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**The Visit by Buffalo Bill's Wild West to Barcelona:**

**December 1889 – January 1890**

**Thesis Presented for the Degree of PhD in History**

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## **Abstract**

Previous scholarship suggests that the five weeks that Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition spent in Barcelona in the winter of 1889-1890 was the low point of its various European tours if not indeed of its entire existence. The present study challenges that interpretation on the basis of evidence from a substantial body of contemporary sources in Catalan, English and Spanish, including newspaper and magazine coverage of the tour from Spain and the United States, previously unpublished correspondence and memoirs by company members, together with official records. It argues for a re-evaluation of the Wild West's only visit to Spain in the context of recent studies of the life and works of William F. Cody by scholars such as Bonner, Kasson, Kroes and Rydell and Warren which have underlined the importance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West as a hugely successful and influential American cultural product and international intercultural phenomenon that flourished at a period that was crucial for American nation (re)building in the years after the Civil War, and for the development of United States' relations with Europe in the run-up to the First World War. It discusses the reasons why the exhibition did not return to Spain during its more extensive 1905-1906 European tour and concludes that the enduring influence of dominant historiographic trends found in accounts of Spanish-American international relations between the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the Spanish American War of 1898 have been crucial contributing factors to the on-going misunderstanding of the time that Buffalo Bill's Wild West spent in Barcelona. A number of the rare or previously unpublished sources which are cited as evidence in the argument are included as appendices to the study.

## **Declaration of Authorship**

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. D. D. D.', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Date: 22 April 2014

## **Declaration on Previously Published Material and its Authorship**

No part of this thesis has been previously published in the current form.

Some of the material which appears on pages 7, 8 and 22 of this thesis has been reworked from material that was published in the Introduction to John M. Burke, *Buffalo Bill from Prairie to Palace*, edited and with an introduction by Chris Dixon, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, p. xii and p. xviii.

Some of the material which appears on pages 45-57 and 172-175 of this thesis has been reworked from material that was published in the Introduction to Charles E. Griffin, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*, edited and with an introduction by Chris Dixon, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010, pp. xviii-xxv.

This previously published material was the result of the author's original research and was composed by the author in its entirety.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Dixon', with a long horizontal flourish underneath.

Date: 22 April 2014

*Gratias vobis ago...*

No PhD thesis springs fully-formed from the head of its maker. This particular thesis would not have survived the unusual and protracted gestation period required to reach the light of day in its current form without the on-going support, encouragement and practical assistance of many people on both sides of the Atlantic.

It was conceived as a monograph for *The Papers of William F. Cody* project. Thanks to the enthusiastic endorsement of Kurt Graham, founding editor of *The Papers*, and the understanding of Heather Lundine, then commissioning editor at the *University of Nebraska Press*, it was accepted as the lead publication for the *Cody Studies Series* on the basis of an outline and some sample material which has survived in much modified form in Chapter 2 of the thesis version of the work. I am eternally grateful to both Kurt and Heather for the faith which they showed in me and in this enterprise more than five years ago – although I had no idea at that stage what I was letting myself in for.

In the embryonic stages both at Strathclyde University and at Buffalo Bill Historical Center it was nourished by many colleagues and friends. In Glasgow, Neil Hutton, then Dean of the Faculty of Law Arts and Social Sciences, and my colleagues in the Department of Modern Languages, Joe Farrell and Gerry McIntyre, were the strongest initial supporters. In Cody, Mary Robinson and her team at the McCracken Research Library, and in particular Karling Abernathy, Mack Frost, Samantha Harper, Karen Preis and Karen Van Gilder were key providers of practical support

who were tireless in responding to requests for material. Lynn Houze of the Buffalo Bill Museum was an invaluable sounding board for ideas, and *The Papers* team of Linda Clark, Deb Adams and Gary Boyce were always encouraging and ever ready with helpful suggestions throughout the project's lifecycle.

As the original manuscript took shape, it was read in whole or in part by Tom Cunningham, author of *Your Fathers the Ghosts – Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland*, Jordi Marill Escudé, author of the only monographic study to date on the subject of the Wild West in Barcelona, and by Jeremy Johnston, Kurt's very able successor as managing editor of *The Papers*. The patience of each in reading the material and the insightful comments which they then made have been invaluable. When Jordi's response to the first draft of Chapter 3 was simply to say "wow" I really knew that I was onto something.

In addition to these readers, I also owe a debt of gratitude to the hearers of material which makes up some of Chapters 1 and 5 and most of Chapter 3 of this study. I thank those who were in the audiences for the two public lectures which I gave at Buffalo Bill Historical Center in July 2009 and August 2012, the public lecture in Spanish which I gave to the Hispanic Society of Scotland in October 2009, and who attended my conference presentations at the first International Cody Studies Conference in June and August 2010. I must make particular mention of Paul Fees, the unrivalled dean of Cody studies, for follow-up discussions on the first public lecture and the conference paper both of which proved invaluable to me.

When editorial, practical and funding changes led to the delay of the monograph, the decision to recast much of the material in the form of a PhD thesis, rather than to apply for a doctorate by prior publication once it was out, arose from a discussion with Nigel Fabb, Vice Dean Research. Approval to proceed in this manner was granted by Stephen Padgett, first Head of the Humanities and Social Sciences Graduate School. I thank both for their support. The practical task of supervising this back-to-front “book to thesis” project was then undertaken by Mark Ellis and Joe Farrell and mere words are inadequate to express the debt I owe them for their careful reading, detailed comments and helpful suggestions throughout the process. In response to comments from them I incorporated into Chapters 1, 2 and 4 a small amount of material that appears in much amended form in the Introductions to the editions of *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill* and *Buffalo Bill from Prairie to Palace* which I prepared for University of Nebraska Press while working on this project.<sup>1</sup> Particular thanks are due to Ann Baker, copy editor of these two volumes, for her careful work the influence of which within this thesis goes well beyond the the small amount of text that has been reworked from those prior publications.

I have had the good fortune to receive substantial funding support for my work on this project from the Cody Institute of Western American Studies, the Buffalo Bill Historical Center Fellowship Program, the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of

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<sup>1</sup> Material from Charles E. Griffin, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010, pp xxiii-xxx is rewritten as pp. 45-57 and pp. 172-175 of this study and John M. Burke, *Buffalo Bill from Prairie to Palace*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, p. xiv and p. xviii has been reworked into pp. 7-8 and p. 22.

Scotland, the University of Strathclyde and *The Papers of William F. Cody* project. I fully appreciate the extent of my indebtedness to each.

With respect to the illustrations presented in Appendix 6 of this work, I am grateful to the the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya in Barcelona for Figures 1-3 and to the McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody for Figures 4, 5 and 18.

A word of thanks is also due to the external examiners of this thesis, Chris Gair of Glasgow University and Robert Rydell of Montana State University, for their helpful suggestions that I should look to Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past* and Richard White's *Railroaded* as models for finalising my conclusions, and to internal examiner Matt Smith and Arthur McIvor, chair of the examining committee, for their patience and understanding during a thesis examination in which the technology let us all down very badly.<sup>2</sup>

The family and friends who have been my constant support are too numerous to mention here but they know that I owe them everthing in this work and beyond.

*Go raibh maith agaibh – Gracias – Gràcies – Thank You – Wopila Tanka*

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<sup>2</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past – Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995; and Richard White, *Railroaded – The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.



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## Introduction

It all began with a tooth. Not just any old tooth, but one imbued with cultural and historical significance. It was a tooth that I passed every Tuesday and Thursday morning in the winter of 1984-1985. It sat in a glass case in the anatomical museum in the *Hospital de Sant Pau* in Barcelona, and I had to walk through there to reach the classroom in which I was teaching English to a group of the hospital's administrative staff. The label on the display case stated that it was the tooth of Buffalo Bill that had been extracted while his Wild West Exhibition had been in the city in the winter of 1889-1890.

At the time I gave it little thought. I had inherited a taste for old westerns from my late father and grown up on a diet of black-and-white movies on television that included James Ellison and Joel MacRae as Buffalo Bill.<sup>1</sup> I even knew that Buffalo Bill had a Wild West Exhibition that came to my home town of Glasgow and caused such a stir that I had heard elderly people who had seen it in the first week of August 1904 still enthusing about it when I was a young boy in the 1960s. So the idea that the man's tooth was memorialized in a glass case in a museum in a city which he had visited was hardly remarkable. For eight years after my return from Barcelona I gave it no further thought.

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<sup>1</sup> Ellison starred opposite Gary Cooper in Cecil B. DeMille's 1936 classic *The Plainsman*, and MacRae played the eponymous hero in William A. Wellman's 1944 production *Buffalo Bill*.

Then in December 1993 I read a piece in the Sunday supplement of the Catalan newspaper *Avui* about a photographic exhibition taking place in Tarragona entitled *Lakol Wokiksuye – La memòria visual dels lakotes*. The Catalan title translates as *The Visual Memory of the Lakotas* and it featured old prints of Indians who had toured Europe with Buffalo Bill.<sup>2</sup> The short article had references to the performances in Barcelona with excerpts from contemporary accounts that spoke in glowing terms of the impression that had been made in the Catalan capital – especially by the Indians. There was nothing out-of-the-ordinary or unexpected in it, but it did briefly remind me of the tooth. It would be more than ten years until I thought of it again.

Sunday 26 June 2005 was the day that unexpectedly set in motion the chain of events that gave rise to this study. On a sweltering hot afternoon, I stood in the shade between the museum and the national cemetery at Little Bighorn National Monument and I was asked for a favour. The request was made by Lakota elder *Wanapeye Najica*, Wilmer Stampede Mesteth, whom I had met through my good friends the award-winning author and photographer, Serle Chapman, and his wife, the musician Sarah Gilbertson Chapman. Wilmer had on a number of occasions generously shared with me traditional Lakota songs and stories about the battlefield on which we stood, and the conflict that had taken place there one hundred and twenty-nine years previously and I could not refuse him the favour he asked.

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<sup>2</sup> A copy of the programme from the exhibition is held at the Buffalo Bill Museum, Cody, Wyoming, in the Curator's Files. *Lakol Wokiksuye – La memòria visual dels lakotes*, Program of an Exhibition held at the Sala Tarragona de la Fundació "La Caixa", Tarragona, 21 December 1993 to 31 January 1994.

He explained that his grandfather had travelled to Europe with Wild West shows including Buffalo Bill's and that he had died and been buried in Italy.<sup>3</sup> Wilmer was anxious to have his remains returned to South Dakota and needed someone who could speak Italian to go to Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, to check out the archives there and see if there were any documents that would help him in his quest.

It took me a year to get to Cody but when I did finally make it there the search for Wilmer's (great)-grandfather proved sadly fruitless. The time that I spent in the archive at the McCracken Research Library was nevertheless highly productive in other ways. I became aware of the vastness of the library's holdings in relation to the Wild West's tours of England, Scotland, France, Italy, Germany... and the paucity of its holdings in relation to Spain and I was reminded of the tooth.

I did a little reading about Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona and I was astonished that there was so little to read. I was taken aback by the negativity of what was written about the Spanish tour which I could not square with my own limited experience of the matter. But something told me this cannot be right, or if it is right there must be some explanation. My intellectual curiosity was pricked and I set out to investigate. This study represents the fruits of that investigation, presented

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<sup>3</sup> There is no distinction between "great-grandfather" and "grandfather" in the Lakota language with male speakers using the term *tunkasila* for both. When speaking English, native Lakota speakers tend to use the term grandfather even when, as in this case, it is the former relationship that they intend to indicate.

as five chapters and six appendices in answer to the basic research question: what did actually happen when Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition was in Barcelona in December 1889 and January 1890?

Chapter 1 addresses the issue of the broader significance of the research topic by posing two secondary research questions: why study Buffalo Bill? why would anyone with a serious interest in the history of the American West choose to study Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona? It provides initial answers to these questions by drawing on evidence from a range of secondary sources in four languages to situate the figure of William F. Cody and the phenomenon of Buffalo Bill's Wild's in relation to current trends in Western American History and by discussing what little scholarship has previously been published on the visit that the Wild West made to Barcelona.

Chapter 2 sets the scene for the discussion of the Wild West's visit to Barcelona by addressing the question: what sort of audience did Buffalo Bill's Wild West find in Barcelona? It does so by outlining the successes of the Wild West's early forays to Europe, presenting a brief overview of Spanish-American relations in the nineteenth century as evidence that these were fraught with much greater difficulties than those between the United States, France and Britain in the years before the Wild West's visits to those countries. It goes on to depict in detail key aspects of the history, culture and politics of the Catalan capital in the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the celebration of a Universal Exhibition and the erection of a Columbus monument in the year prior to the Wild West's visit in order to argue that

Catalonia did not match the stereo-typical view of Spain which was common in the United States but rather that it was different in ways which would be likely to make it a more positive potential venue. It draws heavily on secondary sources, although many of these, particularly the Catalan works that date from the late nineteenth century, are rare and were only available at the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya in Barcelona.

Chapter 3 answers the basic research question that is at the core of this study by providing a detailed account of the five weeks that Buffalo Bill's Wild West spent in Barcelona in December 1889 and January 1890. It is based almost entirely on primary sources such as the memoirs and correspondence of Wild West Company members and contemporary reviews and newspaper accounts, underpinned by knowledge based on an extensive range of secondary sources, and it argues that the visit to the Catalan capital was not the disaster that it is generally described as having been in previous scholarship.

Chapter 4 addresses a key question that arises naturally from the previous chapter: if the visit to Barcelona was not a flop, why did the Wild West not return to Spain during its subsequent more extensive tour of continental Europe in 1905 and 1906? Drawing on a range of primary and secondary sources, it is essentially historiographic in its treatment of the breakdown in the relationship between the United States and Spain that led to war in 1898, looking also at the ways in which Buffalo Bill's Wild West was interpreted by key figures in the Cuban and Philippine independence movements and the ways in which William F. Cody and his associates

were involved in commemorating the war that was still fresh in American memories during the 1899 season.

Chapter 5 serves as a conclusion to the study. It draws on the evidence presented in the previous chapters and synthesizes the answers to the questions addressed in these into an overall evaluation of the Wild West's visit to Barcelona. It does this by applying some elements of critical theory, and in particular certain aspects of Reception Theory which have been developed within the fields of Audience Studies and Fandom, to argue for the acceptance of newspapers and magazines as valid sources of evidence on which to base a more positive evaluation of the Wild West's visit to Barcelona than is to be found in previous scholarship. Thereafter, it incorporates some more speculative arguments based on the contextual elements discussed in Chapter 2 and touching upon some more recent examples of the enduring impact that the performances have had in an overall evaluation of the level of success enjoyed by Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona.

The six appendices contain important source material that is not otherwise readily available. Appendices 1 and 2 are the brief accounts of the time that the Wild West spent in Barcelona from Annie Oakley's unpublished autobiography and from Nathan Salisbury's unpublished memoirs. Appendix 3 is a transcription of one of the few surviving audio recordings of William F. Cody's voice in which he expresses his "Sentiments on the Cuba Question." Appendices 4 and 5 are extracts from the 1899 Wild West Programme that concern the Wild West in Barcelona and the

Spanish-American War of 1898. Appendix 6 contains the illustrative material referenced in the text.

The investigation itself took place over a period of approximately six years, with primary research being conducted in archives and libraries in the United States and in Catalonia. I visited the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, on nine occasions between June 2006 and August 2012, initially to work through the extensive Finder's Guides in the McCracken Research Library and subsequently to access materials from the William F. Cody Collection, the Don Russell Collection and the James W. Wojtowicz Collection.<sup>4</sup> On three of these occasions, I was also able to access the substantial Curator's Files of the Buffalo Bill Museum which is collocated with the McCracken at Buffalo Bill Historical Center.<sup>5</sup>

I made two visits to Denver Public Library both to work with materials from their Crawford Collection, and to make use of their unrivalled secondary holdings in American western history.<sup>6</sup> During each of these two visits to Denver, I also visited the Buffalo Bill Gravesite and Museum in Golden, Colorado. For many years this Colorado State facility specializing in the life and works of William F. Cody has been sharing materials with its much larger counterpart in Cody. Having been

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<sup>4</sup> McCracken Research Library, William F. Cody Collection (MS6), Don Russell Collection (MS62) and James W. Wojtowicz Collection (MS327).

<sup>5</sup> The Buffalo Bill Museum's Curator's Files do not use a referencing system comparable to those in libraries and archives. Primary materials cited in the course of this study which are located among these files can be identified by the surname of the author and are located in the alphabetically sequenced suspension files in the Curator's office.

<sup>6</sup> Denver Public Library, Crawford Collection, (FF1, FF2, FF3, FF4, FF5, FF10, FF11, FF35, and FF36).



founded by Johnny Baker, who appeared with Buffalo Bill's Wild West for the entire period of its existence, it does contain a substantial collection of important realia from the show. It also holds the original of the scrapbook compiled by William Levi "Buck" Taylor "the king of the cowboys" who travelled with the Wild West to Barcelona which is only available on microfilm in Cody.<sup>7</sup>

I travelled to Catalonia in December 2007, April 2008 and March 2009 and was able to conduct research in Catalonia's national library, the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, the burial records office at the Cementeri Nou in Montjuic, and Barcelona's city archive, the Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona. These visits were fundamental to the research on secondary materials that underpin much of Chapter 2 of this study, with a number of rare nineteenth century volumes from the holdings of the *Biblioteca Nacional* being fundamental to the understanding of the 1888 Universal Exhibition and the ways in which the city of Barcelona had developed in the period immediately prior to the visit by Cody and company.

Scholars who have experience of conducting archival research in Barcelona will be familiar with the problem of incomplete records. A great many documents, particularly those in Catalan rather than Spanish, were destroyed either as a result of the violence in the city during the Civil War or due to the deliberate actions of local

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<sup>7</sup> The small archive of primary documents in Golden, Colorado, did not at the time of my visits employ a systematic cataloguing system but depended rather on the encyclopaedic knowledge of museum director Dr Steve Friesen. For that reason, materials which are held at both the McCracken Research Library and in Golden, Colorado, are referenced in this study using the McCracken's cataloguing conventions.

officials during the years of the Franco dictatorship when the Catalan language was outlawed. Most of the contemporary Catalan materials that I was able to consult were therefore either from newspaper or magazine sources. Nineteenth century newspapers are not generally the most reliable sources of historical evidence.<sup>8</sup> In view of the extensive publicity campaigns which were mounted by Buffalo Bill's Wild West in order to ensure positive coverage in the local press wherever they toured, particular care has been taken to critically evaluate the reliability of these sources by balancing them with other evidence and this issue is addressed in the conclusion of the present study by the limited application of some aspects of critical theory, and in particular Reception Theory.

The term Reception Theory, initially developed by Hans Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser, refers to a theoretical approach that was first adopted for the study of printed texts.<sup>9</sup> Its scope was then extended to a broader range of cultural products such as films and other works of art, before its reach was extended into a number of other scholarly disciplines.<sup>10</sup> Two such areas were theatre studies and cultural studies and

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<sup>8</sup> Hugh J. Reilly, *Bound to Have Blood – Frontier Newspapers and the Plains Indian Wars*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, x-xxii, 129-134; Ted Curtis Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press, 1865–1900*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003, x, 1-2, 5-6, 203-216.

<sup>9</sup> See for example Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Introduction to Reception Aesthetics." *New German Critique*, Vol. 10, 1977, 29-63; Robert C. Holub, *Crossing Borders: Reception Theory, Poststructuralism, Deconstruction*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992 and *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*. London: Methuen, 1984; Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982 and *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Trans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

<sup>10</sup> See for example Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian. The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1997; Ian Hodder, "Material Culture Texts and

particular use will be made of the work of two scholars in these fields, Susan Bennet and Roger Aden, in testing the reliability of the contemporary newspaper evidence in order to offer some insight into the reception that the Wild West received in Barcelona.<sup>11</sup>

At an early stage in this investigation, I read the late Professor Urbano Viñuela Angulo's introduction to the 1997 Spanish translation of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, and I was inspired by the use which he makes of Reception Theory in his evaluation of the impact of Spanish editions of the novel.<sup>12</sup> My initial plan had been to follow a similar approach in the writing of this study and to make a systematic use of Reception Theory in my analysis of the primary evidence relating to the Wild West's visit to Barcelona. Unfortunately, there was insufficient material for such an approach to be feasible in an extended study and the

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Social Change: A Theoretical Discussion and some Archaeological Examples." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, Vol. 54, 1988, 67-75; Klaus-Heinrich Meyer, "Das Bild ist im Betrachter. Zur Struktur- und Bedeutungskonstruktion durch den Rezipienten." *Hephaistos*, Vol. 9, 1988, 7-41; Helmut Rösing, (Ed.) *Rezeptionsforschung in der Musikwissenschaft*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983; Wolfgang Seidenspinner, "Archäologie, Volksüberlieferung, Denkmalideologie. Anmerkungen zum Denkmalverständnis der Öffentlichkeit in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart." *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg*, Vol. 18, 1993, 1-15; Martyn P. Thompson, "Reception Theory and the Interpretation of Historical Meaning." *History and Theory*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1993, 248-272.

<sup>11</sup> Susan Bennett, *Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception*. New York: Routledge, 2002 (First Edition, 1990); Roger C. Aden, *Popular Stories and Promised Lands: Fan Cultures and Symbolic Pilgrimages*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

<sup>12</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, *El último mohicano*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, Letras Universales, 1997; Viñuela Angulo's introduction is available in full online at <http://external.oneonta.edu/cooper/articles/other/1997other-vinuela.html> (accessed 4 April 2007).

application of Reception Theory is therefore limited to some observations in the Conclusion.<sup>13</sup>

Physical visits to libraries and archives were supplemented both by correspondence with archivists and librarians elsewhere and with virtual visits to the increasing number of online portals which provide access to digitized versions of primary material. I was able to access relevant material from the McCaddon Collection by corresponding with library staff at Princeton University, and the Barcelona section of the memoirs of William F. Cody's long-term business partner, Nathan Salsbury, by corresponding with staff at the Beinecke Library at Yale University.<sup>14</sup> I obtained copies of the three known photographs of the Wild West in Barcelona by corresponding with staff at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya which holds the copyright on these images.<sup>15</sup> In cyberspace, I have drawn particularly on the digital newspaper archive of Spain's National Library in Madrid,<sup>16</sup> on the digital repository of the website of Barcelona's largest circulation Spanish language newspaper *La Vanguardia*,<sup>17</sup> which has grown during the course of this project to encompass the period when Buffalo Bill's Wild West was in Barcelona, the digital collections of the

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<sup>13</sup> The material was sufficient for a shorter comparative paper, "The Reception of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona (1889-1890) and Trieste (1906)" which I presented at the International Cody Studies Conferences in Glasgow (June 2010) and Cody (August 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Joseph T. McCaddon, *McCaddon Collection*, Princeton University Library, [Scrapbook 14 and Boxes 41 and 42], and Nathan Salsbury, *Papers*, Beinecke Library, Yale University, [YCAL MSS 17].

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 6, Figures 1-3.

<sup>16</sup> *Biblioteca Nacional de España* – Digital Newspaper Archive: <http://bdh.bne.es/bne/search/HemerotecaAdvancedSearch.do#>.

<sup>17</sup> *La Vanguardia* – Hemeroteca (Archive): <http://www.lavanguardia.com/hemeroteca/index.html>.

Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona,<sup>18</sup> and above all on the Cody Archive,<sup>19</sup> developed by the staff of the *Papers of William F. Cody* project and by colleagues based at the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln.<sup>20</sup>

As can be seen from the bibliography, the range of secondary sources consulted in the preparation of this study was extensive. There were three key areas of focus in my secondary reading: the history of Barcelona in the second half of the nineteenth century, with particular reference to the Universal Exhibition and the erection of the Columbus Monument; American Western History in the period 1865-1890; and the life and works of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody. The sources consulted in these areas would be too numerous to do justice to in this introduction and they are cited systematically throughout the body of the work. There were, however, four additional elements of the historical and cultural context that required attention in the preparation of this study that do merit a mention here as they served to provide the underpinning knowledge that form a basis for this study: Spanish and Catalan history, with a focus on the history of the city of Barcelona; Cuban colonial and post-colonial history; the Spanish-American War of 1898; and American Gilded Age history.

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<sup>18</sup> *Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona* – Digital Collection: <http://w110.bcn.cat/portal/site/ArxiuMunicipal>.

<sup>19</sup> *The Papers of William F. Cody*: <http://www.codyarchive.org>.

<sup>20</sup> *The Center for Digital Research in the Humanities*, University of Nebraska (Lincoln): <http://cdrh.unl.edu/>.

Much of the background reading in Spanish and Catalan history and culture had been undertaken prior to beginning work on *Buffalo Bill in Barcelona*. During the decade which I spent as an academic firstly in the National University of Ireland, at University College Cork, and subsequently at Strathclyde University, Glasgow, I taught Catalan and Spanish language courses, and cultural/historical courses on *The Spanish Golden Age*, *Columbus's First Voyage and its Quincentenary*, *The Generation of 1898*, *Nationalist Ideology in Spain 1898-1940*, *The Spanish Civil War* and *Contemporary Catalonia 1892-1999*.

At the outset of this investigation, I had been away from academia for six years and there was a clear need both to refresh my earlier work and to ensure that current scholarship was reflected in my thinking. My grounding in the history of Barcelona had been in the studies by Robert Hughes and Felipe Fernández Armesto which were published to coincide with the 1992 Olympics in the city and these texts, together with the more recent study by Mei Vidal and Aisa Ferran which concentrates on the culture of the city in the period 1868-1888, were key points of reference which were particularly significant for Chapter 2 of this study.<sup>21</sup> The starting point for this catch-up on the Spanish historical background was Charles Esdaile's *Spain in the Liberal Age* and Mary Vincent's *Spain 1833-2002*.<sup>22</sup> Both proved to be excellent resources which stimulated further reading with the study by Jesús Cruz on the rise of the

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<sup>21</sup> Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years of the City's Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; Robert Hughes, *Barcelona*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992; Mei M. Vidal and Aisa Ferran, *Camins utòpics – Barcelona 1868-1888*. Barcelona: Edicions de 1984, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000; Mary Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002: People and State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

middle classes proving to be particularly significant to my understanding of the audience which the Wild West would find in Barcelona.<sup>23</sup> In spite of the considerable new scholarship in the area it was gratifying to find that Raymond Carr's classic study *Spain: 1808-1939*, which had served me well since my days as an undergraduate in the late 1970s and early 1980s, had largely stood the test of time.<sup>24</sup> It was equally gratifying to find that Hugh Thomas's *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*, on which I had also relied for many years, had been substantially updated and further complemented by his later *Cuba: A History*.<sup>25</sup> Together with Richard Gott's *Cuba – A New History*, these were the points of departure for my exploration of the island's colonial and post-colonial history and of the Cuban question in United States-Spanish relations in the nineteenth century which are discussed in Chapter 4 of this study.<sup>26</sup>

The Spanish-American War of 1898 has been the focus of much scholarship and it would have been impossible to read this exhaustively within the timeframe associated with the completion of the current work. I was guided in my choice of reading by Mark Barnes's annotated bibliography of *The Spanish–American War and Philippine Insurgency*, which was fortuitously published at precisely the right time as this study

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<sup>23</sup> Jesús Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain*. Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975.

<sup>25</sup> Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: A History*. Aylesbury: Penguin, 2010 and *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*. London: Pan MacMillan/Picador, 2001 (revised edition, first edition 1971).

<sup>26</sup> Richard Gott, *Cuba – A New History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

was being written.<sup>27</sup> Since the historiography of the war is more important for this investigation than the historical events of the conflict, I have drawn most heavily on the monographic studies, *The End of the Spanish Empire* by Sebastian Balfour, *The War of 1898* by Louis Pérez, *The Conquest of History* by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and *Uncle Sam's War of 1898* by Thomas Schoonover.<sup>28</sup> Schmidt-Nowara's monograph was particularly significant due to its extensive discussion of the iconography of Christopher Columbus that was developed in Spain and its possessions (and former possessions) through the course of the nineteenth century. In so doing it has greatly informed my thinking on both the Columbus monument in Barcelona, and the references made to Columbus in the publicity for the Wild West's visit to the city.<sup>29</sup> The collection of essays edited by Juan Pan-Montojo, *Más se perdió en Cuba*, and that edited by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John Nieto Philips, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism*, also provided important points of historiographic reference which served to focus my analysis.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Mark R. Barnes, *The Spanish–American War and Philippine Insurgency, 1898–1902: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York & London: Routledge, 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997; Louis A. Pérez, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth century*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2006; Thomas D. Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the Origins of Globalization*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003.

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*, 53-95.

<sup>30</sup> Juan Pan-Montojo, (Ed). *Más se perdió en Cuba: España, 1898 y el fin de siglo*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto Philips, (Eds). *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.



On the period of United States history during which Buffalo Bill's Wild West operated, my three starting points were the online *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, John and Joseph Bunker's three-volume reference work *Encyclopedia of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, and the anthology of essays edited by Charles Calhoun, *The Gilded Age*.<sup>31</sup> These quickly led to Rebecca Edwards's outstanding overview of the period, *New Spirits*, and the associated website.<sup>32</sup> Edwards's work was the inspiration for considerable further reading and among the material to which it led me I found both Ted Curtis Smythe's study of the press of the era and David Wagner's insightful discussion of some of the economic losers of the time to be particularly relevant to my research on Buffalo Bill's Wild West.<sup>33</sup>

Two of the works which I looked at in detail in relation to William F. Cody were also particularly significant for my understanding of the period as a whole, each for very different reasons. The most important of these was Louis Warren's *Buffalo Bill's America* which had only recently been published when I began work on this study. It was unquestionably at the pinnacle of Cody Studies, and it continues to be unrivalled

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<sup>31</sup> John D. Bunker and Joseph Bunker, (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*. Armonk: ME Sharpe, (3 Vols.) 2005; Charles W. Calhoun, (Ed). *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*: <http://www.jgape.org/JGAPE.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Rebecca Edwards, *New Spirits: Americans in the Gilded Age, 1865–1905*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 2005; *New Spirits*: <http://www.rebeccaedwards.org/>.

<sup>33</sup> Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press*; David Wagner, *Ordinary People: In and Out of Poverty in the Gilded Age*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2008.

in its treatment of the show as a cultural product of its time.<sup>34</sup> The contribution that it made to my understanding of the importance of key national trends in Gilded Age America for the success of Buffalo Bill's Wild West is inestimable and the numerous citations of Warren's work throughout this study, and the relatively few references to other more general secondary sources on the relevant period in American history, are indicative of the substantial contribution that *Buffalo Bill's America* has made in situating William F. Cody's career in its historical context. Heather Cox Richardson's more recent study of the Wounded Knee massacre, although it has substantial weaknesses and some striking inaccuracies in its treatment of Lakota history, proved to be an extremely useful source on the eastern financial and political concerns which were driving the expansion of the United States in the Trans-Mississippi West in the years following the Civil War.<sup>35</sup>

If my academic background in Hispanic Studies saved me some time that might otherwise have been taken up with secondary reading, my on-going work as an interpreter and translator informed a key feature of the presentation of the evidence on which the findings of this investigation are based. Whenever sources from Catalan, French, Italian or Spanish are cited in this study, these appear in the body of the text in my own original English translations. I work in accordance with the prevailing view within the field of Translation Studies that translation is a decision

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<sup>34</sup> Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee – Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.

making process.<sup>36</sup> Although it seemed right that for the purposes of this study the decisions taken should be mine, I am nevertheless fully aware of the translator's ability to skew evidence, either intentionally or unintentionally, in the choices that s/he makes. For that reason, when English translations do appear as citations in the body of this study, a transcription of the original text in the source language appears in the notes. Adopting this approach is intended to both make key information available to readers who speak only English, and to make the original available to those who are able to read the relevant language, thereby allowing them to come to their own conclusions should their reading of the text be different from that of the translator, and mitigating the risk that meanings have been unintentionally misrepresented.

In March 2009 I returned to the *Hospital de Sant Pau* and found it much changed. The basement where I had taught and the anatomical museum were unrecognizable. I enquired about the tooth and was told it had been lost, possibly stolen, during the refurbishment. I found no contemporary evidence to suggest that William F. Cody suffered toothache during his time in Barcelona. Nor could I find any to indicate that he had a tooth extracted while he was there. Now that the tooth itself is missing, the story may be destined to become one of the many myths surrounding the Wild West. I trust that the pages which follow will offer more substantial information about Buffalo Bill in Barcelona than the tooth which inspired them.

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<sup>36</sup> Jiri Levy, "Translation as a Decision Process." In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 148-159. London and New York: Routledge, 2000; Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies – Theories and Applications*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001, 65, 111-113, 116, 182.

## Chapter 1 – Literature Review: Buffalo Bill, New Western History and the Wild West’s Visit to Barcelona

Why study Buffalo Bill? Twenty years ago, that might have seemed like a perfectly reasonable question to pose to anyone with a serious interest in the history of the American West. After all, Richard White, in his monumental 1991 study, *“It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own:” A History of the American West*, had found it necessary to make only the briefest mention of Buffalo Bill – and even that was with regard to what he termed the “imagined west.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Richard Slotkin’s groundbreaking *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890*, has only one reference – and that concerns Cody’s relationship with George Armstrong Custer rather than any importance that he might have had in his own right.<sup>2</sup> Patricia Nelson Limerick had written powerfully of *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, without any need to mention William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody at any stage in relation to that legacy.<sup>3</sup>

The work of White, Nelson Limerick and Slotkin was both a massive step forward for western history and a sign of the times. From the early 1980s, a New Western History was coming to the fore in their work, and in that of such scholars as William Cronon, John Mack Faragher, and Clyde Milner, to name but three more, which was

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<sup>1</sup> Richard White, *“It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own:” A History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, 613.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890*. New York: Atheneum, 1985, 407-408.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia N. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1988.

seeking to shake off the image of the Old Western History that was “ethnocentric and tied to a simple notion of progress.”<sup>4</sup> It was an emerging movement whose “most fundamental mission” was to “widen the range and increase the vitality of the search for meaning in the western past.”<sup>5</sup>

These pioneers embraced the term New Western Historians and, likewise embracing the challenge of self-definition which the movement faced, Nelson Limerick asserted:

New Western Historians break free of the old model of ‘progress’ and ‘improvement,’ and face up to the possibility that some roads of western development led directly to failure and injury. This reappraisal is not meant to make white Americans ‘look bad.’ The intention is on the contrary, simply to make it clear that in western American history, heroism and villainy, virtue and vice, and nobility and shoddiness appear in roughly the same proportion as they appear in any other subject of human history.<sup>6</sup>

History itself has shown that it was a reasonable assertion. In the subsequent three decades, the movement has become the dominant force in the field, successfully locating the effective normalization of western history within broader historiographic trends and leading to major new insights, particularly in such areas as the economic

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<sup>4</sup> Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 324.

<sup>5</sup> Patricia N. Limerick, “What on Earth is the New Western History?” In *Trails toward a New Western History*, edited by Patricia N. Limerick, 81-88. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991, 88.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 86.

history of the west and the role of women and non-white ethnic groups in the region.<sup>7</sup>

There were, however, two key aspects of the Old Western History which the movement could not readily debunk: the mythologization of the west, and the heroic stature of figures associated with the myth(s) of the west – one of whom was William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody.

It was fairly straightforward, and indeed necessary, to “engage in the ritual” of tackling one aspect of the western myth head on:<sup>8</sup> its association with Frederick Jackson Turner’s American exceptionalist “frontier thesis.”<sup>9</sup> In response to the 1890

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<sup>7</sup> See for example Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jamieson, (Eds). *The Women’s West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 1987; Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983; Jorge Iber and Arnaldo De Leon, *Hispanics in the American West*. Santa Barbara, Denver and Oxford: ABC/CLIO, 2005; William L. Katz, *The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996; Gerald D. Nash, *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth-Century West*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1999; David J. Webber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

<sup>8</sup> William A. Cronon, “Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner.” *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1987, 157-176, 157.

<sup>9</sup> In addition to Cronon’s article mentioned above, see for example, Wilbur Jacobs, *On Turner’s Trail: 100 Years of Writing Western History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994; Kerwin L. Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890-1990*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1997; Patricia N. Limerick, “Turnerians All: The Dream of a Helpful History in an Intelligible World.” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, 1995, 697-716; Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations 1890-1990*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991; Martin Ridge, “The Life of an Idea: The Significance of Frederick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis.” *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 41, 1991, 2-13; Richard White and Patricia N. Limerick (Eds). *The Frontier in American Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994; and David M. Wrobel, *The End of*

position announced by the Federal Census Bureau that the idea of a frontier would not “any longer have a place in the census reports,” Turner had developed his thesis that, “The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development.” He argued that the American frontier, though closed, “is sharply distinguished from the European frontier” and that this difference would continue to be a key defining factor of United States identity.<sup>10</sup>

British historian, David Murdoch, in contesting the approach to the western myth taken by a number of the New Western Historians, rightly observed that:

... nostalgia for the lost wilderness and the end of the frontier became bound up with nostalgia for a simpler America. This did not happen by accident: it was engineered by a handful of key figures each of whom was a deliberate and self-conscious myth-maker.<sup>11</sup>

William F. Cody was unquestionably such a myth-maker and Murdoch duly recognizes that, “Buffalo Bill Cody’s contribution to preparing the ground for the myth of the West is difficult to overestimate.”<sup>12</sup>

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*American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993.

<sup>10</sup> Frederick J. Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” In *Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, 199-227. Chicago: American Historical Association, 1893, 199-200.

<sup>11</sup> David H. Murdoch, *The American West: The Invention of a Myth*. Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2001, 21. For Murdoch’s thought-provoking critique of the approach to the myth which is taken within New Western History, particularly by Slotkin and Limerick, see 12-24.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

In 1992, Richard White, playing on the historical coincidence that Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition had been appearing at the Chicago World Fair at the same time and in the same city as Turner had been delivering his address to the American Historical Association, argued that Cody had effectively achieved an "Inverted Conquest" in bringing his vision of the west eastwards, initially within the United States, and subsequently to Europe.<sup>13</sup> The following year, the importance of Cody to that process of mythologization and the ways in which it underpinned American empire building was specifically addressed by Richard Slotkin.<sup>14</sup> The fact that two such luminaries of the New Western History should write in such a way clearly indicates that, in the case of Buffalo Bill at least, there is a place for a heroic figure of the Old Western History within the New. In the next decade, four significant monographs offered re-evaluations of William F. Cody and his role in western history within the new tradition which had become the mainstream.

The first of these was the brief but excellent 1998 study by Wyoming-based historian Eric Sorg, which sought to distinguish between William F. Cody – the man, and Buffalo Bill – the myth, and, in so doing, featured an examination of Cody's various business ventures, including the commercial, rather than the performance side, of

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<sup>13</sup> Richard White, "Fredrick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill." In *The Frontier in American Culture*, edited by Richard White and Patricia N. Limerick, 7-55. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. For his "Inverted Conquest" argument, see in particular 27-55.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Slotkin, "Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' and the Mythologization of the American Empire." In *The Cultures of United States Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, 164-181. Durham, North Carolina, and London: Duke University Press, 1993; and *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Atheneum, 1992, 63-87.



Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition.<sup>15</sup> Cultural historians Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes then produced the ground-breaking study in which they argued that the global reach of American mass culture has deep roots which predate the mid-twentieth century phenomena of cinema and television, and that the Wild West's European tours had played a key role in the emergence of this.<sup>16</sup> Although *Buffalo Bill in Bologna* is a marvellously alliterative title, the monograph is much more wide ranging and is better described by its subtitle *The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922*, since it examines the impact on Europe and the reception within various European cultures in the period in question of a number of expressions of American mass culture within a broader debate.<sup>17</sup> In the same year, Louis Warren published the outstanding social history of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, which also serves as a critical biography of its protagonist. In this study he examines Cody's life and work in the context of the emerging construct of national identity in the United States, and the complex relationships between the east and west of the country, and with Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>18</sup> Last, but certainly by no means least, Robert Bonner, writing two years later, within what might be termed the "economic" strand of the New Western History, examines William F. Cody as a businessman, with particular emphasis on his role in the development of Wyoming's Bighorn Basin.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Eric V. Sorg, *Buffalo Bill – Myth and Reality*. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1998, 61-87.

<sup>16</sup> Robert W. Rydell, and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 142-169.

<sup>18</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*.

<sup>19</sup> Robert E. Bonner, *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire: The Buffalo Bill Nobody Knows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

We can therefore reasonably conclude that, in the light of twenty years of scholarship, the question as to why anyone with a serious interest in the history of the American West might study Buffalo Bill has been adequately answered. We clearly are dealing with more than a heroic figure of the old western myths.

An examination of the relevant literature published since the Second World War, which has focussed specifically on William F. Cody does, nevertheless, throw up a key question for the present study which may at first glance appear somewhat more difficult to answer: why would anyone with a serious interest in the history of the American West choose to study Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona?<sup>20</sup> The literature on the subject, although not extensive, is, after all, almost unanimous: the period that the Wild West spent in Barcelona in the winter of 1889-1890 was the low point of its various European adventures, if not indeed the low point of its entire existence.

As far as the visit to Barcelona is concerned, Croft-Cooke and Meadmore's 1952 study, *Buffalo Bill: The Legend, the Man of Action, the Showman*, is brief, to the point, and negative. The entire episode is dealt with in a mere three sentences:

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<sup>20</sup> Prior to that date, much of the writing on William F. Cody can be regarded as hagiography rather than biography. Although it was first published in 1955, Julia Cody Goodman's biography of her brother is excluded from this brief survey as her manuscript was incomplete at the time of her death in 1928 and is much in keeping with such earlier works. The brief reference that she, or her co-author who is listed first on the volume, or her editor, makes to Barcelona similar in nature to the other English-language studies referred to here. Elizabeth J. Leonard and Julia Cody Goodman, *Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West*, edited by James W. Hoffman. New York: Library Publishers, 1955, 255.

After Paris the show toured Southern France, then went from Marseilles to Spain, where a ghastly winter was spent at Barcelona. Typhoid and Spanish influenza swept the city, which was put in quarantine and the show did little business. Frank Richmond and seven Indians died and Annie Oakley was dangerously ill.<sup>21</sup>

A clear pattern emerges, beginning with the work of Sell and Weybright in 1955, who observed:

... in Spain the weather was cold and wet, and the company was often reduced to half strength by severe colds. In spite of all Major Burke's publicity, Spanish audiences did not turn out. Since the show included no bull fights, the people of Barcelona were not interested. Burke had a band of Indians photographed in front of the statue of Columbus, but no paper published it. Frank Richmond, who announced the acts, died of influenza. Everybody was depressed, and eventually happy to get out of Spain alive.<sup>22</sup>

Five years later, Don Russell's masterful biography, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, summarizes the Spanish experience along the same lines in a single paragraph:

In all respects save publicity the Barcelona visit was a mistake. The city was in partial quarantine for typhoid fever and Spanish influenza. Frank Richmond,

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<sup>21</sup> Rupert Croft-Cooke and W. S. Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill: The Legend, the Man of Action, the Showman*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1952, 194.

<sup>22</sup> Henry B. Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955, 181.

the popular announcer of the show, died here as did four Indians. Annie Oakley was seriously ill, and seven ailing Indians were sent home.<sup>23</sup>

There are few studies on William F. Cody produced in Europe. The majority of Europeans undertaking formal study of American history or American studies are also likely to be studying the English language and what little scholarship is produced in European languages therefore tends to be translations from English of key texts. It is therefore interesting to note that theatre historian, Giuseppe Rivarola, published a monograph in Italian in 1966 which attempted to demythologize the figure of Buffalo Bill. It is even more interesting, for the purposes of this study, that he paints a significantly more positive picture of the Wild West's visit to Barcelona than that found in American and English sources.

He speaks of the crowds that gathered to greet the company amid great excitement, in spite of the early hour and the biting cold, when they landed on the Sant Beltrán quay on the morning of 18 December 1889, and of the way in which the Indians saluted the crowd with their blood-curdling whoops. The bystanders, he tells us, went wild.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, 352. Russell's study of Wild West Shows makes a similar observation. Don Russell, *The Wild West: A History of the Wild West Shows*. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970, 35.

<sup>24</sup> "Qui la folla si diede convegno il 18 dicembre, già di buon mattino nonostante il freddo pungente, accalcandosi al molo Sant Beltrán . [...] gli Indiani, come da copione, salutarono la folla a modo loro, ossia con acute grida mandando in visibilio gli astanti." Giuseppe M. Rivarola, *Buffalo Bill – Vero e Falso*. Genoa, Della Casa, 1966, 154.

Although he does include some of the same negative details as the English and American studies previously mentioned, such as the city being in quarantine due to an epidemic of typhus, Spanish flu and smallpox, he insists that performances continued until 20 January 1890.<sup>25</sup> He further suggests that seven Indians were admitted to Santa Cruz Hospital suffering from smallpox and that they would never see their native prairies again.<sup>26</sup> Beyond that, he provides the following account of Frank Richmond's demise that is more detailed than those to be found in earlier sources:

The death which most upset the company, however, was that of the presenter Frank Richmond which came as a sudden blow. It was impossible to establish whether he died of a heart attack or if he had contracted some terrible illness.

On 5 January his body was taken to the South-eastern cemetery, after the necessary embalming had been carried out by Dr Grinan i Friginals.<sup>27</sup>

Rivarola's study contains the first suggestion that the Indians of the Wild West were suspected of cannibalism during their stay in Barcelona, attributing the story to the leading Catalan circus historian, José Vinyes Sabatés.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> "Quantunque la città fosse in quarantena per una epidemia di tifo, di spagnola e di vaiuolo, le repliche si susseguirono fino al 20 gennaio 1890." Ibid, 156.

<sup>26</sup> "...sette Indiani, colpiti di vaiuolo, erano stati ricoverati all'Ospedale di Santa Cruz. Non faranno più ritorno alle loro praterie." Idem.

<sup>27</sup> "La morte che più commosse la compagnia fu quella del presentatore Frank Richmond. Un trapasso improvviso. Non si potè mai stabilire se per un infarto o se anch'egli contagiato da un terribile morbo.

Il 5 gennaio il suo corpo era stato traslatato al cimitero di Sudoeste, dopo l'imbalsamazione di prescrizione, effettuata dalla dottoressa Grinan y Friginals." Idem.

To make matters worse for Buffalo Bill and his associates, it came to light that a number of small children had mysteriously disappeared. The rumour was rife [...] that the Indians in the show were responsible for the disappearances. It was even said that they had thus come by the type of dinner for which they had waited such a long time.

As soon as Buffalo Bill heard this, he went to the authorities and invited them to come to his encampment so that they could see for themselves that his Indians were not cannibals.<sup>29</sup>

John Burke, although no relation to William F. Cody's general manager and publicity agent, John M. Burke, showed the same tendency to verbosity and exaggeration for which his namesake was so often criticized.<sup>30</sup> In his 1973 biography of Buffalo Bill, he gives a much more extensive account of the Wild West's stay in Barcelona. He begins by admitting that "a brave beginning was made

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<sup>28</sup> Rivarola does not give a published source for Vinyes Sabatés' account of the incident and, as there is no work by the Catalan critic in his bibliography, Rivarola, *Buffalo Bill*, 235-241, it seems reasonable to assume that this may have been from a personal interview or correspondence. Vinyes Sabatés' only published article on Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Spain did not appear until sixteen years after Rivarola's study. It does, however, mention the alleged cannibalism of the Indians. José Vinyes Sabatés, "Quando venne in Europa il 'Wild West Show'. Buffalo Bill e la sua disavventura di Spagna." *Circo*, Vol. 14, Number 4, 1982, 24-27.

<sup>29</sup> "Ad aggravare le preoccupazioni di Buffalo Bill e dei soci ecco la notizia che alcune bambine erano misteriosamente sparite. La voce popolare [...] indicava negli Indiani dello show l'autore del rapimento. Si diceva persino che in tal modo infine avevano potuto disporre d'un pranzo come da tempo desideravano.

Buffalo Bill, appena informato dell'accaduto si era recato dalle autorità e le aveva invitate al suo accampamento affinché constatassero di persona che i suoi Indiani non erano affatto degli antropofagi." Rivarola, *Buffalo Bill*, 156.

<sup>30</sup> On John M. Burke's alleged verbosity and exaggerations see Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 202-203.

in Barcelona” and, his is then the first of the modern studies to repeat a story that ran in the press in December 1889:

John Burke, stirred to oratory by a crowd of Spanish journalists and by the historical associations of the quay on which he stood, pointed out that “on this very spot Christopher Columbus landed from his caravels upon his return from discovering America.” He gestured dramatically toward the nearby statue of Columbus and declaimed, “There stands our advance agent, four hundred years ahead of us.”

“Damned bad day for us,” one of the Indians remarked in cultivated tones, “when *he* discovered America.”<sup>31</sup>

Overall, however, his treatment is extremely negative. As a new detail, he suggests that there was a “stubborn Spanish belief that any outdoor spectacle that didn’t include a bullfight was a waste of time and pesos.”<sup>32</sup> His is also the first study to suggest that extreme poverty in Barcelona was a contributing factor to the failure:

Instead of dukes and *marquesas*, men and women of fashion, the poor people of Barcelona descended on the Buffalo Bill camp to beg, to swarm around the mess tent and fight for the privilege of looting the garbage cans. Even the Indians had never seen such poverty on the Dakota reservations.<sup>33</sup>

Otherwise, he runs through the same litany of disasters to be found in most of the other studies, whilst exaggerating some of the details for good measure. Christmas 1889 was “the blackest day in the history of the show;” the death-toll from the

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<sup>31</sup> John Burke, *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons/Capricorn Books, 1973, 192.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 192-193.

various epidemics was fourteen, including Frank Richmond, ten Indians, and three members of the crew; Cody was unscathed because he “dosed himself with so much whiskey the germs didn’t stand a chance;” admission prices were halved “but still the Barcelonans stayed away in droves.”<sup>34</sup> He concludes his treatment of the Spanish debacle:

It was a month before they were given clearance from quarantine and Salsbury was able to charter a grimy, rust-coated Mediterranean tramp steamer to convey the company to Naples. The ship was so overloaded that the captain refused to take it beyond the harbour entrance, which was lashed by a late-January gale, until Salsbury gave him more money.<sup>35</sup>

The next significant study of Cody’s life was that by Nellie Irene Sneider Yost, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Fortune and Failures*, and, in view of the fact that she specifically alludes to Buffalo Bill’s failures within the title of her study, it is somewhat surprising that she makes no reference at all to the reputed flop of the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona.<sup>36</sup>

Sarah Blackstone’s 1986 *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, is another work which offers a concise negative summary of the stay in Spain:

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 193.

<sup>35</sup> Idem.

<sup>36</sup> Nellie I. S. Yost, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Fortune and Failures*. Chicago: Sage Press/Swallow Books, 1979.



First they travelled through southern France, then into Spain where influenza and unappreciative audiences nearly finished the show. Once free of Spain, they travelled to Italy and Germany, where they set up camp for the winter.<sup>37</sup>

Prominent English Westerners, Joseph Rosa and Robert Stephen “Robin” May, offer similarly negative coverage of the event in their excellent 1989 “pictorial biography” of Buffalo Bill and his Wild West:

After Paris the company visited southern France and then Spain, where the enterprising Major Burke had the Indians photographed beside the statue of Columbus in Barcelona. Disaster now struck the show and the city, in the form of typhoid and Spanish influenza. Several Indians died and so did the show’s announcer, Frank Richmond. Annie Oakley was among those taken ill. Naturally, with the city under quarantine, there was a very heavy financial loss. Seven Indians were sent home to recover.<sup>38</sup>

The only monographic study in Catalan to date on the period that the Wild West spent in Catalonia was published by Jordi Marill Escudé in 1998.<sup>39</sup> It is a short work of less than 30,000 words, and it has inherent drawbacks, some of which are not in themselves the fault of the author. Catalan should not be regarded as a minority

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<sup>37</sup> Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*. New York, West Port & London: Greenwood Press, Contributions to the Study of Popular Culture, 14, 1986, 24.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography*. Kansas City: University Press of Kansas, 1989, 144.

<sup>39</sup> Jordi Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern... L’espectacle de Buffalo Bill a Barcelona*. Palma de Mallorca: Hesperus, 1998.

language, given that it has at least eight million native speakers,<sup>40</sup> but it is, nevertheless, a language that is seldom studied by historians of the American West, and Marill Escudé's work is not therefore generally accessible to Cody scholars.<sup>41</sup> Beyond the language barrier, the fact that it was written for an essentially local audience, means that much of the contextual information about Barcelona in the late nineteenth century which an English-speaking audience would require in order to appreciate Marill Escudé's study is not included.

The book does, however, have two significant weaknesses which can be attributed to the author. Firstly, there is a lack of clarity in the referencing of some of the sources. This is particularly the case with the extracts from newspaper accounts which are commonly embedded in the body of the text, sometimes with only the name of the publication and not the date.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, the book is clearly written with a general readership in mind and considerable poetic licence is shown in the description of

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<sup>40</sup> The slogan "Soms vuit millions" or "There are eight million of us" was used by Catalan language campaigners in the 1990s. The last complete linguistic census of Catalonia in 2001 reported only 338,877 from a population of 6,176,751 over the age of two years as having no knowledge of the language. Given that these figures refer only to those parts of north-eastern Spain which fall within the area administered by Catalonia's autonomous government, and allowing for the number of speakers in Andorra, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, the island of Sardinia, the south-west of France and expatriate native speakers, a minimum figure of eight million speakers represents a fairly conservative estimate. Full data from the 2001 linguistic census available from *Generalitat de Catalunya – Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya*: <http://www.idescat.cat/territ/BasicTerr?TC=5&V0=3&V1=0&V3=876&V4=217&ALLINFO=TRUE&PARENT=1&CTX=B>, accessed 31 July 2011.

<sup>41</sup> A draft translation into English by the author of this study, which if for research purposes only and not for further publication, is held with the Catalan original at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.

<sup>42</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 21, 25, 26-27, 41, 54, 84, 89, 96.

some of the scenes from the performance. Typical is the following extract from his description of the attack on the emigrant wagon train:

Showing admirable co-ordination the warriors Dogs Ghost, Plenty Horses, Shade, Stands Still and Charging Crow fall with their horses “dead” on the ground. From all the shooting the air reeks of gun powder. One of the escorts has also fallen on the ground. The wagon train closes in a circle in the very centre of the arena. It is a very dynamic scene. In the stands, the audience look on in wonder at the skills of the Indians. Kills the Enemy hides behind his horse’s body – using it as a shield. The emigrants fire from the wagons. Scares the Wind and Left Hand fire their revolvers with their entire bodies hanging from the right hand side of their horses. Eagle Man falls to the ground with his horse. The scene is very well staged. Everyone knows whether or not he is to die and, if so, when and where. The audience feel that they have never seen such a sight before. Shortly thereafter, a group of cowboys rushes to the rescue from the wings with Cody leading them. More rifle shots ring out. Runs Close, One Side, White Horse and Little Wolf are driven off by the colonel’s troops. Red Shirt orders the umpteenth retreat of the season while the audience applaud enthusiastically.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> “Amb una coordinació admirable, els guerrers Dogs Ghost, Plenty Horses, Shade, Stands Still i Charging Crow cauen amb el cavall ‘morts’ a terra. De tants trets, l’aire fa pudor de pólvora. Un dels escortes també ha caigut a l’arena. La caravana fent voltes en cercle. És un quadre ben dinàmic. A les graderies hom es meravella de la destresa dels indis. Kills The Enemy amaga el cos perquè el poltre li faci escut. Els emigrats desapareixen des dels carros. Scares the Wind i Left Hand desapareixen el revòlver amb el cos del tot penjat a la dreta del cavall. Eagle Man cau amb el cavall a terra. Aquesta escena està molt ben organitzada. Cadascú sap si ha de ‘morir’ o no, quan i on. El públic té la sensació que no ha vist mai cap espectacle tan real. Poc després surt de les quadres un grup de *cowboys* al rescat amb Cody al davant. Sonen encara més trets de fusell. Runs Close, One Side,

It is vividly written but the details are entirely fictitious. Some printed Wild West programmes, such as the one from London 1887, indicate which Indian performers paraded into the arena as members of which particular tribal groups.<sup>44</sup> There are, however, no contemporary records showing which Indian performers took part in which fight scenes, nor the ways in which these were staged, nor how individual Indians participated in the action.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of these drawbacks, it is a work which has major strengths. The most significant of these are the publication of the only three known photographs of the Wild West in Barcelona which have as yet come to light, and the effective refutation of three of the most often repeated claims about the time that the Wild West spent in the city.<sup>46</sup> Marill Escudé clearly demonstrates that the illness rife in Barcelona at the time, and which was referred to as the “dengue” in both the contemporary Catalan and the Spanish press, did not constitute an “epidemic” in epidemiological terms. He offers proof that there was no quarantine in the city in December 1889, with the only measure taken that was in any way comparable to a partial quarantine being a voluntary embargo by theatre owners that failed after a few days in January 1890.

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White Horse, i Little Wolf salten ‘abatuts’ per les tropes del coronel. Red Shirt ordena l’enèsima retirada de la temporada mentre els espectadors aplaudeixen amb força.” Ibid, 52-54.

<sup>44</sup> Wild West Program, London 1887, William F. Cody Collection, McCracken Research Library, [MS6.1898].

<sup>45</sup> The other fight scenes from the programme are treated in similar style. Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 58-59, 74-75.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix 6, Figures 1-3.

He also provides conclusive evidence that there were no Indian deaths in Barcelona.<sup>47</sup>

Marill Escudé's work is of central importance as a point of departure for the present study which seeks to address, in Chapter 2, one of the major drawbacks of his monograph by providing the contextual information about Barcelona in the late nineteenth century which was not necessary for a Catalan readership. In Chapter 3, this study will present an account of the Wild West's time in Barcelona based on a broader range of sources from both sides of the Atlantic than Marill Escudé uses, fully documented according to standard academic conventions. It will thereby be able to avoid the weaknesses of his monograph while building on its strengths and refining and expanding on his conclusions in the context of current developments in Cody studies. It will furthermore draw upon some aspects of critical theory to analyse the contemporary evidence and arrive at more robust conclusions. This work, being in English, will also serve to make Marill Escudé's contribution to our understanding of the time that the Wild West spent in Barcelona more readily accessible to students of American Western history.

It can clearly be seen that Cody scholarship subsequent to Marill Escudé's monograph, shows no knowledge of his findings.

Joy Kasson's excellent *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory and Popular History*, produced at the turn of the twenty-first century, makes no reference to the

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<sup>47</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 87-90.

visit to Spain, other than listing Barcelona among the Wild West's European venues.<sup>48</sup> In the same year, Robert Carter's biography, which is written for a more general audience, returns to the same negative themes as the majority of previous writers:

... Burke was unable to generate much enthusiasm for the show among the Spanish, probably because it did not feature any bullfights.

At Barcelona, the Wild West suffered one of the worst months in its history. The city was in partial quarantine for Spanish influenza and typhoid fever as well as being economically depressed. Frank Richmond, the show's dynamic announcer, died suddenly of influenza, as did four Indians who all lacked immunity to the white man's diseases. Seven ailing Indians were sent home. Annie Oakley, too, was taken seriously ill. As soon as the quarantine was lifted, Salsbury booked passage for Naples, where they opened on 26 January 1890. Understandably depressed, the show people were happy to leave Spain alive.<sup>49</sup>

Writing in 2002, in his *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West*, Bobby Bridger describes the Wild West's time in Barcelona in a similar vein:

Spain proved to be a disaster for the Wild West. The production arrived in the country at the same time as an influenza and typhus epidemic was spreading throughout the population. The epidemic naturally affected crowds as

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<sup>48</sup> Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory and Popular History*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2000, 83.

<sup>49</sup> Robert A. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man Behind the Legend*. Edison, New Jersey: Castle Books, 2000, 333.

Barcelona went under partial quarantine. Soon the epidemics reached the camps of the Wild West and many performers became ill. The show's announcer, Frank Richmond, became so ill with the flu that he contracted pneumonia and died. Four Indian performers died; Annie Oakley nearly died; and seven Lakota performers, desperately ill, were sent home to America. The company hobbled out of Spain in January 1890, having taken severe financial hits and sustained priceless losses in personnel.<sup>50</sup>

Jacques Porte, professor of contemporary history at Paris VIII University, published a biography of William F. Cody's in French in 2002. It is interesting to note that, writing within the mainstream of the academic study of American history in France, Porte describes the Barcelona experience in much the same terms as the American and English writers cited above:

The Wild West Show was in Spain in 1889, but on this occasion success was not there to meet them. While the troupe was appearing in Barcelona, a flu epidemic seriously affected the Americans, Annie Oakley had to take to her bed and Frank Richmond contracted pneumonia and would die as a result. Attendances were little more than five thousand per performance, as the ticket prices were too high for a population with few resources. Official pronouncements about Christopher Columbus did not stir up any enthusiasm, nor did the Indians who were photographed in front of the explorer's statue. A controversy broke out about the bison when they were down there. To attract

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<sup>50</sup> Bobby Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West*. Austin: University of Texas, 2002, 354-355.

spectators, Buffalo Bill declared that these animals were peaceful and not dangerous, but this suggestion, coming from a man who is involved in a simulation of killing them, angered supporters of bull-fighting, who resented it as a slight to their honour and the honour of their bulls.

The troupe was probably happy to leave these somewhat inhospitable shores and make their way to Italy, where they remained from 28 January until 16 April 1890, appearing in Naples, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Milan and Verona.<sup>51</sup>

There is no suggestion that the show was not a success as entertainment, unless we take his reference to the bison as an indication that the buffalo hunting scene may not have gone down well. He nevertheless continues to reference the three epidemics, the quarantine, and the deaths of several members of the company, while repeating the incident found in Rivarola's study that Indians were suspected of cannibalism in relation to the disappearance of a number of children.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> “Le Wild West Show se retrouve en Espagne en 1889, mais le succès, cette fois, n'est pas au rendez-vous. Alors que la troupe se produit à Barcelone, une épidémie de grippe atteint gravement les Américains, Annie Oakley doit garder la chambre et Frank Richmond contracte une pneumonie qui l'emportera. Les spectateurs ne sont guère plus de cinq mille par représentation, le prix des billets étant trop élevé pour une population aux faibles revenus. Les déclarations officielles sur Christophe Colomb ne suscitent pas l'enthousiasme, et moins encore les Indiens qui sont photographiés devant la statue de l'explorateur. Là-dessus, une controverse éclate à propos des bisons. Pour attirer les spectateurs, Buffalo Bill déclare que ces animaux sont placides et peu dangereux, mais ces propos, venant d'un homme qui se livre à un simulacra de mise à mort, provoquent la colère des défenseurs de la corrida, qui les ressentent comme une atteinte à leur honneur et à celui de leurs taureaux.

La troupe est sans doute heureuse de quitter ces rivages peu hospitaliers pour se rendre en Italie, où elle va séjourner du 28 janvier au 16 avril 1890, en passant par Naples, Rome, Florence, Bologne, Milan et Vérone.” Jacques Portes, *Buffalo Bill*. Paris: Fayard, 2002, 177-178.

<sup>52</sup> Rivarola, *Buffalo Bill*, 156.



In Louis Warren's wide-ranging 2005 study, *Buffalo Bill's America*, we are again down to a single paragraph on Barcelona:

Gate receipts were not good in Spain, where epidemics of Spanish influenza and typhoid kept crowds light. Frank Richmond, the show's noted orator, died in Barcelona as did at least four Indians. Cutting the Spanish tour short, Cody and Salsbury ushered the Wild West show to Naples, Italy, for three weeks.<sup>53</sup>

It can clearly be seen that the studies by Rivarola and Marill Escudé stand apart from the others, in that they provide accounts that cannot be characterized as wholly negative. Neither of these works arises from the academic mainstream of American history or American studies in either the United States or Europe.

In the other studies, the negative picture is clear and consistent, and we can sketch its essential features as follows: the weather was bad; attendances were poor and/or the audiences were unappreciative; there were epidemics of (Spanish) influenza and/or typhoid and/or smallpox; a number of performers, including Annie Oakley, were ill; Frank Richmond, the Wild West's announcer, died, as did a number of Indians and possibly some other members of the support staff; some of the Indians may have been suspected of cannibalism; the Wild West was placed in quarantine; the company sustained financial losses; and the run in Barcelona may have been cut short as a result of any or all of the above.

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<sup>53</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 344.

Since the work of Marill Escudé is native to Catalonia, and that of Rivarola draws on the work of the Catalan historian, José Vinyes Sabatés, as a source it might be tempting to think that a more positive picture of the Wild West's time in Barcelona would be found in Catalan writing. Judging by a recent essay written by Josep Maria Huertas Claveria, one of Catalonia's leading journalists, such is not the case. The sketch he produces in an anthology of interesting anecdotes about the city of Barcelona is in keeping with the dominant negative trend of the mainstream, and he is clearly unaware of Marill Escudé's work. Having briefly contextualized the visit to Barcelona as part of a European tour and sketched a few details about the company he stated:

But success had not come with them. Their first show on 21 December was very poorly attended. The trend for poor attendance was maintained in the following days, and furthermore members of the company were victims of a smallpox epidemic which was sweeping Barcelona at that time. Some of them are buried in Montjuïc cemetery.

Despite their lack of success, the company could not leave the city since the authorities had placed them in quarantine and they continued with their performances as best they could throughout the month of January. Finally, in February, they were able to leave for Naples, taking with them memories of Barcelona that were by no means pleasant.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> “Però l'èxit no els va acompanyar. El debut va ser el 21 de desembre i va anar-hi molt poca gent. La tònica de poca assistència es va mantenir els dies següents, i a sobre els membres de la companyia van anar caient víctimes d'una epidèmia de febre variòlica que assolava aquells dies Barcelona. Alguns d'ells són enterrats al cementiri de Montjuïc.

Malgrat el poc èxit, la companyia no va poder marxar de la ciutat, ja que les autoritats els van obligar a observar quarantena, i van mantenir l'espectacle, com van poder, durant tot el mes de gener.

We do therefore have the basis for an answer to our second question: why would anyone with a serious interest in the history of the American West choose to study Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona? The topic has been inadequately studied and much of what has been published would appear to be inaccurate when read in the light of the only monographic study focussing specifically on the time that Cody's company spent in the city. Furthermore, that monograph is written for a restricted audience, in a relatively inaccessible and therefore not well known language. Its findings have not informed mainstream scholarship within American history or American studies to date.

From that basis for an answer, a fuller answer emerges when we consider the enduring importance of the concept of "frontier" to Western American History and its historiography. It is difficult to challenge Handley's observation that it is a term that "will continue to mean something as long as Americans want to give history a nationalist meaning."<sup>55</sup> However we may define, refine or contest its meaning – or meanings – and for all that, as Kate Flint suggests in her study of American Indians in Europe, "The idea of the frontier representing a clear line of demarcation, whether geographic or symbolic, has been repeatedly and deservedly called into question."<sup>56</sup>

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Finalment, el mes de febrer, van marxar cap a Nàpols, enduent-se un record no gaire agradable de Barcelona." Josep M. Huertas Claveria, *Mites i gent de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2006, 9-10.

<sup>55</sup> William R. Handley, *Marriage, Violence and the Nation in the American Literary West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 62.

<sup>56</sup> Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*. Princeton/London: Princeton University Press, 2009, 265.

Turner's ghost has not yet been exorcized from the field, and, for the purposes of the present study that is not a bad thing, for Turner's American Exceptionalist premise, hinges on a European dimension, and he insists that in studying the settlement of the United States, "... we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted on Europe."<sup>57</sup>

When William F. Cody took his Wild West to Europe with its "mythic reformulation of the country's western movement," presenting settlement beyond the Mississippi as the triumph of civilization over savagery, he did so in a key period for the self-definition of United States identity.<sup>58</sup> He was not, however, writing his master narrative on a blank slate. As Warren rightly points out:

Frontiers, then, were not just an American place or process. They were Eurasian too. And the presence of Americans allowed Europeans to reimagine their relation to the march of progress in new terms, to see themselves as Indians or cowboys, or both.<sup>59</sup>

Americans were not the only people engaged in developing a construct of national identity after a century of substantial change, punctuated by warfare. Spain was also such a place. During the course of the nineteenth century Spain experienced twenty-one *pronunciamientos* or military led attempted *coups d'état*, three major civil wars, and three violent changes of head of State.<sup>60</sup> Within Spain, Catalonia was

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<sup>57</sup> Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier*, 200.

<sup>58</sup> Roger A. Hall, *Performing the American Frontier, 1870-1906*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 150.

<sup>59</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 357.

<sup>60</sup> Raymond Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, 1-70 and *Spain: 1808-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975, ii-xxv, 2-477; Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal*

unquestionably, at the time of the Wild West's visit, itself a frontier, as it is defined by Clifton in his study of "biographical frontiers" as "a culturally defined place where peoples with differently culturally expressed identities meet and deal with each other."<sup>61</sup>

In that context, it should be clear that anyone with a serious interest in the history of the American West would choose to study Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Barcelona because of the opportunities which it provides to develop new insights into the concept of national self-definition which continues to be as relevant today as it was in December 1889.

As stated earlier, Patricia Nelson Limerick responded to her own rhetorical question "What on earth is the New Western History?" by suggesting, among other things, that its mission was to "widen the range and increase the vitality of the search for meaning in the western past."<sup>62</sup> This study shares that mission and its premise is to carry it out by exploring in detail the time that Buffalo Bill's Wild West spent in Barcelona.

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*Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, 21-205; Stanley G. Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*. Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008, 146-149; Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*, xv; Mary Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002: People and State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 1-78.

<sup>61</sup> James A. Clifton, (Ed). *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers*. Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Limerick, *What on Earth is the New Western History*, 88.

## Chapter 2 – Setting the Scene for the Wild West’s Visit to Barcelona

There are two key aspects of the background to the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona that are important to keep in mind. The first of these is to place the visit to Spain in relation to Cody’s other European tours. The second is to determine the sort of venue, both physically and culturally, that the Catalan capital provided for the exhibition. An understanding of each of these is required if we are to develop an appropriate sense of the audience that the exhibition would find in the city, its reception by them and its impact upon them.

Between 1885 and 1913, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West delighted audiences throughout the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, Wales and fifteen other countries in continental Europe with its unbeatable combination of the authentic and the exotic.<sup>1</sup> It was a sensation, igniting “Wild West Fever” by offering what purported to be a genuine experience of the American frontier that people on the east coast and in Europe had previously only ever read about or dreamed about.<sup>2</sup>

Its first overseas stop was in London, representing Nebraska at the great American Exhibition of 1887. The relationship between Britain and the United States was complex and at times difficult in the century following the American Revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> John G. Blair, “Blackface Minstrels and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Nineteenth-century Entertainment Forms as Cultural Exports.” In *European Readings of American Popular Culture: Contributions to the Study of Popular Culture, Number 50*, edited by John Dean and Jean-Paul Gabiller, 3-12. Westport, Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 1996, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 116.

The political system of the former colonies had been changed by the war, but close linguistic, cultural, social and economic ties remained.<sup>3</sup> The War of 1812 was the only outright military conflict,<sup>4</sup> but so many issues gave rise to disputes between Britain and the United States from 1783 to 1872 that Kathleen Burk's extensive study of the relationship between the two countries characterizes that entire period as one of "war and rumours of war."<sup>5</sup> There were several financial crises that affected substantial British capital invested in the United States, such as the Panics of 1837 and 1857, and the Erie and Great Western Railroad Scandals of 1871.<sup>6</sup> There were a number of boundary disputes relating to the United States border with British North America, as Canada was known until it officially became a Dominion of the British Empire in 1867.<sup>7</sup> The most significant of these related to the Oregon border, which was resolved in 1846, and the border with Alaska, which was not finalized until

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<sup>3</sup> Kathleen Burk, *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008, 311-368; George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 2008, 11-52.

<sup>4</sup> Troy Bickham. *The Weight of Vengeance – The United States, The British Empire and The War of 1812*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 2012; Jeremy Black, *The War of 1812 in the Age of Napoleon*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009; Burk, *Old World, New World*, 219-243; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 125-145; John Latimer, *1812 – War With America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2007; Bradford Perkins, *Prologue to War – England and the United States 1805-1812*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

<sup>5</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 189-276.

<sup>6</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 319-320; Charles W. Calomiris and Larry Schweikart. "The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment." *The Journal of Economic History*, 1991, Vol. 51, No. 4, 808–810; Leland H. Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital to 1875*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, 86-88; Hugh Rockoff, "The Crisis of 1857." In *Business Cycles and Depressions: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by David Glasner and Thomas F. Cooley, 128-132. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997; Richard H. Timberlake, Jr., "The Panic of 1837." In *Business Cycles and Depressions: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by David Glasner and Thomas F. Cooley, 514-516. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997.

<sup>7</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 102-103, 254.

1903.<sup>8</sup> The event that caused the greatest strain and brought the countries close to renewing hostilities was unquestionably the American Civil War.

Professor Richard Blackett has demonstrated that public opinion in Britain was strongly sympathetic to the Confederacy at the outbreak of war,<sup>9</sup> perhaps in part due to the importance of the cotton trade which involved as much as twenty percent of the British workforce and which imported approximately eighty percent of its raw materials from the Southern States.<sup>10</sup> In May 1861, within weeks of hostilities beginning, Britain declared its neutrality. There were, nevertheless, three crises in the first eighteen months of the war which almost gave rise to British intervention: the Union navy's detention of the mail steamer *Trent* in November 1861; the refit of the Confederate battleship *Alabama* in Liverpool in the summer of 1862; and the controversy over Gladstone's call for British mediation in the conflict in October

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<sup>8</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 422-424; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 191-194; Reginald C. Stuart, *United States Expansionism and British North America, 1775-1871*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988, 104-105.

<sup>9</sup> Richard J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War*. Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2001, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Duncan A. Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War*. Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society, 2003, 162-193; Philip S. Foner, *British Labor and the American Civil War*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981, 3-5, 13-14, 118; Amanda Foreman, *A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War*. New York: Random House, 2011, 91-96; Joseph A. Fry, *Dixie Looks Abroad: The South and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1789-1973*. Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2002, 75-78; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 226; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom – The Civil War Era*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1988, 383-386, 543-549; Phillip S. Paludan, *'A People's Contest' – The Union and Civil War 1861-1865*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988, 34-36, 146, 267-272; Peter J. Parish, *The American Civil War*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975, 113, 184-190; J.G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Boston: Heath and Company, 1961, 364-368, 502-504.



1862.<sup>11</sup> Fears of British military intervention only began to ebb away after the Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July 1863 as the inevitability of defeat for the Confederacy became increasingly clear.<sup>12</sup>

However negative some elements of the relationship between Britain and America may have been there were always important positives in the background. The economic systems of the two nations were fundamentally related and underpinned by the same mercantilist/capitalist philosophy; the Christian religion, particularly in some of its Protestant manifestations, enjoyed a similar place of prominence throughout much of American society, even if the United States' Constitution formally rejected the idea of an established religion; and in the upper echelons of society and in the field of high culture there were numerous examples of excursions into the American West by British aristocrats and successful Atlantic crossings by artists, writers and their work.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 268-276; Campbell, *English Public Opinion*, 194-233; Foner, *British Labor*, 93-95; Foreman, *A World on Fire*, 172-198, 369-376, 546-547, 795-805; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 230-233, 240-250; Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992, 80-99, 146-151, 155-159; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 378-391, 546, 554-557; Paludan, *A People's Contest*, 34-45, 266-269; Parish, *The American Civil War*, 406-414, 439-450; Randall and Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 364-366.

<sup>12</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 276; Jones, *Union in Peril*, 393-396; Parish, *The American Civil War*, 280.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Armstrong, Roger Fagge and Tim Lockley (Eds). *America in the British Imagination*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, 2-3, 6, 96-117, 132-167; Burk, *Old World, New World*, 277-379; Peter Pagnamenta, *Prairie Fever – How British Aristocrats Laid Claim to the American West*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, 2012, 11-281.

The groundwork had also been laid for a successful Wild West exhibition by George Catlin's tours of Britain in the 1840s at which he had presented *tableaux vivants* featuring American Indians,<sup>14</sup> and by the substantial American presence at the Great Exhibition of 1851 which had been met with much popular acclaim.<sup>15</sup> It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that the Wild West's initial foray overseas was hailed as such a great success.<sup>16</sup> Cody himself penned a substantial addendum to his 1879 autobiography entitled *The Wild West in England*, which celebrated the visit's success and featured much of the positive press coverage that the company enjoyed.<sup>17</sup> From among these news reports a number of scholars have recognized as particularly significant the fact that by the end of the run, Cody was being lauded by the *London Times*, which had been so vociferously pro-Confederate in many of its editorials in the Civil War era, for doing his part in bringing "England and America" together.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Tom F. Cunningham, *The Diamond's Ace – Scotland and the Native Americans*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2001, 71-86; Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 53-85, 192-225; Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999, 27-52.

<sup>15</sup> Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 229; Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, x; Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 51.

<sup>16</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 362-363; Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 226-255; Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 113-129; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 76-82; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 324-336; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 282-339.

<sup>17</sup> William F. Cody. *The Wild West in England*. Edited and with an Introduction by Frank Christianson. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 362; Martin Crawford, *The Anglo-American Crisis of the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Times and America, 1850–1862*. Athens, Georgia, and London: University of Georgia Press, 1987; Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 255; Foner, *British Labor*, 3-4; Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 129; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 229; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 82; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 335-336; *The Times*, 1 November 1887; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 333.

Burk has argued that the western drive of Manifest Destiny meant that the United States was less of a potential competitor for Britain in a number of spheres on the international stage. She suggests 1871 as the date that marked the “turning of the tide” that would lead to the “Great Rapprochement” between the two nations that really gathered pace between 1895 and America’s entry into the First World War in 1917.<sup>19</sup> Buffalo Bill’s Wild West’s first visit to London was therefore taking place at a moment that was propitious for a great many reasons.<sup>20</sup>

The most striking occurrence of the run was the 11 May 1887 visit to the show of Queen Victoria, her first appearance at a public performance since the death of her consort, Prince Albert, from typhoid fever on 14 December 1861. This and the subsequent command performance given at Windsor on 20 June 1887 are evidence of the extent to which Cody was, in addition to being a man of his own times, very much a “Renaissance man” out of his time. A multi-talented individual with a thirst for the patronage of the great and good that had been, almost literally, food and drink to the great talents of fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe.

When the Kings of Denmark, Belgium, Greece and Saxony and the Prince of Wales all rode in the Deadwood Stagecoach, Cody is reported to have commented “I’ve held four kings, but four kings and the Prince of Wales makes a Royal Flush such as

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<sup>19</sup> Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904*. London: Associated University Press, 1981; Burk, *Old World, New World*, 380-460; Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914*. New York: Scribners’ Sons, 1968; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 266-296.

<sup>20</sup> Pagnamenta, *Prairie Fever*, 5-7.

no man ever held before.”<sup>21</sup> This encapsulates his relationship with his high-born patrons. It also endows their patronage with new meanings, however, presenting it in an intercultural nexus that juxtaposes the contemporary and quintessentially American game of poker with the presence of personages from ancient royal houses of Europe. Cody, the nineteenth century entrepreneur, was not slow to cash in on this winning hand – with lithographs quickly being produced which depicted his head encircled by those of his royal patrons. The lithographs were soon reproduced as prints which subsequently became the basis for publicity posters.<sup>22</sup> It was publicity that was food and drink to the “mobile dream factory [...] producing narratives of heroic conquest for mass audiences” that was Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.<sup>23</sup> At the close of the American Exhibition, the show moved on to Birmingham and Manchester for shorter although similarly successful runs, so much so that the following year they remained in the north of England, appearing in Manchester again and also in Hull.<sup>24</sup>

When the show opened in Paris on Saturday 18 May 1889 as part of the Universal Exhibition, ten thousand spectators gave it an enthusiastic reception. The

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<sup>21</sup> Near identical versions of this anecdote appear in various sources. See for example Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 331.

<sup>22</sup> On the central role of large scale poster campaigns to the Wild West’s marketing, see Jason Berger, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and John M. Burke – Exploring the Origins of Celebrity Brand Management.” *Journal of Promotion Management*, Vol 7, Nos. 1 and 2, 2002, 225-252; and Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*. New York: Darien House, 1976. For the posters in question see Appendix 6, Figures 4 and 5.

<sup>23</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 31.

<sup>24</sup> On the time spent in the midlands and north of England see Alan Gallop, *Buffalo Bill’s British Wild West*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2001, 130-153.

*Marseillaise* was played after the *Star Spangled Banner* and, as there was no French royal family at that time, Marie François Sadi Carnot, the controversial president described by Patrick Harismendy as the “engineer” of the French Republic and who would be assassinated five years later, was the leading patron.<sup>25</sup> The exiled Queen Isabel II of Spain did provide a royal presence at the première, and she was one of the passengers honoured with a ride in the Deadwood Coach.<sup>26</sup> The difference of emphasis in the French show reflects the understanding of Cody and his troupe that Europe was never just one homogeneous setting for the reception of the accomplished product of American mass culture that the Wild West was to become.<sup>27</sup>

The unveiling of the Statue of Liberty on 28 October 1886 had provided a potent symbolic representation of the idea that a firm and unfailing relationship between the United States and France had endured throughout the eleven decades since the Declaration of Independence.<sup>28</sup> The philosophical perspectives of the French Enlightenment and practical considerations of the potential economic advantages that separation from Britain might afford by way of access to the markets of the other

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<sup>25</sup> Victor M. Brodiansky, *Sadi Carnot 1786-1832: Réflexions sur sa vie et la portée de son oeuvre*. Perpignan: Presses Universitaire de Perpignan, 2006; Patrick Harismendy, *Sadi Carnot: L'Ingénieur de la République*. Paris: Editions Perrin, 1995; and Pierre Truche, *L'anarchiste et son juge: A propos de l'assassinat de Sadi Carnot*. Paris: Fayard, 1994.

<sup>26</sup> Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower and the World's Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count*. New York & London: Viking/Penguin, 2009, 121-125; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 112.

<sup>28</sup> Yasmin Sabina Khan, *Enlightening the World – The Creation of the Statue of Liberty*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010, 1-3.

major European powers were two of the key drivers for American Independence,<sup>29</sup> and it is difficult to over-estimate the contribution that the alliance with France and French military intervention made to the colonists' victory in the Revolutionary War itself.<sup>30</sup> France was the traditional enemy of Britain and its colonies, and in the Americas the French and Indian War of 1756-1763 had been fought less than twenty years prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. It is therefore understandable that the early Republic had to deal with tensions arising from the "long lasting prejudices and sharply different perspectives" of the two nations.<sup>31</sup> In 1789 France would itself experience a revolution, and the United States would be faced with the need to balance treaty commitments and ideological ties to revolutionary France, against long-standing cultural and economic ties to Britain.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the naval crisis of the turn of the nineteenth century which DeConde has termed the

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<sup>29</sup> Patrice Higonnet, *Sister Republics – The Origins of French and American Republicanism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988, 60, 74, 84-95, 121, 133-139, 161-163; Bernhard Knollenberg, *Origin of the American Revolution: 1759-1766*. New York: The Free Press, 1961, 97-102, 157-171; John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, 1-26, 165-198; Tom Paine, *Common Sense and Related Writings*. Edited by Thomas P. Slaughter. Boston: Bedford/St Martin's, 2001, 89-93.

<sup>30</sup> John R. Alden, *A History of the American Revolution – Britain and the Loss of the Thirteen Colonies*. London: MacDonald, 1969, 370-394, 468-474; Jeremy Black, *War for America – The Fight for Independence 1775-1783*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991, 146-169; Colin Bonwick, *The American Revolution*. London: MacMillan, 1991, 106-110; Burk, *Old World, New World*, 109-113, 167-172, 175-188; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 17-34; Christopher Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels – The War for America, 1770-1781*. London: Grafton Books, 1990, 204-209, 227-235; Higonnet, *Sister Republics*, 156-157, 187-189, 199-201; Piers MacKesy, *The War for America 1775-1783*. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1964, 70, 104, 127, 144, 159-160, 166, 173, 190-192, 209, 279-280, 386-387, 437-439; Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause – The American Revolution 1763-1789*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 1982, 365, 396-433, 562-564; Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution*, 482-484.

<sup>31</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 21.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 69.

“undeclared war” of 1797-1801 was the closest the two countries would come to open warfare.<sup>33</sup>

Napoleonic France was the seller in the “greatest real estate deal in history” which was brokered by London’s Barings Bank: the 1803 Louisiana Purchase by which the United States acquired 828,000 square acres of territory and the rights to free navigation of the Mississippi river for a net price of only fifteen million dollars – an acquisition which was fundamental to the country’s western expansion in the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The two countries were *de facto* allies in the War of 1812 and, after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, trade grew steadily in the middle decades of the century until the outbreak of the Civil War, with the Jackson

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<sup>33</sup> Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797-1801*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1966.

<sup>34</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 216, 265; Charles A. Cerami, *Jefferson’s Great Gamble – The Remarkable Story of Jefferson, Napoleon and the Men Behind the Louisiana Purchase*. Naperville: Sourcebooks, 2003; Thomas J. Fleming, *The Louisiana Purchase*. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2003; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 107-108; Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *A New Interpretative History of the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 133-136; Peter J. Kastor (Ed), *The Louisiana Purchase: Emergence of an American Nation*. Washington: CQ Press, 2002; Jon Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 2003; Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 60, 229; Donald W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History. (Volume 2 – Continental America, 1800-1867)*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993, 3-77; Clyde A. Milner et al. (Eds). *The Oxford History of the American West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 153-158; Junius P. Rodríguez (Ed), *The Louisiana Purchase: A Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002; Margaret Walsh, *The American West. Visions and Revisions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 19-34; White, *It’s Your Misfortune*, 61-64; Marvin R. Zahniser, *Uncertain Friendship: American-French Relations through the Cold War*. New York: Wiley, 1975, 17-54.

Administration's settlement of outstanding compensation claims in the mid-1830s being a significant driver of the rise in trade.<sup>35</sup>

There were marked divisions in French public opinion during the American Civil War, with supporters of Napoleon III generally favouring the Confederacy and his liberal opponents more inclined to Unionist sympathies. Despite the fact that the French textile industry was heavily dependant on Southern cotton, France's neutrality was not subject to the same acute tensions as those which were experienced in Britain, with the exception of a brief period in 1862 after France's intervention in Mexico.<sup>36</sup> The symbolic solidarity of the statue *Liberty Enlightening the World* which was France's gift to the United States was therefore reasonably well underpinned by the reality of the relationship between the two nations.<sup>37</sup>

The audiences to which the Wild West played in Paris were culturally and linguistically diverse, reflecting not only the cosmopolitan nature of the city but also the fact that trains from various parts of the continent were bringing eager spectators to the wonders on display. Visitors from all over Europe and beyond flocked to see the recently inaugurated Eiffel Tower, the industrial innovations being demonstrated,

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<sup>35</sup> Bickham, *The Weight of Vengeance*, 190, 206, 266; Black, *The War of 1812*, 78-81; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 166-167; Latimer, *1812*, 27, 87-89, 128, 370-375, 393; Perkins, *Prologue to War*, 382-383; Zahniser, *Uncertain Friendship*, 102.

<sup>36</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 226-227, 240-247; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 383-385, 546-556, 650-651, 683-684; Paludan, *A People's Contest*, 36-37, 263, 267, 272-277, 285, 379; Parish, *The American Civil War*, 390-397, 406-408, 442-450; Randall and Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 508-510.

<sup>37</sup> Khan, *Enlightening the World*, 3.



the Pavilions of the participating nations, the anthropological exhibition on human evolution and, of course, Buffalo Bill and company.<sup>38</sup>

At least three trainloads set off from Barcelona for the Universal Exhibition, between mid-July and mid-October, and amid the general clamour for tickets, it was the presence of such excursionists from elsewhere on the continent that excited interest in the prospect of a more wide-ranging European tour.<sup>39</sup> The interest shown by visitors from Spain made the country an obvious potential venue, and the company contracted with a theatrical agent named Verger who signed them up for five weeks of performances in Barcelona in December 1889 and January 1890.<sup>40</sup>

Buffalo Bill's Wild West therefore undertook its first European tour, travelling from Paris to Lyons and Marseilles in the south of France, and then on to Spain, where they made the single five week stop in Barcelona which is the focus of this study, before proceeding through Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany. Wherever they stopped, contemporary newspaper accounts speak not only of the success of the show, but also provide evidence of the intercultural dialogue and exchange that was going on, with elements of the show being appropriated for various local purposes reflecting local concerns. They were parodied in London and Paris, with the French press using the figure of Cody to ridicule General Georges Boulanger,<sup>41</sup> and the English satirical magazine *Punch* lampooning former Prime

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<sup>38</sup> Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 116-118, 209-213, 235-238; 247, 250; 265-267.

<sup>39</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 9.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 11, 14.

<sup>41</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 349-350.

Minister Gladstone as an Indian chief seeking advice from the Lakota performer, *Ogle Sa* or Red Shirt.<sup>42</sup> Warren has rightly observed that:

Europeans did not admire his [Cody's] show simply because they liked Americans. Buffalo Bill's Wild West drew huge crowds in the United Kingdom and on the Continent because of the ways that it spoke to European desires and anxieties.<sup>43</sup>

After the outstanding success of the run in Paris, they left the city heading south on 13 November, in a specially chartered 48 carriage train. Their first stop was at Lyons where the Wild West appeared for one week at the city's Bonneterre Park. Although it made a less impressive spectacle than at the Universal Exhibition, occupying less space and with fewer stands surrounding the arena, it was nevertheless a considerable success. The company left Lyons on 29 November, arriving at the Gare du Prado in Marseilles the following day in a 38 carriage train. The show grounds were close to the train station in the Cours St Louis and they opened there the following Sunday.

Early in the morning of 13 December, one of the Lakota performers, named *Cetan Luzahan* or Swift Hawk, took ill. He was immediately taken to the *Hospital de la Conception* to which he was admitted, with a fee of 500 francs paid for his care. Hawick, as he was known to the cowboys, had contracted typhoid and he would remain behind in Marseilles in hospital when the rest of the company travelled on to

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<sup>42</sup> *Punch*, 7 May 1887.

<sup>43</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 302.

Barcelona three days later.<sup>44</sup> The last night in Marseilles, 15 December 1889, was the highlight of the run. By way of thanks for the support of the Marseilles public, the company donated part of their takings to the local Red Cross. There were terrifically animated scenes in the main streets of the town at two in the morning of 16 December, as the crew made their way to Section 50 of the docks, where the Clyde-built steamer *Palma* waited at anchor to take them to Barcelona.

Although Buffalo Bill's Wild West had been lauded for bringing Britain and America together, there were unquestionably much more deep-rooted difficulties in the relationship between the United States and Spain in the first 115 years of the Republic than there had been in its relationship with its former colonial overlord. Professor James W. Cortada, the leading scholar of Spanish-American relations in the nineteenth century, quotes an "observant Spaniard" writing in 1821 that Americans "consider themselves superior to all the nations of Europe," and the dominant view of Spain in the United States at the time was of a backward, crude and despotic country, permanently damned by the "Leyenda Negra" or Black Legend, famously defined by Gibson as "the accumulated tradition of propaganda and Hispanophobia according to which Spanish imperialism is regarded as cruel,

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<sup>44</sup> See Sam A. Maddra, *Hostiles?: The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006, 66; L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996, 94; and "Wild West Shows, Reformers and the Image of the American Indian," *South Dakota History*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1984, 193-221, 203; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 370.

bigoted, exploitative and self-righteous in excess of reality.”<sup>45</sup> In the face of such negative stereotypes, bringing Spain and America together would doubtless represent a much greater challenge and, if the previous scholarship in English cited above is to be believed, it would prove to be an insuperable one. The present study will challenge the interpretations of those writers and argue for a re-evaluation of the Wild West’s Spanish appearances in due course but it would be remiss to do so without admitting the seriousness of the difficulties with which relations between the two nations had been fraught in the century before the visit.

During the Revolutionary War, the United States and Spain had been “co-belligerents but not allies” against the British Empire and the 1795 Treaty of San Lorenzo, known in the United States as Pinkney’s Treaty, which defined the boundaries between the United States and the Spanish Empire’s American colonies

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<sup>45</sup> Bartolomé Bennasser, *The Spanish Character – Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*. (Translated from French with a Preface by Benjamin Keen). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, 250; James W. Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War: Relations at Mid-century, 1855-1868*. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 70, Part 4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1980, 9; Charles Gibson, *The Colonial Period in Latin American History*. Washington DC: Service Center for Teachers of History, 1958, 13-14. See also Friedrich Edelmeyer, “The *Leyenda Negra* and the Circulation of Anti-Spanish and Anti-Catholic Feelings.” *European History Online*, available <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/the-spanish-century/friedrich-edelmeyer-the-leyenda-negra-and-the-circulation-of-anti-catholic-and-anti-spanish-prejudices>, accessed 7 July 2011; Darío Fernández-Flores, *The Spanish Heritage in the United States*. Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1971, 29-32; Benjamin Keen, “The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities.” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 4, 1969, 703–19; Philip W. Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

appeared to have established a basis for good relations between the two countries.<sup>46</sup>

Within ten years, however, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 which was to be a fundamental driver of the western expansion of the United States caused the situation to deteriorate until, in the words of historian Rodrigo Botero, they had become “unfriendly neighbors.”<sup>47</sup> There were a number of diplomatic crises in the course of the century, mainly from treaty or territorial disputes as both countries sought self-definition – the United States within the Western Hemisphere and Spain in the context of its rapidly changing relationships with its former territories there – to which a stronger adjective than “unfriendly” might reasonably be applied since they were at war twice in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

The first of these was the War of 1812, with Britain being Spain’s key ally in the Peninsular Campaign of the ongoing Napoleonic Wars in Europe.<sup>48</sup> There was little actual fighting between American and Spanish forces other than the United States’ capture of Mobile, Alabama on 15 April 1813. This strategically important port on the Mississippi which had been claimed by the United States since the time of the Louisiana Purchase would prove to be the only significant American territorial

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<sup>46</sup> Rodrigo Botero, *Ambivalent Embrace: America’s Troubled Relationship with Spain from the Revolutionary War to the Cold War*. Westport: Greenwood Press: 2001, 1-18; Ethan Grant, "The Treaty of San Lorenzo and Manifest Destiny." *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1997, 44–57; Raymond A. Young, "Pinckney's Treaty - A New Perspective." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 1963, 526–535.

<sup>47</sup> Botero, *Ambivalent Embrace*, 19-50.

<sup>48</sup> Bickham, *The Weight of Vengeance*, 91-94, 156-157, 206; Black, *The War of 1812*, 78-81; Latimer, *1812*, 87-89, 370-375; Perkins, *Prologue to War*, 382-383.

acquisition of the war.<sup>49</sup> The second war resulted from American slave owners entering the Spanish territory of Florida in search of runaway slaves and coming into conflict with the various Muskogee-speaking Indians of the region who were referred to collectively as the Seminoles. These Indians had supported Britain during the war and between 1817 and 1819 United States forces carried out numerous incursions into Florida and fought the Seminoles and their African-American former slave allies in what came to be known as the First Seminole War.<sup>50</sup> Future president, Andrew Jackson, led an invasion of Florida with an army of some 3,000 men in the course of which they destroyed a number of Seminole villages, attacked Spanish bases and settlements and captured the forts at St. Marks and Pensacola. The conflict continued until the Adams-Onís Treaty was signed on 22 February 1819.<sup>51</sup> The key provisions of the treaty were to cede Florida to the United States, to settle the boundary dispute along the Sabine River in Texas, and to establish the limits of United States' territorial claims through the Rocky Mountains and west to the Pacific Ocean. By its terms the United States also agreed to settle claims of \$5,000,000

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<sup>49</sup> Bickham, *The Weight of Vengeance*, 266; Latimer, *1812*, 27, 128, 374, 393.

<sup>50</sup> Joe Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars: 1817-1858*. Charleston, Chicago, Portsmouth and San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2003, 21-41; Thomas G. Mitchell, *Indian Fighters Turned Politicians*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003, 58-63; Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*. New York: Viking, 2001; and *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson: Essays on Democracy, Indian Removal and Slavery*. Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1990, 66.

<sup>51</sup> Hugh C. Bailey, "Alabama's Political Leaders and the Acquisition of Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1956, 17-29; Philip C. Brookes, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939; Peter A. Cash, *The Adams-Onís Treaty Claims Commission: Spoliation and Diplomacy, 1795-1824*. University of Memphis, PhD thesis, 1998; George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings*. New York: Harcourt, 1952, 121-122; James E. Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992, 105-126, 129-175.

which had been made by residents of the region against the Spanish Crown. The United States also renounced any claim on other Spanish territories, in particular eastern Texas beyond the Sabine River. This formally brought an end to the existence of the no-mans-land that was referred to as the "Sabine Free State," an area between Spanish Texas and the United States that had been declared neutral in 1806.<sup>52</sup> Although the treaty arose directly from the conflict in Florida, it also reflected increasing tensions between the United States and Spain regarding territorial rights at a time of diminishing Spanish transatlantic power and increasing American self-confidence which would soon be expressed in both the Monroe Doctrine and the ideology of Manifest Destiny.

The 1823 Monroe Doctrine stated that the United States would consider it an act of aggression requiring intervention if any European power made further efforts to colonize land or interfere with states in the Western Hemisphere. The Doctrine was promulgated as the emerging Liberation movements in Latin America saw Spain's territories in the Western hemisphere embarking on their journeys from "colonies to nationhood," and its major objective was to avoid any European power taking over former Spanish colonies if they achieved independence.<sup>53</sup> Although it asserted that the United States would not interfere in the internal affairs of European countries,

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<sup>52</sup> John V. Haggard, "The Neutral Ground between Louisiana and Texas." *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 28, 1945, 1001-1028.

<sup>53</sup> David Bushnell and Neill MacAuley, *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 9-12; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 153-155; Rodrigue Tremblay, *The New American Empire*, Haverford: Infinity Publishing, 2004, 133-134.

nor with their existing colonies, it served to fuel Spanish distrust, and to heighten concerns that America had expansionist ambitions at Spain's expense. It was a generally held belief in Spain at the time that the United States aspired to control all of North and South America, and the independence movements in Latin America were viewed as proof of this.<sup>54</sup> Twenty-two years later, John L. O'Sullivan wrote of the United States' "manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions," giving rise to the phrase that came to characterize the nation's western expansion and further increasing Spanish distrust.<sup>55</sup>

Cortada has argued that the various points of conflict between Spain and the United States, although essentially political, were coloured by fundamental cultural differences between the two nations which created:

... a tradition of conflict of a generally unfriendly nature. By mid-century, a raft of problems, unfriendly negative images, and mutual suspicions over territorial ambitions existed between the two nations and it was these factors which characterized their relationships.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War*, 5.

<sup>55</sup> John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation." *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1, July/August, 1845, 5-10, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War*, 3.



Although there were no further hostilities until 1898, the countries came close to war again in the 1860s when the United States was almost drawn into the Chincha Islands War between Spain and its former colonies of Peru and Chile, by the sabre rattling of controversial Civil War general and prominent Republican, Hugh Judson Kilpatrick, who was United States Minister to Chile from 1866 to 1870.<sup>57</sup> Spain's fleet was blockading Chilean ports and, although the United States and the United Kingdom were officially neutral, such was the damage to their economic interests in Valparaíso that both lodged formal protests. Kilpatrick went further, asking American naval commander, Admiral John Rodgers, to defend the port of Valparaíso and in the event of an attack to strike the Spanish fleet.<sup>58</sup> Admiral Casto Méndez Núñez opened fire on the port on the morning of 31 March 1866, after having famously responded to Rogers' threat that Spain preferred honour without ships to ships without honour.<sup>59</sup> The harbour was destroyed, the railway station, the fort and many public buildings were in ruins, and total damage was estimated at 14 million gold pesos, almost half of which belonged to neutral merchants, including

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<sup>57</sup> Hugh Judson Kilpatrick (1836-1881) had been nicknamed "Kill-cavalry" for adopting tactics which lead to huge casualty rates through the Civil War and was then implicated in the controversial 1864 assassination attempt on Confederate President Jefferson Davis, known as the "Dahlgren Affair". His appointment to Chile by President Andrew Johnson was widely understood as a pay-off for political support in his native New Jersey. See Samuel J. Martin, *Kill-Cavalry: The Life of Union General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick*. Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2000; and Duane Schultz, *The Dahlgren Affair: Terror and Conspiracy in the Civil War*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Robert E. Johnson, *Rear Admiral John Rodgers, 1812-1882*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1967.

<sup>59</sup> The phrase he used "*España prefiere honra sin barcos a barcos sin honra*," has since assumed almost proverbial value in Spanish and was referred to by Fernández-Armesto as Spain's "naval strategy" from that time until 1898. Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 190.

Americans. Chile lost 33 merchant vessels and was left in a state of complete ruin from which it would take almost half a century to recover.<sup>60</sup>

It is difficult to overestimate the impact of the American Civil War on international relations and, although there was no significant threat of Spanish intervention in the war, its outbreak did serve as a focus for diplomatic tensions that had been smoldering since the 1840s over the *Amistad* case. In June 1839, the Spanish schooner, *La Amistad*, had been sailing in Cuban waters with 54 slaves on board. The slaves revolted, took control of the vessel and, after a two-month voyage north, the ship was taken into custody in New York. There were diplomatic protests by Spain, followed by a series of lawsuits, and the case became a *cause célèbre* for American abolitionists. After eighteen months of legal wrangling, which went all the way to the United States Supreme Court, Associate Justice Joseph Story ruled against the Spanish case on 9 March 1841. The Spanish government continually pressed for compensation in the following years and several representatives from southern states introduced proposals to the United States Congress to settle Spanish claims.

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<sup>60</sup> See Carlos López Urrutia, *Historia de la Marina de Chile*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1968, 316-318. *Chile: A Brief Naval History*, a shorter study in English by the same author is available as an e-book at <http://historicaltextarchive.com/books.php?action=nextpre&bid=16&pre=1>. The incident is covered in Chapter 3 of the e-book, and the recovery of the Chilean merchant fleet in the two subsequent chapters.

Although President James K. Polk and President James Buchanan both supported the proposals they failed to win approval.<sup>61</sup>

The Union was fearful of possible European aid to the Confederacy and of official diplomatic recognition of any American government other than the one in Washington. In view of the record of Southern support for the Spanish cause during the *Amistad* case Spanish support for the Confederacy was seen as a particular risk. It was for that reason that President Lincoln dispatched his trusted advisor, Carl Schurz, as United States Minister to Spain, to dissuade the Spanish government from recognizing the Confederacy. Schurz achieved his objective and on 17 June 1861, in spite of significant southern sympathies, Spain declared its neutrality.<sup>62</sup> Spain did, nevertheless, maintain diplomatic links with both Washington and the Confederate government in Richmond, pressing in both capitals for a treaty guaranteeing non-intervention in Cuba. Neither the Union nor the Confederacy would agree to such a treaty and, in Madrid, the fear remained that once the Civil War was over, the United

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<sup>61</sup> Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), 1987; and "Cinqué of the Amistad a Slave Trader? Perpetuating a Myth." *Journal of American History*, Vol. 87, No. 3, 2000, 923–939; Iyunolu Folayan Osagie, *The Amistad Revolt: Memory, Slavery, and the Politics of Identity in the United States and Sierra Leone*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

<sup>62</sup> Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton, (Eds). *The Global Lincoln*. New York, Oxford University Press (USA), 2011, 191-194; Parish, *The American Civil War*, 51, 77, 392; Randall and Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 91-92, 511.

States' interest in the island, which the Spanish viewed as an imperialist ambition, would be resumed.<sup>63</sup>

Another Caribbean island, Hispaniola, and in particular the western part of the island known as Santo Domingo or the Dominican Republic, became a particularly contentious issue during the Civil War. In 1861, President Pedro Santana petitioned Spain to annex the Republic as a “protectorate”, effectively returning it to colonial status.<sup>64</sup> The United States and Spain had competed with one another for influence in Hispaniola through the 1850s and 1860s, with the United States worried about possible Spanish military expansion in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico which might serve to undermine United States' interests in Cuba.<sup>65</sup> It was unquestionably the island of Cuba that was the chief source of contention between Spain and the United States through the nineteenth century, an issue which will be explored in detail in Chapter 4 of this study.

In the midst of all of this negativity, one of the few Americans to comment positively on Spain, particularly in his early work, was Washington Irving who spent time in Madrid and Granada in the late 1820s and subsequently served as United States

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<sup>63</sup> Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War*, 52-63.

<sup>64</sup> Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War*, 30-41; Eugenio Matibag, *Dominican Counterpoint: Nation, State, and Race on Hispaniola*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003, 112-123; Parish, *The American Civil War*, 392-396.

<sup>65</sup> Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War*, 10-30.

Minister to Spain from 1842 to 1846.<sup>66</sup> During his diplomatic mission, in a troubled period of political machinations by various factions seeking to control the then twelve year old queen, Isabel II,<sup>67</sup> even he was painting a darker picture of the political situation both in the United States and Spain. He wrote to an associate back home:

I am wearied and at times heartsick of the wretched politics of this country. [...] The last ten or twelve years of my life, passed among sordid speculators in the United States, and political adventurers in Spain, has shewn me so much of the dark side of human nature, that I begin to have painful doubts of my fellow man; and look back with regret to the confiding period of my literary career, when, poor as a rat, but rich in dreams, I beheld the world through the medium

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<sup>66</sup> Rolena Adorno, "Washington Irving's Romantic Hispanism and Its Colombian Legacies." In *Spain in America – The Origins of Hispanism in the United States*, edited by Richard Kagan, 49-105, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002; Claude G. Bowers, *The Spanish Adventures of Washington Irving*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940; George S. Hellman, *Washington Irving, Esquire*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925; Pierre M. Irving, *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, (4 vols). New York: G.P. Putnam, 1862; Washington Irving, *History of the Life of Christopher Columbus*, (3 vols). New York: G. & C. Carvill, 1828; *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. New York: G. C. & H. Carvill, 1829; and *The Alhambra: A Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards*. Philadelphia: Lee & Carey, 1832; Brian J. Jones, *Washington Irving: An American Original*. New York: Arcade, 2008; and Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving*, (2 vols). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935 and *The Spanish Background of American Literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955, 2-39.

<sup>67</sup> On the chaotic reign of Isabel II, see Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*, 2-8 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 210-256; Pierre De Luz, *Isabel II, Reina de España*. Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1962; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 85-122; Peter de Polnay, *A Queen of Spain - Isabel II*. London: Hollis and Carter, 1962; Ferran Soldevila, *Síntesis de la Historia de Cataluña*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1973, 228-238; John Van der Kiste, *A Divided Kingdom: The Spanish Monarchy, from Isabel to Juan Carlos*. London: The History Press, 2007, 1-57, 59-63, 79-83, 104, 113-114; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 9-38.

of my imagination and was apt to believe men as good as I wished them to be.<sup>68</sup>

Another American diplomat, Horatio J. Perry, also characterises Spain in patronising and condescending terms:

You must treat Spain as you would a pretty woman with a bad temper. Firm and constant and unyielding in your purpose, but flexible and always flattering in form – watching her moods – taking advantages of her prejudices and passions to modify her conduct towards you... logic and sound policy will not guide her unless you take good care of the region of her sentiments first.<sup>69</sup>

The breadth of the appeal of Buffalo Bill's Wild West can undoubtedly be attributed to the factors which Perry mentions. It was certainly "flexible" and frequently revised its programme to suit the venues in which it played; it was arguably "flattering in form" in view of the attention that was given to elaborate costume, set design and musical performance; and it was unquestionably expert in "taking advantage of [...] prejudices and passions" in order to cater to the "sentiments" of its audiences in various parts of the world.<sup>70</sup> It therefore embodied the elements advised by Perry for the treatment of Spain, the audience that they would find in Barcelona

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<sup>68</sup> Letter from Madrid to Thomas Wentworth Storrow, May 18, 1844. In *The Complete Works of Washington Irving*. Madison: University of Wisconsin/Twayne, 1969–1986, Vol 25, 751.

<sup>69</sup> Cited in Cortada, *Spain and the American Civil War*, 105.

<sup>70</sup> Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 395-396, 402-405, 408; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 5, 8, 41, 55-56, 61-68, 89, 93, 114, 119-121, 161-165; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 267, 278-280, 298, 308, 322-328, 332, 338-339, 370-371, 376-382, 419-420, 442-450; Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 112; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, xix, 39, 93, 104, 216-217, 224, 235, 264, 276-281, 292-296, 302, 366, 432, 434, 547.

would, however, be a Catalan audience, and it is important to understand the features of that audience that would distinguish it from the stereo-typical view of Spain as a backward and under-developed country which we have seen represented above. Many of these features would indicate that Barcelona was likely to be a venue in which Buffalo Bill's Wild West would be well received.

Barcelona was unquestionably neither backward nor underdeveloped in the years immediately prior to the Wild West's visit but rather it was a city on the up. It had grown steadily through the nineteenth century and, according to the 1887 Spanish national census, it had a population of 509,589 in that year. The region, including the outlying boroughs of Gràcia, Sants, Les Corts, Sant Gervasi, Sant Andreu de Palomar and Sant Martí de Provençals, which would become part of the city by the royal decree of 20 April 1897, had a population of 1,034,538.<sup>71</sup> The network of public markets in the city expanded rapidly in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, bringing produce to feed the growing population which came from the Catalan hinterland, the most fertile agricultural land in Spain.<sup>72</sup> It was in this period that Barcelona came to be referred to as the "fábrica de España" or the "factory of Spain" as there had been land reform in Catalonia, new manufacturing industries had been established and more traditional industrial processes had been modernised and,

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<sup>71</sup> Gabriel Tortella-Casares, *The Development of Modern Spain: An Economic History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000, 44-46; population data from the *Istituto Nacional de Estadísticas*, available at [http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu\\_cifraspob.htm](http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu_cifraspob.htm), accessed 31 March 2009.

<sup>72</sup> Bennasser, *The Spanish Character*, 61-62; Hughes, *Barcelona*, 311; Nadia Fava, Manuel Guàrdia and José Luis Oyón. "Public versus private: Barcelona's market system, 1868-1975." *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2010, 5-27; Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 136-137.

in some cases, partly mechanised, a railway network had been developed, and monetary, banking and fiscal reforms had been implemented.<sup>73</sup> The United States as a young country which had rapidly grown and industrialised was clearly associated with modernity in its Gilded Age and there is therefore sound reason to believe that the quintessentially American Wild West would have resonated in a city which was characterised by these features.

In the year that the Wild West arrived in the city there were 243 industrial premises in Barcelona, mainly in the textile, metal and food industries, and it was responsible for 40% of Spain's industrial production, providing employment for 20% of the nation's workforce.<sup>74</sup> The major industries were coal processing, grain processing, metal and metallurgy, shipping, textiles – including cotton, silk and wool, and wine production.<sup>75</sup> The city had also opened its own stock exchange in 1858 and the associated rise in the numbers employed in the financial and legal sectors together with the emergence of a managerial workforce in the new industries meant that it was also a city with a significant population in the professional classes.<sup>76</sup> Marill-Escudé reports that its 1889 business directory lists 634 lawyers, 442 doctors, 86 industrial engineers and 70 registered architects.<sup>77</sup> The Catalan political scientist, Montserrat Guibernau, has observed that there was a “very peculiar scenario” in that,

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<sup>73</sup> Tortella-Casares, *The Development of Modern Spain*, 73-74.

<sup>74</sup> Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 193-195.

<sup>75</sup> Tortella-Casares, *The Development of Modern Spain*, 76-80, 82-84, 92-95, 119-120.

<sup>76</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 172.

<sup>77</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 29-30; Tortella-Casares, *The Development of Modern Spain*, 45-46, 168-170.



“the most developed part of a country, Catalonia, found itself politically subject to an anachronistic and backward state, Castile, that held political power.”<sup>78</sup>

Barcelona was also the most educated city in Spain judging by literacy rates. Spain at the time had the second lowest literacy rate in Europe (30%), well behind Germany (99%), France (94%) and even Italy (50%), and ahead only of Russia (20%). In the same period the literacy rate in the United States was 86.7%.<sup>79</sup> The literacy rate in the city of Barcelona, according to the 1887 Spanish Census, was 57.78% overall – approximately double the national average – with 68.53% of the male population literate and 48.06% of the female population.<sup>80</sup> The city’s distinct social profile, with its relatively large bourgeoisie, at a time when Spain was generally perceived as being economically underdeveloped and culturally backward, is another element which would suggest that the Wild West would likely be well received by the audiences to which it would play in the city.<sup>81</sup>

In his study of the rise of the middle classes in nineteenth century Spain Jesús Cruz has argued convincingly that Barcelona:

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<sup>78</sup> Maria M. Guibernau i Berdún, *Nations Without States: Political Communities in a Global Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999, 41.

<sup>79</sup> Clara E. Núñez, “Literacy and Economic Growth in Spain, 1860-1977.” In *Education and Development Since the Industrial Revolution*, edited by Gabriel Tortella-Casares, 125-151. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1990; Antonio Viñao Frago, “The History of Literacy in Spain.” *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1990, 573-599.

<sup>80</sup> Population data from the *Istituto Nacional de Estadísticas*, available at [http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu\\_cifraspob.htm](http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu_cifraspob.htm), accessed 31 March 2009.

<sup>81</sup> Bennasser, *The Spanish Character*, 250; Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 161.

... always had a marked bourgeois character. It had an old bourgeoisie in the traditional sense of the term: an urban class dedicated to commerce and industry. The bourgeoisie of Barcelona consolidated in the nineteenth century and [...] had a defining impact on the city's character.”<sup>82</sup>

Throughout his work he links the increasing prominence of the bourgeoisie to the phenomenon of modernism, stressing the importance in the Spanish context of the feeling of being middle class as “the desire to perceive oneself as modern despite insufficient modernization” in a historical period which saw “the transformation of bourgeois culture into the hegemonic culture.”<sup>83</sup> Cruz challenges the consensus view of earlier historians who have “situated the beginnings of Spanish modern leisure society in the early years of the twentieth century,” and provides strong evidence that “the origins of modern leisure culture emerged out of the bourgeois experience of the nineteenth century.” He also stresses that the “proliferation of leisure” came to be identified both with modernity and with national development.<sup>84</sup> Audiences for these spectacles would necessarily be self selecting on economic grounds in a city in which average wages at the turn of the twentieth century were 2.9 pesetas daily for textile workers and 3.5 pesetas daily for construction workers, with general price inflation making it likely that the estimate in Cerdà's monumental study of the city's working classes at mid-century that a worker required to spent half of his wage on food was almost certainly still valid.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture*, 13.

<sup>83</sup> Idem.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 172.

<sup>85</sup> Ildelfons Cerdà i Sunyer, *Teoría general de la urbanización y aplicación de sus principios y doctrinas a la reforma y ensanche de Barcelona*, (2 vols.). Madrid: Imprenta Española, 1867, Vol. 2,

A key strand of Cruz's evidence relates to the considerable rise in the number of increasingly refined public spectacles such as classical music, opera and in particular theatre which would become second in popularity only to bullfighting in the course of the century.<sup>86</sup> He concludes that:

In the second half of the century, Barcelona showed clear signs of being ahead in the game as evidenced in the implementation of the *exaimple*, the hosting of the World Fair in 1888, and the building of a diversity of public and private spaces for bourgeois social interaction. By the first third of the twentieth century, Barcelona became one of the most vibrant examples of urban modernism, the roots of which can be traced to the nineteenth century.<sup>87</sup>

For in addition to being a thriving port which handled 50% of Spain's trade with the Americas, and a metropolitan centre which had been continuously industrialising since the middle of the eighteenth century – factors which no doubt provided the disposable income that meant that the city would have viable audience numbers to attend the Wild West performances – Barcelona had become an important centre of urban bourgeois culture.

It had numerous leisure gardens, especially in the *Eixample*, where throughout the summer season there were concerts, often featuring the best artists of the time, which

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556-700; Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 173; Valls Giménez, *Prensa y burguesía*, 207.

<sup>86</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 171.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 223.

served to establish the tradition of Barcelona's middle class engagement with classical music which endures to this day.<sup>88</sup> The city also had its own "theatre land" in the Ramblas around the *Liceu* opera house which had been in operation since 1847. Cruz has argued that the impetus to build an opera theatre matured with the ascent of the bourgeoisie, who wanted to enhance Barcelona's presence within the national and international context and establish its reputation as a great European metropolis. For the Catalan bourgeoisie the *Liceu* became a favoured symbol of their historical triumph and Barcelona's economic, social and cultural achievements.<sup>89</sup> The city also had its own lively café-culture around the *Plaça Reial* which had developed rapidly in the years following the revolution of 1868.<sup>90</sup>

Many historians identify the contradictions which must be addressed in approaching the history of Barcelona. Agustí Nieto-Galan refers to the "historiographic challenge" presented by a city which "can be perceived as a centre or as a periphery; as a dynamic place in terms of nineteenth century Spanish patterns of scientific progress and industrialisation, or as a second class European industrial city."<sup>91</sup>

Felipe Fernández-Armesto goes even further when he characterises the "problem

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<sup>88</sup> Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture*, 182-183.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 179, 182.

<sup>90</sup> Bennasser, *The Spanish Character*, 129; Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture*, 180-183, 191-195; Delgado et al., *El comerç*, 111-119; Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 137-141, 181, 184; Fradera, *The Empire, the Nation*, 139; McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 92-94; Santiago Quesada, *La industrialització de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Editorial Barcanova, 1992, 6-19; Vázquez, *Inventing the art collection*, 56; Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 72-74, 105-106, 137, 196.

<sup>91</sup> Nieto-Galan, Agustí. "Scientific 'marvels' in the public sphere: Barcelona and its 1888 International Exhibition." *Journal of History of Science and Technology*, Vol. 6, Fall 2012, 33-63, 34.

with Barcelona's history" as one of "unfulfilled potential and heroic failure," reflected differently in two dominant historiographic trends: one ideologically driven by Catalan regionalism/nationalism and the other by a focus on the physical development of the city.<sup>92</sup> Understanding the Barcelona audience of 1889-1890 requires us to follow the paths marked out by each of these. The Catalanist strand will lead us from the cultural repression of the *Decreto de Nova Planta* of 1716 by way of the revival known as the *Renaixença* in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, to the "double patriotism" that was the hallmark of the Universal Exhibition of 1888 that is so graphically represented in the iconography of the Columbus monument.<sup>93</sup> The urbanization strand will lead to the same point by way of the *Eixample* or "Extension" of Barcelona beyond its medieval walls at mid-century and the social and economic development which was central to the city's physical expansion. Both strands point to the conclusion that we are dealing with a city that does not easily align with the stereo-typical view of Spain which was prevalent in the United States at the time. In each strand we find a number of aspects which indicate that Barcelona might well have provided an appropriate venue for Cody and company.

The Catalans as a people endured severe cultural repression followed by a transformative cultural revival in the century and a half prior to the Wild West's visit to the city. Given the crucial significance of this period for the formation of a sense of Catalan national identity and the centrality of an emerging construct of United

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<sup>92</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 3.

<sup>93</sup> The term "double patriotism" was coined by Josep Maria Fradera. Fradera, *The Empire, the Nation*, 140.

States national identity to the master narrative which the Wild West presented, it is important to understand the keep in mind some key aspects of this history if we are to come to an understanding of the audience which it provided for Buffalo Bill's Wild West.<sup>94</sup>

The period of repression began with the Treaty of Utrecht of 13 July 1713 which ended the War of the Spanish Succession which was effectively a struggle for Catalan national existence. Unfortunately, Catalonia had cast its lot with the losing side of Austria, Britain, the Netherlands and Portugal.<sup>95</sup> The treaty settled the political map of Europe until the close of the Napoleonic Wars and on that map Catalonia would only appear as the name of a Spanish region.<sup>96</sup> Although Catalan resistance continued for another year, until 11 September 1714 when Barcelona fell to the French and Spanish forces commanded by the Jacobite, James FitzJames, First Duke of Berwick, and the terms of the treaty came into effect. The Catalans, "in the name of European peace," would have as their overlords:

...men speaking a language other than their own, moulded by a different national experience, and adhering, in many vital points, to convictions opposite to their own who rode roughshod over what survived of traditional Catalan values.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 7-8, 303-305, 402-405, 412; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 5, 8, 41, 55-56, 61-63, 65-66, 89, 93, 114, 119-121, 161, 221-255; 165, Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 51, 318, 331, 356-357, 397-419, 452-453.

<sup>95</sup> John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV: 1667-1714*. London: Longmann, 1999, 266-360.

<sup>96</sup> Treaties of Peace and Commerce with Spain, 2 April 1714, Parliamentary Archives, London, House of Lords, [HL/PO/JO/10/6/239/3069].

<sup>97</sup> Josep Trueta i Raspall, *The Spirit of Catalonia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946, 163.

Under the terms of the treaty, the Catalan speaking island of Menorca was annexed to the British Empire while the island of Sardinia, with its Catalan speaking minority was annexed to the Austrian Empire. In addition to these territories, there were Catalan speaking communities in the French protectorate of Andorra and the French province of Perpignan. If we accept language as a key marker of national identity, the Treaty of Utrecht was a disaster for Catalan unity, since by its provisions the Catalans as a linguistic group found themselves divided among four different States. Warren has observed that while the frontier myth presented by Buffalo Bill's Wild West:

...provided a unifying story and identity for Americans, its central narrative of beleaguered primitives provided grist, however unintentionally, for a diverse range of people across Europe whose relationships to the modern state ranged from chauvinism to alienation.<sup>98</sup>

The political division of the Catalans across various nations allow them to be categorized as a group that was alienated from the modern states in which they resided. This is a crucial point that we must grasp with reference to the audience that the Wild West would find in Barcelona.

The largest group was in north-eastern Spain, and would suffer severe repression of their language and culture as the Government, by means of the *Decreto de Nova Planta* promulgated by Philip V on 19 January 1716, sought to develop a centralized State around Madrid, in much the same way as France was centralized around

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<sup>98</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 353.

Paris.<sup>99</sup> The Universities of Lleida and Barcelona were closed and, in 1719, the Catalan language was stripped of any official status and outlawed in the schools. In spite of these restrictions, and the centralist policies that sought the assimilation of Catalonia within Spain, Catalonia continued to be different. Anglican clergyman, Edward Clarke, who held two charges in Spain, serving as chaplain to the British Embassy in Madrid from 1760 to 1763, and immediately thereafter on the island of Menorca, recognized the industry and activity of the people he observed in Catalonia and commented that it was “as if the people were not Spaniards.”<sup>100</sup> For many Catalans, they were not Spaniards, but the dominant construct of national identity which emerged in Catalonia through the nineteenth century was a “double patriotism” in which both Spanish and Catalan identities co-existed.

Within this climate of repression, Catalans were not permitted to migrate to Spain’s overseas colonies until 1778, and when this restriction was finally lifted a great many took the opportunity of a fresh start, with Cuba being a favourite destination because of the strong trade links to the port of Barcelona.<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to note that as former Spanish territories in South and Central America began to break away from the Empire in the early nineteenth century, many prominent figures in the liberation movements were of Catalan or Valencian descent. Such was the case for the first president of Uruguay, Juan Francisco Giró, and, most significantly for this study,

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<sup>99</sup> Guibernau i Berdún, *Nations Without States*, 41-42.

<sup>100</sup> Edward Clarke, *Letters on Spain*. London: n.p., 1763, 250.

<sup>101</sup> Josep M. Delgado et al., *El comerç entre Catalunya i Amèrica segles XVIII i XIX*. Barcelona: L’Avenç, 1986, 83-93; José Joaquín Moreno Masó, *La Petjada dels catalans a Cuba*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1992, 29-52.



José Martí, the Cuban nationalist leader who twice saw Buffalo Bill's Wild West perform while he was living in exile in the United States, and to whom we shall return in Chapter 4 of this study.

The "Triumph of Civilization" which Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented in its performances is a clear reflection of the dominant strand of nationalist ideology that was emerging in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>102</sup> This was essentially a form of liberal or civic nationalism of the sort that German sociologist, Jürgen Habermas, has termed "constitutional patriotism" which expressed "the idea that political attachment ought to center on the norms, the values, and, more indirectly, the procedures of a liberal democratic constitution."<sup>103</sup> This construct of nationalism was to be central to nation building in the United States, while that emerging in Catalonia was essentially a form of cultural nationalism of the sort that Nielsen has argued is "neither purely ethnic nor purely civic."<sup>104</sup> Similar constructs of nationalism were developing elsewhere in Europe, in

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<sup>102</sup> Christine Bold, "The Rough Riders at Home and Abroad: Cody, Roosevelt, Remington and the Imperialist Hero." *The Canadian Review of American Studies*, Vol. 18, 1987, 321-350, 326; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 5, 8, 41, 55-56, 61-63, 65-66, 89, 93, 114, 119-121, 161, 221-255; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 40-41, 51-53, 130, 143, 175-177, 202-203, 227-230, 264-268, 277-278, 300-301, 315-317, 347-348, 353-357, 368, 370, 386, 419, 470, 480-481, 530, 543-544.

<sup>103</sup> Arash Abizadeh, "Does Liberal Democracy Presuppose a Cultural Nation? Four Arguments." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, No. 3, 2002, 495-509; Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Boston: MIT Press, 1996, 491-515; and *The Inclusion of Others*. Boston: MIT Press, 1998, 105-154; Jan Werner Müller and Kim L. Schepelle, "Constitutional Patriotism: An Introduction." *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2008, 67-71, 67.

<sup>104</sup> Craig Calhoun, *Nations Matter: Culture, History and the Cosmopolitan Dream*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007, 16, 131-133; Kai Nielsen, "Cultural Nationalism, neither Ethnic nor Civic."

countries as diverse as Ireland, Finland, Greece and Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century in comparable climates of political alienation. And in Catalonia, as in many of these other lands, a hybrid construct of national identity emerged among the middle and upper classes which accommodated many cultural elements of their national culture to political realities in which speakers of other languages held sway.<sup>105</sup>

According to the online edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the phrase “cultural nationalism:”

...denotes the belief that each nation in Europe had from its earliest formation developed a culture of its own, with features as unique as its language, even though its language and culture might have near relatives over the frontier.<sup>106</sup>

In Catalonia, the “near relatives” were not even over an internationally recognized frontier, and Catalans were faced with “a concerted attempt [...] to develop the concept of a ‘Spanish national culture’,” which was always perceived as an imminent threat even when this was itself lacking in coherence or weak.<sup>107</sup>

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In *Theorizing Nationalism*, edited by Ronald Beiner, 119-130. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

<sup>105</sup> Calhoun, *Nations Matter*, 34, 46, 81-82, 86, 103, 118-126, 157; Maria M. Guibernau i Berdún, *The Identity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008, 11-26, 28-30, 61-62, 89-99, 151-153, and *Nationalisms: The Nation State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996, 17, 59-62, 70-71, 106, and *Nations Without States*, 22-29, 33-66, 163-165; Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism – Theory, Ideology, History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001, 16, 26, 31, 40, 50, 57, 69, 74, 76, 87-88, 94-96, 100, 102-106, 112, 116, 121, 140.

<sup>106</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/195896/history-of-Europe>, accessed 1 July 2010.

<sup>107</sup> Permanyer Borja de Riquer, “Reflexions entorn de la dèbil nacionalització espanyola del segle XIX.” *L’Avenç*, No. 170, 1993, 8-15; Josep M. Fradera, “The Empire, the Nation and the Homelands:

We can observe the rise of this cultural nationalism in Catalonia beginning in 1832 when the Bible Society of London published Puig i Blanch and Melcior's Catalan translation of the New Testament. The following year, Bonaventura Carles Aribau published his patriotic poem in Catalan, *Oda a la pàtria*, and in 1836 the University of Barcelona was re-established. These three events mark the beginning of the key Catalan cultural nationalist revival movement known as the *Renaixença*, which flourished between 1840 and 1880, and some knowledge of which is crucial if we are to understand the culture of the Catalan capital in 1889 and have a basis on which to understand the reception of Buffalo Bill's Wild West by the Barcelona audience.<sup>108</sup> The hallmark of the *Renaixença* was the development of a sense of Catalan national self-consciousness, reflected with increasing self-confidence in public expressions of national self belief – the very features which are also clearly reflected in the master narrative of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.<sup>109</sup> It is clearly associated with a resurgence in

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Nineteenth-Century Spain's National Idea." In *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe – Nation Building, Identities and Separatism*, edited by Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, 131-148. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 135-136; Jo Labanyi, (Ed). *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 4.

<sup>108</sup> Although *Renaixença* can be translated as Renaissance, the Catalan term, with its modern orthography, is used throughout this study to distinguish it from the continental Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. When the variant spelling *Renaixensa* occurs in this study it is used in reference to the magazine of that name which was first published in 1871 and used that spelling for its title.

<sup>109</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 5, 8, 41, 55-56, 61-63, 65-66, 89, 93, 114, 119-121, 161, 221-255; Jordi Vila Foruny, *El Nacionalisme Català: Aportacions a un debat*. Barcelona: Editorial Barcanova, 1992, 104-106; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 40-41, 51-53, 130, 143, 175-177, 202-203, 227-230, 264-268, 277-278, 300-301, 315-317, 347-348, 353-357, 368, 370, 386, 419, 470, 480-481, 530, 543-544.

Catalan high culture, striving to recover its former prestige and develop its use in a contemporary setting in order, as Joaquim Molas argues, “to conform to it some of the most lively currents of European culture” with the intention of doing so “in all of the creative arts.”<sup>110</sup> For all the breadth of its scope, the *Renaixença* is above all identified with the recovery of the Catalan language which had not enjoyed official status since 1719 but had never fallen out of use in popular, social and domestic contexts. There were two significant threats to its continued use in more formal settings: the abandonment of the language as a vehicle for high culture by the upper classes; and the state-sponsored drive to eliminate illiteracy, as exemplified in the Moyano Act of 1857 which made primary education compulsory.<sup>111</sup> At this time, literacy meant literacy in Spanish, and this explains why the Wild West programme was translated into Spanish and not into Catalan.

Leading Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, has stressed the importance of the nineteenth century as a period in which traditions were invented, often based on what he terms “old material,” to underpin developing constructs of national identity, and Louis Warren has categorized the Wild West as the sort of “mass production of national identity” of which Hobsbawm speaks.<sup>112</sup> The first example of the cultural output of the *Renaixença*, which exemplifies this strand of Hobsbawm’s argument, and which was to be at the heart of the Catalan literary revival, was that first

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<sup>110</sup> “l’intent [...] d’adaptar algun dels corrents més vius de la cultura europea. L’intent es realitza en tots els camps de creació...” Joaquim Molas, *Història de Catalunya*, Vol V. Barcelona: Editorial Salvat, 1979, 177.

<sup>111</sup> Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 150-152; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 53-55.

<sup>112</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 6-7, 263-308; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 353.

nineteenth century celebration of the *Jocs Florals* poetry festival. New festivals, presented as revivals celebrating earlier traditions, are specifically cited by Hobsbawm as the sort of old materials from which “new traditions” were invented.<sup>113</sup>

Although the *Jocs Florals* represented an essentially middle and upper class element of the Catalan linguistic and literary revival, it would be wrong to think that the *Renaixença* movement was entirely in and of itself the province of the well-to-do. A number of specifically working class organizations sprang up in the years immediately following the re-establishment of the *Jocs Florals*, the most important of which were the *Ateneu Català de la Classe Obrera*, or Catalan Athenaeum of the Working Class, set up in 1861 and the *Ateneu Igualadí de la Classe Obrera*, or the Equality Athenaeum of the Working Class, set up in 1863.<sup>114</sup>

Another important feature of the *Renaixença* that went beyond the *literati* was the development of a substantial newspaper and magazine publishing industry in Catalan, centred on Barcelona. In 1889 this extensive local press network was one of the few means of publicising a show. There were at least fourteen dailies published in Barcelona at the time of the Wild West’s visit, including *La Vanguardia* which was first published in 1881 and continues to be the highest circulation Spanish-language newspaper in Catalonia, together with a variety of magazines, ranging from

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<sup>113</sup> Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, 6.

<sup>114</sup> Vidal and Ferran Aisa. *Camins utòpics*, 40-41, 52-55,70-72 ; Soldevila, *Síntesis de la Historia de Catalunya*, 242-243.

the satirical through the scientific, military and political to the illustrated.<sup>115</sup> It is difficult to quantify the reach of these newspapers into society at large because in the Spanish context we are certainly dealing with relatively small circulations for a relatively large number of publications when compared to other countries.<sup>116</sup> In Barcelona, however, we can be certain that the ideas and information carried in these publications was available to a broader audience than their direct readership due to the well established tradition of reading the papers aloud in a range of social and domestic settings.<sup>117</sup> The most commonly used language in newspapers and magazines throughout Catalonia in the nineteenth century was Spanish rather than Catalan and, as we shall see in the next chapter, these publications are a key source of contemporary information about the performances in Barcelona, the reception these received from the population at the time and the impact they had.<sup>118</sup>

An interesting aside, which has some significance for the present study, is that in 1869 a Catalan language magazine, *La Gresca*, was published in Santiago de Cuba, the island's second city. This port, with strong links to Barcelona, had been a site of significant settlement ever since Catalans had been permitted to migrate to the Spanish colonies in 1778, the date when the port of Barcelona had also been opened

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<sup>115</sup> Agustí Calvet, *Història de "La Vanguardia," 1881-1936 i nou articles sobre periodisme*. Barcelona: Empúries, 1994; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 14.

<sup>116</sup> Valls Giménez, *Prensa y burguesía*, 43-50, 259-266.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-40.

<sup>118</sup> Concepció Miralpeix i Ballús, *La Premsa de la ciutat de Vic al segle XIX*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1981, 21, 27-29, 240-241; Valls Giménez, *Prensa y burguesía*, 146-151.

to trade with the colonies.<sup>119</sup> It was the site of the Santiago campaign of the Spanish-American War of 1898 which included the assault by the Rough Riders on San Juan Hill that William F. Cody would incorporate into his Wild West performances from the 1899 season.

In writing about Cody's autobiography, Joy Kasson has insightfully referred to his "own overt struggle for self-definition," as he sought to:

...understand and express the meaning of his own experiences, and to reconcile his desire to be taken seriously as an historical figure with his allegiance to the fictionalized persona that had brought him to the public attention.<sup>120</sup>

The cultural revival of the *Renaixença* likewise forms part of a struggle for Catalan self-definition, another key aspect of which was the physical redevelopment and redefinition of the city of Barcelona. A key figure in which was a multi-talented man in whose life it is possible to observe a number of points of comparison with that of William F. Cody: Ildefons Cerdà i Sunyer.

Just like Cody, Cerdà was a man of many parts, although in his case the principal expressions of these were in the roles of left-wing politician, engineer, town-planner, architect, jurist, and economist. Both men served in the military and each was involved in politics, although their political views were radically different and in the Catalan's case his political activities were more extensive and included roles of

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<sup>119</sup> Delgado et al., *El comerç*, 83-93; Eade, *Catalonia – A Cultural History*, 80-82; Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 82-83; Moreno Masó, *La Petjada*, 29-52; Soldevila, *Síntesis de la Historia de Cataluña*, 209; Trueta i Raspall, *The Spirit of Catalonia*, 162.

<sup>120</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 31, 33.

national importance.<sup>121</sup> Both men were involved in urban development and railway development, with Cerdà playing a key role in the construction of the first railway link between Barcelona and Mataró, a line which was to bring many spectators to see the Wild West in Barcelona.<sup>122</sup> Both men were beset by equally as many family problems, in particular marital problems, and each would throw himself into his work with ever greater commitment as an escape from these.<sup>123</sup> At the end of their lives, each man left an estate that was heavily in debt. Unlike Cody, however, Cerdà was not a success in his own lifetime and more than a century would pass after his death before the importance of his legacy to the city of Barcelona would be fully appreciated.<sup>124</sup>

Cerdà himself said his goal was to dedicate, "... my entire fortune, all of my credit, all of my time, all of my comforts, all of my affections, and even my personal consideration to society and the idea of urban development."<sup>125</sup> He was the architect of the grand scheme to develop the city of Barcelona as far as Montjuïc and the river

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<sup>121</sup> Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism*, 19, 27, 67; Carr, *Spain: 1808-1939*, xxiii-xxiv, 104, 246-256, 325, 327-337; Eade, *Catalonia – A Cultural History*, 79; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 77-79, 104-109; Estapé, *Vida y obra de Ildefonso Cerdà*, 90-92, 153-212, 241-243, 248, 251; Miller, *Ildefonso Cerdà*, 2-3, 6-7; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 146-149, 232; Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 23; Soldevila, *Síntesis de la Historia de Cataluña*, 230-235, 237-247; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 34-88, 133-140.

<sup>122</sup> Estapé, *Vida y obra de Ildefonso Cerdà*, 40-48.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-104.

<sup>124</sup> Miller, *Ildefonso Cerdà*, 9, 12.

<sup>125</sup> "... mi fortuna toda entera, todo mi crédito, todo mi tiempo, todas mis comodidades, todas mis afecciones, y hasta mi consideración personal en la sociedad, a la idea urbanizadora." Cited in Lluís Permanyer, *L'Eixample, 150 anys d'història*. Barcelona: Viena Edicions, 2008, 155.



Besòs, creating the district known as the *Eixample* or “Extension” which Fernández-Armesto has termed “an extraordinary gesture of confidence in an era disfigured by extremes of poverty and prosperity, urbanity and violence.”<sup>126</sup> Cerdà’s plan was bold and original, characterised by classless uniformity that reflected his social conscience and a lack of historical references which Fernández-Armesto argues show his “revulsion against baroque display.”<sup>127</sup> As a means of combating the generally unhealthy living conditions of the working classes, whose numbers were steadily rising as the city industrialised, the buildings were to be no more than sixteen metres high in order to ensure fresh air and sunlight for the inhabitants of all floors.<sup>128</sup> Each block would have an internal garden and the broad streets would be lined with trees, giving the entire *Eixample* the appearance of a garden city.

Two days after his death on 21 August 1876 the Madrid newspaper, *La Imprenta*, published an obituary in which it said of him, "Señor Cerdà was a liberal and had talent, two factors which in Spain are damaging and usually create many enemies."<sup>129</sup> Soria y Puig wrote eulogistically of Cerdà that, “Progressiveness, individualism and the spirit of justice are the three facets of his personality which help us to understand both his life and his theory.”<sup>130</sup> Similarly adulatory claims are commonly found in accounts of the life and works of William F. Cody, particularly

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<sup>126</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 172.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, 171.

<sup>128</sup> Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 116-117.

<sup>129</sup> “El señor Cerdà era liberal y tenía talento, dos circunstancias que en el estado español perjudican y suelen crear muchos enemigos.” *La Imprenta*, 23 August 1876.

<sup>130</sup> Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 75.

those which are written for more popular audiences.<sup>131</sup> Soria y Puig has argued that Cerdà, “thought like a sage, offered his proofs like a mathematician and felt like a child,” but for all his wisdom, regardless of the precision of his plans, and in spite of the child-like optimism that his work expressed, not all of his good intentions were to come to fruition.<sup>132</sup>

Josep Maria Fradera has characterized the period from 1865 to 1900 as one of “Rural Traditionalism and Conservative Nationalism” in Catalonia.<sup>133</sup> Neither of these was conducive to the implementation of the utopian socialist ideas of Cerdà and in the later years of the nineteenth century the physical transformation of Barcelona would serve as his enduring legacy while the political ideals with which he had been associated were on the wane.<sup>134</sup> The conservative politician, Francesc Rius i Taulet, who served four terms as mayor of Barcelona, did thrive in that environment, and it was during his administration that the city staged the Universal Exhibition of 1888, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated as a conditioning factor for the audiences which would see Buffalo Bill’s Wild West there the following year. The Wild West’s first visit to London had been as part of the Great American Exhibition; the first visit to Paris had been scheduled to coincide with *Exposition Universelle*;

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<sup>131</sup> Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 442-445; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, xi-xiii, 445-456; Larry McMurtry, *The Colonel and Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Superstardom in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005, 3-4, 224-229; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 13-14, 301-303; Helen C. Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts*. Chicago: Duluth Press, 1899, xiii-xiv, 294-296.

<sup>132</sup> Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 23.

<sup>133</sup> Josep M. Fradera, "Rural Traditionalism and Conservative Nationalism in Catalonia 1865-1900." *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 10, 1990, 51-72.

<sup>134</sup> Estapé, *Vida y obra de Ildefonso Cerdà*, 306-307.

and the first visit to Spain would come in the wake of Barcelona's Universal Exhibition.

The trend which was begun in London in 1851, meant that the second half of the nineteenth century was something of a golden age for the sort of World Fairs and Universal Exhibitions that Rydell and Kroes have argued were the "the harbingers of mass culture."<sup>135</sup> These were social, economic and political events of primary international importance at which various countries would exhibit their latest technological advances and make a great show of their economic and industrial potential. Staging an Exhibition was seen not only as an economic development opportunity for the host city, but also as providing it with the chance to gain international prestige. The Universal Exhibition and its associated Columbus monument provide the most striking examples of the double Catalan/Spanish patriotism that was prevalent among social elites in the year before "America's National Entertainment" rolled into town.<sup>136</sup> For that reason, and because of the link to large scale exhibitions in London and Paris where the Wild West was an undoubted success, it is worth considering each of these in some detail.

The idea that Barcelona should stage a Universal Exhibition did not originate with Rius i Taulet himself, but with the Galician businessman Eugenio Serrano de Casanova, who had visited the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 and been greatly impressed. He originally proposed that the event should take place in

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<sup>135</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 47-72.

<sup>136</sup> Bold, *The Rough Riders at Home and Abroad*, 326.

1887, but the early 1880s were not a good time for Barcelona's financial institutions, as a result of the banking crisis that came about when the so called *febre d'or* or gold fever bubble burst.<sup>137</sup> Due to the financial climate, Serrano de Casanova did not ask the authorities to underwrite the Exhibition. He asked instead for a share of gate receipts and of income from concessions. Although the civic authorities were supportive, they had concerns that Serrano de Casanova lacked the resources to take the project forward on his own, and so Francesc Rius i Taulet set up a committee to investigate the possible benefits to Barcelona in hosting an International Exhibition. It became clear that such an event might yield significant benefits, particularly for international trade; it became equally clear that Serrano de Casanova did not have the means to bring his grandiose scheme to fruition.

The establishment of Barcelona's Chamber of Commerce, under the Spanish title of *Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación*, which also encompasses industry and overseas trade, was a direct result of the committee's work, and its explicit objectives were to protect and develop Catalan business and to make the most of the opportunities which the Exhibition might afford to develop international trade – especially with the rest of Europe. Prior to 1888, although Barcelona had become the principal port for trade with the colonies which had been permitted for ninety years, the Catalan economy had continued to be largely focussed on trade within

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<sup>137</sup> Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*, 20-21 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 392-393; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 153-155.

Spain.<sup>138</sup> The Universal Exhibition was the first major step in the Europeanization of the Catalan economy.<sup>139</sup>

In the spring of 1887, Rius i Taulet took personal charge of the project, travelling to Madrid in May of that year to lobby the government to invest two million pesetas in the scheme.<sup>140</sup> After some tense negotiations, his efforts met with success, and it was agreed that a Universal Exhibition would open in April of the following year:<sup>141</sup>

Rius i Taulet had eleven months to make it happen. There were concerns in Madrid about how the government money would be used and, to assuage their fears, Rius i Taulet, offered assurances that organization of the enterprise would be in the hands of some of the city's leading businessmen.<sup>142</sup> Writing in November 1887, Juan Valero de Tornos, a journalist from Madrid who was based in Barcelona at the time, stressed this involvement of local elites in his coverage, as well as the drive for

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<sup>138</sup> Delgado et al., *El comerç*, 111-119; Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 137-141; Fradera, *The Empire, the Nation*, 139; McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 92-94; Moreno Masó, *La Petjada dels catalans*, 29-52.

<sup>139</sup> McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 25.

<sup>140</sup> Joaquin López Puigcerver, “Ley de 30 de Junio de 1889 concediendo un anticipo de dos millones de pesetas á la ciudad de Barcelona para hacer frente a los gastos de la Exposición.” In *Exposición Universal de Barcelona, año 1888: Catálogo de la Sección Oficial del Gobierno*. Barcelona: López Robert, 1888, 5.

<sup>141</sup> Josep M. Tarín Iglesias, *Gent nostra: Rius i Taulet*. Barcelona: Edicions de Nou Art Thor, 1989, 29.

<sup>142</sup> Carlos Navarro y Rodrigo, “Instrucción de igual fecha, dictada para el regimen de dicha Comisaría.” In *Exposición Universal de Barcelona, año 1888: Catálogo de la Sección Oficial del Gobierno*. Barcelona: López Robert, 1888, 10. In addition to the mayor himself the other seven members of the committee were Manuel Duran i Bas, who would serve as Royal Commissioner; Manuel Girona i Agrafel; Josep Ferrer i Vidal; Claudio López Bru, the Second Marquis of Comillas; Carles Pirozzini, editor of the newspaper, *La Renaixensa*, who would act as secretary; the leading architect, Carles Elies Rogent, who would serve as Supervisor of Works; and Lluís Rouvière.

excellence which he observed in the way that it was being taken forward.<sup>143</sup> The Universal Exhibition of 1888 is generally regarded as reflecting the good relationship that existed between the restored monarchy and the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie, which McRoberts has argued was, “still harbouring visions of *catalanizing* Spain and its politics” and was “not prepared to abandon its allegiance to Spain.”<sup>144</sup>

Reaction to the Exhibition project was not universally positive and the republican intellectual Valentí Almirall condemned it as an expression of a pact between the bourgeoisie and a centralist monarchy which he argued would be detrimental to Catalonia’s interests.<sup>145</sup> He expressed concerns that the development would not be completed on time, or that it would be completed to such a poor standard that it would bring shame on Barcelona, and indeed the whole of Catalonia, and that the associated costs would ruin the local authorities.<sup>146</sup> Many Republicans and Catalan nationalists were critical of the ways in which the local authorities appeared to be collaborating with the Spanish monarchy, and which they believed were neither in the best interests of the city of Barcelona, nor of Catalonia as a whole.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Juan Valero de Tornos, *Barcelona tal cual es: Por un Madrileño (de ninguna academia)*. Barcelona: Tipo-Litografía y Casa Editorial de los Sucesores de N. Ramírez y C.a, 1888, 93; Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 173.

<sup>144</sup> McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 25.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, 23-26.

<sup>146</sup> Hughes, *Barcelona*, 364.

<sup>147</sup> Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism*, 37.

The Exhibition's own publicity stressed Spanish national unity, and explicitly stated that no region of Spain would be favoured.<sup>148</sup> Supporters of the Exhibition, such as Antonio García Llansó, also stressed that it was Spain's first Universal Exhibition, rather than Catalonia's, and argued that its success was intimately connected with the "honour and dignity of the *Patria*."<sup>149</sup> Rius i Taulet himself suggested that the event in Barcelona would represent a Renaissance for the Spanish nation,<sup>150</sup> and, in the run up to the Exhibition's opening on 28 April 1888, the conservative, Madrid-based newspaper *El Estandarte* proclaimed, "Hoy Barcelona es España" or "Today Barcelona is Spain."<sup>151</sup>

The Universal Exhibition ran from 8 April to 9 December 1888, and attracted at least 400,000 visitors from all over the world, with some estimates running between one and a half and two and a quarter million.<sup>152</sup> At the opening, Rius i Taulet, made a formal address to the Queen Regent, which attempted to strike a delicate balance between catering to local interests and stressing Spanish national pride.<sup>153</sup> In writing

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<sup>148</sup> Comisario Regia, "Advertencia Preliminar." *Exposición Universal de Barcelona, año 1888: Catálogo de la Sección Oficial del Gobierno*. Barcelona: López Robert, 1888, 39.

<sup>149</sup> Antonio García Llansó, *La Primera Exposición Universal Española*. Barcelona: Luís Tasso Serra, 1888, 13.

<sup>150</sup> Conrad Roure, *Memòries de Conrad Roure: Recuerdos de mi larga vida. La Restauració dels Borbons (II)*. In *L'Exposició Universal de Barcelona de 1888*, volume IX, edited by Josep Pich i Mitjana, 70-72. Vic: Eumo Editorial, 1994.

<sup>151</sup> Cited in Saturnino Lacal, *El libro de honor: apuntes para la historia de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona, premios concedidos y dictámenes que los productos expuestos merecieron del jurado internacional*. Barcelona: Tipografía de Fidel Giró, 1889, 60.

<sup>152</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona – A Thousand Years*, 185; Hughes, *Barcelona*, 356.

<sup>153</sup> Manuel Girona, *Memoria Sobre la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888 que presenta al Gobierno el Excmo. Sr. D. Manuel Girona comisario regio de la misma en cumplimiento de lo*

of the event, Valero de Tornos hailed him as no great proponent of the Catalan cause and lauded him as the man who had done most for both Barcelona and for Catalonia in modern times.<sup>154</sup> In a lecture delivered during the Exhibition, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, the liberal conservative politician who served as Spain's prime minister on five occasions between 1874 and 1897, recognized the importance of the precedent that Barcelona had set for the rest of Spain and praised the great manifestation of energy that it represented.<sup>155</sup> The Madrid newspaper, *La Época*, waxed lyrical:

We have always believed that if some day Spain were to host a Universal Exhibition it would have to be in Barcelona. Its excellent climate, its beautiful location, the importance of its port and its products will certainly make it a success. The lower cost of living compared to other major cities, especially Madrid, its essentially industrial character, everything points to Barcelona for a success of this nature.”<sup>156</sup>

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*dispuesto en el artículo 6.0 del Real Decreto—Instrucción de 11 noviembre de 1888.* Barcelona: Imprenta de Henrich y Compà En Comandita, 1889, 61.

<sup>154</sup> Juan Valero de Tornos, *Cuarenta cartas: Conato de historia y descripción de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Imp. de Pedro Ortega, 1888, 23. The actual phrased used by Valerno de Tornos that I have translated as “no great proponent of the Catalan cause” was “no muy catalanista.”

<sup>155</sup> Bahamonde, *Historia de España Siglo XX*, 55-58; Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, “Discurso pronunciado por el Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo en la tarde del 16 octubre de 1888.” *Estudios Sobre La Exposición Universal de Barcelona inaugurada en 20 de Mayo y Cerrada en 9 de Diciembre de 1888*, edited by José M. Serrate. Barcelona: Establecimiento Tipográfico del Diario Mercantil, 1888, 15.

<sup>156</sup> “Siempre hemos creído que si algún día había de celebrarse en España una Exposición Universal, debería realizarse en Barcelona. Su excelente clima, su hermosa tipografía, la importancia de su puerto y productos que hayan de figurar en el certamen, lo económico de la vida en relación a otras



Although the Exhibition itself passed off without incident, it was not exempt from criticism. Negative reactions came from three main sources: the working classes, republican leaders and Catalan nationalists. The socialist newspaper *Acracia* grudgingly recognised that, “The sciences, the arts, industry and agriculture, brought together more-or-less methodically in magnificent palaces, give a stunning idea of the creative power, the wisdom and the work of man.”<sup>157</sup> It was highly critical of the bourgeois nature of the Exhibition and condemned it saying:

The visitor lacking in revolutionary judgement will be overwhelmed by so much magnificence; for the observer whose convictions are rooted close to the rights of man and the duties of society, the impression will be painful because there, as in all great bourgeois spectacles, only the capitalist exploiter is to be seen, not the person who fought terrible battles with matter and nature to make the products. The bourgeois is on show there receiving diplomas, medals and universal acclaim, while the worker who sold his intelligence and creative power for a miserable salary is condemned to oblivion.<sup>158</sup>

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capitales y sobre todo Madrid, su espíritu esencialmente industrial, todo designa a Barcelona para un certamen de esta naturaleza.” *La Época*, 20 May 1888.

<sup>157</sup> “Las ciencias, las artes, la industria y la agricultura, agrupadas más o menos metódicamente en magníficos palacios, dan asombrosa idea del poder creador, del saber y del trabajo del hombre.” *Acracia*, 30 June 1888.

<sup>158</sup> “El visitante que carece de criterio revolucionario queda deslumbrado ante tanta magnificencia; el observador que tiene convicciones arraigadas acerca de los derechos del hombre y los deberes de la sociedad, recibe una impresión dolorosa, porque allí, como en toda gran manifestación burguesa, sólo se ve al capitalista explotador, no al productor que ha librado batallas terribles con la materia y la naturaleza. Allí se exhibe el burgués y recoge diplomas y medallas y fama universal, en tanto que el trabajador que vendió su inteligencia por un miserable salario queda condenado al olvido.” *Idem*.

To coincide with the Royal party's visit to the city, in a striking example of the marriage of convenience between Catalan high culture and Madrid-based political power, a special session of the *Jocs Florals* was held and the regent María Cristina was declared queen of the festival.<sup>159</sup> Josep Faulí hailed this remarkable turn of events as marking the end of the period of mourning for the loss of Catalonia's national prestige in 1714, while leading academic, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, characterized it as an energetic affirmation of the traditional meaning of the Spanish state.<sup>160</sup> Joan Mañé i Flaquer, writing in the *Diario de Barcelona* simply but paradoxically stated that Catalonia was now “la más española,” or the most Spanish, of the nation's regions.<sup>161</sup> The poetry competition was won by the Catholic priest Jaume Collell for his poem *Sagramental* and in the presence of the Queen Regent and her entourage he caused quite a stir by proclaiming the famous lines in Catalan:

*Poble que mereix ser lliure  
si no l'hi donen, s'ho pren.*

Or:

A People who deserve liberty  
if it is not given to them, will take it.

The displeasure of many of the government figures who were present was all too clear, but this single expression of Catalan national sentiment was not enough to

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<sup>159</sup> Soldevila, *Síntesis de la Historia de Cataluña*, 252.

<sup>160</sup> Josep Faulí, “Els Jocs Florals del 1888, final de l'època de lluita pel prestigi social.” In *L'Exposició del 88 i el nacionalisme català*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume I, 1988, 90-91.

<sup>161</sup> Joan Solà, “Crònica d'una simetria: Els Jocs Florals i el Congrés Pedagògic de 1888.” *Barcelona Metròpolis Mediterrània*, No. 10, Winter 1988-1989, 120-121.

satisfy many of the more politicized groups and their reaction was predictable.<sup>162</sup>

Almirall's *Centre Català* organized an alternative *Jocs Florals* for those who did not wish to perform their art in front of María Cristina, nor link the Catalan national project to the Exhibition;<sup>163</sup> and the *Lliga de Catalunya*, in one of the most overtly political expressions of Catalan nationalism during the Exhibition, issued a plea to the Queen Regent requesting the establishment of a Catalan parliament, which it claimed as the right of the Catalan Nation, and petitioning for the restoration to official status of the Catalan language.<sup>164</sup>

The Universal Exhibition itself was truly international in character, featuring 6,233 exhibitors from throughout Spain; there were national pavilions with exhibits from Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bolivia, Chile, China, Ecuador, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, Paraguay, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United States and Uruguay; more than a hundred ships from throughout Europe and the Americas docked in the port while the festivities were taking place.<sup>165</sup> Although the event attracted fewer foreign visitors than the organizers had hoped for, one at least, French delegate Monsieur Prévot, specifically recognized that it had achieved one of its key objectives and confidently predicted that Barcelona's influence in international commerce would grow.<sup>166</sup> Valero de Tornos rightly observed that,

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<sup>162</sup> María Pomés and Alicia Sánchez, *Historia de Barcelona: De Los Orígenes a la Actualidad*. Barcelona: Editorial Optima, 2001, 224.

<sup>163</sup> Faulí, *Els Jocs Florals del 1888*, 87; McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 27.

<sup>164</sup> Josep M. Ainaud de Lasarte, "El missatge a la reina regent." In *L'Exposició del 88 i el nacionalisme català*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume I, 1988, 97.

<sup>165</sup> Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 199.

<sup>166</sup> Lacal, *El libro de honor*, 9-10; Tarín Iglesias, *Gent nostra: Rius i Taulet*, 44.

when Barcelona's traditionally provincial past was taken into account, even the slightest degree of cosmopolitan interest in the city was a significant step forward.<sup>167</sup>

There can be little doubt that the Exhibition represented one of the high points of María Cristina's regency, and it engendered a "sentimiento español" or feeling of Spanishness, which would continue until the disastrous Spanish-American War of 1898.<sup>168</sup> The disaster of 1898 set off an economic depression in Spain but also demoralized the nation, undermined national self-consciousness in a way that saw Spain branded as a "dying nation" in an age of imperialism.<sup>169</sup> The impact of the Spanish-American War on Spain, and in particular its historiographic significance for the understanding of the Wild West's time in Barcelona, will be considered in Chapter 4.

The Universal Exhibition closed on 9 December 1888, with a *Te Deum*, the Catholic Church's ancient Latin hymn of praise, sung in Barcelona Cathedral, and was generally considered a success for a number of reasons.<sup>170</sup> Firstly, on account of the overall number of visitors which it attracted, which some estimates put as high as two and a half million, even if there had not been as many as anticipated from beyond Spain's borders.<sup>171</sup> Secondly, due to the income which it generated. And

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<sup>167</sup> Valero de Tornos, *Cuarenta cartas*, 19.

<sup>168</sup> Ramón Aliberch, *Un Siglo de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Editorial Freixnet, 1944, 122-123.

<sup>169</sup> Sebastian Balfour, "'The Lion and the Pig': Nationalism and National Identity in *Fin-de-Siècle* Spain." In *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula. Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, 107-118. Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1996.

<sup>170</sup> Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 204.

<sup>171</sup> Hughes, *Barcelona*, 310.

finally because of the international profile which it gave to the city of Barcelona. A few months before Buffalo Bill's Wild West came to the city, the editor of Barcelona's *Diario Mercantil*, José María Serrate, reflected in an address to the city's *Ateneo* that Rius i Taulet had achieved his three major objectives: modernizing the city in readiness for the Exhibition; organizing the event itself; and performing the *hombres de la casa*, or the duties of a good host, when distinguished foreign guests and members of Spain's royal family and other members of the country's ruling elites were in attendance.<sup>172</sup> That these three objectives had been achieved is a clear indication that city could be expected to cope with the logistics of the visit by Buffalo Bill's Wild West the following year.

The 1888 Universal Exhibition continued to have considerable symbolic value for Catalonia throughout the twentieth century and it has been historicised as ushering in a new era for the city in which it would be more cosmopolitan and closer to the rest of Europe.<sup>173</sup> It was the first major international event that the city of Barcelona had organized and it was viewed as a positive development model for the subsequent 1929 International Exhibition and, much later, for the 1992 Olympic Games. The project had employed 2,000 workers during the construction phase, and 3,000 more during the Exhibition itself, and it unquestionably revitalized the construction sector of the local economy. For those workers who were involved in the major building projects in the months leading up to the Exhibition, both in the show-grounds

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<sup>172</sup> José M. Serrate, "Conferencia 9: Revelaciones Industriales de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona." In *Ateneo Barcelonés: Conferencias Públicas Relativas A La Exposición Universal De Barcelona*. Barcelona: Tipo-Litografía de Busquets y Vidal, 1889, 218.

<sup>173</sup> Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 204.

themselves and on the other related urban development projects, hours were long, conditions were at times difficult and there was a growing awareness among them of the need to organize and unite in defence of their own interests and in pursuit of improvements in working conditions. As a result of this rise in working class consciousness, strong anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements in Barcelona began to develop. The Spanish General Workers' Union, the *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT), was founded in Barcelona in August 1888, when the Exhibition was in full swing, and shortly after it closed, the Spanish Socialist Party, the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), held its first national congress in the city.<sup>174</sup> The financial consequences of the Exhibition would also have political ramifications. There was considerable price inflation, and the city's local government was saddled with a budget deficit in the region of six million pesetas.<sup>175</sup> The legacy of the Exhibition, however, went well beyond the financial burden of this debt and the increased prices. Its physical impact on the city was profound. Barcelona's effective boundaries grew from the *Parc de la Ciutadella* to the seafront at Barceloneta, its entire infrastructure was improved and one of the city's most iconic structures was constructed: the Columbus Monument which symbolically linked Spain to the Americas.

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<sup>174</sup> José Alvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español (1868-1910)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1976, 341-374; Bahamonde, *Historia de España Siglo XX*, 205-208; Antoni Dalmau i Ribalta, *El procés de Montjuïc – Barcelona al final del segle XIX*. Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2010, 13, 23-25; McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 43; Jordi Piqué i Padró, *Anarco-col·lectivisme i anarco-comunisme. L'oposició de dues postures en el moviment anarquista català (1881-1891)*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1989; Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 140-141, 201.

<sup>175</sup> Tarín Iglesias, *Gent nostra: Rius i Taulet*, 44.

The proposal to erect a monument to Columbus in Barcelona goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century in what historian Christopher Schmidt-Nowara has referred to as the period of “Colonofilia” or “Columbus worship” when the “Columbus Day” initiative gave rise to the ritual that has become the daily pledge of allegiance in United States schools and numerous projects commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of 1492 were being undertaken in Spain and Spanish America.<sup>176</sup> As such, the proposal to build the monument predated the idea of the Universal Exhibition by some thirty years.<sup>177</sup> It was Antoni Fages i Ferrer who first suggested in 1856 that such a monument be erected, and that it be constructed entirely by Catalans, although it took sixteen years for him to make any progress with his plan. Finally in 1872 he gained the support of the mayor of the city, Francesc Rius i Taulet, and in 1881 the city passed a resolution to build the monument. A contest was held exclusively for Spanish artists to submit their designs with the winner being Gaietà Buigas i Monravà, a Catalan.<sup>178</sup> Most of the money was privately raised, with only twelve per cent being financed with public funds. All of the funding came from Spanish sources and the entire workforce of the construction was Catalan. Work began in 1882 and was completed in 1888, in time for the Universal Exhibition, and the official opening of the monument took place on 1 June 1888.

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<sup>176</sup> Kroes and Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 58-60; Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*, 55-68.

<sup>177</sup> Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*, 58-59.

<sup>178</sup> The full proceedings and decision of the committee, in Spanish, are now available online at <http://www.xpofereis.cat/projectecolom.pdf>.

The monument is a 197 feet tall column on the seafront close to the site where Columbus arrived back in Spain on 15 March 1493 after his first voyage to the Americas. It is frequently referenced in relation to the Wild West's visit to the city and it serves as a reminder that Spanish people had been meeting and dealing with American Indian people for a very long time.<sup>179</sup> Barcelona was the first port of entry for American Indian people coming to Spain when Christopher Columbus presented eleven of their "new subjects" to Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand. Among these were the survivors of the six Tainos that he had kidnapped on the day he first made landfall on the island of Guanahaní which he renamed San Salvador, "in order that they might learn to speak."<sup>180</sup>

The iconography of the monument clearly reflects what Josep Fradera has termed a "double patriotism," with its emphasis on Catalan themes within the broader Spanish context, a trait which art historian Oscar Vázquez has also found to be typical of Catalan art collections in the late 1880s.<sup>181</sup> In the specifics of its depiction of

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<sup>179</sup> John M. Burke, To Gràcia (Barcelona) Civic Authorities, 29 October 1889, [copy in Spanish held in McCracken Research Library, Cody, Wyoming, BBWW-Barcelona, Vertical File]; Burke, *The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill: the Legend*, 194; *El Noticiero Universal*, 8 January 1890; *Philadelphia Daily Enquirer*, 5 February 1890; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West*, 144; Salsbury, *Reminiscences*; *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889; *Wild West Program*, 1899, 32-34.

<sup>180</sup> "Yo plaziendo a Nuestro Señor levaré de aquí al tiempo de mi partida para que deprendan fablar." Cristóbal Colón, *Textos y documentos completos*, edited and with a Prologue and Notes by Consuelo Varela. Madrid: Alianza-Universidad, 1982, 31. Modern English translations often end this sentence with "speak our language." There is no reference to language in the original.

<sup>181</sup> Fradera, *The Empire, the Nation*, 140; Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the art collection: patrons, markets and the state in nineteenth-century Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, 62.



Columbus' first voyage it also encapsulates a number of key elements of the manner in which Spain memorialized its relationship with American Indian people. Within sixty years of that first voyage, the famous Valladolid debates between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda had moved Spain's official position away from the initial essentially dehumanizing implication of Columbus' journal entry that the natives lacked the power of speech, and established a basis for the treatment of American Indian people within the Spanish Empire which was significantly different from that which developed in the United States and that would be represented by Buffalo Bill's Wild West. These differences are important to bear in mind as we seek to understand the reception which the performances would receive in Barcelona.

In 1550 the classical scholar, Sepúlveda, argued that Aristotle's principle of the natural slavery of some peoples justified Spain's violent conquest of the Indies, whereas the Bishop of the Mexican province of Chiapas, Las Casas, took the position that the Indians were human beings with inherent rights, and favoured a benign conquest to ensure their conversion to Christianity. By modern standards, Sepúlveda's stance would clearly be characterized as racist, and that taken by Las Casas as more humane if somewhat paternalistic. It was, nevertheless, the latter position that was recognized as having won the day and, regardless of the actual inequalities, exploitation and violent outrages that Indian people suffered, throughout Spain's subsequent involvement in the Western hemisphere, the Empire's official position, and the dominant social discourse relating to it was typically imperialistic,

indicating that the Conquest was for the Indians' own good.<sup>182</sup> Spain had offered the American natives civilization by means of law and "true" religion; Buffalo Bill's Wild West would present the inevitable triumph of superior technology, and mythologize the "vanishing American" giving way to civilization in the trans-Mississippi west.

An unintended consequence of Las Casas' writings, in particular his fierce criticism of the early years of the Spanish Conquest in his 1552 work, *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* or *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, was that his condemnation of Spanish brutality provided ammunition for the largely Protestant Northern European and American proponents of the *Black Legend* mentioned above which was so significant in the development of the stereo-typical view of Spain as a backward and underdeveloped country which has characterised much of the previous scholarship on Buffalo Bill's Wild West's visit to Barcelona.<sup>183</sup>

The statue of Columbus atop his column is pointing into the distance with his right hand while holding a scroll in his left and, although figuratively we might think of him as pointing west to the Americas, such is the geography of Barcelona that he is

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<sup>182</sup> John H. Elliot, *Spain and its World 1500-1700*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989, 42-64; Otis H. Green, *Spain and the Western Tradition: The Castilian Mind in Literature from El Cid to Calderón*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965, (4 vols.), Vol. 2, 153-155; Vol. 3, 35, 75, 90-91, 101, 299-300; Vol. 4, 116; Angel Losada, "Controversy between Sepúlveda and Las Casas." In *Bartolomé de las Casas in History: Toward an Understanding of the Man and his Work*, edited by Juan Freide and Benjamin Keen, 279-309. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971.

<sup>183</sup> Available in English translation as Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. London: Penguin, 1999.

actually pointing east, towards his supposed home city of Genoa.<sup>184</sup> The column's buttresses and pedestal are decorated with panels and statues depicting people who played important roles in the Columbus story. The majority of these figures relate to the first transatlantic voyage of 1492-1493, but two of the statues depict Captain Pedro Bertran i de Margarit, who would be the military commander on Columbus' second voyage,<sup>185</sup> next to a kneeling Indian; and the priest, Father Bernat de Boil,<sup>186</sup> who would be the chaplain on Columbus' second voyage, giving his blessing to a kneeling Indian who is kissing the cross which he is holding.<sup>187</sup>

Although the two figures from Columbus' second voyage may initially appear to stand out as anomalies, they are significant for their depiction of the prevalent Spanish view of the Imperial expansion in the Americas which was initiated by the voyages of Columbus. The sword and the cross were the twin instruments of civilization by which law and religion were brought to the natives. The military commander and the chaplain are each presented with the figure of an Indian, apparently kneeling in humble submission to the civilizing and conquering Spaniard. Both statues are of Catalans in the service of Spanish imperial ends. Buffalo Bill's Wild West painted a very different picture of the relationship between American

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<sup>184</sup> For a summary of alternative origins for Columbus, which range from Catalan to Jewish or Polish, see Charles J. Merrill, *Colom of Catalonia: Origins of Christopher Columbus Revealed*. Spokane: Demers Books, 2008. At the time of writing, a large scale DNA testing project is underway in order to determine if he was in fact Catalan.

<sup>185</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 106, 108, 114, 138; Konig, *Columbus: His Enterprise*, 82-84, 120.

<sup>186</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 104, 110, 114; Josep M. Prunés, "Nuevos datos y observaciones para la biografía de fray Bernardo Boil." *Bollettino Ufficiale dell'Ordine dei Minimi* Vol. 49, 2003, 555-574.

<sup>187</sup> See Appendix 6, Figures 6 and 7.

Indian people and Euro-Americans, although neither of these two alternative constructs of imperial conquest bears any resemblance to the reality which the Spaniards experienced when their incursions into the North American plains were halted by fierce Comanche and Apache resistance.<sup>188</sup>

We can therefore see that there were many reasons for Cody and company to be optimistic about their trip to Barcelona in spite of the fact that the relationship between the United States and Spain was significantly more difficult than those with Britain or France where the Wild West had been so successful.<sup>189</sup> They were clearly going to a vibrant and growing city that had rapidly industrialised, undergone both a physical transformation and a cultural revival with a strongly nationalistic strand that had given rise to a dual patriotism that was prevalent among the upper echelons of society. It had recently staged a successful Universal Exhibition which had heightened its international profile. It had a well-established bourgeoisie which provided a readership for the many newspapers and magazines published in the city

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<sup>188</sup> Jeffrey D. Carlisle, *Spanish Relations with the Apache Nations East of the Rio Grande*, University of North Texas, PhD Thesis, 2001, 45-87, 130-163; T. R. Fehrenbach, *Comanches – The History of a People*, London: Vintage Books, 2007, 28, 63-64, 83-85, 155-156, 168-178, 183-187, 190-191, 199-208, 216-228, 230; Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994, xviii; Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008, 3, 20, 32-36, 45, 71-76, 80, 119, 143, 179, 183-189, 205-207, 355; Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996, 36-37; Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches – Lords of the Southern Plains*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, 3, 8, 11, 27; Donald Emmet Worcester, *The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979, 8-9.

<sup>189</sup> Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 7, 67-74, 114-118, 131, 176, 233, 263-266; Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 112, 142-144, 167-171, 173-175, 243-246, 257-258, 277-278, 298-299; *Punch*, 7 May 1887; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 302, 349-350.

which could be used to publicise the visit, and it catered for the leisure interests of that key sector of its population with a lively café culture, numerous theatres and musical venues which were well attended. It also had numerous transatlantic commercial links and there was clearly an interest in things American since it had both erected a Columbus monument featuring American Indian people in its iconography and sent numerous spectators to see the Wild West in Paris earlier in the year. We will return to consider the significance of the specific features of the Barcelona populace which we have touched upon in suggesting that it might have provided a receptive audience for Cody and his troupe but the question we must now address is: what does a detailed examination of the contemporary records of the Spanish tour tell us about what happened when Buffalo Bill's Wild West visited Barcelona in December 1889 and January 1890?

### Chapter 3 – Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in Barcelona 1889-1890

On 18 December 1889, the newspaper *La Vanguardia* reprinted Angel Muro’s preview of the Wild West’s appearance at the Paris International Exhibition which had first been published in the Madrid newspaper *La Iberia* the previous May. Muro wrote in glowing terms of “a show the likes of which has never been seen before, that is as grandiose as it is interesting,”<sup>1</sup> and that is of such magnitude that “it required the charter of a large steamship to transport its men and horses.”<sup>2</sup> He stresses that the Wild West “recreates [...] with strict attention to detail, scenes from the real life of the Far West,”<sup>3</sup> and that “it is not a circus or hippodrome with acrobats, clowns and jugglers.”<sup>4</sup> He then singles out the Indians for particular attention as “among the finest specimens of their race, they are six feet tall, athletic in appearance, of excellent build and their agility is unequalled,”<sup>5</sup> and he sums up “Paris will be astonished at the sight of their savage and energetic performances.”<sup>6</sup>

There was no reason to suppose that Barcelona would not be similarly astonished. Newspaper coverage such as Muro’s article had been successful in attracting visitors to the Wild West in Paris from other parts of Europe. As we have already observed,

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<sup>1</sup> “...un espectáculo nunca visto, tan grandioso como interesante.” *La Iberia*, 1 May 1889.

<sup>2</sup> “Es tal la importancia de esta compañía, que ha tenido que fletar un gran vapor para trasportar sus hombres y sus caballos.” *Idem*.

<sup>3</sup> “... reproducir [...] con fidelidad estricta, las escenas de la vida actual del Far-West.” *Idem*.

<sup>4</sup> “No es un circo ni hipódromo con acrobatas, clowns y titiriteros.” *Idem*.

<sup>5</sup> “... los tipos más puros de su raza, miden seis pies, su complexión es atlética, sus formas bellas y su agilidad sin igual.” *Idem*.

<sup>6</sup> “París se maravillará presenciando sus ejercicios salvajes y esforzados.” *Idem*.

at least three trainloads set off from Barcelona for the Universal Exhibition, the first of these leaving the city in mid-July, and it was this interest from elsewhere in Europe that inspired the thought of a more extensive European tour.<sup>7</sup> The interest that had been shown in Spain made it an obvious potential venue, and the company contracted with a theatrical agent named Verger, who signed them up for five weeks of performances in Barcelona in December 1889 and January 1890.<sup>8</sup>

Rumours first surfaced in the Barcelona press in early October. *El Noticiero Universal* claimed on 11 October 1889, “We have heard that Buffalo Bill’s great company which is currently in Paris is thinking of coming to Spain next year and that Barcelona will be the first major city they visit.”<sup>9</sup> The story was picked up the following day by *La Dinastía* which predicted, “Given the prior reports we have had of this great company from people returning from Paris, we can suppose that they will catch the attention of audiences in this city.”<sup>10</sup> That very month, John M. Burke, the Wild West’s general manager and chief publicist, travelled to Barcelona to make the preliminary arrangements and organize the publicity. He leased land for the show from prominent businessman, Víctor Font, in what is now the upper end of Barcelona’s *Carrer Aribau*, *Carrer Còrsega* and *Carrer Muntaner*.<sup>11</sup> The main entrance to the show grounds would be in *Carrer Muntaner*. The lands leased were

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<sup>7</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 11, 14.

<sup>9</sup> “Según noticias, la gran compañía del Buffalo Bill’s, que actualmente se encuentra en París, piensa venir a España en el año próximo, siendo Barcelona la primera capital que visitará.” *El Noticiero Universal*, 11 October 1889.

<sup>10</sup> “Dados los antecedentes que de esta gran compañía tenemos, por gente ya vuelta de París, llamará la atención del público de esta capital.” *La Dinastía*, 12 October 1889.

<sup>11</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 14.

not at that time within the Barcelona city limits but within the independent borough of Gràcia which, as discussed in the previous chapter, would not become part of Barcelona until 1897.

Burke's remit included dealing with the local bureaucracy to obtain the relevant permission. On 29 October 1889, he wrote to the borough council in Gràcia, describing himself with typical aplomb as the representative of "*La Gran Compañía del Buffalo Bill's Wild West*" and articulating the company's desire to, "make known in this town the Great Exhibition of American Indian and Frontier Life which has so rightly been praised by all of the audiences in Paris and London before which it has appeared..."<sup>12</sup> The purpose of the letter was a simple request for the closure of roads running through the grounds that had been leased for the show and Burke argued for the necessary permission to be promptly granted due to the "educational nature" of the exhibition.<sup>13</sup> He also took the opportunity of emphasising the link between Columbus, Barcelona and Buffalo Bill's Wild West stating how pleased the company was that its first appearance in Spain should be, "in Barcelona the port where Christopher Columbus disembarked upon his return from the Americas, the native land of the Indians it features."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "... dar a conocer en esta población la Gran Exhibition of American Indian and Frontier Life que tan justamente ha sido elogiada por todos los públicos de París y Londres ante los que se ha presentado..." Burke, John M. To Gràcia (Barcelona) Civic Authorities, 29 October 1889, [copy in Spanish held in McCracken Research Library, Cody, Wyoming, BBWW-Barcelona, Vertical File].

<sup>13</sup> The expression he – or more properly his unidentified Spanish translator – uses is "carácter instructivo." Idem.

<sup>14</sup> "en Barcelona puerto donde desembarcó Cristóbal Colón en su regreso de las Américas pueblo de naturaleza de los indios que presenta." Idem.



According to his unpublished “Reminiscences,” Nathan Salsbury, William F. Cody’s business partner, also came to Barcelona in advance of the rest of the company at Burke’s request “to decide several matters that really did not need deciding as the controlling circumstances superseded anything that I could.”<sup>15</sup> Salsbury’s manuscript was written towards the end of his life in 1902 and it portrays himself as the major reason for all of the successes of the Wild West, while casting Cody in a particularly negative light.<sup>16</sup> In that respect it is interesting that he has nothing negative to say about the time in Spain, only about his journey there by boat:

Or rather, [...] a tub that was greasy on the outside and in with the filth that only can accumulate where the Latin race are masters of the soil. The deck of the boat was so crowded with coops of live poultry so that there was no room to walk at all, even slopping over into deck staterooms with the malodorous presence. After a night of misery I arrived at the port of Barcelona and heard the rattle of the anchor chain (as the boat swung to her mooring) with more pleasure than I ever listened to a sonata in C minor, or Asia Minor or anywhere else.<sup>17</sup>

We have no record of whether or not Salsbury’s intervention was significant. We can infer, however, from his references to the filth on board his ship that he shared the prevalent negative view of the Spanish that was common in the United States at the time, a factor which may indicate relatively low expectations of the Barcelona

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<sup>15</sup> The Nathan Salsbury Papers, *Beinecke Library, Yale University*, YCAL, MSS 17, Box 2, Folder 64, Writings “Reminiscences” 1964.

<sup>16</sup> On which see Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 495-498.

<sup>17</sup> Salsbury, *Reminiscences*.

audience. We also know for certain that the relevant civil authorities did give their approval and, on 9 November, *La Vanguardia* proclaimed, “It has now been confirmed that the show which caught the attention at the Universal Exhibition in Paris, Buffalo Bill’s American Exhibition, will come to this city.”<sup>18</sup>

We also know that the impending visit by the Wild West provided substantial business for Barcelona’s merchants and public transport companies. Burke signed contracts with the former for 880 kilos of grain, 2,000 kilos of alfalfa and the same amount of straw daily, and with the latter he agreed a concession similar to that which had been in place for the previous year’s Universal Exhibition.<sup>19</sup> On 6 December, *La Vanguardia* announced:

On Sundays and holidays when there is a performance, the Tarragona to Barcelona and France Railway Company will run special services with reduced-price return fares, provided the ticket for the aforementioned show is purchased at the same time as the train ticket.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “Es ya un hecho la venida a esta ciudad de un espectáculo que ha llamado la atención en la Exposición de París, la gran ‘Exhibition americana del Buffalo Bill’.” *La Vanguardia*, 9 November 1889.

<sup>19</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 15.

<sup>20</sup> “Los domingos y días festivos en que haya exhibición, la compañía de los ferrocarriles de Tarragona á Barcelona y Francia, verificará un servicio especial de viajeros con billetes de ida y vuelta á precios reducidos, expendiendo al propio tiempo que el billete de ferrocarril, la entrada al referido espectáculo.” *La Vanguardia*, 6 December 1889. Almost identical notices appeared on the same date in *La Dinastía* and in *El Noticiero Universal*.

The Sarrià railway line, which ran from *Plaça de Catalunya* in the city centre, also announced that it would open a new station at the bottom of *Carrer Rosselló*, very close to the show arena, and that it would sell tickets for the show along with train tickets.<sup>21</sup>

In the month before the Wild West came to town, Barcelona's lively entertainment scene offered any number of choices. The light opera, *The Nephews of Captain Grant* was on a run of more than 400 shows at the *Tivoli*. There were other theatrical performances in Spanish at the *Novedades*, the *El Dorado*, the *Calvo-Vico* and the *Nuevo Retiro*, and in Catalan at the *Teatre Català*, where they were showing *The Black Monk*. As ever there was opera at the *Liceu*, there was a shooting exhibition at the *Miramar*, and there were vaudeville performances at the Equestrian Circus, such as *The Glories of Spain or the Catalan Volunteers in Africa*. There were exhibitions at the *Panorama del Sitio de París* and the *Waterloo*, and an early form of cinema at the *Paris Exhibition Cyclorama*. Concerts and other musical entertainments were available at the grand café-restaurant of the *Palacio del Cristal*, and at the *Café Pelayo*.<sup>22</sup>

The big news in the city in the days leading up to the Wild West's arrival was the local elections, which had taken place on 1 December 1889. The key political issue was clear: should the surrounding boroughs, which had petitioned the king four years earlier to remain independent, maintain their autonomy or be incorporated into

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<sup>21</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 41.

the city? The Cerdà Plan had already anticipated the annexation of these boroughs to the city, and the inexorable advance of urban development along the *Passeig de Gràcia*, made the physical union of Gràcia and Barcelona inevitable, regardless of the political arrangements. There were numerous allegations of irregularities in the elections: from attempted impersonation to accusations of ballot boxes being thrown over balconies and even suggestions that the electoral register had been fraudulently amended. Turnout was low but those who did vote, voted for change.<sup>23</sup>

Rius i Tauler, in spite of the success of the Universal Exhibition, was voted out of his post as mayor. The financial deficit had given rise to accusations in the press that he had mortgaged the city to pay for the Exhibition. Despite the role that he had played in the modernization of the city and in making it known internationally, he fell victim to the fact that the town council's finances were in critically poor condition. Gràcia had also chosen a new mayor in Joaquim Rossich, who supported the cause of unification with Barcelona, replacing Frederic Pons in the office which he would continue to hold until the new unitary town council was established eight years later. Rossich was also one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West coming to Barcelona, although it would be his predecessor who would be one of the VIPs to ride in the Deadwood Stage at the première.<sup>24</sup>

Burke placed large-panel front page advertisements to run in the weekend press. On Saturday 7 December 1889, *El Noticiero Universal* has the following:

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<sup>23</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 17.

<sup>24</sup> *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

## Buffalo Bill's Wild West

Opening 20 December 1889

New hippodrome, located at the corner of Calle Aribau and Calle Rossellón, main entrance via Calle Muntaner, Barcelona-Gràcia.

Great North American Exhibition, with lively scenes and the customs from those lands. Every day at 2.30 pm. For Five weeks only.

200 American Indians, Scouts, Mexican Cowboys, Lancers, Hunters, Marksmen, Wild horsemen, Wild Indian Women, Female Hunters.

200 animals, Indian ponies, buffalo etc. etc. etc. under the command of Colonel W. F. Cody "Buffalo Bill," former chief of scouts of the United States Army.

All of the above appearing in every show.

Tickets: 1 peseta, reserved seats: 2.10 pesetas, 3.10 pesetas, 4.10 pesetas, 5.10 pesetas.<sup>25</sup>

The ticket prices advertised are in line with those for other shows playing in Barcelona at the same time. Eight theatres were advertising in *La Vanguardia* on the day that the Wild West's notice first appeared. 50 centimes to see *Ali Baba* at the *Tivoli* made it the cheapest show in town, while six pesetas for a box seat for *¡Olé*

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<sup>25</sup> "Inauguración el 20 de diciembre del nuevo hipódromo, esquinas calle de Aribau y Rosellón. Entrada principal, calle Montaner. Barcelona-Gracia.

Gran Exhibición Norte Americana de las animadas escenas y costumbres de la vida de aquellas comarcas. Todas las tardes á las dos y media. Por cinco semanas solamente.

200 indios americanos, batidores, vaqueros Mejicanos, lanceros, cazadores, tiradores, ginetes salvajes, indias campesinas, cazadoras.

200 animales, caballos indios, búfalos, etc. etc. bajo el mando del Coronel W. F. Cody 'Buffalo Bill', antiguo jefe de los Batidores del Ejército de los Estados Unidos.

Entrada, pesetas Una. Asientos reservados: pesetas 2'10. Ptas. 3'10. Ptas. 410. Ptas. 5'10." *El Noticiero Universal*, 7 December 1889. Near identical advertisements appeared in *La Vanguardia* the same day and in *La Dinastía* the following day.

*Sevilla!* at the *Nuevo Retiro* made it the most expensive.<sup>26</sup> The *Liceu* opera house, reflecting the ethos which saw it become such a potent symbol of the triumph of Barcelona's bourgeoisie, quotes no prices in its listing but instead gives details of how to subscribe to attend all the shows in the forthcoming season.<sup>27</sup>

Berger has argued convincingly that Burke was ahead of his time in "celebrity brand management" and in the days leading up to the Wild West's arrival in Catalonia, he ensured that stories appeared in the press almost every day to build up interest.<sup>28</sup> On Monday 9 December, *La Dinastía*, announced that the company would arrive the following week:

Buffalo Bill's company is due to arrive in this city from Marseilles on the eighteenth of this month. Its manager has requested the relevant permission from the local government of Gràcia, to set up its arena for a period of two months and dismantle it after the performances are over. These will take place daily, for a period of five weeks; the sizable company, which consists of more than 200 individuals, will live in tents which will be set up nearby.<sup>29</sup>

Irishman, John Wallace Crawford, sometimes called "Captain Jack" or "The Poet Scout," was another who arrived in advance of the main company, on 16 December

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<sup>26</sup> *La Vanguardia*, 7 December 1889.

<sup>27</sup> Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture*, 179, 182-183; *La Vanguardia*, 7 December 1889.

<sup>28</sup> Berger, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and John M. Burke*, 225-252.

<sup>29</sup> "La compañía 'Buffalo Bill's' debe llegar a esta capital, procedente de Marsella, el día 18 del corriente. Su director solicitó por el término de dos meses, del Ayuntamiento de Gracia, el correspondiente permiso para levantar el circo y desmontarlo celebrados ya los espectáculos. Estos se darán durante cinco semanas, todos los días; junto al circo se armarán tiendas en las que vivirá el numeroso personal de la compañía, que excede de 200 individuos." *La Dinastía*, 9 December 1889.

1889.<sup>30</sup> He was reporting on the tour for the *New York Herald*, and was acting as a member of John M. Burke's publicity department. Crawford is a fascinating character in his own right. He was born in the market town of Carndonagh, on County Donegal's Inishowen Peninsula, on 4 March 1847, and came to the States at the age of eleven.<sup>31</sup> He served in the 48th Pennsylvania Volunteers through the Civil War, after which he headed west and was one of the earliest settlers in the Black Hills region of present day South Dakota and Wyoming, covering the gold rush of 1873-1875 for the *The Omaha Daily Bee*.<sup>32</sup> He served as a scout for the army, both in the Great Sioux War of 1876 to 1877, and subsequently in the Apache campaign of 1879 to 1880 in the Southwest. In the late 1870s, he was part of William F. Cody's theatre company, *The Buffalo Bill Combination*, starring opposite Cody as "Captain Jack."<sup>33</sup> While serving as a scout, he had continued sending dispatches to *The Bee*, and writing and performing were to be the main focus for most of the rest of his life.<sup>34</sup> He published his first anthology of poetry, *The Poet Scout* in 1886, and followed this with three further books, over one hundred short stories, and several

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<sup>30</sup> *La Dinastía*, 16 December 1889.

<sup>31</sup> Crawford Collection, Denver Public Library, (in particular Series 4, 1887-1898), Darlis A. Miller, *Captain Jack Crawford – Buckskin Poet, Scout and Showman*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.

<sup>32</sup> Paul L. Hedren, (Ed). *Ho! For the Black Hills – Captain Jack Crawford Reports the Black Hills Gold Rush and Great Sioux War*. Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2012, 1-20, 70-100.

<sup>33</sup> Miller, *Captain Jack Crawford*, 67-76; Sandra K. Sagala, *Buffalo Bill, Actor: A Chronicle of Cody's Theatrical Career*, New York: Heritage Books, 2002, 143-159; and *Buffalo Bill on Stage*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008, 89-110.

<sup>34</sup> Hedren, *Ho! For the Black Hills*, 197-236.

plays.<sup>35</sup> Crawford eschewed the dime novel genre, for, as his biographer, Darlis Miller, relates:

Above all else, Crawford thought of himself as an honest man, and he wanted to project this image before the public. In essays and on stage, he assured the public that he was depicting the authentic West – not the sensational West of dime novelists.<sup>36</sup>

This was one of the reasons that Miller characterizes Crawford's relationship with Cody as a "troubled friendship."<sup>37</sup> In 1893, he split definitively from Buffalo Bill's Wild West, after a particularly bitter falling out with John M. Burke who described him as "a fraud and fake frontiersman."<sup>38</sup> The source of contention had been the publication of a letter in which Crawford called into question the authenticity of Cody's show. He nevertheless continued to be on generally friendly terms with Cody for most of the rest of their lives. Crawford died in 1917, the same year as William F. Cody and John M. Burke.

Two days after Crawford's arrival in the city, three of the local newspapers, *El Barcelonés*, *La Dinastía* and *La Vanguardia*, all ran with virtually identical stories, announcing the receipt of a telegram from Marseilles dated 15 December which stated:

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<sup>35</sup> Jack Crawford, *The Poet Scout – A Book of Song and Story*, New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886.

<sup>36</sup> Miller, *Captain Jack Crawford*, 188.

<sup>37</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>38</sup> *Wichita Daily Eagle*, 2 January 1894.



Mr Luis José Poggio is here making final preparations for the departure of the steamer which will transport “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Company.” Said steamer will leave here on Monday carrying 200 people and 300 animals. It will reach Barcelona on Tuesday afternoon.<sup>39</sup>

The company had been scheduled to arrive on 17 December, but due to poor weather in the Mediterranean, and in particular the threat of storms in the Gulf of Lyons, the ship’s master, Captain Antich, delayed their departure and, as a result, John M. Burke went to the offices of the *Diario de Barcelona*, in *Carrer Llibreteria*, and posted an advertisement to the effect that the première would now take place on Saturday 21 December, and not on the Friday as had been previously announced.<sup>40</sup> Revised notices appeared in other newspapers one day later.<sup>41</sup> Further bad luck had befallen the company in Marseilles, with a second Lakota performer, *Niyaha Wicasa* or Featherman, having taken ill. He too would be left behind in the city’s *Hospital de la Conception*.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> “Ayer recibimos el siguiente telegrama de Marsella: «Marsella, 15, 4’50 tarde. El señor don Luis José Poggio se halla en ésta ultimando la marcha del vapor qua ha de conducir á esa el «Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Company.» Dicho vapor saldrá el lunes de ésta conduciendo 200 personas y 300 animales. Llegará á esa el martes por la tarde.” *La Vanguardia*, 16 December 1889. Wording of the stories which appeared in *La Dinastía* and *El Barcelonés* on the same day was almost identical.

<sup>40</sup> *Diario de Barcelona*, 17 December 1889.

<sup>41</sup> *El Barcelonés*, *La Dinastía*, *El Suplemento* and *La Vanguardia*, all 18 December 1889.

<sup>42</sup> See Maddra, *Hostiles*, 66; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 94; Moses, *Wild West Shows, Reformers and the Image of the American Indian*, 203; and Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 370.

John M. Burke's publicity machine had clearly done its job well. Such was the mounting excitement in the city that, on the same day as the announcement that the first show would be postponed by one day appeared, *La Dinastía*, reported the decision by the local police chief that officers would be on duty to control the expected large crowds when the company disembarked at the Sant Beltrán quay.<sup>43</sup>

The heavily laden steamer, *Palma*, which was remembered years later by Annie Oakley as "a small tub they called a boat,"<sup>44</sup> sailed into Barcelona harbour with its one hundred and seventy-eight passengers, accompanied by one hundred and fifty-nine horses and twenty buffaloes, and weighed anchor at the port of entry at eleven-twenty on Wednesday, 18 December 1889.<sup>45</sup> After the compulsory health inspection of both people and animals, and confirmation that the certificate from the port of origin stating that all passengers were in good health and not bringing the risk of any communicable disease to the local population was in order, the company was given permission to come ashore.<sup>46</sup> According to *La Dinastía*, Nathan Salsbury showed up on the quayside soon after the ship had tied up, as the company was waiting to disembark, and he was greeted by its members with enthusiastic cheers.<sup>47</sup> The Indians were first to leave the ship, followed by the horses and buffaloes. These they watched being unloaded, as they crouched, quietly smoking, wrapped in their

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<sup>43</sup> *La Dinastía*, 17 December 1889.

<sup>44</sup> Annie Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, Unpublished Manuscript, 1926, 47.

<sup>45</sup> *La Dinastía*, 18 December 1889.

<sup>46</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 26.

<sup>47</sup> "El director de la Compañía se presentó al poco rato, recibéndole con gritos de júbilo los individuos que la componen." *La Dinastía*, 19 December 1889.

blankets.<sup>48</sup> The ship's crane was used to lower the livestock to the ground one at a time, and they were then closed up in the wooden containers normally employed to transport bulls to the bullring. As predicted, the company's arrival was greeted by substantial crowds, and the police were in attendance to keep order.<sup>49</sup> By four o'clock in the afternoon, the unloading was complete. People had watched throughout as if it were the show itself and, according to *El Barcelonés*, as they left the docks, "the company's passage, all the way along the road to the hippodrome in Calle Aribau, was made almost impossible and the police had to intervene to enable them to continue on their way."<sup>50</sup>

At some stage during the disembarkation, John Crawford left the Sant Beltrán quay, and made his way to the telegraph office in the *Rambla de Santa Mònica*, and submitted his dispatch to the *New York Herald Tribune*. His report included the following:

John Burke, encouraged to speak by a group of Spanish journalists and by the historical significance of the setting, noted: "In this place Columbus disembarked when he returned from discovering the New World." Pointing to the statue of Columbus he continued: "Here is our agent, who arrived four

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<sup>48</sup> "Los indios desembarcaron en primer lugar, siendo desembarcados a seguida los caballos y búfalos. Los pieles-rojas iban envueltos en mantas y contemplaban las operaciones fumando con gran tranquilidad y sentados en cuclillas." *La Dinastía*, 19 December 1889.

<sup>49</sup> "El público que acudió a presenciar el desembarque era muy numeroso, viéndose entre él muchos agentes de policía enviados para poner orden." *Idem*.

<sup>50</sup> "...el paso de la comitiva hacia el hipódromo, situado en la Calle de Aribau, se hizo poco menos que imposible en todo el trayecto, teniendo que intervenir los agentes de la autoridad para dejar circular a la compañía." *El Barcelonés*, 19 December 1889.

hundred years in advance of us.” One of the Indians exclaimed: “It was a bad day for us when he discovered America.”<sup>51</sup>

In addition to mentioning John M. Burke by name, Crawford’s report has the Wild West’s chief publicist’s fingerprints all over it. Except for the comment by the unnamed Indian, Salsbury’s later description in his memoirs of his arrival in Barcelona reproduces all of the key details mentioned in the report. He tells how, “Burke suddenly jumped to his feet, and taking off his hat he fixed his enraptured gaze on the monument of Columbus.”<sup>52</sup> There followed what he refers to as “a few minutes of pantomime,” and then this exchange of dialogue:

"It is possible that you see nothing to pay homage in that beautiful counterpart of your best friend in this country?"

"My best Friend?" said I. "I see a fine statue of Columbus, nothing more."

"Nothing more?" he shouted. "Nothing more? Damn this utilitarian age of money grubbers. Oh, man without a soul, you should go down on your knees in adoration of the man that statue typifies."

"In the devil's name, why?" said I.

"Why, Why, Why? Because he has been your ADVANCE AGENT FOR THE LAST FOUR HUNDREDS YEARS, THAT'S WHY!!!!"<sup>53</sup>

Crawford’s initial report was the longest to appear in any American newspaper while the Wild West was in Barcelona. The cost of sending a telegram from the city to the United States was one and a quarter pesetas per word, which was an enormous

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<sup>51</sup> *New York Herald Tribune*, 21 December 1889.

<sup>52</sup> Salsbury, *Reminiscences*.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*.

price.<sup>54</sup> This was no doubt one factor that contributed to contemporary reports in the American press being so short. Another possible contributing factor is touched upon in Chapter 4 of this study.

William F. Cody did not arrive on board the *Palma* with the rest of the company. He travelled overland by train from Marseilles to Cervera, and there made a connection with the Tarragona-Barcelona-Francia line, that brought him into the city, at eleven-twenty on the morning of 18 December, the exact same time as the ship carrying the Wild West Company docked.<sup>55</sup> His first class ticket had cost him 22.46 pesetas.<sup>56</sup> He was met at the station by John M. Burke, and they made their way to the luxurious *Cuatro Naciones Hotel*, on the famous *Ramblas*, in the old city, near the renowned *Liceu* opera-house. Cody, Burke, Salsbury and Crawford would all be staying there throughout the five week run, rather than in the tented village in *Carrer Muntaner*, which would accommodate most of the rest of the cast and crew.<sup>57</sup> The hotel was a favourite with visiting dignitaries and theatre stars. The Bostonian spiritualist, Annie Eva Fay, whose “scientific magic” show would open on 19 December at the *Teatre Principal* was staying there, as was Texas born operatic diva, Maria Van Zandt, who was appearing at the *Liceu*.<sup>58</sup> Van Zandt had starred at the *Liceu* through the summer and autumn seasons of 1889 and had returned to

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<sup>54</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 31.

<sup>55</sup> *La Dinastia*, 18 December 1889; *La Iberia*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>56</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 25.

<sup>57</sup> The *Cuatro Naciones Hotel* is still in operation and has a plaque commemorating William F. Cody’s stay.

<sup>58</sup> *The Spiritualist Newspaper*, 12 March 1875; *La Publicidad*, 12 December 1889; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 19.

Barcelona by popular demand in early December to give a series of concerts.<sup>59</sup> The city was clearly giving a favourable reception to at least one performer from the American West before the Wild West Exhibition rolled into town.

The following day, Burke was busy again. Firstly, he accompanied the Gràcia municipal architect Miquel Pasqual i Tintorer, on the final safety inspection that was necessary for the show to proceed. He then accompanied the local Civil Governor, Luis de Antúnez, and the Archbishop of Barcelona, Monsignor Jaume Català i Albosa, on a tour of the Wild West camp and the show arena.<sup>60</sup> The enclosure, which was completed in two days, was in the shape of a horseshoe, with eight canopied grandstands around it.<sup>61</sup> It was open at one end, facing north towards the church of *Sant Pere Màrtir*, with Mount Tibidabo beyond. The area directly behind the opening was screened from the audience by painted backdrops, and it formed the entrance for performers and animals alike. Corrals for the horses and buffaloes were also located in this area just north of the arena.

The Wild West Company rehearsed through 19 and 20 December to ensure that everything was in order for Saturday afternoon's première. The programme they would present would not feature any material that was completely new, but it would have some changes from what had been on show in the previous two seasons in

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<sup>59</sup> Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture*, 183; *La Publicidad*, 19 October 1889 and 12 December 1889.

<sup>60</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 39.

<sup>61</sup> This was not an unusual timeframe for setting up the Wild West camp. For details of how this was done see, Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 39-43.

England and France. One of the changes had been forced by circumstances beyond the company's control. The Californian markswoman, Lillian Smith, who had been with the Wild West since she was fifteen and was married to Jim Kidd, one of the cowboys, had abandoned her husband and run off with another of the cowboys, Bill Cook.<sup>62</sup> The two men had become great friends the previous year in England and Kidd's tent-mate, the marksman Claude Lorraine Daily, wrote to his family in Philadelphia that Kidd:

...almost went crazy. He has been drinking hard ever since. He will probably go back to America and hunt Cook up and kill him. I pity the poor fellow. He thinks an awful sight of Smith. Some nights he doesn't come into the tent at all but walks around all night. He doesn't think she is at all to blame but blames Cook.<sup>63</sup>

The Barcelona public would not get the opportunity to experience Smith's rivalry with Annie Oakley.<sup>64</sup>

The show's advertising had been running daily in the press since the 7 December announcement in *El Noticiero Universal*, although not in every newspaper every day. On the two days prior to the first performance however, *El Barcelonés*, *El Diario de Barcelona*, *El Diario Universal*, *El Diluvio*, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, *El*

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<sup>62</sup> Chris Enns, *Buffalo Gals: Women of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show*. Guilford, Connecticut: Globe Pequot Press, 2005, 57-59; and Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 318.

<sup>63</sup> Claude L. Daily, Letter to his family, Paris, (July?) 22, 1889. Buffalo Bill Museum, Curator's Files.

<sup>64</sup> Glenda Riley, *The Life and Legacy of Annie Oakley*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002, 34-36; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 330-333, 339.

*Suplemento* and *La Vanguardia* all carried advertisements that were near identical to the original notice.<sup>65</sup>

On 19 December a story also appeared in *El Suplemento* and *El Noticiero Universal* stressing the authentic savagery of the Indians. These stories were designed to reassure the public that, when the Indians left the Wild West Camp, they would not be allowed to go around the city on their own, but would be accompanied by a “person who could be trusted” at all times.<sup>66</sup> There are warnings about the danger of giving them alcohol because when they are drunk they are capable of all sorts of crimes.

Frederic Pons, who was still acting mayor of Gràcia, signed the definitive authorisation for the Wild West performances to go ahead on the morning of Saturday, 21 December 1889, just a few hours in advance of the two-thirty première.<sup>67</sup>

No printed programme from the Wild West’s appearances in Barcelona has been located in the course of this investigation. It has, however, been possible to reconstruct the running order from the extensive and extremely detailed review of the first performance which appeared in *La Vanguardia* on Sunday, 22 December 1889.

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<sup>65</sup> *El Barcelonés, El Diario de Barcelona, El Diario Universal, El Diluvio, La Dinastía, El Noticiero Universal, El Suplemento* and *La Vanguardia*, all 19 and 20 December 1889.

<sup>66</sup> *El Suplemento* and *El Noticiero Universal*, both 19 December 1889. The term used in both stories is “persona de confianza.”

<sup>67</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 44.



The article opens with a short introduction about the bison and then moves on to proclaim, “In 1493 Barcelona had the pleasure of seeing redskins of the great American family when Christopher Columbus returned from his first voyage and was welcomed by the *Reyes Católicos*.”<sup>68</sup>

There follows a statement that it is a novelty to see North American Indians perform in Barcelona, although many other races have appeared on stage in the city. Then comes a recognition that “North American Indians, are somewhat different from those of Tierra del Fuego and South America, as indeed they are from the Toltecs of Central America,”<sup>69</sup> This then leads to a strange observation about their language:

...they belong for the most part to the Sioux tribes, and speak the Nakota language, which some scholars compare to the dialect of the Manchurian Tartars. A fact which could prove that in ancient times the sons of Asia invaded the plains of Alaska, passing over the Bering Strait.<sup>70</sup>

The reviewer’s overview of the Indians ends with a Romanticized view of the “vanishing American” which is entirely in keeping with the master narrative of

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<sup>68</sup> “Barcelona tuvo el gusto de ver pieles-rojas de la gran familia americana en 1493 cuando Cristóbal Colón regresó de su primer viaje, siendo recibido en nuestra ciudad por los reyes católicos.” *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>69</sup> “Los indios de la América del Norte, algo distintos de los fueganos y sudamericanos, como también de los toltecas de la región central,” *Idem*.

<sup>70</sup> “...pertenecen en su mayoría a la tribu de los Siux, y hablan la lengua narcotah que algunos sabios comparan al dialecto de los tártaros manchues. Lo cual puede probar que en épocas remotas los hijos del Asia invadieron las llanuras del Alaska, pasando el estrecho de Bering.” *Idem*.

progress from savagery to civilization that was a key feature of Buffalo Bill's Wild West:

This race which has done us no harm and which was so welcoming to the first Europeans, causes real sadness to thinking men who see them destined to melt away before the rays of modern civilization which from day to day continues to extend its conquests towards the Far West.<sup>71</sup>

Thereafter, the unnamed reviewer tells his readers that the programme consisted of three different types of acts: "a presentation of the customs of the inhabitants of the West of the United States, horsemanship and shooting displays," and goes on to detail each of the numbers in turn, making reference to the printed programme on three occasions.<sup>72</sup>

The performance began with the customary parade of the entire company, with the Indians who were styled as "Arapahos" and their chief, Black Heart, first into the arena. After initially employing Pawnees in his stage shows, and then a mixed group of Pawnees and Lakotas in the first season of the Wild West Exhibition, William F. Cody's Indians were almost exclusively Lakotas recruited at Pine Ridge Indian

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<sup>71</sup> "Esta raza que no nos ha hecho ningún mal y que tan bien acogió a los primeros europeos, causa verdadera tristeza a los hombres pensadores al verla destinada a fundirse ante los rayos de la civilización moderna que de día en día va extendiendo sus conquistas hacia el Lejano Oeste." Idem.

<sup>72</sup> "Presentación de costumbres de los habitantes del Oeste de los Estados Unidos, Equitación y Ejercicios de tiro." Idem.

Reservation in South Dakota from 1886 onwards.<sup>73</sup> Black Heart, or *Cante Sapa*, was an Oglala Lakota, veteran of the 1887 visit to London, and he would be one of those who spoke out strongly in defence of the way that Cody treated his Indian employees, during the controversy of 1891 to 1892, which almost led to the prohibition of the recruitment of Indians for Wild West Shows.<sup>74</sup>

In the summer of 1889, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas Jefferson Morgan, had attacked Indian participation in Wild West shows. Although he could do little about the contracts already signed, when reviewing contracts he often turned them down or insisted on provisions which the shows could not reasonably be expected to meet, and which had the effect of barring Indians from finding employment with the shows. Morgan also threatened to withhold land allotments, annuities, and even in some instances to revoke enrolled tribal membership status from some potential Wild West performers. Morgan was clearly committed to the agenda of various “friends of the Indian” groups which wanted to put an end to Indians appearing in show arenas.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 168-169; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 23; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 294-297; and Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 403.

<sup>74</sup> Tom F. Cunningham, *Your Fathers the Ghosts – Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing, 2007, 19, 21-22, 24, 108; Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 163, 174; Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 200; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 185-186; Maddra, *Hostiles*, 78, 83, 87, 129, 133, 161, 171; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 82, 86, 91, 102-103; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 369, 442; Russell, *The Wild West*, 72; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 359, 372-373, 387-388, 546.

<sup>75</sup> Maddra, *Hostiles*, 94-111; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 73-79; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 358-374.

The Government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, had been regulating the employment of Indians since 1886, and from the start of 1889 had been requiring Indians to sign individual contracts, approved by Indian agents, with the shows that employed them. Indians were only allowed to leave their reservations to take up work with the express permission of the Indian Commissioner, and this was only granted when contracts met with these requirements. Unauthorized Indian employment was a particular concern for Federal Government authorities, who feared that Indians working off the Reservation without appropriate supervision, care, and protection, would suffer both moral and physical degradation.<sup>76</sup>

Groups such as the Indian Rights Association had been fiercely critical of the employment of Indian people as performers, and argued that the number of Indian deaths while touring with the various companies was evidence of mistreatment and exploitation by Wild West Show management and promoters.<sup>77</sup> They stressed that the savage state of American Indian people could only be remedied by the experience of Euro-American values such as land ownership, education, and industry, and insisted that the process of civilization required Indians to adopt new lifestyles

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<sup>76</sup> Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 70-71.

<sup>77</sup> Condy Fent and Raymond Wilson, "Indians Off Track: Cody's Wild West and the Melrose Park Train Wreck of 1904." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1994, 235-249.

approximating more closely to those of white Americans.<sup>78</sup> For the Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, the participation of Indian people in Wild West shows was seen as a direct threat to the assimilationist policies which were in line with the policy objectives of the Bureau. The controversy between the Government Agency and show managers and promoters centered on the image of American Indian people, and was a struggle to shape the version of that image that would predominate in the American popular consciousness.<sup>79</sup>

When a number of Lakota performers returned early from the European tour due to ill health, General James O'Beirne, the assistant superintendent of immigration in New York City, wrote to Commissioner Morgan, alleging that the Indians claimed that they had been mistreated while travelling in Europe with Buffalo Bill. In the subsequent investigation, Black Heart rejected these allegations and stated, "We were raised on horseback; that is the way we want to work." He went on to claim that appearing with the Wild West, "furnished us the same work we were raised to," and gave that as the reason that Indians wanted to work with William F. Cody's company and others like it.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Robert A. Trennert Jnr. "Selling Indian Education at World's Fairs and Expositions, 1893-1904." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1987, 203-220.

<sup>79</sup> Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 185; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 372. Correspondence and a selection of the newspaper coverage of the controversy are to be found in the scrapbook that was compiled by George C. Crager who was a Lakota-English interpreter on the European tour. George C. Crager, *Scrapbook*, [copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, William F. Cody Collection, MS6.8.OS24].

After the Arapahos, next to parade into the arena were the group of cowboys, with the giant William Levi “Buck” Taylor, the so called “king of the cowboys” in the lead.<sup>81</sup> Taylor was one of the cast members who often mixed with journalists when they were on tour and fed them stories for their newspapers, and his distinctive figure can clearly be identified on the left hand side of the line drawing of the Wild West performance which appeared in the magazine *La Il·lustració Catalana*.<sup>82</sup>

After the cowboys came the Indians playing the part of “Brulés,” the French term commonly used in English for the *Sicangu Lakota*, one of the seven principal divisions or “council fires” of the Lakota nation.<sup>83</sup> Their chief, Little Chief or *Itancan Cikala*, who was of mixed *Sicangu* and *Oglala* parentage, features in one of only three known photographs from the time that the Wild West spent in Barcelona.<sup>84</sup> Following this band of Indians was a further group playing the part of

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<sup>81</sup> Taylor’s own collection of materials from the European tour are held at the Buffalo Bill Gravesite. Taylor, William Levi “Buck”. Scrapbook, *Buffalo Bill Gravesite and Museum*, Golden, Colorado.

<sup>82</sup> Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 64; *La Il·lustració Catalana*, 31 December 1889. See Appendix 6, Figure 14.

<sup>83</sup> The Lakota commonly refer to themselves as the “oceti sakowin” or “seven council fires” with the divisions being *Oglala*, *Sicangu* or *Brulé*, *Itazipcola* or *Sans Arc*, *Minneconjou*, *Hunkpapa*, *Ote Numpa* or Two Kettle, and *Sihhasapa* or Blackfeet. Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964, 3-7; James R. Walker, *Lakota Society*, edited by Raymond J. DeMaillie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982, 13-21.

<sup>84</sup> Gallop, *Buffalo Bill’s British Wild West*, 147-148; Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower*, 200; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 201; Maddra, *Hostiles*, 73; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 38; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 82; Donovan A. Sprague, *Images of America – Pine Ridge Reservation*, Charleston, Chicago, Portsmouth NH, and San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2004, 30;

“Cut offs,” with their leader, Brave Bear or *Mato Ohitika*.<sup>85</sup> The Lakota term *Kiyuksa* translates roughly as “cut off,” and this name is used for a sub-band of the Oglala Lakota.<sup>86</sup> Given that the majority of the people enrolled at Pine Ridge Indian Agency were Oglala, it is not impossible that the people in this group were being accurately described by an English translation of their own band affiliation within the Lakota nation.

The Mexican *vaqueros*, dressed in broad brimmed hats and ponchos, came next in the parade. Their leader, Antonio Esquivel, was not himself a Mexican in spite of the name. He was a Texan by birth, of mixed Spanish and Polish ancestry and, according to his daughter, Clarita, he was an accomplished linguist who spoke English, French, Lakota, Polish, Russian and Spanish, the latter of which she specifically referred to as “Castilian rather than the Mexican language.”<sup>87</sup>

Indians playing the part of the “Cheyenne” were the next group in the parade, with Eagle Horn or *He Wambli*, who did not complete the European tour due to ill health, in the role of their chief.<sup>88</sup> Mixed Northern Cheyenne and Lakota ancestry was not uncommon among northern Lakota people, and although there were a number of

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and *Images of America – Rosebud Sioux*, Charleston, Chicago, Portsmouth NH, and San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2005, 43. For the photograph see Appendix 6, Figure 1.

<sup>85</sup> Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower*, 200; and Maddra, *Hostiles*, 22.

<sup>86</sup> George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud’s Folk*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975 (revised edition, first edition 1937), 40-41; Walker, *Lakota Society*, 15-16, 20-21.

<sup>87</sup> Clarita Esquivel Parker, correspondence with Don Russell, 3 March 1970 to 3 December 1974, [copies held in McCracken Research Library, Don Russell Collection, MS62, Box 30, 2/20].

<sup>88</sup> Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 96; Maddra, *Hostiles*, 64, 95; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 371.

Cheyenne people enrolled at Pine Ridge, the evidence suggests that very few of these appeared with the Wild West.<sup>89</sup> Nicholas Black Elk, famous for *Black Elk Speaks*, was unquestionably an Oglala Lakota, and although he did not travel to Barcelona with Buffalo Bill, he did play the part of a Cheyenne when he was with the show in England in 1887.<sup>90</sup> It is therefore highly probable that the majority of the men playing these parts were, in fact, Lakota.

The cowgirls, including Georgia Duffy, Della and Betty Ferrell, and Annie Oakley, followed these Indians into the arena, and then came “Bennie Irving – the youngest cowboy in the world.”<sup>91</sup> Bennie Irving was the son of William “Broncho Bill” Irving, who served as both a Lakota interpreter and as one of the cowboys with the Wild West. His grand-daughter, Ella, provided an interesting account of how Philadelphia born William came to be a fluent Lakota speaker as a result of running away to join the cavalry, being judged too young to serve in the forces, and then being placed with the mixed-blood Bisonette family at Red Cloud Agency, near the site of present day Fort Robinson, Nebraska.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Joe Startita, *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge – A Lakota Odyssey*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press/Bison Books, 2002, 173; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 360.

<sup>90</sup> John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux – The Premier Edition*, edited and with an introduction by Raymond L. DeMallie. New York: State University of New York Press, 2008; Wild West Program, London 1887, William F. Cody Collection, McCracken Research Library, [MS6.1898].

<sup>91</sup> Enns, *Buffalo Gals*, 31-33.

<sup>92</sup> Ella Irving, “A Glimpse into My Family History.” [Copy dated 25 October 1978 held at McCracken Research Library, Don Russell Collection, MS62, Box 30, 2/22].



Another group of children, the “little Sioux chiefs,” came next. In spite of the emphasis which was placed on “authenticity” by the Wild West, considerable poetic licence was clearly being taken in referring to the children of John Young Nelson in this way.<sup>93</sup> Nelson was a former scout who served as Lakota interpreter and featured regularly in the attack on the Deadwood Stage, usually as driver of the stage, and perhaps sometimes riding shotgun. His Oglala Lakota wife, *Upan Ziwim* or Yellow Elk Woman, and their five children travelled with him. Their youngest daughter, Rose, who would later take the stage name Princess Blue Waters, subsequently became a featured performer in her own right.

This concluded the initial part of the procession and, to the strains of the Spanish national anthem, the *Marcha Real*, the Spanish flag was paraded into the arena. Next, as William Sweeney’s Cowboy band struck up the Star Spangled Banner, the colour bearer of the stars and stripes took up position alongside the Spanish flag. As ever, the American flag was carried by Sergeant Gilbert Henderson Bates, the Civil War veteran who had famously paraded it from Vicksburg to Washington, as a sign of unity between North and South at the end of the war, and subsequently from Gretna Green to London, as a sign of friendship between England and America.<sup>94</sup> It was with just such a tableau that Buffalo Bill’s West attained the status of a national spectacle and established the tradition, still seen at most major public events of

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<sup>93</sup> See Harrington O’Reilly, *Fifty years on the trail: A True Story of Western Life. The Adventures of John Young Nelson as Described to Harrington O’Reilly*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969, (first edition, 1886).

<sup>94</sup> Gilbert H. Bates, *The Triumphal March of Sergeant Bates from Vicksburg to Washington*. Washington DC: Intelligence Printing House, 1868; Milton Lomash, "Sergeant Bates’ March." *American Heritage*, Vol. 16, No. 6, 1965, 12-16.

hailing the flag to the tune that has since become the national anthem of the United States.

Once the national honours had been presented, the stage was set for the villains of the piece and the hero of the hour to take their bow. The villains were of course the Oglala Lakota, who were introduced as the killers of General Custer. Unlike the other groups of Indians, they had three featured leaders, all of whom were Wild West veterans who had taken part in the earlier tour of England. The Hunkpapa Lakota, No Neck or *Tahu Wanica*, was introduced as their chief. The following year, together with John M. Burke, he would rescue and adopt a young boy survivor of the Wounded Knee massacre who went on to become a featured performer in his own right under the name of Johnny No Neck Burke.<sup>95</sup> Rocky Bear or *Mato Inyan*, was presented as their medicine man,<sup>96</sup> and Red Shirt or *Ogle Sa*, was described as their

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<sup>95</sup> The reviewer wrongly gives his name as Low Neck (Cuello Corto). *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889; Cunningham, *Your Fathers the Ghosts*, 9, 19, 21, 24, 71, 86, 93, 99, 108, 134, 138; Renee S. Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee – Spirit of the Lakota*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1998, 68-70; Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 163, 174; Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 110, 194, 200, 279; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 185; Maddra, *Hostiles*, 57, 68-71, 108, 129, 132-133, 151, 164, 171, 173, 188, 202; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 86, 97-99, 140 & 232; Moses, *Wild West Shows, Reformers and the Image of the American Indian*, 206; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 369, 377, 457; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 195, 251; Sprague, *Pine Ridge*, 49, 70; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 359, 372, 388, 409, 546.

<sup>96</sup> Cunningham, *Your Fathers the Ghosts*, 138; Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 134, 210, 254-255, 280, 282; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 86, 113, 185, 193, 212; Maddra, *Hostiles*, 68-70, 74-79, 89, 163, 184-185; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 82-91, 101-103, 140; Parker, *Odd People I Have Met*, 85; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 307, 351, 373, 377; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 155, 195; Sprague, *Pine Ridge*, 22-23; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 351, 373, 378, 387-389, 404.

war chief.<sup>97</sup> These two had been painted by Rosa Bonheur while the show was in Paris and both would be strong supporters of William F. Cody in his subsequent difficulties with the Indian Commissioner. The hero of the hour was of course the honourable William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody, and he swept into the arena on horseback with his customary aplomb, and doffed his hat to the VIPs in their box in the main grandstand. The reviewer in *La Vanguardia* comments on the scene as follows:

Throughout the parade the Indians, who made a striking and extremely picturesque sight with their painted faces and their flowing jet black hair, never let up for one moment with their cries.

The applause of the audience showed what a fine effect the parade had produced.<sup>98</sup>

The entire company then rode one full lap of the performance area, and left by the exit at the north end of the arena. The formalities of the parade had been completed, and the performance could begin in earnest with the two numbers that had consistently followed the grand parade as the first two items on the Wild West

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<sup>97</sup> Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 40-44, 56, 64, 68-70, 77-78, 82, 90, 93, 98-104, 107, 114-115, 135, 139, 143, 145, 147-148, 155; Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 110, 200, 252, 278; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 79, 187-188; Maddra, *Hostiles*, 70, 89, 163; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 42-53, 57, 82-86, 200, 211, 214-215; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 329, 351, 383; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 159, 165-170, 176, 227; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 309, 342, 351, 390, 393, 404, 412.

<sup>98</sup> “Mientras duró el desfile no cesaron ni un punto los gritos de los indios, que, con su rostro pintarrajeado, sus cabellos completamente negros y sueltos formaban un conjunto abigarrado y en extremo pintoresco.

Los aplausos del público demostraron el buen efecto que le había producido el desfile.” *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

programme since 1885:<sup>99</sup> a horse race between a cowboy, a Mexican and an Indian, followed by a representation of the Pony Express mail service which was hailed as the “greatest enterprise of modern times” when it was established in 1860,<sup>100</sup> and which has more recently been the focus of controversy over whether or not William F. Cody was ever a rider with it.<sup>101</sup>

In Barcelona, they were followed by the first sharpshooting demonstration on the programme which was given by Annie Oakley. Although her own account of the time she spent in the city is somewhat negative, as we shall see in the course of this study, there is no question that the Barcelona audience took her to its heart. The line drawing of her which appeared in *La Esquella de la Torratxa* on 3 January 1890 is clearly a reflection of this affection,<sup>102</sup> and the *La Vanguardia* review of the première singles her out for particular praise:

Even though in Barcelona we are tired of seeing talented sharpshooters, Miss Annie Oakley, was applauded for the admirable skill of her performance.

It was a pleasure to see that young girl, well she looked like a young girl from afar, take up position six or seven paces from her rifle, then break

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<sup>99</sup> Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Programmes, 1885, 1886, 1887 and 1889, McCracken Research Library, William F. Cody Collection. [MS6.6.A.1.4.1; MS6.6.A.1.5.1; MS6.1898; MS6.6.A.1.9.1]

<sup>100</sup> Christopher Corbett, *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express*. New York: Broadway Books, 2003, 45-61.

<sup>101</sup> For Cody’s own claim to have ridden with the Pony Express see, Cody, William F. *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody, Known as Buffalo Bill: The Famous Hunter, Scout and Guide. An Autobiography*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books Edition with Foreword by Don Russell, 1978, (first edition, 1879, Hartford: Frank E. Bliss), 91-92. This claim had generally been accepted by Cody biographers, see Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 45-54, but has recently been called into question by Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 3-28.

<sup>102</sup> *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 3 January 1890. See Appendix 6, Figure 15.

into a run at the same time as her target was being thrown into the air, pick up the rifle, fire and blow the target into a hundred pieces.<sup>103</sup>

As soon as Annie Oakley had taken her bow and left the scene, four covered wagons drawn by horses and mules and accompanied by a small group of riders made their way into the ring. The wagon train completed one full circuit of the arena and, as the last prairie schooner passed the screened entrance where they had come in, a group of Indians let out a blood curdling war whoop and burst into the ring. A stylized circle was formed by the wagon train, and the first battle scene of the performance, which impressed the reviewer with its “truly dramatic action,” was underway.<sup>104</sup> The defeat of the attacking Indians was, of course, inevitable and the settlers’ celebration of their delivery by Buffalo Bill and his scouts was presented in the scene that followed, with the equestrian formation dance routine referred to in the programme as the “Virginia Reel.”

Another fight scene followed the dancing horse display, the famous “First Scalp for Custer” in which William F. Cody dramatically presented a fictionalized account of the historical fact that, on 17 July 1876, at Warbonnet Creek in Nebraska, while serving as a scout with Colonel Wesley Merritt’s Fifth United States Cavalry, he had killed and scalped the young southern Cheyenne, *Heova'ehe*, whose name was

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<sup>103</sup> “Aunque en Barcelona estamos cansados de ver hábiles tiradores, arrancó aplausos con sus ejercicios de una precisión admirable, la señorita Annie Oakley.

Daba gusto ver a aquella niña, pues aspecto de niña tiene desde lejos, colocarse a seis o siete pasos de la carabina; echar a correr al mismo tiempo que se le arrojaba al aire un objeto, cojer la carabina, disparar y convertir en cien pedazos al blanco.” *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>104</sup> “¡impresiona por su acción verdaderamente dramática.” *Idem*.

consistently mistranslated as Yellow Hand rather than Yellow Hair.<sup>105</sup> The scene with its “chivalrous duel against an evil adversary,”<sup>106</sup> was a stock-in-trade of Cody’s performance career that dated from his earliest appearances on stage in the 1870s, when the duel-like single combat between Buffalo Bill and Yellow Hand had been the climax of the melodrama, *The Red Right Hand or First Scalp for Custer*, which had its première within months of the historical event which inspired it.<sup>107</sup> Although he praised the “dramatic interest” of the scene, the reviewer did also observe that, “all of those scenes which present (historical) episodes are very spectacular, and for that reason the illusion is far from complete.”<sup>108</sup>

The Wild West traditionally followed action scenes like the fight between Cody and Yellow Hand with races or displays of marksmanship. This allowed time for performers and animals to get ready behind the scenes for the next pitched battle on the programme. In Barcelona the scene which followed this particular fight was described in the programme as “Pasatiempos de los vaqueros” or Cowboy pastimes.

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<sup>105</sup> On the historical event, see Paul L. Hedren and Don Russell. *First Scalp for Custer: The Skirmish at Warbonnet Creek Nebraska, July 17, 1876*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976.

<sup>106</sup> Robert Jewett and John S. Lawrence, *The American Monomyth*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977, 90.

<sup>107</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 34-40, 49, 55-61, 108-109, 177, 199, 241, 244, 246, 257-258, 271; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 214, 222-235, 254, 273, 458, 475; Sagala, *Buffalo Bill Actor*, 142-145; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 118-120, 122, 170-173, 186, 197-198, 204, 257, 326, 534, 538-540, 545.

<sup>108</sup> “todas estas escenas en que se presentan episodios, tienen much de espectáculo, y por lo tanto la ilusión dista bastante de ser completa.” *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

The reviewer in *La Vanguardia* identified it as his own favourite scene, and stated that he was particularly impressed with the lassoing and the bucking horses.<sup>109</sup>

It is impossible to be absolutely certain which cowboys were with the Wild West in Barcelona as records are incomplete, and only Buck Taylor and Antonio Esquivel are named in contemporary sources from the city. We can, however, be almost certain that the following were there: Jim Bebb; Bob Begg; R. W. Chandler; José Esquivel; Frank Hammitt; Philip Hood; William “Broncho Bill” Irving; Jim Mitchell; Harry Shanton; Gustav “Gus” Uhl; Tom Webb, the “world lasso champion;” G. W. Williams; Jim “Kid” Willoughby; and Clabe Young.<sup>110</sup> We can also be certain that Grant Vincent was en route from Arapahoe, Nebraska, with additional horses, and that he had joined the troupe by the time they reached Italy on 24 January 1890.<sup>111</sup> It has not been possible to establish whether or not he reached Barcelona in time to take part in any of the performances there.

The next item on the programme was the attack on the Deadwood Stage. Frank Wooldridge, the British consul in the city, and Frederic Pons, the outgoing mayor of Gràcia, together with two unnamed young ladies from the VIP section of the audience were the passengers on this occasion in the vehicle which, according to the programme had in the past carried, “two presidents of the United States, four kings

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<sup>109</sup> Idem.

<sup>110</sup> Don Russell, “Cody’s Cowboys.” [Copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Don Russell Collection, MS62, Box 30, 2/11].

<sup>111</sup> Don Russell, “Some Wild West Personnel.” [Copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Don Russell Collection, MS62, Box 30, 2/14].

and all of the royal personages who had been in London for Queen Victoria's Jubilee."<sup>112</sup> It was another lively scene with John Young Nelson holding off the attacking Indians with his shotgun, until the coach was finally rescued by Buffalo Bill and his scouts.

A bareback horse race featuring two Indian women was next in line, and the reviewer comments that he found this truly moving.<sup>113</sup> He reserved his only really critical comments for the two scenes which followed it: the Indian dances and the buffalo hunt. He characterized the dances as "silly and monotonous"<sup>114</sup> and the buffalo hunt as, "almost as silly as the dances."<sup>115</sup> It is perhaps understandable that, in a city with a great bull fighting tradition, the buffalo hunt should have appeared tame. In those days, bull fighting was a fierce and bloody affair and, in addition to the blood drawn by the *matador*, the bulls would kill about a dozen of the *picadors'* horses in a session, as these wore no body armour at that time.<sup>116</sup>

The buffalo hunt was followed by two sharpshooting acts, firstly Johnny Baker, who was William F. Cody's informally adopted son, and who was part of Buffalo Bill's Wild West throughout its entire period of operation, being variously billed as "the

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<sup>112</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 58; "dos presidentes de los Estados Unidos, cuatro reyes y todas las personas reales que asistieron al Jubileo de la reina Victoria en Londres." *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>113</sup> "produce verdadera emoción" Idem.

<sup>114</sup> "sosas y monótonas" Idem.

<sup>115</sup> "Casi es tan sosa como las danzas." Idem.

<sup>116</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 71-72.



cowboy kid” or the “boy marksman.”<sup>117</sup> He was followed by Claude Lorraine Daily, the champion pistol shot, who was from a well-known Philadelphia theatrical family.<sup>118</sup> Although the reviewer said there was nothing new in these acts, he did allude to the “particular merit of their accuracy.”<sup>119</sup> He made no comment on the cowgirls’ horse race that came next, although he was again effusive in his praise of the scene which follows it: Buffalo Bill’s display of his shooting talents from horseback.

With the evening light fading, the final scene was, as ever, the attack on the settlers’ cabin, emphasizing “the connection between Buffalo Bill and home defense” which “Cody cultivated,” in Louis Warren’s view, “for his entire public career,” in the Wild West’s “most persistent claim” that its protagonist was “the savior of the settler family.”<sup>120</sup> The performance closed with a reprise of the opening procession and a final bow by the “handsome and manly figure of Buffalo Bill.”<sup>121</sup> The same day’s edition of *La Dinastía*, adds the detail that the Spanish national anthem was played again after the final tableau.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 75, 125; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 297, 310, 317-319; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 208.

<sup>118</sup> Wild West Personnel file, Curator’s Files, Buffalo Bill Museum, Cody, Wyoming; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 399.

<sup>119</sup> “Tienen extraordinario mérito por la precisión.” *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>120</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 30-31.

<sup>121</sup> “la varonil y gallarda figura de Buffalo Bill.” *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>122</sup> “La música que tocó durante el espectáculo, dejó oír los acordes de la Marcha Real española, después del último cuadro y mientras retirábase la concurrencia.” *La Dinastía*, 22 December 1889.

Although darkness would have fallen shortly after the finale, many spectators and journalists nevertheless took the opportunity to visit the Wild West Camp and the small scale sideshow which accompanied it. There were blackberry flavoured pastries filled with honey, sugar cane, wines and American drinks on sale, as well as postcards with portraits of many of the featured performers. In one tent, visitors could have their portrait taken with the leading warriors from the troupe.<sup>123</sup>

Over the next few days, favourable accounts of the Wild West performances continued appearing in the press. *El Diluvio* acclaimed the “extremely lively scenes at the new hippodrome where Buffalo Bill’s company are appearing. The show attracted much merited applause and Colonel Cody in particular received a veritable ovation.”<sup>124</sup> *El Barcelonés* hailed it as “the success of the week,” and commented on the attendance by “thousands who experienced a most enjoyable evening.”<sup>125</sup> *El Noticiero Universal* observed that, although numbers were down on the previous day

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<sup>123</sup> *Diario de Barcelona, La Dinastía, La Vanguardia*, all 22 December 1889; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 48. Marill Escudé uses the slightly less detailed review from the *Diario de Barcelona* to reconstruct the program and comes up with a slightly different running order, although the number and name of the items is in agreement with this study. The rear cover of his book features a photograph of two young boys with Black Heart who appeared as chief of the Araphoes in the show.

<sup>124</sup> “Ayer tarde estuvo sumamente animado el nuevo hipódromo en el que actúa la compañía de Buffalo Bill, mereciendo ésta grandes aplausos, y especialmente el coronel Cody que obtuvo una verdadera ovación.” *El Diluvio*, 22 December 22 1889.

<sup>125</sup> “El suceso de la semana es el espectáculo de Buffalo Bill. La función de ayer fue presenciada por millares de familias que pasaron una tarde agradabilísima.” *El Barcelonés*, 23 December 1889.

when, “it was not possible to admit all of those who wished to see the show,” there was still “a great crowd” at the third performance on Christmas Eve.<sup>126</sup>

Back in the United States, press coverage was limited but positive. The *Aberdeen Daily News* and the *Saint Paul Daily Globe* both reported the première and the attendance, in almost identical words which presumably relied on the same source: “Buffalo Bill opened in Barcelona yesterday and 10,000 people saw his show.”<sup>127</sup> “Buffalo Bill opened Friday in Barcelona and 10,000 people saw his show.”<sup>128</sup> The *Bismarck Tribune* announced that, “Buffalo Bill’s show is having remarkable success at Barcelona.”<sup>129</sup> Jack Crawford’s old paper, the *Omaha Daily Bee*, stated, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West is doing great business in Barcelona.”<sup>130</sup> The Maysville, Kentucky, *Evening Bulletin*, had a slightly longer and considerably more fanciful report:

#### ***Buffalo Bill’s Great Scheme***

Buffalo Bill’s Show is having remarkable success at Barcelona. The Spanish fancy has been caught by a new feature which has been introduced, in the shape of a spectacle representing the discovery of America by Columbus and the Spanish fleet.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> “Esta tarde asistió gran concurrencia a la tercera exhibición de la compañía de Buffalo Bill, aunque no en tan gran número como en el día de ayer, en que no fue posible dar entrada a todas las personas que deseaban concurrir al espectáculo.” *El Noticiero Universal*, 24 December 1889.

<sup>127</sup> *Aberdeen Daily News*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>128</sup> *Bismarck Tribune*, 22 December 1889.

<sup>129</sup> *Saint Paul Daily Globe*, 23 December 1889.

<sup>130</sup> *Omaha Sunday Bee*, 26 December 1889.

<sup>131</sup> *The Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), 23 December 1889.

It all stands in stark contrast to the account written by Annie Oakley in 1926, in which her recollection of the première is not the acclaim of the crowd but rather, “The first day the company took in more than \$300 in counterfeit money.”<sup>132</sup>

There are two issues at work here that we must take into account if we are to understand her comment. Firstly, there was some counterfeiting going on in Barcelona at the time, and contemporary sources in the city do suggest that the Wild West received a small amount of fake money, but \$300 in one day would be an improbably, if not indeed an impossibly, vast amount.<sup>133</sup> Two of the three contemporary newspaper accounts which put a figure on the amount taken agree on a total of 18 pesetas.<sup>134</sup> The second issue lies in the origin of the story that the Wild West was in receipt of substantial amounts of counterfeit money, which is to be found in a piece that ran in *El Diluvio* on 28 December 1890. The date of the story is of crucial significance.

In the Roman Catholic Calendar, 28 December marks the Feast of the Holy Innocents, when the Church commemorates the mass infanticide committed by

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<sup>132</sup> Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 47.

<sup>133</sup> *La Vanguardia*, 24 December 1889, *El Noticiero Universal*, 8 January 1890.

<sup>134</sup> *El Noticiero Universal*, 9 January 1890; *La Vanguardia*, 10 January 1890. On 8 January 1890 *El Diario Mercantil* published a figure of 6,000 pesetas in two days. This would have been equivalent to more than of \$1,100 and, given ticket prices and the arena’s capacity, this is an impossibly large figure. The 10 January 1890 report in *La Vanguardia* refers specifically to the figure of 6,000 pesetas reported by *El Diario Mercantil* and states that this number was published in error. Historical exchange rate data available from [http://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchangeglobal/result.php?year\\_source=1880&year\\_result=1900&countryE%5B%5D=Spain](http://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchangeglobal/result.php?year_source=1880&year_result=1900&countryE%5B%5D=Spain), accessed 31 July 2012.

Herod the Great in an attempt to murder the child Jesus, as described in the Gospel of Matthew, Chapter 2, Verses 16-18. In Spain, and in a number of Latin American countries, this feast is the cultural equivalent of April Fools' Day in English-speaking countries, when pranks are undertaken to dupe the "innocents," playing on the double meaning that *inocente* in Spanish means both "innocent" and "gullible." It is common on this date for newspaper to run hoax stories in an attempt to dupe their readers and, on that date, *El Diluvio* printed the following:

A colleague says: according to reports, the amount of counterfeit coins and bank notes taken at the box office by Buffalo Bill's show at their first two performances was so great that it is estimated to be between one fifth and one sixth of the total takings.

It is a known fact that certain good for nothing people made the most of the occasion to take advantage of the Indians by treating them like (dumb) Chinamen. What must these foreigners think of us!

It seems that for this reason the company have staffed the box office with more appropriate personnel than in the first few days.<sup>135</sup>

On the same day, *El Suplemento* published the hoax story that Buffalo Bill's Wild West had organized a parade through the streets to prove that the Indians in the company were in fact real Indians.<sup>136</sup> The two stories have a grain of truth in common, since the company did take some counterfeit money and they did parade through the streets of Barcelona, but in both instances the truth is stretched almost to

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<sup>135</sup> *El Diluvio*, 28 December 1889.

<sup>136</sup> *El Suplemento*, 28 December 1889.

breaking point as part of the joke.<sup>137</sup> We shall return in the next chapter to the factors which contributed to negative presentations of the Wild West's time in Barcelona by the time that Annie Oakley was writing.

On the evening of that same day, 28 December 1889, the Equestrian Circus in the *Plaça de Catalunya*, also played a prank on the audience appropriate to the feast day, by presenting a parody of Buffalo Bill's Wild West entitled "Buffalo Bill at the Circus". Caricaturing the Wild West was not a new phenomenon in Europe, and in Barcelona it was the perceived lack of authenticity of the show, with very tame buffaloes and very civilized Indians, that was the focus of the parody.<sup>138</sup> All of the clowns and Arab dancers in Señor Alegría's Equestrian Circus wore wigs and other elements of Indian costume. They acted out a mock opening parade, with considerable shouting and yelling; this was followed by a spoof of the buffalo hunting scene, in which the buffaloes were played by bull calves that the performers lassoed; finally, the Indians were attacked by pioneers, in a *volte-face* of the Wild West's final scene. It was an outstanding success that ran until 19 January 1890.<sup>139</sup>

The Equestrian Circus parody is a clear indicator of the impact that the Wild West was having in the city. Similar instances of its penetration into popular culture can be found in the cartoons which appeared in *Esquella de la Torratxa* and *La Tramontana*, playing with words to pun in Catalan on the name Buffalo Bill,<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 83-84, discusses these hoax stories at greater length.

<sup>138</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 349-350.

<sup>139</sup> *El Noticiero Universal*, 29 December 1889.

<sup>140</sup> *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 27 December 1889. See Appendix 6, Figure 10.

showing Indian inspired hairstyles as the *nova moda* or new fashion,<sup>141</sup> featuring turkey feathers as the must-have fashion accessory for women,<sup>142</sup> and lampooning the newly deposed mayor, Francesc Rius i Taulet, who is portrayed as turning up in blanket and feathers at the Wild West camp in *Carrer Muntaner*.<sup>143</sup> Each of these is adapting elements of the show, particularly American Indian iconography, for local purposes. The most striking caricature which did not employ Indian imagery was the cartoon of Annie Oakley shooting at the sun, which can be taken as an indicator of the extent to which the Barcelona public had taken her to their hearts.<sup>144</sup>

The feeling, however, was not mutual and clearly the time she spent in the city was a negative experience, for reasons that we shall see presently. There are also some aspects of her memoirs that are of questionable accuracy, and all of these are negative. She relates two anecdotes to stress how poor the people were. Firstly she says:

Oh, the poverty in this city! Mr. B and Johnny went to the butcher shop for a Christmas turkey.<sup>145</sup> The dealer asked them if they would have a wing, a leg, liver or gizzard. He could not believe that that anyone would buy a whole turkey. Two hundred beggars followed them and the turkey and the butcher sent an armed guard along with them!<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 27 December 1889. See Appendix 6, Figure 9.

<sup>142</sup> *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 10 January 1890. See Appendix 6, Figure 16.

<sup>143</sup> *La Tramontana*, 27 December 1889. See Appendix 6, Figure 8.

<sup>144</sup> *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 3 January 1890. See Appendix 6, Figure 15.

<sup>145</sup> “Mr B” is a term that Annie Oakley commonly uses in her manuscript to refer to her husband, Frank Butler.

<sup>146</sup> Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 48.

She is clearly being, at best, facetious here and the humorous image of shocked poultry seller, the armed guard and the two hundred trailing beggars is effective, if somewhat cruel.

Later in her tale she talks of the beggars who pillage the garbage from the Wild West camp in search of something to eat, and of her compassion for one of them as follows:

Back from the rubble stood a woman with tear-stained face, “Oh, I came too late and Carlos will starve” she was saying in Spanish. I caught her eye and with a finger at my lip motioned to her to be quiet and come around the corner. I asked the guard to let her in, and each day she came there to slip out again with a bounteous basket under her shawl.<sup>147</sup>

The hallmark of this anecdote is the pathos evoked by the figure of the poor woman, rather than any sense of verisimilitude, and again a number of details are not entirely credible. How, for example, was the language barrier overcome? Annie Oakley had herself experienced considerable hardship as a child, and she may have empathized with the plight of the poor people whom she did encounter, but her references some thirty-five years later to the poverty she experienced in Barcelona, seem more in keeping with negative stereotypes of the Spanish than with the likely reality she experienced.<sup>148</sup> Although Buffalo Bill’s Wild West never returned to Spain, Charles Eldridge Griffin reflects the same negative stereotype of Spanish poverty when

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 49.

<sup>148</sup> Shirl Kasper, *Annie Oakley*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000, 5-8; and Riley, *Annie Oakley*, 5-11.



writing about the 1906 tour of Italy and Eastern Europe.<sup>149</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, Barcelona, although not without some level of poverty, was Spain's most affluent city at the time.

The last day of 1889 saw the Wild West receive more favourable press, this time in the Catalan weekly *La Il·lustració Catalana*, which carried a series of line drawings and three separate brief positive notices.<sup>150</sup> The first was a report that the stands were packed for the première;<sup>151</sup> the second also stated that there had been full houses,<sup>152</sup> and then went on to say that the performance had caught the attention of the audience and won their applause;<sup>153</sup> the third was a brief favourable comment in the theatre review section that the show has pleasantly surprised and pleased audiences.<sup>154</sup> 31 December 1889 would also bring to an end the first part of the run in Barcelona, as a change in the weather the following day led to performances being suspended for six days.

A period of sustained heavy rain began in Barcelona on New Year's Day 1890. The downpour continued almost without a let-up for four days. In these circumstances, the company had no choice but to suspend performances and, on 2 January, *El Diluvio* announced "In view of the bad weather there will be no performances of the

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<sup>149</sup> Griffin, *Four Years in Europe*, 121.

<sup>150</sup> See Appendix 6, Figures 11-14.

<sup>151</sup> "El primer dia omplí de gom a gom lo lloch destinat als espectadors." *La Il·lustració Catalana*, 31 December 1889.

<sup>152</sup> "Plé s'ha vist aquests dies l'espaiós local hont actúa." Idem.

<sup>153</sup> "S'ha guanyat l'interès i l'aplauso de la concurrència." Idem.

<sup>154</sup> "Ha sorprès agradablement al nostre públich i li ha plagut." Idem.

show until next Sunday.”<sup>155</sup> The idea of restarting performances on Sunday 5 January 1890, the date scheduled for a special gala performance for the press and local dignitaries, proved to be over-optimistic. On the Saturday it was announced:

In view of the bad weather, Buffalo Bill’s company have postponed their gala performance for the authorities and the press until next Tuesday.

The arena will be specially decorated for the event and the audience will see some new acts.<sup>156</sup>

During the period when the company was not performing, Burke continued to feed stories to the press to maintain interest. One of the most striking was the report that a number of Indians went for a stroll around the *Plaça de la Universitat* and into the *Café Saló* where one of them took part in a game of a local form of billiards called *carambola* and displayed a good knowledge and remarkable talent for the game.<sup>157</sup>

The six days when there were no performances were, without doubt, the most difficult that the Wild West spent in Barcelona, not just because of the loss of revenue that the suspension of the show implied, but also because it was the period when a mysterious illness afflicting the city, and which was referred to as the “dengue” in contemporary accounts, appears to have touched the camp. In Jordi Marill Escudé’s study of the Wild West’s time in Barcelona, he outlines the following facts about this mysterious illness. From early December 1889, there is considerable press coverage of an illness going around Barcelona. On 31 December,

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<sup>155</sup> *El Diluvio*, 2 January 1890.

<sup>156</sup> *El Diluvio*, 4 January 1890.

<sup>157</sup> *La Dinastía*, 3 January 1890.

there was a meeting of the Regional Government, with members of the Provincial Health Board also in attendance. The meeting was rowdy at times and the Regional Government officials were accused of not taking appropriate measures to deal with “the flu, the *dengue*, bronchitis or whatever this infection that was going around was called.” The Regional Government response was clear: they had consulted officials of the Health Board, including the then famous Doctor Robert, and these experts had found no characteristics of an epidemic, and advised that there was no particular danger of the outbreak taking on the proportions of an epidemic. In the opinion of these experts, there was nothing to be done to limit the spread of the illness beyond normal good hygiene. Finally the convenor of the council, Señor Maluquer, brought the discussion to a close with the announcement that he would bring the concerns that had been raised to the attention of the Civil Governor, Luis Antúnez, and all resolved to take measures to calm the public, such as placing notices in the newspapers recommending basic principles of good hygiene.<sup>158</sup>

Marill Escudé goes on to examine public health records and mortality rates for the city of Barcelona. He compares the mortality rates for 1889 and 1890 with those for 1918, 1919, 1957 and 1969: years in which there is incontrovertible evidence of influenza epidemics. His findings show that the 1889 and 1890 mortality rates are considerably lower than for the known epidemic years. He then compares the 1889 and 1890 mortality rates with those for 1888 and 1891 and demonstrates that the mortality rates for all four years are broadly comparable.<sup>159</sup> The statistical evidence

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<sup>158</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 86-87.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, 88.

supports the conclusion that the local authorities, on this occasion, got it right. What appears to have been going on in Barcelona was a health scare, rather than an epidemic.

The announcements that the local Health Board ran in the press, calling for calm and good hygiene, were the only official statements on the outbreak. The notice that appeared in *La Vanguardia* on 2 January, stressed that the illness, “has been, and probably will continue being benign.”<sup>160</sup> There is no record of any call for preventative public health measures, such as isolation, quarantine or sanitary cordons. There was a suggestion from theatre owners that they should close temporarily from 2 January 1890 to limit the spread of the illness. The *Eldorado* theatre, however, broke the voluntary embargo and from 3 January, all theatres were operating as normal and the scare was beginning to die down. *La Dinastía*, on 4 January, was crediting the wet weather with turning the tide against the illness, and on the same day, *La Vanguardia*, was praising the newly elected deputy mayor of Barcelona, Ignasi Pons, for getting the temporary hospital of *La Vinyeta* in *Hostafrancs*, fitted out and up and running.<sup>161</sup> The situation was clearly improving and the following day the new mayor, Fèlix Macià i Bonaplata, ordered the municipal band to restart its daily performances in the *Rambla de Santa Mònica*.<sup>162</sup>

Although the terminology she uses would indicate something more serious, Annie Oakley’s recollection is also in line with the idea of a health scare as she writes, “The

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<sup>160</sup> “ha sido, y probablemente continuará siendo benigna,” *La Vanguardia*, 2 January 1890.

<sup>161</sup> *La Dinastía* and *La Vanguardia*, both 4 January 1890.

<sup>162</sup> *El Suplemento*, 5 January 1890.

city was stricken with Spanish flu. We had flu, smallpox and typhoid in camp.”<sup>163</sup> It is noteworthy that she uses the anachronistic term “Spanish flu.” Spanish flu is the common term for the strain of the H1N1 virus that was responsible for the great influenza pandemic of 1918 to 1920. Such was the devastating effect of that outbreak that it is perhaps understandable that, writing some five years later, the term is being used for what is being remembered, or characterized, as an epidemic taking place in Spain. It is, nevertheless, inaccurate.

One thing that Annie Oakley does recall, which certainly did occur was, “We lost our orator, Frank Richmond, who always presented me to royalty and gave tone to the company.”<sup>164</sup> His death occurred in the night of 3-4 January 1890, and she also gives the following additional details concerning it:

Mr B came in one night with all the symptoms of the disease. He had just left Frank Richmond. He had just been in bed an hour when Johnny Baker tapped on the door with the death tidings. Although Mr B should have been in bed, he looked after all the arrangements for poor Frank, made arrangements to return his body to America, and all that. Then he took to his bed.

He recovered and then the fight was on between me and the disease, but though they put me to bed I worked for an hour weakly trying to get into my costume and took my place in the arena that afternoon. Then I collapsed and had the flu in earnest.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 48.

<sup>164</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>165</sup> *Idem.*

Frank Richmond was the stage name of New Yorker James Twitchell, the “Orator” with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West from its earliest days, whose voice was so powerful that it was the subject of an article in the *British Medical Journal* in 1887, while they were appearing at Earls’ Court, London. The article referred to him as a “vocal athlete,” pointed out that his commentary on the performance included more words than the part of Hamlet, and concluded that “the secret of his remarkable delivery lies more in the perfection with which he had learned to use his natural advantages than in any notable peculiarity of physical conformation.”<sup>166</sup> According to one obituary, he was a life-long friend of John M. Burke who had been responsible for his employment with the Wild West, and, during his stage career, “one of the best Simon Legrees in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* that ever trod the boards.”<sup>167</sup> Brown’s *History of the New York Stage* indicates that by 1887, he was “appearing in cowboy stories” when not on the road with the Wild West.<sup>168</sup> Richmond’s body was taken to the mortuary chapel of Barcelona’s new cemetery, also known as the South Western Cemetery or the Montjuic Cemetery, where it was embalmed by Doctor Fraguinals and Doctor Griñán, a well-known urologist, before being sent to the United States for burial.<sup>169</sup> Annie Oakley’s account of his death and her husband’s involvement in making the funeral arrangements, suggests a special bond between Frank Richmond and the couple. The loss of this friend is perhaps one reason that her memories of the Barcelona experience are so negative.

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<sup>166</sup> *British Medical Journal*, 1887, Vol. 2, 732.

<sup>167</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, 7 January 1890.

<sup>168</sup> Thomas A. Brown, *History of the New York Stage from 1732 to 1901*. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1903 (3 vols), Vol 2, 318.

<sup>169</sup> *La Publicidad*, 5 January 1890; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 92. See Appendix 6, Figure 17.

She also tells us, “One half of our people were down, but we lost only two more. They were Indians who died of smallpox.”<sup>170</sup> On this point, she is again mistaken, although there is a grain of truth in what she says that makes her error understandable. A number of Barcelona newspapers did report the death of an Indian on 4 or 5 January 1890, and, as was seen in Chapter 1, the majority of studies of the visit that William F. Cody and his troupe made to Barcelona speak of Indian deaths in the city.<sup>171</sup> Given that we now have a participant stating that there were Indian deaths, this might at first glance appear to be compelling evidence that there were. Marill Escudé’s research, however, makes it clear that this was not the case.

The Catalan scholar has shown that the Municipal Institute of Funeral Services in Barcelona have no records in their archive of any foreigners belonging to Buffalo Bill’s Company having died in the period 1 December 1889 to 31 January 1890. He has also demonstrated that United States records include neither any submission by the American Consulate in Barcelona, nor of the Spanish legation for the period from November 1889 to February 1890, mentioning the death of any member of the company.<sup>172</sup> His findings are in line with those of the subsequent study by L. G. Moses, as both are in agreement that the list of Indians who returned to the

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<sup>170</sup> Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 47.

<sup>171</sup> Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 354; Burke, *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 333; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill*, 194; Rivarola, *Buffalo Bill*, 156; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West*, 144; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 352; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 344; *La Vanguardia*, *Diario de Barcelona* and *El Suplemento*, 4 January 1890; *La Dinastía* and *El Diluvio*, 5 January 1890.

<sup>172</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 87-90.

Reservation in the custody of Cody and Salsbury can be reconciled with the list of those who departed. Taking into account the seven documented Indian deaths on the tour – none of which occurred in Spain – all of the Indian participants are accounted for.<sup>173</sup> The explanation for Annie Oakley's two Indian deaths is that both of the Lakota performers who were left behind in Marseilles died while the Wild West was in Barcelona, and two of the performers were left behind in hospital in the Catalan capital, although both recovered.

The twenty-six year old Oglala Lakota, *Cetan Sapa* or Black Hawk, took ill on 1 January 1890, his condition deteriorated until 6 January, by which time it was so serious that he had to be admitted to the *Santa Creu* hospital, where he was diagnosed with smallpox, and confined in a small isolation ward in the Santa Maria wing of the hospital.<sup>174</sup> At ten o'clock in the morning of the day that Black Hawk took ill, Swift Hawk died in the *Hospital de la Conception* in Marseilles. The news reached the Wild West camp three days later, and is most probably the source of the Spanish newspaper reports of an Indian death. At four o'clock in the morning of the day that Black Hawk was admitted to hospital, Featherman succumbed to his illness in southern France. Two weeks later, just before the Wild West troupe left for Italy, the nineteen year old *Kangi Watakpe* or Charging Crow broke out in smallpox pustules. He was confined alongside his compatriot, Black Hawk, in the same

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<sup>173</sup> Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 92-94, 127.

<sup>174</sup> Maddra, *Hostiles*, 66; Domingo Marchena, *Buffalo Bill. Del Oeste al Eixample*. Barcelona: Colección 'Periodismo de Vanguardia', 2010, 10-11; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 94; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 94; Moses, *Wild West Shows, Reformers and the Image of the American Indian*, 203; and Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 370.



isolation ward in the Santa Maria wing of the *Santa Creu* hospital. The hospital records, which have their names as “Chorgen Croro” and “Blak Holck,” show that both men were discharged from hospital on 27 February 1890, into the custody of Frederick Schenk, the American consul in Barcelona.<sup>175</sup> Consular records confirm that he made arrangements for them to travel by ship to Rome to rejoin the company.<sup>176</sup>

On the morning of 7 January 1890, there was a parade around the city. The company left their camp at ten in the morning and made their way down *Carrer Aribau* to *Plaça de la Universitat*. From there, they marched down the *Ramblas*, past the *Liceu* opera house and the *Cuatro Naciones* hotel where William F. Cody was staying. When they reached the bottom of the *Ramblas*, they proceeded back up to *Plaça de Catalunya*, where the Equestrian Circus was presenting its parody. Finally they made their way along the *Passeig de Gràcia* and *Carrer Mallorca* back to their arena.<sup>177</sup>

The show reopened that afternoon with its gala performance for the press and local dignitaries. With improving weather and improving health in the city, the overall atmosphere in the newspapers of the time was much more optimistic. The following day, *El Suplemento* reported that the “performance was thoroughly crowded,” and that, “The audience was, as ever, very well entertained and showed their appreciation

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<sup>175</sup> Marchena, *Del Oeste al Eixample*, 18-19.

<sup>176</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 90.

<sup>177</sup> The parade was reported in *La Dinastia*, *El Diluvio* and *La Vanguardia*, all 8 January 1890; the route is detailed in Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 94.

through spontaneous, well-deserved rounds of applause to the troupe during the various scenes.”<sup>178</sup> They also announced that “from today the show will begin at three o’clock in the afternoon, rather than two-thirty as has been the case until now.”<sup>179</sup> The sun was setting later, and the extra daylight allowed for a later start.

The 4 January 1890 advertising for the re-launch of the show had indicated that there would be changes to the programme.<sup>180</sup> Unfortunately, there are no reviews from the second part of the run which are as detailed as that which appeared in *La Vanguardia* on 22 December 1889 from which it was possible to reconstruct the revised running order in full. Marill Escudé has made the reasonable suggestion that the buffalo hunting scene, which had been too tame for an audience accustomed to the violence of the bull ring, would have been a prime candidate for revision, perhaps being replaced by an ambush by Indian raiders during a buffalo hunt.<sup>181</sup>

The success of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West was no longer news in Barcelona and, over the next ten days, advertising for the performances is the only coverage appearing in the Catalan press. Through January 1890, there was likewise little mention in the American press. On New Year’s Day, the *Wichita Eagle* reported that, “Lots of people who wouldn’t have recognized him when he lived in Kansas will be pleased to note that Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show have progressed on their European

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<sup>178</sup> “El público quedó, como siempre, sumamente complacido del espectáculo y tributó justos y espontáneos aplausos a la *troupe* en los diversos ejercicios.” *El Suplemento*, 8 January 1890.

<sup>179</sup> “... desde hoy se empiezan los espectáculos a las tres de la tarde, en vez de las dos y media en que han comenzado hasta ahora.” *El Suplemento*, 8 January 1890.

<sup>180</sup> *El Diluvio*, 4 January 1890.

<sup>181</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 99.

tour as far as Barcelona, Spain.”<sup>182</sup> There were numerous brief mentions, such as that in the Hillsboro, Ohio, *News Herald*, simply stating “Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show are at Barcelona, Spain.”<sup>183</sup>

On 19 January, *La Vanguardia* announced arrangements for the company’s departure:

Next Wednesday, the twenty-second, the steamer «Bellver» which will take Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Company to Naples will leave this port. For the departure, the «Bellver» will be moored alongside the Sant Beltrán quay.<sup>184</sup>

That same day, the Wild West put on a morning show, and again played to a full house.<sup>185</sup> That evening, the Equestrian Circus presented its final performance of the Buffalo Bill parody and thereafter it packed up and headed for Valencia.<sup>186</sup>

Buffalo Bill’s Wild West gave its final performance in its *Carrer Muntaner* arena on Tuesday 21 January 1890. The last show was dedicated to the people of Barcelona, and tickets for the performance were half price.<sup>187</sup> As with almost all of the shows of

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<sup>182</sup> *Wichita Eagle*, 1 January 1890.

<sup>183</sup> *The News-Herald* (Hillsboro, Ohio), 16 January 1890.

<sup>184</sup> “El próximo miércoles, día 22, saldrá de este puerto el vapor «Bellver» que conducirá á Nápoles la Compañía Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Para el embarco atracará el «Bellver» de costado al muelle de Sant Beltrán.” *La Vanguardia*, 19 January 1890.

<sup>185</sup> *El Barcelonés*, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal* and *La Vanguardia*, all 20 January 1890.

<sup>186</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 98.

<sup>187</sup> *La Dinastía*, 19 January 1890.

which we have a record, it was a sell-out.<sup>188</sup> In addition to cutting prices for the audience, the company's management left a donation for the local police who had guarded the Wild West camp, protecting them from peddlers, hawkers and thieves.<sup>189</sup> According to *La Vanguardia* many members of the full-house audience hung around the Indian encampment until long after the final parade. The same report also stated that the weather was excellent and "the temperature so mild that many of the Indians appeared in the arena almost naked, or rather, dressed in their usual fashion."<sup>190</sup>

Annie Oakley, on the other hand, describes the departure from Barcelona in typically negative and inaccurate terms:

Smallpox and typhoid were becoming so bad there was danger of the Wild West being held in quarantine so on Jan. 20, 1890, the company sailed for Naples on a wretched small steamer which was so badly ballasted the pilot at first refused to take her outside the harbor.<sup>191</sup>

There was, of course, no danger of quarantine at that time, and there is no reason to believe that the *Isleña* line's modern steamer, *Belver*, had any ballast problems. It did successfully cross "the Mediterranean in a violent storm from Barcelona, [...] arriving with the men and other animals in good condition."<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> *El Barcelonés, Diario de Barcelona, La Dinastía, El Noticiero Universal, El Suplemento and La Vanguardia*, all 21 January 1890.

<sup>189</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 100.

<sup>190</sup> "...era tan templada la temperatura, que muchos indios salieron a la arena casi desnudos o por mejor decir, vestidos a su usanza." *La Vanguardia*, 21 January 1890.

<sup>191</sup> Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 49.

<sup>192</sup> *Pittsburg Dispatch*, 26 January 1890.

How then are we to evaluate overall the visit that Buffalo Bill's Wild West made to Barcelona in the winter of 1889-1890? It should be clear from what has gone before that simplistic dismissals of the five weeks spent in Spain of the sort that are common in previous scholarship are not well founded.<sup>193</sup> There is overwhelming evidence from contemporary sources that much of the detail found in this scholarship is inaccurate. The run in Barcelona was not cut short, it was merely disrupted by the weather. All of the advance publicity stated that Buffalo Bill's Wild West would be in Barcelona for five weeks only.<sup>194</sup> The company arrived in Barcelona on Wednesday 18 December 1889,<sup>195</sup> they made their debut in the city the following Saturday,<sup>196</sup> and they closed on Tuesday 21 January 1890, leaving for Naples the next day.<sup>197</sup> They had spent five weeks in Barcelona to the very day, and the run of performances had lasted for four weeks and four days. The run was interrupted for six days at the turn of the year due to almost constant torrential rain turning the arena to mud, but the impossibility of performing in such conditions was the reason that performances were often suspended altogether at that time of year or in some cities

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<sup>193</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 24; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 354-355; Burke, *The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192-193; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 333; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill: The Legend*, 194; Portes, *Buffalo Bill*, 177-178; Rosa and May, *A Pictorial Biography*, 144; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 352; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 181; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 344.

<sup>194</sup> See for example *La Vanguardia*, 9 November 1889, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, *La Vanguardia*, 7 December 1889.

<sup>195</sup> See for example *El Barcelonés*, *El Diario de Barcelona*, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, *El Suplemento*, and *La Vanguardia*, 17 and 18 December 1889.

<sup>196</sup> See for example *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, and *La Vanguardia*, 21 and 22 December 1889.

<sup>197</sup> See for example *El Barcelonés*, *El Diario de Barcelona*, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, *El Suplemento*, *La Vanguardia*, 20, 21 and 22 January 1890.

even took place indoors.<sup>198</sup> The company's takings may have been slightly down on what they had hoped for due to the reduced number of performances, but it is difficult to believe that the gestures of having half-price tickets for the final show and of making a substantial donation to the local police would have been considered if the business had been experiencing severe losses.<sup>199</sup> There is no question of the management having closed early and they certainly could not have done so in response to poor crowds. Contemporary press coverage on both sides of the Atlantic is universally in agreement that the Wild West performances were well attended.<sup>200</sup>

In the Barcelona press the change in the weather that led to performances being suspended was credited with an improvement in the public health situation in the city.<sup>201</sup> Contemporary accounts give every indication that this was a health-scare rather than the sort of epidemic illness generally referred to in previous scholarship.<sup>202</sup> Annie Oakley's account confirms that a number of the company were ill, including herself, but the seriousness of her illness can perhaps be better judged by her confirmation that she carried on performing rather than by some of the

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<sup>198</sup> See for example *El Barcelonés*, *El Diario de Barcelona*, *El Diluvio*, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, *El Suplemento*, *La Vanguardia*, 2, 3, 4 and 5 January 1890.

<sup>199</sup> *El Barcelonés*, *Diario de Barcelona*, *La Dinastía*, *El Noticiero Universal*, *El Suplemento* and *La Vanguardia*, all 21 January 1890; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 100.

<sup>200</sup> See for example *Aberdeen Daily News*, 22 December 1889; *El Barcelonés*, 23 December 1889 and 20 January 1890; *Bismarck Tribune*, 22 December 1889; *Diario de Barcelona*, *El Diluvio* and *La Dinastía* all 22 December 1889; *La Ilustració Catalana*, 31 December 1889; *El Noticiero Universal*, 24 December 1889; *Omaha Sunday Bee*, 26 December 1889; *Saint Paul Daily Globe*, 23 December 1889; *El Suplemento*, 8 January 1890; *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889 and 20 January 1890.

<sup>201</sup> *La Dinastía*, 4 January 1890.

<sup>202</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 86-90; *La Vanguardia*, 2 and 4 January 1890.

subsequent exaggerated claims, including her own.<sup>203</sup> Official records of the time suggest that she must be mistaken in her recollection of two Indian deaths in the city. The two Lakota performers who had been left behind in Marseilles did die while the Wild West was in Catalonia, with one of these deaths being reported in the Spanish press at the time, but the documented Indian deaths on the tour concur with the official records and there could therefore have been no such fatalities.<sup>204</sup>

The contemporary evidence also has no trace of some of the more colourful stories associated with the Wild West's time in Barcelona. There is no indication that any Indians were accused of cannibalism, nor that William F. Cody had a run-in with the local bullfighters, nor indeed that he suffered toothache and had to have a tooth extracted during his time in the city. Unless further information comes to light, it therefore seems reasonable to dismiss these legends along with the inaccurate accounts of poor attendances, early closures, epidemics and quarantines and Indian deaths that have featured in other studies which have touched on the subject of the Wild West's visit to the Catalan capital and to conclude that the visit was at least a qualified success. The factors which must be taken into account as qualifications to that success will be discussed in the conclusion of this study. Before doing so, however, it is important to address an issue which arises naturally from any claim of

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<sup>203</sup> Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 48.

<sup>204</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 87-90; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 92-94, 127; *La Vanguardia*, *Diario de Barcelona* and *El Suplemento*, 4 January 1890; *La Dinastía* and *El Diluvio*, 5 January 1890.

success for the Wild West's visit to Barcelona: why did the exhibition never return to Spain?



## Chapter 4 – Why Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Never Returned to Spain

The week before Buffalo Bill’s Wild West left Barcelona, the following article appeared in the Northampton, Massachusetts, *Daily Herald*:

### Notes from Spain

This is indeed a God-forsaken country, composed equally of beggars and soldiers, the former being, however, by far the most numerous. I am told these gentry all pay government for a licence to beg.

The Spanish army is armed with the best Remington rifles, but I doubt if many know how to use them. I recently asked a Spanish non-commissioned officer if he had shot his rifle at 1000 yards and he replied that *he never had fired it at all, and, by the blessing of God, he never would!* There is no shooting club here, but there is an enclosed ground where a man furnishes live pigeons. He stands about fifteen yards from the shooter and throws them in the air at five cents a shot, the shooter getting every pigeon killed. In the shooting galleries, live rabbits and pigeons are set up at about twenty yards, but on account of the inaccuracy of the rifles used bunny or pigeon is seldom hit. I enclose a coin – five of which make one cent – which are in circulation everywhere in Spain.<sup>1</sup>

It had the by-line of “Wandering American, Barcelona, January 14.” There is no direct link to Cody’s company in the story, although given the date and place from

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<sup>1</sup> *Northampton Daily Herald*, 16 January 1890.

which it emanates, it is not improbable that someone travelling with the company was its source. Further evidence of this link, is that Annie Oakley clearly picked up on the story, despite the fact that she has no obvious connection to Northampton, and kept a copy in her scrapbook of the tour.<sup>2</sup> What is clear is a negative view of Spain in keeping with the way in which the country had been viewed in the United States throughout the nineteenth century. With due allowance for exaggeration, Buffalo Bill may have been credited with doing his bit in bringing England and America together; not so for America and Spain.

While the company was at sea en route to Italy, the first significant negative report relating to the run in Spain appeared in the United States, when a Nebraska newspaper ran an account of illness, language problems and a miserable Christmas:

Word has been received from George Turner saying that the Wild West were in Barcelona, Spain. Nearly all of the troupe have the influenza; it is pretty lonesome for them as they cannot talk to any of the natives. They had no turkey Christmas as that fowl costs \$4 there.<sup>3</sup>

There was no suggestion that the show had been a flop, but the tone is unquestionably downbeat, and it initiates a period of generally unfavourable characterizations of Buffalo Bill's visit to Barcelona which was to carry on unchecked for almost a century.

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<sup>2</sup> Annie Oakley, *Scrapbook, 1887-1891*, [copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, William F. Cody Collection, MS6.8.OS.10]

<sup>3</sup> *The Columbus Journal*, (Columbus, Nebraska), 22 January 1890.

Within days of the company's arrival in Italy, the *Philadelphia Enquirer* stated, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was so much less exciting than the ordinary bull fight that it did not make a success in Spain."<sup>4</sup> The following week, the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* ran an account which already includes a number of the features that frequently occur in the recent studies of William F. Cody:

There have been reports for some days past from Barcelona, Spain, of the unsuccessful exhibition of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in that city. Another complaint was received by mail yesterday from James S. Parks. The letter stated that Buffalo Bill's show had closed owing to the small attendance.

Three of the Indians had died while they had been attacked by small pox. The company was demoralized and Mr. Cody had gone to England while many members of the show were about to return home.<sup>5</sup>

We have Indian deaths, low attendances causing the show to close; we also have the entirely inaccurate statement concerning Cody's whereabouts and that other cast members are on the point of returning to the United States. In early February 1890, the *Philadelphia Daily Enquirer*, was quoting Cody himself as casting the run in Barcelona in a negative light when it published the claim that, "Buffalo Bill says that he does not wonder that Christopher Columbus wanted to get away from Spain."<sup>6</sup> Issues of greater concern than whether or not Columbus had wanted away from Spain had arisen in the American press while the company were in Barcelona.

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<sup>4</sup> *The Philadelphia Enquirer*, 26 January 1890.

<sup>5</sup> *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 30 January 1890.

<sup>6</sup> *Philadelphia Daily Enquirer*, 5 February 1890.

In December 1889, New York investors who had provided the financial backing for the Wild West's tour of Europe became concerned at the lack of return on their money. A syndicate of Wall Street brokers and railway developers, headed by T. C. Crawford, had provided Cody and Salsbury with \$150,000 to fund the European tour, and these money-men were due to receive thirty percent of the gross receipts from the show. Throughout the summer and autumn, the press had carried stories of the show playing to packed crowds in the French capital and yet, as of 15 December 1889, the members of the syndicate had only received a \$50,000 return on their original investment.

Although the *New York Times* reported that these investors had, "the utmost confidence in Buffalo Bill," who had, "always been straightforward in his business dealings" with them, a mere thirty percent return of their original investment was hardly what they might have hoped for in view of the stellar reports appearing in the press.<sup>7</sup> Since Cody and Salsbury were clearly aware of these concerns, glowing reports from Spain might have served to inflame the situation further. Although the high telegraph charges mentioned above were a pragmatic consideration that would have kept reviews from Barcelona short, there is no doubt that having very little press coverage would have suited the Wild West Company's interests.

The financial difficulties which came to light while the Wild West Exhibition was in Barcelona would be the first of many that beset William F. Cody for the remainder of his life and some previous studies may have been effectively conflating two

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<sup>7</sup> *New York Times*, 15 December 1889.

otherwise unrelated issues and misinterpreting the financial aspects of the visit to Catalonia in the light of later developments.<sup>8</sup> The leading circus impresario, James A. Bailey,<sup>9</sup> provided the injection of cash in the midst of one of these subsequent crises that was to be most significant and ultimately most damaging for Cody's controlling interest in his exhibition. Bailey's involvement also had the positive side-effect of allowing the Wild West to grow considerably and was to provide it with some measure of financial stability. It was only after Bailey's death in 1906, and in the wake of the financial controversies surrounding his will, that Cody's Wild West had to merge with Pawnee Bill's show in 1908, before William F. Cody endured the ultimate ignominy of bankruptcy in 1912.<sup>10</sup>

These financial disasters lay well in the future, however, as the 1891 season began in Germany and Belgium before the troupe returned to the British Isles where they were joined in April by twenty-three Lakota "prisoners of war" who had been released into Cody's custody less than three months after the so-called Ghost Dance uprising of

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<sup>8</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 15, 17, 27, 29-35, 96; Bonner, *Wyoming Empire*, 170, 216, 222, 236, 246-247, 251; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 378-384; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 141-158; *New York Times*, 15 December 1889; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 378-385; Sorg, *Myth and Reality*, 61-69, 77-82; and Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 421, 444, 468-471.

<sup>9</sup> Born James Anthony McGuinness, James A. Bailey rose through the ranks of the circus world from teenage runaway to successful owner/manager with P.T. Barnum of the so-called "Greatest Show on Earth". On the involvement of Barnum and Bailey with Cody's partner Nate Salisbury and the circumstances in which Bailey came to be a partner/co-owner of the Wild West see in particular Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 27; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 408-410; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 380-381; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 141-151; and Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 378-382.

<sup>10</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 29-33; Bonner, *Wyoming Empire*, 246-247; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 378-385; Sorg, *Myth and Reality*, 77-82; and Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 468-471.

the previous December. Although they provided a boost to the show's publicity, by emphasising the authentic savagery of the frontier as an ever-present phenomenon, the closest any of the prisoners were ever to come to actual rebellion was when they performed in Cody's interpretation of Indian white relations in Scotland, England and Wales.<sup>11</sup>

Spring 1892 saw a series of theatre appearances by an *ad hoc* concert party, comprising the Cowboy Band, the Tyrolean Singers and a group of twelve Indians who performed music, songs and Indian dances in a number of small venues around Glasgow.<sup>12</sup> The season culminated in another successful six month stand in London, after which Buffalo Bill's Wild West would not be seen in Europe for almost a decade and the show which returned would be substantially different from that which had been there before.

The intervening ten years were not kind to William F. Cody, aptly referred to by history professor Paul Reddin as "the man who grew up with Manifest Destiny," whose life in many ways reflects the aspirations and disappointments of a great many Americans during the century which was drawing to a close.<sup>13</sup> Cody undoubtedly lived a version of the American dream, with his rise from relative poverty to wealth, from obscurity to celebrity, but he was also beset by those boom-and-bust cycles that were a feature of Gilded Age America which David Wagner observed in his detailed study of the Massachusetts State Almshouse at Tewksbury, that were known to

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<sup>11</sup> Maddra, *Hostiles*, 190.

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham, *Your Fathers the Ghosts*, 149-150.

<sup>13</sup> Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 54.

financial speculators, factory owners and their workers, to say nothing of showmen, circus owners and performers including Buffalo Bill.<sup>14</sup>

The circus industry was changing with many small concerns folding under pressure from their larger rivals and others being bought out by the emerging super companies such as the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey.<sup>15</sup> In the second phase of its European activities the Wild West was bigger and it incorporated a much more expansive sideshow operation. There would be few of the longer runs which had characterized the nineteenth-century version of the show. The standard operating procedure would now be a series of one night stands with only the occasional more extended run in major cities where it was felt that the market would be sustainable. The progress of civilization which Cody had fictionalized and symbolized in the transformation of the West was being worked out in a very real sense in the transformation of the show itself.<sup>16</sup> Improved infrastructure facilitated faster travel; technological advances made it possible to set up and dismantle more quickly and the economic pressures that had put so many of the smaller troupes out of business had dictated the necessity to become part of a larger conglomerate. The globalizing influences which would come to the fore throughout the twentieth century were clearly already at work.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Wagner, *Ordinary People: In and Out of Poverty*.

<sup>15</sup> Brenda Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005, 2; Noel Daniel, *The Circus 1870-1950*. Hong Kong: Taschen, 2009, 11-13; Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 97-101.

<sup>17</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 97-117.

The turn of the century was also a difficult period in Cody's personal life. When his acrimonious divorce case was thrown out of court, he was roundly criticized in his North Platte, Nebraska, hometown and lampooned in the national press.<sup>18</sup> This negative publicity appears to have been actually damaging to him personally – to say nothing of the potential damage to his business interests. Louis Warren has described the years in Europe which followed as a “figurative exile that largely kept him from the public gaze in the United States.”<sup>19</sup> Exile or not, Cody was very much in the public gaze during the long and successful run in London through the second half of 1902 and the first three months of 1903. The remainder of that year and the next were spent travelling to numerous smaller venues across England, Scotland and Wales. Press coverage of the show was almost universally positive, as audiences continued to be captivated by the narrative of the progress of civilization banishing savagery from the globe.<sup>20</sup>

1905 was taken up with a year-long tour of France, during which considerable public use was made of the iconography on an emerging “entente cordiale” with the United States.<sup>21</sup> In the peripatetic 1906 season, the show ranged far and wide through Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany, Luxembourg and Belgium, welcoming

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<sup>18</sup> Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 423-425; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 80, 225, 255, 259, 400, 402-408; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 139-141; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 420, 431-433; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, xviii, 157, 493-494, 498-519, 524, 528, 547.

<sup>19</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 524.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 348.

<sup>21</sup> Griffin, *Four Years in Europe*, xxiv, xxxiv, 69-92. See also Appendix 6, Figure 18.



distinguished visitors from many royal houses along the way.<sup>22</sup> Contemporary commentators, in Germany and Italy in particular, show an increasing fascination with the Indians as romantic symbols of a preindustrial age.<sup>23</sup> There was, however, no return to Spain. The balance of what little previous scholarship has been published concerning the first visit clearly provides an explanation for the omission of Spain from the subsequent European with its assessment that the Wild West's time in Barcelona was a flop.<sup>24</sup> Having rejected that assessment we can identify a number of other factors that explain why Cody and company did not return to the Iberian peninsula. The first of these is purely practical in nature.

As had been the case in the United States since 1894, the Wild West's second European tour made extensive use of the developing railway networks across the continent, and this could potentially have caused significant logistical problems for Spain's inclusion in the tour.<sup>25</sup> From the early days of railway construction in the 1840s, the traditional Spanish measure of six Castilian feet, equivalent to just less than five feet and seven inches in the standard imperial scale, was employed

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<sup>22</sup> Griffin, *Four Years in Europe*, 103-122.

<sup>23</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 354; Daniele Fiorentino, "'Those Red-Brick Faces' European Reactions to the Indians of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show." In *Indians and America*, edited by Christian F. Feest, 403-415. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 354-355; Burke, *The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192-193; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 333; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill*, 194; Portes, *Buffalo Bill*, 177-178; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West*, 144; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 352; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 181; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 344.

<sup>25</sup> The potential significance of this issue was suggested to the author by Jordi Marill Escudé in a personal interview on 3 December 2010. Griffin, *Four Years in Europe*, 81, 103-106; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 417, 441-442, 494.

throughout Spain and Portugal as the track width.<sup>26</sup> This was known as the “Ancho Ibérico” or “Iberian Gauge” and in Spain its use was required by law from June 1855.<sup>27</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, it became increasingly clear that using a different size of track from the rest of Europe was detrimental to the country’s economic development, hindering the free flow of goods and people across the border with France.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, when general agreement was reached at the Bern International Railway Congress in Switzerland in 1886 to move towards a common track standard, Spain did not sign up to the accord and continued to work to its own traditional parameters.<sup>29</sup> Only the advent of high speed rail travel in the first decade of the twenty-first century, has finally brought about moves to ensure that Spanish tracks come into line with the rest of Europe. Ironically, the old Barcelona-Mataró railway line that was designed by Cerdà and used by many spectators coming

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<sup>26</sup> Pere Pascual i Domènech, *Los Caminos de la Era Industrial – La Construcción y Financiación de la Red Ferroviaria Catalana (1843-1898)*. Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1999, 47-54.

<sup>27</sup> *Ley General de Ferrocarriles*, approved 3 June 1855, available [http://www.docutren.com/archivos/documentos/ley\\_1855.pdf](http://www.docutren.com/archivos/documentos/ley_1855.pdf), accessed 29 July 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Douglas J. Puffert, *Tracks Across Continents, Paths Through History: The Economic Dynamics of Standardization in Railway Gauge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, 36-37, 181-182, 192.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 171.

to see Buffalo Bill's Wild West in the Winter of 1889-1890 would be one of the first lines in Spain that does not form part of the new high speed network to be updated.<sup>30</sup>

The logistical problems presented by the Spanish rail network would not have been insurmountable, however, and a number of other European countries were still using tracks of non-standard gauges at the time of the 1905-1906 tour.<sup>31</sup> A much more significant factor was the deteriorating relationship between the United States and Spain in the period between the two European tours. An examination of this provides ample evidence that there were issues much more compelling than simple logistics underpinning the exclusion of Spain as a potential venue for the Wild West's second European tour. Chapter 2 of this study presented a brief examination of a number of key factors which contributed to the generally negative relationship between the two countries from 1776 onwards, with the issue of Cuba being deliberately excluded. The reason for this exclusion is the centrality of the Cuban issue to the impossibility of a return to Spain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

Spain's imperial hold over its overseas territories in the Americas diminished significantly from the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards, with all of the former colonies on the continental mainland of South and Central America

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<sup>30</sup> Miguel Jiménez, "Barcelona: el primer puerto español con ancho internacional." *Vía Libre*, September 2010, 16-22, 18.

<sup>31</sup> Puffert, *Tracks Across Continents*, 15, 391.

achieving independence by 1825.<sup>32</sup> Cuba was different both for historical reasons that were perceived as culturally significant, and for straightforward economic reasons. Christopher Columbus made the most significant landfall of his first voyage when he reached Cuba on 28 October 1492,<sup>33</sup> it was from there that Hernán Cortés launched the 1519 expedition that put an end to Aztec power in present-day Mexico,<sup>34</sup> thereby laying the groundwork for Spain's imperial expansion into the American mainland. These events were imbued with great significance within the nationalistic discourse that fed into the cult of *Hispanidad* that would play a crucial role in Spain's twentieth century history, providing the ideological basis for Franco's forty-year dictatorship at the conclusion of the Civil War.<sup>35</sup> In the context of that emerging historiographic trend, it is easier to understand the reasons why, as the quest for independence was becoming general elsewhere in Spanish America, the fact that Cuba remained within the empire, would see it come to be hailed as "La Siempre Fidelísima Isla" or "The Ever Most Faithful Island."

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<sup>32</sup> Bushnell and MacAuley, *The Emergence of Latin America*, 9-12.

<sup>33</sup> Colón, *Textos y documentos*, 45-46; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 85-86; König, *Columbus: His Enterprise*, 56-57.

<sup>34</sup> Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la Conquista de México*. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1974, 15-17; Hugh Thomas, *The Conquest of Mexico*. London: Hutchinson, 1993, 146-157.

<sup>35</sup> Jo Labanyi, "Introduction: Engaging with Ghosts; or, Theorizing Culture in Modern Spain." In *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice*, edited by Jo Labanyi, 1-14. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 7; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 28-33.

Cuban loyalism to the empire was neither universal nor unconditional.<sup>36</sup> Nor was it entirely disinterested, as Spain's army and navy had for centuries defended the power base and supported the interests of the small socio-economic and political elite, comprising Spanish, other European and Euro-American settlers, together with native-born Cubans of Spanish descent who were referred to as "Criollos," who held sway on the island. This Spanish military and naval presence had for centuries afforded protection from Caribbean pirates, and as the nineteenth century wore on was increasingly seen as a bulwark against the emerging power of the United States. It had also acted as a deterrent against slave rebellion, and acted swiftly to put down any insurgency among the slaves which did occur.<sup>37</sup>

The work of African slaves and trade with mainland Spain were both fundamental to the island's economy, based as it was on agriculture, mining, and the export of coffee, hardwood, tobacco, and above all sugar.<sup>38</sup> The Cuban sugar industry was highly developed and, thanks in no small part to its slave labour force, highly

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<sup>36</sup> Duvon C. Corbitt, "Cuban Revisionist Interpretations of Cuba's Struggle for Independence," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 32, 1963, 395–404.

<sup>37</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 30-31, 50-52, 254; Thomas, *Cuba*, 26, 53, 59, 92, 95, 125-127 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 37-38, 75-78, 140, 148, 173, 204-206.

<sup>38</sup> Antonio Santamaría García, "Los márgenes de la especialización. La economía cubana, 1790-1880, crecimiento agregado y diversificación." In *Visitando la Isla. Temas de Historia de Cuba*, edited by Josef Opatrny and Consuelo Naranjo Orovio, 103-132. Madrid: AHIL, 2002.

lucrative.<sup>39</sup> In 1868, for example, Cuba produced 720,250 metric tons of sugar, accounting for just over forty percent of the cane sugar on the world market.<sup>40</sup>

It represented an obvious target market for the United States, and officials in Madrid seriously misread commercial overtures as economic encroachment that might pose a threat to the colonial relationship and be a prelude to American annexation of the island.<sup>41</sup> The result was a series of bureaucratic regulations with the objective of discouraging trade between the United States and Cuba, which were ultimately counter-productive and served only to foment discontent among the more educated and affluent loyalist class, stimulating interest in independence among them, and providing them with a powerful natural ally due to American economic interest.<sup>42</sup> Taken within the broader context of both Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine, which were touched upon in Chapter 2 of this study, there is ample evidence in the United States' treatment of Cuba and Cuban issues to suggest that Spanish fears were well-founded.

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<sup>39</sup> Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "A Second Slavery? The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Sugar Revolutions in Cuba and Puerto Rico." In *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, edited by Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano, 333-345, London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

<sup>40</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 59-64; Rebecca J. Scott, "Explaining Abolition: Contradiction, Adaptation, and Challenge in Cuban Slave Society, 1860-1886." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1984, 83-111, 83.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph A. Fry, "From Open Door to World Systems: Economic Interpretations of Late-Nineteenth century American Foreign Relations." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 65, 1996, 277–303; Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 322-323; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 309-314; Thomas, *Cuba*, 119 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 87, 97, 194.

<sup>42</sup> Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 87.

Numerous United States politicians expressed an expansionist interest in Cuba throughout the nineteenth century. In 1823 Secretary of State John Quincy Adams exaggeratedly described Cuba as being “almost within sight of our shores.” He characterized the island’s connection with distant Spain as “unnatural,” and argued that the “annexation of Cuba” within fifty years was almost inevitable as the island was “incapable of self-support,” and “can gravitate only towards the North American Union.”<sup>43</sup> Prominent Cuban-American historian, Louis A. Pérez Jr. has rightly observed, “Proximity did indeed seem to suggest destiny, and about destiny there was unanimity: it was manifest.”<sup>44</sup> In 1832 Secretary of State Edward Livingstone alluded to a desire, “to preserve it in the hands of Spain” and “only in the event of finding that impossible, to look to its annexation.”<sup>45</sup> Six years later, American diplomat John H. Eaton confirmed in a letter to the Spanish Foreign Minister, the Count of Ofelia, that the Van Buren administration’s policy was to support Spanish jurisdiction in Cuba although, in line with the tenets of the Monroe Doctrine, “they could not with indifference and unconcern look upon an attempt to pass it into the possession and ownership of another power.”<sup>46</sup> In 1850, United States Minister to Spain, Daniel Barringer, was even more direct when he affirmed, “Our Government

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<sup>43</sup> Worthington C. Ford, (Ed). *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*. New York: MacMillan, (7 Vols.), 1913, Vol.7, 372.

<sup>44</sup> Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 3.

<sup>45</sup> William R. Manning, (Ed). *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs*. New York: Oxford University Press (USA), (12 Vols.), 1932-1939, Vol. 11, 6-7.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. 11, 312-313.

is resolutely determined that the Island of Cuba should never be in the possession of any other power than that of Spain or the United States.”<sup>47</sup>

In 1854 United States diplomats drew up the Ostend Manifesto the stated intent of which was to purchase Cuba from Spain for 130 million dollars. It explicitly linked the acquisition of the island to national security and stated, “The Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries.”<sup>48</sup> It was one of three abortive attempts to purchase Cuba from Spain, with the Polk administration in 1848 and the Grant administration in 1870 both also having contemplated such a measure.<sup>49</sup> On 6 December 1858, President James Buchanan complained about Spanish policy in Cuba, alleging the mistreatment of Americans on the island and criticising both the lack of direct diplomatic relationship with the Cuban authorities and Spain’s protectionist policies that restricted United States’ access to the Cuban market.<sup>50</sup> He stated frankly that “Cuba in its existing colonial condition, is a constant source of injury and annoyance to the American people," and hinted at eventual moves to purchase the island while wrongly asserting

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, Vol. 11, 506.

<sup>48</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 218; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 5; Thomas, *Cuba*, 134-135, 137 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 211-217.

<sup>49</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 68, 79; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 217-218; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 5; Thomas, *Cuba*, 146 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 88, 90, 199, 211-217, 225, 228-232, 251-253.

<sup>50</sup> Available from the website of the *Presidency Project*

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29499#axzz1sFxx9BIU>, accessed 1 July 2011.



that Cuba was “comparatively unimportant” to Spain, provoking outrage among Spanish diplomats.<sup>51</sup>

The expansionist trend that is clearly established in this political and diplomatic discourse would in itself provide sufficient evidence that Spain’s fears were well founded, all the more so when taken together with United States support for and direct involvement in a number of attempts to overthrow Spanish colonial authority in Cuba, by which the cause for these concerns comes ever more sharply into focus. It was not until 1898 that military intervention became official policy, but from the middle of the nineteenth century, that war was coming.<sup>52</sup> Although it would have to wait in line until the Civil War and the Plains Indian Wars were out of the way there was considerable United States involvement in unrest on the island in the intervening period. John L. O’Sullivan, who had first promulgated the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, was one of the leading public figures approached by the Venezuelan-born proponent of Cuban independence, Narciso López, during his exile in the United States between 1848 and 1850, when he was canvassing support for a speculative campaign to liberate the island from Spanish rule.<sup>53</sup> Leading Mississippi politicians, Governor John A. Quitman and former Senator John Henderson, together with Laurence Sigur, the editor of the *New Orleans Delta*, did provide him with financial support. López even invited Quitman to lead the expedition to Cuba, but he

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<sup>51</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 286, 288-289, 293; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 4-5; Thomas, *Cuba*, 135-139 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 211-214, 228-230.

<sup>52</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 386; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam’s War*, 25.

<sup>53</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 64, 68-69; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 215, 222; Thomas, *Cuba*, 130-131 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 212-217.

declined, preferring instead to see out his term of office. It was perhaps fortunate for him that he did as the two filibustering expeditions of May 1850 and August 1851 which were launched with American backing were both unsuccessful.

The second of these was a complete disaster and López, who is best remembered today as the designer of the modern Cuban flag, was captured and summarily executed together with fifty of his followers.<sup>54</sup> His second in command, Kentuckian Colonel William Logan Crittenden, who died with him was the nephew of Attorney General, John Jordan Crittenden, and in his final few moments he wrote a brief moving note to his uncle disavowing his support for López's filibuster:

Dear Uncle: In a few moments some fifty of us will be shot. We came with Lopez. You will do me the justice to believe that my motive was a good one. I was deceived by Lopez — he, as well as the public press, assured me that the island was in a state of prosperous revolution.

I am commanded to finish writing at once.

Your nephew,

W.L. Crittenden

I will die like a man<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 69; Thomas, *Cuba*, 132, 892 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 217.

<sup>55</sup> Alexander Jones, *Cuba in 1851: A Survey of the Island*. New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1851, 69; Thomas, *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 217.

In view of the role that has often been ascribed to the United States “yellow press” in the build-up to the war of 1898, it is interesting to note that nearly fifty years earlier Crittenden’s dying words state that he was deceived by the newspaper coverage of the situation in Cuba.<sup>56</sup>

There was no “prosperous revolution” on the island in 1851, but serious insurrection would come in 1868 with the outbreak of what came to be known as the “Ten Years War.”<sup>57</sup> On 27 December 1868, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, a wealthy sugar plantation owner, freed his slaves to fight for “Cuba Libre” or Free Cuba in the first serious bid for Cuban independence. The ferocity with which Spain fought against the insurgency stands in stark contrast to the relative ease with which the empire had granted independence to many of its other colonies in the Americas.<sup>58</sup> The Ten Years War was ended in February 1878 by the Pact of Zanjón, by which Spain granted limited autonomy to Cuba, but this did not represent an acceptable compromise to all of the rebels, and the following year Calixto García attempted to start another uprising.<sup>59</sup> García attracted very little support for his so-called “Guerra Chiquita” or “Little War” which achieved no further concessions and it petered out

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<sup>56</sup> Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958, 3-7; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 24-28, 58; Thomas, *Cuba*, 196-197, 199 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 313.

<sup>57</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 71-81; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 46-48; Thomas, *Cuba*, 147-155 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 243-260.

<sup>58</sup> Bushnell and MacAuley, *The Emergence of Latin America*, 7-37.

<sup>59</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 81-83; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 50; Thomas, *Cuba*, 157-158, 188 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 260.

after less than a year.<sup>60</sup> Unsurprisingly, a number of former Spanish territories in Latin America recognized the Provisional Government which De Céspedes established in 1868. It might at first glance appear slightly more surprising that the United States did not do so, given the dominant trends in policy up to that time. The recent Civil War and the Indian Wars that were then on-going go some way to offering an explanation.

The issues of slavery and secession were central to the Ten Years War in Cuba as they had been in the United States' own Civil War. In 1868, with the United States so heavily committed to Southern Reconstruction, it is understandable that it balked at becoming involved in a conflict so relatively near at hand which might reignite some of the underlying tensions in the South.<sup>61</sup> The drive of Manifest Destiny was undeniably strong at that time, but it was essentially westward facing, with the Plains Indian Wars and the associated acquisition and economic development of territory in ways that suited economic and political vested interests in the east being its main focus between 1865 and 1890.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 83; Thomas, *Cuba*, 159 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 378.

<sup>61</sup> Edwards, *New Spirits*, 23-29; Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 59-60, 63, 69; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 217-218, 260-261; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 44-45; Thomas, *Cuba*, 155 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 215-216.

<sup>62</sup> Dee Brown, *Hear that Lonesome Whistle Blow*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1977; Edwards, *New Spirits*, 203-213; Brenda Gayle Plummer, "Building US Hegemony in the Caribbean." In *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, edited by Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano, 417-432, London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, 419; Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1865–1898*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963, 10-17, 31-32, 68-69; Richardson, *Wounded Knee*, 19-32, 40-41, 61, 88, 101, 138, 145;

A key figure in the nation's expansion into the Trans-Mississippi West in this period was William F. Cody, although the historical role that he played in the Indian Wars was relatively minor. His combat experience was limited to his encounters with the Cheyenne at Summit Springs, Colorado, in July 1869 and Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska, in July 1876, neither of which was of great military significance. The mythical role that he played when he adopted the persona of Buffalo Bill and performed fictionalized accounts of these events as the killing of "Chief Tall Bull" and the destruction of the Dog Soldiers, or the defeat of "Chief Yellow Hand" and the "First Scalp for Custer" was hugely significant.<sup>63</sup> These performances, initially on stage and subsequently in the arena exhibition which was already being hailed as "America's National Entertainment" as early as 1886, saw him become the incarnation of the conquering hero of Manifest Destiny, representing its values to Eastern and European audiences.<sup>64</sup>

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Richard White, *Railroaded – The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.

<sup>63</sup> Hedren and Russell, *First Scalp for Custer*; Jewett and Lawrence, *The American Monomyth*, 90; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 34-40, 49, 55-61, 108-109, 177, 196-197, 199, 241, 244, 246, 257-258, 271; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 106, 126, 132, 134-135, 138, 140-148, 154, 159, 214, 222-235, 254, 273, 458, 475; Sagala, *Buffalo Bill Actor*, 142-145; Mark Van de Logt, *War Party in Blue: Pawnee Scouts in the U. S. Army*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010, 129-133, 140; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 90, 100, 109-112, 118-120, 122, 170-173, 186, 197-198, 204, 257, 326, 525, 534, 538-540, 545.

<sup>64</sup> Bold, *The Rough Riders at Home and Abroad*, 326.

It is ironic that an unsuccessful peace mission to the great Hunkpapa Lakota leader *Tatanka Iyotake* or Sitting Bull during the Ghost Dance troubles in the run-up to the disaster at Wounded Knee in December 1890 was potentially William F. Cody's most historically significant involvement in the Plains Indian Wars.<sup>65</sup> It is doubly ironic that the tragic events of that snowy day in South Dakota should conclude the westward drive of Manifest Destiny and see it transformed into what historian Julius W. Pratt has referred to as the "New Manifest Destiny" as it turned its focus to the east, with Cuba again representing a significant attraction for American expansionists.<sup>66</sup> In 1868 the time had not been right for the United States to recognize the Cuban rebels and a single diplomatic incident that came to be known as the *Virginius* Affair was the closest the United States came to direct involvement in the Ten Years War.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*, 68-70; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 8, 182, 190-195, 211, 222, 245, 248, 250, 260-261; Reilly, *Bound to Have Blood*, 111-127; Richardson, *Wounded Knee*, 243; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 365-366; Rex Alan Smith, *Moon of Popping Trees – The Tragedy of Wounded Knee and the End of the Indian Wars*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, 146-149, 157-159; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 258, 264, 359, 381-386, 391, 411, 538-539.

<sup>66</sup> Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898 – The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964, 1-33.

<sup>67</sup> On 31 October 1873 the Cuban-owned steamer *Virginius*, under the command of Captain Joseph Fry and flying the American flag, was captured by the Spanish vessel *Tornado* while carrying supplies to the Cuban rebels. Fifty-three of the passengers and crew, including Fry himself and a number of British and United States citizens, were executed as pirates in the first week of November after summary courts-martial in Santiago de Cuba. Relations between the United States and Spain were strained almost to breaking point and military intervention in the war seemed imminent. A compromise was reached on 8 December, when Spain agreed to return the vessel and the surviving passengers and crew to the United States. The Attorney General, George Henry Williams, ruled on Christmas Day that the *Virginius* had never been entitled to fly the Stars and Stripes and war was averted. On 27 February 1875, the Spanish government paid compensation of \$80,000 for the loss of

The cause of Cuban independence was not ended by the Pact of Zanjón, and many Cubans both on the island and in exile, continued to advance the case for full fiscal and political autonomy from Spain. One such exile was José Martí a *Criollo* born in Havana to Spanish parents in 1853 who displayed a prolific talent for writing from an early age.<sup>68</sup> By the time he was sixteen, he was a published poet, and had written editorials for a number of Cuban newspapers. In 1869, the nationalist sentiments of his writing saw him fall foul of the authorities and he was convicted of sedition and treason and sentenced to six years imprisonment with hard labour. His parents pleaded for mercy because of his young age and, after serving only one year in prison, his sentence was commuted to exile in Spain.<sup>69</sup> During the five years of his Spanish exile, Martí used his time fruitfully, studying law and continuing to write.<sup>70</sup> In 1875, he left Spain for Mexico and was reunited with his family.<sup>71</sup> He was based in Mexico for almost two years, earning a living from his writing, when he took the risky decision to return to Cuba under an assumed name. With the war going badly for the rebels in 1877, his home-coming proved to be short-lived and, after less than a month, he set out for Guatemala, where he took up a teaching post and married Carmen Zayas Bazán, the daughter of an exiled Cuban lawyer whom he had first met

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American lives. See Richard H. Bradford, *The Virginius Affair*. Boulder: Colorado Associate University Press, 1980; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 261.

<sup>68</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 84; John M. Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor of the Cuban Nation*. Tampa: University of South Florida, 1983, 21; Thomas, *Cuba*, 167-168 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 256-316.

<sup>69</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 85-86; Thomas, *Cuba*, 159 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 295-296.

<sup>70</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 85; Thomas, *Cuba*, 153.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas, *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 295-296.

in Mexico.<sup>72</sup> With the war at an end, he returned to Cuba in 1878, but again this proved to be short-lived as within a year he was accused of conspiring against Spanish rule and exiled to Spain for a second time. This second Spanish exile was brief, however, and he quickly made his way to New York where he would spend the most productive years of his life. He served as a consul for Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, wrote extensively for newspapers in both Spanish and English, and published his most critically acclaimed poetry.<sup>73</sup>

Twice during his residence in New York, in July 1884 and August 1886, José Martí attended performances by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and he wrote enthusiastic essays on each occasion. In the first of these, entitled simply, "William F. Cody – Buffalo Bill" he offers a brief but glowing review of the performance, which he rounds off by emphasizing how moving he found the authentic scenes of the Wild West which had been presented.<sup>74</sup> In the longer essay which he wrote after the 1886 performance, entitled "¡Magnífico espectáculo!" or "Magnificent Show!" he was even more effusive in his praise.<sup>75</sup> In his study of the essay, Spanish Professor, Christopher Conway, emphasizes four key elements: the concept of death; the concept of

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<sup>72</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 85; Thomas, *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 296.

<sup>73</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 85-86; Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 160; Thomas, *Cuba*, 170 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 297, 300.

<sup>74</sup> José Martí, "William F. Cody – Buffalo Bill." In *Obras Completas de José Martí*, edited by Jorge Quintana, Vol. 2, 168-170. Caracas: Litho-Tip C.A. (5 Vols), 1964, 170.

<sup>75</sup> José Martí, "¡Magnífico espectáculo!" In *Obras Completas de José Martí*, edited by Jorge Quintana, Vol. 2, 678-687. Caracas: Litho-Tip C.A. (5 Vols), 1964.



creativity; the historic frontier v the mythical frontier; and manly athleticism.<sup>76</sup> The dichotomy between the historical and mythical constructs of the frontier has been central to the historiography of the American West for more than a century and continues to be so to this day, and the idea of the manly image has recently been discussed as central to both the coming of the Spanish American War, and to the appeal of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.<sup>77</sup>

Literary scholar Laura Lomas has recognized the same striking modernity in Martí's writings, arguing that his essentially pro-United States position reflects a Pan-American understanding that the problems of the Western Hemisphere should be addressed by the peoples of the Americas.<sup>78</sup> Martí's view that there was no need for the intervention or mediation of the European powers which he referred to as the "imperialistas de allá" or "the imperialists over there" has been much commented on.<sup>79</sup> Lomas, however, also recognizes a "prescient critique of United States Imperialism" in his articulation of the concern that "Monroe Doctrine in hand" it may lead to "casting against the wall the feebler peoples," even allowing for his

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<sup>76</sup> Christopher Conway, "José Martí frente al Wild West de Buffalo Bill: frontera, raza y arte en la civilización y barbarie norteamericana." *Hispanic Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1998, 129-142, 137.

<sup>77</sup> Kirstin Hoganson, *Fighting For American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 132-133; 265-273; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 278-279, 320, 338, 442-443, 448.

<sup>78</sup> Laura Lomas, *Translating Empire: José Martí, Migrant Latino Subjects, and American Modernities*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2008, 216-217; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 29.

<sup>79</sup> Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 60; Lomas, *Translating Empire*, 216; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 50.

somewhat naïve faith that, “This villainous conception cannot have entered a true American mind.”<sup>80</sup>

Although he represented the diplomatic interests of other nations, and wrote on a wide range of subjects, his commitment to Cuba’s freedom continued to be the central preoccupation of José Martí’s life.<sup>81</sup> He was not so naïve on the issue of potential United States intervention in Cuba, which he always feared.<sup>82</sup> He spent much of his time in New York socializing with other exiled Cuban dissidents, and fundraising for various initiatives in support of independence from Spain.<sup>83</sup> In April 1892, he founded the Partido Revolucionario Cubano or Cuban Revolutionary Party, and two years later with a small band of his fellow exiles Martí attempted to make his way back to Cuba to start a revolution but the initiative failed.<sup>84</sup> In January of the following year, José Martí travelled to Montecristi and Santo Domingo as part of the small band of Cuban exiles being organized by Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo Grajales, and he recorded his thoughts on the expedition in his *Manifiesto of*

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<sup>80</sup> Lomas, *Translating Empire*, 255.

<sup>81</sup> Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 160.

<sup>82</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 86-87; Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 53-54, 89-91, 136; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 20; Thomas, *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 310, 317, 417.

<sup>83</sup> Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 49-61; Alfred J. López, *José Martí and the Future of Cuban Nationalisms*. Gainesville/Tallahassee/Tampa/Boca Raton/Pensacola/Orlando/Miami/Jacksonville/Ft. Myers: University Press of Florida, 2006, 55; Thomas, *Cuba*, 167-169 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 294.

<sup>84</sup> Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 4, 77-85, 117-119; López, *José Martí and the Future*, 5-6, 37; Thomas, *Cuba*, 171 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 301-302.

*Montecristi*.<sup>85</sup> The uprising planned by Gómez and Grajales began on 24 February 1895, but Martí did not land on the island until April 11. Five weeks later, he was killed in action at the battle of Dos Ríos, one of the first significant clashes of arms in the rebellion.<sup>86</sup> His death was almost immediately commemorated as martyrdom and he continues to be revered to this day in Cuba as a national hero and elsewhere in Latin America as a champion against United States imperialism.<sup>87</sup>

Martí was not however the only martyr who would become a national hero in a former Spanish territory as the nineteenth century approached its close. The iconic Philippine national hero, José Rizal, would also give his life in the same cause some eighteen months later. José Martí may have written in adulatory terms about Buffalo Bill, but it was Rizal who developed a “cultural construction” of Philippine nationalism, which paralleled the master narrative of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.<sup>88</sup>

The Philippines were first colonized by Spanish settlers in 1565 and were for over three-hundred years part of the Spanish Empire. The islands developed from a small colony administered on behalf of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in Mexico to become a partially autonomous territory with its own infrastructure, hospitals, schools and

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<sup>85</sup> Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 53-54, 89-91, 136; Thomas, *Cuba*, 173 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 316-317, 1120.

<sup>86</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 88-90; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 47-52; Thomas, *Cuba*, 179 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 316.

<sup>87</sup> Kirk, *José Martí: Mentor*, 153-156; López, *José Martí and the Future*, 1-8; Thomas, *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 417-418, 428, 1088, 1120.

<sup>88</sup> Sharon Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner: 100 Years of the United States in the Philippines*, Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2004, 21, 29-32.

universities which were fairly modern by nineteenth century standards.<sup>89</sup> There was a significant Spanish-speaking middle- and upper-class, who were known as “ilustrados” or “the illustrious ones” many of whom were imbued with liberal Euro-American ideals and sought greater autonomy from Spain.<sup>90</sup> The most influential of these was José Rizal.

José Rizal was a multi-talented Philippine artist, author, doctor, patriot and sculptor. He was a graduate of four universities, in Manila, Madrid, Paris and Heidelberg, and spoke an estimated twenty-two languages.<sup>91</sup> His numerous writings were consistently critical of the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines and he called for significant reforms such as the Philippines becoming a fully integrated province of Spain with parliamentary representation in the Cortes in Madrid, as well as for the appointment of native Philippine priests to Catholic parishes in the islands rather than Spanish missionaries from religious orders such as the Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans. He was a proponent of freedom of assembly and

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<sup>89</sup> Teodoro Andal Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines*. New York and Toronto: The New American Library, 1969, 27-42; Nicholas J. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1971, 9-29; Josep M. Fradera, *Filipinas, la colonia más peculiar: la hacienda pública en la definición de la política colonial, 1762-1868*. Madrid: CSIC, 1999, 35-70; Frederick L. Wernstedt and Joseph E. Spencer, *The Philippine Island World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, 120-128.

<sup>90</sup> Megan C. Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and "Ilustrados": Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

<sup>91</sup> Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother – America's Forgotten Bid for Empire which Cost 250,000 Lives*. London: Longmans, 1961, 23.

freedom of speech and of equal rights before the law for both Spanish and Philippine natives.<sup>92</sup>

José Rizal was based in Paris from June 1889 to January 1890, and he went with a group of his friends of Philippine origin who were living in the city to see Buffalo Bill's Wild West.<sup>93</sup> Rizal drew an analogy between the Philippine natives and the Lakota performers, reminding his fellow-countrymen that the Spaniards had used the term *Indios* to denominate all of the non-white indigenous people they encountered as they developed their empire. The group of friends started to jokingly refer to each other as *indios*, and even signed notes to each other using the term *Indios Bravos* or Wild Indians.<sup>94</sup>

In her history of United States involvement in the Philippines, Sharon Delmendo, comments on the appropriateness of Rizal's use of the term *indios* and suggests that he was in a sense ahead of his time. He may have drawn his inspiration from seeing

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<sup>92</sup> Agoncillo, *Short History of the Philippines*, 71-73; Leon María Guerrero, *The First Filipino*. Manila: National Historical Institute of The Philippines, 1962, 234; C. William Watson, "Rizal, the Philippines and 1898." In *Spain's 1898 Crisis – Regenerationism, Modernism, Post-colonialism*, edited by Joseph Harrison and Alan Hoyle, 279-290. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, 283-288.

<sup>93</sup> Austin Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal, Philippine Patriot*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2004, 94, 126-127; Gregorio F. Zaide, *Jose Rizal: Life, Works and Writings of a Genius, Writer, Scientist and National Hero*. Manila: National Bookstore, 2003, 138.

<sup>94</sup> Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 26-29; Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, 130; Zaide, *Jose Rizal*, 136-138.

the Wild West at the 1889 Universal Exhibition, but it would be the appearance of Philippine natives as exhibits at the World's Fair in St Louis 1904 that would confirm it as fully appropriate. She writes that it would:

...visually confirm the pacification of the Philippines and its exotic, unruly inhabitants as the expected outcome of U.S. Manifest Destiny. Both the Wild West and the World's Fair functioned as sites of memory to proleptically inscribe the defeat of native peoples into history before that defeat was assured.<sup>95</sup>

Subsequent to his visit to Buffalo Bill's Wild West the term *Los Indios Bravos* came to be used to denote the informal pro-independence group that formed around Rizal, before the official formation of his *Liga Filipina* or Philippine League in 1892.<sup>96</sup> The League campaigned for Philippine self-government by peaceful means, opposing violent revolution other than as a last resort when all else had failed. Even so, his writings were the inspiration for advocates of both peaceful reform and of armed insurrection, including Andrés Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo.<sup>97</sup>

The Philippine Revolution began in August 1896 with an uprising by Philippine patriots, many of whom were members of an underground resistance movement

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<sup>95</sup> Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 46; Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, 266.

<sup>96</sup> Agoncillo, *Short History of the Philippines*, 75-81; Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal*, 193-194; Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 29; Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, 331-332, 343, 451-452; Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, 24; Zaide, *Jose Rizal*, 179-185.

<sup>97</sup> Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 18, 23-24, 86-87, 97-98.

called *Katipunan*, a Tagalog word meaning “Association,” who were opposed to Spanish colonial authority in the islands.<sup>98</sup> Its leader was Andrés Bonifacio, who set up a revolutionary government and called on all Philippine nationalists to participate in a coordinated attack on the capital, Manila. This attack failed but rebels in the province of Cavite under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo did win a number of victories over the Spanish. True to his non-violent ideology, José Rizal volunteered to go to Cuba and serve as a doctor caring for yellow fever victims as a means of distancing himself from the rebellion. He was arrested en route to Cuba, and held in prison in Barcelona before being returned to Manila to stand trial for conspiracy, rebellion and sedition. He was found guilty of all three charges and sentenced to death.<sup>99</sup> He was executed by firing-squad on 30 December 1896. The anniversary of his death continues to be marked in the Philippines as Rizal Day and is a public holiday.<sup>100</sup>

Aguinaldo’s success and Bonifacio’s lack of it gave rise to a power struggle between their rival factions which ultimately led to Bonifacio’s capture and execution and

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<sup>98</sup> Teodoro Andal Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956; 18-75, 276-312; Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 210-229; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 187-188; David F. Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996, 391-398; Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, 27-34.

<sup>99</sup> Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal*, 239-241, 249-250; Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, 486-490, 516; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 162; Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, 24; Zaide, *Jose Rizal*, 213-218.

<sup>100</sup> Agoncillo, *Short History of the Philippines*, 259; Watson, *Rizal, the Philippines and 1898*, 288-289.

Aguinaldo becoming the *de facto* leader of his own new short-lived revolutionary government.<sup>101</sup> When an armistice was declared on 14 December 1897, Aguinaldo went into exile in Hong Kong. Sporadic fighting continued even after the truce and carried on unabated until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, when he was brought back from exile by Commodore Dewey's American squadron.<sup>102</sup> On 12 June 1898, Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines, but the relationship between his Philippine rebel followers and the American forces was not an easy one.<sup>103</sup> Friction between them would ultimately lead to the Philippine–American War, which would last considerably longer and prove to be much more deadly and costly than the Spanish–American War.<sup>104</sup> When war between the United States and Spain did come, the first significant action would be a naval engagement in the Philippines, but the pretext for the war would lie in a mysterious event in

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<sup>101</sup> Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 102.

<sup>102</sup> George J. A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War: An American Epic—1898*. New York and London: Norton, 1984, 366-367, 387-388; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 391-398; Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, 37.

<sup>103</sup> Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 9-10, 13, 118, 127, 197; Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 216-217, 221, 226; Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, 39-88.

<sup>104</sup> Agoncillo, *Short History of the Philippines*, 165-182; James R. Arnold, *The Moro War: How America Battled a Muslim Insurgency in the Philippine Jungle, 1902-1913*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2011; Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 116-117; Robert A. Fulton, *Moroland: The History of Uncle Sam and the Moros*. Bend: Tumalo Creek Press, 2009; Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002; Ephraim K. Smith, "William McKinley's Enduring Legacy: The Historiographical Debate on the Taking of the Philippine Islands." In *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish–American War and Its Aftermath*, edited by James C. Bradford, 205–49. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1993; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 402-410, 450-456; Wolff, *Little Brown Brother*, 277-299.



Havana harbour, and in United States reaction to the harsh tactics adopted by the Spanish army to put down the 1895 uprising in Cuba.<sup>105</sup>

Although he was politically liberal, Spanish Prime Minister Cánovas del Castillo responded to rebel successes in the east of Cuba in early 1896 by taking the pragmatic decision to deploy the hard-line Captain General of Barcelona, General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marqués de Tenerife, to crush the rebellion.<sup>106</sup> Weyler was an experienced campaigner who had fought in the Carlist Wars and served as Spain's military attaché to Washington during the Civil War, where he got to know William Tecumseh Sherman. He was an admirer of the scorched earth tactics employed by Sherman in his famous 1864-1865 "march to the sea" which was so crucial to the Union victory in the Civil War.<sup>107</sup> Weyler adopted his own version of Sherman's "total war" in Cuba to deprive the rebels of arms, supplies, and support by evacuating districts considered sympathetic to the insurgents and removing the

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<sup>105</sup> Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 9-26; Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 93-97; Henry Cabot Lodge, *The War with Spain*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1899, 45-67; Thomas, *Cuba*, 190-197 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 316-327; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 101-105.

<sup>106</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 93; Thomas, *Cuba*, 188 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 328-338.

<sup>107</sup> Jacqueline Glass Campbell, *When Sherman Marched North from the Sea: Resistance on the Confederate Home Front*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. New York: New York University Press, 1985; Lee Kennett, *Marching through Georgia: The Story of Soldiers and Civilians During Sherman's Campaign*. New York: Harper-Collins, 1995; Jim Miles, *To the Sea: A History and Tour Guide of the War in the West, Sherman's March across Georgia and through the Carolinas, 1864–1865*. Nashville: Cumberland House, 2002; Derek Smith, *Civil War Savannah*. Savannah: Frederic C. Beil, 1997; Noah Andre Trudeau, *Southern Storm: Sherman's March to the Sea*. New York: Harper-Collins, 2008.

inhabitants to *reconcentrados* or concentration camps closer to his headquarters.<sup>108</sup>

His brutal strategy was effective in slowing the progress of the uprising, but it was grist to the mill of the more bellicose elements in the American press and provided a focus for the cause of those who supported United States intervention by ensuring that it could be presented as humanitarian in nature.<sup>109</sup>

A political crisis arose in Spain after the assassination of Prime Minister Cánovas del Castillo on 21 June 1897.<sup>110</sup> His successor was Marcelo Azcárraga Palmero, a politically conservative career soldier who had served as his predecessor's Minister for War, and had been briefly based in Cuba in the 1850s. In stark contrast to the previous Administration's harsh repression of the uprising, Azcárraga Palmero instituted a new policy that was surprisingly conciliatory in view of his background. Weyler was recalled to Madrid and full autonomy was granted to Cuba to begin from 1 January 1898.<sup>111</sup> The New Year and the new political arrangements did not bring a new dawn of freedom for Cuba and within two weeks there was rioting in the streets of Havana. Under the pretext of guaranteeing the safety of United States citizens and their property, President McKinley deployed the USS *Maine* which had been in

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<sup>108</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 94-95; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 309-314; Thomas, *Cuba*, 191-192.

<sup>109</sup> Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 24-30; Thomas, *Cuba*, 198-206 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 339-355.

<sup>110</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 96; Carr, *Spain: 1808-1939*, xxv, 441; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 179, 192; Thomas, *Cuba*, 203-204 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 350; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 79.

<sup>111</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 97; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 8-10; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 89-90; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 79; Thomas, *Cuba*, 204-206 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 354.

Florida since October 1897 to Havana harbour, thereby setting in motion the chain of events that would lead directly to war.<sup>112</sup> There was a massive explosion at about 9.40 pm on the evening of 15 February and the Maine sank with the loss of two hundred and sixty lives. The cause of the explosion has never been determined. Official investigations by the United States Navy and the Spanish government conducted in the immediate aftermath of the explosion came to opposite conclusions. The Navy concluded that the explosion occurred in the vessel's powder magazine and had been triggered by an explosion beneath the ship's hull. The Spanish authorities concluded that the explosion had occurred entirely within the ship.<sup>113</sup> In the United States press however there was no doubt: the Spanish were to blame. Exaggerated sensationalist accounts of atrocities in Cuba appeared daily and, even though there may have been elements of truth in these, the language was inflammatory and designed to stir up an appetite for war among their readership.<sup>114</sup>

One of the many public figures lending his voice to the clamour for war in the press was William F. Cody. On 16 March the *New York American* informed its readers

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<sup>112</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 97-100; Thomas, *Cuba*, 207-209 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 355.

<sup>113</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 99-100; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 58; O'Toole, *The Spanish War*, 19-34; Thomas, *Cuba*, 210-211 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 355-366; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 24-29.

<sup>114</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, David H. Culbert and David Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*. Greenwood: ABC-CLIO Books, 2003, 378–379; Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 2-7; Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 99; Gerald F. Linderman, *The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish–American War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974, 148-173; Louis A. Pérez, "The Meaning of the Maine: Causation and the Historiography of the Spanish–American War." *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 1989, 293–322; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 59-80; Plummer, *Building US Hegemony*, 418; Thomas, *Cuba*, 213.

that Cody was “ready to flay Spain again.”<sup>115</sup> One week later, the *New York Sun* quoted him as saying “The Spaniards aren’t afraid of us” and being surprisingly positive with his comment “I admire their grit.” He nevertheless continued to explain that he had “a personal grudge against them. The bullfighters tried to kill me once.”<sup>116</sup> On 3 April in the *New York World* he was boasting of how he could “drive Spaniards from Cuba with 30,000 Indian Braves.”<sup>117</sup> One of the few surviving audio recordings of Cody’s voice dates from 20 April 1898, the day after the controversial Teller Amendment in which the United States guaranteed Cuban independence was being debated in Congress, and in it he expresses his sentiments on the Cuba Question.<sup>118</sup>

His support for military intervention is unequivocal. He condemns the opponents of intervention as having “no substitute proposition,” and warns that if the government were to pay heed to them, “butchery, devastation, and barbarity would become permanent social conditions in Cuba.” He refers to the outrages in Cuba as reported in the press over the previous two months and calls for “the permanent abatement of these nuisances, which, in the language of the President, have become intolerable.” As a final consideration he proposes:

Any American who finds himself unable now to support the President in his proposed policy towards Spain shows himself to be perfectly content that this

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<sup>115</sup> “Buffalo Bill is Ready to Flay Spain Again.” *New York American*, 16 March 1898.

<sup>116</sup> “Buffalo Bill and the Bullfighters.” *New York Sun*, 24 March 1898.

<sup>117</sup> “How I could drive Spaniards from Cuba with 30,000 Indian Braves.” *New York World*, 3 April 1898.

<sup>118</sup> “Sentiments on the Cuba Question by William F. Cody.” 20 April 1898. Recording available at <http://codyarchive.org/multimedia/wfc.aud00001.html>.

country should exhibit itself with an attitude of a nation that will not fight for its peace and safety, for its honour and self-respect, or in the performance of its duty imposed by humanity and civilization.

For Cody intervention in Cuba was clearly as much a question of national honour as a humanitarian consideration. Three days after the recording was made, provoked by the Teller Amendment and the ultimatum which followed it, Spain declared war on the United States.<sup>119</sup>

On 25 April, Congress responded by passing a resolution to the effect that a state of war had existed between the United States and the Spanish Empire since 21 April when the Teller Amendment had been approved. The same day the *Chicago Daily News* proclaimed, "William F. Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill, has filed application for a commission as brigadier general or as senior cowboy colonel," explaining that his request was in anticipation of the formation of "cowboy regiments" to fight in Cuba.<sup>120</sup> The 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry regiment raised by future president Theodore Roosevelt and President McKinley's personal

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<sup>119</sup> Joseph A. Fry, "William McKinley and the Coming of the Spanish American War: A Study of the Besmirching and Redemption of an Historical Image." *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 3, 1979, 77–97; Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 102, 106; Fred H. Gould, "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898–1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1935, 211–230; Lewis L. Harrington, *The Spanish–American War*, 19–138; Linderman, *The Mirror of War*, 9–36; Lodge, *The War with Spain*, 237–247; Matthias Maass, "When Communication Fails: Spanish-American Crisis Diplomacy 1898." *Amerikastudien*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 2007, 481–493; John L. Offner, "McKinley and the Spanish-American War." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 2004: 50–61; Thomas G. Paterson, "United States Intervention in Cuba, 1898: Interpretations of the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1996, 341–361; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 21, 24, 28–29, 30–32, 37, 42, 48, 118; Thomas, *Cuba*, 367 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 376.

<sup>120</sup> *Chicago Daily News*, 25 April 1898.

physician Leonard Wood, was the only one of the three "Rough Riders" regiments which volunteered to serve in the Spanish-American war to actually see combat in Cuba.<sup>121</sup> William F. Cody would have no military involvement with any of the three regiments although he would have a crucial part to play in how the role of "Roosevelt's Rough Riders" in the war would be memorialized in popular culture.

In less than a week hostilities commenced when the United States Navy's Asiatic Squadron under the command of Commodore George Dewey defeated and all but destroyed Spain's Pacific Fleet under the command of Patricio Montojo off Manila harbour on 1 May. The battle only lasted a few hours and United States casualties totalled nine wounded and no fatalities.<sup>122</sup> The brevity of the fighting and the relative ease of the American victory were characteristic of how the war would proceed. In the United States the Spanish-American War came to be known as the "Splendid Little War."<sup>123</sup>

In less than four months the conflict was effectively over. United States marines landed at Guantanamo Bay between 6 and 10 June meeting no resistance. The United States Army Fifth Corp under the command of General William R. Shafter landed at Daquiri and Siboney between 22 and 24 June facing only light resistance

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<sup>121</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 98; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 316-318; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 32-36, 48, 50, 92, 95-96, 99; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 71, 73, 79, 94, 110-114, 118; Thomas, *Cuba*, 228 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 391.

<sup>122</sup> Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 9-26; Jim Leeke, *Manila and Santiago: The New Steel Navy in the Spanish-American War*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2009; Lodge, *The War with Spain*, 45-67; O'Toole, *The Spanish War*, 174-190; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 101-105.

<sup>123</sup> Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 4.

before the Spanish forces abandoned their trenches.<sup>124</sup> On 1 July, United States forces, supported by Cuban rebels under the command of General Calixto García,<sup>125</sup> fought their way towards the city of Santiago de Cuba, overcoming the Spanish defenders in the most significant land battles of the campaign at El Caney and San Juan and Kettle Hills en route.<sup>126</sup> They laid siege to the city from 3 July,<sup>127</sup> and on that same day Spain's Atlantic fleet, under the command of Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete, attempting to slip out of Santiago harbour, was destroyed by Rear Admiral William T. Sampson's North Atlantic Squadron in the decisive naval engagement of the war.<sup>128</sup>

William F. Cody never served in the Spanish-American War despite having volunteered his services so publicly. When General Nelson A. Miles, an old comrade in arms from the Indian Wars, was appointed to lead the United States Expedition to Puerto Rico, he sent for Cody who wrote to his old friend Moses Kerngood of Rochester, New York:

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<sup>124</sup> John Black Atkins, *The War in Cuba*. London: Smith and Elder, 1899, 89-101; Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 61-75; O'Toole, *The Spanish War*, 265-270; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 83-90; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 212-217.

<sup>125</sup> Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 94, 97-98; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 83; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 208.

<sup>126</sup> Atkins, *The War in Cuba*, 102-140; Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 93-132; Lodge, *The War with Spain*, 108-133; O'Toole, *The Spanish War*, 289-322; Thomas, *Cuba*, 228-229 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 387-393; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 225-248.

<sup>127</sup> Atkins, *The War in Cuba*, 161-183; Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 133-147; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 286-311.

<sup>128</sup> Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 149-162; Lodge, *The War with Spain*, 134-152; O'Toole, *The Spanish War*, 323-339; Thomas, *Cuba*, 229-232 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 395-399; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 257-269.

I got a cable from Gen Miles to report to him at Ponce immediately. And I am all broke up because I cant [sic] start tonight. its [sic] impossible for me to leave without some preparation. and [sic] it will entail a big loss and my partners naturally object But [sic] go I must. I have been in Every [sic] war our country has had since bleeding Kansas war – in which my father was killed. And I must be in this if I get in at the tail end. I will have a roving commission which will just suit me.<sup>129</sup>

The leading Cody scholar of the last century, Don Russell, has demonstrated that some of his other correspondence does not align with the public position endorsed in this letter, and Nathan Salsbury went so far as to refer to Cody's volunteering for service in Cuba as "a bluff."<sup>130</sup> If it was a bluff it was one that would never be called as within ten days of the letter to Kerngood being written the war was effectively over without Cody's commitment ever having been put to the test.

With both its Atlantic and Pacific fleets destroyed, there were fears in Spain that the United States might invade the mainland. The idea was of course proposterous and the Catalan satirical magazine *Esquella de la Torratxa* mocked it by depicting the statue of Columbus in Barcelona harbour as armed and ready to fight off the potential invaders.<sup>131</sup> Realistically Spain had no choice but to sue for peace, and

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<sup>129</sup> William F. Cody to Moses Kerngood, 3 August 1898. McCracken Research Library, William F. Cody Collection, MS6.0091a-b. Digital copy available from the Cody Archive at <http://codyarchive.org/texts/wfc.css00085.html>; Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 191-194, 201-216; Lodge, *The War with Spain*, 168-190; O'Toole, *The Spanish War*, 353-357; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 60; Thomas, *Cuba*, 234 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 387, 399.

<sup>130</sup> Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 417-419; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 468.

<sup>131</sup> *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 23 July 1898. See Appendix 6, Figure 19.



although the war did not officially end until the Treaty of Paris, a cease-fire came into effect on 12 August when a Protocol of Peace between the two countries was agreed in Washington DC.<sup>132</sup> The treaty was signed in the French capital on 10 December 1898 and ratified by Congress on 6 February of the following year.<sup>133</sup> Under the terms of the treaty, the United States gained the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico and the once mighty Spanish Empire was reduced to mainland Spain and a few remaining holdings in Africa.

The commitment to Cuban independence in the Teller Amendment did not stand the test of time. In 1901 the era that has been described as the “Imperialism of Righteousness”<sup>134</sup> was ushered in by the Platt Amendment which effectively countermanded Teller by granting the United States the right to intervene militarily in Cuba and to establish a permanent American naval base on the island.<sup>135</sup> Two

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<sup>132</sup> Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 320; Lodge, *The War with Spain*, 222-235, 248-276; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 96; Trask, *The War with Spain*, 423-435, 445-468.

<sup>133</sup> Trask, *The War with Spain*, 468-470.

<sup>134</sup> Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1898*, 279-316.

<sup>135</sup> Edward P. Crapol, "Coming to Terms with Empire: The Historiography of Late-Nineteenth century American Foreign Relations." *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 16, 1992, 573-97; Hugh DeSantis, "The Imperialist Impulse and American Innocence, 1865-1900." In *American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review*, edited by Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, 65-90. Greenwood: Greenwood Press, 1981; Edwards, *New Spirits*, 256-269; James A. Field, "American Imperialism: The Worst Chapter in Almost Any Book." *American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, 1978, 644-68; Gott, *Cuba - A New History*, 104-112, 327-328; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 314, 318, 321, 324; LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 414-415; Paul T. McCartney, *American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 33-38, 44, 124, 126, 129, 132; Thomas, *Cuba*, 263-267, 273-274, 298 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 455.

years later, the base at Guantanamo Bay was established and it continues to operate to this day.<sup>136</sup>

In his detailed study of the history and historiography of the war Louis A. Pérez Jr. states:

The historiography of 1898 has long served as a source and a symbol of some of the most enduring narratives of self-definition. It has provided plausible explanations derived from and supportive of dominant ideals of self-representation.<sup>137</sup>

His work demonstrates that the dominant narrative strands in how the war has been memorialized in each of the three countries – Cuba, the United States and Spain – are very clearly differentiated from each other. Concentrating on the first two of these, he argues that in Cuba, whose distinctive tradition is often neglected, it is represented as a war of national liberation with root causes stretching deep into the colonial period and effects on the island's relationship with America lasting well into the twentieth century.<sup>138</sup> In the United States, the themes most commonly emphasized are the emergence of the nation as a world power, the completion of the reunification of North and South with the additional symbolic value of blacks and whites fighting together against a common foe.<sup>139</sup> In Spain the focus is on loss of empire, with the effects of defeat serving both to undermine the fragile social unity that had been

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<sup>136</sup> Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 111; Thomas, *Cuba*, 299 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 449.

<sup>137</sup> Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 110.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, 81-117.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, 118-133.

emerging since the end of the Carlist Wars, and to usher in a period of introspection among the country's political and intellectual elites that led to the development of new constructs of national identity within the Spanish state.<sup>140</sup> In Catalonia, the economic effects of the war were particularly acute due to the importance of the city's trade with Cuba, and the political effects were so far ranging that Fradera has argued that it served to undermine "the state's credibility in international affairs, a crucial component in underpinning state power" and that it was the consequent critique of the state which gave rise to "the ascent of mass regional movements as an alternative."<sup>141</sup>

One of the leading Spanish intellectuals of the time was José Martínez Ruiz, who wrote under the pseudonym of Azorín, and it was he who in 1913 coined the phrase "La generación del 1898" or Generation of 1898 to refer to the group of essayists, novelists, poets and playwrights whose work reflected critically on Spain's decisive defeat in the Spanish-American War.<sup>142</sup> Although the vast majority of the key texts

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<sup>140</sup> José Alvarez Junco, "La nación en duda." In *Más se perdió en Cuba: España, 1898 y el fin de siglo*, edited by Juan Pan-Montojo, 405-475. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998; Sebastian Balfour, "The Loss of Empire, Regenerationism, and the Forging of a Myth of National Identity." In *Spanish Cultural Studies an Introduction*, edited by Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 25-39; Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*, 47-49 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 387-388; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 189-200; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 155-157; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 86; Thomas, *Cuba*, 239-240 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 404-406, 413, 423-425, 428; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 79, 81, 93-94.

<sup>141</sup> Delgado et al., *El comerç*, 83-93; Fradera, *The Empire, the Nation*, 144; McRoberts, *Nation Building Without A State*, 92-94; Moreno Masó, *La Petjada dels catalans a Cuba*, 29-52; Vidal and Ferran Aisa, *Camins utòpics*, 72-74.

<sup>142</sup> Azorín. *La generación del 98*. Salamanca: Anaya, 1961 (First Edition, 1913); Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*, 47 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 387; Segundo Serrano Poncela, *El secreto de Melibea y otros ensayos*. Madrid: Taurus, 1959, 169–189.

associated with this movement were not published until the decade of the 1910s, before the Treaty of Paris had even been signed the great Catalan poet, Joan Maragall, wrote his moving *Ode to Spain* which he concluded with the lament:

... Where are you, Spain? I do not see you anywhere.

Do you not hear my thundering voice?

Do you not understand this tongue which speaks to you in the midst of dangers?

Have you forgotten how to understand your children?

Adieu, Spain!<sup>143</sup>

The existential angst expressed in these lines, with their sense that in the defeat Spain itself might be gone, neatly encapsulates what former Brown-Forman Professor of Latin American Literature at the University of Virginia, Donald Shaw, argued was the foremost of the seven characteristics of the writing of this group of intellectuals: reflecting of the essence of what Spain itself means.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> "...*On ets, Espanya? No et veig enlloc.*

*No sents la meua veu atronadora?*

*No entens aquesta llengua que et parla entre perills?*

*Has després d'entendre an els teus fills?*

*Adéu, Espanya!"*

Joan Maragall, *Antologia Poètica*. Edited by Carles Riba, Barcelona: Selecta, 1954, 114. For a discussion of the poem and Maragall's relationship to the Generation of 1898 see José María Pemán y Pemartín, *Joan Maragall y el sentido nacional de su obra*. Madrid: Ateneo, 1964, 23-28.

<sup>144</sup> Donald Leslie Shaw, *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*. London: Ernest Benn, 1975, 1; Serrano Poncela, *El secreto de Melibea*, 109-137; Manuel Tuñón de Lara, *La España del siglo XIX*. Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1973, 401-412.

Their musings were sometimes so negative that they dismissed the idea of the Spanish nation as absurd and impossible,<sup>145</sup> and they often turned to the great writers of the country's so-called Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for inspiration in their reflections on the crisis.<sup>146</sup> For example, in his essay on the future of Spain which was written in 1905 while Buffalo Bill's Wild West Company was in France and preparing a second European tour, Angel Ganivet reinterprets the ultimate defeat of Cervantes' Don Quixote by his nemesis the Knight of the White Moon and recasts him as Spain being "beaten by the merciless Yankees whom he has had the misfortune to encounter."<sup>147</sup>

A crucial theme for the writers influenced by the disaster of 1898 is the importance of a strong military to keep the peace and avoid the "state of perpetual warfare in which savage peoples live which is precisely due to the fact that none of them is capable of forming an army and with it a respectable and prestigious organization as a nation."<sup>148</sup> A key aspect of Cody's Wild West performances was their depiction of

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<sup>145</sup> "España es una nación absurda y metafísicamente imposible." Angel Ganivet, "El porvenir de España." In *Obras completas*, edited by Melchor Fernández Almagro, Vol. 2, 1057-1095. Madrid: Aguilar, 1962, (2 Vols.) Vol. 2, 1076.

<sup>146</sup> Andrés Trapiello, *Los nietos del Cid: la nueva Edad de Oro de la literatura española (1898–1914)*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1997.

<sup>147</sup> "Pero donde usted ve a don Quijote volver vencido por el caballero de la Blanca Luna, yo lo veo volver apaleado por los desalmados yangüeses, con quienes topó por su mala ventura." Ganivet, "El porvenir de España," 1076; Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edited by Martín de Riquer, Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1983 (First Edition 1615), 1009-1018.

<sup>148</sup> "El estado de perpetua guerra en que viven los pueblos salvajes se debe precisamente a que ninguno de ellos es capaz de formar un ejército y con él una respetable, prestigiosa organización nacional." José

Indian people, in spite of their savagery, as worthy opponents for Buffalo Bill's heroics, and this clearly runs counter to the typically Spanish presentation of "savages" as lacking in military prowess. Equally relevant to our understanding of Spanish perceptions of Indian-European relations at the time is the emphasis on the "white man's burden" to Christianize the Indians which was so graphically represented in Barcelona's Columbus monument.

In his defence of "Hispanidad," the term commonly employed in discussions of national identity to express the essence of what it means to be Spanish, the Basque essayist Ramiro de Maetzu refers back to Columbus in relation to Spain's policy towards the indigenous peoples of the Americas:

Our policy to the Indians cannot be easily summarized, because both the meticulousness of its detail and the grandeur of its general lines are essential to it. In response to those who say that we went to America out of greed for gold or silver, and not on account of any evangelizing zeal, we have our letters of ennoblement. First among them all are the instructions that the Catholic Monarchs gave to Columbus on the occasion of his first voyage, in commending to him the conversion to our faith of the inhabitants of any lands he might find, they charged him to treat "said Indians very well and lovingly." Pope Alexander VI's Bull of 4 May 1493 said the same. In granting sovereignty over the new lands to the monarchs of Castile and Leon, the Pope

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Ortega y Gasset, *España invertebrada*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1963, (Thirteenth Edition, First Edition, 1921), 37.

commands them to send good and wise men that they might instruct the natives in the faith and show them good example. The last will and testament of Isabel la Católica confirms that this was the intent saying: "Our main objective was to convert the people of the new islands and mainland to Our Holy Catholic Faith."<sup>149</sup>

Thus we see a clearly articulated fifteenth century starting point for a Spanish master narrative of progress from savagery to civilization which is markedly different from that which underpinned the United States' westward expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century as performed by the Wild West. In Cody's version, as in the historical events themselves, settlement and economic progress are central concerns.

Despite William F. Cody's publicly expressed disappointment at not becoming personally involved in the Spanish American War, within a year of its conclusion he was playing his part in establishing the tradition of how it would be remembered through the incorporation of sixteen Rough Riders who were veterans of the Santiago

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<sup>149</sup> La "Política Indiana" no puede compendiarse, porque es tan esencial en ella la meticulosidad en los detalles como la grandeza de las líneas generales. Frente a los que dicen que fuimos a América por codicia del oro y de la plata y no por el celo de la predicación, ahí están nuestras cartas de nobleza. La primera de todas, las instrucciones que los Reyes Católicos dieron a Colón, en la primera de sus expediciones, encomendándole la conversión a la fe de los moradores de las tierras que encontrare, para lo cual le encargan que se trate "muy bien y amorosamente a los dichos indios". Lo mismo dice la Bula de Alejandro VI, expedida el 4 de mayo de 1493. Al conceder el señorío de las nuevas tierras a los Reyes de Castilla y León, el Papa les manda enviar hombres buenos y sabios, que instruyan a los naturales en la fe y les enseñen buenas costumbres. Confirma este propósito el testamento de Isabel la Católica. "Nuestra principal intención" fue convertir los pueblos de las nuevas islas y tierra firme a "Nuestra Santa Fe Católica". Ramiro de Maetzu, *Defensa de la Hispanidad*. Full text available online at: <http://hispanidad.tripod.com/maezt44.htm>. Accessed 31 July 2011.

campaign into his Wild West Company for the hugely successful 1899 season.<sup>150</sup>

Public opinion is frequently cited as a key driver for the United States decision to go to war with Spain, and the incorporation of the Battle of San Juan Hill as a replacement for Custer's Last Rally within the programme for the following year may have contributed to the increase in its popularity. It should also be borne in mind, however, that 1899 is generally regarded by economic historians as the year in which the American economy is seen as having fully recovered from the crash of 1893, and there would also therefore be economic reasons for the improved attendances.<sup>151</sup>

The Wild West Programme for that season gives a fuller account of Cody's claim published in the press in March 1898 that the bullfighters had tried to kill him.<sup>152</sup>

Under the same title as the earlier article, *Buffalo Bill and the Bullfighters*, we are told:

Colonel Cody had a little war of his own with the Spaniards before Dewey, Sampson, Miles, Roosevelt and the rest took a hand in the grim game. It happened when he was in Barcelona, Spain, with his Wild West.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 33; 158, 253, 249-255; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 381-382, 419-420; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 463-465, 468.

<sup>151</sup> Samuel S. Rezneck, "Unemployment, Unrest, and Relief in the United States during the Depression of 1893-97." *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 61, No. 4, 1953, 324-345; Douglas Steeples and David O. Whitten, *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998; Gerald T. White, *The United States and the Problem of Recovery after 1893*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1982.

<sup>152</sup> "Buffalo Bill and the Bullfighters." *New York Sun*, 24 March 1898.

<sup>153</sup> "Buffalo Bill and the Bullfighters." *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Program, 1899, 27-28, 27.



John M. Burke, the company's general manager and chief publicity agent, was most probably the author of the piece. He was the Wild West's "major wordsmith" having, together with his staff which sometimes numbered as many as nine, collective responsibility for preparing programmes, handbills and advertising booklets.<sup>154</sup> He organized and staged publicity events and photo opportunities, supplied interviews and copy to local newspapers and oversaw advertising campaigns that produced as many as half a million posters in a season.<sup>155</sup> Most of the Wild West's printed programmes are identified as being written by him or compiled by him. The 1899 programme is in the latter category, but the evidence of this short piece is inconclusive and based on stylistic criteria it would be difficult to argue that this was written by him rather than by one of his staff producing copy for him to include in the programme.

It is interesting to note that this short article reflects a change in tone in the Wild West's official publications regarding the visit to Barcelona. To this point publicity material had always been in line with the positive assessment that Burke presented in the authorized biography of Cody that he wrote to coincide with the appearance at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893:

Here the patrons were demonstratively eulogistic, the exhibition seeming to delight them greatly, savoring as it did of an addenda [sic] to their national history; recalling after a lapse of 400 years the resplendent glories of Spanish conquests under Ferdinand and Isabella, of the sainted hero Cristobal Colon

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<sup>154</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 99, 101, 142n14, 142n15.

<sup>155</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 6.

(1492), Columbus in America (1890), “Buffalo Bill” and the native American in Spain!<sup>156</sup>

The bullfighter article in the 1899 programme is pure fiction in which we are told that during the stay in Barcelona Cody remarked one evening that he would wager “any amount that the people in my show can lasso and ride any bull in Spain.” He arises the following morning to find that the press have picked up on his statement and that a “maddened mob” of bullfighters is in the courtyard of his hotel “flying here, there and everywhere, threatening to tear me limb from limb.” Cody is then presented as speaking through an interpreter as follows:

I told them that I had merely made the wager and was ready to stick to it. Then they asked me how much I would wager. Now the people of Spain are distressingly poor, so I offered to bet 200,000 pesetas, for I knew they couldn't cover it. This crazed them and they tried to get at me. [...] I began to drop, offering 175,000 pesetas, and I had got down to 50,000 pesetas.

He is playing for time in dropping the amount of the bet, as the police and the American Consul had been summoned and when they arrive they are told that Cody had “attempted to ruin the national sport and had grossly insulted them.” The pretext advanced for them feeling so aggrieved is the absurd statement, “the people believe that these bulls were very fierce and that no one in the world could capture and ride them but themselves, or else the sport would die an ignominious death,” and in the face of this, Cody withdraws his bet.

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<sup>156</sup> Burke, *Buffalo Bill from Prairie to Palace*, 255.

There is no evidence in any of the surviving Barcelona press from December 1889 or January 1890 that William F. Cody made any remarks about bulls or bullfighting and the anecdote is unquestionably intended to be humorous. But this story depicts the Spanish as irrational and capable of being roused to a mob on the slightest pretext. It also characterizes as absurd Spain's archetypal sport of bullfighting, which was the best-attended form of popular entertainment in Barcelona in the second half of the nineteenth century, while the poverty of the city is presented as the driving force of the short narrative.<sup>157</sup> Without over-stating the importance of these factors in themselves, when we set this anecdote alongside the depiction of the Spanish-American war that we find in the same programme, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the recent conflict with Spain has had an important influence on the development of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

Later in the programme, under the title *Resplendent Realism of Glorious War – Stupendous Spectacular Reproduction of the Battle of San Juan Hill*, Burke waxes lyrical about the contribution that the Rough Riders had made in the recent conflict that will be represented by the Wild West.<sup>158</sup> In this case in which we have more than twelve hundred words on which to base a judgement his style is unmistakable. At every turn he exaggerates the importance of the events that he is relating, at first telling his readers that the victory at San Juan Hill “gave the deathblow to Spanish dominion born of the discoveries of Columbus.” He is also at pains to emphasize the role of “Colonel Cody” to whom he attributes the “use and application of the term

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<sup>157</sup> Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture*, 171.

<sup>158</sup> *Wild West Program*, 1899, 32-34.

‘Rough Riders,’ which was mainly composed of the physical qualities represented so splendidly in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.” He goes on to exaggeratedly suggest that the regiment “included many volunteers from Colonel Cody’s camp,” before stressing that the Wild West Exhibition provided the “only arena spacious enough for such a production,” and “under the management of the only men controlling the requisite material.” Burke then tells us that the audience are to witness a realistic re-enactment of a “fearless charge and desperate struggle” which would be “most accurate” and, using italic print for further emphasis, “*by the very heroes and horses who were a part of what they portrayed.*” He makes no apology for the fact that all of this has been “calculated to arouse public curiosity and enthusiasm to the white heat of patriotic fervor” and then uses the expression “*A Stupendous Living Battle Lesson*” which is presented as a heading mid-sentence. It was to be a “triumphant climax to the Wild West’s magnificent and unprecedented martial spectacles” presented in two scenes: the army camp, and “*The Rough Riders Immortal Charge.*”

He concludes his account:

Their gold and crimson emblem of ruthless oppression is torn from the ramparts, and Old Glory streams on the breeze, triumphant in its place. Their defences are turned against themselves, and Santiago is doomed.

Of course, historically, Santiago was not doomed it was merely besieged and peace would come long before the siege could have any significant effect on the city, but the concluding imagery is telling.<sup>159</sup> The Spanish flag which was paraded into the Barcelona arena on 21 December 1889 to the strains of the *Marcha Real* to be

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<sup>159</sup> Freidel, *Splendid Little War*, 110; Thomas, *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 390-394.

honoured alongside the Stars and Stripes has become the “emblem of ruthless oppression.” It has become the antithesis of all that the Wild West depicted itself as representing.

There could be no return to Spain, even if Barcelona continued to be listed among the *Foreign Tours and Triumphs* later in the programme, with Burke’s commonly repeated sentiment that they were “the first band of Americans with accompanying associates, scouts, cowboys, Mexican horses of Spanish descent, and wild buffaloes, etc., on the very spot where on this return to Spain landed the world’s greatest explorer Christopher Columbus.”<sup>160</sup>

We have shown in the previous chapter that the Wild West had not been a flop nor suffered a financial disaster in Barcelona in the winter of 1889-1890. We have demonstrated in this that it was not prevented from undertaking a further Spanish tour by subsequent financial problems. We have dismissed the suggestion that Spain’s use of a non-standard size railway track presented an insurmountable obstacle to a subsequent visit and have argued instead that it was the complete collapse of the international relationship between the two countries – which had never been good throughout the nineteenth century – and its disintegration into open warfare in 1898 and the aftermath of that war that made a return to Spain by “America’s National Entertainment” impossible. The long term effects of the financial crisis which arose from Spain’s defeat in 1898 meant that it was not an

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<sup>160</sup> *Wild West Program*, 1899, 56.

attractive potential venue for the Wild West's 1905-1906 European tour.<sup>161</sup>

Furthermore, the absolute identification of its iconic hero with the United States cause in the war of 1898, and the ways in which the management of the Wild West exhibition had chosen to represent and memorialize the war with Spain made a second visit to the country unthinkable.

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<sup>161</sup> Balfour, *The Lion and the Pig*, 107-118; Carr, *Modern Spain*, 23-30 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 473-497; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 194-216; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 155-160; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 87-98.

## Chapter 5 – Conclusions

At the outset of this study Louis Warren's masterpiece, *Buffalo Bill's America*, unquestionably stood at the pinnacle of Cody Studies. As stated earlier, he summarised the Wild West's visit to Barcelona as follows:

Gate receipts were not good in Spain, where epidemics of Spanish influenza and typhoid kept crowds light. Frank Richmond, the show's noted orator, died in Barcelona as did at least four Indians. Cutting the Spanish tour short, Cody and Salsbury ushered the Wild West show to Naples, Italy, for three weeks.<sup>1</sup>

We have clearly demonstrated that this sort of simplistic dismissal of the five weeks spent in the Catalan capital is not well founded.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of contemporary sources is at variance with all of the points of detail mentioned by Warren other than the death of Frank Richmond. According to the press coverage at the time in both Spain and the United States the Wild West performances were well attended.<sup>3</sup> There

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<sup>1</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 344.

<sup>2</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 24; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 354-355; Burke, *The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192-193; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 333; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill: The Legend*, 194; Portes, *Buffalo Bill*, 177-178; Rosa and May, *A Pictorial Biography*, 144; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 352; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 181.

<sup>3</sup> See for example *Aberdeen Daily News*, 22 December 1889; *El Barcelonés*, 23 December 1889 and 20 January 1890; *Bismarck Tribune*, 22 December 1889; *Diario de Barcelona*, *El Diluvio* and *La Dinastía* all 22 December 1889; *La Ilustració Catalana*, 31 December 1889; *El Noticiero Universal*,

is therefore no basis for suggesting that ticket sales were not good and, even if the show had closed early, it could not have done so due to poor crowds. But of course the run was not cut short. All of the advance publicity stated that Buffalo Bill's Wild West would be in the city for five weeks only and they remained there for that period to the very day.<sup>4</sup> Contemporary coverage and official records support the view that there was a health-scare going on at the time rather than an outbreak of the sort of epidemic illnesses mentioned by Warren.<sup>5</sup> It has proved impossible in the course of this investigation to find evidence of a single Indian fatality in the city, let alone the four which Warren gives as a minimum.<sup>6</sup> It likewise proved impossible to find any contemporary source for the more colourful stories associated with the time that Buffalo Bill's Wild West spent in Barcelona, such as allegations of cannibalism, run-ins with bullfighters, and the toothache suffered by its eponymous hero. Unless further information comes to light, it seems reasonable to consign these legends to the dustbin, along with the reports of poor attendances, early closures, epidemics, quarantines and Indian deaths that have featured in previous Cody scholarship.<sup>7</sup> To

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24 December 1889; *Omaha Sunday Bee*, 26 December 1889; *Saint Paul Daily Globe*, 23 December 1889; *El Suplemento*, 8 January 1890; *La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889 and 20 January 1890.

<sup>4</sup> *El Barcelonés*, 17 and 18 December 1889, 20, 21 and 22 January 1890; *El Diario de Barcelona*, 17 and 18 December 1889, 20, 21 and 22 January 1890; *La Dinastía*, 7, 17, 18, 21 and 22 December 1889, 20, 21 and 22 January 1890; *El Noticiero Universal*, 7, 17, 18, 21 and 22 December 1889, 20, 21 and 22 January 1890; *El Suplemento*, 17 and 18 December 1889, 20, 21 and 22 January 1890; *La Vanguardia*, 9 November 1889, 7, 17, 21 and 22 December 1889, 21 and 22 January 1890.

<sup>5</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 86-90; *La Vanguardia*, 2 and 4 January 1890.

<sup>6</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 87-90; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 92-94, 127; *La Vanguardia*, *Diario de Barcelona* and *El Suplemento*, 4 January 1890; *La Dinastía* and *El Diluvio*, 5 January 1890.

<sup>7</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 24; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 354-355; Burke, *The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192-193; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 333; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore,



argue that the position held by the leading scholar in a field must be rejected is to make the sort of contribution to knowledge that is expected in a doctoral thesis, provided, of course, the evidence on which the argument is based can be shown to be valid.

In the case of the current argument, much of the evidence presented relies on newspaper and magazine sources which may be questionable not only because of the partisan nature of a great deal of nineteenth century journalism and its tendency to sensationalize,<sup>8</sup> but also because of the substantial publicity campaigns which were undertaken on behalf of Buffalo Bill's Wild West by John M. Burke and his staff and the ways in which they cultivated relationships with local press men in order to maximize positive coverage wherever they toured.<sup>9</sup>

This concern can be addressed in part on the basis of the two lengthy reviews of the opening night performance which appeared in the *Diario de Barcelona* and *La Vanguardia*.<sup>10</sup> Coverage of this nature, appearing on the day following a performance, is less susceptible to direct influence, and when examined we can see that although it is positive it is not uncritical. The accounts given in these reviews,

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*Buffalo Bill*, 194; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 181; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West*, 144; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 352.

<sup>8</sup> Edwards, *New Spirits*, 54-56, 89-90, 116, 183, 219, 235, 238, 278-279; Reilly, *Bound to Have Blood*, x-xxii, 129-134; Richardson, *Wounded Knee*, 223-227; Smythe, *The Gilded Age Press*, 5-6, 203-210.

<sup>9</sup> Berger, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and John M. Burke*, 225-252; Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 99, 101 and 142, n14 and n15; Fellows, *This Way to the Big Show*, 17-21; Parker, *Odd People I Have Met*, 86-88; Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Diario de Barcelona and La Vanguardia*, 22 December 1889.

although each suggests a slightly different running order, indicate that the programme was closely modelled on what had been presented in Paris earlier in the year, and they therefore align with other sources of evidence.<sup>11</sup> The reviewer in *La Vanguardia*, although very positive overall, also comments negatively on the lack of authenticity in the fight scenes and he is dismissive of the buffalo hunting scene and the Indian dances. The reviewer in *Diario de Barcelona* goes even further and treats the Indian dances as a complete joke.<sup>12</sup> It does not therefore seem reasonable to conclude that all of the press coverage is simply being fed to the local newspapers and magazines by John M. Burke's publicity department. The application of some aspects of critical theory, and in particular the ways in which Reception Theory has been developed in relation to audience studies and the study of celebrity culture, may also be useful in further validating the evidence of newspaper and magazine sources and supporting the conclusions based upon it.

Reception Theory has its origins in the late 1960s in the work of two German scholars, Romance Linguist Hans Robert Jauss and professor of English Wolfgang Iser, and was at its most influential during the 1970s and early 1980s, initially in Germany and subsequently elsewhere in Western Europe and the United States.<sup>13</sup> It is a theoretical approach that was first applied to printed texts but a broader range of cultural products such as films and other works of art soon also became the focus of

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<sup>11</sup> *L'Ouest Sauvage de Buffalo Bill. Récits Américains*, Paris: Imprimerie Parrot Et Cie, 1889 [copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, William F. Cody Collection, MS 6].

<sup>12</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 70.

<sup>13</sup> Hohendahl, *Introduction to Reception Aesthetics*; Holub, *Crossing Borders and Reception Theory*; Iser, *The Act of Reading, Aesthetic Experience, and Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*.

study informed by this school of critical theory. It is an approach that stresses that these products are not passively accepted by their audiences, but rather that readers and/or viewers actively interpret them based on their own individual cultural backgrounds and life experiences. In consequence the meanings which readers and/or viewers ascribe to these products can vary, sometimes considerably, from the intended meanings of the author, artist or film-maker.

French social theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, is particularly associated with the development of this critical approach as in his work he took it beyond the essentially homogenous frameworks within which national cultures and literatures have mainly been interpreted, and outlined what he understood as the specific conditions for the reception of both literary and scientific texts originating in foreign languages and cultures.<sup>14</sup> He pointed out that texts, and by extension other cultural products, often circulate without contextual information about their cultures of origin, and that readers and viewers often re-interpret these in accordance with assumptions from their own native cultures. He argued that “all sorts of transformations and deformations” can therefore occur, particularly when there are great differences between the culture of a product’s origins and that of its recipients, and that this can “create fictitious oppositions between similar things and false parallels between things that are fundamentally different.”<sup>15</sup> Bourdieu’s argument is borne out in the press reaction we have seen to both the Indian dances and the buffalo hunting scene.

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<sup>14</sup> See for example Pierre Bourdieu, *The Bourdieu Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Shusterman, (Ed.) *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, 255.

The audience viewing the performances from a Catalan/Spanish perspective was certainly remote from the culture of origin of these episodes and may well have been bringing assumptions to do with bull-fighting and/or European-Amerindian relationships to bear in their reactions to these scenes. It is therefore understandable that both the contemporary reviews, and the later study by Catalan author Jordi Marill Escudé, should have commented on these aspects of the Wild West in the somewhat more negative ways that they did.<sup>16</sup>

It is possible to take this analysis slightly further if we follow the development of Reception Theory through the 1980s and 1990s when a number of academics explored its possible applications to various disciplines within the humanities, such as archaeology, art history, Egyptology, musicology and history.<sup>17</sup> Two fields of enquiry into which the Theory ventured were theatre studies and the aspect of cultural studies that espouses the term “Fandom” for its exploration of “the key mechanisms through which we interact with the mediated world at the heart of our social, political, and cultural realities and identities.”<sup>18</sup> There are two scholars in these fields whose work we can use as a lense to bring into focus some of the evidence relating to the visit which Buffalo Bill’s Wild West made to Barcelona in

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<sup>16</sup> Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 70, 99.

<sup>17</sup> Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*; Hodder, *Material Culture Texts and Social Change*; Meyer, *Das Bild ist im Betrachter*; Rösing, *Rezeptionsforschung in der Musikwissenschaft*; Seidenspinner, *Archäologie, Volksüberlieferung, Denkmalideologie*; Thompson, *Reception Theory and the Interpretation of Historical Meaning*.

<sup>18</sup> Jonathan Gray et al, (Eds.) *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*. New York: New York University Press, 2007, 10.

1889-1890 and thereby suggest some more reliable conclusions in evaluating its success.

In her 2002 edition of the classic 1990 monograph *Theatre Audiences*, Susan Bennett added a chapter entitled “Spectatorship Across Cultures.”<sup>19</sup> In this she continues to draw upon the tradition of Reception Theory to outline a concept that she terms “intercultural performance.” She discusses the “intercultural exchange” which takes place when the “production” and the “reception” of performance is framed within cultural contexts which are remote from each other.<sup>20</sup> In his examination of *Popular Stories and Promised Lands*, Roger Aden, theorizes that fans of various forms of popular entertainment, ranging from printed texts through cartoon strips, and film and television productions to sports teams, engage in “symbolic pilgrimages” in pursuit of “promised lands” of personal fulfilment by engaging in processes which he characterizes as forms of “purposeful play.”<sup>21</sup> The approaches taken by these two scholars appear singularly well suited to an analysis of the real journeys that thousands of spectators made to the Wild West arena in Gràcia in December 1889 and January 1890 to experience the intercultural performances that Cody and company would offer them.

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<sup>19</sup> Bennett, *Theatre Audiences*, 166-203.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 194-203.

<sup>21</sup> Aden, *Popular Stories and Promised Lands*, 1-112.

There is ample evidence of Bennett's "cultural exchange"<sup>22</sup> and Aden's "cultural transitions" and "epistemological mobility"<sup>23</sup> occurring in Barcelona in the reception of Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Two newspapers used the Wild West as the subject of an "inocentada" or hoax story for the Feast of the Holy Innocents on 28 December 1889,<sup>24</sup> and the Equestrian Circus presented a full-blown parody of the Wild West which played to sell-out crowds for three weeks.<sup>25</sup> Further indicators of the penetration into popular culture of the Wild West are the cartoons that appeared in magazines such as *Esquella de la Torratxa* and *La Tramontana*,<sup>26</sup> each of which adopts elements of American Indian iconography and adapts it for local purposes in order to comment on hairstyles, women's fashion or regional election results. In other European venues, such as London and Paris, in which there is evidence of similar levels of penetration into the popular culture, there is no question that the Wild West was extremely successful.<sup>27</sup> It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the contemporary press coverage does provide valid evidence that Buffalo Bill's Wild West was a qualified success in Barcelona. The relative lack of primary evidence makes it impossible to write with any certainty about the level of that success. There are, however, a number of factors which provide a reasonable basis for speculation and, given that a stated objective of this study was to follow in the

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<sup>22</sup> Bennett, *Theatre Audiences*, 196-201.

<sup>23</sup> Aden, *Popular Stories and Promised Lands*, 2, 82, 98-99, 104, 106.

<sup>24</sup> *El Diluvio* and *El Suplemento* both 28 December 1889; Marill Escudé, *Aquell hivern*, 83-84.

<sup>25</sup> *El Noticiero Universal*, 29 December 1889.

<sup>26</sup> *Esquella de la Torratxa*, 27 December 1889 and 10 January 1890; *La Tramontana*, 27 December 1889. See Appendix 6, Figures 8-10 and 15-16.

<sup>27</sup> Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 7, 67-74, 114-118, 131, 176, 233, 263-266; Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 112, 142-144, 167-171, 173-175, 243-246, 257-258, 277-278, 298-299; *Punch*, 7 May 1887; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 302, 349-350.

footsteps of the New Western historians in their quest to “widen the range and increase the vitality of the search for meaning in the western past,”<sup>28</sup> it seems appropriate, as it draws to a close, to respond to an invitation from one of the New Western Historians, Richard White, to “think historically.”

In his monumental study of the importance of railway building in the history of the American West White suggests that role of the historian requires one:

... to think about what did not happen in order to think historically.

Considering only what happened is ahistorical, because the past once contained larger possibilities, and part of the historian’s job is to make these possibilities visible; otherwise all that is left for historians to do is to explain the inevitability of the present. The inevitability of the present violates the contingency of the past, which involves alternative choices and outcomes that could have produced alternative presents. To deny the contingency of the past deprives us of alternative hypotheticals about what might have happened. They are fictions, but necessary fictions. It is only by conceiving of alternative worlds that people in the past themselves imagined that we can begin to think historically, to escape the inevitability of the present, and get another perspective on issues that concern us still.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Limerick, *What on Earth*, 88.

<sup>29</sup> White, *Railroaded*, 516-517. The use of this quotation as a structuring device for the conclusion of this study is based on a suggestion by Professor Robert Rydell.

What follows may therefore be fiction but, I hope in this context it meets White's definition of "necessary fiction."

Turning again to Warren's observation that:

Europeans did not admire his [Cody's] show simply because they liked Americans. Buffalo Bill's Wild West drew huge crowds in the United Kingdom and on the Continent because of the ways that it spoke to European desires and anxieties.<sup>30</sup>

We can find a contextual basis in Fradera's characterization of the period between 1865 and 1900 as one of "Rural Traditionalism and Conservative Nationalism" in Catalonia for speculating that Cody's "most persistent claim" that the character of Buffalo Bill was "the savior of the settler family" must have so resonated with the Barcelona audience that the performances in the city must have been an outstanding success.<sup>31</sup>

If we return to the key characteristics of the audience that we touched upon in Chapter 2, we shall see that each of them provides a basis for arguing that the level of success enjoyed by the Wild West in Barcelona was considerable. A spectacle that was unquestionably expert in "taking advantage of [...] prejudices and passions" in order to cater to the "sentiments" of its audiences in various parts of the world"

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<sup>30</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 302.

<sup>31</sup> Fradera, *Rural Traditionalism*, 51-72; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 30-31.



and must certainly have appealed to the citizens of a city which in so many ways could align with the values encapsulated in “America’s National Entertainment.”<sup>32</sup>

Barcelona was a vibrant and thriving location that had grown and modernised rapidly – as had the United States – and these were seen at the time as features of both the American and Catalan character. It also had numerous important economic links to the Americas and it had attracted significant American presence to its recent Universal Exhibition and it had an increasingly international outlook. It had a well-established bourgeoisie which both provided a readership for the press which publicised the Wild West’s tour and provided audiences for its well-attended concerts and theatrical performances. Other American performers, such as Annie Eva Fay and Maria Van Zandt, found receptive audiences in the city, and it had sent hundreds of spectators to see the Wild West in Paris. It had been caught up in the wave of “Colonofilia” as the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus’s first voyage approached and it had erected its own monument to the great “discoverer” which featured American Indian people in its iconography. With all of those elements in its favour – it must have been quite a success!

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<sup>32</sup> Bold, *The Rough Riders at Home and Abroad*, 326; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 395-396, 402-405, 408; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 5, 8, 41, 55-56, 61-68, 89, 93, 114, 119-121, 161-165; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 267, 278-280, 298, 308, 322-328, 332, 338-339, 370-371, 376-382, 419-420, 442-450; Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 112; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, xix, 39, 93, 104, 216-217, 224, 235, 264, 276-281, 292-296, 302, 366, 432, 434, 547.

The fact that the Wild West did not return to Spain during the 1906 European tour does not provide a valid counter argument to the idea that it was highly successful as it can be readily explained without having recourse to any suggestion that the 1889-1890 visit was a flop. Within the business model that the company followed for the second tour, with James A. Bailey in spite of his failing health taking responsibility for organizing travel and transportation, there were sound financial reasons for not returning to Spain.<sup>33</sup> The country's use of non-standard railway lines would have constituted a minor complication that might have had cost implications,<sup>34</sup> but even more importantly Spain had not yet recovered from the economic depression which it experienced after its defeat in the war of 1898.<sup>35</sup> It would not therefore have represented an attractive potential venue for the exhibition for that reason alone. There were however numerous other reasons centered on the complete collapse of the relationship between the United States and Spain that had led to war.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West was credited with making a contribution to bringing Britain and America together with its 1887 and 1888 appearances in London, and it would make great play of the close historical ties between the United States and France for its 1905-1906 tour, but there was no "great rapprochement" in prospect for Spain and

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<sup>33</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 27; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 408-410; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 380-381; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 141-151; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 378-382; Sorg, *Buffalo Bill – Myth and Reality*, 61-87; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 494.

<sup>34</sup> Pascual i Domènech, *Los Caminos de la Era Industrial*, 47-54; Puffert, *Tracks Across Continents*, 36-37, 181-182, 192.

<sup>35</sup> Balfour, *The Lion and the Pig*, 107-118; Carr, *Modern Spain*, 23-30 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 473-497; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 194-216; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 155-160; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 87-98.

the United States at the time of the visit to Barcelona.<sup>36</sup> By the time of the second tour, Spain's Philippine and Cuban colonies had rebelled – and a heroic martyr of each rebellion had written in glowing terms of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.<sup>37</sup> It would be overstating the case to suggest that either of these was in and of itself a key factor in the Wild West's decision not to return to Spain. Both cases do however illustrate how readily the ideology of Cody's master narrative could be aligned to the rebel cause, and suggest the potential difficulties that it might have faced in resonating with a Spanish audience. A much more important factor was the absolute alignment of the Wild West with the anti-Spanish cause in its celebration of the *Resplendent Realism of Glorious War – Stupendous Spectacular Reproduction of the Battle of San Juan Hill* in its performances from 1899 onwards.<sup>38</sup>

For Spain the defeat in 1898 marked the loss of an empire which dated back to 1492,<sup>39</sup> and ushered in a period of existential angst among the country's academic, political and socio-economic elites that raised questions which would not be resolved

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<sup>36</sup> Burk, *Old World, New World*, 189-275; Griffin, *Four Years in Europe*, xxiv, xxxiv, 69-92; Perkins, Bradford. *The Great Rapprochement; The Times*, 1 November 1887.

<sup>37</sup> Conway, *José Martí frente al Wild West*, 129-142; Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*, 26-29; Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, 130; Lomas, *Translating Empire*, 216-217; Martí, *¡Magnífico espectáculo!*, Vol. 2, 678-987 and *William F. Cody*, Vol. 2, 168-170; Zaide, *Jose Rizal*, 136-138.

<sup>38</sup> *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Program, 1899, 32-34

<sup>39</sup> Alvarez Junco, *La nación en duda*, 405-475; Balfour, *The Loss of Empire*, 25-39; Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*, 47-49 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 387-388; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 189-200; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 155-157; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 86; Thomas, *Cuba*, 239-240 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 404-406, 413, 423-425, 428; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 79, 81, 93-94.

until Spain's transition to democracy after the death of Francisco Franco in 1975.<sup>40</sup>

For the United States, on the other hand, victory in the Spanish-American war heralded the meteoric rise to the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt and saw the country assume a position of unquestioned prominence on the world stage with the effective acquisition of imperial possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific.<sup>41</sup>

Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes have demonstrated that the European tours undertaken by Buffalo Bill's Wild West played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for the global phenomenon that American mass culture would become in the course of the twentieth century.<sup>42</sup> Western historian Richard Slotkin has linked William F. Cody to the mythologization of the new "American Empire" which had resulted from the victory of 1898.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Azorín, *La generación del 98*; José Blanco Amor, *La generación del 98*. Buenos Aires: Falbo Editor, 1966; Antonia Fernández Molina, *La generación del 98*. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1968; Luis S. Granjel, *Panorama de la generación del 98*. Madrid: Guadarrama, 1959; Labanyi, *Constructing Identity*, 1-14; Pedro Laín Entralgo, *La generación del 98*. Madrid: Diana/Artes Gráficas, 1945; José Ortega y Gasset, *Ensayos sobre la «Generación del 98» y otros escritores españoles contemporáneos*. Madrid: Alianza, 1981; Antonio Sequeros, *Determinantes históricas de la generación del 98*. Almoradi: Taller Tipográfico Alonso, 1953; Carlos Serrano, *El nacimiento de Carmen: Símbolos, mitos y nación*. Madrid: Taurus, 1999.

<sup>41</sup> Crapol, *Coming to Terms with Empire*, 573-97; DeSantis, *The Imperialist Impulse*, 65-90; Edwards, *New Spirits*, 256-269; Field, *American Imperialism*, 644-68; Gott, *Cuba – A New History*, 104-112, 327-328; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 314, 318, 321, 324; LaFeber, *The New Empire*, 414-415; McCartney, *American National Identity*; Pérez, *The War of 1898*, 33-38, 44, 124, 126, 129, 132; Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1898*, 279-316; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 86; Thomas, *Cuba*, 263-267, 273-274, 298 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 455.

<sup>42</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 11, 29-34, 105, 111-119.

<sup>43</sup> Slotkin, *Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' and the Mythologization of the American Empire*, 164-181.

The Spanish-American war is the hinge of a door through which all subsequent Spanish and United States history has passed. The figure of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody stands Janus-like at that door facing in both directions: a real-life businessman, frontiersman, western developer and entertainer; a mythical hero and heroic myth-maker. A participant in the United States’ imperial expansion as the country’s self-proclaimed destiny was made manifest in the Trans-Mississippi west in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and a story-teller who proclaimed and performed that Manifest Destiny to the world in the closing decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The incorporation of the attack on San Juan Hill into Wild West performances from 1899 represents a crucial development of the master-narrative of progress from savagery to civilization. With the idea of a western frontier being banished from the official record from 1890 a key phase of the United States national development had been completed. The victory in 1898 added an international element to that development and Cody bound the two together for popular audiences both nationally and internationally. It is unthinkable that the result could be palatable to a Spanish audience.

From that understanding of the crucial significance of the events of 1898 and the role played by Cody and company in the ways in which they would pass into popular culture, a fuller answer emerges to our earlier question: why would anyone with a serious interest in western American history choose to study Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in Barcelona?

The basis for an answer was established early in this study. The Wild West in Barcelona has been inadequately studied. There are substantial inaccuracies in what little has been published to date. Key facts have only previously been available in Catalan and are therefore not widely known. All of these factors have been touched upon in the course of this investigation and false beliefs rebutted. When William F. Cody went to Barcelona with his master narrative of the triumph of civilization over savagery in December 1889, he was going to a city where the people were themselves grappling with issues of national identity, a fact which in itself clearly justifies an extended study of the topic and an issue which has been addressed throughout this study for constructs of national identity were central to Buffalo Bill's Wild West. With respect to the "dual patriotism" that is so clearly reflected in much of the culture of the Catalan capital in the second half of the nineteenth century we can again find resonances in the persona of the Wild West's leading man.

In the critical material which accompanies his scholarly edition of *The Wild West in England*, Frank Christianson addresses in detail the promotion and reception of "America's National Entertainment" in England in 1887.<sup>44</sup> He demonstrates that:

The 1887-88 season in Britain proved to be a watershed in the history of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, catapulting the show to a new stratum in the world of traveling entertainments and ensuring that it would continue as a cultural force on both sides of the Atlantic for many years to come.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Cody, *The Wild West in England*, 169-190.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, xiii.

For when Cody, whose iconic image was always at the heart of Burke's promotional strategies, gained acceptance through public appearances among the elite classes first in London society and then elsewhere in continental Europe, it was as if America itself had emerged onto the world stage.<sup>46</sup> The archetypal American, in transition from frontiersman to showman, had a hybrid identity which must have resonated with the Catalan/Spanish elites who patronised the performances and visited his tent at the showgrounds and his luxurious apartment in the *Cuatro Naciones* hotel. Acceptance in the Old World was the stamp of recognition which he always craved – where better than the city where the New World first met the Old, in the figurative shadow of the towering monument to the first successful transatlantic pioneer which was replete with the imagery of Catalan/Spanish “dual patriotism” in its depiction of Imperial Spain's relationship with its American Indian former subjects? It must have quite a success!

In the closing chapter of his monograph on the struggle for Wyoming's Powder River Country in 1866, Professor John Monnett of Denver's Metropolitan State College has commented on competing Euro-American and American Indian historiographic traditions, “In the twenty-first century both Indian and non-Indian peoples are now seeking answers to questions as to what constitutes a shared history. Both perspectives are necessary for the vigor of the debate.”<sup>47</sup> He has also pointed out that a number of the issues that engage those of us with a serious interest in the

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 169.

<sup>47</sup> John H. Monnett, *Where A Hundred Soldiers Were Killed – The Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008, 209.

history of the American West, such as the Crazy Horse and Fetterman controversies which he analyses, “For some [...] may ultimately seem trivial in light of current issues and trends. For others their significance may surpass the trivial and the antiquarian.”<sup>48</sup> I would endorse that view and argue that the study of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in Barcelona falls into the second category.

An attempt to respond to Patricia Nelson Limerick’s challenge to “widen the range and increase the vitality of the search for meaning in the western past” was established as a key objective of this study at the outset.<sup>49</sup> As the work reaches its close I would argue that this objective has been achieved. Spain and the United States had a shared history in the Western hemisphere from 1776 until 1898. From that date forward the phenomenon observed by Monnett can be seen in the different ways that each country has sought “answers to questions as to what constitutes a shared history.”<sup>50</sup> The fundamental differences in the dominant historiographic trends within the two nations have given rise to very different perspectives on that shared history.

The negative presentation of the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona begins in the American press within days of the company leaving the city.<sup>51</sup> The memoirs written by members of the troupe who took part in Cody’s European tours reflect the

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 209-236.

<sup>49</sup> Limerick, *What on Earth is the New Western History*, 88.

<sup>50</sup> Monnett, *Where A Hundred Soldiers Were Killed*, 209.

<sup>51</sup> *Northampton Daily Herald*, 16 January 1890; *The Philadelphia Enquirer*, 26 January 1890; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 30 January 1890; *Philadelphia Daily Enquirer*, 5 February 1890.



negative stereotypes about Spain and the Spaniards which are associated with the historiographic tradition of the *Leyenda Negra*.<sup>52</sup> As we have already seen, academic studies by English and American scholars over the last sixty years which have touched upon the Wild West's visit to Barcelona have dealt with it briefly and painted a negative picture which may in part be attributable to the same essentially negative tradition.<sup>53</sup> In Spain, the aftereffects of the Spanish-American War ran deep, they were long-lasting and they helped establish a generally negative view of the United States.<sup>54</sup> In spite of the normalisation of trade between the two countries by agreements signed in 1902, 1906 and 1910, the growth in American tourism to Spain in the 1920s and 1930s, the consistent cultivation of good relations with the United States that was undertaken by the Franco regime, and Spain's admission to NATO in 1981, as recently as 19 April 2004, when Spanish troops were withdrawn from Iraq, old prejudices resurfaced in press coverage on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Edelmeyer, *The Leyenda Negra*; Fernández-Flores, *The Spanish Heritage*, 29-32; Gibson, *The Colonial Period*, 13-14; Griffin, *Four Years in Europe*, 121; Keen, *The Black Legend Revisited*; Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, 48; Powell, *Tree of Hate*; Salsbury, *Reminiscences*.

<sup>53</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 24; Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*, 354-355; Burke, *The Noblest Whiteskin*, 192-193; Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 333; Croft-Cooke and Meadmore, *Buffalo Bill*, 194; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 181; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West*, 144; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 352; Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 344.

<sup>54</sup> Alvarez Junco, *La nación en duda*; Azorín, *La generación del 98*; Araquistáin, Luis. *El Peligro Yanquí*. Madrid: Publicaciones España, 1921; Balfour, *The Loss of Empire*; Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980*, 47-49 and *Spain: 1808-1939*, 387-388; Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 189-200; Ganivet, "El porvenir de España," 1076; Payne, *Spain – A Unique History*, 155-157; Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War*, 86; Serrano Poncela, *El secreto de Melibea*, 109-137; Shaw, *The Generation of 1898*; Thomas, *Cuba*, 239-240 and *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 404-406, 413, 423-425, 428; Tuñón de Lara, *La España del siglo XIX*, 401-412; Vincent, *Spain 1833-2002*, 79, 81, 93-94.

<sup>55</sup> Botero, *Ambivalent Embrace*, 103-166; James W. Cortada. *Two Nations over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978, 146-273; Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 288, 293, 299, 326, 335, 485, 507-509, 539, 553, 951; Manuel Iglesias-Cavicchioli, "A

I would therefore conclude that the deep-rooted differences in over-arching historiographic trends have played a significant role in the misunderstanding of the visit that Buffalo Bill's Wild West made to Barcelona in the winter of 1889-1890 and have contributed to its relative neglect in the previous scholarship. It is my hope that this study by striving wherever possible to draw on "both perspectives" will serve to "lend vigor to the debate," as well as providing access to primary evidence that has not heretofore been readily available.<sup>56</sup> This work does not of course purport to offer the final word on the time that the Wild West spent in the Catalan capital. That is without doubt a frontier that is not yet closed.

I have nevertheless followed all the trails that were open to me in the course of the last six years. Beyond the present horizon there may be others as yet undiscovered to which future pioneers will be guided by official Catalan records which may yet come to light having survived somewhere in hiding, or by photographs or diaries from private collections which are not yet in the public domain. The basis for future exploration may even arise by chance. Like the chance of a linguist being asked by a Lakota elder to go and have a look in an archive and being reminded of a tooth.<sup>57</sup>

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Period of Turbulent Change: Spanish-US Relations Since 2002." *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Summer/Fall, 2007, 1-17; Ana Pardo de Vera, "España-EEUU: Una historia de amor y odio." *El Siglo de Europa*, Number 547, 17 March 2003; Paul Preston, *Franco – A Biography*. London: Harper Collins, 1993, 205-206, 353-354, 364, 389, 406-411, 437-447, 503-512, 524-526, 547-562, 566-569, 572-576, 584, 587, 590-591, 598-607, 610-612, 617-627, 630, 680, 694, 711-713, 733-739, 774.

<sup>56</sup> Monnett, *Where A Hundred Soldiers Were Killed*, 209.

<sup>57</sup> I am grateful to Dr Chris Gair for his comment that the opening of this thesis reminded him of Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past*, and his suggestion that I might look to it in reshaping my

Between my first sight of that tooth nearly thirty years ago and the start of this investigation, I had read an article in a Sunday paper and heard of a photographic exhibition both of which reflected the enduring popular impact that the Wild West had in Barcelona. Since I began work on this study, a novel has been published in Catalan which has the Wild West's visit to the city as its setting, a short anthology of articles from *La Vanguardia* relating to the performances has appeared and the popular TV3 magazine programme *Espai-Terra* has run a five minute feature on the topic.<sup>58</sup> None of these are academic; all could be classed as popular cultural products; and the hallmark of each is that they depict the time that the Wild West spent in Barcelona in a positive light that is quite at odds with what has been the accepted position in the academic mainstream heretofore. They offer enduring testimony to the impact that Cody and company had in the Catalan capital. Keeping in mind that almost one hundred and twenty-five years have now passed since the Wild West went to Barcelona it must have been quite an impact for the positive accolades which it received in the newspapers and magazines of the time still to be reflected in some elements of popular culture.

In writing this study, I pondered many times on the words of American essayist, Waldo Frank, who in the 1920s wrote of the Catalans:

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conclusions. I cannot match Trouillot's fascinating combination of personal insight and reflection supported by outstanding scholarship. I hope I have learned from him that personal testimony can find a place in scholarly discourse without any compromising loss of critical distance. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*.

<sup>58</sup> Marchena, *Del Oeste al Eixample*; Jordi Solé, *Barcelona Far West*. Barcelona: Palmies, 2009; *Espai-Terra*, 19 October 2012, available <http://www.tv3.cat/videos/4296110/Espai-terra--divend>.

It is a subtle and gracious people. Its secret of survival is manifest in the women: delicate daughters of Eve, perhaps the fairest of all Europe, hued like April orchards, and with eyes like twilight. They have the permanence not of the eternal, but of the evanescent which returns. The flower that was Greece has been cast upon a coast of Spain and has grown afresh. This life does not resist: it returns. France mastered the Catalans: and they returned. Aragon used them ruthlessly in war: they returned. Castile stifles and racks them: they are returning. For they are like the Spring, the evanescent Spring—which returns...<sup>59</sup>

In the study of Buffalo Bill in Barcelona there are of course not just two perspectives. There are at least three and Waldo Frank clearly sees the distinction between the Catalans and the peoples of the rest of Spain. I have found no evidence that in planning the 1906 European tour the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West made any distinction between Catalonia and the rest of Spain, and given the dual Spanish/Catalan patriotism that was to be found among the elites of the city during the time that they were there it is entirely understandable that they did not. There could not have been a return "like the Spring" to Catalonia for them in any case. I have indeed been fortunate that following in their footsteps has given me the opportunity to return to Catalonia, to research and to writing.

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<sup>59</sup> Waldo Frank, *Virgin Spain*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926, 250.

## **Appendix 1 – Annie Oakley’s Account of the Wild West in Barcelona<sup>1</sup>**

Then a stop at Barcelona, Spain. We arrived in a small tub they called a boat. This was the town from which Columbus set sail for the new world. With the exception of one street and the Columbus monument, the town had little to boast about.

Beggars, soldiers, sailors and priests were most in evidence.

The first day the company took in more than \$300 in counterfeit money. During our stay there a merchant was arrested for making counterfeit money but was released when he proved that his money contained more silver than the government money.

The city was stricken with Spanish flu. We had flu, smallpox and typhoid in camp. We lost our orator, Frank Richmond, who always presented me to royalty and gave tone to the company.

One half of our people were down, but we lost only two more. They were Indians who died of smallpox.

Mr B came in one night with all the symptoms of the disease. He had just left Frank Richmond. He had just been in bed an hour when Johnny Baker tapped on the door with the death tidings. Although Mr B. should have been in bed, he looked after all

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<sup>1</sup> Annie Oakley, *The Story of My Life*, Unpublished Manuscript, 1926, 47-49.

the arrangements for poor Frank, made arrangements to return his body to America, and all that. Then he took to his bed.

He recovered and then the fight was on between me and the disease, but though they put me to bed I worked for an hour weakly trying to get into my costume and took my place in the arena that afternoon. Then I collapsed and had the flu in earnest.

Oh, the poverty in this city! Mr. B and Johnny went to the butcher shop for a Christmas turkey. The dealer asked them if they would have a wing, a leg, liver or gizzard. He could not believe that that anyone would buy a whole turkey. Two hundred beggars followed them and the turkey and the butcher sent an armed guard along with them!

One day I heard an awful tumult just outside the kitchen gate. The guard told me it was the hungry fighting over the garbage. He placed two boxes on our side of the gate and I stood on them to look over.

Back from the rubble stood a woman with tear-stained face, "Oh, I came too late and Carlos will starve" she was saying in Spanish. I caught her eye and with a finger at my lip motioned to her to be quiet and come around the corner. I asked the guard to let her in, and each day she came there to slip out again with a bounteous basket under her shawl.

Smallpox and typhoid were becoming so bad there was danger of the Wild West being held in quarantine so on Jan. 20, 1890, the company sailed for Naples on a wretched small steamer which was so badly ballasted the pilot at first refused to take her outside the harbour.

But providence must have been with us, for about three days later we arrived in Naples with one storm ahead and one behind us, either of which would have surely wrecked us. We arrived in the beautiful bay at daybreak, a sight never to be forgotten. Mt. Vesuvius loomed in the background, the bay was filled with ships of the Italian navy.

But a peep through some of the narrow streets was not so beautiful. The scum of Italy was gathered there. They lived in cellars and came out at the approach of a stranger. And the beggars! They told me that children were purposefully deformed, when very young to make them good (?) cripples for begging purposes.”

## **Appendix 2 – Nathan Salsbury’s Account of the Wild West in Barcelona<sup>1</sup>**

I had sent Burke to Barcelona to make the preliminary arrangements for the Wild West to visit that city, and as usual was compelled to go there myself to decide several matters that really did not need deciding as the controlling circumstances superseded anything that I could. At any rate I responded to Burke's call and leaving Paris went to Marseilles where certain business called me en route. From there I took a boat to Barcelona. Or rather, I took a tub that was greasy on the outside and in with the filth that only can accumulate where the Latin race are masters of the soil. The deck of the boat was so crowded with coops of live poultry so that there was no room to walk at all, even slopping over into deck staterooms with the malodorous presence. After a night of misery I arrived at the port of Barcelona and heard the rattle of the anchor chain (as the boat swung to her mooring) with more pleasure than I ever listened to a sonata in C minor, or Asia Minor or anywhere else.

Burke was on hand to take me ashore in one of the small boats that are the only means of going ashore in that harbour. It has begun to rain at an early hour that morning, and about the time I was shunted into a lighter, down a slippery plank it was coming down in torrents soaking me to the skin, and making large rents in my usually sweet temper.

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<sup>1</sup> The Nathan Salsbury Papers, *Beinecke Library, Yale University*, YCAL, MSS 17, Box 2, Folder 64, Writings “Reminiscences” 1964.



As the boat neared the shore at a snails [sic] pace, Burke suddenly jumped to his feet, and taking off his hat he fixed his enraptured gaze on the monument of Columbus that stands at the foot of the Prado on the harbour front.

In spite of the uncomfortable surroundings I could not help laughing at the droll figure he cut, with his long hair trailing down his back and a miniature ocean streaming over his upturned face and following the creases of his "slicker" to the bottom of the boat.

After a few minutes of this pantomime, I yelled at him a question as to why he was making such a blankety [sic] blank ass of himself. With the fine scorn inherited from a race of Irish kings and curling his upper lip he said:-

"It is possible that you see nothing to pay homage in that beautiful counterpart of your best friend in this country?"

"My best Friend?" said I. "I see a fine statue of Columbus, nothing more."

"Nothing more?" he shouted. "Nothing more? Damn this utilitarian age of money grubbers. Oh, man without a soul, you should go down on your knees in adoration of the man that statue typifies."

"In the devil's name, why?" said I.

"Why, Why, Why? Because he has been your ADVANCE AGENT FOR THE LAST FOUR HUNDREDS YEARS, THAT'S WHY!!!!"

### **Appendix 3 – Sentiments on the Cuba Question by William F. Cody<sup>1</sup>**

The opponents of intervention have no substitute proposition. They have no plans to save those who have already failed. If the government were guided by their advice, butchery, devastation, and barbarity would become permanent social conditions in Cuba, and the unrest, the tumult, the passion of the last sixty days would take their places as established features of our national life.

No man who is not willing to hear about the hideous crimes in Cuba, to read the war speeches of jingo Senators, and look upon the war headlines of the yellow journals every day in the year for the remainder of their natural life has any right to oppose intervention in Cuba unless he submits an effective plan for the permanent abatement of these nuisances, which, in the language of the President, have become intolerable.

There is one more consideration. Any American who finds himself unable now to support the president in his proposed policy towards Spain shows himself to be perfectly content that this country should exhibit itself with an attitude of a nation that will not fight for its peace and safety, for its honour and self-respect, or in the performance of its duty imposed by humanity and civilization.

Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to introduce to you, a Congress of the Rough Riders of the World.

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<sup>1</sup> Transcription of audio recording, 20 April 1898. Recording available at <http://codyarchive.org/multimedia/wfc.aud00001.html>

## **Appendix 4 – Buffalo Bill and the Bullfighters<sup>1</sup>**

Colonel Cody had a little war of his own with the Spaniards before Dewey, Sampson, Miles, Roosevelt and the rest took a hand in the grim game. It happened when he was in Barcelona, Spain, with his Wild West. One evening after the performance he got into his carriage, drove to the various newspaper offices and had this liberal offer appended to his advertisement:

“I will wager any amount that the people in my show can lasso and ride any bull in Spain.”

He didn't think it necessary to tell his interpreter of this, and went home and to bed. He was stopping at the House of Four Nations, which was built in a square and had a large, beautiful court in the centre. What subsequently occurred we will let the Colonel tell in his own language:

“Very early the next morning my interpreter and agent came rushing into my room, crying:

‘Get up! Get up! Dress at once; they are going to kill you!’

‘Who?’ I asked.

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<sup>1</sup> *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Program, 1899, [copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, William F. Cody Collection, MS6.1934], 27-28.

‘The bullfighters,’ they answered breathlessly. ‘Peep into the court below at the maddened mob.’

I did and by jiminy, it was a sight! The court was jammed with men as mad as so many mad bulls, and they were flying here, there and everywhere, threatening to tear me limb from limb. I dressed leisurely and put a Colt revolver in my hip pocket – just to keep me company, you know – and then I went downstairs. I got the interpreter to ask them what they meant. Their spokesman demanded to know why I had put such an insult to them in the papers, and at that every matador of ‘em brandished a morning paper. I told them that I had merely made the wager and was ready to stick to it. Then they asked me how much I would wager. Now the people of Spain are distressingly poor, so I offered to bet 200,000 pesetas, for I knew they couldn’t cover it. This crazed them and they tried to get at me. In the meantime my agent had gone for the American Consul and police officers to protect me and quell the riot, and I saw I had to talk for time. I began to drop, offering 175,000 pesetas, and I had got down to 50,000 pesetas, and was losing wind when the Consul and officials arrived. The Consul saw that there was blood on the face of the moon, and he and the police advised me to withdraw my challenge. The bullfighters told them that I had attempted to ruin the national sport and had grossly insulted them; that they had to make the people believe that these bulls were very fierce and that no one in the world could capture and ride them but themselves, or else the sport would die an ignominious death, so I withdrew my wager. But I had to have police protection during the rest of my stay in Spain.”

## **Appendix 5 – Resplendent Realism of Glorious War – Stupendous Spectacular Reproduction of the Battle of San Juan Hill<sup>1</sup>**

The decisive importance and far-reaching effects of battles are not to be determined by the numbers engaged. That of Lexington blew the smouldering brands of rebellion into a flaming beacon of Freedom, whose light has illumined the darkness of the world. That of San Juan Hill, by completing the cordon of steel drawn grimly around doomed Santiago, gave the deathblow to Spanish dominion born of the discoveries of Columbus. In the latter engagement the regiment whose popular and famous title was borrowed from Colonel Cody's use and application of the term "Rough Riders," which was mainly composed of the physical qualities represented so splendidly in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and which, moreover, included many volunteers from Colonel Cody's camp, so pre-eminently distinguished itself as to naturally suggest the idea of representing the terrific contest with the Spanish forces in the only arena spacious enough for such a production, and under the management of the only men controlling the requisite material. It was justly assumed that the realistic and commensurate re-enactment of such a fearless charge and desperate struggle, and the introduction of military incidents preceding it, upon the broadest and most accurate lines of army movements, discipline and life, *and by the very heroes and horses who were a part of what they portrayed*, was calculated to arouse public curiosity and enthusiasm to the white heat of patriotic fervor. Furthermore, that such

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<sup>1</sup> *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Program, 1899, [copy held at McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, William F. Cody Collection, MS6.1934], 32-34.

## **A Stupendous Living Battle Lesson**

would form a fitting and triumphant climax to the Wild West's magnificent and unprecedented martial spectacles. Notwithstanding the fact that both Colonel Cody and Mr. Nate Salsbury are war veterans, as such, entirely familiar with war and its sternest practical features, and fully competent to command and manage the hundreds of men and horses required and utilized, the task confronting them was a huge and herculean one, involving not only an enormous expense, but infinite labor in investigation, procuring of genuine material, arrangement of detail, circumstance and scenery, and effective utilization of the space at command and indispensable to the manoeuvres of so many troops, horses and guns. The results attained fully and faithfully harmonize with the heroic subject and the facts of history, presenting the events associated with the battle of San Juan in two scenes.

The first scene shows the bivouac of the troops on the road to San Juan the night before the battle. The invading American forces, composed of the artillery representing Grimes' Battery, the mule pack train carrying ammunition, the Colored Regulars, Roosevelt's Rough Riders, the Seventy-first Infantry, the Cuban scouts and guides, are seen at sunset, at the conclusion of a desperately hard day's march over rough and jungle-choked trails, under the blistering rays of a tropical sun, moving into an encampment selected for a resting place the night preceding the morrow's grim work. The various commands take up the positions assigned them, and to the

spectator the bivouac presents a most warlike and novel scene of disciplined bustle and preparation. The sentries are posted, the tired animals unloaded, unharnessed and picketed, the weary soldier boys gladly obey the order to stack arms, and, relieved of their haversacks and cumbersome accoutrements, loll and lie around in groups, while the camp fires are lighted and preparations for the evening meal quickly made. The hardtack and coffee disposed of and the stern hand of discipline temporarily relaxed, they indulge in an *al fresco* “smoker” and forget their toils and dangers in story, song and jest; the familiar songs and patriotic anthems of home, are chorused in melodies and stentorian tones from hundreds of throats, wafted toward doomed Santiago on the balmy wings of the night winds, and sounding singular and solemn on that vast natural stage, heretofore a stranger to the exultant notes of Freedom’s sons. Night creeps on more stealthily and a Spanish guerrilla through the dense encircling foliage, until taps gives warning that the hour for sleep and silence has struck. Soon the entire command, with the exception of the watchful outposts, reclining on mother earth’s broad bosom and canopied by the starry heavens, is wrapped in merciful oblivion or beguiled by dreams of distant loved ones. And, alas! many a noble fellow slumbering so peacefully there will, ere another sun has set, fall fighting into the sleep that knows no awakening, after recording in his own life-blood his name upon the scroll of his country’s heroes.

“Night wanes; the vapors round the mountain curled

Melt into morn, and light awakes the world;”

the sharp rattle of reveille arouses the camp to preparation for the onward march, and the scene closes with the advance of the army toward the stronghold of San Juan.

### **The Rough Riders' Immortal Charge**

The second scene reveals the regiments already named massed in the forks of the trail at the foot of San Juan Hill, a most exact and effective representation and reproduction of which is introduced, showing the blockhouse, the breastworks, the rifle pits, and the natural and apparently insurmountable difficulties our soldiers were obliged to encounter and overcome in their final and victorious assault. From the fancied impregnability of their position the superior Spanish force is seen pouring an incessant torrent of shrapnel and Mauser bullets into our exposed ranks, which choke up the narrow trail beyond the hope of extrication, and apparently beyond the possibility of escape. To add to the horrors of the situation, the infernal Spanish guerrillas, concealed in the treetops and using smokeless powder, which renders it impossible to locate them, make targets of our wounded and the surgeons and the wearers of the sacred Red Cross. It is an hour of supreme trial and agony, in a veritable hell-pit and snare. The situation renders division and brigade commanders powerless and manoeuvring impossible. Retreat they cannot; to remain is destruction, and to advance, according to all precedent and estimation, but speedier annihilation. But, casting theories, dictums and doubts to the winds, contemptuously fearless of conspicuous exposure, with splendid intrepidity, assuming and divining that what must be done can be done, a horseman, wearing the uniform of the Rough Riders, presses to the foot of the death-swept hill, and, calling upon the men to



follow him, rides straight up and at the fortified foe. There is a frantic yell of admiration and approval as the soldiers – *white, red and black* – spring from their cowering position of utter helplessness and follow Roosevelt and the flag. On and ever onward they leap, struggle and crawl, at first in small groups, but finally in a long thin line, which widens as it rushes, pants, wallows and creeps toward the flame-crowned summit. Inch by inch, and foot by foot, it mounts with a tenacity of purpose, the moral effect of which carries, first, misconception; next, apprehension; and, finally, unreasoning fear into the enemy's works. The Spaniards cannot believe that so small a force would dare an assault so forlorn of hope. They erroneously infer that an army is charging close behind it, and as it breathlessly comes closely on for a hand-to-hand death grapple, they pale, they flinch, and at last they turn and fly in panic. Their gold and crimson emblem of ruthless oppression is torn from the ramparts, and Old Glory streams on the breeze, triumphant in its place. Their defences are turned against themselves, and Santiago is doomed.

## **Appendix 6 – Illustrative Material**

### **List of Illustrations**

Figure 1 – Photograph from the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona showing *Itancan Cikala* (Little Chief) entering his tipi.

Figure 2 – Photograph from the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona showing Indian performers behind the scenes.

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Figure 4 – Poster of Cody as “Renaissance Man” surrounded by female distinguished patrons from London 1887.

Figure 5 – Poster of Cody as “Renaissance Man” surrounded by male distinguished patrons from London 1887.

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Figure 14 – Line Drawing of Scenes from Wild West performance, *La Il·lustració Catalana*, 31 December 1889.

Figure 15 – Line Drawing of Annie Oakley in Action, *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 3 January 1890.

Figure 16 – Line Drawing of Feather Head-dress as Fashion Accessory, *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 10 January 1890.

Figure 17 – The mortuary chapel at the Montjuic Cemetery where Frank Richmond's body was embalmed for return to the United States.

Figure 18 – Poster for the Wild West's 1905 tour of France emphasising the theme of "Entente Cordiale."

Figure 19 – Line Drawing of Columbus Monument ready for the American Invaders, *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 23 July 1898.

Figure 1 – Photograph from the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona showing *Itancan*  
*Cikala* (Little Chief) entering his tipi.

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Figure 2 – Photograph from the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona showing Indian performers behind the scenes.

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Figure 3 – Photograph from the Wild West’s visit to Barcelona showing some of the buffalo herd.

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Figure 4 – Poster of Cody as “Renaissance Man” surrounded by female distinguished patrons from London 1887.



Image courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center (William F. Cody Collection, Accession Number: 1.69.459).

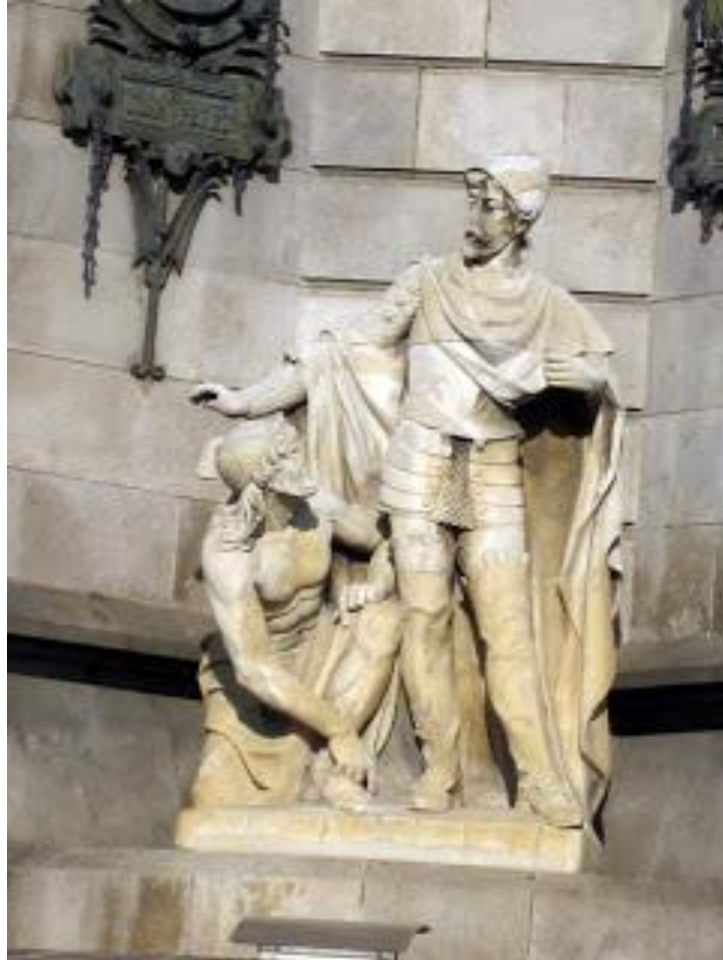


Figure 5 – Poster of Cody as “Renaissance Man” surrounded by male distinguished patrons from London 1887.



Image courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center (William F. Cody Collection, Accession Number: 1.69.458).

Figure 6 – Detail from the Columbus Monument: Captain Pedro Bertran i de Margarit with a kneeling Indian.



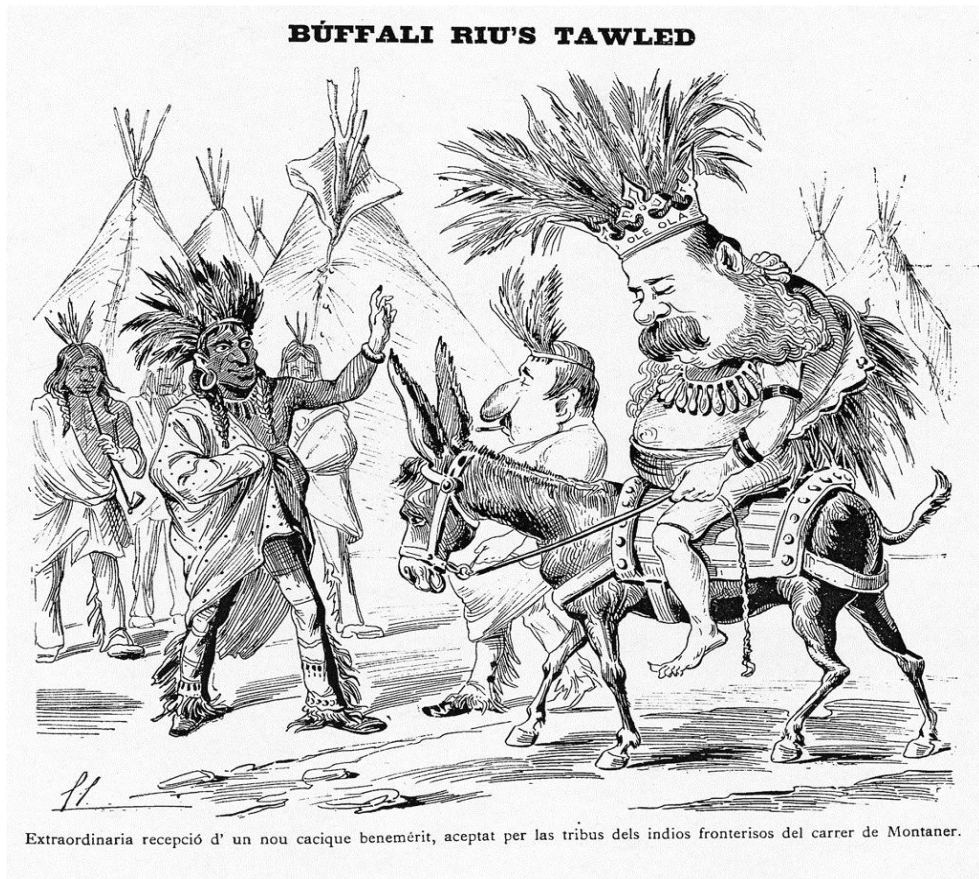
Personal photograph.

Figure 7 – Detail from the Columbus Monument: Father Bernat de Boil with a kneeling Indian.



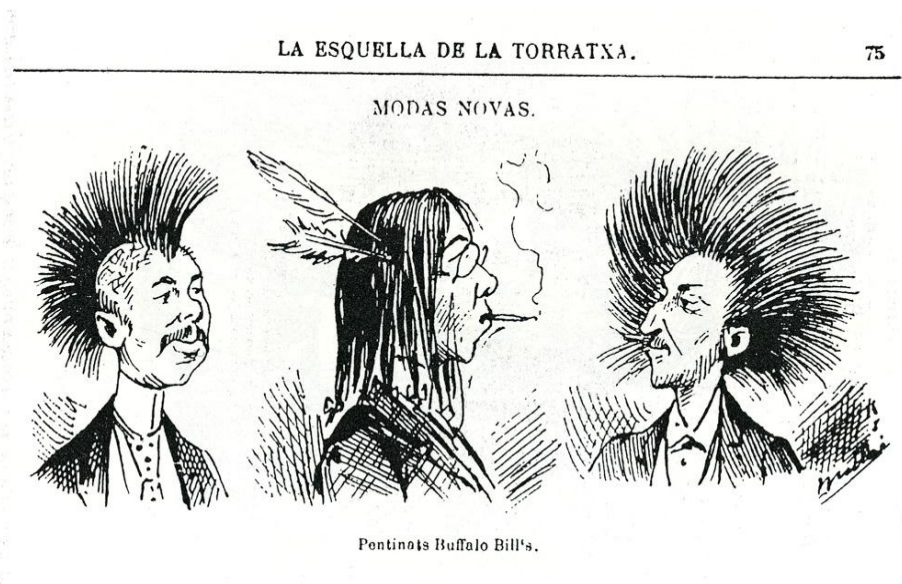
Personal photograph.

Figure 8 – Deposed Mayor of Barcelona, Francesc Rius i Taulet, arriving at the Wild West Camp, *La Tramontana*, 27 December 1889.



The caption reads: “An extraordinary reception for a worthy new chief, accepted by the frontier Indians of Carrer Montaner.”

Figure 9 – Line Drawing of Wild West Inspired Hair Styles, *La Esquilla de la Torratxa*, 27 December 1889.



Heading: New Fashions

Caption: Buffalo Bill Hairstyles

Figure 10 – Line Drawing of Two Men Punning on the Name “Buffalo Bill.” *La*

*Esquella de la Torratxa*, 27 December 1889.



Caption: “Knocked about... knocked about... These Indians must really have it in for us.”

“With the north wind blowing, it is certainly the weather for being blown about.”



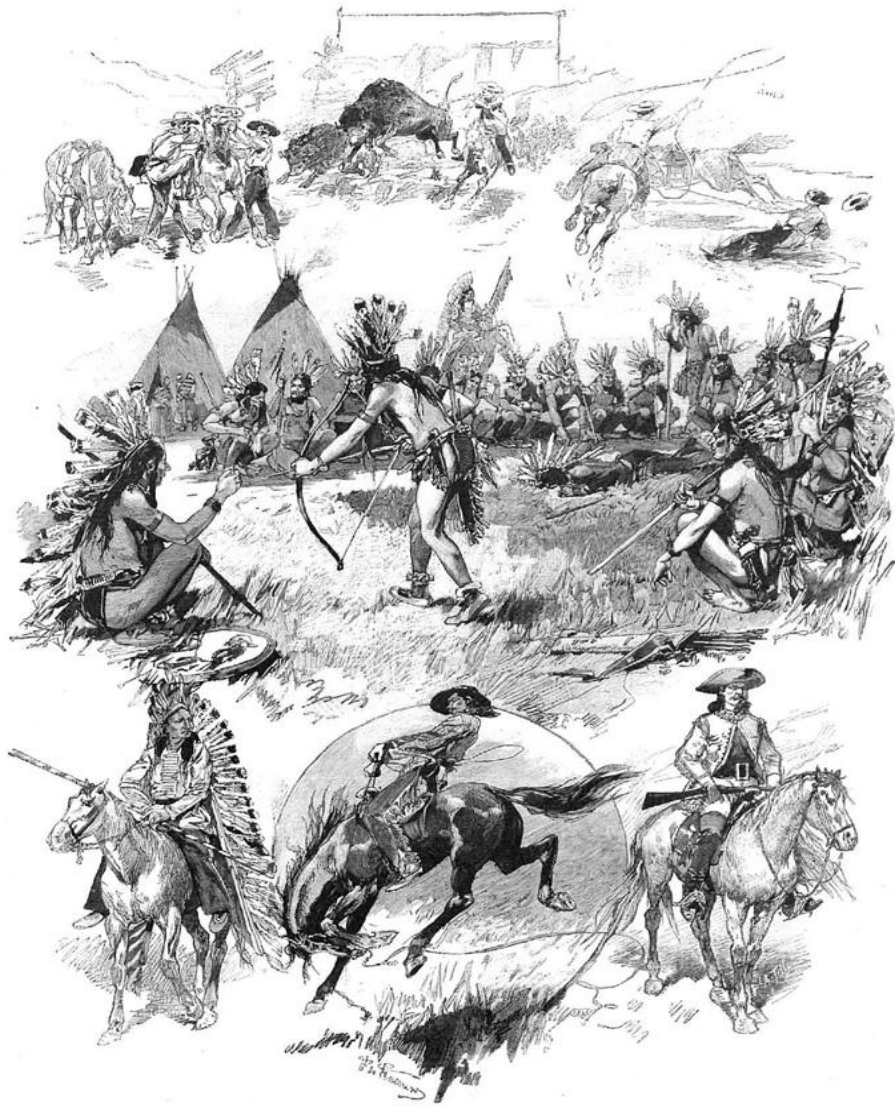
Figure 11 – Line Drawing of William F. Cody, *La Ilustració Catalana*, 31 December

1889



Figure 12 – Line Drawing of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Company, *La Ilustració*

*Catalana*, 31 December 1889.



LA COMPAÑIA DEL CORONEL CODY (BUFFALO BILL)

1. Relevé de caballo. - 2. Caza de búfalos en el Far-West. - 3. Cara de caballos salvajes con lazo. - 4. Danzas guerreras de los pieles rojas. - 5. Keel Shirt (Camisa encarnada), jefe de los pieles rojas - 6. Domadura de un caballo salvaje por un cow boy. - 7. El coronel Cody (Buffalo Bill).



Figure 13 – Line Drawing of Wild West Arena, *La Ilustració Catalana*, 31

December 1889.

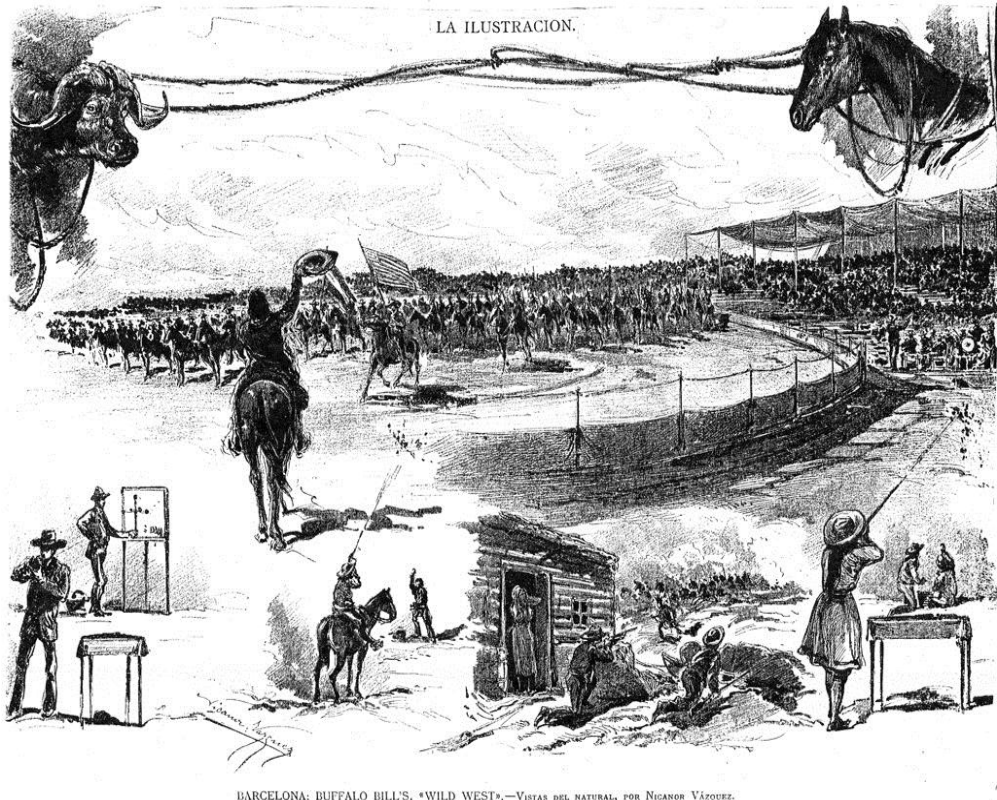
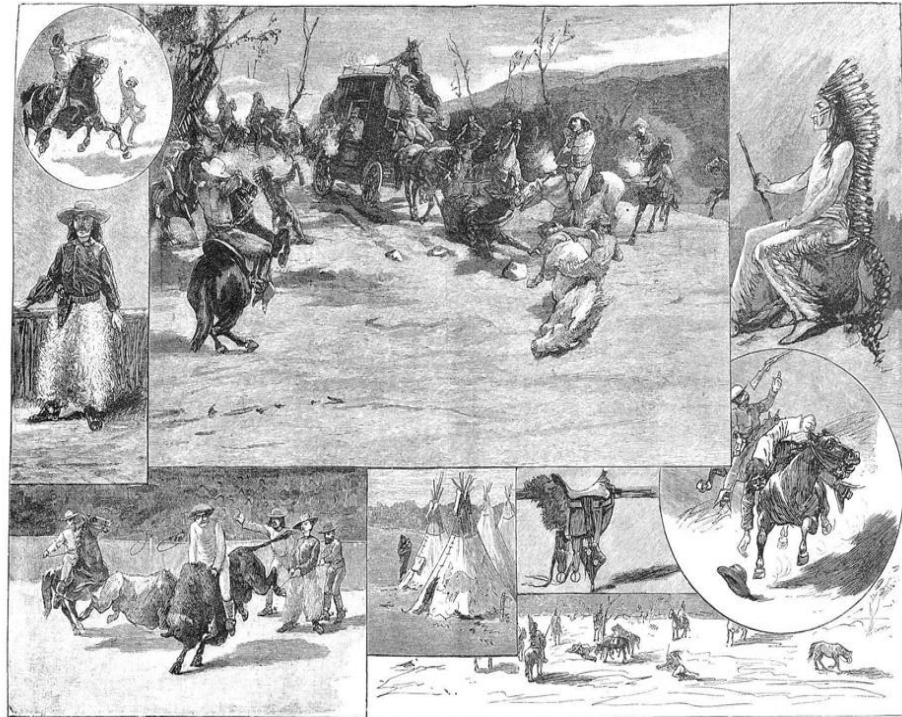


Figure 14 – Line Drawing of Scenes from Wild West performance, *La Ilustració*

*Catalana*, 31 December 1889



BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST

Tom X

LA IL·L·STRACIÓ CATALANA

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Figure 15 – Line Drawing of Annie Oakley in Action, *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 3

January 1890

LA TIRADORA DELS BUFFALO BILL'S.



Una noya que, si vol,  
rom la nas al mateix sol.

Heading: Buffalo Bill's Female Sharp-shooter

Caption: A girl who if she wished could shoot the nose off the sun itself.

Figure 16 – Line Drawing of Feather Head-dress as Fashion Accessory, *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 10 January 1890

BARATURA Y ORIGINALITAT.

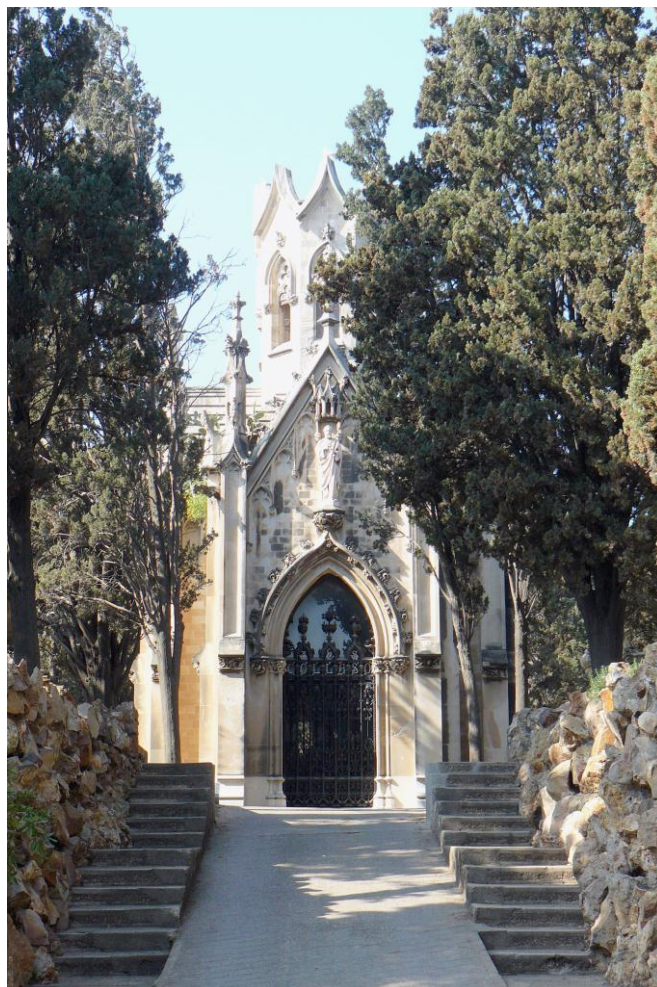


Traje de *Buffalo Bill's*:  
avuy qualsevól senyora,  
ab las plomas del gall dindi,  
se fa un vestit qu' enamora.

Heading: Sweeping Originality

Caption: Buffalo Bill's Outfit: Now any woman with enough turkey feathers can have an enchanting costume.

Figure 17 – The mortuary chapel at the Montjuic Cemetery where Frank Richmond's body was embalmed for return to the United States.



Personal photograph.

Figure 18 – Poster for the Wild West’s 1905 tour of France emphasising the theme of  
“Entente Cordiale.”

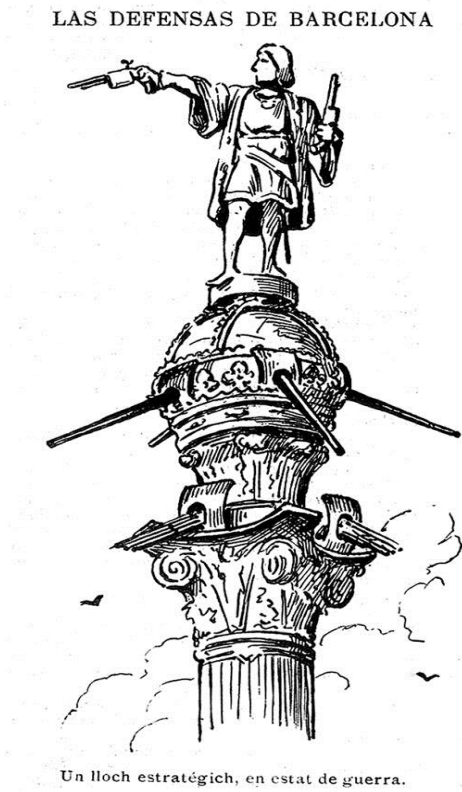


Image courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center (William F. Cody Collection,

Accession Number: 1.69.2173).

Figure 19 – Line Drawing of Columbus Monument ready for the American Invaders,

*La Esquella de la Torratxa*, 23 July 1898



Heading: The Defences of Barcelona

Caption: A Strategic Spot in a State of War.



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