comrades were drenched by a big wave.<sup>14</sup>

Getting horses and mules ashore was a problem. The method used was to push them overboard and let them swim in. Some, however, frightened and bewildered, swam out to sea despite all efforts to stop them. Later someone thought of tying the animals loosely together and guiding them in behind a boat.<sup>15</sup>

Pershing did not go ashore with his regiment. As quartermaster he stayed with the "Leona" as she went to Aserraderos on the other side of Santiago to pick up General Garcia's insurgent army. They were supposed to number 3,000, but it seemed to Pershing they were not half that. "We brought back 1,000 and a miserable lot they are," said his diary. "In my opinion they will prove of little service to the Americans."

His prediction was right. Rag, tag, and bobtailed, poorly armed and hungry, the insurgents fled at the first sign of danger when the fighting started.<sup>16</sup>

On June 23 the Americans occupied Siboney, another coastal town, and the next day fought a brief encounter at Las Guasimas, on the trail leading to Santiago. The Spanish withdrew and the invaders pushed slowly on.

The American problem now was to get organized, to get supplies off the ships (which tended to run out to sea at the least danger) and up to where they could be used. The roads soon became huge gutters of mud from the rains.<sup>17</sup>

"Everything was in the direst confusion," said Pershing as he watched the unloading at Siboney. "No one seemed to be in command and no one had any control over boats transportation nor anything—and it was only the individual efforts of the officers of the line that order was brought out of chaos, at least a semblance of order."<sup>18</sup>

So exasperating was the mess that grumbling was inevitable. One trooper damned Shafter up and down as a fat old slob who was sitting on his rump in his tent when he should have been on the spot straightening out the supply mess. Pershing listened for a while then told the trooper off:

"Why did you come to this war if you can't stand the gaff? War has always been this way. Did you expect to see the Old Man standing out here with a book in his hand, telling these mule-skinners how to handle their outfits? The fat Old Man you talk about is going to win this campaign. When he does these things will be forgotten. It's the objective that counts, not the incidents."<sup>19</sup>

On June 27 the Spanish began digging rifle pits on the side of San Juan Hill. Strangely, no one made any attempt to stop them or even bother them by lobbing in a few artillery shells.<sup>20</sup>

On June 30 the Tenth Cavalry moved up to El Pozo, one and one half miles east of San Juan Hill. American forces there now consisted of two divisions: Kent's and Wheel-

<sup>14</sup> ACS, pp. 7-8; Davis, pp. 102 and 124.

<sup>15</sup> PA, ch. vii, pp. 12-13, PP 380. For another description of the landing see Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Boston, 1931), pp. 263-68.

<sup>16</sup> PA, ch. vii, p. 13; Pershing *Diary*, June 24, 1898, PP 316; ACS, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Davis, pp. 174-75.

<sup>18</sup> Pershing *Diary*, July 4, 1898, PP 316.

<sup>19</sup> James G. Harbord, *The American Army in France, 1917-1919* (Boston, 1936), pp. 43-44.

<sup>20</sup> Davis, p. 180.

er's. With Grimes' battery, they totaled some 7,000 men.<sup>21</sup>

About 8:00 A.M. on July 1, Grimes opened up on the San Juan blockhouse from 2,500 yards. His fire was ineffective. The distance was great and the heavy black powder used in his guns soon enshrouded them, blocking visibility.

The Spanish immediately returned the fire. Because they used smokeless powder, their gun positions were invisible.

Standing in a group of foreign military attachés and war correspondents, Pershing watched the artillery duel and tried to locate the Spanish guns. A force of Cuban insurgents applauded each American shot, apparently on the theory that what counted was noise, not effectiveness. Suddenly a shot from a Spanish battery crashed near them; they scattered and were not seen again until the battle was over.<sup>22</sup>

About 8:30 A.M. orders came to start down the El Pozo-Santiago road, with Wheeler's division in the lead (Pershing's Tenth Cavalry was part of it) and Kent's following. The road was narrow, tortuous, and flanked by heavy jungle. It funneled the men down the one and one-half miles to San Juan Hill like steers going down a cattle chute.

The sun was hot and the weather close; men began to drop out because of the heat.

<sup>21</sup> PA, ch. viii, p. 1, PP 380.

For other accounts of the battle of San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898, which begins here, see Millis, pp. 269-92 (emphasizing American blundering); Sargent, II, 108-32; Cashin, pp. 84-98; Matthew F. Steele, *American Campaigns* (Washington, 1909), I, 605-608; Private St. Louis (Alfred C. Petty), *Forty Years After* (Boston, 1939), pp. 34-67; Thomas J. Vivian, *The Fall of Santiago* (New York, 1898), pp. 155-82; E. L. N. Glass (comp. and ed.), *The History of the Tenth Cavalry, 1866-1921* (n.p., 1921), pp. 33-34; William A. Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army* (2d ed. rev.; New York, 1942), pp. 380-85; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (Statesman Ed.; New York, 1904), pp. 112-56. A good map of the battlefield is in Sargent, II, 94.

<sup>22</sup> Steele, I, 605; ACS, p. 13; PA, ch. viii, p. 1, PP 380.

After a mile they reached the Aguadores River where the country became more open. In front of them lay San Juan Hill and, a little before it, Kettle Hill. Both blocked the way to Santiago.<sup>23</sup>

The plan was for Wheeler's division to deploy to the right of the road and Kent's to the left. As the first of Wheeler's men came out onto clearer ground, the Spanish opened a lively fire. The terrain was difficult and deployment slow. Back along the trail traffic began to pile up and then jam, as Kent's division came abreast of Wheeler's.

To make matters worse, just then an observation balloon came down the narrow road. Floating above the trees, it offered a perfect target and the Spanish peppered it with everything they had. The Tenth Cavalry, caught underneath, received "a veritable hail of shot and shell," said Pershing. An officer in the balloon stupidly called down,

"The Spaniards are firing at you."

"Yes, we know it, you damned fool," the troops roared back, "and you are drawing the fire. Come down! Come down!"<sup>24</sup>

The Spanish fire grew terrific. Panicking, the Seventy-first New York threw themselves down in the middle of the road, blocking the way. Other regiments had to walk right over them. Deploying as best they could, Wheeler's and Kent's divisions took cover in the tall grass in front of San Juan Hill as bullets whizzed past and thudded into the turf.

Most American casualties occurred here. Lying helpless waiting for orders, the men were sitting ducks for Spaniards on the heights above or snipers hidden in the trees along the trail. The enemy's smokeless powder and the noise of so many rifles made it impossible to figure out where the fire was

<sup>23</sup> Davis, pp. 178 and 203; PA, ch. viii, p. 1, PP 380.

<sup>24</sup> Steele, I, 605-606; Davis, p. 219; PA, p. 155, PP 374; PA, ch. vii, p. 2, PP 380. Leonard Wood called this incident "one of the most ill-judged and idiotic acts I ever witnessed." Hagedorn, I, 174.

coming from. In the confusion some units were dispersed and others missing. The men were being shot to pieces.<sup>25</sup>

This was Pershing's baptism of fire. In his twelve years as an officer, he had never before been shot at. Yet when Captain Charles Ayres encountered him directing troops to their positions, he was "cool as a bowl of cracked ice."<sup>26</sup>

A similar tribute came from Colonel Theodore Baldwin, commander of the Tenth, who sent Pershing to find a missing unit while others were pinned down in the grass. "I shall never forget your actions when I had you searching for that troop," said Baldwin. "I have been in many fights and through the Civil War, but on my word 'You were the coolest and bravest man I ever saw under fire in my life' and carried out your orders to the letter—no matter where it called you."<sup>27</sup>

Finally the order came to advance. (They had to because there was no place else to go. The road behind was clogged for two miles and they were being decimated where they were.)

Troop alignments were hopelessly mixed, but officers (or just plain privates) took charge of those in the immediate vicinity and the move began. Across San Juan River they went, struggling through dense brush and over layers of barbed wire. Before them lay Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. Pershing described the action:

"It was a hot fight, . . . the converging artillery and infantry fire made life worth nothing. We waded the river to our armpits and formed line in an opening in dense undergrowth facing our objective, the San Juan block-house, all the while exposed to volley firing from front, left front & left flank, and

you know what it means to be uncertain as to the position of the enemy.

"On the dusky troopers trudged, their number being gradually diminished until they reached the open in front of the position when they advanced by rushes almost half way—then went the balance with a charge.

"Spanish small arm fire is terrible. . . . Men in the third & fourth lines were in as great danger as those nearer—indeed less casualties occurred close to the intrenchments. . . . Our losses were 20% killed & wounded—50% of officers were lost—a fearful rate."<sup>28</sup>

Once atop Kettle and San Juan Hills, the victors celebrated. Men shook hands, cheered, embraced, and jumped up and down. Said Pershing: "It was glorious. For the moment every other thought was forgotten but victory. . . ." When he asked a wounded man if he was badly hurt, the man replied, "I don't know, but we whipped them, anyway, didn't we?"<sup>29</sup>

The Spanish attempted to retake San Juan Hill that evening, but were driven off; they retired to their next line of defense 300-500 yards away. Firing on both sides kept up until dark and then sporadically through the night.

American pack trains hurried up ammunition, rations, and entrenching tools. Digging went on all night. Lawton's division and Bates' brigade, which had taken El Caney during the day, rushed up to fill in and extend the lines on San Juan Hill.<sup>30</sup>

Pershing helped entrench that night, then accompanied some wounded to the field hospital four miles behind the lines. The quiet night with its beautiful moon contrasted with the noise and gore of the day. In the hospital

<sup>25</sup> Davis, pp. 204, 208, and 212; ACS, pp. 15-16; PA, p. 156, PP 374; PA, ch. viii, p. 3, PP 380; Steele, I, 606.

<sup>26</sup> George MacAdam, "The Life of General Pershing," *The World's Work*, XXXVII (April, 1919), 691.

<sup>27</sup> Baldwin to Pershing, November 30, 1898, PP 316.

<sup>28</sup> Pershing to Edward Rosewater, July 19, 1898, PP 369. I have re-paragraphed Pershing's account.

<sup>29</sup> PA, ch. viii, p. 4, PP 380; ACS, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> ACS, pp. 19-20. For the precarious American situation after the battle, see Davis, pp. 224, 235, 244, 247, and 262. For the discussion the evening of July 1 as to whether to withdraw from San Juan Hill to a stronger position, see Hagedorn, I, 179, and PA, ch. viii, p. 5, PP 380.

the medics worked at top speed by lantern light; their facilities, Pershing noted, were "entirely inadequate."<sup>31</sup>

About midnight Pershing returned to the front. He was not particularly tired. On this, his first day of battle, he lay looking at the stars, wondering what the morrow would bring. Captain Kingsburg sat down beside him, lit a cigarette, and remarked that, as far as he was concerned, he had had enough fighting for one day. Yes, there had been plenty of fighting, all right. Pershing dozed off into a deep sleep.<sup>32</sup>

Reveille the next morning was sounded by Spanish small arms and artillery. "A cannon ball plunged through the line at the top of the hill, and went rolling to the bottom of the valley; bullets spattered against isolated trees or chugged into the soft earth, and covered us with dirt and fairly mowed the grass in front of the trenches."<sup>33</sup>

Spanish snipers continued to be a problem.<sup>34</sup> One severely wounded Malvern-Hill Barnum, the Tenth's adjutant; Pershing took over for him. Five days later, because of the officer shortage, he took over command of Troop D besides.<sup>35</sup>

All the while, he retained his original duties as regimental quartermaster. The supply

problem was awful. The supply ships were more interested in avoiding a scratched hull than in provisioning the troops; they stood well out to sea and practically had to be corralled to come in close enough to unload. And because no dock had been built at Siboney, unloading was still by the slow, awkward method of running small boats right up to the beach.

On the way up to battle on July 1 the troops had deposited blanket rolls and haversacks by the roadside, with details left behind to guard them. After the battle these guards were commandeered to carry the wounded to the hospital and material to the front. Left unguarded, the supplies were an open invitation to passersby to take what they wanted—and most passersby did, especially the Cubans.

Thus when the rains started on July 2, Pershing's men were short on blankets, food, and tobacco. Furthermore they were alternately hot and cold from the blistering sun and from fording streams. No wonder the sick list began to grow.<sup>36</sup>

On July 3 came a truce. Except for firing on the afternoon of the tenth and the forenoon of the eleventh, it lasted uninterruptedly until the final surrender on July 17.<sup>37</sup> During the truce both sides strengthened their positions. When Pershing examined the Spanish defenses after the surrender he reported that they "were very strong and could not have been forced except at heavy cost."<sup>38</sup>

Grateful for an end of shooting, men on both sides stood up to get a good look at their adversary. Gone for good was the American soldier's contempt for the Spaniard which

<sup>31</sup> PA, ch. viii, p. 8, PP 380.

<sup>32</sup> Pershing *Diary*, August 5, 1898, P 316.

<sup>33</sup> ACS, pp. 21-22.

<sup>34</sup> There is a story about a member of the Negro Tenth Cavalry who encountered a white man wearing a U.S. Cavalry uniform perched in a tree. "Who is you?" he asked. "Americano," came the answer. "What regiment does you belong to?" the soldier asked again. "The 10th," was the response. "Well," said the Negro trooper, "ef you' b'longs to the Tenth, and yo' is a white man, you'se jest de gemman I'se looking fur." The next minute, said the hero of the story, "he was the deadeest spaniel dat ever breathered." Hiram H. Thweatt (comp.), *What the Newspapers Say of the Negro Soldier in the Spanish-American War and the Return of the 10th Cavalry* (2d ed.; n.p., n.d.), p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> PA, ch. viii, p. 6, PP 380; Pershing's Efficiency Report on himself covering June 30, 1897 to June 30, 1899 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 3849 A.C.P. 86; Pershing to the Adjutant General of the Army, March 31, 1900, PP 281.

<sup>36</sup> *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, 1802-1902* (Washington, 1904), I, 762; Davis, pp. 125-32 and 247-48; PA, ch. viii, pp. 6-7, PP 380.

<sup>37</sup> An excellent day-by-day description of life in the trenches during this truce and after the surrender appears in Charles D. Rhodes, "Diary of the Spanish War," *Diary Notes of a Soldier* (Washington, D.C., 1940), pp. 27-48.

<sup>38</sup> PA, ch. viii, pp. 9-10, PP 380.

had been in evidence at Tampa. He knew better now. He regarded the enemy with a very healthy respect.<sup>39</sup>

The feeling was mutual. A Spanish captain told Pershing later that, once the Americans had located Spanish gun emplacements, "it was dangerous for them to stick up even a finger, for fear of having it shot off."<sup>40</sup>

At noon on July 4 the regiments formed in line and Pershing, as acting adjutant of the Tenth, read telegrams of congratulations from President McKinley and General Miles.

The next day General Toral, the Spanish commander, evacuated foreigners and non-combatants from Santiago. Pershing described them as they passed through American lines:

"Frail, hungry women carried a bundle of clothing, a parcel of food or an infant, while weak and helpless children trailed wearily at the skirts of their wretched mothers. An old man tottered along on his cane, and behind him a puny lad helped an aged woman; old and young, women, children and decrepit men of every class, those refined and used to luxury together with the ragged beggar, crowded each other in this narrow column. It was a pitiful sight: from daylight until dark the miserable procession trooped past. The suffering of the innocent is not the least of the horrors of war."<sup>41</sup>

The rainy season began now in earnest, turning the roads and trails into mud canals. Men sank up to their knees; wagons, to their hubcaps. At night it was not unusual to sleep with head raised just above the water and the rest of the body submerged in mud.

During the day troops stored their clothes in rubber ponchos and went about stark naked in the rain. When General Miles later visited one of the camps, he was amused to

see several hundred men saluting him without a stitch on.<sup>42</sup>

With roads almost unusable and streams swollen into rivers, the supply problem became acute. Everything was scarce. Richard Harding Davis could find no takers when he offered to rent a pony for \$150 a week. (In peacetime one could be *bought* for \$15.)

No one lit a cigarette with a match any more; one used a brand from the fire. Paper became so scarce that orders were written on newspaper margins, notebook scraps, and the insides of old envelopes. So infrequent were linen changes that one trooper complained, "I do not at all mind other men's clothes being offensive to me, but when I cannot go to sleep on account of my own it grows serious."<sup>43</sup>

In such circumstances the army rule book went to the winds. It was up to each quartermaster, using his own ingenuity, to provide for his men. Pershing borrowed four mules and a wagon, waded through the mud to Siboney, loaded what supplies he could (without requisitions), and waded back again.<sup>44</sup>

Returning in the dark, he heard a great commotion on the trail ahead. He came abreast of another wagon mired down to the hubs. The driver "was urging his team forward with all the skill, including the forceful language, of a born mule-skinner." Years later that driver invited Pershing to a luncheon and when the latter recalled the incident, the driver asked eagerly, "Yes, yes, and what did I say?"

"That," answered Pershing, "I cannot repeat in the presence of the ladies."

The driver was Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24 1/2; Hagedorn, I, 180; Davis, pp. 281-82; Society of Santiago de Cuba, *The Santiago Campaign* (Richmond, Va., 1927), pp. 202-204.

<sup>40</sup> Davis, pp. 278-79.

<sup>41</sup> PA, ch. viii, p. 7, PP 380.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*; *Boston Sunday Post*, December 22, 1918.

<sup>39</sup> ACS, pp. 5 and 22.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24 1/2-25.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

That Pershing kept the Tenth supplied is attested by Colonel Theodore Baldwin, the regimental commander. "You did some tall rustling," said Baldwin, "and if you had not we would have starved, as none of the others were able or strong enough to do it."<sup>46</sup>

Another officer, Captain William H. Beck, praised Pershing for "never sparing yourself." He recalled "the many wearing rides you took . . . in the tropical heat and rain, your energetic action in obtaining the tentage, personal baggage of officers and men, and clothing for the command—this too when you were suffering at close intervals with vicious disease. . . . I do not think it too much to say that the gallantry you displayed under fire and the untiring energy you evinced, were a devotion to duty exceeded by none, and equalled by few."<sup>47</sup>

The formal surrender of Santiago occurred on July 17. With both armies drawn up to witness it, General Toral rode out with an infantry escort to meet General Shafter, who approached with a squadron of cavalry. The formalities were simple and courteous. Both sides presented arms; General Toral offered his sword to the victor.

With his escort and a regiment of infantry, Shafter then entered Santiago. The American troops lined up at "Present arms" along the six miles of trenches surrounding the city. At precisely 12:00 noon, the Spanish flag came down from the Governor's palace and the Stars and Stripes were run up. The band played the "Star Spangled Banner." Santiago was won.<sup>48</sup>

Lucky for Shafter that the surrender occurred when it did. His army was rapidly being decimated by malarial fever which ran through camp like fire through dry bush. On July 12, one hundred cases appeared. By the early part of August, approximately *seventy-*

*five percent* of the command was either ill or convalescent.

Originally it had been planned to withdraw to the hills five miles back of Santiago and there establish a series of camps. Fever cases would be left behind as the troops moved to each new uninfected camp. But so widely did the disease spread that, when the time came, the men had all they could do to make the *first* camp.

It became increasingly difficult to find able-bodied men to work. Because of the officer shortage, Pershing took command of three cavalry troops (replacing sick lieutenants), in addition to his duties as acting adjutant (replacing Barnum) and his original work as regimental quartermaster. But by August 4 he also had succumbed to the disease.<sup>49</sup>

The spread of malarial fever made immediate evacuation imperative. The first contingent left August 7. The Tenth Cavalry embarked on August 14, just two months after it had left Tampa.<sup>50</sup>

Looking back on the expedition, Pershing had reason to be satisfied. General Joseph Wheeler, commanding the cavalry division, recommended him for promotion because of his "untiring energy, faithfulness and gallantry,"<sup>51</sup> while Major Wint, commanding the Second Squadron of the Tenth, praised him for his "gallant and efficient manner."<sup>52</sup>

Colonel Leonard Wood, commanding the "Rough Riders," also added his commendation. He wrote the Adjutant General that Pershing had "performed his duties with marked gallantry and efficiency" and recommended him for promotion. "Any considera-

<sup>49</sup> PA, ch. viii, pp. 10-11, PP 380; *The Centennial* . . . I, 764.

<sup>50</sup> Steele, I, 610; PA, ch. viii, p. 12, PP 380.

<sup>51</sup> Wheeler to the Adjutant General of the Army, July 16, 1898 (National Archives), 281430 AGO 99.

<sup>52</sup> Everett T. Tomlinson, *The Story of General Pershing* (New York, 1919), p. 84. Pershing was eventually awarded the Silver Star "for gallantry in action against Spanish Forces at Santiago Cuba, July 1, 1898." G.O. 3, War Department, February 28, 1925.

<sup>46</sup> Baldwin to Pershing, November 30, 1898, PP 316.

<sup>47</sup> Beck to Pershing, February 20, 1899, PP 316.

<sup>48</sup> Rhodes, pp. 38-39; ACS, pp. 25-26.



tion which you may be able to show him will be well deserved and from what I know of his abilities any position to which he may be advanced, will be filled with ability."

Wood's letter went all the way up to President McKinley who wrote on the bottom, "Appoint to a Major, if there is a vacancy." On August 18, 1898 Pershing was made a major in the Volunteers.<sup>53</sup>

Two days after that his regiment arrived back in the United States at Montauk Point, Long Island. President McKinley visited the camp a few days later. Most of his time, Pershing felt, "was occupied by those who had political aspirations"—like Theodore Roosevelt, who got McKinley's blessing for governor of New York.<sup>54</sup>

Years later, when penning his autobiography, Pershing devoted a paragraph to Roose-

velt's war record and the political capital that resulted from it. "It is safe to say that in the history of the country no man ever got so much reward for so little service."<sup>55</sup> Later he added, "Without disparagement of Mr. Roosevelt's brief few weeks' military experience in Cuba, it must be said that it was the extensive publicity it received rather than the actual service that brought him such exceptional political preferment."<sup>56</sup>

In subsequent drafts of his autobiography Pershing deleted these remarks. He was always one to tone down his words before they got into print.

In August, 1898 Pershing received a new assignment: temporary duty at Army Headquarters in Washington. It lasted but a short time. Years later, however, he returned to Army Headquarters again—this time as Chief of Staff from 1921-1924 and as General of the Armies of the United States.

<sup>53</sup> Wood to the Adjutant General, July 30, 1898 (National Archives), 134350, filed with 3849 A.C.P. 86; commission diploma, PP 419.

<sup>54</sup> PA, ch. ix, p. 1, PP 380.

<sup>55</sup> PA, ch. ix, p. 1, PP 378.

<sup>56</sup> PA, ch. ix, p. 1, PP 380.

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## NEW LIFE MEMBERS

We are pleased to welcome two new life members into the AMI fold: Thomas A. Lewis of Cold Bay, Alaska, and John M. Fisher of Wheaton, Illinois.

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## COL. TODD AND ARMY-NAVY MUSEUM

Col. Frederick P. Todd, retired curator of the U. S. Military Academy Museum and AMI member,, will prepare the specifications for the Army-Navy Museum to be established in the Independence Hall area of Philadelphia, Pa.