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'Hostiles': The Lakota Ghost Dance and the 1891-92
Tour of Britain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

Vol. II

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Six: The 1891/92 tour of Britain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the show's treatment of the Lakota Ghost Dance

The 1891-92 tour of Britain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented to its British audiences an image of America that spoke of triumphalism, competence and power. This was partly achieved through the story of the conquest that was performed inside the arena, but the medium also functioned as part of the message, illustrating American power and ability through the staging of so large and impressive a show. Cody's Wild West told British onlookers that America had triumphed in its conquest of the continent and that now as a powerful and competent nation it was ready to be recognised as an equal on the World stage.

The Indians were presented by Buffalo Bill's Wild West as resolute barriers to civilisation; 'a counter-force against which the hero displayed his virtues.'¹ This image was easily recognisable to a British public well-versed in imperialist propaganda.² The notoriety of the Ghost Dancers was used to pull in the crowds, but except for their being introduced as the 'Hostiles' as opposed to the 'Friendlies,' their role within the arena remained the same as the other Indian performers. The 1891-92 tour of Britain also included a 'Wounded Knee orphan' who they presented as 'the last of the stock,' reinforcing the idea of American Indians as a vanishing race.³ The young boy had survived the massacre and travelled with his adoptive parents No Neck and his wife Ellen.

¹ Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 161

² John M. MacKenzie noted that 'War came to be seen as a "theatrical event of sombre magnificence", while theories of the inevitability of warfare emerged from the social application of Darwinism. Warfare was endemic to civilisation, it was argued, both in the competition of rising States and in the conflict between them and their decaying counterparts.' John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1984) 6.

Cody's exploitation of the Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee was restricted to publicity for the show, as no re-enactments were staged despite encouragement from some British journalists to do so, and when examined in the context of the wider exploitation would suggest a certain amount of empathy with the Lakota. The use of such 'real' characters was intended to give the exhibition a cloak of authenticity and to reinforce its claims of presenting educational fact.⁴ However, not all characters presented were 'real,' and a number of the Lakota appeared in the arena in the guise of other Indian Nations. Such inaccuracies appear not to have concerned the Indian performers, and simply made logistical sense for the management. The overwhelming success of the tour, despite the poor summer weather, suggests that British audiences enthusiastically embraced the image of a triumphant America as presented by Cody's Wild West exhibition.

On 1 April 1891, the *SS Switzerland* sailed from Philadelphia carrying a number of personnel associated with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, including seventy-five Lakota Indians. These men and women were travelling to Europe to resume the Wild West's first tour of the continent, which had begun in the spring of 1889.⁵ The majority of

³ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 23 Dec. 1891.

⁴ Philip J. Deloria stated 'The authentic... is a culturally constructed category created in opposition to a perceived state of inauthenticity. The authentic serves as a way to imagine and idealize the real, the traditional, and the organic in opposition to the less satisfying qualities of everyday life.' Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 101.

⁵ Passenger List of *SS Switzerland*, CS, MS6.IX, box 2, McCracken Research Library, BBHC; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 369; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 111. The tour had opened in Paris at the *Exposition Universelle*, May 19 1889, and had extensively toured Continental Europe. For details of this tour see Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 350-53; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 80-92; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, 143-47; Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 96-114; and Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 83-91. Cody himself sailed on the *SS Noordlund*, with a number of other personnel, on the same day.

the Indian performers had been hired from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota.⁶ Twenty-three others had travelled down from Fort Sheridan, Illinois, where General Miles had confined them since late January.⁷ Shortly after their arrival in Antwerp, the new contingent of Indian performers met up with the rest of the cast who had been wintering in Alsace-Lorraine, and the show continued where it had left off the previous autumn. [Fig. 22] After a brief tour through Germany, Holland and Belgium, the Wild West then sailed from Antwerp to Grimsby, and in the last week of June 1891 the tour of provincial England opened at the Cardigan Fields in Leeds.⁸

The 1891-92 tour of Britain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West was significantly different from their previous tour in 1887, when the performers had appeared as part of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrations with the American Exhibition at Earls Court in London. Generally regarded as the 'chief attraction' of the American Exhibition, the show had been an enormous success and Cody had become 'the hero of the London season.'⁹ When ticket sales had waned the show moved on to visit Manchester and Birmingham before returning to America in 1888. The 1891-92 sojourn differed in two respects. Firstly it toured the principal towns of England and made its first visit to

⁶ CIA to Agent Penny, Pine Ridge, 9 Mar. 1891, Letter book (hereafter LB) 212, p197-8, RG 75, NA; George Chandler, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to CIA, 6 Mar. 1891, M1282 LS p175, RG 75, FARC; Penny to CIA, 28 March 1891, M1282 LS p179-181, RG 75, FARC; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 111. Russell, and Rosa and May, both give the figure erroneously as 100, the latter citing the 1893 Buffalo Bill's Wild West program, see Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 371, and Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, 154.

⁷ Penny to CIA, 28 March 1891, M1282 LS p179-181, RG 75, FARC; R. E. A. Crofton to Adjutant General, 31 Mar. 1891, M983, p1338, RG94, NA; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 111; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 369; Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 271.

⁸ *Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1891 Program*, p64, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 372; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 119; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, 154.

⁹ Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, 106/130. See also Russell, *Lives and Legends*; Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*.

Wales and Scotland before finally arriving in London for a summer season, thus bringing to a much larger British audience their 'image' of the American West. Secondly and perhaps more significantly, the presence of twenty-three Lakota Ghost Dancers, who were perceived by the majority of the British public to be 'hostages' or 'Prisoners of War,' made this tour by Buffalo Bill's Wild West unique.

The exhibition was 'organised around a series of spectacles which purported to re-enact scenes portraying different "Epochs" of American History.' Following the 'Primeval Forest,' peopled only by Indians and wild animals, the story of conquest was portrayed.¹⁰ The Indians played the role of the 'hostiles,' representing 'the other' against whom the progress of white civilisation was measured, and this message was strengthened by the audiences' awareness – reinforced by publicity for the show – that some of the Indian performers were 'prisoners' of the US government. The *North British Daily Mail* concluded, 'there could not be better specimens of the untamed courageous sons of the prairie.'¹¹

The notoriety of the Ghost Dancers was used by Cody to pull in the crowds and their presence added authenticity to what was purported to be educational entertainment. Furthermore, Cody's role as custodian enhanced his status amongst the British public. The Brighton *Argus* suggested that 'The privilege accorded to Colonel Cody of taking these famous warriors on tour with him is an unique one, and... granted solely in consequence of the great services he has... rendered his country.'¹²

It is perhaps one of the greatest ironies of American Indian resistance, that the last Lakota to have forcibly resisted the government of the US were released into Cody's care where they proceeded to act the very 'roles' ascribed to them a year earlier.

¹⁰ Slotkin *Gunfighter Nation*, 67.

¹¹ *North British Daily Mail*, 6 Nov. 1891, p4, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West.'

¹² *Argus* (Brighton), 12 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Buffalo Bill' At Brighton - Crowds watch the Cavalcade - An Imposing sight.'

Commenting on Short Bull's appearance in the Wild West one British journalist remarked,

In the spectacle of this leader of a vanquished people exhibited to the gaze of the multitude in the arena we seem to find a modern parallel to that experience of Caractacus, who, exiled from his island home, was exposed to the gaze of the Roman populace.¹³

The Indians removed to Fort Sheridan were the only living Lakota Ghost Dancers to be punished and in the words of the historian George Hyde, 'Their punishment was a queer one' but perhaps not altogether surprising.¹⁴ In a letter to the Editor of the *Daily Graphic* (London) on the subject of the slaughter of Big Foot's band at Wounded Knee, R. B. Cunninghame Graham, the Liberal MP for North West Lanark had prophetically commented,

It seems a pity... to waste so many good Indians who might have been so advantageously used to turn honest pennies for enterprising showmen, if no other method of utilising them occurred to the great American Republic.¹⁵

The second visit to Britain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West began with a long tour of the populous industrial cities, giving two performances daily 'come rain or shine.' Starting in the north of England the show progressed down through the Midlands, across to Wales, and then finally along the southern coast. [Fig. 23] The whole exhibition was transported about the country by three or four specially commissioned trains.¹⁶

¹³ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 26 Sept. 1891 p4.

¹⁴ Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle*, 318.

¹⁵ Cunninghame Graham's letter was published in the *Daily Graphic* on 5 January 1891. John Walker, ed., *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986) 32.

¹⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 July 1891, p5, 'The Wild West Show.'

After the Saturday evening performance at the close of the visit to a town, the whole camp would be dismantled: the immense grandstand and encampment disappeared in little more than an hour.¹⁷ The British public became fascinated by all aspects of the tour, and would turn out in considerable numbers in the dead of the night to witness its departure.¹⁸ The trains left at hourly intervals between midnight and 2 am, arriving at their next destination in the early hours of the morning.

Drays and wagons were used to transport the baggage to the new ground, while buses were provided for the majority of the Wild West's personnel. In order to guide the small buffalo herd through the town, the Indians and cowboys would mount their horses and form a 'hollow-square' around the beasts, thus preventing them from breaking loose en route. Soon after the arrival at the new site the whole company sat down to breakfast, at which they consumed 'no less than 1,200 eggs' and comparable quantities 'of ham and other victuals.'¹⁹

Sunday was a day of rest for most of the performers, and was usually spent sleeping after the fatigue of their night journey. The lodges that made up the 'Indian Camp' were erected by the women, as was traditional in Lakota culture.²⁰ Soon the bare enclosure was 'transformed into a busy village.... [and] from the peaks of the... Indian

¹⁷ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 17 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Departure of the Wild West from Sheffield.'

¹⁸ *Bristol Evening News*, 5 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Local News and Jottings, The Wild West Show.'

¹⁹ *Bristol Evening News*, 28 Sept. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West At Horfield. A Visit to the Camp. The Procession.'

²⁰ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891 p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.' The notion that the women erected the lodges appears to be contradicted by a later performer Luther Standing Bear who travelled with Cody to Britain in his final tour of the country in 1903-1904. Standing Bear stated: 'When the wagon carrying out tipis arrived, some of the boys would roll their blankets around their waists and help unload the wagon. Each man knew his own tipi, and as fast as they were unloaded we would set them up. It was hard work, especially in wet and muddy weather. Bales of straw would be distributed about to put on the ground inside the tipis to keep us out of the mud. In the center of the tipi would be space for the fire, and after this was started it would not be long before the inside of the tipi would be nice and dry.' Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 259-260.

tents, arose light wreaths of smoke, which showed that the “braves” were seeking comfort from the chill moist atmosphere without.²¹ While the performers slept, up to 160 workmen worked tirelessly to erect the huge grandstand and arena.²² A reporter for the *Bristol Evening News* noted:

Entering the grounds from the city end of the field a visitor comes face to face with the grand stand; adjoining are the three, two, and one shilling seats, the whole forming sitting accommodation for 15,000 people. The structure is particularly strong, and should rain fall during the performance the audience will be protected by a canvas which covers the whole of the seats. The arena, which is oval shaped, is 165 yards long and 75 yards wide. In the centre is the rostrum from whence the orator introduces each performer as he enters to give an exhibition of his skill. To the right of the entrance door the tents of the cowboys and various officials have been erected, whilst to the left of the grandstand the Indians have pitched their tepees.²³ [Fig. 24]

As a preliminary to the daily exhibitions a parade through the principle thoroughfares took place on the Monday morning, in order to whet the appetites of members of the public.²⁴ The route of the parade was publicised along with the show’s main advertisement, which was usually to be seen on the front of every newspaper of the towns visited. There was always a high turnout, as thousands of people congregated on either side of the streets. In Leicester, ‘so great was the crush that it was only with difficulty that a passage was made for the members of the company.’²⁵ The spectacle broadcast the arrival of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West to its potential audience, a point which was not lost on the Brighton newspaper *The Argus*, whose reporter commented,

²¹ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, fp, ‘The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to Camp.’

²² Sixty of the workers were permanently employed by the show while the remainder were local men, engaged as and when needed. *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, p5, ‘The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to Camp.’

²³ *Bristol Evening News*, 28 Sept. 1891, p3, ‘The Wild West At Horfield. A Visit to the Camp. The Procession.’

²⁴ *Argus* (Brighton), 12 Oct. 1891, p3, ‘Buffalo Bill’ At Brighton - Crowds watch the Cavalcade - An Imposing sight.’ *Leicester Daily Post*, 1 Sept. 1891, p5, ‘The “Wild West” in Leicester - The Opening Day.’; *Bristol Evening News*, 28 Sept. 1891, p3, ‘The Wild West At Horfield. A Visit to the Camp. The Procession.’; *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 5 Oct. 1891, p3, ‘The Wild West at Portsmouth.’

'the sight was certainly worth witnessing and calculated to heighten the interest for what was to follow.'²⁶

The show always opened on a Monday and gave two performances daily, one in the afternoon at 3pm and the other in the evening at 8pm. The evening performances being illuminated 'by a number of Wells oil and air lamps.'²⁷ The first exhibition took place later on the same day as the procession, and members of the public were encouraged to arrive early in order that they might view the whole of the encampment.²⁸

Of greatest interest was the 'Indian Camp,' and the press and the organisers of the exhibition encouraged the public to wander through and view the living quarters and arrangements of the Indians.²⁹ [Fig. 25 & 26.] Many papers gave a significant amount of column space to their descriptions of the Indian village, and the coverage in the *Bristol Evening News* was typical.

These are the original dwelling places of the redman, and are remarkable for their ingeniousness. Round a structure of long poles, which is placed together in the shape of a cone, is stretched canvas, and the wigwam is so arranged that though the poles are not driven into the ground, it defies the gale of wind and remains standing when the tents of the white people may be blown to pieces. The entrance is through an aperture in the canvas, and to a person unaccustomed to the proceeding admittance is by no means easy.... Several braves lay sleeping on their mattresses wrapped in large coloured blankets. The apartment is hampered with no furniture whatever, and in the centre of the tent burns a small wood fire. The smoke issues from an aperture in the top of the canvas, and this is so arranged that any degree of temperature may be attained. On the outside of the canvas various designs have been traced, primitive drawings it is true, but still it is

²⁵ *Leicester Daily Post*, 1 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The "Wild West" in Leicester - The Opening Day.'

²⁶ *Argus* (Brighton), 12 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Buffalo Bill' At Brighton - Crowds watch the Cavalcade - An Imposing sight.'

²⁷ *Bristol Evening News*, 29 Sept. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West at Horfield - Successful Opening.'

²⁸ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West Show.'

²⁹ *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891, p5, "'Buffalo Bill's" Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.'

evident that in the breast of the savage a crude notion of art exists.³⁰

On the whole the lodges of the Lakota were greatly admired, and whilst the decoration was seen as 'rudimentary,' their efficiency and design was praised.

Strange to say, this primitive method of ventilation is entirely effectual, for no smoke is to be detected in the lower part of the tent, and as the Indians pass most of the time recumbent or sitting upon the mattress laid on the ground all round the interior, they do not suffer from the smoke at all.³¹

At 3pm the Cowboy band signalled the start of the entertainment, before the orator Hank Clifford mounted a platform and announced the beginning of the show. The exhibition closely followed the well-trying and tested formula that had been so successful in both America and Europe. The *Bristol Evening News* described in detail the programme of Buffalo Bill's *Wild West* in its review of the opening night:

[A] processional review introduces the bands of Redskins, both hostiles and friendlies; all in their warpaint and feathers, and giving the peculiar whoop of the Indian savage, and the cowboys on their fleet hardy ponies. Amongst the Indians, the principle figures of attraction were, of course, "Kicking Bear," the fighting chief of the Sioux Ghost Dancers, and "Short Bull," the high priest of the "Messiah craze" which produced the dangerous rising of last autumn. Then came the squaws, riding slowly into the arena, chanting a doleful ditty. Their advent was the signal for a vigorous recurrence of the shrill whoop of the braves. Following the squaws was John Nelson, who acted as scout for Brigham Young's party, and discovered the promised land of the Mormons over the Rockies, known as Salt Lake, Utah Territory. Each chieftain, decked in feathers and bangles, and each group of Indians, cowboys, and Mexicans was cheered on entering the arena and upon drawing up in line opposite the grand stand, but the cheers were increased when Colonel Cody entered. He cantered into the arena on a lithe, grey pony, with the seat of a perfect horseman, and as straight as an arrow, showing in his long ringlets and "imperial" many more grey hairs than when he was seen in London in 1887, but it must be remembered that since that time he has gone through another Indian rising and many hardships which would help to age him. The procession is followed by

³⁰ *Bristol Evening News*, 28 Sept. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West At Horfield.'- A Visit to the Camp. The Procession.'

³¹ *Evening Express* (Leeds), 20 June 1891, p5, 'In The Wild West Camp.'

an exciting race between a cowboy, a Mexican, and an Indian, all of whom rode Spanish-American horses. A display of rifle shooting by Miss Annie Oakley proved a most interesting feature. Miss Oakley at an early age exhibited a decided talent for shooting, which she has developed to an extraordinary extent, rendering her well worthy of the title of "Little Sure Shot" bestowed upon her by Sitting Bull, the great Indian Chief. Miss Oakley gives some marvellous illustrations of the accuracy of her aim by breaking in rapid succession under all sorts of conditions a number of glass balls thrown into the air from traps. Following this is an illustration of an adventure in the life of Buffalo Bill depicting the famous single combat with "Yellow Hand," chief of the Sioux, at War Bonnet Creek, Dakota, in the presence of the Indian and American troops on July 17th, 1876; in which the Indian is slain, and the scout gallops off with his scalp. A cowboy gave a capital example of pony express riding, showing how the letters and telegrams of the Republic were distributed previous to the introduction of railways and the development of the telegraph system. An attack upon an emigrant train by Indians, and their defeat by the emigrants, proved a most realistic item in the programme. Rifles and revolvers were cracking on all sides, and the yells of the Indians and the shouts of the cowboys made up a most exciting scene, the effect being heightened by the fall of men and horses before the fire of conflicting forces. A capital display of rifle practice was given by Johnny Baker, a young American marksman, who smashed the glass balls with a dexterity and accuracy only the result of long practice and a natural talent for shooting. One exceedingly difficult feat performed by him was the destruction, while standing on his head, of numerous balls thrown to a considerable height in the air. Mr Claude L. Daly also gave an exhibition of pistol and revolver shooting, which, as an example of skill with these weapons, could scarcely be equalled. Perhaps one of the most interesting features in the entertainment is a representation of the capture of the Deadwood mail coach by Indians. The coach used is the identical old Deadwood coach, called the mail coach, rendered famous on account of its adventures between Deadwood and Cheyenne. The coach, which was drawn by four mules, was driven yesterday by Buffalo Bill, who, as the driver of a coach for some time over the Rocky Mountains was well qualified to take a four horse team in hand. Having taken its passengers on board, the coach starts upon its journey, but the war whoops of some hostile Indians soon raised the excitement of the spectators to a high point, which was intensified when the Redskins dashed in waving their spears and firing their pistols at the coach and its occupants. A troop of cowboys, however, comes to the rescue, and the Indians being driven off, the coach proceeds triumphantly on its way. Some illustrations of cowboy amusements, such as picking up hats and handkerchiefs from the ground while riding at full speed, evoked hearty applause, as did an illustration of a hunt of wild horses, which were lassoed by the cowboys; the riders

rarely missing their aim when using this necessary accessory to prairie life. But the process of saddling and riding some of the buckjumpers was more keenly appreciated, perhaps than anything. There was no doubt as the genuine viciousness of the brutes, and they thoroughly bore out the maxim of "once a buckler, always a buckler." Some had attained such dexterity with their hind legs that they could almost kick a fly off one of their ears, and as they did not hesitate to give examples of their ability in this respect, the process of saddling was no easy matter. But brute resistance had in the end to give way to man's determination, and although there were some tough fights for victory, the buckers as a rule were vanquished, although they gave their riders a very unpleasant time of it until they dismounted. A buffalo hunt and the riding of a bucking steer by one of the cowboys created great amusement; and an exhibition of Indian life and customs was a very interesting feature, including a dance by the squaws and some arrow throwing by the braves. Colonel Cody gave a display of his abilities as a marksman by galloping round the arena and shooting at and breaking a succession of glass balls as they were thrown into the air by an attendant Indian who galloped alongside. Finally, with a repeating rifle, he smashed fifteen balls in succession with out moving the weapon from his shoulder. There were also some races between backwoods women and Indian boys, the latter riding barebacked horses, and an imitation of an attack upon a settler's cabin, with the capture by Indians and rescue by Buffalo Bill and the cowboys. The whole show is a big slice of Wild West life. A circus is not anyway near the show in interest or instructiveness. The Wild West show is grouped round one central idea; it has all been actual life, not long ago. Much of it is to be found out West to-day, but in twenty years a good deal of it will disappear. It is a case of seeing it now or never.³²

The exhibition appealed to both young and old, and was also accessible to all sections of the community. Tickets were priced from one through to four shillings, the latter for a seat in the grandstand, and all together 15,000 seats were available at each performance. By taking Buffalo Bill's Wild West on a tour throughout the country, Cody was able to present his image of the West to potentially well over four million people, and a much wider British audience than in 1887.³³

³² *Bristol Evening News*, 29 Sept. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West at Horfield - Successful Opening.'

³³ *Argus* (Brighton), 12 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Buffalo Bill's at Brighton - Crowds watch the Cavalcade - An Imposing sight.' The *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* observed that along with 'representatives of "the cloth"... town councillors, solicitors and manufacturers... the gathering was very representative of [all] the classes and masses of this big industrial centre.' *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 11 Aug.

The summer tour of provincial England was plagued by bad weather and the show's promise to perform come 'rain or shine' was put to the test. On the whole the torrential downpours do not appear to have affected the public's enthusiasm to see the show. The *Bristol Evening News* noted that the 'unpropitious weather had but little effect in keeping people away that had made up their mind to see the Wild West show.'³⁴ At the same time there can be no doubt that the inclement conditions to some extent marred the enjoyment of the exhibition. In Nottingham 'the rain was so heavy that it was with difficulty that the performers were seen at times,' and the discomfort of those whose price of admission allowed them only uncovered seats 'may be better imagined than described.'³⁵ Despite their own discomfort the spectators were filled with admiration for the performers who persevered throughout. The *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* recounted,

the rain descended in one very heavy, open torrent, and occasionally there were claps of thunder. But still the performance went on, and the Indians on parade covered their heads and smiled; they had got used to this common sample of our weather, and had no other alternative but to "grin and abide it."³⁶

By October the bad weather was beginning to take its toll, and in Portsmouth the press suggested that it 'constituted a drawback to the entire prosperity of the visit.' Cody was reported as commenting 'If our experiences of the weather were all like those at Portsmouth, we should have shut up and gone home.'³⁷ Worse was to come in Brighton when great damage was caused by a gale, which destroyed a large portion

1891, p6, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - Opening Day.' Furthermore, during this time period 'opportunities for recreation were widened by shorter hours of work and an increased surplus income available for leisure pursuits.' MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 8. *Croydon Times*, 17 Oct. 1892, p4. Four million is roughly based on the total number of tickets available for sale.

³⁴ *Bristol Evening News*, 5 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Local News and Jottings, The Wild West Show.'

³⁵ *Nottingham Daily Express*, 27 Aug. 1891, p8.

³⁶ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 11 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - Opening Day.'

³⁷ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.'

of a huge structure that was being erected for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. The continued high winds forced the management to cancel the exhibition for two days, the first performances lost since the Wild West had arrived in England.³⁸ The Brighton *Argus* reported that the gale had 'disturbed the equanimity of the Indians to a marked degree. Throughout the night they were to be heard singing in their own language pleading with their Messiah for the wind to cease.'³⁹

The Indians found the British climate to be very trying. A reporter for the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* commented,

They want to know when are we going to have summer. They can stand intense heat and intense cold, but the moisture in our heavily laden atmosphere is too much for them. They can not understand how it is we have so much rain or why the sun does not shine out from a blue unclouded sky. I was a privileged visitor on Tuesday to some of their tents. In one was an Indian suffering severely from rheumatism brought on I imagine by exposure to damp and whose spirits were greatly depressed.⁴⁰

The weather became the chief topic of conversation in the Wild West camp, with both the Indians and whites alike. Cody was quoted as saying, 'The most interesting thing I can talk about is the weather. This is the first fine day we have had for eight weeks.' Johnnie Baker, one of the show's marksmen stated 'England he liked, but not England's climate,' a sentiment echoed by Short Bull who remarked 'I like the English people but not their weather as it rains so much.'⁴¹ Luther Standing Bear recalled in his book *My People, The Sioux*, the difficulties of performing outdoors during an English summer.

³⁸ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 14 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Last Night's Gale.'; *Argus* (Brighton), 14 Oct. 1891 p3, 'The Wild West at Brighton.'

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 13 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Men and Things.'

⁴¹ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 12 Aug. 1891, p6, 'In the "Wild West" Camp.'; *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 26 Sept. 1891, p4, 'The "Wild West" Show at Cardiff - Some of the Celebrities Interviewed.' Crager, "As Narrated by Short Bull," 20, BBMG.

In some places in England I have seen those fogs so thick that one could not see across the arena in which we were giving our performance, and we had to ride very close to our audiences so they could see what we were doing. We suffered very much from wet feet, as we wore moccasins, which are not made for wet weather.⁴²

The tour did enjoy some good weather and in Bristol it was estimated that 100,000 people paid a visit to the show ground during 'a particularly fine week.'⁴³ Unfortunately pleasant atmospheric conditions also had a downside as was witnessed in Nottingham on the last day of the show's visit. A tremendous crowd of 20,000 people gathered, owing to the fine weather and special trains bringing in spectators from all parts of the surrounding countryside. At three o'clock the approaches to the exhibition were thronged, every seat was occupied and the pressure was reportedly 'enormous.' During Annie Oakley's performance of sharp shooting a portion of a stand near the entrance collapsed 'and 500 or 600 people were precipitated to the ground.' The *Nottingham Daily Express* reported that 'happily, although there were minor casualties, there was only one spectator seriously injured.'⁴⁴ When the show moved on to Leicester the management of the Wild West took measures to reassure the public 'as to the absolute safety of the seating arrangements,' by inviting the Borough Surveyor to inspect and satisfy himself that 'everything possible had been done... for the protection of the public.'⁴⁵

Despite the forces of nature, which may have seemed to conspire against Buffalo Bill's Wild West, the show did make money. The greatest returns were in Cardiff, where in one week it drew in 170,000 spectators, which bought in £10,000 from ticket sales.⁴⁶ Once again the last day of the show brought in huge crowds of over 37,000 people.

⁴² Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 262.

⁴³ *Bristol Evening News*, 5 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Local News and Jottings, The Wild West Show.'

⁴⁴ *Nottingham Daily Express*, 31 Aug. 1891, p8, 'Exciting Scene at the "Wild West" Show - Collapse of a Stand.'

⁴⁵ *Leicester Daily Post*, 1 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The "Wild West" in Leicester - The Opening Day.'

⁴⁶ Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 372; *Bristol Evening News*, 5 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Local News and Jottings, The Wild West Show.'

So great was the desire to see Buffalo Bill's Wild West, that long before the time for the performance arrived all available space within the enclosure was occupied, and it was reported that 'officials had to refuse offers of 20s for standing room.'⁴⁷ In Sheffield Cody's profit for the week was £1,500, and even on one of the wettest afternoons in Nottingham the exhibition took £600 at the door.⁴⁸

There were also economic benefits for the towns that Buffalo Bill's Wild West visited. The *Bristol Evening News* recorded that 'Excursion trains... carried thousands of our country neighbours yesterday morning into the city... and tradesmen... must surely feel indebted to Buffalo Bill for bringing in trade for them as well as for the Wild West Exhibition.'⁴⁹ The *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* also commented that the visit of the Wild West 'caused some hundreds of pounds to circulate,' further noting that 'the cab and carriage proprietors having been among those who have largely benefited by it.'⁵⁰ In Nottingham so many people came into the town 'by excursions, that the theatres have "turned money from the doors,"... some of the eating houses have been laid as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard; and the bus fares have been put up to twopence.'⁵¹ Local publicans were also enabled to cash in, by applying for temporary licenses 'to sell intoxicating liquors from 11am to 10pm at the Buffalo Bill's "Wild West" show.'⁵² Other businesses used Buffalo Bill's name in their advertising, selling a great variety of products, from hotel accommodation to cigarettes and alcohol, and even furniture.⁵³

⁴⁷ *Bristol Evening News*, 28 Sept. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West At Horfield - A Visit to the Camp - The Procession.'

⁴⁸ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 20 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Men and Things'; *Nottingham Daily Express*, 29 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Saturday Notes.'

⁴⁹ *Bristol Evening News*, 29 Sept. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West at Horfield - Successful Opening.'

⁵⁰ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 15 Aug. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West in Sheffield.'

⁵¹ *Nottingham Daily Express*, 29 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Saturday Notes.'

⁵² *Manchester Evening Mail*, 23 July 1891, p2, 'The Refreshment Licence of the "Wild West"'; *Leicester Daily Post*, 29 Aug. 1891, p6, "Buffalo Bill's" Wild West in Leicester.

⁵³ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 21 Sept. 1891, fp.; *Bristol Evening News*, 30 Sept. 1891, p2,

At the start of every performance thousands of British spectators eagerly awaited Cody's presentation of the conquest of the American West, and the part played by the Indians was central to the whole exhibition, their primary role being to attack whites. Richard White has observed that 'in Cody's story Indians were vital. The scout, a man distinguished by his "knowledge of Indians' habits and language, familiar with the hunt, and trustworthy in the hour of extremest danger," took on meaning only because he overcame Indians.... [And] Buffalo Bill made the conquest of savages central.'⁵⁴

Buffalo Bill offered what to modern historians seems an odd story of conquest: everything is inverted. His spectacles presented an account of Indian aggression and white defense; of Indian killers and white victims; of, in effect, badly abused conquerors. Such reenactments open a window onto a particularly interesting aspect of American iconography of the frontier.... Americans had to transform conquerors into victims. The great military icons of American westward expansion are not victories, they are defeats: the Alamo and the Battle of the Little Bighorn. We, these stories say, do not plan our conquests.... We just retaliate against barbaric massacres.⁵⁵

A reporter for the *Leeds Daily News* remarked that it would appear that the Indians did not 'have any other function in life than to be defeated.' He went on to suggest 'with the utmost diffidence... that the Indians should have a chance for once in a way. Too much defeat of the Red Man is apt to become monotonous.'⁵⁶ Yet Buffalo Bill's Wild West did not always represent the Indians as being the vanquished, and on occasion they were presented as powerful and formidable barriers to the march of civilisation.

⁵⁴ Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in *The Frontier in American Culture* ed. James R. Grossman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 9, 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 27.

⁵⁶ *Leeds Daily News*, 25 June 1891.

When the exhibition travelled north to Glasgow for the winter season, Nate Salsbury revived Steele MacKaye's indoor pageant *The Drama of Civilisation*, which was originally written for the Wild West show when it performed at Madison Square Gardens in New York.⁵⁷ The show depicted 'notable events in American history' with the programme being divided into six epochs, and it could be argued that the fifth epoch cast the Indians as victors in Cody's depiction of the defeat of Custer at the Little Big Horn.⁵⁸

We are taken to a military post on the frontier, the first scene being laid in a stockade, when the soldiers are enjoying their leisure, while their horses are tethered close by. Buffalo Bill, the chief of scouts, arrives with the information that a band of hostiles is in the neighbourhood. "Boots and saddle" is sounded, and the troops are put through a musical drill, which is worth going a long way to see. The incident, which follows, represents the massacre of General Custer and his entire following, which took place in 1876.

The Indians, under Sitting Bull, the chief, are seen camping on the Little Big Horn river, when they become aware of the advance of General Custer and his men. An ambush is formed, and, when the troops charge they are mastered by overwhelming numbers. Buffalo Bill, who has been dispatched for reinforcements, arrives at the camp to find it deserted by all but his dead comrades. These historical incidents are depicted with a completeness and effect, which it is impossible to overestimate.⁵⁹

The *Glasgow Evening News* gave the opinion that this episode was 'perhaps the finest of the series,' a thought echoed by the *Glasgow Herald* whose correspondent remarked 'The fall of General Custer formed one of the most striking series of pictures shown during the evening.'⁶⁰ Kasson astutely noted that

⁵⁷ Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 322. 'The Drama of Civilisation' was also performed in Manchester in 1887, see Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 142, and Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986) 21.

⁵⁸ Parker, *Odd People I Have Met*, 84

⁵⁹ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 Nov. 1891, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show - Opening Night in Glasgow.'

⁶⁰ *Glasgow Evening News*, 17 Nov. 1891, p.2, 'Buffalo Bill's "Wild West".'; *Glasgow Herald*, 17 Nov. 1891, p9, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West.'

by presenting an episode from frontier history that did not end happily, the Wild West risked contradicting its promise of triumphant conquest. Yet in the show as in the battle itself, the death of Custer gave advocates of expansionism a martyr whose death could justify their cause. And Custer's death did not end the performance: Buffalo Bill galloped in, too late to rescue Custer but poised to continue the work of conquest.⁶¹

Unlike many contemporary interpretations of the history of America, Cody's show acknowledged the history of the continent before the arrival of the Europeans.⁶² The first epoch of the drama had been set in 'the primeval forest, before the advent of Cortez and his faithful horse, when the redman had the place all to himself.'⁶³ The *North British Daily Mail* related that following the opening 'parade of the celebrities... a realistic view of a primeval forest in America is given.'

Here the spectators, one might say, are startled with a rush of Red Indians, who bear down on the central part with great speed and a whooping cry. They divide and pass out by side exits almost before the spectators have recovered their equilibrium. Then an amusing meeting of two Indian tribes takes place, the sign language causing no end of merriment. The Feather and Omaha or War dance then follow to the tom-tom of a band of Oval eyed women. Six move round in a ring as if one, while others dance in the most unskilled fashion possible.⁶⁴ [Fig. 27]

⁶¹ Kasson further argued that 'the Wild West's presentation of the battle gave audiences an opportunity to recast defeat as victory. Although the dramatic enactment portrayed the death of Custer and his men, Buffalo Bill rode onto the stage at the incident's conclusion, counter-factually suggesting a triumphant happy ending. Indeed, the Wild West's version of Custer's Last Stand could be seen as an act of revenge for the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Again and again, reviewers stressed that Indian performers in the Wild West had been, or were believed to have been, actual participants in the battle. Not only did the claim bolster the Wild West's pretensions to authenticity, but it also suggested that the tables were now turned: Indians who had mastered Custer were now under the control of Buffalo Bill.' Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 113, 245.

⁶² *The Lady's Pictorial* (London), 21 May 1892, stated, 'strange to say, I have lived in the crass ignorance of there ever having been any ancient America.'

⁶³ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 Nov. 1891, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show - Opening Night in Glasgow.'

This section of the exhibition was also echoed in the provincial tour of England. The *Birmingham Daily Post* noted that with the Wild West's return visit, the programme had been 'a little amplified so as to illustrate more comprehensively the Indians modes of life in peace and war.'⁶⁵ Perhaps the most detailed description of the Wild West's exhibition of Indian life and customs was given by the *Leeds Daily News* when it stated:

The tribe is supposed to be on the march. Two mounted scouts lead the way, and the rest come on in a body, the men mounted and the women most ungallantly being allowed to walk. A halt is called, and whilst the braves hold a "powwow," which seemed to demand a fearful amount of guttural language, the ladies were rigging up a wigwam. This structure is of the most rudimentary character. A few poles are loosely fastened at one end and erected, the canvas is wrapped round the poles, and the entire establishment is complete. The women, having finished the wigwam, sit down on the grass and presently there arises a tom-toming, accompanied by a wailing noise, which is alleged to be some kind of singing.⁶⁶

Other publications took note of the costumes of the Indians, and the London journal *The Queen* recalled how the Indian's attire added to the overall effect.

The Sioux chief "No Neck," a sedate looking and yellow-skinned individual, appears in all the glory of the traditional eagle-feather head-dress, what may possibly be accounted full dress *à la barbare*, and makes an imposing figure on horseback. Some are painted from top to toe in brilliant yellows, flaming pinks, blue stripes, and pale greens, while their bodies are decorated with beads, feathers, bones, and flying draperies; all these, combined with their long, black streaming hair, makes an effective and picturesque tableau, as they come tearing across the vast arena at full gallop, or, when leaping from their horses, they group themselves in an immense semi-circle, and indulge in one of their remarkable dances.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *North British Daily Mail*, 23 Nov. 1891, p6 'Saturday Entertainment.'

⁶⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West Show.'

⁶⁶ *Leeds Daily News*, 25 June 1891.

⁶⁷ *The Queen* (London), 28 May 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

Another London publication, *The Morning*, ridiculed the Indians' dress, disdainfully noting that 'the Indian has a weakness for ornaments, and an objection to wearing apparel, except paint, when on parade.'⁶⁸

Unlike Sitting Bull, who had enjoyed a privileged role in the 1885 show, the Ghost Dancers' role in the exhibition was the same as all other Indian members of the cast. In his essay 'The Indians,' which was published in the exhibition catalogue *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, Vine Deloria asserted that Cody the showman had understood Sitting Bull's 'drawing power and personal dignity, and gave him a positive role to play in the show.'

Rather than require Sitting Bull to participate in the mock battles and otherwise make a fool of himself, Buffalo Bill treated the old man as a distinct and noble personality. At an opportune time in the show Sitting Bull would ride impassively and nobly into the arena alone on a horse and for several moments be the sole attraction of the show. Rather than the fearful savage of pulp novels, Sitting Bull was seen as the charismatic statesman of an Indian nation.⁶⁹

The notoriety of the Ghost Dancers was instead used in the exhibition's publicity in order to affirm the integrity of the Indian performers, and thus to pull in the crowds. A poster for the performance in Leeds stated that the exhibition included 'some of the most celebrated amongst the "Friendlies" and "Hostiles" of last winter's campaign in Dakota, notably "Kicking Bear," "No Neck," "Yankton Charley," "Long Wolf," "Black Heart," "Scatter," "Revenge," "Big Wolf," and "Short Bull".'⁷⁰ [Fig. 28] But the majority of such promotion occurred in the pre-publicity articles, in newspaper interviews with Cody or other Wild West personnel, or in articles inspired by the exhibition's press releases.

⁶⁸ *The Morning* (London), 3 June 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁶⁹ Vine Deloria, Jr., "The Indians," in *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1981) 51.

⁷⁰ Publicity poster for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Leeds, 1891, Leeds City Library Archives, Leeds.

More often than not the British press compared the Ghost Dancers with the other notable Indian performers, and subsequently all of the Indian performers were conveniently categorised as either 'Hostiles' or 'Friendlies.' In a feature entitled "Buffalo Bill's" Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection,' the *Leicester Daily Post* made the following statement with regards to the Indian element of the show.

Some of them are men who were friendly to the Government in the late troubles, others are from the ranks of the hostile Indians and are being held as hostages or prisoners of war. Colonel Cody travels them of course with the permission of the Interior Department of the... Government - a permission which was not secured without some trouble. Probably the two most interesting Indians in the troupe are "Kicking Bear" and "Short Bull," both of whom were hostiles. The former is an Ogallalla Sioux and he was the "war chief of the Messiah craze." Space does not permit a description of the "craze" or the dancers. They were at the bottom of the "rackets" of last winter. A wave of intense excitement passed through the whole reservation, caused by an idea that an Indian Messiah was about to arise who, as a chief described it, "was to set right the wrongs of my people; who would restore to us our game and hunting-grounds, and was so powerful that every wish or word he gave utterance to became fulfilled. Both "Kicking Bear" and "Short Bull" are hostages. "Black Heart" has already been alluded to. He has been with the Colonel much longer than any other of the Indians having travelled with the last contingent. Chief "No Neck" is an Ogallalla, and he was a leading Government scout in the last campaign. "Lone Bull" is another interesting chief, who was a "brave" with "Short Bull" and "Kicking Bear." John Shangrau, a Government scout, is the interpreter in the band, and in charge of the military hostages.⁷¹

Other newspapers discussed the Ghost Dancers in more detail when they reviewed the opening night, as illustrated by the *Birmingham Daily Post*.

The processional review with which the entertainment opened served to introduce the most conspicuous members of the troupe not already known. By far the most remarkable of these is Short Bull, the John Baptist of the Sioux Messiah. He is a tall, phlegmatic Indian, whose face betrays the temperament of an ascetic and a visionary. They say that he still cherishes the dear delusion which was first implanted in

⁷¹ *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891, p5, "Buffalo Bill's" Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.'

his mind by a missionary from Utah, whose teaching of a militant Christianity he would seem to have understood with a pathetic literalism. It is easy to conceive how such a man as he, speaking his golden prophecy among a people desperate with famine, gave hope and purpose to their discontent. Kicking Bear, the fighting chief of the ghost-dancers, has a face in which, even when his features are at rest, one reads plainly the bitter resentment and potential cruelty of another Sitting Bull. Then there are Lone Bull, Scatter, and Revenge, younger if not handsomer men, and eighteen other hostages. The friendly chiefs are headed by No Neck, an important Government scout in the campaign, and now the leading chief of the Aston camp. Long Wolf is an "old-time warrior," with a great record, which served him in good stead as a conciliator of the rebels. Bone Necklace, once a mighty man of valour also, has become in his extreme age the legendary historian of the Sioux. Black Heart, when in England last, had hardly won his spurs, but in the critical negotiations with the Bad Lands chiefs he incurred great peril, and did yeoman service.⁷² [Figs. 29 & 30]

The Ghost Dancers were not specifically referred to in the advertisements that appeared daily in the local press. A correspondent of the Manchester publication *The Umpire* complained 'I don't think Colonel Cody has made enough in the advertisements of the fact that a great many of his Indians took part in the very natural rising against Yankee fraud which took place last year.'⁷³ Cody, a master of showmanship and self-publicity, may have avoided such direct advertisements of the Ghost Dancers because of Herbert Welsh's accusation in the *New York Evening Post*, that Cody had advertised in 'the London edition of the *New York Herald*' that he was 'coming to Europe "with fifty of the worst Indians who had been engaged in the Wounded Knee fight."' Welsh's allegation had been strongly denied by Nate Salsbury, who in his reply had defied Welsh's informant Mary Collins to produce her evidence.⁷⁴ But under such circumstances the Wild West's management may have felt that it would not do to give the exhibition's critics further ammunition.

⁷² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West Show.'

⁷³ *The Umpire* (Manchester), 8 May 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁷⁴ See *New York Evening Post*, 27 Apr. 1891, Folder#48, Collins Papers, SDSHS; and Salsbury to Welsh, 18 May 1891, *Ibid.*, SDSHS.

Buffalo Bill's *Wild West* did not re-enact the Wounded Knee Massacre on this or any subsequent tours, despite encouragement to do so. The London *Pictorial Weekly* had suggested that 'with very little stage management... some of these scenes of actual warfare might very easily be represented, and would impart undoubted freshness to the "Wild West Show".'⁷⁵ The management's decision not to include such scenes would appear to suggest a degree of respect and sympathy toward the Lakota performers, for to re-enact an event so significant and still raw would have surely been very painful. Furthermore, it is highly probable that every single Lakota performer in the show had either lost relatives in the massacre or had been indirectly touched by the tragedy, and therefore it would be extremely unlikely that they would consent to 'perform' a re-enactment of it. It was not until 1913 when Cody embarked upon his film career with his epic 'The Indian Wars' that he would attempt to recreate the massacre.⁷⁶

Neither did the exhibition give a display of the Ghost Dance in the arena. None of the press reviews of Buffalo Bill's *Wild West* (of which there are a multitude) refer to any such displays, and with the presence of the Lakota Ghost Dancers and the amount of column space given over to them it would surely have not been overlooked.⁷⁷ It is unlikely that the Lakota Ghost Dancers who had maintained their belief in the religion would have 'performed' such a sacred religious ritual as entertainment in the *Wild West* show. Furthermore, Cody stated 'I prohibit the "ghost dance" in my camp, as it stirs up fanaticism,' and if he had undertaken the job of reconstructing the

⁷⁵ MacKenzie has shown the British appetite for 'the rapid translation of military and naval news to the stage which became the principal excitement of nineteenth-century theatre and one of its most enduring characteristics.' MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 44-46.

⁷⁶ See Chapter nine for a discussion of this endeavour.

⁷⁷ The Portsmouth *Evening News* erroneously stated that 'Buffalo Bill's Indians have performed the war-like 'ghost dance' under the shadow of Vesuvius.' The *Wild West* Indians had not yet encountered the ghost dance when the show performed in Italy, and therefore could not have performed it then. This mis-information was most likely inspired by an illustration in the exhibition's program.

hostiles as he claimed, then performing the Ghost Dance would have been contrary to this objective.⁷⁸

Yet at other functions demonstrations of the Ghost Dance did occur. Tom Cunningham has noted in his book *The Diamond's Ace* that at the end of the winter season in Glasgow, a smaller separate company did a short tour of local towns.

These appearances did not involve the entire company, but rather an abbreviated programme in the nature of a musical entertainment, entailing a grand total of about 60 artistes, with the Cowboy band at the top of the bill. They were supported by the Arlberger Troupe of Tyrolean Vocalists and a party of Sioux Indians. 'Savage' Indians were to perform 'aboriginal songs' as well as 'the famous religious ghost dance.'⁷⁹

The *Glasgow Evening News* commented that on the opening night the people of Greenock had been 'exceedingly entertained,' further noting that 'It was a unique spectacle...to witness the "Ghost Dance" by the Indians.'⁸⁰

Perhaps the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West was sensitive enough to their Indian performers to avoid re-enactments of Wounded Knee and performances of the Ghost Dance. Just as likely, they may have sought to avoid bad publicity in the United States, and they may also have realised that their Ghost Dancers would want no part of such spectacles. Yet their exploitation of both the Ghost Dancers' notoriety and

⁷⁸ Unidentified newspaper clipping, 29 May 1891, 'An Hour with General Cody,' CS, MS6.IX, box 2, McCracken Research Library, BBHC. Cody's rival and former business partner Doc Carver apparently did not share Cody's concerns, for when his competing exhibition Doc Carver's Wild America performed in San Francisco in July 1892 his program featured 'the Ghost Dance by the Indians who first performed it.' See *Oakland Tribune*, Aug 30 1962, in Record Group 3623 series 3, Folder 2, MC 32, WC, Nebraska State Historical Society, and Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 125.

⁷⁹ Cunningham, *Diamond's Ace*, 114.

⁸⁰ *Glasgow Evening News*, 1 Mar. 1892. Buffalo Bill Museum, Paul Fees Files - Scotland, BBHC.

their association with the recent military suppression went one stage further with one of their child performers, 'Little Johnny Burke No Neck.'

Many Indians who took part in that disastrous rising are now in General Cody's Camp, amongst them... a boy who lay four days on the field of the battle of Wounded Knee, of which he was the sole survivor on the Indian side.⁸¹

In her book *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*, Renee Flood stated that while in Pine Ridge John Burke, Cody's business manager, 'had acquired an infant survivor of the massacre' found beside the body of her dead mother, from John Yellow Bird, a local storekeeper. Burke purportedly was representing a childless friend at the time.⁸²

The major saw the little waif from Wounded Knee and hit upon the idea of securing the child for a wealthy socialite in Washington, D.C., Mrs. Alison Nailor, whose husband was Buffalo Bill's old hunting partner. Details of the transaction are unknown, but Burke stood godfather as the little girl was baptized Maggie C. Nailor in a Christian ceremony.⁸³

Flood speculated that 'even though he had ostensibly allowed the Nailors... to adopt her,' he probably had plans to exhibit the child in the Wild West show. Later Burke told the tragic tale of the infant to Cody's friend and commanding officer, Brigadier General Leonard W. Colby of the Nebraska State Guard. Colby was reportedly 'moved by "the pathos," and mesmerized by the baby's seemingly immortal spirit.' Flood goes on to assert:

As soon as Burke sensed Colby wanted the baby girl, the bargaining became heated. Buffalo Bill, Colby and Major Burke sat by the warm woodstove in Yellow Bird's store and bartered for the child.... Colby made the winning bid and late that cold night, January 6, 1891, the

⁸¹ *Evening Express* (Leeds), 20 June 1891, p4, "Buffalo Bill" Interviewed.'

⁸² Renée Sansom Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee: Spirit of the Lakota* (New York: Scribner, 1995) 70.

⁸³ Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*, 62. See also *Woman's Tribune*, 10 Jan. 1891, and Don Huls *The Winter of 1890 (What Happened at Wounded Knee)* (Chadron: The Chadron Record, 1974) 39,49.

general took... his newly acquired baby to his tent, where they would stay until he arranged for transport to Rushville the next day.⁸⁴

Whatever the truth behind this, the Wild West show did acquire a 'Wounded Knee orphan,' little 'Johnny Burke No Neck,' reportedly named after his two adoptive fathers.⁸⁵ Whether Burke was legally the boy's adoptive father remains doubtful as the child was only referred to by this name in Wild West show publicity and press reports. In the Pine Ridge Census Records for 1893 it is recorded that No Neck and his wife Ellen had an adopted son known as Young Cub, or Cub Bear, who was aged 8 at the end of 1893. Furthermore, Short Bull recorded in his 1891 narrative that those survivors they could not transport on the day of the massacre when they visited the site to see the dead and help the injured, were later taken by a party led by No Neck. He recounted:

So we "hitched up" four of the wagons we found here... picking up all that we could find who were not dead (some forty odd), taking them to a deserted house nearby on Wounded Knee Creek. Those whom we thought fatally wounded we left here and with the rest we started for our camp. It began to snow during the night and by morning a heavy snow had fallen, but we started for Wounded Knee about noon. When we reached the house we saw our friends were gone, but afterwards ascertained that they had been taken to the Agency by friendlies in charge of "No Neck."⁸⁶

That No Neck removed the injured Lakota left by Short Bull's party might also reinforce the idea that it was in fact No Neck and his wife who had adopted the boy, having found him orphaned and injured. This assumption would appear to be confirmed by the Cardiff *Evening News*, which stated:

⁸⁴ Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*, 70-71. Colby's acquisition of the child was not the end of the story, and Cody became involved in Colby's successful attempt to recapture the baby, when it had been taken by Annie Yellow Bird into the encampment of the Ghost Dancers. For information on the child's subsequent life see Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*.

⁸⁵ *Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1891 Program*, p42, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow;

⁸⁶ Crager, "As Narrated by Short Bull," 18, BBMG.

He is the only survivor of the Battle of "Wounded Knee," and when found on the battlefield by the chief "No Neck," had lost his skin by the combined action of sun and snow.⁸⁷

No Neck received \$55 a month for performing in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, the largest wage of all the Indian performers. Yankton Charley, Short Bull and Kicking Bear were each paid \$50 a month, Blackheart received \$35, whilst all the other Lakota men received \$25 and the eight Lakota women were each paid \$10 a month. The complete list of all the Indians who left to travel with Buffalo Bill's Wild West on their 1891-92 tour records that that the remuneration of \$55 was for both No Neck and his 'Adopted son, from the Wounded Knee battlefield.'⁸⁸ [Fig. 31]

The programme for the second tour of Britain by Buffalo Bill's Wild West included a photograph of the young boy in a section entitled 'Ghost Dances in the West.' The caption underneath reads:

"Johnny Burke No Neck" - Found on the Battle Field of Wounded Knee after the annihilation of Big Foot's Band.⁸⁹ [Fig. 32]

It would seem that the majority of British newspaper references were taken from this cue. The *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* noted, 'An Indian boy, named Johnny Burke No Neck, was picked up amongst the dead and wounded in one of the most sanguinary skirmishes that took place last winter.'⁹⁰ Whilst the *Leicester Daily Post* commented, 'There is one member of the band who must not be forgotten - "Johnny Burke No Neck," a little Indian laddie, who was found on the battlefield of Wounded Knee, and who has been adopted by the managers of the exhibition.'⁹¹ The Brighton publication, *The Argus*, was one of many British newspapers to erroneously state that he was 'the sole survivor of the decisive battle of Wounded Knee, which resulted in

⁸⁷ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 22 Sept. 1891, "Wild West" in Cardiff. - Opening Day - An Interesting Procession.'

⁸⁸ Penny to CIA, 28 Mar. 1891, PR, M1282 p179-181, RG 75, FARC.

⁸⁹ *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* 1891 Program, p42, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow;

⁹⁰ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 8 Aug. 1891, p.6, 'Buffalo Bill at Sheffield.'

the annihilation of Big Foots band and the submission of the rebellious Indians.⁹² The idea that he was the 'sole survivor' enhanced the perception of the boy as the symbolic embodiment of the prevailing Social Darwinist concept of the vanishing race.⁹³

A number of reporters who were given a guided tour through the camp were allowed to meet the boy, and were therefore able to introduce him to their readers as more than just a symbol of a vanquished people.

One little denizen of the village who came up to be introduced, and though but about seven years of age, has a remarkable history.... He, however, is now as lively as a cricket, and on Sunday romped around his adoptive fathers, Major Burke and "No Neck," who divide honours for his patronymic, his name being Johnnie Burke No Neck.⁹⁴

A reporter for the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* appears to have been quite taken with the child when introduced to him by the Lakota interpreter, George Crager:

He appears to be a bright intelligent little fellow, he clings around the interpreter with a childish confidence that was very interesting, and we are glad to learn that he is becoming acquainted at six years of age with the mysteries of the English A B C. He wears a quaint Indian necklace, and seems to understand the value of an English sixpence.⁹⁵

The Portsmouth *Evening News'* journalist was equally impressed, happily making the common mistake of the British press in presuming the Lakota greeting of 'Hau' to be a rude imitation of English.⁹⁶

⁹¹ *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891, p5, "Buffalo Bill's" Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.'

⁹² *Argus* (Brighton), 12 Oct. 1891 p3, 'Buffalo Bill' At Brighton - Crowds watch the Cavalcade - An Imposing sight.'

⁹³ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 23 Dec. 1891. In the illustration 'Col. Cody's (Buffalo Bill) Entertainment in the Grand Hotel' the boy is captioned 'The last of the stock.'

⁹⁴ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 22 Sept. 1891, "Wild West" in Cardiff - Opening Day - An Interesting Procession.'

⁹⁵ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to Camp.'

⁹⁶ See p262 for a further discussion of this point.

The little fellow, who is supposed to be no more than six years old, had also caught the English knack of greeting, and held out his hand with a sound very much resembling our "Hullo." ⁹⁷

Cody had not been the only white American to exploit and profit from the tragedy in South Dakota. When the burial party went out to bury the dead three days after the massacre, they were joined by photographers who later sold copies of the infamous Wounded Knee pictures, and by 'relic hunters' who profited by selling artefacts removed from bodies and the massacre site. 'Everything of interest in the late Pine Ridge War are held by us for sale' proclaimed one company, who purportedly sold photographs to a representative of Cody's at Pine Ridge.⁹⁸ On 19 March 1891, George Trager, one of the proprietors of the of the Northwestern Photographic Co.,

went to Rushville, Nebraska, to negotiate the sale of war views with a representative of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show. There is no indication whether or not those negotiations were successful, but given Cody's involvement with the Wounded Knee episode it is likely that some accommodation was reached.⁹⁹

A number of reporters who were fortunate enough to receive an invitation into Cody's tent, commented on his 'fine collection of photographs of scenery and incidents, taken during the Pine Ridge expedition last year.'¹⁰⁰ One journalist who obviously found the images to be of great interest, remarked:

General Cody has brought back to Europe a large collection of war photographs. In one of them you see the grim face of Big Foot, lying dead and half buried in the snows of Wounded Knee Creek; in another he shows you General Custer's old regiment, now commanded by General Forsyth, going under canvas after the fight; Kicking Bear, Short Bull, and John Burke No Neck are all subjects of characteristic portraits; the views of Pine Ridge Agency, the Catholic Mission close

⁹⁷ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891 p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.'

⁹⁸ Klein, "Everything of interest in the late Pine Ridge War are held by us for sale," 68.

⁹⁹ Jensen et al, *Eyewitness*, 58

¹⁰⁰ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 5 Oct. 1891, p3, 'The Wild West at Portsmouth.'

by, the Indian Scouts at drill, and the hostile Indian encampment are all interesting in their way.¹⁰¹

The market for 'historical souvenirs' was by no means restricted to America. As the Wild West toured Europe, enthusiasm for souvenirs and artefacts followed it. Museums around the continent were acquiring treasures from supposedly inferior, conquered civilisations all over the world, and several seized the opportunity to purchase whatever they could of Siouan culture. Glasgow Museums were typical, and during the Wild West's lengthy visit to the Scottish city they acquired from George Crager, the Lakota interpreter for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, a number of items including four 'Wounded Knee' artefacts.¹⁰²

With story of the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre remaining pre-eminent in public consciousness, Cody's former business partner, 'Doc' William F. Carver, went one stage further than Buffalo Bill's Wild West when his company Doc Carver's Wild America performed in San Francisco in June 1892. They advertised in the press that their show 'The Scout,' included 'Splendid Specimens of the Savage of the Plains; a Band of Warriors from the Tribe of Sitting Bull, who took part in the Battle of Wounded Knee.' Moreover, when the company performed on the Piedmont Baseball Grounds in July 1892, the programme included not only 'Scalp and War Dances,' but also 'the Ghost Dance by the Indians who first performed it.'¹⁰³

One of Carver's performers had been a Fort Sheridan prisoner and had toured Britain with Cody. Standing Bear, an elderly Sicangu (Brule) leader, had returned home from Britain in August 1891 suffering from 'lung problems,' which had been exacerbated by

¹⁰¹ Unidentified newspaper clipping, 29 May 1891, 'An Hour with General Cody,' CS, MS6.IX, box 2, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

¹⁰² Maddra, *Glasgow's Ghost Shirt*, 12; Acquisition Register, Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, Glasgow.

¹⁰³ *Oakland Tribune*, Aug 30 1962, RG 3623 series 3, Folder 2, MC 32, WC, Nebraska State Historical Society, and Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 125.

exposure during the previous 'winter's troubles.' Touring with Carver was little better, and he complained to a journalist, 'My feet ache here; I cannot breathe.'¹⁰⁴

Carver's exploitation of the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre differed from Cody's in that he had no compunction about having the Lakota perform a Ghost Dance: moreover, the show was performed to white Americans, a potentially more hostile audience than those in Europe. But as Moses noted 'Standing Bear and the others in the troupe would be the last Indians employed by Carver for some time to come.' The Commissioner of Indian Affairs had successfully banned Carver (and his partner Fred C. Whitney) from employing any more show Indians, when it was found that his agent had illegally coerced the Indians into joining the show.¹⁰⁵

Cody's use of the twenty-three Lakota Ghost Dancers and 'Little Johnny Burke No Neck' as performers in Buffalo Bill's *Wild West*, conformed with the management's desire to employ authentic characters from the 'Old West.' Cody had learned early in his theatrical career that the paying public delighted in seeing the genuine article, a belief shared by a correspondent in the *Leicester Daily Post* who contended

The scenes which will be depicted derive a peculiar interest from the fact that many of those taking part in them have been actual participants in such episodes in the ordinary course of existence.¹⁰⁶

It was not only Buffalo Bill himself who had 'been there' in reality but also a number of the other performers in the exhibition, including of course the Indian contingent.

The *Glasgow Herald* remarked

He brings with him to Glasgow other men whose names are written in American frontier history. For instance... a troop of nearly seventy dusky-skinned Indian warriors, many of whom are known on account of the part they have taken in Indian risings. There are four of the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid; see also Cody, Stoke on Trent, to Secretary of War, Aug. 19 1891, LR 32171-1891, RG 75, NA.

¹⁰⁵ See Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 124-25.

¹⁰⁶ *Leicester Daily Post*, 29 Aug. 1891 p4.

savages who were present at the massacre of General Custer's Brigade, which is described as "the reddest page of savage history."¹⁰⁷

'To those acquainted with recent American frontier history yesterday's performance appealed with especial interest,' suggested the same publication on 25 December 1891, given that a number of the Indian performers had 'exactly one year ago, been concerned in a deadly struggle against the race for whose amusement they are willing to act as players.'¹⁰⁸

The fact that the show contained actual participants from recent American frontier history fascinated the British press. The London *Evening News and Post* went as far as offering the American Government 'our warmest thanks,' for such an 'international courtesy,' having first noted that

Not many of us realise that in this unique show we get grim realities hidden under a circus dress.... [T]he Wild West Indian, as imported, is the genuine fighting article. These "hostiles" are practically prisoners out on bail. No proceedings by way of punishment upon them for their part in the disturbances of 1890-91 are contemplated by the United States Government, but they are held as hostages for the good behaviour of their tribes.¹⁰⁹

The use of such characters was not merely meant as a novel and entertaining idea, for at the same time such 'realism' was also calculated to give the appearance that Buffalo Bill's Wild West was a true and educational representation of life in the American West.

It is not only entertaining because of its novelty, but is paramouly instructive, and no one who has read the history of the Western States for the past quarter of a century can fail to appreciate the object lessons of the Wild West Show.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 Nov. 1891, p9, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West.'

¹⁰⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 25 Dec. 1891, p4, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West.'

¹⁰⁹ *Evening News and Post* (London), 14 May 1892, p2, '“The Wild West” With Special Reference to the Fiery Untamed Wildness of Its Indian Chiefs.'

¹¹⁰ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 Nov. 1891, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show - Opening Night in Glasgow.'

The educational nature of the Wild West was trumpeted by the show's advertisements, one of which proclaimed 'Scotland's unique educative amusement event. A festival replete with interest, instruction and pleasure.'¹¹¹

Yet not all of the characters represented were genuine. The Lakota Indians were also required to play the role of other Indian Nations. In an advertisement that appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* the exhibition was listed as including Arapaho, Brule, Cut-Off, Cheyenne, and Sioux Indians.¹¹² The Brulé and Cut-Off bands were both subdivisions of the Teton Sioux (Lakota), while the Arapaho and Cheyenne were separate Plains Indian Nations who shared strong bonds with the Lakota.

Furthermore, in the review of the opening night, the *Liverpool Mercury* illustrates how these groupings were introduced to the public at the start of the exhibition.

At a given signal a wild war-whoop is heard, and a group of painted Arapahoe Indians in full war paint and feathers, and mounted on spirited horses, dash headlong up the arena headed by "Plenty Wolves," their chief, who last winter figured as a U.S. army scout.... The next group is formed of Brules led by their chief, "Short Bull," who was only last winter the leader of the "hostiles." The other groups consisted of "Cut-Off" Indians led by "Kicking Bear;"... Cheyenne Indians, led by "Lone Bull;" [and] Sioux Indians of the Ogallala tribe, led by "Black Heat."¹¹³

The Indian performers who travelled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West for the 1891-92 tour of Britain were all Lakota Indians from either the Oglala or [Brulé] tribes. Therefore only Short Bull and Black Heart were given their true identities. Lone Bull was a Sicangu Lakota, whilst Plenty Wolves (Yankton Charley) and Kicking Bear were both Oglala Lakota.¹¹⁴ Luther Standing Bear who travelled with the show when it

¹¹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 19 Nov. 1891, p12.

¹¹² *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 July 1891, p1.

¹¹³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 7 July 1891, "Buffalo Bill" In Liverpool.'

¹¹⁴ Kicking Bear was an Oglala by birth, but became a Miniconjou band chief through marriage. See Utley, *Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 62.

toured Britain in 1903-04 noted, that 'While all the Indians belonged to the Sioux tribe, we were supposed to represent four different tribes.' In order to reinforce the tribal bands each group rode horses of a specific colour, which Standing Bear gave as being 'black, white, bay and buckskin-colored.'¹¹⁵ Vine Deloria acknowledged:

Because Cody was intent on showing the great variety of events and personalities that had produced the Western frontier, many of these Sioux were listed in the programs under other tribal affiliations so that the audience would believe Cody had recruited the most fearsome warriors of each tribe for his shows.... But such fictions were a necessary part of show business and were not seen by the Indians as anything more than an effort to increase the excitement that the show engendered. In any case, there would have been enormous problems had Cody actually recruited members of a variety of tribes: this tactic ensured the Indians of a good experience with the show.¹¹⁶

When the exhibition had played at Madison Square Gardens in New York during the winter of 1886-87, Buffalo Bill's Wild West had employed both Lakota and Pawnee Indians. Black Elk, a young Lakota performer who had been recently engaged from Pine Ridge, recalled that while the new arrivals were eating 'in the center of the Hippodrome,' they 'heard the Pawnee Indians whooping at us. They couped us in a friendly way and we just had to hurry out of there.'¹¹⁷ Whilst the incident described by Black Elk appears to be nothing more than friendly rivalry, travelling with only one group of Indians had the obvious advantage of avoiding any potential conflicts which might have occurred between the members of traditionally antagonistic tribes. Moreover, communication was essential in carrying off such a mammoth production and interpreting for and between a number of different tribes would have only complicated matters. Finally, it would have made the hiring of the Indian performers a longer and more convoluted process. It thus made sense to employ only the one group of Indians and have them play the part of others.

¹¹⁵ Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 252.

¹¹⁶ Deloria, Jr., "The Indians," 52.

¹¹⁷ DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*, 246.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented to British audiences an image of American efficiency, power, and triumphalism, not only in the arena, but also in their organisation, publicity and staging of the exhibition. Slotkin has noted that 'Cody's sense of the Wild West's educational and ideological mission was sharpened... by the responses of European audiences and reviewers to this "typically American" display.' Furthermore, 'his success as an exemplar and promoter of American values and national prestige on the world stage,' illustrates the significance of Cody as a cultural ambassador for America at this particularly significant time.¹¹⁸ [Fig. 33]

At the close of the nineteenth century the northern European countries of Britain, Germany and France were vying with the United States and Japan 'for territory and spheres of influence.'¹¹⁹ The context of America's 'short but significant career of overseas expansion,' has not been lost on the scholarly imagination, and a number of authors have argued that Buffalo Bill's Wild West 'sponsored, celebrated, and commemorated a racialized form of imperialism.'¹²⁰ There can be no doubt that the story of conquest told by the exhibition borrowed ideas from both Social Darwinism and the racial ideology of Anglo-Saxon superiority, which were also used to support

¹¹⁸ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 77,78. See also Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 88-123.

¹¹⁹ Angel Smith and Emma Dávila-Cox, eds, *The Crisis of 1898: Colonial Redistribution and Nationalist Mobilisation* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1999) 1.

¹²⁰ In 1898 the United States waged a three-month war with Spain. It took the Philippine Islands from Spain by treaty and formally annexed the Hawaiian Islands. In 1899 the United States expressed its policy toward western interests in China in the "Open Door" note. In 1900 it took part in suppressing the Chinese Boxer Rebellion. By 1902 it had suppressed insurrection in the Philippines; and in that year the islands were made an unorganised territory. See Walter Lafeber et al., *The American Century: a history of the United States since the 1890s*, Fifth Edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998) 22-29; Smith and Dávila-Cox, *The Crisis of 1898*, 4; and Gossett, *Race*, 310-338. For information on Buffalo Bill's Wild West and its imperialist message see Daniel Justin Herman, "God Bless Buffalo Bill," *Reviews in American History* 29 (2001) 228-237, in which he maintains that Slotkin argued that Cody's show 'taught lessons in imperialism and racial hubris,' and that Kasson 'points to Buffalo Bill's Wild West as an imperialist drama.' Herman, "God Bless Buffalo Bill," 229.

American and British imperialism.¹²¹ Reddin has noted that each European nation had its own particular response to Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and while the imperialistic nations of France, Germany and Britain all appeared to appreciate Cody's message enthusiastically, the responses in the less industrialised nations of Italy and Spain were not quite so ardent.¹²²

Moreover, Cody's Wild West offered 'a remedy to the malady of "over-civilization";' the anxiety of urban industrial and post-industrial life.¹²³ Reddin maintained that 'in a climate of neo-romanticism, enthusiasm for the "uncivilized" flourished, and many regarded former ages as somehow more wholesome and comfortable than their

¹²¹ Horseman noted that Anglo-Saxons were perceived 'as a separate, innately superior people who were destined to bring good government, commercial prosperity, and Christianity to... the world. This was a superior race, and inferior races were doomed to subordinate status and extinction.' Horseman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 1-2. Social Darwinism was the theory that individuals, groups, and peoples were subject to the same Darwinian laws of natural selection as plants and animals. Richard Hofstadter maintained 'The use of natural selection as a vindication of militarism or imperialism was nothing new in European or American thought. Imperialists, calling upon Darwinism in defense of the subjugation of weaker races, could point to *The Origin of Species*, which had referred in its sub-title to *The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life...* Had not Darwin himself written quite complacently, in *The Descent of Man*, of the likelihood that backward races would disappear before the advance of higher civilization?' Hofstadter further stated 'Anglo-Saxonism, like other varieties of racism, was a product of modern nationalism and the romantic movement rather than biological science.... In the decades after 1885, Anglo-Saxonism, belligerent or pacific, was the dominant abstract rationale of American imperialism. The Darwinian mood sustained the belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority which obsessed many American thinkers in the latter half of the nineteenth century.' Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944) 146-48.

¹²² Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 94, 100-111. 'Spain's empire was in decline, while Italy had not yet entered the imperial game; consequently the peoples of both nations were less captivated than were northern Europeans by shows that celebrated empire.' Herman, "God Bless Buffalo Bill," 231-32.

¹²³ Herman, "God Bless Buffalo Bill," 231; Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 7; Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 120.

own.¹²⁴ Yet Buffalo Bill's Wild West did more than just present a nostalgic image, it also offered audiences reassurance for the future.¹²⁵

The very qualities that seemed scarce in turn of the century – optimism and national and personal self-confidence – were found in abundance in the colorful, dramatic, and thoroughly spectacular world of Buffalo Bill.¹²⁶

Cody's exhibition did not challenge British preconceptions of Indians as exotic savages, but instead relied upon this 'image' to give the performances heightened drama, reinforced by the use of real characters, especially the Fort Sheridan prisoners. Yet the image presented of the Indians was not consistent with the experiences of the Lakota of the time. The Lakota were no longer nomadic warriors and hunters of the plains, but instead lived on reservations supported by government annuities, and the majority wore 'western' style clothing day to day rather than the costumes of the Wild West. There was no representation of reservation life in the Wild West arena as reservation Indians in white dress did not convey romantic notions of danger and therefore did not fit Cody's meta-narrative of heroic conquest.

Furthermore, Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented a story of conquest based on Indian and white conflict, but as the suppression of the Lakota Ghost Dance had illustrated reality was rather more complicated. After all, Sitting Bull had been shot by the Indian police, and Wild West Indians had fought on the side of the government in order to secure future employment. Perhaps a more honest telling of the story of conquest would have been Indians used against Indians for the benefit of the dominant white society. However, Buffalo Bill's Wild West was selling an American myth that told of Anglo-Saxon superiority and the inevitability of the 'survival of the

¹²⁴ Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 111.

¹²⁵ 'He claimed that the frontier experience [had] made America tough, resilient, and adaptable, and while they should venerate the past as he did, they should also look confidently to the future.' Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 121.

¹²⁶ Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 121.

fittest,' that British audiences bought into it betray their shared sense of racial and cultural superiority.¹²⁷

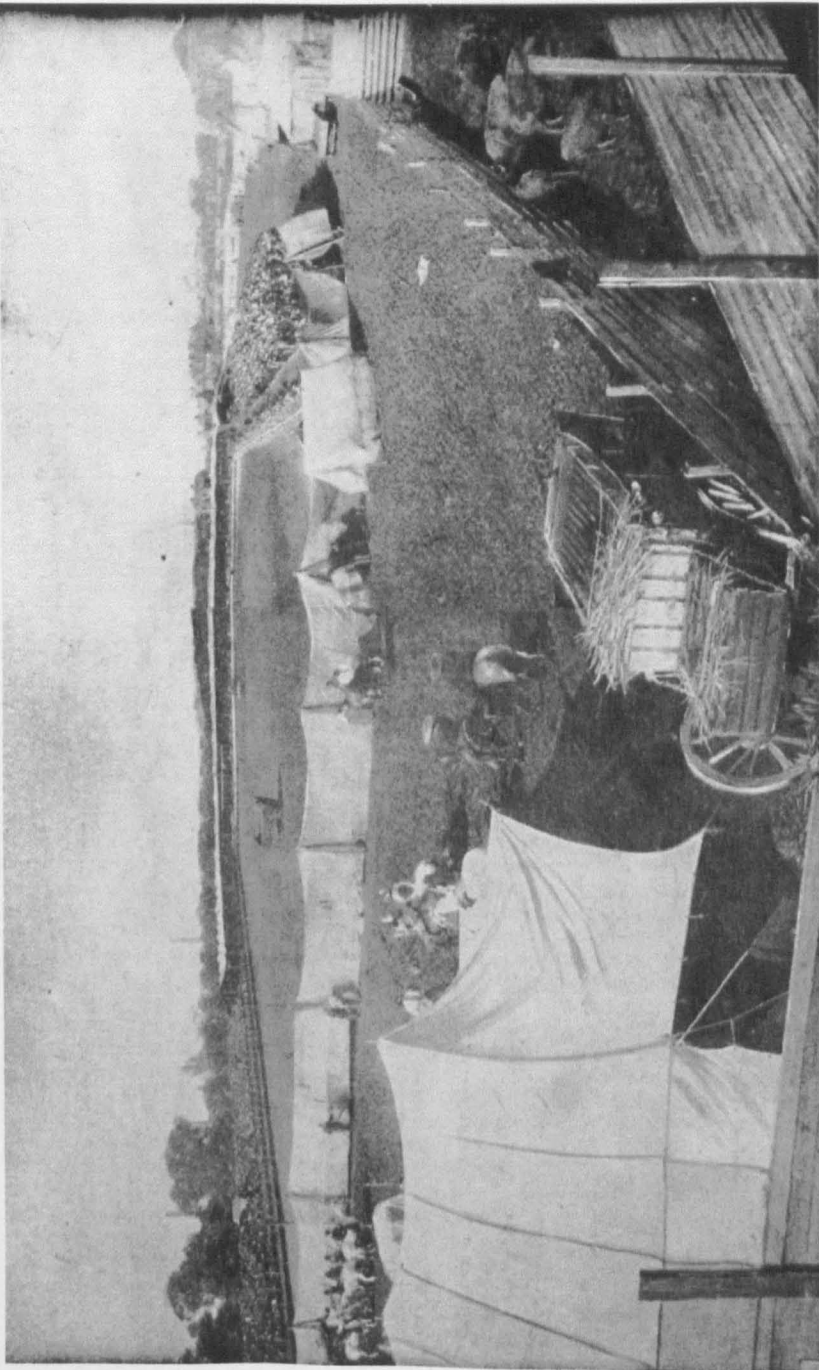
¹²⁷ 'The theory of Anglo Saxon superiority was invoked, not just only to justify American expansion, but also to promote closer relations between the United States and England.' Gossett, *Race*, 320. MacKenzie noted 'It is possible to identify an ideological cluster which formed out of the intellectual, national, and world-wide conditions of the later Victorian era, and which came to infuse and be propagated by every organ of British life in the period. It was made up of a renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes, together with a contemporary cult of personality, and racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism.... An imperial nationalism... through which the British defined their own unique superiority *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world.' See MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 2, 6, & 253.

Fig. 22. The troupe of
Buffalo Bill's Wild West
at Waterloo, France,
June 1891.





Fig. 23. Tour route of Britain 1891-92.
Detail taken from Wild West show poster 'From Prairie to Palace, Camping
on Two Continents.'



CAMP AT NOTTINGHAM—AS WILD WEST TRAVELED IN THE PROVINCES OF EUROPE.

Fig. 24. Buffalo Bill's Wild West performance in Nottingham, showing audience, arena and behind the scenes.

Fig. 25. Three Indians posing
for the photographer A. R.
Dresser in the Indian Camp,
London 1892.

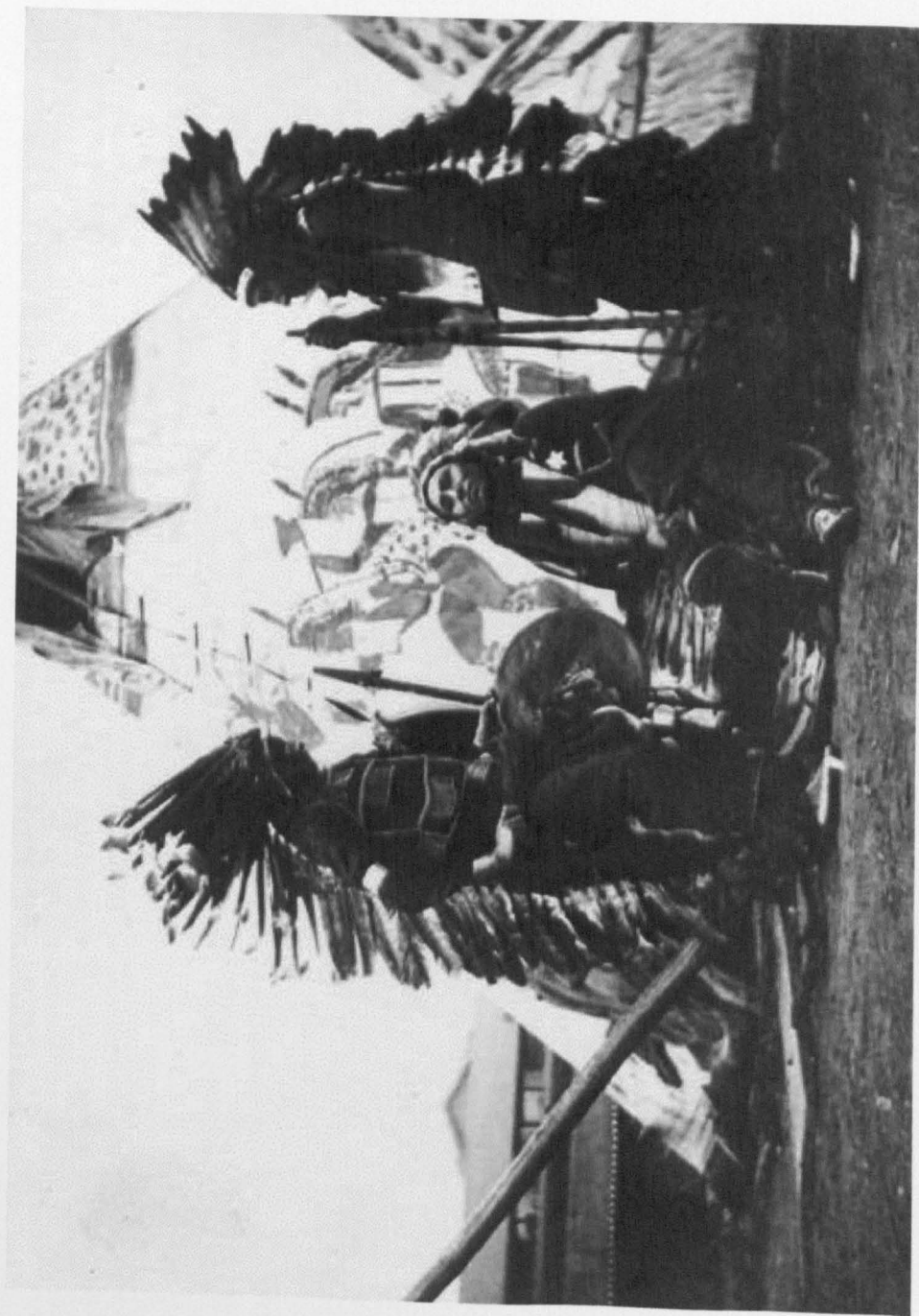




Fig. 26. Indian Camp, Buffalo Bill's Wild West exhibition, 1892.

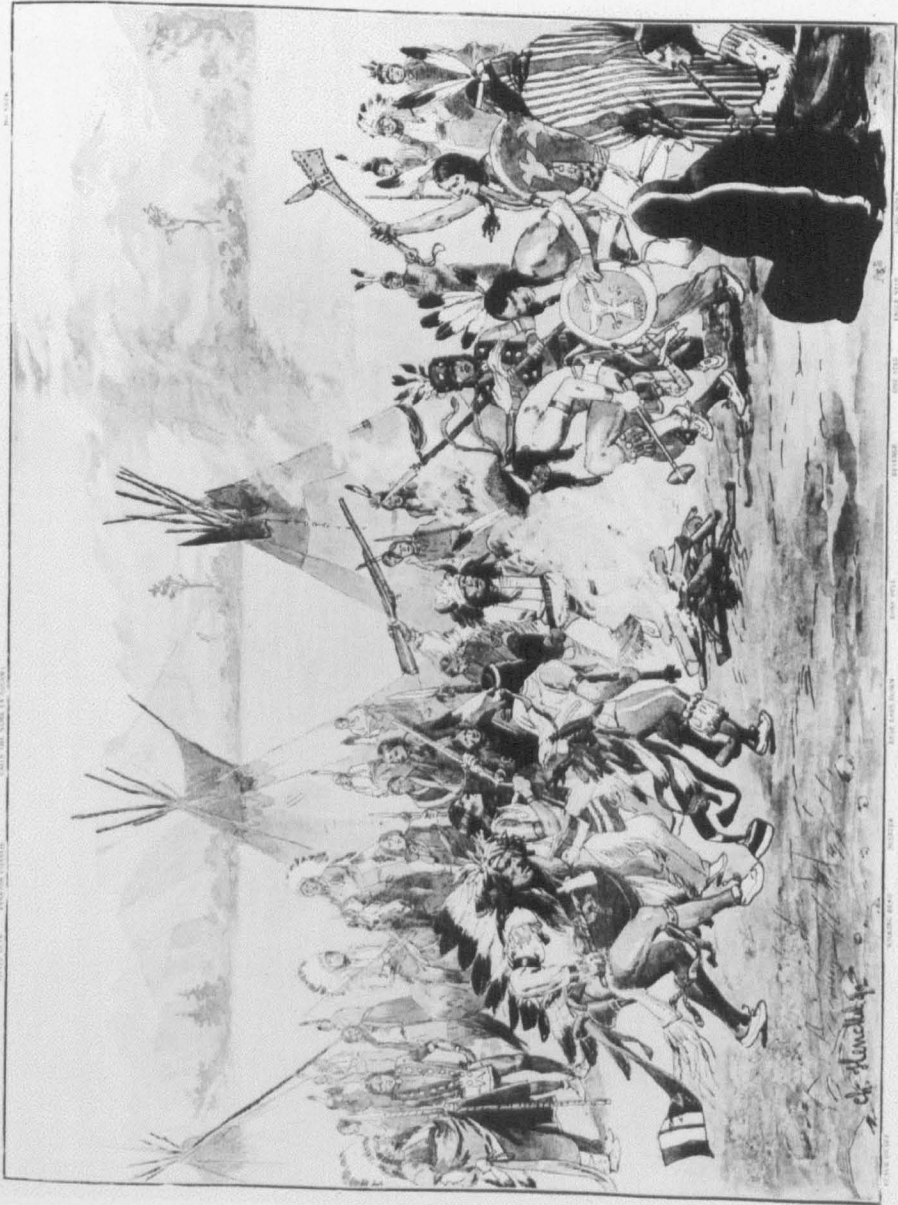


Fig. 27. Charles Henckel illustration of Wild West Indians.

Standing: Black Heart (far left), Call The Name (second right from horses), No Neck (second from right).

Dancers: Kicking Bear, Scatter, Bear Lays Down, Lone Bull, Revenge, One Star, Eagle Star, Long Wolf.

Seated far right: Short Bull.

Published in *Black and White*, September 10, 1892, p.313.

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TRIUMPHANT TOUR

Of Continental Europe!

Plain, Primitive, Colossal in all Arrangements.
 Largest Arena ever used—Necessary. Picturesque Camp.
 Natural Life. Wild Horses. Cowboy Buck Riders. Racing.
 Lassoing. Shooting Feats by Men and Women.
 Stage Coach Attack. War Dances. Picturesque Indian
 Village and Pioneer Camp. **THRILLING**

MIMIC BATTLE SCENES

BY

THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN THERE!

Covered Grand Stands for 3,000 Persons.
 Seats for 8,000 Persons.
 4,000 SEATS FOR ONE SHILLING!



**LIGHT,
 LIFE, AIR,
 HEALTH, AND COMFORT**
 FOR A
SUMMER AFTERNOON OR NIGHT,
 WITH A PRACTICAL
Three Years' Tour in Western America
 In a Two Hours' Entertainment at Home!

This is the same Company that was at London, under the same management, Messrs. CODY & SALSBURY, all under the lead of the Original **Col. W. F. CODY, "Buffalo Bill,"** and has with its Indians some of the most celebrated amongst the "Friendlies" and "Hostiles" of last winter's campaign in Dakota, notably "Kicking Bear," "No Neck," "Yankton Charley," "Long Wolf," "Lone Bull," "Black Heart," "Scatter," "Revenge," "Big Wolf," and "Short Bull."

Prices: 1s., 2s., 3s., and 4s.
TWO PERFORMANCES DAILY
 3 p.m. & 8 p.m., Rain or Shine. **BRILLIANT NIGHT ILLUMINATIONS.**

THE EVENT OF A LIFE-TIME--IT NEVER RETURNS

For **CHEAP EXCURSIONS** see Railway Announcements.
 STAFFORD & CO., Printers, Netherfield, near Nottingham.

Fig. 28. Bottom half of publicity poster used in Leeds, 1891.



*Kicking Bear (Sitting Bull's successor).
Head Chief of the Hox. Indians*

Short Bull (the Indian Messiah).

Fig. 29. Illustration of Short Bull and Kicking Bear that appeared in Charles Henckel's publication 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West - Drawings from Life,' which was on sale in Britain in 1892.



OGALLALLA CHIEFS,
PINE RIDGE—SIOUX CAMPAIGN, 1891.

Fig. 30. Photograph of Black Heart [left] and Long Wolf [? right] that appeared in the 1893 program for Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

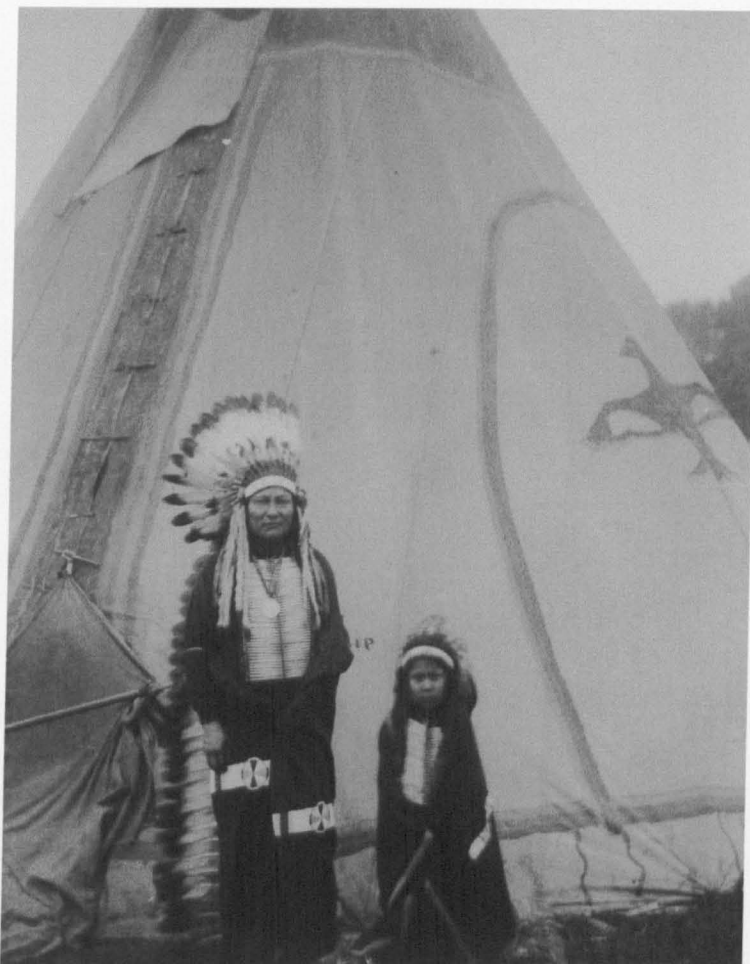


Fig. 31. No Neck and 'Little Johnny Burke No Neck' (Young Cub/ Cub Bear) on tour with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, 1891.



Fig. 32. Photograph of 'Johnny Burke No Neck' that appeared in the 1891 program for Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

Fig. 33. Presentation of the American Flag to British audiences by Buffalo Bill's Wild West on the 1891-92 tour of Britain.



Seven: Perceptions of 'the other' during the Wild West's tour of Britain

Although there were dissenting voices in the British press, the vast majority of the reporting on the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre reflected the perceptions of white Americans, and the tour of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in the following year did little to alter this perception. British views demonstrate their sense of racial and cultural superiority, which is also evidenced in the bulk of their reporting about the Indian performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West. The British press appears to have been fascinated with the Wild West Indians reporting almost their every move, both inside and outside of the arena. Reporters often presented the Indians to British readers in a demeaning way, as specimens to be studied or compared, which in turn strengthened the perception of the progress of the white race. While Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented the Indians as formidable warriors, this image was clearly defined as belonging to a bygone age, and the exhibition simply reinforced the racial assumptions of the British.

While on tour with the Wild West, Short Bull and the other Ghost Dancers mixed freely with the other Indians, and American and European whites. While being allowed to maintain traditional cultural and religious practices on the tour, the Lakota were also keen to learn about white society and religion, illustrating that they were open to new experiences and beliefs. Such interactions with the British and their interest in the culture of 'the other' made it possible for the Lakota to gain a broader understanding of white society. Knowledge gained through such experiences would have held the Lakota in good stead when they returned home.

It is clear that Buffalo Bill's Wild West had a great influence on both the British public and their institutions, and while they toured the country the American West became immensely fashionable. The craze for all things 'Wild West' transcended such

things as children's games, and British museums took the opportunity to acquire artefacts of American Indian manufacture for their ethnographic collections, which in turn were presented as measuring sticks for the advancement of the white race.

The military suppression of the Ghost Dance had been covered on a daily basis by the British press, gleaning information from either the Rueter's or Dalzeil's News Agencies. The coverage started on 19 November 1890 and carried through till 20 January 1891, detailing almost every aspect of the events unfolding in South Dakota. The British public learnt of Cody's involvement in the suppression and that of the recently returned Wild West Indians, moreover they were also made aware of Short Bull and Kicking Bear's prominence amongst the Ghost Dancers.

As the vast majority of the news articles originated in America, there was little difference between American and British reporting of the anticipated 'Indian Rising.' Thus, the Wounded Knee Massacre was reported as 'Indian Treachery' by the *Daily Telegraph*, who went on to state that 'the slaughter among the Indians is said to have been terrible, despite the fact that the soldiers had to run them out of their ambushade.... With cheers and cries of "Remember Custer!" they sent the Indians in disorder in the direction of buttes to the North.... The latest reports indicate that Big Foot's band has been almost wiped out.'¹

However, while the general tone of the reporting appears to have been in support of the action of the US Government, there were individuals who spoke out against the slaughter. A letter, entitled 'Massacre of Indian Women and Children' was printed in *The Standard* on 2 January 1891. The correspondent who signed themselves as 'Humanity,' wrote:

¹ *Daily Telegraph* (London), 31 Dec. 1890, p3, 'Indian Treachery.'

Sir, - In *The Standard* of Wednesday I read that in the fighting at Porcupine Creek [sic Wounded Knee] one hundred and ten Indian warriors, and two hundred and fifty women and children were killed, and that not more than six children remained alive in the Indian Camp. If this report be true, it is a disgrace to the American soldiers which no provocation can condone.

Indians are execrated as monsters of cruelty when they murder the families of white settlers; but it appears that the white soldiers are not one whit less barbarous, their idea being obviously one of extermination. Americans covet the few tracts of land left to the poor Indians, and it is to this covetousness that the whole of the present disturbances are due.²

Another dissenter was the Liberal MP for North West Lanark, Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, who at the height of his political career wrote three letters 'on the Indian question' to the *Daily Graphic*.³ The first letter, entitled 'The American Indians: Ghost Dancing,' appeared on 29 November 1890.

The special correspondent of the *Sun* at Pine Ridge, Dakota, keeps us informed of the movement of the Indians now massing their forces at Cherry Creek.

Glancing over the evening papers we see that the Sioux are dancing the Ghost Dance, and learn that in the opinion of the perspicacious correspondent the settlers expect to be robbed and murdered.... The general public glances over the telegrams from Omaha and hopes that there will be no bloodshed, then turns to discuss the recent political scandals and the prurient details connected with the private life of party leaders, which, of course, we all know are of vastly more importance than the extermination of legions of heathen Indians. Still, there are few who really realize what is going on in the snow at Cherry Creek, what the Messiah really is the Indians are looking for, and who the ghosts are who are dancing.

John Walker, who republished the three letters in his book *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, maintained that they were

² *The Standard* (London), 2 Jan. 1891, p3.

³ Walker, *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, 25.

an anguished cry from the heart against the cruel treatment of the American Indian from a humanitarian who had learned his lessons first-hand on the plains and hills of South-West U.S.A.⁴

Cunninghame Graham portentously speculated that 'civilization, perhaps, one day will remember them when civilized Indians, [whom] commercialism is creating, are dancing around the flames of European capitals.'⁵ Little did he realise that within less than a year it would be not only those 'civilized Indians' who would be dancing in Europe but also the unreconstructed 'hostiles,' the Ghost Dancers. Cunninghame Graham saw parallels between the oppressed on both sides of the Atlantic, and his socialist leanings are evident in his first letters closing comment.

Once more sin will be committed in the name of law and progress.... The majesty of civilisation will be vindicated, one more step towards universal hideousness attained, and the Darwinian theory of the weakest to the wall have received another confirmation to strengthen those who want to use it against the weakest here in Europe.⁶

On 22 December, the *Daily Graphic* published Cunninghame Graham's second letter, 'Salvation by Starvation: The American-Indian Problem,' written in response to Sitting Bull's death.

The first act in the concluding drama of the existence of the Sioux Indians is played out. Apparently, in direct violation of the President's express orders, the Indian police arrested Sitting Bull, with the natural consequence that a rescue was attempted and a fight took place. In the fight, Sitting Bull, who was heard giving his orders in a loud voice, fell pierced by a bullet. This is an old trick, well known in Spain and in Mexico, and throughout the frontiers of the United States....

The editors of Western papers will talk of the safety of the settlers being at last secured by the removal of Sitting Bull, and worst of all, the American public as a whole will believe them, and think a piece of poetical justice has been performed.... American justice! American justice to the Indians, above all, is a minus quantity. American justice to anyone who dissents from the gospel of cent per cent means the

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. 27.

⁶ Ibid.

bullet or the gallows; to the Indians it has meant starvation or the bullet. What wonder that they should have chosen the bullet?⁷

Cunninghame Graham's perception of American Indians was by no means typical of the British people. He wrote 'I speak not as a sentimentalist who takes his Indian (coloured) from the pages of Fenimore Cooper,' further stating, 'I am one of those who think that the colour of the skin makes little difference to right and wrong in the abstract.'⁸ He ended his second letter with a disdainful comment aimed at the American people.

Even in America, where public opinion is, perhaps, more brutal than in any other country of the world, surely a flush of shame must rise to the faces of honest men when they receive the telegrams from Dakota.⁹

The second letter was reported unfavourably in the American press, including the dismissively titled 'Seems to Know all about it,' in the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, which noted that Cunninghame Graham 'condemns the Americans for murdering Sitting Bull.'¹⁰

In his final letter, 'The Redskin Problem: "But 'Twas A Famous Victory,' Cunninghame Graham denounced the massacre of Big Foot's Band at Wounded Knee:

I see that our "brave troops" remorselessly slaughtered all the women and children, and our special correspondent, in estimating the "bag", remarks that by this time probably not more than six children remain alive out of the whole Indian camp. Can anything more miserable be conceived.... We are told that the Indians planned an ambush, but it would seem a curious kind of ambush that 120 men should allow themselves to be surrounded by 500, backed by artillery....

⁷ Ibid. 28.

⁸ Ibid. 29.

⁹ Ibid. 30.

¹⁰ *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 22 Dec. 1890, fp, 'Seems to know all about it.'

One's very soul revolts in disgust from the account of cruel butchery, the shooting down of fleeing savages with Gatling guns, the useless and cruel slaughter of the women and children.¹¹

The Liberal MP's comments differed enormously from the position of the self-proclaimed 'Friends of the Indians' in America. Even *The Word Carrier*, a protestant missionary newspaper of the American West, commented in its January 1891 issue that 'it was needful that these people should feel in some sharp terrible way the just consequences of their actions, and be held in wholesome fear from further folly.'¹² But despite Cunninghame Graham's letters, it would appear that the majority of the British public shared the general perception of the Lakota Ghost Dancers as 'Hostiles'.

The appearance of the twenty-three former Fort Sheridan prisoners, who had accompanied Cody on his tour of Britain, did little to alter and may even have strengthened this perception. On the rare occasion that reporters were successful in interviewing Ghost Dancers themselves, their misunderstanding was often confirmed as in the case of a Cardiff correspondent who wrote under the pen name of 'Morien.' After describing an encounter with Short Bull, 'Morien' went on to report,

This is the very chief, who thrilled, not only the Indian nations, but the people of the whole of the United States little more than a year ago by preaching with great Sioux eloquence the advent of the Indian Messiah.... [T]he burden of his discourse to the Indians was that the Messiah came to the white man many hundreds of moons ago, and that, instead of according Him a becoming reception, they crucified Him! That he was now to appear... to redeem the red man.... [W]hat a new light the statement sheds on the cause of the late Sioux rising. They... had come to believe their Redeemer was at hand, and they assembled in their thousands... to afford Him a fitting welcome!¹³

¹¹ Walker, *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, 30-31.

¹² DeMallie, "Lakota Ghost Dance," 396-97.

¹³ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 23 Sept. 1891, p2, 'The "Wild West" in Cardiff - Among the Indians by "Morien".'

The Wild West's programme for the 1891-92 tour of Britain included a ten-page article entitled 'Ghost-Dances in the West,' which described the origin and development of the 'Messiah Craze and the Ghost-Dance' on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and had been lifted from the publication *Illustrated American*. Whilst the piece contained a number of factual errors concerning the origin of the Ghost Dance, it gave a generally balanced and detailed description of the religion in South Dakota. The anonymous author asserted that the blame for subsequent events lay

primarily upon the over-zealous philanthropists from the East, the lack of knowledge of Indian character (the Sioux particularly) at the Indian bureau, the autocratic methods adopted, and annoying orders issued from Washington, without a council with the dancers, and lastly, but by far the most weighty reason, lack of food and failure to keep promises made the Sioux by the last commission.¹⁴

Whilst being sympathetic to the plight of the Lakota, the article nonetheless maintained that under the influence of 'the medicine men and politicians in the nation' the Ghost Dance had 'changed from a sacred rite to a warlike demonstration.' No reference was made to Wounded Knee, and no criticisms were levelled at the military. A short note by John Burke followed the article, in which he contended that while the report was in many respects accurate, 'the whole matter has yet to be investigated to get at the bottom of the facts.'¹⁵ Buffalo Bill's Wild West was engaged in the business of making a profit through entertainment, and it did not suit their needs to portray the Lakota Ghost Dancers as anything else but 'Hostiles,' which served to reinforce popular perceptions of the justification for their 'story of conquest.'

Despite the individual dissenting voices of people like Cunninghame Graham, the vast majority of the British public endorsed the Wild West's message, which slipped seamlessly into the popular forms of British entertainment of the day. John MacKenzie maintained that 'military subjects had long been popular in spectacular theatrical presentations and in melodrama,' and that in the latter part of the

¹⁴ *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* 1891 Program, p47, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p48, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

nineteenth century the army and its personnel had risen in the public's esteem. This interest in warfare and militarism was in turn 'wedded to an overseas adventure tradition.... War became a remote adventure in which heroism was enhanced by both distance and exotic locales.'¹⁶ Moreover, it was

principally through warfare that the racial ideas of the day were diffused to the public at large. Concepts of race were closely related in popular literature to the imperative of conflict between cultures, and the evidence of superiority it provided. Colonial heroes became the prime exemplars of a master people, and this enhanced their position in the military cult of personality.¹⁷

MacKenzie further noted that 'it was the rapid translation of military and naval news to the stage which became the principal excitement of nineteenth-century theatre and one of its most enduring characteristics.... As the century progressed the deeds of imperial expansion were found to fit perfectly the tradition of translating topical events into spectacular display, combining the Victorian's search for realism with an admiring self-regard in their own exploits.'¹⁸ Buffalo Bill's Wild West clearly satisfied British audience desires and expectations, the one significant difference that was also no doubt an added attraction, was the presence within the exhibition of the defeated 'others.' However, audience responses to the Indians on display could have been more complex and 'multiple meanings were also possible.' As Kasson contended 'Press stories stressed the adventure, exoticism, and sometimes pathos of the American Indian performers. They elicited excitement almost always and admiration often.'¹⁹ Yet, despite such complexity the Indian performers remained exotic 'others' in the eyes of British onlookers. It is therefore scarcely surprising then, that the Wild West exhibition confirmed the overwhelming British perception of the Lakota people as being 'wild' or 'savage' and their religions as being naïve and pagan.

¹⁶ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 5-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁹ Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 212-13.

The exhibition had a very good and mutually beneficial relationship with the British press. Buffalo Bill and stories of his Wild West sold newspapers, and press coverage of the personalities and the show itself provided extensive free publicity and no doubt boosted ticket sales. Reporters were given access to the whole encampment and granted interviews with Cody; with his business partner Nate Salsbury; with John Burke, the show's general manager and publicity agent; or with one of the star performers such as Annie Oakley. Often the Lakota interpreter George Cramer had the responsibility of giving the members of the press a guided tour, which would include introductions to the Indians and a glimpse of camp life.

The Lakota were perceived as being so different from British people that they were seen as item of curiosity wherever they were encountered, and this meant that they were also on display outside of the arena. When a reporter for the *Cardiff Evening Express* was exploring the Indian Camp of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, he was introduced to Lone Bull, one of the Lakota Ghost Dancers. The journalist commented 'I am convinced Lone Bull does not care to be made an exhibition of, but he submitted quietly to an examination of his dress and general appearance.'²⁰

The Indians were also open to constant scrutiny whenever they left the encampment and ventured out to explore their surroundings. A correspondent for *Land and Water* described his discovery early one morning at the Horticultural Exhibition in London, as 'the most delightful surprise of the sort I ever experienced,' when he came across a number of Cody's Indians 'parading around in warpaint, curious to see what the new show to which they are attached was like.'²¹ In August the *St. James Gazette* reported that the Indians had been spotted at London Zoo.

²⁰ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 23 Sept. 1891, p2, 'The "Wild West" in Cardiff- Among the Indians.'

²¹ *Land and Water* (London), 14 May 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

While we were feasting our eyes on the splendid old lion in the outer enclosure he crouched suddenly as if for a spring, curled up his muzzle, and lashed his tail, showing every sign of unusual excitement. As we did not flatter ourselves that we were the cause of this demonstration, we turned about and found that some of the Wild West Indians had arrived upon the scene. Their coloured blankets, or more probably their foreign scent, had evidently roused the hunting instinct of the beast before us; and indeed, of all the others; for when we returned a little later we found all the lions and a tiger gazing in one direction, and we eventually discovered that they were looking at some of the Indians.²²

Even by doing such mundane activities as going to buy new clothes or riding on a tramcar, more often than not the Indians became the focus of attention. The *Glasgow Evening News* recorded on 2 January 1892, that

Chief No Neck and a squaw had a “penny ride on a tramcar” down to St Vincent Place the other day. In the same car sat a young man who seemed very busy with his pencil. The attention of the passengers was divided between him and the “Injins,” and it was not until the car reached the terminus that curiosity was satisfied. He had been sketching them as they sat which No Neck very graciously received.²³

The press also covered more significant events in the lives of the Wild West's entourage, like the marriage of the Lakota interpreter John Shangrau to Lillie Orr, a young woman from Liverpool. [Fig. 34] Shangrau's father Jule, had been a Stock Raiser of French descent, and his mother, Mary, had come from the Smoke band of the Oglala.²⁴ He had worked irregularly as a scout for the US army and in December 1890 had been chief of Brooke's headquarter scouts. Shangrau was present at Big Foot's arrest on 28 December, and had been forced to flee to avoid the crossfire of the soldiers during the Wounded Knee Massacre.²⁵ He later accompanied the Ghost Dancers who had been placed under arrest and transported to Fort Sheridan, acting as

²² *St James Gazette* (London), 11 Aug. 1891; *The Referee* (London), 10 July 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

²³ *Glasgow Evening News*, 2 Jan. 1892.

²⁴ Marriage certificate of John Shangram (sic) and Lillie Orr. Extract of an Entry in a Register of Marriages 1861-1921, District of Dennistoun, County of Lanark.

their interpreter. Having previously worked for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, when Cody acquired the prisoners for his tour of Europe, Shangrau accompanied them and is referred to as being 'in charge of the Military Hostages' in the Wild West's programme.²⁶ [Fig. 35]

The Marriage Certificate records that John Shangrau was a thirty-eight year old widower.²⁷ His first wife had died not long after he had left Pine Ridge to tour with Cody. In May 1891 he had sent \$10 care of Captain Penny, the acting Indian Agent, for his wife who had remained home in South Dakota, but she had died 'before the money came to hand.'²⁸ Within two months of sending the money the Wild West show was in Liverpool where John met Lillie Orr. Lillie was the daughter of a Liverpool ship Captain, and at the age of 18 'fell in love' with John whilst the show performed in her hometown.²⁹ The marriage took place before Sheriff Spens at the County Buildings in Glasgow's East End on 4 January 1892.³⁰ The 'Lady Representative' of the London paper *The Morning*, later commented, 'It seemed strange

²⁵ John Shangrau interview, 1906, Box 6, Reel 5, p105, Eli Ricker Collection, NSHS.

²⁶ *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* 1891 Program, p41, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Shangrau had previously worked for Cody's Wild West at least once, in 1884, see Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill*, 8.

²⁷ Marriage certificate of John Shangram (sic) and Lillie Orr, County of Lanark.

²⁸ George C. Crager, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Co., to Penny, 2 May 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC; Cody to Secretary of War, 19 Aug. 1891, LR 32171-1891, RG 75, NA; Penny to Cody, 30 July 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Copies of Misc. LS (1891-95), vol.8, p126, box 55, RG 75, FARC; Penny to Cody, 4 Aug. 1891, Ibid. p148, RG 75, FARC. That Shangrau had children by his first wife is illustrated in a letter from the Superintendent of the Lincoln Institution, an Indian school in Philadelphia, which asks 'Please let me know if the Shangreau children arrived safely and in time to see their mother alive.' Wm. M. Hugg, Superintendent Lincoln Institution, to Major George LeRoy Brown, Pine Ridge Agent, 23 May 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd. (1891-95), box 29, RG 75, FARC.

²⁹ *New York Herald*, 22 July 1894. 'Glimpses of Squaw Life - Habits and Occupations of the Indian Women in the Tepees at the Wild West Show.' Scrapbook 1894, MS6, Series IX, box 10, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

³⁰ *Glasgow Weekly News*, 9 Jan. 1892, p2, 'Marriage of Buffalo Bill's Interpreter'

to think of this fair-faced, blue-eyed English girl married to a man who, although educated and in every way “civilised,” is so closely allied to the “Red-skins”.³¹

Lillie accompanied her husband back to South Dakota at the end of the tour ‘where her child, a sweet little baby, who is blonde, was born.’ In 1894, the couple was again to be found touring with Cody’s Wild West. A journalist for the *New York Herald* enquired of Lillie ‘if she was not afraid to go out there among those savages.’ To which she replied ‘Love knows no fear, and when I got there I found the women so gentle and hospitable that I soon felt quite at home.’³² [Fig. 36] John and Lillie toured with Cody’s Wild West until 1897, and ‘over time, the couple added nine more children to their family.’³³

Other romances between Lakota men and British women were also noted in the press. Whilst the show was in Leeds it was reported that ‘many a dusky fellow could be seen parading the streets with some highly dressed female by his side.’ While it was not uncommon ‘to discover some redskin who had won fame in the recent Indian rising drinking at one of the numerous public houses in Aston with some fair admirer.’ The attraction appears to have been mutual, a local Leeds reporter noted that the Lakota performers’ ‘picturesque attire appeared to exercise an infatuation over the majority of the females.’ While at the same time, however ‘Stolid and indifferent... the red man appears when seen at a distance, he is not unsusceptible to the charms of the daughters of the whiteface.’³⁴

³¹ *The Morning* (London), 18 Aug. 1892, ‘Wild West Ladies, by Our Lady Representative.’

³² *New York Herald*, 22 July 1894, ‘Glimpses of Squaw Life - Habits and Occupations of the Indian Women in the Tepees at the Wild West Show.’ Scrapbook 1894, MS6, Series IX, box 10, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

³³ *Casper Star-Tribune*, 7 Sept. 1997, ‘Shangrau Collection honors American Indians.’

³⁴ Unidentified newspaper clipping, CS, MS6.IX, box 2, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

One performer was so taken with a woman from Aston that he left the show once it had departed, and returned to Leeds.

He found his love in Holte Road, and up took his place of abode with a complacency and self-satisfaction which showed that he preferred bricks and mortar to the draughty covering of a wigwam. But, to use the hackneyed saying, "True love never runs smooth," and this morning two representatives from Buffalo Bill's Wild West arrived at Aston and removed the absconding Indian to Bristol. He begged his love to accompany him, but his tears were of no avail, and he was taken back to don mocassins.... "The girl he left behind him," showed the strength of her affections by deciding to remain in Aston.³⁵

A story that appeared in the *Glasgow Evening News* illustrates the difficulties the Indians faced when it came to courting local women.

Dennistoun is just now ringing with the intelligence of a little comedy being enacted in its midst. The tale is one of true love, and the leading actor is one of the "Wild West" Indians. The red man has conceived a violent passion... for a prepossessing young lady in a shop near the show, and he looks in during his leisure hours on the pretence of wanting to buy things, but really to enforce his suit.... The awkward thing, however, is that the red man's arrival at the shop is the signal for the neighbours to gather round, and the progress of the courtship is watched by a little crowd which generally extends out to the street.³⁶

The idea of an interracial relationship was not such an alien concept to the Lakota who had been intermarrying with whites since their first contact. More often than not these marriages would involve white men rather than white women due to the fact that it was European men, trappers and traders, who first came into contact with the Lakota. Numerous cartoons made reference to the attractiveness of the Lakota men to British women, no doubt created and drawn by men, ridiculing women and Indians alike, both of whom they viewed as inferior beings. [Figs. 37 & 38] However, it is clear that in the stories and the cartoons the main objective was humour, there

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *Glasgow Evening News*, 15 Feb. 1892.

appears to have been no value judgement and commentators were not overtly objecting to such relationships.³⁷

The fascination of British press with the Lakota performers, meant that almost their every movement was reported, and therefore we have some insight in to how they spent their free time. The Indians were understandably curious to explore their surroundings in the towns and cities that they visited, and they were also recorded attending worship. A number of publications covered the visit by the Wild West's personnel to St. Paul's Cathedral for the morning service on a Sunday in May. The *Pall Mall Gazette* remarked, 'The Indians were greatly impressed by the service, and particularly charmed by the music of the big organ.'³⁸ On Sundays all the different groups attached to the exhibition were allowed to attend the churches of their choice. *The World* noted that the Indians 'appear to visit with absolute impartiality the temples of every faith and creed and sect in turn, and declare that we are "all Christians," and worship the same Great Spirit who shapes their destinies and governs us all.'³⁹ A Kensington clergyman testified that when the Wild West Indians attended his church they behaved in a way that 'might profitably be followed by many more fashionable

³⁷ In America interracial marriages between whites and Indians were not such an anathema than those involving whites and blacks, even when white women were involved. Indian women had historically been seen as cultural mediators and therefore such interracial marriages offered obvious benefits to whites. 'Gender relationships primarily included European men and indigenous women whose knowledge, prestige, skills, and sexual services benefited men. The men could make use of these "cultural mediators" in developing ties with the local peoples, exploiting local resources, and becoming informed about local parties that could be useful in an expanding commercial market in colonial commodities.' Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds. *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998) 58.

³⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette* (London), 27 May 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

³⁹ *The World* (London), 29 June 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

worshippers. They are reverent and intelligent, and appreciate all that is taking place.⁴⁰

In an interview with a reporter from *The Oracle*, Nate Salsbury was asked if the Indians held their own religious services, to which he replied, "Yes, they do, but they never make no parade about it, and you would never know they were going on."⁴¹ Whilst the show was in Sheffield, a reporter from the *Evening Telegraph and Star* was privileged enough to witness such a ceremony on the morning of 14 August 1891. It was reported that the date coincided with the middle of the eighth moon, the season when the buffalo cast its hair and hunting is stopped, and when the Indians would celebrate the Buffalo Dance Day. Standing discreetly at the back of one of the larger lodges the reporter was allowed to witness the festivities in the company of the interpreter George Crager, who explained the proceedings and translated the songs.

In one of the largest wigwams half a dozen chiefs and braves were tum-tum-tumming on their drums, and now and then trying the voice in accompaniment in accordance with the practice of more civilised professional orchestrians. There was a stir among the tents, a coming and going which denoted that something unusual was in progress. The Indian police were going from tent to tent. Every visitor who entered the wigwam would recline and listen to the strains of the orchestra, apparently in a serious meditative mood. This was the solemn session carried out by some in the assembly, and by others in their own wigwams. The orchestra, a curious group, some sitting cross-legged, tailor fashion, some with their legs stuck out in front of them, kept up a ceaseless monotonous low beating on their drums, a species of tambourine made large without the jingling appendages. Two of the squaws enter and take their seats alongside, and the younger gives the keynote for the song of praise in a long unmusical throaty sound, never emitting any words, but simply giving forth this rather weird sound in a lower or higher key. Suddenly the drummers are joined by Chiefs No Neck and Lone Bull, who take their drums, and as by universal consent the music beats louder and the singular Redskin exclamations are jerked out at intervals more or less spasmodic. This is the call to the

⁴⁰ *Lady Pictorial* (London), 24 Sept. 1892 Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁴¹ *The Oracle* (London), 28 May 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

braves, and they come. Their number is, however, not complete. The fine young chief who wears a badge "Wild West Police" appears in the wigwam door and makes some announcement to the chief. The drums cease for a moment. Another chief is deputed to accompany the messenger, and something No Neck remarks sets the assembled Indians in a roar of laughter. Mr Crager, the Sioux interpreter, explains that the great chief has just announced that they will pull the clothes off these laggards. The result of the deputation's mission is shortly apparent. The late-comers steal in, their blankets almost covering their features, and most modestly take the most backward seat they can find; in which proceeding their can be discerned food for reflection on the habits and customs of more civilised late-worshippers in this country of ours! The hymn of praise to the Great Spirit is full of repetition, interspersed with dances, which, in that stuffy tent, with the wood smouldering in the centre, must have been, and certainly did appear to be, of a very fatiguing nature. All being assembled, the rude chant and wild music resumes. A literal interpretation is conveyed to the listener to be:-

"We thank the Great Spirit
 Who hast given us the buffalo,
 It gives us hides to cover our backs.
 It keeps us warm and makes our hearts glad.
 Now that its hair is coming off,
 It is no longer good to kill.
 In the spring we shall have good hides.
 For this we sing our praise."

Loud, then low, and rising again to its full power the orchestra plays on in undulating waves of sound, accompanying its mechanical exertion with the drum stick, with full-throated sounds and those piercing whoops. The Chief leaves the wigwam, and there is a break in the proceedings while he enters his own tent alone and inhales a smoke produced from some burning, perfumed material. When sufficiently inspired by the process he returns, and a few more beats on the drums over, they spring to their feet in one bound and commence in that confined space an animated jerky dance, or shuffle, in which the whole body leaves the ground at the same time, quickening up with loud laughter and shouts as they endeavoured to knock each other down in shocks of collision. Closing together, and going in similar fashion across the tent they illustrate the buffalo stampede. When they have had enough of this perspiring business they sit again and resume as vigorously the vocal portion of the proceedings in a lamentation for the loss of the buffalo, played in slow and solemn fashion, quickening up with their song at the prospect of a good hunting season next spring. The second dance is more vigorous, if possible, than the first, and in addition to their humorous efforts to render each other's foothold insecure they now resort to the process of butting with the head, the

idea being in this and a succeeding dance to illustrate the coming of the young buffaloes in the spring. In monotonous chants and dances of this description they occupy two hours of the morning, and then return to their tents, satisfied with the exercise, and recline there in silent contemplation of the smouldering wood, only rousing from their recumbent attitude to roll another cigarette.⁴²

There are other such circumstances which illustrate that the Lakota maintained their own religious and cultural practices whilst touring with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. When the exhibition was performing at Earl's Court in London, a reporter for *The Million* described a sweat bath being used in the camp.

I am duly conducted to a structure resembling a Tartan kibitka seen through the wrong end of an opera glass, four feet high and perhaps, eight feet in diameter, pegged closely to the ground, but here and there a thread of steam proclaims the heat within. As we approach, a pair of red legs and feet vanish inside rapidly. Facing a big black iron furnace, regardless of the rain, stands a stalwart Indian - naked, save for a scanty loin cloth. Muffled sounds are heard from within, and I learn that this is the famed Sioux steam bath which played such an important part in the ghost dances and Indian troubles of this year. The iron stove is filled with stones, each about the size of the blocks of Kentish wrag, used for our London carriage ways. A fire is lit, they are made red-hot, "dumped" in a central hole beneath the small tent; water is then poured on them, and the braves, to the number of four or five, enter, and, Joey Ladle like, take it in at the pores. They then come out and walk in the rain, clad as Adam before the fall.⁴³ [Fig. 39]

The Lakota also found themselves the subjects of the familiar missionary impulse while the show wintered in Glasgow. The weekly journal *The Ballie* noted that 'several ladies... from the Medical Mission Training Home, visit Buffalo Bill's redskins encampment daily, and talk seriously to the Indians.'⁴⁴ Reflecting on her encounter

⁴² *Evening Telegraph and Star* (Sheffield), 15 Aug. 1891, p3, 'An Indian Festival at the "Wild West."' In James R. Walker's *Lakota Society*, there is a reference to a similar 'buffalo dance,' where the dancers both 'dance in their tents' and 'act like bunting buffalo hooking each other, etc.'. The dance was associated with the Big Bellies society or Chiefs society, which was originally known as Buffalo headdress (*Tatanka wapahun*). Walker, *Lakota Society*, 35-36.

⁴³ *The Million* (London), 3 Sept. 1892, p245, 'The Mild Wild West.'

⁴⁴ *The Bailie* (Glasgow), 20 Jan. 1892, p5.

with the Indians in Glasgow a few years later, one of the missionaries, who was described in the *New York Times* as a 'society woman of wealth and position,' recounted:

They are very fond of singing either in English or Sioux: indeed, their demand for hymns is insatiable. As two books among forty or fifty are hardly enough, they promised to copy some of their favourites before another week, and when the next Sabbath came around Revenge, who was prominent in the rebellion, had undertaken to copy a good many hymns out, so all might be able to join.... 'Take the Name of Jesus with You' and 'Happy Day' are some of their favorites.... They cannot be called heathen, as they believe in and worship the 'Great Spirit.' They accept what is told them implicitly, and several have said God has given them 'white hearts,' and many now say that they 'talk to God.' They were very anxious to hear about Jesus Christ, and some of their remarks were most interesting. One young man said: 'How can we be good when we have no one to teach us and are travelling about? What shall we do when we go away from here?' He also said he did not like to go to church or communion, for fear he should do something bad after.

Short Bull, the leader, after the death of Sitting Bull, of the Messiah craze among the Sioux, is a most interesting character. Though he cannot speak a word of English, he is always anxious to talk through one who can. He now understands about the Messiah and the plan of salvation. One day he explained how he would act now if some one ill used him. Short Bull was always one of the first to come forward whenever the visitors appeared. He listens with a most serious face to all that is said, nodding his head gravely and approvingly.... Indians are very truthful and exact, as Short Bull showed by saying he 'would rather go to heaven four times than go to hell.' No Neck, one of the 'friendlies,' and head chief of the Wild West, expressed a desire to be taught about God, as he didn't believe in God or heaven or hell, because he did not know anything about them, and he could not read, but he wanted to know God, and said he would believe all that was told him.⁴⁵

Raymond DeMallie noted that when Black Elk travelled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West to England on the exhibition's first visit, he 'wrote a letter in Lakota to give his people news of his whereabouts. The letter was printed in the *Iapi Oaye* (the "Word

⁴⁵ *New York Times*, 15 July 1894, Scrapbook 1894, MS6, Series IX, box 10, p83, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

Carrier”), a monthly newspaper published in the Sioux language at Santee, Nebraska.’ In the letter Black Elk stated ‘now I know the white men’s customs well. One custom is very good. Whoever believes in God will find good ways – that is what I mean. And many of the ways the white men follow are hard to endure.’⁴⁶ When he returned to Pine Ridge in 1889, after having been left behind and lost in Europe for some time, Black Elk wrote a second letter, which was also printed in the *Iapi Oaye*. In this letter Black Elk recorded, ‘of the white man’s many customs, only his faith, the white man’s belief about God’s will, and how they act according to it, I wanted to understand. I traveled to one city after another, and there were many customs around God’s will.’ Such statements betrayed a desire to learn and understand about the European perception of God, as was suggested by the missionary in Glasgow.

Travelling with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West enabled the Lakota performers to learn about the spirituality of the whites, and perhaps gave them a better understanding of white culture. Through the process of accommodation the Indians were taking on white religious concepts while also maintaining Lakota traditions. Intriguingly, it would seem that it was the traditional Lakota, including the Fort Sheridan prisoners, rather than the more assimilated Indians who showed a keen interest in white religion and ritual.

Religious worship, whether it be traditional Lakota or Christian, was but one way the Indian performer spent their time whilst not travelling or performing in the arena. The ‘Lady Representative’ of *The Morning* (London), noted that ‘Sunday, being a holiday, they devote nearly entirely to washing themselves.’ The reporter was ‘rather surprised’ to learn that the Lakota were ‘particularly cleanly people if they are allowed to have the facilities for being so,’ believing that ‘the usual idea is that an Indian is decidedly dirty.’⁴⁷

⁴⁶ DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*, 8.

The Lakota women with the exhibition received much less press coverage than the men; such references that do exist are primarily concerned with their skilled beadwork, which occupied a great deal of the women's free time. The *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* was impressed by 'the extraordinary brilliance of the colours which are used,' and was interested to learn that 'the dyes by which they are produced are entirely of native manufacture.'⁴⁸ The *Cardiff Evening Express* also commented on their utilisation of traditional manufacture when they stated, 'the squaws were working bead work most beautifully, employing neither needle nor thread, but simply buffalo sinew.'⁴⁹ The beadwork produced by the women could have been for use in the arena, or instead for sale to the public. Indians had been making items for sale or trade with whites for centuries and if the Lakota women were selling their wares to Europeans, then this would clearly demonstrate their initiative and that they were taking some control of their situation.

When it came to discussing the Indians who appeared in Cody's Wild West, the general perception of the British public is clearly obvious in the multitude of references found in the British press. Reporters indicated a clear sense of cultural and racial superiority over the Lakota performers. Such a perspective was hardly surprising, for as a colonial empire Britain had subjugated many native peoples from around the world, including the many North American Indians they had come into contact with.⁵⁰ Moreover, Britons identified with the Euro-Americans who had

⁴⁷ *The Morning* (London), 18 Aug. 1892, 'Wild West Ladies.'

⁴⁸ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to the Camp.'

⁴⁹ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), n.d. "'Wild West" in Cardiff - Opening Day.'

⁵⁰ Bernard Porter noted 'just occasionally the English were found admiring Africans: generally for the happy (and mythical) simplicity of their 'noble savage' existence; or else for the same 'doggy' virtues which attracted them to Muslims and Sikhs of northern Indian too; their loyalty and courage and strength.... More often the image which was built up of the African was a less flattering one, a stereotype familiar in many situations of race contact (it corresponded almost exactly to the English

defeated the Plains Indians, and therefore shared with them a common perception of American Indians as 'the other.'⁵¹ The Lakota appeared as exotic 'specimens' and according to the prevailing concept of Social Darwinism an inferior and doomed race who would be integrated into the masterful world of white civilisation.⁵² However,

stereotype of the Irish in the sixteenth century). According to it Africans were dirty, immoral, untruthful, devious, and instinctively idle (and so had to be forced to work for their own good). In their own environment they did not need to work, because fruit enough for them and their family just fell from the trees. Consequently they had no ambition, which explained why they had never achieved anything of lasting value that visitors could see. When there was work to be done they sent their womenfolk out to do it, which was strange and shocking to middle-class Britons whose women were not allowed to work. Africans were imprudent, impulsive and excitable, like a child. They had virtues; but even these were not the virtues Englishmen would have liked to have attributed to themselves: kindness, charity, humour, the 'soft' virtues, not the hard masculine ones. Some believed that Africans were incorrigible. Those who did not tended to regard them as poor souls deluded by superstitions. For this reason they paid very little close attention to African ideas and customs. In a sense they regarded Africans as not having any. 'The Africans,' said one missionary, 'have, so to speak, no fixed belief, but a multitude of bad habits and baseless fears;' the African's nature, wrote another, 'is as plastic and impressionable as a child's - a blank sheet whereon we may write at will, without the necessity of first deleting old impressions.'... This was a natural tendency, for people coming out of a society as ethnocentric as the British; to look in Africa only for traits they recognised as 'civilised,' and to dismiss all others as purely negative factors, intrinsically worthless, indications merely of the degree of 'uncivilisation'.' Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-1995*, Third Edition (London: Longman, 1996) 71-72.

⁵¹ Reddin has recounted that at the time of the 1887 Wild West exhibition the *Illustrated London News* suggested that 'the United States was "intimately connected with us by social sympathies, by a common language and literature, by ancestral traditions and many centuries of a common history, by much remaining similarity of civil institutions, laws, morals and manners," and other factors. Some of the British saw reflections of themselves in these people who had settled the New World in precisely the way vigorous Anglo-Saxons should do it - with a combination of prowess and refinement. One... journalist noted that Americans visiting London provided "a just gratification in seeing what men of our own blood" have done to extend English-style civilization "across the whole breadth of the Western continent." Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 93-94.

⁵² Such perceptions were both informed and reinforced by the popular culture of the day, and as MacKenzie has noted contemporary Victorian theatre shared many themes with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. 'By the end of the nineteenth century... class antagonism had disappeared from melodrama. By then imperial subjects offered a perfect opportunity to externalise the villain.... Thus imperialism was

despite the fact that nothing in the Wild West contradicted such imperialistic and hierarchical assumptions, as Kasson has observed 'newspaper stories continued to assert, the Indians were special favourites with audiences, and human-interest stories about Indians... complicated the racial stereotypes and hierarchies.'⁵³

Reporters and other British observers made specific references to the physical appearance of the Lakota. A London paper noted that the former Fort Sheridan prisoners were easily distinguishable 'by their disdainful glances at the palefaces,' but that it was 'very difficult to distinguish the average Indian brave from the average Indian squaw.'⁵⁴ Similarly the *Leeds Evening Express* remarked 'Nearly all the men have long hair like women, plaited and decorated with beads and "wampum," and this, with their bare faces, makes them difficult to tell, at a glance, from the women.'⁵⁵ However, a reporter for the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* commented that while the

long black hair and the absence of any beard or whiskers gives the men a somewhat feminine look... there is nothing feminine in the determined act of the lips that divide the high and prominent cheekbones from the massive lower jaws, and their aspect as a whole fully confirms the published statements as to the dogged and unconquerable courage with which they have met their foes.⁵⁶

The absence of any 'vestige of a beard' appears to have been key to this supposedly feminine appearance, for Cody who had long hair but also wore a beard appeared to newspaper journalists as the epitome of masculinity. A correspondent for the

depicted as a great struggle with dark and evil forces, in which white heroes and heroines could triumph over black barbarism, and the moral stereotyping of melodrama was given a powerful racial twist.' MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 45.

⁵³ Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 219.

⁵⁴ Unidentified newspaper clipping, 11 May 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁵⁵ *Evening Express* (Leeds), 20 June 1891, p5, 'In The Wild West Camp.'

⁵⁶ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to the Camp.'

Manchester Chronicle offered his readers an explanation for the Lakotas' lack of facial hair, and while on the one hand he appears to be somewhat sympathetic to the plight of the American Indians, his was a fantastic explanation:

I have always taken a special interest in Red Indians. Albeit the customs of the simple savage are beastly, he is a fellow of refined manners. He has been robbed, coerced and well nigh exterminated by the white man, together with his pet prey, the lordly buffalo. He is brave to a degree. I know no other race who would submit to such torture in order to become smooth of face. It is a fact that when the male Indian arrives at years of discretion, his mother plucks out every individual hair in his whiskers, beard and moustache with a pair of tweezers. This operation naturally lasts several weeks, and the hair cannot grow again. But the Indian never winces during this process of depilation.⁵⁷

Other such flights of fantasy evolved from speculation about the origins of the American Indians. A correspondent for the journal *Science Siftings* asserted that,

There are certain things... which tend to show that Indians are of Jewish origin. The Wichita Indians, it is said, operate on their children in a manner supposed to be exclusively Jewish.... At other times our correspondent thinks that they are of Chinese origin. "The Indian face if you look at it just right, very much resembles the Chinese profile, and recently, in Wyoming, the petrified remains of an ancient Chinese war vessel were discovered."⁵⁸

The journal had some similarly startling revelations to make about the Indian's language.

It is strange, but an actual fact, that the Manadad (Dakota) Indians use a Welsh dialect. At the present day a Welshman can understand them. It is presumed and is backed up by tradition, that some Welsh pioneer got stranded among these Indians and taught them their language.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *The Chronicle* (Manchester), 3 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁵⁸ *Science Siftings* (London), 30 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Other publications mistook the Lakota dialect for a bastardised version of English. The *Leicester Daily Post* suggested that their greeting of “How”.... Represents their small stock of English, being a contraction of the ordinary salutation “How d’ye do”.⁶⁰ This idea was contradicted by the *Glasgow Evening Citizen* who more correctly stated, ‘When the Indians shake hands... they say “how, how,” but it is not English, you know.’⁶¹ The Lakota greeting of ‘Hau’ can be translated as ‘hello,’ and therefore in meaning it is not that dissimilar from the *Leicester Daily Post*’s suggestion, but it was not derived from English. The same newspaper more correctly explained some other Lakota words to their English readers.

Some of them said “How coola,” the latter word standing for “friend,” and their enthusiastic way in which they pointed to the sun and ejaculated “Wash-ta,” or “lilla wash-ta” showed how welcome to them was the cessation of the dismal rains which they have had recently to encounter under treacherous English skies. The words quoted are “good” and “very good.”⁶²

The pre-occupation of the press with the language of the Lakota and their perceived desire to learn English, further illustrates the British sense of racial and cultural superiority, believing that ‘others’ would naturally want to take on the language of the dominant society.⁶³ The Lakotas’ use of the sign language was also of great interest, and again there is a sense of cultural and racial superiority in their reporting, contrasting ‘savages’ conversing with hands with ‘civilised’ people communicating with an advanced verbal and written language. A reporter for *Science Siftings* remarked that the sign language ‘eclipses anything in this way we have ever seen. It is quite as expressive as anything the white man can do with his mouth.’⁶⁴ [Fig. 40]

⁶⁰ *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891 p5, “Buffalo Bill’s” Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.’

⁶¹ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 7 Nov. 1891, ‘Buffalo Bills Wild West Show in Glasgow.’

⁶² *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891, p5, “Buffalo Bill’s” Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.’

⁶³ For a further discussion of this point see William Deverell, “Fighting Words: The Significance of the American West in the History of the United States,” Clyde A. Milner II, ed., *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 44.

⁶⁴ *Science Siftings* (London), 23 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

There was also occasion for comment on the sign language whilst the exhibition was in Glasgow. The incident amply demonstrates the perceptions of both the British and the white Americans of being a superior race, and that other races were not only inferior, but also 'specimens' to be studied and compared. Cody had written to his sister Julia on 26 December 1891 informing her that he would return home in the near future.

Am sorry to say that I am off again. I have got the Hay fever or Grippe or something, & being so worn out and so much do to & to think of, its hard. I am now trying for new attractions to put in this place to fill my vacancy when I have to leave here for my trip home. I want to leave my company playing here while I am gone. And must strengthen them with other attractions.⁶⁵

It was Lew Parker's job to find these new attractions, and in a piece entitled 'A Peculiar Happening' in his book of reminiscences *Odd People I Have Known*, he detailed how he acquired them.

Some time after we opened in Glasgow Colonel Cody, being tired after about nine months' steady work, concluded he would pay a visit home. That is, he wanted to go to his ranch in North Platte. Glasgow, with its nasty winter weather, palled on him. I advised that he keep the matter strictly to himself, because I was afraid that if he let it be known that he was out of the show, business would fall. In the meantime I would go somewhere and try for an attraction. I went to Bologne, France, and engaged Sam Lockart's wonderful performing elephants. Someone mentioned Explorer Stanley and a wonderful tribe of negroes that he brought from Africa and had just landed at Hamburg. I started quickly for that city and found the tribe all right. There were thirty men and thirty women. In general appearance they were entirely different from any natives we had seen from Africa. They were large and well proportioned, fearfully black and shiny. They certainly were a novelty. I arranged with Stanley's agent, and we reached Glasgow the next day.⁶⁶

On 15 January a personal reception was given by the Wild West to a large number of invited guests, including representatives of the local press, professors, and many of the

⁶⁵ Stella Adelyne Foote, *Letters from "Buffalo Bill"* (Billings, Mont.: Stella A. Foote, 1954) 71.

⁶⁶ Parker, *Odd People I Have Met*, 84-85

city's leading clergy. They were invited 'to witness the meeting... of a swarthy tribe from central Africa with the redskins of America.' For the journalists who wrote about the reception 'the most interesting part of the gathering... was the witnessing of the meeting between the two races,' a meeting they speculated, 'which perhaps has never had a parallel.'⁶⁷ The 'peculiar happening' to which Parker refers to in the title of his anecdote occurred after a 'flashlight picture' had been taken.

A couple of us were trying to devise some way to make the two tribes acquainted with each other. I called [our] Indian Interpreter... and told him to bring out "Rocky Bear," [sic] a celebrated... Chief, and instruct him to gesticulate and speak, and by signs see if he could get a response from the African Chief.

"Rocky Bear," with a few... grunts and with arms well extended, made various signs with his hands, accompanying same with words in the Sioux language, the African Chief watching him intently. "Bear" paused, and to our astonishment the African answered him in the sign language, conveying by every gesture (as told us by the interpreter and "Rocky Bear") a perfect knowledge of what the "Bear" had made signs to him. A few minutes afterwards both tribes were fraternizing and by signs getting along splendidly together.⁶⁸

'The red men sent out chiefs No Neck, Short Bull and Kicking Bear,' recorded the *Glasgow Evening News*, 'who met three of the black chiefs, and soon the two tribes were upon most friendly terms, being also able to converse after a fashion with each other.'⁶⁹ The *Glasgow Evening Times* reported that the speeches, which were delivered 'by the natives... indicated the bent of the mind of the speakers in an eminent degree.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 85; *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 16 Jan. 1892, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.'; *Glasgow Evening News*, 16 Jan. 1892, p.3, 'The "Wild West" Improved. A unique Ceremony.' The Africans were from Schuli, a district to the North East of Lake Albert Nyanza.

⁶⁸ Parker, *Odd People I Have Met*, 85. In Parker's anecdote he refers to the interpreter as being Bronco Bill and the Cheyenne [sic. Lakota] Chief as Rocky Bear, which is repeated in Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 373; Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, 155; and Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 119, but Parker writing a number of years after the fact gets the identity of these two people wrong. Neither Bronco Bill or Rocky Bear were on this tour of Britain, the interpreter would have either been George Crager or John Shangrau, and it seems likely from newspaper coverage of the episode that the Lakota chief would have been No Neck, Kicking Bear or Short Bull.

⁶⁹ *Glasgow Evening News*, 16 Jan. 1892, p3, 'The "Wild West" Improved - A Unique Ceremony.'

“Kicking Bear,” speaking to the Africans, put the crux of the whole North American Indian question in a nutshell... “My heart is glad to see you today, and I shake your hand. Long ago, we had plenty of land, but civilisation has driven us from it. Make better treaties, and see they are kept.”⁷⁰

The reporter for the *Evening Citizen* remarked ‘Two races differing widely in physique, in colour, in tradition, and in taste, are brought under the eye of the onlooker, and while they palaver and career through the mazes of their wild dances there is ample scope for reflection on the mysteries of race.’⁷¹ Almost all of the journalists who were present, made comparisons between the two races on show. The *Evening Times* asserted:

The Shulis, though not possessing the physique of the American aborigines, are well made, and the chief in particular, is a tall, lithe, muscular man; while one or two of the women have good features. Their dancing and singing is more rhythmical and musical than that of the Indians, but their speech is rude, and their sign language by no means so expressive as that of their transatlantic brethren.⁷²

The comparison is informed and indeed framed by the assumption of difference between the white race and ‘the others.’ None of the white performers in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West was ever put under the same scrutiny as the Indians, and the appearance or customs of the American whites was never described in the same detail as that of the Indians. While the Lakota were undoubtedly novel and thus intrinsically interesting, the detailed descriptions of ‘the other’ and the concentration on their differences bolstered the idea of the white race as being more ‘civilised’ and therefore superior. This was well illustrated by the *Birmingham Daily Post*, informed by ‘the views of a specialist like Major Burke,’ which reiterated that the Lakota are ‘unfit to mingle with the populations of the great cities, for they betray a congenital dislike

⁷⁰ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 16 Jan. 1892.

⁷¹ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 16 Jan. 1892, ‘The Wild West.’

⁷² *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 16 Jan. 1892, ‘Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show.’

for physical labour.⁷³ Whereas a correspondent for the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* asserted that 'the once simple-minded red men... who wondered at the civilisation of the new world, have at least in some degree been made familiar with the splendid history of the old.'⁷⁴

The American Indians were commonly perceived to be a race in decline, a race so backward that they were doomed to extinction or assimilation, that is, the race would die by becoming white. Buffalo Bill's Wild West played on this idea by promoting their exhibition as being one of the last chances to see a way of life that was vanishing. The *Nottingham Daily Express* proposed that 'the children who watched with excitement, not untinged with alarm, the development of the vivid pictures yesterday afternoon, will have for their manhood a memory of wild phases of Western life in a time that is fast fading away.'⁷⁵ Even more suggestive is the statement made by the *Manchester Weekly Times*, who referred to Lone Bull as being 'a fine old specimen of the decaying red man.'⁷⁶

The majority of the references to the Ghost Dance and its suppression, that appeared in the British press during the 1891-92 tour by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, seem to have been based upon the Wild West's management, the show itself, and the exhibition's programme. The *Leeds Evening Express* reported,

Much that is interesting has "Buffalo Bill" to relate concerning the brief campaign of last "fall," in which he was called in to aid General Miles in quelling the Indians in Dakota; and quaint and curious are the Indian's superstitions he reveals, particularly as to the ghost shirts which the "medicine men" made for the braves, with the assurance that they would be found bullet proof: an assurance which sad experience proved the fallacy of. Many Indians who took part in that disastrous

⁷³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 Sept. 1891 p5, 'Buffalo Bill's Show.'

⁷⁴ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 8 Aug. 1891, p6, 'Buffalo Bill at Sheffield.'

⁷⁵ *Nottingham Daily Express*, 25 Aug. 1891 p6, 'The Wild West in Nottingham - The Opening Day.'

⁷⁶ *Manchester Weekly Times*, 24 July 1891, 'Buffalo Bill in Manchester.'

rising are now in General Cody's Camp, amongst them the Messiah, who was to be the Christ to lead the Indians to deliverance.⁷⁷

An anecdote told in the *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* illustrates that a leather badge identified the former Fort Sheridan prisoners, and also that they felt uncomfortable with such labelling.

A colleague of mine who was at the show on Monday unwittingly made a blunder, which might have proved serious for him. Twenty-three of the Indians are prisoners of war having been captured during the Dakota outbreak last year. Introduced to one my friend eyed a leather badge hanging from his dress, taking hold of it he inquired what it was for. An interpreter with a scared look on his face warned him to drop it as the Indian would be awfully wild. The explanation afterwards given was that this was a prisoners badge and that although the Indian was happy enough with the show he naturally hated to think he was a prisoner.⁷⁸

Perhaps, too, the Indian in question may have been unhappy at being examined in such a way.

The use of the former Fort Sheridan prisoners bought an unrivalled attraction into the exhibition. The *Glasgow Herald* remarked that 'They constitute the most extraordinary company that has ever visited the city... Among them are "Short Bull," the originator of the "Ghost Dance;" "Kicking Bear," the redoubtable leader in the uprising and "Scatter," the Prophet of the "Messiah" among the Sioux nation.'⁷⁹ Not surprisingly Short Bull and Kicking Bear were portrayed as the most prominent Indians in Cody's troupe, and the majority of column space was devoted to them.

Short Bull was described by one journalist as being 'the noblest Indian of 'em all. He is a diplomatist and was leader of the "Ghost Dancers," and High Priest during the

⁷⁷ *Evening Express* (Leeds), 20 June 1891, p4, "Buffalo Bill" Interviewed.

⁷⁸ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 13 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Men and Things.'

⁷⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 6 Nov. 1891, p4, 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West.' The paper was mistaken in stating that Scatter was in Glasgow, he had returned to America a number of months earlier, see page 288.

Messiah craze.⁸⁰ [Fig. 41] Although commonly perceived as a deluded religious fanatic, a number of reporters who had been introduced to Short Bull were impressed by his acumen.

As a self-constituted apostle of the Messiah, Short Bull, who is a man of acute intelligence and strong personal magnetism, succeeded in making his fellows regard him as holy and wise. As every great cause must have, a leader, his superior intelligence proclaimed him such, and he exercised great influence in sustaining the fanaticism of the tribe. Short Bull has improved greatly with travel, and should he return to his reservation he will be one of the most valued allies of the Government.⁸¹

Such acumen could not be native, at least according to a reporter for the *Leeds Daily News*, who suggested that Short Bull's marked intelligence had been brought about by his influential travels with Cody and his newly found 'civilisation.'

The idea of many persons is that the North American Indian is almost a savage without any intellect or reasoning powers. The fact is quite the contrary.... Yesterday "Short Bull," leader of the ghost dancers, and High-priest of the "Messiah Craze," made a speech through the medium of an interpreter, which clearly showed that civilization had made him a philosopher. At one time he was a fanatic of the most dangerous type.⁸²

A reporter for the *Cardiff Evening Express* who was fortunate enough to interview Short Bull, recounted to his readers:

He is a great man among the Sioux, an orator and a holy man. It was he who was deputed to receive the Messiah and the message of Redemption, which was expected for the Redskin race. "Many hundred moons ago," so "Short Bull" described the event, "the Messiah came to the white men, and they killed him. He is now coming to redeem the red man." Whether a forest echo of the Christian Gospel or the concoction of another Joseph Smith, "Short Bull" implicitly believes in the Divine nature of the message.... In the reservation near

⁸⁰ *Quiz* (Glasgow), 30 Oct. 1891, p65.

⁸¹ *Nottingham Evening Express*, 24 Aug. 1891, p4, 'Buffalo Bill in Nottingham - The New Town at Trent Bridge.'

⁸² *Leeds Daily News*, 20 June 1891, 'The Indian Camp in Leeds.'

the creek of Wounded Knee is the wife of "Short Bull," five sons and a little daughter, or, as he musically termed her, We-chin Chal-la.⁸³

Through the press the British public were enabled to learn more about the Ghost Dancer and his understanding of the events of the previous winter. The *Leeds Evening Express* reported that while the exhibition was in the town, Short Bull 'in his musical tones' told 'how the war arose, how it ended, and how he comes to be now happy and contented with Gen. Cody, Major Burke, and Mr Nate Salisbury.' The occasion was reportedly all 'the more interesting as some of the "hostiles" have not hitherto opened their mouths on the subject since they left their country.'⁸⁴

While Short Bull was portrayed as a dreaming, visionary 'noble savage', Kicking Bear was given the mantle of 'war chief of the Messiah craze.'⁸⁵ [Fig. 42] The *Nottingham Evening Express* 'gleaned from Major Burke' that,

Kicking Bear is essentially a soldier from the Indian standpoint. A true soldier in the estimation of the red man is one who laughs at fear of personal injury - one who will willingly die for the cause he has espoused; and while Kicking Bear is probably not a man who could direct any warlike operation on an extensive scale, it is thought he would be exceedingly valuable in arousing enthusiasm and inciting small bodies to heroic deeds.⁸⁶

The opinions of the press about both Short Bull and Kicking Bear were reflected by Cody's business partner, Nate Salisbury, in a letter to General Miles, which might suggest that the British press were simply reiterating what was being fed to them by the show's representatives. In his letter Salisbury stated that Kicking Bear 'is turbulent and lawless,' and he described Short Bull as 'a religious enthusiast, but a decent fellow.'⁸⁷

⁸³ *Evening Express* (Cardiff), 26 Sept. 1891 p4, 'The "Wild West" Show at Cardiff - Some of the Celebrities Interviewed - by our special correspondent.'

⁸⁴ *Leeds Evening Express*, 20 June 1891, p5, "In The Wild West Camp."

⁸⁵ *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891, p5, "'Buffalo Bill's" Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.'

⁸⁶ *Nottingham Evening Express*, 24 Aug. 1891 p4, 'Buffalo Bill in Nottingham - The New Town at Trent Bridge.'

⁸⁷ Salisbury to Miles, 29 Feb. 1892, 27617 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

The press mistakenly identified any Indian from Cody's Wild West who featured in the newspaper stories as 'prisoners of war,' automatically according them the dubious honour and infamy of being a 'Hostile.'⁸⁸ While a reporter for the *Brighton Star*, who was obviously not impressed by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, castigated all of Cody's Indian performers as villains:

If the sight of a crowd of semi-clothed savages, who, if report speaks true, ought to hung for the atrocities which they have committed... can be termed amusing or entertaining, then I suppose that Cowboy Cody and his crew are both.⁸⁹

When Buffalo Bill's Wild West travelled north to Scotland for its five-month winter stand in Glasgow, the show's influence reached outside the limits of the arena.⁹⁰ Cowboys were employed on local farms to tame unmanageable steeds, sometimes as often as two or three times a week.⁹¹ Moreover, the street games of local children were transformed, and a correspondent for the weekly journal *Quiz* witnessed two errand boys practising the art of throwing the lasso:

⁸⁸ Paul Eagle Star, Long Wolf and Charging Thunder were all mistakenly identified as such. The first two died on the tour and the latter was jailed briefly in Glasgow, see Chapter Eight.

⁸⁹ *Brighton Star*, 14 May 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁹⁰ It was not until a month and a half before arriving in Glasgow, that the managers of the Wild West knew for definite where the show would be that winter. In fact some of the earliest histories of Buffalo Bill and his Wild West make no mention of a visit to Scotland in the early 1890s. Stella Adelyne Foote in her book *Letters from "Buffalo Bill."* published in 1954 stated that, 'the show was... put into winter quarters, and while a troupe was left playing in theatres, Cody again returned to his home in Nebraska.' This inaccurate observation was repeated by Nellie Snyder Yost in *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Failures and Fortunes*, in which she recorded that 'in August a company was organized to play in English theaters during the winter months, while the Wild West was in winter quarters and... the Colonel made a trip home to North Platte.' Foote, *Letters from "Buffalo Bill,"* 73; Yost, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Failures and Fortunes*, 231.

Their implement was a bit of rope with a long running noose on it. The smaller of the two boys was about to launder the rope at the other, when a private "one hos shay" drove past. An impulse of devilment seized the young hero of the prairies, and quick as a thought he changed the direction of his effort and attempted to lasso the horse. The rope, however, slid harmlessly off the animal's nose but the horse reared with the start it got. The driver was taken unawares and before he could reach for his whip the young rascal was a hundred yards off and rapidly increasing the distance. The incident was very laughable. But if our street boys take to acting the romance of the prairies to any great extent it may become a bit of a nuisance. Imagine for instance some fourteen-year-old "Charging Thunder" laying peaceable citizens low with a club.⁹²

Not surprisingly the show had been just as influential south of the border. The *Manchester Weekly Times*, in a section headed, 'The Children's Hour - by Uncle Oldman,' printed two letters from children who had been to see the Wild West. The first appeared on 31 July 1891, and was signed 'Effie.'

So full of it we were, that the next day we dressed up in feathers and blankets, and made our faces frightful with paint. The house was filled with shrieks and shouts intended to be the Indians' yell.⁹³

Arthur Rowland Skemp's letter was printed on 14 August.

I liked best the attack on the settler's cabin, Cowboy fun, and the attack on the Deadwood Coach.... Next day my cousin Tom and I were dressed up as Indians, he bearing the name of 'White Vulture', and I 'Green Hawk'. The costumes... consisted of a feather headdress, a robe and slippers, with sheath for weapons. Arrayed in these we danced the ghost dance for father, mother, auntie and uncle.⁹⁴

Furthermore, a correspondent for the *Bristol Mercury* noted,

[Cody] certainly deserves the thanks of the mothers of the time, whose lives will be set free from the necessity of inventing new games for their younger boys and girls for some time during their holidays. What can

⁹¹ *The Bailie* (Glasgow), 13 Jan. 1892, p4.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Manchester Weekly Times*, 31 July 1891, p6, 'The Children's Hour - by Uncle Oldman.'

⁹⁴ *Manchester Weekly Times*, 14 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Children's Hour - by Uncle Oldman.'

be better suited for an impromptu dramatic performance, with chairs, tables, toy guns and slouch hats, than the attack by Indians bedizened with feathers and beads and with darkened skins, on the Deadwood Coach.⁹⁵

While in Glasgow, the re-enactments were taken one stage further. The *Glasgow Evening News* reported on 18 July 1892, five months after the Wild West had staged it's final performance in the city, that the night before there had been an 'unrehearsed reproduction of Buffalo Bill's Wild West buck-jumping exhibition' in a field not far from Alexandria Park.

The cowboys were represented by seven or eight young urchins, and the wild, unbroken steeds were seven or eight "cuddies," belonging to some local coal dealer. The show went on uninterruptedly for over an hour, and seemed to be greatly relished by quite a crowd of people who lined the railings of the field. The heroic efforts and cuteness of the youngsters in mounting "Neddy," and the catapultic fashion in which the mokes discharged their riders, was laughable in the extreme. However, the fun was too good to last, as a "birl" from a policeman, who eventually appeared on the scene, put the "cowboys" to hasty flight.⁹⁶

It was not just children who had a new found interest in all things associated with the American West. In December 1891, James Paton, the Curator of Glasgow's Kelvingrove Museum, received a letter written on Buffalo Bill's headed notepaper, from George Crager.

Dear Sir,

⁹⁵ *Bristol Mercury*, 16 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁹⁶ 'Cuddies' and 'mokes' meaning donkey, and 'birl' meaning to whistle. *Glasgow Evening News*, 18 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC. Early in the Twentieth century the gang that 'ruled' the East End of Glasgow took the name the Redskins, which could have been inspired by Cody's Wild West. They boasted of a membership of a thousand, and had a loud, quick, tuneless whistle as a call to arms, disdaining fist fighting as kids stuff, they much preferred a meat cleaver or hammer. Their activities were extended from the compulsory fights with rival gangs to include protection rackets and mugging. George Forbes and Paddy Meehan, *Such Bad Company: The Story of Glasgow Criminality* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris Publishing, 1982) 63

Hearing that you are empowered to purchase relics for your museum I would respectfully inform you that I have a collection of Indian Relics (North American) which I will dispose of before we sail for America. Should you wish any of them after inspection I would be pleased to have you call at my room at the East End Exhibition Building. Please answer when you can come.

Yours respectfully

Geo. C. Crager

Incharge of Indians.⁹⁷ [Fig. 43]

Crager could have been acting on information passed on by Cody, for he and Paton quite possibly met when both were guests at the Pen and Pencil Club banquet held for Henry Irving on 27 November.⁹⁸ On 15 January 1892, Paton reported to the City Council's Sub-committee on Galleries and Museums 'that there is at present the opportunity of acquiring for the Museum a selection from a collection of genuine specimens of articles made by the Indians of the North-west Provinces of America.' He stated that in the company of two councillors he had inspected the collection, and he submitted a list of articles he considered it 'advisable to purchase.' The Sub-committee authorised Paton to spend 'a sum not exceeding £40 in purchasing a selection' of the artefacts.⁹⁹

As a result on 19 January 1892, Glasgow Museums acquired twenty-eight Native American artefacts from George Crager. Fourteen items were bought for the sum of £40, and fourteen items were donated. Four of the twenty-eight were so called 'historical souvenirs' that had been collected in the aftermath of the Wounded Knee Massacre. Of particular significance was a Ghost Dance shirt, allegedly removed from the body of a dead warrior.¹⁰⁰ [Fig. 44] Crager had been present at Pine Ridge in the

⁹⁷ Crager to James Paton, Curator, Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, 17 Dec. 1891, Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, Glasgow Museums.

⁹⁸ *The Bailie* (Glasgow), 18 Nov. 1891, p4-5; *North British Daily Mail*, 28 Nov. 1891, p.4.

⁹⁹ Printed Minutes of the Town Council of Glasgow and Trusts 1891/92, The Town Clerk - Minutes of the Town Council and Committees, no.3 1891-92, p86, Sub-committee on Galleries and Museum on January 15th 1892. Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

¹⁰⁰ Accession Register, p. 226-28, Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, Glasgow Museums.

aftermath of the massacre as a special correspondent for the *New York World*, and he had managed to add to his collection of 'historical souvenirs.'¹⁰¹ [Fig. 45]

In two newspaper articles written prior to the Glasgow acquisition, reporters visiting the Wild West who had been invited into George Crager's tent described artefacts in his possession. A reporter for the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* recalled:

One relic which is shown us, though of more recent date, recalls the interest which has arisen concerning the Holy Coat of Treves, for the recent Indian rising, like many national movements, had a religious basis. The most prominent chief in Buffalo Bill's company - Short Bull - was in fact a sort of high priest, and the "ghost dances" which he led were preparations for the coming of an Indian Messiah. Some of those who took part in the rising were favoured with the possession of "ghost shirts," which were credited with the power of turning aside the knife or bullet; and one of these ghost shirts we were permitted to inspect.¹⁰²

Similarly, whilst the exhibition was performing in Stoke on Trent, the *Staffordshire Sentinel* noted:

Mr Crager's cosy little tent contains relics of surpassing interest. Prominently displayed for instance, is a pipe of peace, with which Fennimore Cooper's [sic] novels have made most of us familiar.... Mr Crager points with pardonable pride to an eagle feather worn by the great chief, Sitting Bull, on the day of his death. It will be remembered, perhaps, that Sitting Bull was assassinated by the Indian police on Tongue River. Mr Crager has also the departed chief's moccasins, and hanging round his tent are several pretty pouches, made of beads and porcupine quills, in which the Indians carry their tobacco.... Mr Crager has in his possession several "ghost shirts" worn by the followers of Short Bull in the recent rising. The Indians supposed that these shirts would ward off bullets, but soon found to their sorrow that such was not the case. They are made of ordinary calico, but gorgeously trimmed with feathers and painted. Several arrows which are in evidence were picked up from the battlefield of Wounded Knee, where although some of the Indians were armed with repeating rifles, there were not a few who used the more primitive

¹⁰¹ Maddra, *Glasgow's Ghost Shirt*, 12-21.

¹⁰² *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to Camp'

weapon. Mr Crager also offered for inspection the leggings worn by the chief Spotted Tail when he was assassinated at Ponca Agency by Crow Dog, another chief who was jealous of him.¹⁰³

Not all of Crager's artefacts had been acquired in South Dakota, for a number of items had been given to him by the Indian performers. During the exhibition's summer season in London, a journalist had noted that the Indians had recently given Crager 'some striking proofs of their affection,' and that he had 'an interesting collection of Indian curios in the Major's log cabin.'¹⁰⁴

The experiences of the Ghost Dancers as they toured Britain with Cody's Wild West introduced them to the world of the whites from a position of relative security. As Vine DeLoria noted:

Touring with Buffalo Bill enabled a whole generation of Indians to learn about... [white] society in a relatively non-threatening atmosphere.... As a transitional educational device wherein Indians were able to observe... [white] society and draw their own conclusions, the Wild West was worth more than every school built by the government on any of the reservations. Unlike the government programs, the Wild West treated the Indians as mature adults capable of making intelligent decisions and of contributing to an important enterprise. Knowledge of white society gained in the tours with Cody stood many of the Indians in good stead in later years, and without this knowledge, the government's exploitation of the Sioux during the

¹⁰³ *Staffordshire Sentinel* (Stoke on Trent), 20 Aug. 1891.

¹⁰⁴ *The Music Hall* (London), 22 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC. Gallop suggested that "Indians in the company would have been alarmed if they had ever learned that their interpreter had sold native artefacts without consulting them, particularly the 'ghost dance' shirt.... It was never clear who the rightful owners of the property might have been.... Had some of the artefacts once been the property of Paul Eagle Star, who had died in the Sheffield Infirmary while holding on to Crager's hand?" But this is simply pure speculation and the evidence appears to suggest that there was never any doubt about Crager's rightful ownership of the items. It also does not take into account the Lakota tradition of gift giving. See Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 188-189.

period before the First World War might have been even more harsh.¹⁰⁵

The 1891-92 tour of Britain gave the Indians an expanded view of the world, enabling them to perhaps have a better understanding of white culture and religion, while at the same time relieving them of the monotony and poverty of reservation life.

Conversely, it would seem that the vast majority of the British public was not so open to alternate perceptions of 'the other,' and Buffalo Bill's Wild West did little more than reinforce their sense of racial superiority. This can be seen in both the British reporting of the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre, and in their comments about the Indian performers with Cody's Wild West.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the British accepted Cody's stereotype of the Indians as inferior barbarous beings, and 'a vanishing race as a result of disappearance into the dominant white society.'¹⁰⁷ This stereotype held all the more sway with European audiences as the geographical distance meant that they had no knowledge to contradict the one portrayed, and as Brian Dippie has noted 'distance made the mundane magical, the ordinary exotic.'¹⁰⁸ However, while British audiences might have accepted or endorsed the Wild West's message there remained a distinct fascination with the Indians, and 'in all its complexity, the audience's encounter with the American Indian performers continued to be one of the Wild West's defining features.'¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Deloria, Jr., "The Indians," 54-55.

¹⁰⁶ Reddin contends that the French had a much more sympathetic response to the Lakota performers than the British. 'Indians in the American camp fascinated Parisians. Queen Victoria had found them uncouth, underdressed, and a bit scary; but the French viewed them... romantically... because of enthusiasm for the works of James Fenimore Cooper, a continuing fascination with "noble savages," reports that the warriors were among the fiercest in the United States, sympathy for them as "vanishing Americans," and antipathy for the spread of Anglo-Saxon civilization across the globe.' Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, 100.

¹⁰⁷ Prucha, *Indians in American Society*, ix.

¹⁰⁸ Brian W. Dippie, "American Wests: Historiographical Perspectives," *Trails: Towards a New Western History*, editor Patricia Nelson Limerick et al. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991) 130.

¹⁰⁹ Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 219.

David J. Weber noted in his essay 'Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans,' that

Psychologists tell us that we stereotype ethnic groups in part because "in them we may perceive our own shortcomings." According to Maurice Janowitz and Bruno Bettelheim, "ethnic hostility is a projection of unacceptable inner strivings onto a minority group." The ethnic group in other words, becomes our alter ego.¹¹⁰

This appears to confirm the Santee Sioux physician Charles Eastman's assertion, that 'Behind the material and intellectual splendor of our [nineteenth century Anglo-American] civilization, primitive savagery and cruelty and lust hold sway.'¹¹¹ Yet the influence of Buffalo Bill's Wild West on European audiences went beyond stereotyping the Indians. Slotkin noted that 'The period of its European triumph coincided with the period of massive immigration to America. As many immigrants testified, the Wild West was the source of some of their most vivid images and expectations of the new land.'¹¹² This would suggest that not only were the Wild West's performances accepted as entertainment but were also a form of advertising for emigration to America. Buffalo Bill's Wild West told European audiences that the

¹¹⁰ David J. Weber, "Anglo American Stereotypes of Mexicans," *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989) 257.

¹¹¹ Charles Eastman quoted in Frederick E. Hoxie, "Thinking like an Indian': Exploring American Indian Views of American History," *Reviews in American History*, 29, no.1 (2001): 8.

¹¹² Slotkin *Gunfighter Nation*, 87.

continent had been conquered, and as the Republic faced the new century it promised to go from strength to strength.

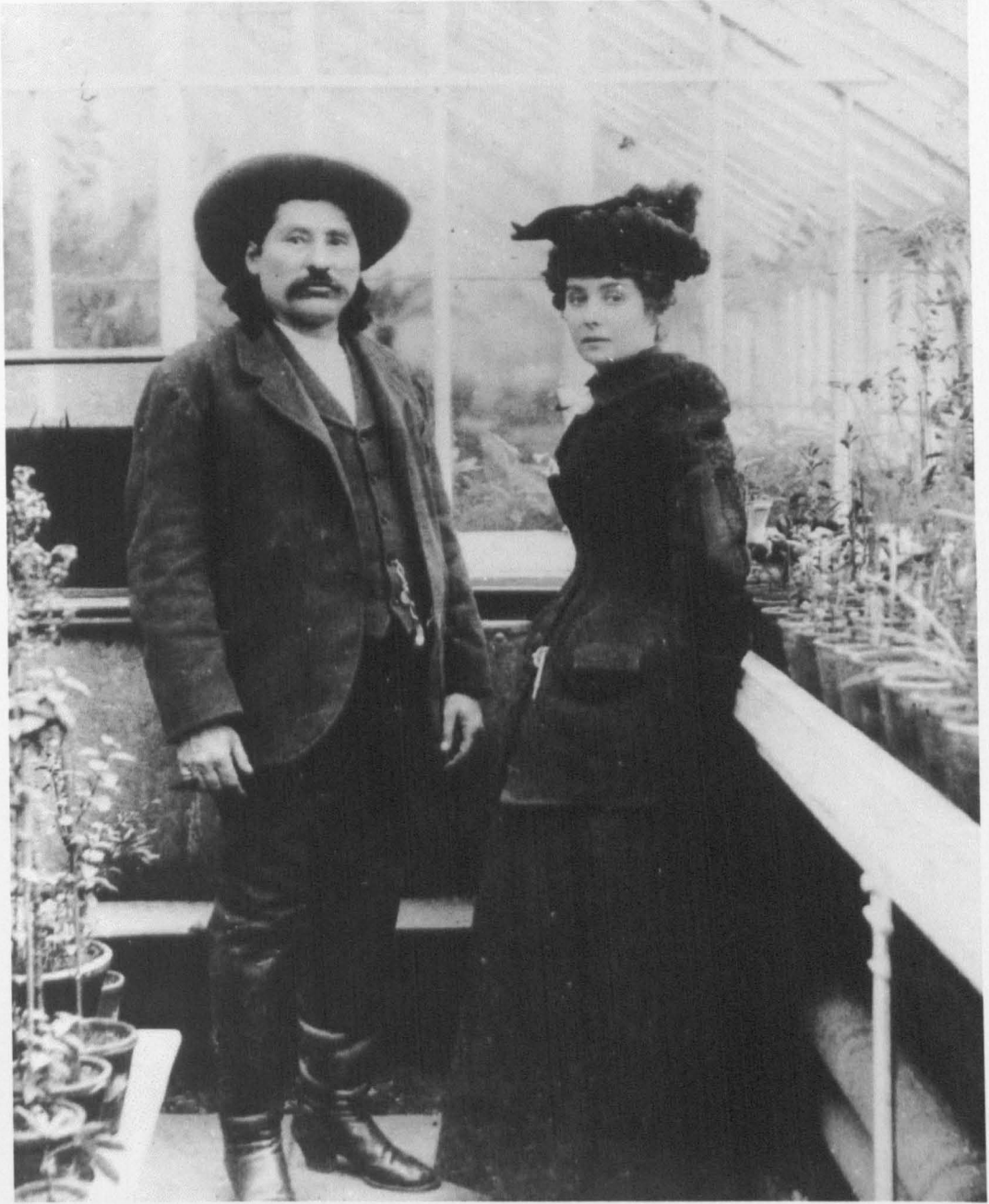


Fig. 34. John and Lillie Shangrau at Earls Court, London, 1892.



JOHN SHANGRAU.

Government Scout, Guide and Interpreter
in charge of the Military Hostages.

Fig. 35. Photograph
of John Shangrau
that appeared in the
1891 program for
Buffalo Bill's Wild
West.



Fig. 36. Illustration of
Lillie Shangrau from an
article entitled 'Habits
and Occupations of the
Indian Women in the
teepees at the Wild West
Show,' *New York Herald*
July 22 1894.

MRS. SHANGRAU.



Fig. 37. Cartoon from Kensington Society, October 6 1892.

'Fair Daughter: "How I would like to marry a Sioux Indian."

Stern Mother: "Gracious! Why?"

Fair Daughter: "Think how delightfully he would throw up my complexion."



Fig. 38. Cartoon from Fun, May 25 1892.

'Gushing "Old-Young" Lady. - "Oh, Cicely, Dear, I must shake hands with this Noble Savage. What a pity he cannot speak our tongue."

Surly Bear (in good English). - "Surley Bear's got one squaw already. One's plenty."

(G.O.Y.L. faints away.)



Fig. 39. Illustration from the London publication *The Million*, September 3 1892 p245, showing the Indian's sweat bath in use at Earls Court, London.



Fig. 40. Illustration of Kicking Bear and Short Bull, with Short Bull using sign-language.



Fig. 41. Illustration of Short Bull, which appeared in the Wild West's program.

"SHORT BULL"—Brule Sioux,—Leader of the Ghost Dancers;
"High Priest" of the "Messiah Craze."



Fig. 42. Illustration of Kicking Bear, which appeared in the 1893 program for Buffalo Bill's Wild West .

"KICKING BEAR."

Ogallalla Sioux, War Chief of the Messiah Craze, Fighting Chief of Ghost Dancers.



G. C. Crager
BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST CO.

Col. W. F. Cody, President.

Nate Salsbury, Vice-President and Director.

Jno. M. Burke, General Manager.

Glasgow Dec. 17th 1891

Mr. Paton
Curator

Calvin Cross Museum
Glasgow.

Dear Sir -

Hearing that you are empowered to purchase relics for your Museum I would respectfully inform you that I have a collection of Indian Relics (North American) which I will dispose of before we sail for America.

Should you wish any of them after inspection I would be pleased to have you call at my Room at the East End Exhibition Building - Please answer when you can come

Yours Resp.

Geo. C. Crager
In charge of Indians

Fig. 43. Letter from George Crager offering artefacts of American Indian manufacture to James Paton, curator of Glasgow Museums.



Fig. 44. Ghost Dance shirt donated by George Crager to Glasgow Museums, January 1892. Repatriated to the Wounded Knee Survivors Association, August 1999.

Fig. 45. George Crager (front row left), Pine Ridge, South Dakota January 1891. The man dressed in the Indian clothes on the right, is wearing two items later acquired by Glasgow Museums - the waist-coat and the blanket.



3650 Indian Chiefs and U.S. Officials

Eight: The Indians' experiences on the British tour

In light of the investigations of the previous summer and the subsequent ban on Indian employment in Wild West shows, Buffalo Bill's Wild West could literally not afford to have any similar stories appearing in the press of neglect and ill treatment of their Indian employees. The management was no doubt motivated in part by their need to employ Indians, who had become core to their narrative of conquest. But there was also a substantial financial motive, as mistreatment or neglect of the Indians would have resulted in the loss of the bond they had lodged with the government. Furthermore, stories of negligence and cruelty could have made it difficult to persuade Lakota performers to sign up with Cody's Wild West in the future. Through the experiences of the Indians it is clear, whether motivated by such thoughts or out of genuine concern, the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West went to great lengths to care for their Indian employees.

Indians who became sick or were injured received the best medical care that Cody could procure, and those who requested to be returned home were provided with second class carriage back to the reservations. The three Indians that died on the tour were buried in West Brompton Cemetery at Earls Court, London. Yet it would seem that Cody still remained unable to prevent the Indian performers from drinking alcohol and gambling. However, when an inebriated Indian performer attacked the interpreter George Cramer in front of Cody, he immediately handed him over to the local police. The management could have just as easily kept the matter quiet and dealt with it themselves, but by involving the police and the courts Cody was publicly condemning consumption of alcohol by his Indian performers. Without doubt he was motivated in part by a desire to show his critics of the previous year that they had been wrong, but at the same time such action would also have been an example to his Indian employees that similar behaviour would not be tolerated.

When Miles had supported Cody's application to hire more Indian performers and specifically the Fort Sheridan prisoners, he expressed the hope that their tour with Cody would in part be an object lesson, in that they would learn the numerical strength and might of the white race. In compliance with this, and also to alleviate the boredom between performances, Cody laid on trips to places of interest and manufacture, exposing the Indians to both the military strength and industrial expertise of the whites. These visits had the added benefit of giving the Wild West free publicity, as they were usually covered by the local papers. Furthermore, the Indians welcomed such opportunities, finding them both entertaining and educational.

There are very few sources that can give an indication of the Lakotas' mindset while touring in Britain, although it is apparent that they were in contact with friends and family, this correspondence has not survived. However, letters between the Wild West management and the Pine Ridge agents illustrate the concerns of some of the Indian performers over problems that arose back home. Furthermore, this correspondence shows that Cody was prepared to go far beyond contractual requirements in looking after the Indian performers, and suggests a close bond between himself and a number of his Indian employees.

There are no references to the Indians' experience of performing in the Wild West on this tour. Indeed, it would appear that the only comment with regards to an Indian's perception of the exhibition itself comes from Black Elk who stated, 'I enjoyed the Indian part of the shows that we put on... but I did not care much about the white people's parts.'¹ [Fig. 46] From the few published accounts of the experiences of Indian performers with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, the actual performance seems to have had little impact. Whereas all such chronicles by Indians who performed in Europe make some reference to their journey across the Atlantic, which would

indicate that this experience had had a much greater significance. Short Bull's comment was short and straight to the point: 'Our trip across the water made me somewhat sea sick but as soon as I got on land again was in good health.'²

The concept of the Atlantic Ocean was both new and frightening for the Lakota and it would appear that the majority suffered from seasickness. George Dull Knife joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1892 and travelled with the exhibition for a number of years. His grandson, Guy Dull Knife Jr., was recorded in Joe Starita's book *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey*, as recalling:

"Grandpa always said that the ocean crossings were the worst part of the Wild West show.... The Indians had lived on the plains and they had never seen anything like the ocean. It terrified them."³

Black Elk's first experience of crossing the Atlantic appears to have been even more traumatic than most, when the passengers were forced to endure a violent storm.

There was a big storm and everyone was in despair. The women were crying and some of the men were crying, singing their death songs. The white people laughed at us at first, but they soon were in despair themselves.... They began to hand out life belts, but I did not put on a life belt but I dressed for death and began to sing. We sang in order to cheer up our women and to take courage, as we were out there for adventure. We wanted to know this and now we were learning it.⁴

Luther Standing Bear recounted travelling in steerage; the difficulties posed by rough seas; and how he found sustenance in traditional Lakota food after days of seasickness.

As we got out on the ocean, the water became very rough. All the luggage was scattered about this big room, and the motion of the ship sent it rolling from one side to the other. The women and children became greatly frightened, and even some of the men began to wish for Pine Ridge Reservation. I include myself among the latter. I soon became so sick that I even hated to hear the dishes rattle, and for nine

¹ DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*, 246.

² Crager, "As Narrated by Short Bull," 20, BBMG.

³ Joe Starita, *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey* (New York: Putnam, 1995) 145-46.

⁴ DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*, 247-48.

days I suffered the tortures of the damned.... It was only Indian corn and dried meat that kept me up.⁵

The crossing of the Atlantic Ocean appears to have been to some extent a test of endurance for the Lakota performers and the experience was one not easily forgotten. After the traumatic voyage to Europe, performing in the Wild West must have been a fairly innocuous adventure for the Lakota, although the show was not without its own hazards. Short Bull received an injury to his foot in the inaugural performance at Aix-La-Chapelle in Germany. It was reported that he had fallen awkwardly, 'and was consequently compelled to remain in his tepee with his injured foot swathed in bandages.'⁶ The injury was apparently not too serious and the Belgium newspaper *The Galignani Messenger* recorded on 7 June 1891, that Short Bull was 'none the worse for his fall at Aix.'⁷

The equestrian nature of the performance, especially the 'bucking broncos' and the high-speed races, meant that accidents and injuries were far from unusual and such dangerous elements added to the sensationalism of the performance.⁸ The accidents came to be seen as part and parcel of the whole Wild West experience. At the opening of a performance in Sheffield when the Indians and cowboys were 'scampering out [of the arena]... at breakneck pace,' an Indian was seen to sink under his horse. His companions 'swooped down upon him, picked him up, and bore him out, without once slacking rein.' It was perceived as a brilliant feat of horsemanship, and the spectators thinking it part of the performance 'applauded vociferously.' As it turned out, the drop from the steed's back was not a feature of the show and the

⁵ Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 250.

⁶ Unidentified newspaper clipping, 29 May 1891, 'An Hour with General Cody,' CS, MS6.IX, box 2, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁷ *Galignani Messenger*, 7 June 1891, 'Brussels Gossip - From Wounded Knee to Waterloo - Buffalo Bill and His Indians on the Famous Field,' CS, MS6.IX, box 2, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁸ *Liverpool Echo*, 17 July 1891, bp, 'Alarming accident at the "Wild West".'; *Nottingham Daily Express*, 25 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Wild West in Nottingham - The Opening Day.'

Indian in question, Paul Eagle Star, dislocated his ankle when the horse slid and fell, trapping his right foot under its belly.⁹

Eagle Star was immediately transported to the Sheffield Infirmary where it was found that he was suffering from a compound dislocation. Tetanus set in, and just over a week later it was decided to amputate the foot. The show having meanwhile moved on to Nottingham, George Crager was sent to Sheffield with instructions from Cody to 'spare no expense, secure the best care, and save his life.'¹⁰ It was reported that with the patient's sanction the operation had been satisfactorily performed, but that Eagle Star 'was unable to survive the shock.' Two days later on Monday 24 August, it was apparent that the end was near. He asked Crager 'who was at his bedside, to give him his hand. Shaking it feebly he said "Jesus, Jesus" and died.'¹¹ On his return to Nottingham Crager found the camp in a condition of gloomy depression, the 'Indians were walking among the wigwams chanting a requiem for their dead comrade.'¹² A correspondent of the *Nottingham Daily Express* noted

In addition to the depressing influence of the weather, the Indians were mentally suffering from the loss they have sustained by the premature death of one of their comrades.... On the previous night the death of Paul Eagle Star... did undoubtedly keenly affect the whole tribe, and resulted in an Indian "Council" being held.... The squaws of the Sioux Nation, to which the unfortunate warrior belonged... were deeply affected by the news, and it is probable that the excess of their

⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West Show.'

¹⁰ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 26 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Death of "Eagle Star" in Sheffield - inquest at the Infirmary.'

¹¹ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 25 Aug. 1891, p6, 'Death of one of Buffalo Bill's Indians in Sheffield.'; *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 26 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Death of "Eagle Star" in Sheffield - inquest at the Infirmary.'

¹² *Ibid.*

grief gave rise to the impression in the neighbourhood that there was something unusual going on in the Indian encampment.¹³

An inquest was held at the infirmary, at which Crager and the Infirmary's House Surgeon, Mr. Hugh Rhodes both gave evidence, and the jury without hesitation returned a verdict of accidental death.¹⁴ Afterwards Eagle Star's body was placed in a coffin and loaded onto a train bound for Nottingham. All the members of the Wild West show met the train at the station, where the coffin was unscrewed and the Indians each took a last look at their comrade.¹⁵ The body was then removed to London where the funeral attracted 'considerable attention.' In an open hearse drawn by black stallions, the remains of Eagle Star were transferred from St. Pancras Station to West Brompton Cemetery.¹⁶

Eagle Star was only twenty-five when he died. He was a Sicangu Lakota who had been educated at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, and was reported to be 'a great favourite with Colonel Cody.'¹⁷ Although consistently referred to as being 'a prisoner of war' in the many papers that covered his death, he had in fact been hired with the majority of the other Lakota performers at Pine Ridge.¹⁸ John Shangrau wrote to a

¹³ *Nottingham Daily Express*, 26 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Wild West Show.'

¹⁴ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 25 Aug. 1891, p6, 'Death of one of Buffalo Bill's Indians in Sheffield.'; *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 26 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Death of "Eagle Star" in Sheffield - inquest at the Infirmary.'

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; *Nottingham Daily Express*, 26 Aug. 1891, p6, 'The Wild West Show.'

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Philip James who is compiling a biography of Eagle Star has stated in a personal communication that Eagle Star had instead been a member of the Indian Police at Rosebud. And despite not being listed as such on the payrolls, he appears in a photograph with a police badge, and received the same remuneration as the police, but was listed simply as a labourer. This was not uncommon, especially in times of need, when the Agent was unable to secure any more funding for the tribal police, he would hire them under the auspices of another job, but in reality was employing them as Indian Police. See Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges*, 88,90.

¹⁹ John Shangrau, Nottingham, to 'Dear Friend Louis,' Rosebud, 26 Aug. 1891, Rosebud Agency, Gen.

friend at the Rosebud Agency informing him of Eagle Star's death and requesting information on the whereabouts of the deceased's widow.¹⁹ Eagle Star's wife and child later received \$500 from Buffalo Bill's Wild West, plus his back pay of \$120. Furthermore, Cody also agreed to pay her \$25 a month 'while the Wild West show remained in existence.'²⁰

This generous settlement was in stark contrast to the allegedly poor treatment injured and dead Indians had received the previous year whilst travelling with the show in continental Europe. In the light of the investigations the year before, or perhaps out of genuine concern, the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West 'went to extraordinary lengths to meet the needs of their employees' during the 1891-92 tour of Britain. Indians who were taken ill obtained the 'best medical care regardless of expense,' and those too ill to continue were returned to their reservations, including five who had previously been Fort Sheridan prisoners.²¹

Corres. 1889-1892, box A-358, RG 75, FARC.

²⁰ Unidentified Chicago newspaper clipping, ca. March 1892, 'Big Red Men In The City. - On their return from an extended European trip,' Buffalo Bill Scrapbook, p13, Microfilm FF18, Cody Papers, SHSC.

²¹ Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 122. Cody to Secretary of War, 6 June 1891, M983 p1535, RG 94, NA; Cody to Grant, 22 June 1891, M983 p1552, RG 94, NA; Salsbury to Penny, 23 June 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd 1891-1895, box 31, RG 75, FARC; Affidavits of Horn Point Eagle and Sorrel Horse, sworn at US Consulate, Bradford England, 23 June 1891, LR 28591-1891, RG 75, NA; Cody, Liverpool, to Secretary of War, 17 July, LR 28591-1891, RG 75, NA; Penny to Cody, 4 Aug. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Copies of Misc. LS (1891-92), vol. 8, box 55, p148, RG 75, FARC; Cody, Stoke on Trent, to Secretary of War, 19 Aug. 1891, LR 32171-1891, RG 75, NA.

A journalist for the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* who had been introduced to the Indian performers, had noted:

I met another evidently suffering from consumption [and] what he said to the interpreter who accompanied me was touching " I want to go back to my own country. You (meaning Buffalo Bill) have been very good to me and I should like to stay; but I shall never be any more good to you and I want to go back home"²³

²² *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 13 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Men and Things.'

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 12 Aug. 1891, p6, 'In the "Wild West" Camp.'

²⁵ *Leeds Daily News*, 20 June 1891, 'The Indian Camp in Leeds.'

²⁶ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 Sept. 1891, p5, 'Buffalo Bill's Show.'

²⁷ Cody to Secretary of War, 6 June 1891, M983 p1535, RG 94, NA.

²⁸ Affidavits of Horn Point Eagle and Sorrel Horse sworn at US Consulate, Bradford England, 23 June 1891, LR 28591-1891, RG 75, NA.

²⁹ Salsbury to Penny, 23 June 1891, PR, Gen Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd 1891-1895, box 31, RG 75, FARC.

³⁰ Cody, Liverpool, to Secretary of War, 17 July 1891, LR 28591-1891, RG 75, NA.

³¹ Penny to Cody, 4 Aug. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Copies of Misc. LS (1891-92), vol. 8, box 55, p148, RG 75, FARC

³² Cody, Stoke on Trent, to Secretary of War, 19 Aug. 1891, LR 32171-1891, RG 75, NA.

³³ *New York World*, 29 June 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

The same publication had recounted a few days earlier, that the Indians 'consider our climate abominable, and wonder how we can live in it. Cold they can stand, for they are accustomed to it, but the frequent rains and constant moisture in the air are terribly trying.'²⁴ At the start of the tour in Leeds, it had been reported that Long Wolf 'the old chief of camp' had soon been reduced to a rheumatic patient by 'the cold east wind of this country.'²⁵ And by the time the show had reached Birmingham at the beginning of August, the ranks of the Indian contingent had been further reduced as the weather and the hazards of the arena began to take their toll. The *Birmingham Daily Post* remarked:

Ten more left the States, but one was killed at Sheffield, and the other nine have been suffered to return, ill of chest complaints contracted in our changeable climate.²⁶

The Ghost Dancers who were too ill to continue posed a greater headache for Cody than the other Indian performers. He had been ordered to inform the War Department of their return, and Cody had each former prisoner who returned due to ill health sign an affidavit. Cody wrote to the Secretary of War on 6 June 1891, informing him that 'two of the Indian prisoners named "Sorrel Horse" and "Horn Point Eagle" are and have been sick.' They had been examined by physicians who had found that both were 'suffering from "Lung Troubles" contracted long ago from exposure.' The two had asked to go home and Cody requested that they both be allowed to return to their agency. He went on to state:

They have done no work of late with the company but have received full pay, food, clothing and medical attendance; more especially "Sorrel Horse" who has done but two days work in all with my company....
P.S. Their conduct has been excellent.²⁷

At the United States Consulate in Bradford, Sorrel Horse and Horn Point Eagle each signed an affidavit. Both acknowledged that they had suffered from consumption for a number of years, which had been 'greatly enhanced by exposure last year in the troubles... and not bettered while a prisoner at Fort Sheridan.' Fearing that they

might die in Britain, they were being returned at their own request. The affidavits were more or less identical, and both performers went on to assert:

Since the time of my joining the "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Co." I have received proper medical treatment, care, nursing and medicines, good food, clothing and pay, while our treatment throughout has been most kind and considerate.... and I regret that my physical condition causes me to separate from them.²⁸

After being translated by George Cramer, the affidavits were sworn before the US Consul John A. Tibbits, and witnessed by No Neck, Plenty Wolves, Short Bull, Kicking Bear and Lone Bull. Nate Salsbury wrote to the Pine Ridge Agent on 23 June, informing him that the two were to 'sail on the Steamship *City of New York* - 2nd Cabin,' the following day.²⁹

Less than a month later, Scatter, who had been Short Bull's companion on his journey to see Wovoka in Nevada and had been imprisoned at Fort Sheridan, was also returned. In his affidavit Scatter confessed to having concealed the fact that he was suffering from consumption, 'thinking that a change of climate would be favourable to his health.'³⁰ Cody was granted permission to return the sick Indians to their homes in South Dakota, and on 4 August, the Pine Ridge Agent acknowledged the safe return of Sorrel Horse and Horn Point Eagle.³¹ Two more Ghost Dancers, Run Along Side Of, and the Sicangu, Standing Bear, were returned to their Agencies later that same month, bringing the total to five.³²

While Buffalo Bill's Wild West was performing in London Dr. Maitland Coffin was the camp's resident doctor. All the ordinary ailments of the Wild West personnel were attended to by 'Mama Whitaker, a Wise Woman of the West,' who was called the 'mother of the camp.' She was to be seen every day, driven around the arena in one of the wagons, and was reportedly 'on the most cordial terms with every man, woman and child in the place.'³³ In an interview with the *Star* entitled 'The Wild West Doctor,' Coffin acknowledged that there had been one death in the Earl's Court camp. 'He was an Indian chief called Shuga-man-a 'o-Has-ka or Long Wolf,

nicknamed by the tribe of Ogalallas, *Lame Warrior*.³⁴ Long Wolf had been admitted to the West London Hospital on 5 June, along with another Indian performer.³⁵ After a short illness 'due partly to old age, and partly to trouble caused by numerous old wounds received in battle,' Long Wolf died six days later.³⁶ His compatriot was more fortunate and was discharged on the same day after responding to treatment.

Long Wolf was a veteran performer of Cody's *Wild West* having been in the show since 1886, and had been accompanied on this tour by his wife *Wants* and daughter *Lizzie*.³⁷ His photograph appeared in the exhibition's programme, which referred to him as the 'Head Chief of the "Buffalo Bill" *Wild West*.'³⁸ He was often named in press reviews of the show as it toured around the country, the *Birmingham Daily Post* being typical:

Long Wolf is an "old time warrior," with a great record, which served him in good stead as a conciliator of the rebels.³⁹

Dr Coffin's testimony that he was 'a complete mass of gunshot wounds and sabre cuts' suggests that he was a courageous warrior, and it is believed that he took part in many

³⁴ *Star* (London), 12 July 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC. Long Wolf's Lakota name has also been given as Schongamaoneta Haska, see Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 197.

³⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette* (London), 18 June 1892, Letter to the Editor, from Mr R. J. Gilbert, Secretary-Superintendent of West London Hospital. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

³⁶ *Daily Graphic* (London), 14 June 1892, 'A Red Indian Warrior Buried in London.'

³⁷ Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 163.

³⁸ *Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1891 Program*, p41, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

³⁹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8 Sept. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West Show.' The 'rebels' referred to here are the Ghost Dancers. Many of the reports of Long Wolf's death erroneously suggested that he had been a Ghost Dancer, stating 'he was the first to surrender his rifle to General Miles in the last war at Pine Ridge.' This appears to have been a common mistake, and whenever a story appeared in the press about one of Cody's Indians, like the death of *Eagle Star* or *Charging Thunder's* incarceration, they were nearly always described as a 'prisoner' or a 'hostage.'

fighters including the Battle of the Little Big Horn.⁴⁰ The old man, who had been recorded as suffering from rheumatism whilst the exhibition was in Leeds, had returned briefly to Pine Ridge in August 1891, perhaps for rest and recuperation.⁴¹ Long Wolf was buried 'with much picturesque ceremony,' close to the Wild West's camp at Earl's Court in West Brompton Cemetery on 13 June. [Fig. 47] Unlike Eagle Star's burial, which had been in a common grave, Cody had paid £23 for a plot, and the grave was dug 13ft deep.⁴²

Two months later the grave was re-opened to admit a small coffin, which was placed on top of Long Wolf's. It contained the remains of a 20-month-old Indian girl called White Star, whose parents were performers in Cody's Wild West. In the section of the exhibition known as 'Life Customs of the Indians,' White Star had been 'placed in a saddlebag, slung across the back of a horse and paraded around the arena with other small children from the camp.' On 12 August she had fallen from the saddlebag and had died from her injuries later that evening.⁴³ Following the child's burial a stone cross was erected on the grave, bearing the inscription,

Chief Long Wolf, North American Indian with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Co. Died June 11th, 1892, aged 59 years. Also Star, who died August 12th, 1892, aged 20 months.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *Evening News and Post* (London), 15 June 1892, fp, 'Death of a "Wild West" Indian.'

⁴¹ Penny to Cody, Nottingham, 22 Aug. 1891, Gen. Rec., box 55, p230, RG 75, FARC.

⁴² *Daily Graphic* (London), 14 June 1892, 'A Red Indian Warrior Buried in London.'; *The Royal Parks Press Release* (London), 25 Sept. 1997, 'Long Wolf Goes Home.' A reporter for the *Magazine Journal* bemoaned the fact that no journalists were present to record the event, but an illustration, whether real or imagined, did appear on the front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, under the heading of 'Tragic Occurrences of the Week.' *Magazine Journal* (London), 25 June 1892. Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC; *Illustrated Police News* (London), 25 June 1892, fp, 'Funeral of an Indian Chief at West Brompton.'

⁴³ Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 200.

⁴⁴ Carolyn T. Foreman, *Indians Abroad 1493 -1938* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943) 204.

At the centre of the cross was carved a wolf in keeping with Long Wolf's wishes. His daughter Lizzie later remembered 'that he knew he was going to die, and that he drew a picture of a wolf, saying he wanted it carved on his tomb.'⁴⁵

The Wild West encampment also had causes for celebration as it toured Britain. Nate Salsbury's wife Rachel gave birth to twin girls shortly before Christmas 1891 while the exhibition was in Scotland, and there were also marriages on the tour involving the Indian contingent.⁴⁶ During the exhibition's visit to Manchester there had been a marriage between two of the Lakota Indians travelling with the show. Black Heart, a veteran of the 1887 tour, and Calls the Name, one of the three women who had been prisoners at Fort Sheridan, were married at St Brides Church, Old Trafford on 8 August 1891. [Fig. 48] No Neck, the bride's brother, 'gave her away' and the interpreter George Crager acted as best man. On the marriage certificate Calls the Name's father is given as Smoke, which might suggest that she was also related to John Shangrau, who acted as witness.⁴⁷ After a private ceremony attended by employees of the Wild West, a nuptial feast was had in the camp at Whalley Range.⁴⁸ A reporter

⁴⁵ Jessie Black Feather (Lizzie Long Wolf's daughter) quoted in *The Observer* (London), 12 Feb. 1895, 'Long Wolf to be freed from London lair.' This is also referred to in Annie F. Swartwout, *Annie Oakley: Her Life and Times*, (New York: Carlton Press Inc., 1947) 131, which states 'Uncle Joe had been fond of the old fellow and liked to tell us of his burial. Lone Wolf [sic] had carved on a cross a picture of a crouching wolf. This was placed upon his grave as a headstone.'

⁴⁶ Nate Salsbury to Rebecca Salsbury, 21 Dec. 1891, Nathan Salsbury Papers, Series I. Correspondence, box 1, Folder 7, 1890-93, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, Connecticut. *Quiz* (Glasgow), 12 Feb. 1892, p.214.

⁴⁷ Marriage certificate of Black Heart and Calls-the-Name, 8 Aug. 1891, at the Parish Church in the Parish of St. Brides, Stafford in the County of Lancaster, Buffalo Bill Museum, Paul Fees Files - Indians, BBHC.

⁴⁸ *Manchester Weekly Times*, 14 Aug. 1891, p7, 'Marriage of Indians at Old Trafford.'; *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 Aug. 1891, p5, 'The Wild West in Sheffield - A Visit to Camp.'; *Argus* (Brighton), 14 Oct. 1891 p3, 'The Wild West at Brighton.'

for the Brighton *Argus* perceived the marriage to be 'evidence of the desire on the part of these people to conform to civilised habits.'⁴⁹

This marriage throws up a number of interesting facts, not least that as Calls the Name was unmarried whilst travelling with the show her employment broke one of the company's cardinal rules. All the Indian women who travelled with Cody's Wild West were supposed to be wives of the male performers. Moses stated:

From the time that Cody began to employ Indians for exhibitions, women had been included. Only wives, however, were allowed to join their husbands on tour. At no time did Cody's show employ unmarried Native American women as featured performers.... John Burke explained that corporate policy dictated that only married women participate so that there could never be a hint of impropriety.⁵⁰

The exception made for Calls the Name is perhaps understandable seeing as she had been one of the prisoners at Fort Sheridan, but even that fact is intriguing when it is remembered that Black Heart was reportedly an influential peacemaker who had been working for the interests of the US government in 1890-91. This would suggest that the so-called 'traditionalist/progressive divide' had been united in this marriage. A point crudely put by the *Brooklyn Times* on 24 May 1894.

Black Heart lives in a tepee in the Wild West camp with his wife, Calls-the-Name. She was a squaw prisoner of the troops at Pine Ridge Agency during the last outbreak and was one of the instigators of the war. She was captured while fighting and was considered one of the bitterest foes of the whites at that time. Since her marriage, however, her views have become as Black Heart's views, and the once dangerous woman is now submissive, passive, stolid-faced wife of a big chief and bears herself with a meekness becoming the slave of her lord and master.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Argus* (Brighton), 14 Oct. 1891 p3, 'The Wild West at Brighton.'

⁵⁰ Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 85.

⁵¹ *Brooklyn Times*, 24 May 1894. Scrapbook 1894, MS6, Series IX, box 10, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

Black Heart had been married before to one of Red Cloud's daughters, and had recently been divorced. Calls the Name had also been married before, she was between seven and nine years older than her husband, and according to the London publication *The Morning*, was a grandmother, her daughter and grandchild having also accompanied the show.⁵² Of the other two women who had been prisoners at Fort Sheridan, it had been reported that Medicine Horse was the wife of another prisoner, with both Brings the White and Knows His Voice being named as such. But no reference appears to have been made to Crow Cane's marital status.⁵³

It is hard to interpret how the traditionalist/progressive dynamic played out during the tour. It would appear from the evidence of the returning Indians in the summer of 1890, that it was not unusual for there to be a certain amount of rivalry between differing groups of Lakota performers, as evidenced by the fall out between Red Shirt and Rocky Bear. Yet this tour would have thrown up perhaps greater tensions than any other, with the hiring of the Fort Sheridan prisoners. Cody had within his camp Lakota who had been on opposing sides during the suppression of the Ghost Dance, yet there appears to be only one mention of any competitiveness in all the press coverage, and it would seem that it was not confined to the traditionalist/progressive dichotomy. The *Leeds Evening Express* reported:

there is a strong instinct of ambition in the mind of the noble red man, and especially amongst the chiefs. Some of them are never content to be regarded as second to their fellows. Even in the small community in the Gen.s' camp... there are rival chiefs, who each endeavour to draw around them a following - the man who has the greatest following

⁵² Brown to Cody, 22 Apr. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1892, vol.12, p102, box 56, RG 75, FARC; Letter 173a; Marriage certificate of Black Heart and Calls-the-Name, 8 Aug. 1891, Buffalo Bill Museum, Paul Fees Files - Indians, BBHC; and Pine Ridge Census rolls 1893-1924. (microfilm M595, Western History and Genealogy Department, DPL). *The Morning* (London), 18 Aug. 1892, p2, 'Wild West Ladies.' The paper reported that 'Blackheart is her second husband, and she has a married daughter, whose poor, sweet little baby of 15 months' old is dreadfully ill.'

⁵³ *New York Tribune*, 19 Mar. 1892, "Arrival of "The Wild West" Indians in America.' The Paris edition of the *New York Herald*, 16 Apr. 1891, listed her as 'Mrs. Crow Cane,' but then again also had "Mrs Calls the Name.'

having naturally the greatest influence and power. But whatever the inner hidden rivalries between them, they seem sufficiently friendly and amiable with one another though the chiefs know how to uphold their dignity.⁵⁴

It would perhaps be understandable that being so far from home and in an alien environment, the Lakota would concentrate more on their similarities than their differences. Outside of their reservations such rivalries were perhaps less significant. Yet at the same time it could also illustrate that on the reservations the traditionalist/progressive dichotomy had been exaggerated by white interference.

Perhaps mindful of the close scrutiny that their business would receive in the wake of the recent investigations in America, reporters were routinely given access to the Wild West's vast dining tent. The Portsmouth *Evening News* commented,

The meal sampled by the reporter was not found wanting. There were two kinds of soup and three kinds of meat on the table, and the visitor was informed that there was never any stint, for every member of the company could always have just as much as he wanted.⁵⁵

The *Leeds Daily Mail* had carried a report of speeches made by the Indian performers at the beginning of their tour of provincial England. In the discourse they expressed their satisfaction with the treatment they received whilst travelling with Buffalo Bill, and 'told with artless candour the satisfactory arrangements they were engaged under with regard to their food and pay.'⁵⁶ Luther Standing Bear recalled that 'many of the Indians would want to go out and buy trinkets and things to carry back home, such as nice blankets and shawls. But during the rainy weather some of them thought they had an excuse to drink. They said they thought it kept them warm.'⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Evening Express* (Leeds), 24 June 1891, p2, 'Local Gossip.'

⁵⁵ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.'

⁵⁶ *Evening Express* (Leeds), n.d. p5, 'In The Wild West Camp.'

⁵⁷ Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 261.

One of the functions of the Wild West's Indian Police was to keep the Lakota performers away from alcohol. The *Leicester Daily Post* noted 'that the Indians have their own police, who look after the conduct of their compatriots.'⁵⁸ Whilst the *Portsmouth Evening News* commented, 'No Neck is the chief of police of the Wild West, under the constitution which the Indians observe among themselves.'⁵⁹ The *Leeds Daily News* detailed the role the Indian Police played, when it reported that,

throughout the whole camp there is a marvellous spirit of order and discipline. So much is this the case that there is actually an Indian Policeman, whose badge is a white star and ribbon, who has eight men under him to keep the peace. If any man proved refractory, summary punishment is dealt out in the shape of a fine. There is no such thing as imprisonment, but if one Indian injures another in some way or other he is deprived of a portion of his goods. It is, however, very rarely that any occasion arises for the services of the policeman.⁶⁰

Standing Bear, who had been placed in charge of the Lakota performers for their 1903-04 visit to Britain, informed all the Indians with the exhibition before they sailed from New York, that he would do all in his power to keep them from obtaining liquor. At the beginning of his employment with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Standing Bear had 'heard that when any one joins this show, about the first thing he thinks of is getting drunk.'⁶¹ Such a reputation among the Lakota would surely belie Cody's claims of abstinence amongst his Indian performers.

⁵⁸ *Leicester Daily Post*, 31 Aug. 1891, p5, "Buffalo Bill's" Show in Leicester - A Preliminary Inspection.'

⁵⁹ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891, p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.'

⁶⁰ *Leeds Daily News*, 20 June 1891. The only complaint the Pine Ridge Agent received from one of the Wild West's returning Indians in the spring of 1892, was that they were fined 'when they refused to take part in the dances, or to wear the regalia pertaining to their duties.' See 'Correspondence in Relation to the Employment of Indians with the Wild West Exhibitions,' Noble to Garrett, 2 May 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁶¹ Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 249.

While the exhibition was wintering in Glasgow there were a number of instances reported in the local press, which involved Indians somewhat worse for drink. The *Glasgow Evening Times* noted on 12 February,

One of the Wild West braves had a huge drink yesterday, and he monopolised both sides of the pavement in a highly-civilised manner. Two companion braves took the opposite side of the street from the intoxicated Redskin, but it was difficult to say whether they were most ashamed or amused by his gyrations.⁶²

A month later a correspondent, who signed himself as 'R. L. McG.' wrote to the editor of the *Glasgow Evening News* detailing his experience with a couple of inebriated Indians the previous night, and warning the public to be on their guard. He wrote:

Sir - while wending my way homewards along Duke St. last night, I overtook two Indians of Buffalo Bill's troupe. They had evidently been imbibing rather freely, as one was leading the other. They came into contact with a passer-by, who returned the slight push he received. The Indian was enraged doubtless, and I unfortunately suffered for the behaviour of the white man. I was dealt a stinging blow, as revenge, I presume, for the supposed insult to the Indian. I would warn people to be careful in passing the Indians. I looked for "Robert," [a policeman] but he was, as is his wont, far, far away!⁶³

Had the police become involved in the incident it would have assuredly been a great embarrassment to the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, not least because of the Indians' state of drunkenness, but also for the assault on a member of the public. Indeed, a similar incident, which had occurred on Hogmanay, had resulted in one of the Lakota performers being incarcerated in Barlinnie Jail.

On the very same day that John Shangrau and Lillie Orr were married, another party from the Wild West show had appeared before the Sheriff at the County Buildings, but under completely different circumstances. Charging Thunder one of the Indian performers was remitted to the Sheriff from the Eastern Police Courts 'on a charge of having committed a serious assault with an Indian club upon the interpreter, behind

⁶² *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 12 Feb. 1892.

⁶³ *Glasgow Evening News*, 12 Mar. 1892.

the scenes of the Wild West Show on the 31st ult.'⁶⁴ The interpreter George Crager had been chatting with Cody behind the scenes while the performance was in progress. It was alleged that Charging Thunder had then come stealthily up behind the interpreter and struck a smart blow on the back of his head with a 2lb. club. The blow fell just about an inch below 'a vital part,' and although the injury inflicted was slight, the force of the stroke rendered Crager insensible, and he fell prone. Cody quickly secured Charging Thunder and handed him over to the police. He was put in a cell where he reportedly 'lay down on the plank bed, pulled his blanket over him and declined to speak to anyone.' The next morning he was roused for a remand, which was extended till the following Monday, as Crager was unable to appear at court.⁶⁵

At first no reason could be assigned for the attack, Crager being unaware of having acted in any way which might have roused the spite of his assailant. Charging Thunder had already been through the hands of the Police of the Eastern Division, having been previously found guilty of disorderly conduct in Duke Street and admonished. Of the large number of Indians in the company, he was reported as being the only one who gave serious trouble.⁶⁶

Charging Thunder made a declaration before the Sheriff at the County Buildings on 4 January.⁶⁷ He travelled up from the County Buildings to Duke Street Jail in a van along with a gang of 20 other untried prisoners. In the prison he had been stripped of his own clothes and provided with clothes made of dark moleskin. The *North British Daily Mail* remarked, 'He has, however, been allowed by the authorities to wear his

⁶⁴ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 4 Jan. 1892, 'Charging Thunder Remitted.'

⁶⁵ *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 1 Jan. 1892, 'Buffalo Bill's Interpreter attacked, Charging Thunder in Custody.'; *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 2 Jan. 1892, 'Alleged Assault by Wild West Indian.'

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *Glasgow Evening News*, 4 Jan. 1892, 'The Assault on Buffalo Bill's Interpreter.'

⁶⁷ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 5 Jan. 1892.

ornaments,' and went on to patronisingly suggest 'He relished the warm bath as a luxury not often enjoyed.'⁶⁸

On 12 January, 'in all the glory of his Indian finery' Charging Thunder was bought before Sheriff Birnie in the County Buildings. He was charged 'with having, on 31st Dec, in the Wild West show, Duke St, assaulted George Crager, Interpreter, by hitting him severely on the head and neck with an Indian club.' His sister and an Indian man wearing a medal bearing the words 'Lieutenant of Police' accompanied the prisoner to court. In answer to the charge, Charging Thunder replied through an interpreter that he was guilty. Mr F. R. Richardson, addressing the court on behalf of the prisoner, then stated that 'Charging Thunder was only 23 years of age, and usually one of the quietest members of the Wild West show, but in common with other Indians, the slightest drop of drink was sufficient to infuriate him.' On the night in question Charging Thunder had entered a public house and asked for Lemonade (Cody having warned publicans against giving the Indians drink), and by mistake whisky was put into it. On returning to the show he had become very much excited, and during the performance 'the boy came up and raised an ordinary club, not a war club and struck the interpreter with it.' The agent stated that Charging Thunder entertained no malice whatever towards the interpreter, indeed, they were friends. The Sheriff asked where the shop was that supplied the whisky. Charging Thunder replied through the interpreter that it was in Duke Street, but he did not know the name. The Sheriff then commented that if Charging Thunder had not been a stranger he would have sent him to prison for a long time, but in the circumstances would make the term short, and that he must send him to Barlinnie Prison for 30 days as a warning to others. The Sheriff added that it was a shame to supply the Indians with whisky. The sentence was translated to Charging Thunder, who left the court in a melancholy mood. As he went out his sister gave him a parcel of apples and other kinds of fruit.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *North British Daily Mail*, 5 Jan. 1892, p.4.

⁶⁹ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 12 Jan. 1892, 'Charging Thunder Sent to Prison.'; *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 12 Jan. 1892, 'Charging Thunder gets 30 days Imprisonment.'; *Glasgow Evening News*, 12 Jan. 1892, p.2, 'Charging Thunder gets 30 days. - His lemonade was mixed.'

At the time of Charging Thunder's incarceration Barlinnie Prison was relatively new, having been completed in 1886. The original four buildings consisted of four-storey cellblocks with accommodation for 200 prisoners in each block. Despite these improvements, it remained a place of much hardship.⁷⁰ Charging Thunder is referred to as one of Barlinnie's 'famous guests,' in a book on Glasgow's underworld entitled *Such Bad Company*, which also claims that '[Buffalo] Bill had to make a personal visit to the prison to "get the Chief the hell outa here."⁷¹ While this latter statement seems highly unlikely, this reference to Charging Thunder does suggest that his brief spell inside Barlinnie became part of the jail's folklore.⁷² Charging Thunder was released on 11 February and escorted back to the Wild West show by George Crager, the interpreter he had assaulted. He admitted to reporters that he had not enjoyed the food and prison life, but despite his incarceration he was in excellent health and 'destroyed a very comprehensive breakfast.'⁷³

Cody publicly maintained a policy of abstinence as an example to his Indian employees, and had been quoted as saying:

I cannot very well hold up my face before my large family on this drink question unless I practice what I preach, and so, while travelling at anyrate, I prefer to do without touching drink.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ The prisoner, with shaven head and his 'dress of shame' decorated with broad arrows, spent many hours locked up alone in his cell. Sanitary conditions were deplorable, the rule of silence was stringently observed, letters and visits were few and punishments were pressed hard on the weak, the chief one being the reduction of the still meagre diet. Joy Cameron, *Prisons and Punishment in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1983) 150-1, 155.

⁷¹ Forbes and Meehan, *Such Bad Company*, 151.

⁷² The author of the story, which refers to Charging Thunders incarceration, was Paddy Meehan, a former inmate himself. Unfortunately he has since passed away and his co-author was unable to suggest what Meehan's sources were.

⁷³ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 11 Feb. 1892.

⁷⁴ *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 23 Dec. 1891, 'A Chat with Colonel Cody.'

This was no small concession for a man known to enjoy a tippie. Buffalo Bill had been fined one dollar for being drunk and incapable two years earlier, after celebrating the New Year in North Platte.⁷⁵ Glasgow was also no stranger to the problem of the demon drink, and drink related crimes were a regular feature in papers of the day. Indeed there had been 250 drink-associated cases bought up before the Glasgow courts after Hogmanay excesses in 1891.⁷⁶

At a complimentary dinner for the Wild West's personnel in December, a correspondent for *Quiz* had observed Cody's strict regime to keep the Indians from drinking. No Neck, Short Bull and Kicking Bear, along with about 50 others, had been entertained by Mr Galloway in his restaurant in West Nile Street.

Their taciturnity was only equalled by their keen desire for something short of a drink. They couldn't get it however, for fire-water risks cannot be run by Colonel Cody. Mr Galloway, however gave a bottle of ketchup a piece to the braves when the feast was over, with a magnum of the same to the chiefs, and the carefulness with which they concealed these about their respective persons, convinced me, that they thought they were the recipients of alcoholic samples. If Mr Galloway gets scalped between now and Xmas we may safely credit it to irate Indians as their revenge for being swindled.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Rosa and May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West*, 140. Two days after the publication of this interview, the cowboy Arthur William Crawford who had been employed by the Wild West show apparently confirmed Cody's claim that it was his white employees who were more likely to cause problems through drunkenness. Intoxicated and heading eastward along Duke Street, Crawford had caught sight of his own reflection in a large mirror displayed in a shop window. Not liking the image, the cowboy had squared up, as did the shadow. Crawford had lowered his head and charged at his reflection like an enraged bull, pushing his head right through the plate-glass window where it became jammed. The crash of glass brought out the shopkeeper and after a few minutes the cowboy was relieved of his 'crystal cravat' and conveyed to the Eastern Police Office. Three days later Crawford appeared in Court, but the shopkeeper pleaded for the man's forgiveness and explained to Bailie Guthrie that the pane was fully insured. The cowboy was discharged and advised to give up alcohol, and with a ticket to London in his possession he decided to leave town. *Glasgow Evening News*, 28 Dec. 1891, p.6, 'He Challenged his own reflection.'

⁷⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 11 Jan. 1892.

⁷⁷ *Quiz* (Glasgow), 11 Dec. 1891, p.124.

The stereotype of the intoxicated savage Indian soon became established in the wake of First Contact, and had given rise to the notion that the slightest drop of drink would drive an Indian crazy. In the nineteenth century white experts claimed that alcoholism of many Indians resulted from a biological flaw, and that their low resistance demonstrated a racial defect. As such, this seemed as further evidence of the inherent weakness and inferiority of Indians and in a sense legitimised their status as a vanishing race.⁷⁸ Such prejudice helped to distance Buffalo Bill from responsibility in the Charging Thunder affair, for many whites accepted without question F. R. Richardson's report that Charging Thunder had become so drunk after imbibing one 'whisky spiked' lemonade that he had attacked a 'friend' without provocation.⁷⁹ Thus the Wild West's management was relieved of too much embarrassment, and after Cody's assertion that he could control the alcohol consumption of the Indians in his employ, the blame was transferred to whichever public house had 'mistakenly' served the drink. Moreover, with careful 'spin' the Charging Thunder incident emphasised the 'wild' nature of the participants in Cody's Wild West.

One possible reason for some of the excessive drinking while touring with Cody's Wild West was boredom. There was not a lot for the Indians to do when not performing. Perhaps in order to combat low morale brought about by inactivity, but also to satisfy Gen. Miles' wishes that they would be taught 'the power and numerical strength of the white race, and the benefits and advantages of civilisation,' visits to local places of interest were arranged for the Indian performers. In an interview with a journalist from the Portsmouth *Evening News*, the Lakota interpreter George Crager waxed lyrically about the positive effects of touring with the Wild West.

⁷⁸ Brian.W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982) 36.

There is no place of interest in any town we visit that they are not taken to see, and neither pains nor expense are spared in this matter. Colonel Cody's motive for doing this arises from the belief that travel is always the best educator of mankind. He wants to make them appreciate the fact that they are but a small body incapable of successfully opposing a civilised nation, and so he takes them everywhere, in order to demonstrate the greatness of the white man. They have been over the Portsmouth Dockyard, and were taken to the Gun Works at Birmingham, and a point is made of letting them visit all such places whenever the opportunity occurs... We find that the Indians who were the most aggressive during the campaign the most docile under Colonel Cody, and very anxious to learn the arts and industries of civilisation. The Colonel hopes by this means to wean them from their former hostile ways. Over 800 Indians have been connected with the Wild West during the last five years, and on their return to their reservations it has always been found that they have become pioneers of civilisation among their own people.⁸⁰

Short Bull welcomed the outings laid on for the Lakota, and he commented 'we go everywhere and see all the great works of the Country through which we travel. It learns us much.' Some trips were as entertaining as they were educational, as in the case of a visit to the steel works of Messrs. Joseph Rodgers & Sons in Sheffield, where the Indians

were made to understand something of the various processes, which go to the making of a knife. They were much interested in all they saw but showed the most delight in witnessing the wonders of Electroplating. They marvelled greatly at pennies being made into apparently

⁷⁹ Charging Thunder had previously been in trouble with the police, and the numerous reports of Indians drinking quite freely suggest that it is highly unlikely that one whiskey spiked lemonade would have been enough to render him completely inebriated.

⁸⁰ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891 p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.' Crager's statement is somewhat intriguing considering the fact that he had been involved with Gen. O'Beirne and Father Craft in the summer of 1890, when O'Beirne had spearheaded the campaign against Cody's Wild West and its treatment of their Indian employees. Conceivably Crager had been persuaded that O'Beirne had been mistaken, but at the same time and perhaps more significantly, his true role in the summer of 1890 was never clearly apparent. Crager had drawn the attention of the Secretary of the Interior to the plight of Kills Plenty and set the ball rolling with regards to the ban on permits. At the same time he had been in touch with John Burke and appears to have been working in the interests of Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

silver coins, and they showed intense delight when some of their own ornaments were dipped into the bath and came out with a coating of silver upon them.⁸¹

A correspondent for the *Birmingham Daily Post* remarked that the Indians took 'an eager interest in seeing the processes of manufacture, and none of these impressed them so much as the great steam hammer, which was shown to them at Sheffield.' The reporter went on to note that the experience had made a great impression upon the Lakota.

That night a hubbub made itself heard from the Indians' tents, and the interpreters, creeping close, heard them declaiming in the same rude metre which their warriors use when boasting of their prowess, and the ghost-dancers chant in their gruesome orgies. "I have seen what my people never dream of," ran the rhapsody. "To-day I saw iron beaten out like soft earth that is trodden. I saw it burn like wood. Now I know that the white men are magicians. There is nothing too great for them. Once I was a fool, but now I am wise" - and so forth, until the clamour of the responses grew inconvenient, and the poetic tribute was cut short by the camp orderlies.⁸²

This story obviously originated with Wild West personnel, and it was most likely intended to illustrate that Miles' hoped for object lesson was indeed working and that the Indians were acknowledging the superiority of white civilisation.

It would appear that there was a certain amount of Lakota manufacture going on during the tour as well. Some of the Indian men were reported to have been making drums or shields, perhaps for use in the arena or even for sale to the public. Short Bull carved a cane (*sagye*) depicting nine of his own war exploits, and also drew in pencil and crayon a total of 43 images, including a self portrait. This might suggest

⁸¹ *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 14 Aug. 1891, p5, 'Colonel Cody's Indians at Messrs Rodgers' Works.'

⁸² *Birmingham Daily Post*, 5 Sept. 1891, p5, 'Buffalo Bill's Show.' Such reporting also informed British readers how marvellous the industry and products of their great nation and empire were.

that Short Bull used his spare time for reflection, possibly inspired by scenes he was participating in or witnessing each day in the Wild West arena.⁸³

Being absent from their reservations for such a length of time made it particularly difficult for the Lakota to deal with problems back home. There is plenty of evidence that the Indian performers were corresponding with relatives in South Dakota, and although this personal correspondence does not survive, the letters written on behalf of the Lakota to the Indian agents illustrate some of their concerns. Furthermore, this correspondence demonstrates what lengths Cody was prepared to go to help his Indian employees, in some instances going far beyond what was required of him as laid out in their employment contracts.

The vast majority of communications dealt with money being forwarded to family and friends. Not long after Buffalo Bill's Wild West arrived in continental Europe, George Crager wrote on behalf of Cody and Salsbury, to Captain Charles Penny, the Acting Indian Agent at Pine Ridge.

I have this day sent in your care two money orders, one for \$10 payable to Mrs. John Shangrau and one for \$5 payable to Mrs Kicking Bear (Kills Pawnee Woman). Will you kindly deliver same and send receipts therefore to me so as to show the Indians that it has been actually paid to the parties entitled to it.

⁸³ Short Bull explained the designs on the cane as representing nine of his own war exploits: '1. Fought Crow Indians and shot them. 2. Took horses from the Crow Indians. There was a fight and his brother was killed. He took him home. 3. Fights the Flatheads. 4. Kills one and two Crow Indians. 5. Encounter with Crow Indians. 6. Shoots two Crow Indians. 7. Shoots the enemy's horses. 8. Took three of his friends home who were killed; hand to hand fight. 9. Killed horses.' Wildhage noted 'While none of his war exploits is dated, they may all relate to the period predating his fame [amongst whites] and may have occurred in the decade between 1865 and 1875.' The Eugene Buechel Lakota Museum on the Rosebud Reservation reportedly obtained Short Bull's cane from Little Horn in September 1921. It has been suggested that Short Bull had been influenced by Charles Henckel, an artist who travelled with the show and produced his own book of sketches for sale to the public. Henckel acquired the notebook of Short Bull's sketches, which presently is part of the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. See Wildhage, "Material on Short Bull," 38 and 42 (note 7.).

We expect that many Indians will send their friends money from time to time and we will consider it a great favor if you will personally distribute it to the parties named.⁸⁴

Captain Penny was very happy to co-operate with this scheme, but it was not without teething troubles and on 6 August 1891 the agent remarked with some frustration,

I note your last money order is for 8 pounds, 10 shillings. On this the Post Office Department pays \$41.40. Your list accompanying the money calls for a distribution of \$42.00; you leave me 60c short.... I wish, in remitting money, you would send draft. This is not an International Money Office here, and the Post Master here declines payment.⁸⁵

Penny also encountered problems distributing the money when people from outlying districts were not able to come into the agency to collect it.⁸⁶ Not all of the money was posted back to the agency, when Indians returned from the show they might carry with them larger cheques, to be cashed and distributed by the Agent.⁸⁷ By December 1891 Penny had been replaced by Captain George LeRoy Brown, and the management wrote asking if he too would 'confer this favor' of distributing the money, to which he complied.⁸⁸

As well as making it possible for the Lakota to send money home to their families and friends, Cody also wrote to the Acting Agent on their behalf in relation to a variety of specific concerns. In May 1891, whilst the exhibition was in Brussels, Crager wrote on behalf of Cody 'confidentially and in the interest of the Pine Ridge Indians who are with us... relative to lands heretofore occupied by them.'

⁸⁴ Crager to Penny, 2 May 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC.

⁸⁵ Penny to Cody, 21 May 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1890-1891, box 54, vol.7, p342, RG 75, FARC. Penny to Cody, 6 Aug. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1891-1892, box 55, vol. 8, p151, RG 75, FARC.

⁸⁶ Penny to Cody, 2 Nov. 1891, Ibid., vol. 9, p38, RG 75, FARC.

⁸⁷ Penny to Cody, 22 Aug. 1891, Ibid., vol. 8, p230, RG 75, FARC.

⁸⁸ Cody to Acting Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, 1 Dec. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC; Agent Brown, Pine Ridge, to Cody, 26 Dec. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 55, vol.10, p139, RG 75, FARC.

They tell me that their families write, that the lands formerly occupied by some of them were taken up by other Indians; of course I don't know exact states of affairs, but would like to protect the interests of those who are absent with us. Of course you or Mr Comma has a list of Indians now with us and if there is any method of protecting their interests I would like to assist in doing so even at some expense. If they are giving land in severalty and any of our Indians have located lands heretofore I think it would be right that it should not be trespassed upon.... They are travelling by authority of the Department and have not forfeited their rights at home.⁸⁹

On 3 July the agent forwarded a list of those Indians travelling with Cody to the 'Additional Farmer' at the Wounded Knee District. He further stated 'you are requested to give their representatives special care and attention, to see that their rights are in no way trespassed upon or interfered with in the matter of their locations, farms, houses &c.'⁹⁰

There was also the matter of claims for cattle who had been taken by Ghost Dancers when they fled to the Badlands during the military suppression of the religion. The claims were referred to Special Agent Cooper, who then wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 'request[ing] that instructions be given to me in regard to making proof on claims of this character.'⁹¹

The claimants are in England some of their wives are with them and some are single men. I have allowed the wives of claimants to make proof in some cases where the husband was gone by making the claim in the wife's name. But I cannot see how proof can be made when all the claimants are in England.⁹²

It would appear that Agent Cooper was able to come up with some kind of accommodation for the Indians touring Britain with Cody, for on 22 April 1892,

⁸⁹ Cody to Penny, 29 May, 1891, *Ibid.*, RG 75, FARC.

⁹⁰ Penny to Additional Farmer, Wounded Knee District, 3 July 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 55, vol.8, RG 75, FARC.

⁹¹ Penny to Cody, 22 Aug. 1891, *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p229, RG 75, FARC; James Cooper, Special Agent, Pine Ridge, to CIA, 22 Aug. 1891, LR 31274-1891, box 771, RG 75, NA.

⁹² Cooper to CIA, 22 Aug. 1891, LR 31274-1891, box 771, RG 75, NA.

Captain LeRoy Brown wrote on behalf of Red Cloud, concerning Black Hearts claim. Red Cloud informed the agent that 'his daughter married Black Heart; that they lost many things during the trouble, that Black Heart put in a claim for these things and he and his wife were afterwards divorced.'⁹³ Red Cloud wished to have the claim money divided, therefore the agent requested that Cody bring the matter before Black Heart, and 'ask him to authorize someone to draw the money and divide it equally' between the two.⁹⁴

No Neck was looking for reimbursement for losses he had sustained as far back as 1876. On 5 June 1891 he swore an affidavit before the US Consul in Brussels, stating

That in the year Eighteen Hundred and Seventy six, at the time when all the horses were taken by the Government from Red Clouds Band: there was taken from him nine (9) head of horses.

Since that time and during his absence from the Agency, with the "Buffalo Bill Wild West Co." in Europe all of the Indians who had horses taken from them at that time have received the money value therefor as appropriated by the Government, except him and on account of his absence did not receive said pay.

The deponent further prays that the amount justly due him to be paid to the Indian Agent now in charge at Pine Ridge Agency... and the same be kept in trust for him until his return.⁹⁵

The affidavit was forwarded to Agent Penny by Cody, who requested that if he had not forwarded it 'thro the proper channels will you do so and inform me as to the amount left in your trust.'⁹⁶ Penny replied on 30 July, informing Cody that 'Special Agent Cooper... cannot pay over to me the money due to No Neck on his claim.'⁹⁷ The following week Penny elaborated.

⁹³ Brown to Cody, 22 Apr. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1892, box 56, vol.12, p102, RG 75, FARC.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ No Neck's Affidavit, sworn at US Consulate, Brussels, Belgium, 5 June 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd. 1891-95, box 31, RG 75, FARC.

⁹⁶ Cody to Penny, 8 June 1891, Ibid., box 28, RG 75, FARC.

⁹⁷ Penny to Cody, 30 July 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 55, vol.8, p126, RG 75, FARC.

The money stands to the credit of No Neck in the Treasury and he should make application for it either in person or by letter, through the Secretary of the Interior. Please advise No Neck that it is much better to leave the money in the Treasury to be kept for him, than it would be to have it held in trust here at the Agency. He can get the money without difficulty, when he returns.⁹⁸

On 4 September, Penny wrote again to Cody, stating that Yankton Charlie had arrived that day bearing No Neck's affidavit and a letter from Cody enquiring 'upon what grounds does Cooper refuse to pay this money.'⁹⁹ Cody also urged Penny to use his influence with Cooper to have the money deposited with the agent, but Penny explained:

Of course I do not expect, hope or desire, to remain here for any considerable length of time if I have any sort of luck I shall be out of this business before No Neck returns. Under these circumstances I should think it certainly better that the money should be in the treasury than here in the Agency safe. The money is certainly his, and in safe keeping; much safer than it would be in the hands of an irresponsible Indian Agent.¹⁰⁰

Captain Penny had been appointed Acting Indian Agent for Pine Ridge Reservation at the close of the military suppression of the Ghost Dance. He had been a military appointee and wished to return to his military career. He clearly empathised with the Lakota and on 4 August 1891 he had written a note of reassurance with specific reference for Kicking Bear and Short Bull.

I will send word to the families of all the people who are with you, that they need not leave this Agency unless they so desire. Please say to Kicking Bear and to Short Bull for me, that their families have full permission to remain here and that I will look after them and their interests, so long as I am here.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Penny to Cody, 6 Aug. 1891, *Ibid.*, vol.8, p151, RG 75, FARC.

⁹⁹ Penny to Cody, 4 Sept. 1891, *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p294, RG 75, FARC; Cody to Penny, 17 Aug. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC.

¹⁰⁰ Penny to Cody, 4 Sept. 1891, *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p294, RG 75, FARC.

¹⁰¹ Penny to Cody, 4 Aug. 1891, *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p148, RG 75, FARC.

Two days later he repeated his assertion that 'all the late prisoners of war have been turned over to me and taken up on the rolls for rations and other supplies,' further promising that 'they will receive the same care and treatment as the Ogalalla's who have always lived here.' Those now travelling with Cody, he went on to suggest, 'need pay no attention to any disquieting rumors or reports that may reach them.'¹⁰²

One of the former Fort Sheridan prisoners had troubles back home that took up the time of both Penny and his replacement George LeRoy Brown. In September 1891 Calls the Name had received word from George Sword 'that the mare and colt given to her some years ago by the Government has been taken away from her by the "boss Farmer" and given to another Indian.'¹⁰³ Cody requested Penny to 'kindly investigate this matter and confer a great favor on me.'¹⁰⁴ Penny responded on 2 November, asserting that,

I have investigated the matter and find that the person in whose charge the mare and colt were supposed to be left, gave no sort of care or attention to the animals. They were found wandering about in the snow in a starving condition and hence were given to other Indians who were willing to take care of them, and they are, at present, in charge of those Indians. The trace of these animals is not lost and is not likely to be, and when Calls the Name returns, the matter of ownership can be easily and satisfactorily adjusted.¹⁰⁵

Not satisfied with this response Cody wrote on 12 November to Gen. Miles to request his 'intercession,' that Calls the Name 'may have restored to her, her rightful property.'¹⁰⁶ Cody laid the facts as he saw them before Miles.

The said mare and colt were held in keeping by her nephew Wm. Shangrau until her return to America, but the "boss farmer" told Mr. Shangrau that as squaw "Calls the Name" was away from the agency

¹⁰² Penny to Cody, 6 Aug. 1891, *Ibid.*, vol.8, p151, RG 75, FARC.

¹⁰³ The 'boss farmer' was the agency farmer employed by the government to advise and counsel the Indians about farming operations. See Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States*, 393-94.

¹⁰⁴ Cody to Penny, 30 Sept. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC.

¹⁰⁵ Penny to Cody, 2 Nov. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 55, vol. 9, p38, RG 75, FARC.

¹⁰⁶ Cody to Miles, 12 Nov. 1891, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC.

she “could not have the mare and colt” besides “she had no rights off the agency.”¹⁰⁷

Cody reminded Miles that Calls the Name was absent with Miles’ permission and with authority granted by the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, and respectfully asked his assistance ‘to secure for this squaw her rights and justice.’ The following day Cody wrote again to Penny reiterating that Calls the Name had not ‘left the agency of her own accord,’ much along the same lines as his letter to Miles.¹⁰⁸

On 18 December, Calls the Name received two letters informing her that her horses and cattle had also been taken away from her by ‘Boss Farmer Davidson.’¹⁰⁹ This spurred Cody to write again to Agent Penny ‘or [the] Acting Indian Agent,’ to request ‘that her rights be not infringed upon.’ He went on to state:

Capt. Penny has promised to look after the interests of the Indians now with my company and I most respectfully ask that you have a kindly interest for them.

The squaw “Calls the Name” informs me that the reason the boss farmer is now venting spite on her is that she absolutely refused to cohabit with said Boss Farmer who has made many overtures to her regarding this and she says that your Chief of Police Major Sword is well acquainted with all the facts as is herein stated.¹¹⁰

George LeRoy Brown the new agent at Pine Ridge replied on 4 January 1892 and his stance was not that dissimilar than Commissioner Morgan’s, which might indicate Morgan’s influence. The new agent reported

I have to inform you that the regulations of the Indian Department are such that if a person receiving stock of any kind from the Government, (issued for the purpose of encouraging the Indians in stock raising) they are held to a strict accountability for the good care and treatment of the stock; and if the person leaves their reservation for any purpose, without making provisions for the proper care and keeping of said stock, they forfeit all right to the stock, and the same is taken and

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.; Cody to Penny, 13 Nov. 1891, Ibid., RG 75, FARC.

¹⁰⁹ Cody to Penny, 18 Dec. 1891, Ibid., RG 75, FARC.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

issued to some person who will, in the opinion of the Agent, properly care for and appreciate the ownership of whatever stock it may be. The case in question... needs no explanation. Calls the Name left the reservation without providing any means of caring for the mare and colt.¹¹¹

Neither Calls the Name nor her brother, No Neck, were successful in sorting out their problems back home whilst touring with Cody. But Cody's efforts on their behalf illustrate to what lengths he was prepared to argue their cases. In some instances Cody may have been inspired by personal friendships between himself and the Lakota involved. No Neck had been Chief of Cody's Indian police for a number of years, and the trust and respect between them quite probably transcended their employer-employee relationship. Unfortunately for No Neck when he returned to Pine Ridge and applied to the Treasury for his money, he was informed that 'no claim... appears to have been presented.'¹¹² It is quite possible that Commissioner Morgan's personal policy of non co-operation may have adversely affected the interests of the Lakota performers.

In the wake of the investigations a year before, the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West went to great lengths to care for their Indian employees during their 1891-92 tour of Britain. The interpreter George Cramer who had been so disturbed by the death of Kills Plenty that he had written to the Secretary of the Interior criticising the exhibition, now told British reporters of the 'splendid treatment' the Indians received in Cody's employ.

They were each paid, he said, from £5 to £15 per month, besides which everything was found them, even to portable bathing vans, so that they need not put their hands in their pockets for a penny. When the white man wanted a bath, however, he had to go in the town and pay for it. The exceptional treatment of the Indian went so far as the provision of

¹¹¹ Brown to Cody, 4 Jan. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., box 55, vol. 10, p175, RG 75, FARC.

¹¹² W. H. Hart, Auditor, Treasury Department, to No Neck, 10 Sept. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd. 1891-95, box 29, RG 75, FARC.

a carriage whenever he was sent into the town, whereas the other members of the Company, from Colonel Cody and Mr Nate Salsbury downwards, were content to ride on a tramcar.¹¹³

Indians who were injured or taken ill received the best medical care, and those too ill to continue were returned home. Furthermore, the death rate for the tour of Britain was down to 3%, one from old age and two from accidents within the arena.

Cody still remained unable to prevent the Indians from drinking and gambling while on tour, but they were not held in durance and were given freedom to come and go as they pleased. [Figs. 49 & 50] It is also possible that despite what he publicly proclaimed, Cody was perhaps unwilling to strictly police the Indians with regards to alcohol. He did not take a paternalistic stance with the Indians, and on a later tour of Britain Luther Standing Bear recorded that Cody did not punish those caught drinking.¹¹⁴ Whatever his attitude, it remains clear that the Indians enjoyed the independence offered by touring with Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

The Wild West's management attempted to alleviate the Indian performer's boredom between appearances, by laying on trips to places of interest. This was also perceived to be an object lesson to subdue hostile tendencies, by showing the Indians the great achievements of the white race. The humbling effect of being gazed upon by so many thousands of white faces night after night would have also contributed to the object lesson, as it would have clearly illustrated the numerical strength of white society and the fact that they were not going to go away.

Vine Deloria has noted that 'Buffalo Bill's prestige enabled him to arrange for individuals otherwise regarded as dangerous characters to leave the reservation and participate in his tours.' As well as Short Bull and Kicking Bear, Cody had also had

¹¹³ *Evening News* (Portsmouth), 10 Oct. 1891 p3, 'Round the "Wild West" - The Inner Life of the Show.'

¹¹⁴ Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 258.

Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses and Sitting Bull with him on tour while they were still regarded by the Indian agents as major troublemakers in the Sioux tribe. Many Indian agents and Army officers would have preferred to see these characters in the stockade. Touring with Buffalo Bill probably saved some of the chiefs from pressure and persecution by the government at home.¹¹⁵

The Ghost Dancers had a great deal more freedom than they would have enjoyed at the Fort, and were able to avoid much of the hostility they might have faced in America. Through performing in the Wild West the prisoners also achieved a certain amount of status and recognition, and were treated with relative equality to the other performers in the exhibition. Deloria maintained that Cody 'recognized and emphasized their ability as horsemen and warriors and stressed their patriotism in defending their home lands. This type of recognition meant a great deal to the Indians who were keenly aware that American public opinion often refused to admit the justice of their claims and motivations.'¹¹⁶

At the same time their travels would no doubt have also been trying and they clearly missed the climate of the Plains, as well as family and friends back home. A number of the Wild West's Indians had problems on the reservation, and communications with the Pine Ridge Agent illustrate that Cody was prepared to go beyond stipulated contract requirements to help the Indians. Although Cody was not always successful in sorting out their problems, his persistent lobbying on their behalf suggest a close bond with some of his Indian performers.

It is hard to ascertain what influence the 1891-92 tour will have had on the Indian performers in general, and more specifically on the Fort Sheridan prisoners. There can be no doubt that the experience will have made a real impression on those Indians who had never before visited the immense centres of white urban population, let alone the crossing of the Atlantic. Kasson has suggested that 'performing for the Wild

¹¹⁵ Deloria, Jr., "The Indians," 52.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

West may have satisfied other purposes, obscure to white observers: preserving their culture, securing leadership and status, even perpetuating spiritual traditions.¹¹⁷ This sentiment was echoed by Frederick Hoxie when he suggested that the early experiences of some American Indians 'exposed them to the scale and technology of modern society, and... [that in response] they chose to devote themselves to the preservation of indigenous traditions.' In part these Indians were inspired by the 'misconception of Indian life and character so common among the white people.'¹¹⁸ It remains a possibility that in a similar vein the perceived misrepresentation of Lakota life in Buffalo Bill's *Wild West*, could have motivated Short Bull to speak in such detail about his Ghost Dance experiences to George Crager, and in later life to anthropologists and other recorders.

¹¹⁷ Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 211.

¹¹⁸ Hoxie, "Exploring a Cultural Borderland: Native American Journeys of Discovery in the Early Twentieth Century," 275.

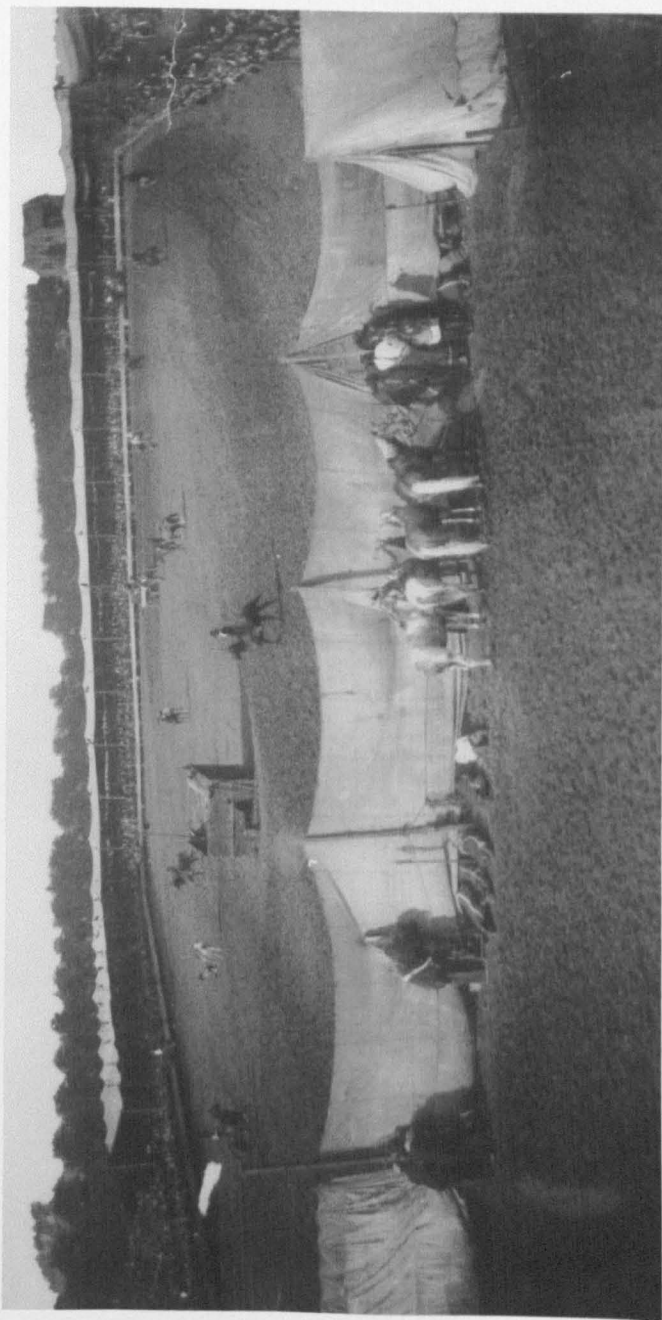


Fig. 46. Indians watching the show from behind the backdrop at Nottingham 1891.



Fig. 47. Illustration depicting Long Wolf's funeral from the front page of *The Illustrated Police News*, under the heading 'Tragic Occurrences of the Week.'

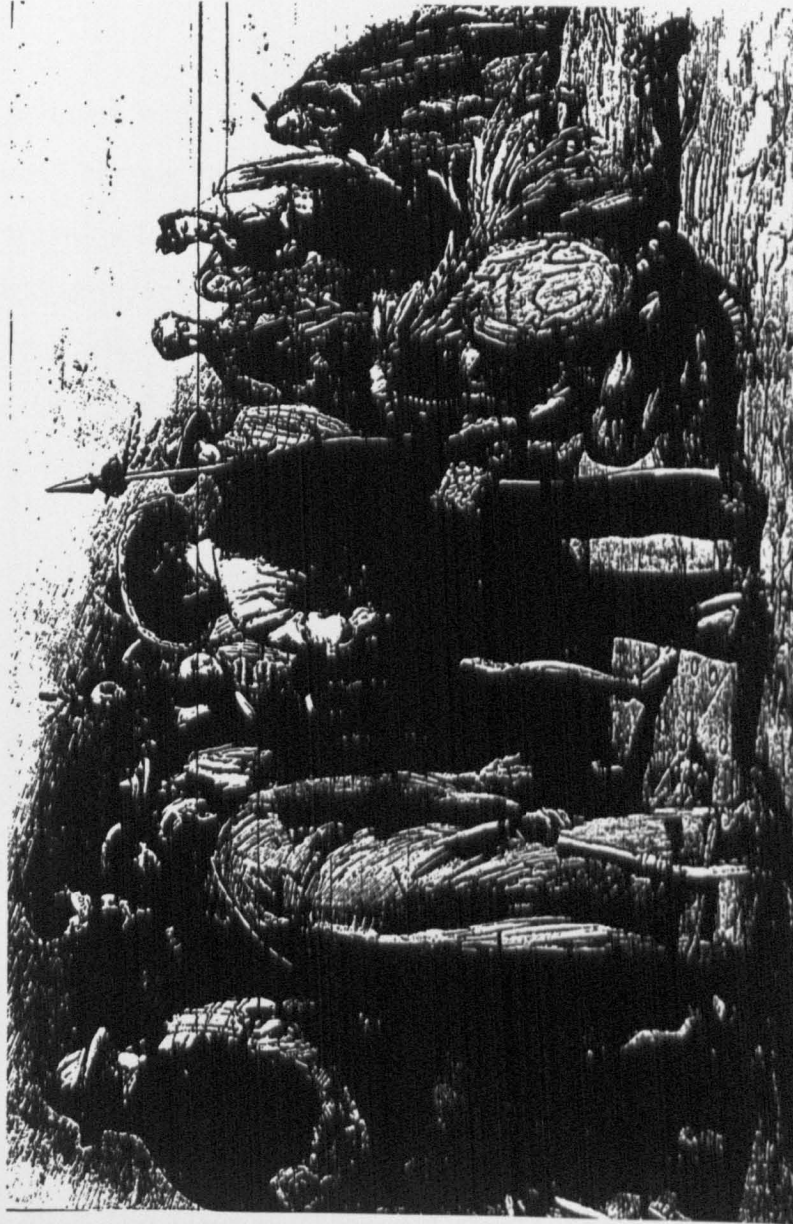
Fig. 48. Black Heart and Calls
The Name (left) with Buffalo
Bill's Wild West in 1894.

To their right are Rocky Bear
and Standing Bear.





Fig. 49. Indian playing 'penny-toss' at the Earls Court site, London 1892.



"I have never heard that the North-American Indian played at chess, but he can play at 'pitch and toss' with the best of us. So can the Guacho, and the Mexican, and the cowboy, and the Cossack, and the Britisher... We all did it, but we did it unbeknown to the authorities, who, from Colonel Cody to Black Heart, would have lynched us if they had caught us."

Fig. 50. Illustration 'Off Duty at the "Wild West": an International Game,' by Sydney P. Hall, from the *Daily Graphic* (London), September 24 1892.

"I have never heard that the North-American Indian played at chess, but he can play at 'pitch and toss' with the best of us. So can the Guacho, and the Mexican, and the cowboy, and the Cossack, and the Britisher... We all did it, but we did it unbeknown to the authorities, who, from Colonel Cody to Black Heart, would have lynched us if they had caught us."

OFF DUTY AT THE -WILD WEST-: AN INTERNATIONAL GAME
DRAWN BY SYDNEY P. HALL.

Nine: Return to America and thereafter

At the close of the Glasgow season twelve of the show's Ghost Dance prisoners requested to be returned to America. Initially they were returned under military escort to Fort Sheridan, but soon nine of these were released. Short Bull and Kicking Bear remained incarcerated for another six months, while Brings the White was taken on a tour of courtrooms, jails, and the State Penitentiary at Joliet in order to impress upon him 'the restraint and punishment for evil doers.'¹

The prisoners were not the only Indian performers to return, and the recently liberated Charging Thunder was one of a dozen who went home to their reservations. The departing Indians were replaced by fifty more hired from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud agencies for the summer season in London, but not without incident.² The remaining prisoners stayed with the show until the end of the tour, and only Calls the Name, who had married the veteran performer Black Heart, returned to work with Cody's Wild West again.

Short Bull and Kicking Bear's continued belief and practice of the Ghost Dance is suggested by Kicking Bear's return visit to Wovoka in 1902, and the fact that the two went on to teach the doctrine to the Assiniboin. This continued conviction illustrates that the Lakota Ghost Dance had not simply been a rebellion by hostile Indians as it would have died with the massacre of Wounded Knee, but instead was a religious belief that preached peace and accommodation. Furthermore, it was their adherence to these beliefs that led them to refuse to rebel in future years, rather than Miles and Cody's perceived object lesson.

¹ Miles to Adjutant General, 7 June 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West, in all its various guises, went on to employ Indians until the showman's death in 1917. The Lakota viewed performing in Cody's show as a prized job that enabled them to be relieved of the monotony and poverty of reservation life, while at the same time offering good wages and as a consequence a much greater degree of independence from government control. The involvement of Cody and the Wild West Indians in the military suppression of the Lakota Ghost Dance had ultimately boosted Cody's status as an Indian employer, while at the same time seriously disarming his critics. Moreover, it had strengthened the Indians right to work at a job of their choice, which acknowledged their identity as Indians, rather than denying it.

When the Glasgow season ended, twelve of the show's Ghost Dance prisoners including Short Bull and Kicking Bear, resolved to return to America. Buffalo Bill's Wild West gave their final performance at Glasgow's East End Exhibition buildings on 28 February, 1892, and Kicking Bear chose this moment to recount 'his deeds of valor,' a traditional Lakota practice also known as 'counting coup.'³ The interpreter George Crager later told a Chicago reporter that this performance had been 'just as he would have done on his native soil if he had been preparing to enter into war.'⁴ Kicking Bear had already resolved to sever his connection with the show, and in Nate Salsbury's opinion had persuaded a number of others that if they accompanied him 'they will go straight to the Reservation, and that if they neglect this chance they are foolish.'⁵ It is possible that Kicking Bear based this belief on the fact that those

² Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 122.

³ Counting coup meant touching an opposing warrior in battle, a very dangerous act of courage, but it also referred to a warrior recounting his war deeds. 'He took every opportunity to count his coups - at dances and at ceremonies he proclaimed his worth.' See Hassrick, *The Sioux*, 99.

⁴ Unidentified Chicago Paper, nd. 'Big Red Men in The City. On Their Return from an extended European Trip,' Buffalo Bill Scrapbook, p13, Microfilm FF18, Cody Papers, SHSC.

⁵ Salsbury to Miles, 29 Feb. 1892, 27617 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

prisoners who had previously left through ill health had been permitted to return to their homes.

Neither the management of the Wild West nor the United States Government was altogether happy about the imminent return of some of the Ghost Dancers. Buffalo Bill's Wild West were losing their main attraction just prior to their return engagement at London's Earls Court, while the U.S. Government were regaining some burdensome prisoners six months earlier than anticipated. Moreover, the authorities would undoubtedly have preferred the Ghost Dancers to return in the autumn, for the spring was the time when the Lakota had traditionally turned their attention to war.

Salsbury had exercised every possible argument in his attempt to keep the Ghost Dancers with the show, including translating the order from the War Department, which contradicted Kicking Bear's claim that they would immediately return home.⁶ In a letter to General Miles, written following the exhibition's close in Glasgow, he acknowledged that he was 'compelled by circumstances to disregard your advice concerning the Indian prisoners in our employ.... as their natural perverseness is a bar to any policy that would operate to their well being.' He further noted:

After an experience of eleven months with Kicking Bear I am forced to the conclusion that you have formed a just estimate of his character. He is turbulent and lawless. Has no fear of consequences and will promote trouble on the Reservation sure. The war spirit is evidently on him at present, as only last night he indulged in a long harangue filled with menace and bravado known as "Counting the Koo" [sic Coup].⁷

It seems unlikely that Salsbury was writing out of spite against all of the Ghost Dancers, since he went on to commend Short Bull as 'a decent fellow, amenable to reason' with 'a sense of honor utterly lacking in "Kicking Bear".' Believing that Short

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Bull's days were numbered, Salsbury recommended that he be sent home to 'die among his people.' He went on to warn that 'another man among them that will bear watching is "Revenge", he is as full of vice and meanness as any educated Indian can be, he don't appreciate kindness and don't deserve it.' He concluded 'The rest of them are just plain every day trouble breeders who expect to go back to the reservation and do as they please.'⁸

Nine days previously Salsbury had written to the Secretary of War, Stephen B. Elkins, to inform him that some of the former Fort Sheridan prisoners wished to return to America.

In compliance with your letter (No. 1645c) relative to the Indian prisoners with my company, I have the honor to inform you that several of the prisoners will terminate their connection with us, and I am prepared to act as you made [sic. may?] advise as to their disposition.

I would most respectfully request that you cable me (as per address below) whether I shall send them to Washington or Chicago?⁹

Salsbury went on to advise Elkins that the Indians would leave Glasgow on 4 March, by the Allen and State Line steamship *SS Corean*, and were due to arrive at New York City 'on about March 15th (perhaps sooner).' George Crager had travelled ahead of the returning prisoners and would act as the *Wild West's* agent, and Salsbury notified Elkins that Crager could be contacted at an address in New York if the Secretary of War had 'any special instructions' he wished carried out.¹⁰

On 5 March Elkins informed Crager that he should take the Indian prisoners immediately to Fort Sheridan.¹¹ The Secretary of War also wrote to the Secretary of the Interior informing him that

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Salsbury to S. B. Elkins, Secretary of War, 19 Feb. 1892, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Elkins to Crager, 5 Mar. 1892, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

The Major General Commanding the Army has recommended that the Indians upon their arrival in this country be sent to Fort Sheridan, Chicago, Illinois, and thence to their reservations, provided there is no objection upon the part of your Department thereto.¹²

Upon receiving Elkins letter Crager replied that he requested 'the services of about four (4) Enlisted men,' to assist him 'in properly turning said prisoners over to Genl. N. A. Miles,' since the prisoners were 'very much dissatisfied that they must return to Fort Sheridan.' He further remarked, 'Some of the men especially "Kicking Bear" the chief and leader is a wicked and malicious man and would stop at nothing to get away and for this reason I appeal to you for assistance.'¹³

Miles directed that Crager was to be furnished with a non-commissioned officer and three enlisted men by the Commanding General at Governor's Island in New York, although the entire expense 'of the detachment to Fort Sheridan and return' was to be met by Crager. Miles directed that the Indians were to be 'treated with all kindness' en-route, and that they should be informed that the decision of the return to their reservation had gone before the Interior Department for consideration.¹⁴ From his ranch in North Platte, Nebraska, Cody sent a telegram to the Secretary of War on 11 March in which he too drew attention to Kicking Bear, who 'requires watching.'¹⁵ As a result of these negative reports, Miles was particularly concerned about Kicking Bear and Revenge. On 14 March he wrote to the Adjutant General of the US Army informing him of the prisoners pending return.

It was understood they would be occupied and kept in Europe until next October, but influences have been at work to draw them back to the reservation. They are a disturbing element, and if they return

¹² Elkins to Noble, 5 Mar. 1892, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

¹³ Crager to Elkins, 12 Mar. 1892, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

¹⁴ J. L. Kelton, Adjutant General, Washington DC, to Commanding General, Department of the East, Governor's Island, New York, 12 Mar. 1892, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

¹⁵ Ruggles, Assistant Adjutant General, Governor's Island, to Kelton, telegram, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

trouble may be anticipated.... [and] the presence of "Kicking Bear" would tend to promote serious trouble within twelve months. I recommend therefore, that directions be given by telegraph that "Kicking Bear" and the Indian known as "Revenge" be retained under the control of the military, awaiting such disposition of them as may be decided upon in the future.¹⁶

The SS *Corean* docked at the vessel's Brooklyn pier on Friday 18 March, and the twenty-four Indians on board were met by Crager, Sergeant Christian Peterson of Battery H, and three enlisted men from Governor's Island. The soldiers at once surrounded the Indians and placed the twelve former Fort Sheridan prisoners under arrest.¹⁷ The *New York Herald* reported that 'In the party were chiefs Kicking Bear, head of the Sioux; Short Bull and Lone Bull, together with eight warriors and one squaw.'¹⁸ The paper believed that recent reports 'of a possible revival of the ghost dances at Pine Ridge' would make it likely that the prisoners would be returned to Fort Sheridan, basing this opinion on the rumour that the Lakota had 'been waiting for the arrival of the three chiefs to again put on their war paint.' Short Bull acknowledged that he had heard of a revival of the ghost dance, but refused to talk

¹⁶ Miles to Kelton, 14 Mar. 1892, 27240 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

¹⁷ *New York Herald*, 19 Mar. 1892, p8, 'Braves Back From Europe. - A Large Party of Sioux from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show on Their Way to Fort Sheridan.'

¹⁸ *Ibid.* The *New York Herald* correctly named both the former prisoners and the other performers from Buffalo Bill's Wild West who had returned from Glasgow. 'Besides the three chiefs, the Fort Sheridan Indians are Standing Bear, Wounded with Many Arrows, Revenge, One Star, Brings the White, High Eagle, Brave, Know His Voice and his squaw Medicine Horse. The other Indians who will go on to Rushville, Pine Ridge agency, with Mr. Crager are Kills Crow, Both Sides White, Holy Bird, Charging Thunder, Has No Horses, Pull Him Out, Bears Lay Down, White Horse, Shooting and his squaw, Her Blankets, Short Man and his squaw, Plenty Blankets.' Medicine Horse was also reported as being the wife of Brings the White. A number of publications mistakenly identified Plenty Blankets as being Short Bull's wife, she was instead married to Short Man, who had also returned from Glasgow. Short Bull is later recorded on the Pine Ridge Census Roles as having two wives, one was called Plenty Shell, and the other was called Comes Out. Neither of Short Bull's wives had accompanied him, for confirmation of this see Penny to CIA, 28 Mar. 1891, PR, M1282 p179-181, RG 75, FARC.

with the press about it.¹⁹ A reporter for the *New York Tribune* laid the blame for the alleged revival at the feet of the Indians who had been in Europe, alleging that they had been 'writing letters to other Indians on the Western reservations, telling of the great things they would do when they got back.'²⁰

'The Indians took the matter in their usual stoical manner,' commented one journalist, whilst another noted that they had 'expressed their desire of an early release.'²¹ The guard was due to accompany them to Chicago, where they would be handed over to another military escort from Fort Sheridan. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* mistakenly assumed that the escort had been ordered by the War Department 'to prevent the noble red men from getting drunk on the money they had gathered from the foreigners.'²² Instead it would appear that the soldiers were more than happy to allow the Indians to drink, as a report in the *New York Tribune* appears to illustrate.

The stern corporal and his three blue-coat soldiers marched the 12 captives from the steamer to an immigrant boarding house... to await the time when they should take the train to Chicago. The other Indians followed those under arrest, and all of them assembled in the bar-room of the hotel... The Indians smoked cigarettes and drank lager beer to an unlimited extent, and all the while the four blue-coated soldiers stood about and watched them with immovable faces.²³

George Crager informed the pressmen that forty-one Indians were left in Glasgow, where the Wild West Show had gone in to winter quarters. He went on to confirm

¹⁹ *New York Herald*, 19 Mar. 1892, p8, 'Braves Back From Europe - A Large Party of Sioux from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show on Their Way to Fort Sheridan.'

²⁰ *New York Tribune*, 19 Mar. 1892, 'Arrival of "The Wild West" Indians in America - The Ghost Dancers Arrested.'

²¹ *New York Herald*, 19 Mar. 1892, p8, 'Braves Back From Europe. - A Large Party of Sioux from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show on Their Way to Fort Sheridan.' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 Mar. 1892, p3. 'Indians Come to Town - Kicking Bear and His Friends Arrive Under Escort.'

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *New York Tribune*, 19 Mar. 1892, 'Arrival of "The Wild West" Indians in America - The Ghost Dancers Arrested.'

that he expected to get sixty more warriors and thirty-five cowboys for the show, which was due to open in London on 7 May. After treating the Indians to a feast at the Stuttgart House in Greenwich Street, Crager and the party left at midnight on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, bound for Chicago.²⁴

Accompanied by Crager and the four-man guard, the returning performers from Buffalo Bill's Wild West arrived in Chicago at noon the following Sunday. The Indians were then transferred in omnibuses to the Northwestern depot where they were divided into two groups, with the former Ghost Dancers being turned over to a detachment of troops from Fort Sheridan.²⁵ The *Chicago Daily Tribune* noted that, 'Their European travels have had a favorable effect upon them. They wore custom-made clothes, big sombrero hats, and bright-colored shawls, while their persons were adorned with jewellery and various trinkets. One of their number had a toy snake fastened around his hat.'²⁶ Another local publication suggested that the Indians dress would have been 'considered very swell raiment when they reach Pine Ridge and must have been considered unique by our transatlantic cousins.' It went on to elaborate:

Their dress was not unlike that which they wear when at home, except that the clothes were well made and lacked the raggedness that is characteristic of the Sioux except in poetry and dime novels. A typical costume was the one worn by Kicking Bear, perhaps the most famous of the party on account of his open and aggressive hostility to the government. He wore a pair of buckskin trousers, blue flannel shirt, loose blouse coat, and a big sombrero hat around which was a leather band highly decorated with bright colored gew gaws.²⁷

²⁴ *New York Herald*, 19 Mar. 1892, p8, 'Braves Back From Europe. - A Large Party of Sioux from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show on Their Way to Fort Sheridan.'

²⁵ Unidentified Chicago Paper, nd. 'Big Red Men in The City. On Their Return from an extended European Trip,' Buffalo Bill Scrapbook, p13, Microfilm FF18, Cody Papers, SHSC.

²⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 Mar. 1892, p3. 'Indians Come to Town. - Kicking Bear and His Friends Arrive Under Escort.'

²⁷ Unidentified Chicago Paper, nd. 'Big Red Men in The City. On Their Return from an extended European Trip,' Buffalo Bill Scrapbook, p13, Microfilm FF18, Cody Papers, SHSC.

When the party had reached the Northwestern depot they had been taken to the smoking room whilst Crager had made arrangements for dinner. They then filed out across the street to a German restaurant. While waiting for dinner some of the Indians reportedly 'ordered 'alf and 'alf from the bartender,' which led a reporter to speculate that 'the beneficial effects of their tour abroad... had taught them that red liquor was not the best beverage.' Crager told the gathered pressmen that whilst abroad 'there had been very little trouble with the Indians, notwithstanding the stories that have been sent back indicating insubordination among the Sioux.'²⁸ Contrary to Crager's private statement about Kicking Bear to the Secretary of War, he related to journalists that

We expected to have some trouble with [him].... He had a bad reputation and was supposed to be sore about his arrest for complicity in the affair at Wounded Knee, but he has been a model man and has given us as little trouble as anyone in the party. He and Short Bull have been constant companions since they left Pine Ridge, and whenever they had the chance they were always to be seen talking earnestly together. We were not able to find out what their scheme was because they did not confide in any one and when approached would cease talking.²⁹

The prisoners left for Fort Sheridan in the early afternoon, after which Crager and the other twelve Indians started out for Pine Ridge.³⁰ Newspaper reports suggested that the fate of the Ghost Dancers lay with the Interior Department, but in view of the fact that Kicking Bear and Short Bull had appeared 'to be conniving at some devilry,' it seemed likely that they would be incarcerated for some time.³¹ On 23 March the *Chicago Daily Tribune* stated that Miles planned to interview Short Bull and Kicking Bear about their 'present attitude toward the Messiah,' after which he would decide their fate. If he concluded that they were still enthusiasts of the Ghost Dance, the

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 Mar. 1892, p3. 'Indians Come to Town. - Kicking Bear and His Friends Arrive Under Escort.'

³¹ Unidentified Chicago Paper, nd. 'Big Red Men in The City. On Their Return from an extended European Trip,' Buffalo Bill Scrapbook, p13, Microfilm FF18, Cody Papers, SHSC.

paper suggested that 'in all probability they will be kept prisoners until the summer opens.' But as there was no great excitement presently among the tribes, it remained possible that the prisoners would return home in April.³²

Miles sent a telegram to the Adjutant General of the US Army on 23 April, in which he stated that after a personal examination of the prisoners, and in view of the peaceable conditions on the Lakota reservations, 'if there is no objection, I will send back all but three Indians, namely: Kicking Bear, Short Bull and Bring the White.'³³ Clearly, these Indians had demonstrated either a negative attitude or a continuing belief in the Ghost Dance. Revenge, who had earlier been a cause for concern, was sick with consumption. The Post Surgeon had recommended his immediate repatriation without delay, and Miles hoped to return the other nine prisoners with him.³⁴

However, Thomas Morgan the Commissioner of Indian Affairs did not concur with Miles' belief, and instead asserted that 'affairs at Pine Ridge Agency have been in a very unsettled and unsatisfactory state ever since the disturbance.' He deemed it 'of the highest importance that nothing should interfere' with the progress he believed had been made in their assimilation programmes.

If the "Indian hostages at Fort Sheridan" are a portion of those who were allowed to go to Europe with the Buffalo Bill "Wild West" Show and have recently returned to Fort Sheridan. I doubt very much the wisdom of allowing them to return at present to Pine Ridge, because I cannot help fearing that their presence and their stories will have a very decided tendency to unsettle the minds of the Indians and to interfere with the forces now at work which make for peace.³⁵

³² *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 Mar. 1892, p7. 'Soldiers for the World's Fair.'

³³ Miles to Kelton, telegram, 23 Apr. 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ CIA to Noble, 29 Apr. 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

John Noble, the Secretary of the Interior, was more inclined to agree with Miles. The reports he had received from both Miles and the Pine Ridge Agent had led him 'to different conclusions from those arrived at by the Commissioner.'³⁶ He maintained that he was not at all apprehensive that any harm would result in the prisoners' return as proposed by Miles, acknowledging 'I have every confidence in his judgement in this matter and prefer to be guided thereby.' Furthermore, he concluded that 'as he confined these Indians as prisoners of War I see no reason why they should not be returned whenever, in his judgement, the exigency under which he took them shall have passed.'³⁷

But Noble's decision did not immediately result in authorisation to return the prisoners, so on 6 May Miles once again sent a telegram to the Adjutant General. He suggested that with the exception of Kicking Bear, Short Bull and Brings the White, the military could no longer be justified in retaining the Ghost Dancers. He was particularly concerned with the state of Revenge who was now in hospital and would 'soon die' unless he was immediately returned to the more suitable climate of South Dakota.³⁸ Authorisation was received the following day, and two days later Miles contacted Captain Brown, the Acting Agent at Pine Ridge, to inform him of the nine

³⁶ In a letter to the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Noble recounted, 'I asked for reports from these officers after I had received a statement from Mr. George C. Crager, who had been in charge of the Indians of Buffalo Bill's Wild West company since March, 1891, and who says that "Messrs. Cody and Salsbury have in every respect more than fulfilled their contract with said Indians as regards food, clothing, medicines, medical attendance and all necessary support, as well have they, in every way, tried to promote their moral and physical welfare." He further shows that there was paid to these Indians the sum of \$17, 488 as salary, of which \$3,285 was sent home to relatives and others on the reservation, or spent on goods while abroad, and that they had in goods and money, when returned to their homes, the sum of \$14, 202.95.' 'Correspondence in Relation to the Employment of Indians with the Wild West Exhibitions,' Noble to Garrett, 2 May 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

³⁷ Noble to Elkins, 4 May 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

³⁸ Miles to Kelton, 6 May 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

prisoners' imminent return, requesting that he would 'please have parties to meet them with transportation.'³⁹

On 11 May, Miles penned a letter to Young Man Afraid of his Horses, American Horse, Broad Trail 'and all other chiefs and Sioux Indians.' The letter was in response to one sent on 13 April, asking about the Indians still held at Fort Sheridan.⁴⁰ Brigadier General Brooke had reported on 2 April, that 'the retention of Short Bull and Kicking Bear... causes dissatisfaction [amongst the Indians], their presence being desired at Pine Ridge for the spring medicine making.'⁴¹ Miles reassured the Lakota that the three remaining prisoners would only be held for a few months longer and cautioned them 'not to listen to anyone advising you to go to war again.'⁴²

Miles was unwilling to make Brings the White 'prominent by holding him as a prisoner with Kicking Bear and Short Bull,' therefore in a letter to the Adjutant General dated 7 June 1892, he proposed to return the Indian to the reservation.

He was at Carlisle school, has some intelligence, but is reported to be a bad young Indian. If there is no objection, I will send him to visit some of the jails or court-rooms and to the State Penitentiary at Joliet, Ills., in order to impress upon his mind the restraint and punishment for evil doers, and then send him back to his tribe quietly and alone.⁴³

The proposition was forwarded to the Interior Department and Commissioner Morgan who this time had no objection to the action recommended, suggesting that it would 'doubtless have a very salutary effect upon the Indian and will doubtless

³⁹ Miles to Brown, 9 May 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd. 1891-95, box 30, RG 75, FARC.

⁴⁰ Miles to Young Man Afraid of His Horses et al., Ibid., RG 75, FARC.

⁴¹ John R. Brooke, Brigadier General, Commanding, Headquarters Department of the Platte, Omaha, Neb., to Kelton, 2 April 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

⁴² Miles to Young Man Afraid of His Horses et al., PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd. 1891-95, box 30, RG 75, FARC.

⁴³ Miles to Kelton, 7 June 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

accomplish the end sought.⁴⁴ The action was approved and authorised by the Secretary of War on 8 July, and Brings the White was released eight days later. He was accompanied to Pine Ridge by E. L. Huggins, Captain in the 2nd U.S. Cavalry, who notified the Pine Ridge Agent on 17 July, of their pending arrival.⁴⁵

Two days later, Miles wrote to the Adjutant General that 'the time has arrived to send the two remaining Indian prisoners... back to their tribe; and if there be no objection, I will send them one at a time to Pine Ridge Agency during the last of this month or the first part of August.'⁴⁶ Morgan concurred, stating 'there is reason to hope that hereafter they will conduct themselves in such a manner as to not again necessitate their incarceration in the interests of peace and good order.'⁴⁷ George Chandler, the Acting Secretary of the Interior also approved Miles' suggestion, informing the Secretary of War on 2 August.⁴⁸

It is unclear when the last two imprisoned Ghost Dancers were released from Fort Sheridan to return to their families at Pine Ridge, but it was certainly later than Miles had hoped. Nate Salsbury was granted permission to visit them at Fort Sheridan on 20 August, and on 6 September, the *London Evening News and Post* reported that Kicking Bear had been brought down from Fort Sheridan 'to pose as one of the figures in a group which will commemorate the Fort Dearborn massacre of 1812.'⁴⁹ The newspaper related that,

⁴⁴ This sentiment echoed by Secretary Noble: See Noble to Elkins, 30 June 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

⁴⁵ Captain Huggins to Pine Ridge Agent, telegram, 17 July 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., box 29, RG 75, FARC.

⁴⁶ Miles to Kelton, 19 July 1892, 30329 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

⁴⁷ CIA to Noble, 1 Aug. 1892, 36342 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

⁴⁸ Chandler, Acting Secretary of Interior, to Elkins, 2 Aug. 1892, 36342 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

⁴⁹ Calling card signed by Miles, upon which he had written, 'Mr. Salsbury has permission to visit the Indians at Fort Sheridan.' 20 Aug. 1892, box 1, Folder 7, Salsbury Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and

Mr. Carl Rhol-Smith, the sculptor of the group, picked out Kicking Bear as a model for Black Partridge, the friendly Pottowattomie chief.... [Kicking Bear] was pleased by the compliment, and when Sergeant Cahill and Interpreter Jules Lorin went to his quarters to take him to town they found that he had dressed in his best clothes. He had painted his cheekbones and eyebrows with vermilion and had put his handsomest eagle feathers in his hair, which he had slicked down and carefully braided. He wore beaded moccasins, buckskin breeches, a white linen shirt, a baseball player's belt, and a black broadcloth vest.... He striped when instructed and showed up a fine figure of a man in buff. He is nearly six feet tall, straight as a sapling, in spite of his 42 years; his legs are lithe and sinewy and his shoulders broad and full of muscle. A better face for an Indian type, Mr. Rhol Smith said, he had never seen.⁵⁰

Ironically the Indian performer with Buffalo Bill's Wild West who had been portrayed and accepted as the epitome of a hostile Indian, had been selected to represent 'the friendly Pottowattomie chief.' The distraction of being a sculptor's model no doubt gave Kicking Bear some slight relief from the boredom of his incarceration at Fort Sheridan.⁵¹ [Fig. 51]

Manuscript Library; *Evening News and Post* (London), 6 Sept. 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁵⁰ *Evening News and Post* (London), 6 Sept. 1892, Scrapbook 1892, MS6, Series IX, box 7, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC. Jules Lorin had accompanied the Wild West Indians back from Glasgow. 'Accompanying them was a young Frenchman who became infatuated with Buffalo Bill's show in Paris, and when it left the capital he left his home to follow the Indians. His name is Jules Lorin. He has picked up the Sioux language, and converses with the Indians. He also speaks German, Italian, Spanish, and English, which languages he has learned since he left his native city three years ago. He is quite a favourite among the redmen.' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 Mar. 1892, p3. 'Indians Come to Town. - Kicking Bear and His Friends Arrive Under Escort.'

⁵¹ Kicking Bear was also chosen as a model for the Indian face that appears on the Q Street Bridge that spans Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C. Sculptor A. Phimister Proctor employed a total of 56 Kicking Bear heads on the bridge when it was built in 1914. He fashioned the heads from an original life mask made by Smithsonian anthropologists during a visit Kicking Bear made to the nation's capital in 1896. Frank Ahrens, "A Bridge Too Far: The Strange But True Story of Georgetown's Bridge and a Man who Loves it." *Washington Post Magazine* 16 July 2000, 34; http://www.rcpub.com/rcp_about/kicking_bear.html

It would appear that Short Bull and Kicking Bear continued to forward money to their families while they remained imprisoned. When George Crager had arrived at Pine Ridge at the end of March, he had given the agent \$30.00 to be passed onto Kicking Bear's wife, and \$10.00 for Short Bull's wife. The agent wrote to Kicking Bear at Fort Sheridan to acknowledge that the money had been distributed as requested.⁵² On 13 May, the agent wrote again to Kicking Bear, enclosing a receipt showing that his wife had received the \$10, which he had forwarded. It is unclear if the agent, Captain George LeRoy Brown, had been previously acquainted with Kicking Bear, to whom he referred to as 'My Dear Friend,' but he clearly went some way to offer the imprisoned man a degree of reassurance.

Your wife is in very good health. She was in here this morning to get the \$10.00 and she was very much pleased. She is fat and her cheeks shine and her eyes were bright because you had not forgotten her, and she was glad to hear that you were also well. She is a good woman and has a good reputation among the people and deserves a good husband. I shake hands with you, my friend, in my heart and hope you will keep well and that you will tell my other friends that the people here have not forgotten them.⁵³

On 12 October Brigadier General John R. Brooke referred to Short Bull and Kicking Bear as having been 'released from confinement... and returned to their people.' Brooke, who was the Commander of the Department which encompassed the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Agencies, had recently been 'unofficially' made aware of their release, and was both disturbed and slighted by the fact that he had not been informed of the decision.⁵⁴

Once Secretary Noble had been satisfied that the Indian performers who had returned at the close of the Glasgow season had been well treated, he granted Cody permission

⁵² Brown to Kicking Bear, Fort Sheridan, 23 Mar. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1892, box 56, vol. 11, p384, RG 75, FARC.

⁵³ Brown to Kicking Bear, Fort Sheridan, 13 May 1892, Ibid., vol. 12, p325, RG 75, FARC.

⁵⁴ Brooke to Kelton, 12 Oct. 1892, 39726 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA.

to hire another fifty Indians.⁵⁵ Noble's only stipulation was that the men must not be under twenty-five years of age and the women not under the age of twenty, and he wrote to the Pine Ridge agent on 14 April 1892 informing him of the decision.⁵⁶ Shortly after, the new Indian performers hired for the exhibition's return to Earls Court, London, for the upcoming summer season, left by train from Rushville, but not without incident.

On 18 April Agent Brown was compelled to write to Cody care of the Leland Hotel in Chicago. The tone of the letter was angry, and the Pine Ridge agent opened his letter with the words 'You will pardon me writing to you in a very plain straight way in regard to the manner in which the Indians were taken away from Rushville.'⁵⁷

I have but one rule in dealing with Indians; that is never to deceive them, and I am forced to the conviction that those in charge of the matter, whether it was Mr. Asay or Mr. Creigher [sic Crager] I do not know, did deceive these Indians with reference to Rocky Bear's going with the party as head chief. He returns this morning to the Agency, and I am told by reliable parties, that the balance of the Indians, with the exception of Little Warrior who also returned, knew nothing about the matter, but supposed that he was on the cars and going with them. It may be that this matter can be satisfactorily explained, but as it stands now I confess that I do not like it.

Furthermore, Rocky Bear had levelled serious charges against the interpreters in Cody's employ, complaining that the interpreters were 'not men of strong character, capable of controlling themselves.' Neither he claimed, did they help the Indians with good advice about how they should conduct themselves, or by 'explaining to the Indians the habits, manners, etc., of the White people, with whom they are brought in

⁵⁵ Noble to Brown, 29 Mar. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. Corres. Rec'd 1891-95, box 30, RG 75, FARC; Noble to Elkins, 29 Mar. 1892, 29022 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA; Noble to CIA, 14 Apr. 1892, Standing Rock Agency, Gen. Rec., Commissioner's Corres. 1892, 517204/4, box 393, RG 75, FARC. See also Brown to Noble, April 9, 1892, RG48, LR (1892) 1222, National Archives II, Maryland (hereafter Archives II).

⁵⁶ Noble to Brown, 14 Apr. 1892, LR 13917-1892, box 847, RG 75, NA.

contact.' Agent Brown hoped that Cody would give the matter serious consideration, in view of the fact that he was as responsible as Cody, for the future welfare of the Indians who had recently joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

You know as well as I, the proneness of the Indians to drink, cards, and women. You know also the strength that a good, square, honest, upright [sic] and sober man has with them. An Indian never forgets nor forgives, as you and I both know, anything in the way of deception. I would, therefore, most earnestly urge that you obtain, if possible, an interpreter above reproach in the matter of his personal habits and his conduct with the Indians. I am satisfied that it would pay you and your company in the end, greatly, even if you had to give what might seem to be a very large salary for such a man. I have no one to recommend but I feel sure that you could obtain a man who would fill the requirements of this place, giving entire satisfaction to the Indians and relieving me from much anxiety and also yourself I am sure, if your company was willing to pay a good liberal salary. I know perfectly well that half-breeds and others having a smattering of the Indian language, can be obtained at very low rate of salary, but as I know from actual experience, having lived among the Indians as a boy, and been thrown in contact with them as a man, for many years, such interpreters are extremely unreliable and unsatisfactory both to the Indians and to the Whites. They are liable themselves to be gamblers, drunkards and to run after women.⁵⁸

While Brown acknowledged that he had no right to interfere in any way with Cody's private business, he felt justified in suggesting that the Wild West should obtain 'the services of an... interpreter, independent of any you now have... from some other Agency than this, and... not connected by ties of kinship or otherwise, with the Indians whom you employ.'⁵⁹

Cody replied from New York four days later and immediately asserted that 'the argument offered to you by Rocky Bear is entirely false.' Instead he laid out events as he saw them, to which he claimed to have 'a dozen witnesses' who could confirm that this version was 'true and just.'

⁵⁷ Brown to Cody, 18 Apr. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1892, box 56, vol. 12, p57, RG 75, FARC.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

On our arrival at Rushville or at least as the train time approached Rocky Bear came to Mr. Crager and made a complaint for more salary and as it was not granted he and "Big Bat" held a conference with Mr. Crager when Rocky Bear said he would of his own accord steal silently away and say no more about it and as he and Little Warrior never came to the depot nothing was said. As soon as the train left all the Indians were informed of the matter, each and everyone being told that Rocky Bear was not going and all save one Indian were unanimous in saying they were glad.⁶⁰

The controversy may well have resulted from the fact that Rocky Bear had asked to 'be head chief at a salary of \$125.00 per month,' and had requested that his old friend from the 1889-90 European tour, Bronco Bill, should be employed as interpreter. Cody further maintained that Rocky Bear had been paid handsomely to go to Rushville, but as soon as he had arrived had begun to gamble and drink. Turning to the question of interpreters, Cody argued that at the council held in Brown's own Council Room 'not one word was breathed against Mr. John Shangrau being chief Interpreter.' Moreover, 'My chief Interpreter does not drink or Gamble, he is a sober honest man and [I] can vouch for him and his reliability, he is married and settled down.'⁶¹

Cody's explanation of the incident satisfied the Pine Ridge Agent's disquiet and he wrote to Cody in England to thank him for his 'full and complete report on the matter.'⁶² The agent's opinion was significant, for the management of the Wild West relied on his good report to the Secretary of the Interior. Secretary Noble had consulted both Miles and Agent Brown on the condition of the returned Indians before granting Cody permission to hire an additional fifty performers for the show's summer season in London. If Brown had complained about Buffalo Bill's Wild West and its treatment of the Indian performers, Cody might once again have been faced with a ban on their employment. Their integrity to the exhibition was fundamental,

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Cody, New York, to Brown, 22 Apr. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., box 28, RG 75, FARC.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Brown to Cody, 3 May 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., Misc. LS 1892, box 56, vol. 12, p216, RG 75, FARC.

and Cody had already set his heart on playing Chicago's World Fair the following year. Therefore, it was essential that Cody maintained a good relationship with the Pine Ridge Agent.

Before George Crager's return to Britain, Secretary Noble appointed him as an 'Agent on the part of the Department of the Interior to accompany the Indians now engaged with Messrs. Cody and Salsbury.'⁶³ He was to serve without compensation, and was required to report at least once a month, 'oftener if necessary,' on the condition and any matters of welfare that concerned the Indian performers. Crager was also to make sure that the contract the Wild West had made with the Lakota was properly fulfilled, and that 'their moral and physical welfare promoted.'⁶⁴ Crager filed his first and only such report on 25 June 1892. He reported that the health of the Indian performers was good; that they had a 'regular Physician and Surgeon... in attendance at all hours;' that their food was 'proper and wholesome;' and that they were well satisfied in every respect.

Crager also informed Secretary Noble that four Indians had been sent home on the SS *Wisconsin*, leaving Liverpool on 18 June. They had been returned at their own request and were furnished with first class transportation back to the reservation. Two of the party, Wants Her and Lizzie, were the widow and daughter of the recently deceased Long Wolf. Crager advised Noble of the aged Indian's death, enclosing a number of newspaper clippings and a 'Certificate' signed by Dr. Maitland Coffin, which stated that Long Wolf had died of 'Senile decay.' Crager further maintained that 'All was done for him and his comfort during his illness, and no blame can be attached to the management of "Buffalo Bills Wild West Co".'⁶⁵

⁶³ Noble to Crager, 30 Apr. 1892, PR, Gen. Rec., box 30, RG 75, FARC.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Crager to Noble, 25 June 1892, LR (1892) 5159. RG 48, Archives II.

It is not clear if the management of the Wild West were aware of Crager's appointment as agent, or if he was filing the reports covertly. His premature departure from the show has led to some speculation, including Alan Gallop's assertion that he had been sacked at the end of the Glasgow season.⁶⁶ Yet this is clearly erroneous, as Crager continued to work for Buffalo Bill's Wild West after the show had opened in London. On 19 August 1892, he had written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs enquiring about possible vacancies with the Department's Indian Exhibit proposed for the forthcoming World Fair in Chicago. In the letter he stated that he had 'just returned from Europe... having severed my connection with Buffalo Bill's Wild West.'⁶⁷ While the reasons for Crager's termination of his employment with Cody's Wild West remain unclear, the fact that he continued to have a good relationship with the Wild West's personnel would suggest that his departure had been amicable.⁶⁸

On 28 September Cody wrote to Secretary Elkins with the news that the five final former Fort Sheridan prisoners would be returning to America when the show closed in October. As all the other former prisoners had now returned home, Cody hoped that there would be no objections to the last five being returned straight to their Agencies, 'as they are all well-disposed and good Indians.'⁶⁹ Permission was granted and the remaining five Ghost Dance prisoners were returned to their homes and families. The *SS Mohawk*, which carried the Wild West's personnel, landed in New York on 24 October, and their arrival marked the end of almost four years of touring in Europe. The Indian performers were returned to their reservations and after

⁶⁶ Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 189.

⁶⁷ Crager to CIA, 19 Aug. 1892, LR 30199-1892, box 898, RG 75, NA.

⁶⁸ 1894 newspaper clippings refer to a visit to Buffalo Bill's Wild West by 'Major Crager' 'Special Allotting Agent on the Rosebud reservation.' Scrapbook 1894, MS6, Series IX, box 10, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

⁶⁹ Cody to Elkins, 28 Sept. 1892, 39592 PRD 1892, box 56, RG 94, NA. Cody lists the returning prisoners as being: Hard to Hit, One Star, Good Eagle, Brave, and Calls the Name. One Star and Brave were also listed in the group which had returned with Kicking Bear and Short Bull, and the two prisoners whose return home does not appear to have been covered are Coming Grunt and Crow Cane.

travelling up from Rushville in Nebraska by wagon, they reached Pine Ridge on 1 November.⁷⁰

The acknowledged Lakota Ghost Dance leaders, Short Bull and Kicking Bear, had made two significant journeys between late 1889 and the summer of 1892. The first took them west, when they travelled at the request of the Lakota as part of a delegation seeking to find out all they could about Wovoka and his new religion, which later became known to the Lakota as the Ghost Dance. The second journey took them east, initially as prisoners of General Miles who took them to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, at the end of the military suppression of the Lakota Ghost Dance. After two months confinement they were released into the custody of Colonel William F. Cody, and as performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Short Bull and Kicking Bear, had accompanied another twenty-one Ghost Dance prisoners across the Atlantic to Europe. Their second journey was in part meant as an object lesson, to teach the Ghost Dancers the superiority of the white man and the futility of their opposition to the US Government's programmes of assimilation. But it was their first journey, across the Rocky Mountains to Nevada, which apparently had had the greatest influence upon them. Clark Wissler noted:

After the collapse of the movement, they withdrew to different parts of the reservation, where they lived quietly with their respective bands. Short Bull seems to have been the abler of the two and quietly followed the precepts of the Ghost Dance Religion for a long time. His band remained the most conservative and the most pagan, yet gave the officials the least trouble.⁷¹

Both Short Bull and Kicking Bear maintained their belief in the Ghost Dance, and by all accounts they were not alone in this endeavour. In 1902 Kicking Bear once again journeyed west to visit Wovoka, and was just one of a number of Plains Indian

⁷⁰ Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, 128.

⁷¹ Wissler, *Indians of the United States*, 175.

delegations to do so.⁷² Four years later, the *Lyon County Times* reported that three Lakota men: Cloud Horse, Chasing Hawk and Bear Comes Out, had travelled to Mason Valley from the Rosebud Reservation 'to see Jack Wilson [Wovoka] ... on some important business.'⁷³

They held a pow-wow at the Indian camp above Bovard's Sunday night, talked with Jack Wilson and smoked the pipe of peace all round. They made Wilson a present of a beautifully carved stone pipe, and, having accomplished their end... left for their homes Monday morning.⁷⁴

Grace Danberg noted in her anthropological paper, 'Letters to Jack Wilson, The Paiute Prophet, Written Between 1908 and 1911,' that letters from both Cloud Horse and Bear Comes Out, were found amongst a cache of twenty that had been left in a vegetable cellar constructed by Wovoka on a ranch in Nevada.⁷⁵ Another Lakota, who wrote to Wovoka during this time period, was John Short Bull of Allen, South Dakota.⁷⁶ John, who would have been aged 24 when he wrote the letter in 1911, was the son of Short Bull and Plenty Shell, the older of Short Bull's two wives.⁷⁷ He had sent Wovoka a \$5 money order, and asked his advice on appropriate medicines and prayers for various illnesses. It is clear that this letter was part of an ongoing correspondence.

⁷² Grace M. Dangberg, "Letters to Jack Wilson, The Paiute Prophet, Written Between 1908 and 1911," *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 164, Anthropological Papers, no. 55 (1957): 286.

⁷³ Hittman, *Wovoka*, 265. Cloud Horse had been identified by George Sword as being in the 1890 Lakota delegation, see Mooney, *Ghost Dance*, 159, but he was not mentioned in Short Bull's list.

⁷⁴ *Lyon County Times*, 4 Aug. 1906, quoted in Hittman, *Wovoka*, 265.

⁷⁵ Danberg "Letters to Jack Wilson," 285.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 294

⁷⁷ Pine Ridge Census rolls 1893-1924. (microfilm M595, Western History and Genealogy Department, DPL). It would appear that along with the whole family (barring his mother) John acquired his Christian name sometime between 1896 and 1898. The English translation of his Lakota name had

After Kicking Bear's return visit to Wovoka in 1902, he and Short Bull went on to instruct Fred Robinson, 'a prominent young Assiniboin,' on the religion.⁷⁸ Richmond Clow maintained in his article, 'The Lakota Ghost Dance after 1890,' that the two men had travelled to the Fort Peck Reservation, Montana, in the autumn of 1902.

At Poplar, they taught the Ghost Dance to residents who later sent them "goods and money for their instructions and (for) different kinds of things that are used in these dances."... From these Lakota roots, Robinson molded the Ghost Dance into "New Tidings," a version of the religion that instructed the people to lead a "clean, honest life" and promised them that the souls of their relatives gathered to greet them after death. Taking this gospel to the Dakota of Canada, Robinson found believers on the Sioux Wahpeton Reserve on the Round Plain in Saskatchewan, where a Ghost Dance congregation existed as late as the 1960s.⁷⁹

Short Bull's importance in Lakota history was not restricted to his association with the Ghost Dance, but also encompassed some significant ethnographical works. In his article 'Short Bull: Lakota Visionary, Historian and Artist,' Ronald McCoy asserted that 'Short Bull's status and influence as a shamanic figure among the Lakota remained intact, as James R. Walker, agency physician at Pine Ridge, learned.'

Setting himself the goal of preserving knowledge of vanishing tribal ways, Walker spent nine years convincing Oglala elders of the wisdom of imparting important ritualistic information. The principle actor in this drama of the empowered members of one culture passing sacred knowledge to someone from another culture was Short Bull. In 1905, the elders announced that conversations could take place, but only if Short Bull received a vision sanctioning the sessions (Walker 1983:3). Walker never learned the details of this vision, but the former Ghost Dance leader eventually approved of the endeavor. The resulting flow of information formed the basis for important works by Walker (1917, 1980, 1982, 1983).⁸⁰

been Shot to Pieces. His father was then after referred to as Arnold Short Bull, and all his children took Short Bull as their surname.

⁷⁸ Danberg "Letters to Jack Wilson," 288.

⁷⁹ Clow, "The Lakota Ghost Dance after 1890," 331-32. Clow cites both Danberg "Letters to Jack Wilson," 286, and Kehoe, *Ghost Dance*, 46-48, as his sources.

⁸⁰ McCoy, "Short Bull," 57.

When interviewed by Frederick Weygold in 1909, Short Bull also agreed to pose for a photograph. [Fig. 52] The image shows Short Bull wearing a Ghost Dance shirt, which Haberland suggested substantiated Weygold's report that the Sicangu Medicine Man had maintained his belief.⁸¹

Porcupine, the Cheyenne delegate who had travelled with Short Bull and Kicking Bear on their pilgrimage to Nevada in 1890, also continued to believe in and follow the Ghost Dance religion. On 5 May 1900, Agent James C. Clifford of the Tongue River Agency in Montana, reported 'a serious condition of affairs... growing out of the prospective revival among the Northern Cheyennes of the "Messiah craze."' ⁸² Then in June, Porcupine left the reservation 'without permission [and] taking with him several of his followers,' intending to once again visit Wovoka. The authorities, learning that his first destination was to be the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, advised the agents of the Fort Hall and Shoshoni agencies of their impending arrival. The party were arrested among the Bannocks of Idaho and brought back under the charge of the Indian police to the Tongue River Agency on 27 August, where they were confined in the agency guardhouse. The Office of Indian Affairs reported to the Interior Department on 20 October that,

From the agent's reports and the petition of the Northern Cheyennes themselves, it appears that the presence of this Indian on the reservation is a constant source of trouble and danger, and is very detrimental to the peace and welfare of the said Indians. In fact, viewing his recent actions in the light of his record a decade ago, this office regards his continued presence at the Tongue River Agency as a most dangerous obstacle to the proper government and welfare of not only the Northern Cheyennes but also of the Indians of the other tribes who were infected and crazed by his pernicious teachings. So long as he is allowed to continue to spread his fanatical religious ideas among the Indians without being properly punished, he will remain a dangerous menace to the service.⁸³

⁸¹ Haberland, "Die Oglala-Sammlung Weygold... (Teil 4)," 21.

⁸² Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States*, 711.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 713.

Two days later the Department recommended to the Secretary of War that Porcupine should be confined and punished at Fort Keogh or elsewhere, and he was turned over to the commanding officer at the Fort and 'confined at hard labour.' He was released from custody on 28 March 1901, and as nothing further had been heard from him, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was satisfied 'that the punishment has been effective.'⁸⁴

The Wounded Knee orphan, Young Cub or Cub Bear, who appeared as Johnnie Burke No Neck in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, went on to tour with the exhibition for a number of years, accompanied by his adoptive parents, No Neck and his wife Ellen. [Figs. 53 & 54] The other child who had survived the Wounded Knee Massacre, and whom Burke had haggled over with Brigadier General Leonard W. Colby, was raised by Colby's wife Clara, a prominent proponent of Women's Rights. In 1896 when Kicking Bear travelled to Washington as part of a delegation, which included the veteran Oglala Ghost Dancer Little Wound, they called upon the Colby household in order to pay a visit to the young child, Zintka or Lost Bird. Clara Colby later wrote about the visit in the *Women's Tribune*, the paper that she published and edited.

(T)he... interest of the occasion centered on the three chiefs who were as friendly and talkative as they could be.... When Zintka had overcome her first alarm at their strange appearance she was quite inclined to make up with them, especially Kicking Bear. They all talked about her and to her a great deal, always saying Zintkala Nuni, which they said was the right way to speak her name.... While most of the party were downstairs looking curiously at Indian relics... (Kicking Bear) stayed behind and went through a very interesting performance with Zintka. He had previously with some difficulty extricated from the beaded leather cape over his right shoulder the feathers which have an important significance in connection with his office as a medicine man, and had offered Zintka a choice of them. Of course she chose the red, and she kept it firmly in her hand during the rest of the visit. Now, Matowa Natake (Kicking Bear) put both hands on Zintka's head and spoke in a low voice: then placed one hand on her chest and the other on her forehead, still continuing the invocation. Then he kissed his

⁸⁴ Ibid., 714

fingers, laid them on Zintka's mouth and back again on his own, after which he stood... with bowed head.⁸⁵

Perhaps the sight of this young Lakota girl had reminded Kicking Bear of his own daughter, whose death had first motivated him to seek out Wovoka, and the significance of the meeting would no doubt have been heartfelt.⁸⁶ [Fig. 55] Kicking Bear is reported to have died eight years later in 1904, and given his return trip to see Wovoka in 1902, it is more than likely that he continued his belief in the Ghost Dance religion right up to his death.

The opposition to Indian employment in Wild West shows continued, but was never again able to attain the upper hand. In the spring of 1892, when Buffalo Bill's Wild West were again seeking permission to hire more Indian performers, the Indian Rights Association renewed their opposition. Welsh wrote to a variety of people asking 'are Wild West Shows helpful or harmful to Indians viewed from the stand point of their advancement in civilization?' The response was mixed, although the majority of respondents maintained their opposition, contending that Indian participation in such shows was 'injurious to them mentally, morally and physically.'⁸⁷ Alfred L. Riggs, the Principal of the Santee Normal Training School claimed,

They pervert the Indians ideas about life. They make him think that the old ways are equally good with sobriety, industry and economy that Civilization requires, and a good deal more profitable. Moreover it makes him doubt the honesty of civilized white people who preach to him of education and civilization and then flock to applaud him in the Indian show.⁸⁸

This view was shared by Rev. William J. Cleveland, who felt that Wild West shows offered the Indians the 'best substitute for... the realization again of the old life...

⁸⁵ Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee*, 133-34.

⁸⁶ See Kehoe, *Ghost Dance*, 46-47.

⁸⁷ Alice Fletcher to Welsh, 8 June 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁸⁸ Alfred Riggs to Welsh, 28 May 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

which it is the special province of civilization to root out and supplement.⁸⁹ John P. Williamson, of the Missionary Presbyterian Church at Fort Totten in North Dakota, had been present at Pine Ridge earlier that spring when 'Col. Cody's outfit returned from their trip to Europe.' He suggested that 'They had very evidently not become enamoured with the toils of civilization,' and on their return had simply 'slid back into the old Indian ways.'⁹⁰

Others were either indifferent or argued in support of Indian employment in Wild West shows. Richard Henry Pratt of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pennsylvania, commented 'I do not feel called upon to oppose, particularly when the conditions on the reservations are not specially more heavenly in their character than the conditions with Buffalo Bill.'⁹¹ The response of Gen. Miles would not have been a surprise to Welsh. Miles reported that the Indians who had travelled with Cody had had,

the opportunity of seeing the millions of the white race, the advantages of civilization, of industry, of economy, the manner in which civilized people live and their power. All this, witnessed for a considerable period of time is in marked contrast to the wretched condition of some of the representatives of the white race with whom they come into contact on the reservations. It is a revelation and education to them and can not fail to impress them most powerfully for good.⁹²

Miles also felt that the association was being diverted by a minor subject 'which concerns less than a hundred out of two hundred and fifty thousand Indians,' and suggested that their time would be better spent focusing on 'some of the great frauds to which they [the Indians] are subjected.'⁹³

⁸⁹ Wm. J. Cleveland to Welsh, 14 June 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁹⁰ John P. Williamson to Welsh, 27 May 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁹¹ Pratt to Welsh, 16 May 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁹² Miles to Welsh, 1 June 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁹³ Ibid.

While acknowledging that 'Travelling with such shows is not the best means to educate any one,' Bishop M. Marty concluded, that 'the present condition of the Indians [in Dakota], and especially of the young men and women coming out of the schools, is such that they are better off any where else than at home.'⁹⁴ The Bishop went on to elaborate:

Without artificial irrigation the lands west of the Missouri are unfit for agriculture and even for stockraising. Not one in a hundred is supplied with farming implements, cattle or work-horses. They have no material or skilled labor to build houses or stables, their rations are barely sufficient and when their clothes, which they get once a year, are torn, they have no means to buy new ones. Their present is most miserable, their future hopeless.⁹⁵

One of the most pertinent replies came from the former Pine Ridge Agent, Valentine McGillicuddy, who thought that Wild West shows were an unimportant factor 'either harmfully or helpfully.'⁹⁶ The Indians he believed did indeed return with enlarged and expanded ideas, and a realisation of the extent of the power of the white man and what civilisation could achieve. Yet at the same time McGillicuddy acknowledged that 'some of them return diseased and addicted to the use of liquor as a result of participating in the dissipations that appear to be practically a necessary concomitant of that very civilization of the white man.' Furthermore, this was just as true for the numerous Indian delegations, which had been invited to visit Washington and other eastern cities.

In fact some of the worst cases of private disease coming within my knowledge years ago were among returned members of delegations visiting Washington in charge of Government officials, where to enable them to see the "elephant" they are permitted to visit houses of prostitution in the large cities.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Bishop M. Marty to Welsh, 21 June 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ McGillicuddy to Welsh, 25 May 1892, Incoming Corres. Reel 9, IRA.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

The former agent concurred with Bishop Marty with regards to the returning Carlisle and Hampton students, who might also 'be termed shiftless and lazy, because they are not working.'

It is a disgrace to our system, that educates these children, gives them trades, gives them ideas above their tribal condition. Then after a few years returns them to the reservation, turns them loose among a horde of blanket Indians, with practically the injunction, "go shift for yourselves, a beneficent paternal government has given you an education, its duty is ended, work out your own salvation."

McGillycuddy pointedly remarked that 'our theory of how to civilize the Indian is beautiful, it reads like perfection to the uninitiated Eastern philanthropist, but unfortunately it is lacking practically.' Moreover, he speculated 'Is it any wonder that some of the worst cases among the hostiles, during the late "unpleasantness" were returned Eastern students.' The latter two remarks were stinging critiques of the work and philosophies of Welsh's own association, as well as others.

Welsh wrote to McGillycuddy, thanking him for his opinion on the matter, further noting that the responses he had received 'differ widely... some holding that the shows are beneficial, or at least not injurious, and others that they are harmful.'⁹⁸ He also replied to Rev. Cleveland requesting that he gather the views of 'the most intelligent and reliable men among the Indians themselves.' He enclosed 'a small contribution' of \$2 towards Cleveland's costs.⁹⁹ But the proposed publication on the subject never materialised, and even Welsh's hope to make 'some allusion to the matter' in the association's forthcoming Annual Report did not reach fruition, and it would appear that the matter was laid to rest.¹⁰⁰ For Buffalo Bill's Wild West, new acts were continually being incorporated into the show, as it went on to embrace the 'Congress of Rough Riders,' but the Indians remained as core as Cody himself.

⁹⁸ Welsh to McGillycuddy, 31 May 1892, Letterpress Copy Book, Reel 71, vol.8, p584, IRA.

⁹⁹ Welsh to Cleveland, 17 June 1892, Letterpress Copy Book, Reel 71, vol.8, p615, IRA.

¹⁰⁰ Welsh to Cleveland, 29 Nov. 1892, Letterpress Copy Book, Reel 72, IRA.

Cody never again faced a ban on his employment of Indians for his Wild West show, which continued more or less until his death in 1917, albeit in various guises. Indeed in 1894, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. M. Browning, visited the show at Ambrose Park in New York. Not only was the commissioner reportedly 'delighted' with the performance, he was 'equally pleased at being afforded an opportunity to note the effect of civilization upon the Indians, and... expressed himself as being delighted at the manner in which Messrs. Cody and Salsbury care for those in their employ.'¹⁰¹

Just over twenty years after their sojourn in Britain, Cody and Short Bull teamed up again, along with General Miles, to re-enact the Wounded Knee massacre for Cody's film 'The Indian Wars.' [Fig. 56] In 1913 Cody's fortunes were at a low ebb, and in order to revive his career and his bank balance, he hit upon the idea of a new venture in the blossoming movie industry. With financial backing from the owners of the *Denver Post* and the Essanay Film Company of Chicago, Cody created the 'Col. William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) Historical Pictures Company.'¹⁰² Their reported mission was 'to present historic events, which paved the way to racial peace between red and white, for the optical education of future generations and act as factors in the preservation of a national story.'¹⁰³ Cody managed to secure the backing of the Secretary of the Interior, who hoped to contrast 'the "progress" of the nation's Indian wards' with their pre-reservation lifestyle. Whilst the Secretary of War saw 'the movie as a first-rate recruiting tool and assigned three troops of cavalry to serve as extras.'¹⁰⁴

The second section of the film dealt with the Ghost Dance and its suppression by the military and was entitled 'Rebellion - 1890-1891.' Short Bull figured prominently and

¹⁰¹ *New York Daily News*, 5 June 1894. Scrapbook 1894, MS6, Series IX, box 10, Cody Archives, McCracken Research Library, BBHC.

¹⁰² Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 457.

¹⁰³ *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 22 Oct. 1913, quoted in Andrea I. Paul, "Buffalo Bill and Wounded Knee: The Movie," *Nebraska History* 71, no. 4 (1990): 185.

¹⁰⁴ Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles*, 257

was cast in a more favourable light than Sitting Bull and Kicking Bear, who were portrayed as the instigators of the disturbance. The film depicted the events from Short Bull's visit to the Messiah, up to the transportation 'of the hostages to Fort Sheridan.'¹⁰⁵ [Figs. 57 & 58] From the start, the decision to use the actual Wounded Knee site for the filmed re-enactment was controversial. Cody's old friend Charles King 'believed that Wounded Knee was not the type of historical event that should be replayed for the camera.'¹⁰⁶ Miles demanded realism and insisted on the scenes being re-enacted on their original sites, but he 'would not allow them to show the women and children in the fight and that was left out.'¹⁰⁷ Andrea Paul noted in her article 'Buffalo Bill and Wounded Knee: The Movie,' that,

Criticism of the film centered around the mistaken notion that Buffalo Bill and General Miles appeared in the film as heroes of the reenacted Battle of Wounded Knee.¹⁰⁸

Melvin R. Gilmore, the Nebraska State Historical Society's museum curator, complained that 'the filmmakers sought to blame the Indians for the Wounded Knee battle,' and asserted that the production was 'a disgrace to the government under whose sanction it was made.'¹⁰⁹ Yet Paul dismissed this criticism, further commenting that the published descriptions of the events contained in the film 'would be acceptable to historians today.'

"There (at Wounded Knee) the white man was the aggressor, they far outnumbering the Indians. The red men were crowded down into a great ravine where lines of bullets sent them to their death in scores."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ *Indian War Pictures* program, Buffalo Bill Museum, Paul Fees Files - Historical Pictures Co., BBHC.

¹⁰⁶ Paul, "Buffalo Bill and Wounded Knee," 185.

¹⁰⁷ Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles*, 258, and Mrs. John Brennan quoted in Paul, "Buffalo Bill and Wounded Knee," 185.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 188.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Rocky Mountain Daily News*, 17 Oct. 1913, p3, quoted in Paul, "Buffalo Bill and Wounded Knee," 188.

The film was also criticised by Chauncey Yellow Robe, the very same Indian who had been employed as interpreter by Acting Commissioner Belt when he had interviewed the returning showmen in November 1890. At the Fourth Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians, held in Wisconsin in October 1914, Chauncey Yellow Robe gave a talk entitled 'The Menace of the Wild West Show.' In the talk he stated that he wished to draw the audience's attention 'to the evil and degrading influence of commercializing the Indian before the world.' His main cause of concern was that showmen were teaching children 'that the Indian is only a savage being.' With regards to the re-enactment of Wounded Knee for Cody's film, Yellow Robe asserted that 'The whole production of the field was misrepresented and yet approved by the Government. This is a disgrace and injustice to the Indian race.'¹¹¹

It would appear that the government itself, after initial approval, was also non-too pleased. Paul has suggested that the 'government might have been displeased that the film made the military look too much like the aggressor at Wounded Knee.'¹¹² Whilst Wooster maintained:

Whatever the movie's authenticity, the government sought to minimize its publicity and distribution. Allegedly, the official copies decomposed in the dank files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1920s. The lack of official enthusiasm seems attributable... to the film's less than glowing portrayal of the nation's Indian policy. Interior Secretary Franklin Lane had hoped the film would portray "the advance of the Indians under modern conditions"; the failure of Cody or the Essanay Company to immediately provide the Interior department with copies further rankled Lane. Indeed, it would have been difficult for early twentieth-century cinematographers to transform the miserable Indian reservations of reality into the cradles of civilization they were espoused by the government spokesmen to be.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Chauncey Yellow Robe, "The Menace of the Wild West Show," *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, no.2 (1914): 224-225.

¹¹² Paul, "Buffalo Bill and Wounded Knee," 190.

¹¹³ Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles*, 259-60.

The film was not a financial success, and apart from the two minutes and fifty seconds of footage preserved by the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, no copies remain. Without being able to view the film it is hard to ascertain why Short Bull would agree to appear in Cody's film, but it remains a possibility that he might have viewed the venture in the same light as the narratives he had given to a number of ethnographers.

Short Bull lived well into the twentieth century and there has been some speculation about the actual date of his death. It has been suggested that he was interviewed in 1924 and photographed as late as 1933.¹¹⁴ Yet an examination of the Pine Ridge Census rolls suggest that by the time the 1924 census was taken, Short Bull had already died. Up until that time he had been listed consistently, firstly as Short Bull No.2 (as opposed to Short Bull No.1, who later became known as Grant Short Bull), and then in 1898 and subsequently thereafter, under the name of Arnold Short Bull. Therefore, it seems likely that Short Bull died sometime between 1923 and 1924.¹¹⁵

The journey west to see Wovoka was clearly of much greater significance to Short Bull and Kicking Bear than their tour with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, but perhaps Cody had done them a great favour, and touring with the exhibition had been infinitely better than being held at Fort Sheridan. That Miles still perceived the Ghost Dance to be a threat, is evidenced by the fact that he decided to keep Short Bull and Kicking Bear imprisoned when they returned to America, on the basis that they had maintained their faith. Miles also recognised that by removing and incarcerating the Ghost

¹¹⁴ McCoy, "Short Bull," 61.

¹¹⁵ Pine Ridge Census rolls 1893-1924. (microfilm M595, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library (hereafter DPL)). Although dismissed by Wildhage, Jeanne O. Snodgrass' suggested date of 6 July 1923 would seem to concur with the Pine Ridge Census rolls. See Wildhage, "Material on Short Bull," 35. However, the reliability of census data remains questionable. See Shoemaker's 'Overview of American Indian Demographic History,' in Nancy Shoemaker, *American Indian Population Recovery in the Twentieth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

Dancers he had given the Indians a certain amount of status, and being unwilling to confer such notoriety on Brings the White he had argued for his early release.

It would appear that Miles' object lesson of dissuading the Ghost Dancers from believing in the religion was unsuccessful. Moreover, it had been pointless, as belief in the Ghost Dance had not made the Lakota hostile as Miles had supposed. Instead the Lakota Ghost Dance had been a peaceful religion that encompassed traditional Indian practices with elements of Christianity, and was an example of accommodation during this time of great transition for the Lakota. Those Lakota who embraced the Ghost Dance saw the religion as being an accessible way forward, something that connected the old life with the future without denying them the right to an Indian identity. It had only become a resistance movement when the government had forcibly tried to suppress it. Ironically, the closest the Fort Sheridan prisoners got to rebellion, was when they performed Cody's interpretation of Indian-white relations in the Wild West arena.

After the 1891-92 tour of Britain Buffalo Bill's Wild West went on perform outside the gates of the World's Columbia Exposition in Chicago, and the 1893 season marked the exhibition's greatest ever success, netting 'over a million dollars in profit.'¹¹⁶ With the introduction of Salsbury's 'Congress of Rough Riders of the World' the Wild West presented an image of 'America assuming a new role on the world stage as leader of the imperial powers.' At the same time Cody appealed for reconciliation between the old foes of the American West. Slotkin noted that although he 'exploited his connection with Wounded Knee in advertising posters.... He also reconstructed on the Wild West's grounds the cabin in which Sitting Bull lived at the time of his assassination.' Then, in a similar manner to Civil War reconciliation ceremonies between 'veterans of the Blue and the Grey,' Cody staged a public ritual of reconciliation between cavalry and Indian veterans of the Little Big

¹¹⁶ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 78.

Horn and Wounded Knee.¹¹⁷ These ceremonies went beyond mere entertainment, and that the 'gesture was seriously intended' is supported by the fact that the programme now presented the Indians as 'the Former Foe - Present Friend - the *American*.'¹¹⁸ Furthermore, the changes signalled that America now had a sense of itself as a world power, and in the future the US would now have to look outside of its borders for growth and expansion.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

Postscript

Just over a hundred years after their 1891-92 tour of Britain, Buffalo Bill, his Indian performers, and the Ghost Dance, once again caused a flurry of British media interest. This time it concerned the Indian bodies that had been left behind, buried at West Brompton Cemetery, and the Wounded Knee artefacts that George Crager had sold and donated to Glasgow Museums.

Following Cody's death in 1917, Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham had sent a cheque for £20 to Theodore Roosevelt, who was receiving subscriptions for a statue of Cody, which was to be raised over-looking the North Platte. Theodore's son Kermit had been a long time admirer of Cunninghame Graham's work, and so after the Armistice he had contacted the writer with the suggestion that he write a piece about Cody and his life.

I thought at the time that here was the writer that could make Buffalo Bill and his era live and speak and act for our children and our children's children.¹¹⁹

Initially Cunninghame Graham consented, but when he had thought it over he decided that he would perhaps not be the best person to write such a biography, as his knowledge was confined to the South West and Mexico rather than the North West of Cody's experience. Accompanying his final decision 'as a grateful earnest of his interest, and appreciation of the West,' he had sent a sketch entitled 'Long Wolf,' which had been motivated by the discovery of an abandoned grave in London.¹²⁰ [Fig. 59]

In a lone corner of a crowded London cemetery, just at the end of a smoke-stained, Greco-Roman colonnade, under a poplar tree, nestles a neglected grave.

The English climate has done its worst upon it. Smoke, rain, and then more smoke, and still more rain, the fetid breath of millions,

¹¹⁹ Walker, *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, 117.

¹²⁰ First published in *Scribner's Magazine*, 69 (June, 1921): 651-54.

the fumes of factories, the reek of petrol rising from little Stygian pools in the wood pavements, the frost, the sun, the decimating winds of spring, have honeycombed the headstone, leaving it pitted as if with small-pox, or an old piece of parchment that has long moulded in a chest.¹²¹

In 1991 an English woman found an old copy of Cunninghame Graham's book *Redeemed* that contained the sketch 'Long Wolf,' and was so moved by the lament that she initiated a search for both Long Wolf's grave and his descendants. After a number of years spent sifting through red tape, Long Wolf's remains were finally repatriated to South Dakota in 1997, along with those of Star, the young child who had been buried on top of Long Wolf a few months after his own death.

Completely unconnected but during the same time period, a repatriation request was lodged with Glasgow Museums for the four Wounded Knee artefacts acquired from George Crager in 1892, after they had been seen in the exhibition *Home of the Brave* in Glasgow. After almost seven years of negotiations with the Wounded Knee Survivors Association, the Ghost Dance shirt, which Crager claimed had been removed from the body of a dead warrior in the aftermath of the massacre and blessed by Short Bull, was repatriated by Glasgow City Council in the summer of 1999.¹²² [Fig. 60]

Paul Eagle Star's remains were also repatriated in the summer of 1999, once again independently of the other two repatriations, and quietly without the media circus that had surrounded both Long Wolf's and the Ghost Dance shirt's return. Renewed interest in Cody's Wild West show and the history of the Lakota have followed, with a major international exhibition on Buffalo Bill's Wild West at the Royal Armouries in

¹²¹ Walker, *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, 118.

¹²² See Maddra, *Glasgow's Ghost Shirt*.

Leeds, and a redisplay of the remaining Wounded Knee artefacts in Glasgow's Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove. Not to mention the recent flurry of publications on the Wild West's immensely influential visits to Britain.¹²³

¹²³ See Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, 162-206; and Cunningham, *Diamond's Ace*, 87-118.



Fig. 51. Kicking Bear was also chosen as a model for the Indian face that appears on the Q Street Bridge that spans Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C.

Sculptor A. Phimister Proctor employed a total of 56 Kicking Bear heads on the bridge when it was built in 1914. He fashioned the heads from an original life mask made by Smithsonian anthropologists during a visit Kicking Bear made to the nation's capital in 1896.



Fig. 52. Short Bull photographed by Weygold, circa 1909.



Fig. 53. Young Cub/ Cub Bear ('Johnny Burke No Neck') with the Wild West show circa 1896.

Fig. 54. Newspaper illustration 1894.

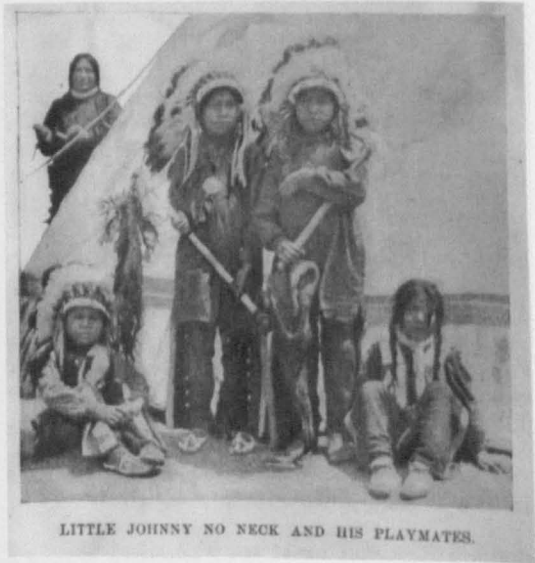




Fig. 55. Kicking Bear photographed by William Dinwiddie, 1896.



Fig. 56. Short Bull in 1913 at time of filming 'Indian Wars.' On the far left is Johnny Baker, who had toured with Cody performing as an expert shot, and on the far right is Vernon R. Day the film's production manager. To Short Bull's left is Day's wife, and to his right is one of his two wives, either Plenty Shell or Comes Out.



Fig. 57. Still from Cody's film 'Indian Wars' depicting Short Bull and the other delegates' listening to Wovoka speak.



Fig. 58. Still from 'Indian Wars' that shows a camera operator filming the Wounded Knee scenes.



Fig. 59. Long Wolf's grave, West Brompton Cemetery, 1996.



Fig. 60. Return of the Ghost Dance shirt from Glasgow Museums to the Wounded Knee Survivors Association, Wounded Knee, August 1999.

Conclusion

A great deal has been written about the Ghost Dance, the Wounded Knee Massacre, and its significance in American Indian history and the history of the American West. Yet the majority of authors have paid scant attention to the interaction of the Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West, which presents evidence that gives a new insight into the religion and the motivation of the participants. Moreover, it also illustrates how the Lakota at the close of the nineteenth century employed various methods of accommodation in order to deal with the demands of the dominant society at this significantly transitional time. In different ways the Ghost Dance and the Wild West shows gave the Lakota the opportunity to resist the dependency that the government's Indian policy had created, while at the same time enabled them to maintain their Indian identity. Both were also viewed by Indian policymakers to be a threat to their programmes of assimilation, which they perceived to be the Indians only route towards independence.

This conclusion echoes the findings of recent American Indian historiography in a number of ways. Firstly, that the Indians were active agents in their history, and that their responses to assimilation were both complex and individual. Furthermore, that whichever response was utilised, whether it be assimilation, accommodation, adaptation or resistance, it was motivated by the basic desire to survive, and that for those who chose resistance or selective accommodation the continuance of an Indian identity was fundamental.

The traditional portrayal of the Lakota Ghost Dance has been that the leaders 'perverted' Wovoka's doctrine of peace into one of war, but it is clear that this interpretation has been based upon primary source material derived from the testimony of those who had actively worked to suppress the religion. The idea that the

victors primarily chronicle historic events is well understood, however, this fact is further complicated in nineteenth century American Indian history as most surviving documents present a Euroamerican perspective. Even when the information has originated with Indian informants, more often than not they have been used by white officials to support the same Euroamerican point of view. Nevertheless, as this research has shown documents do exist which present a broader spectrum of perspectives, and the more Indian voices that can be utilised when examining American Indian history the greater the understanding.

In the past, historians have dismissed Indian evidence on the basis that it is unreliable and contradictory, notably with regards to the historiography of the Little Big Horn, but this is clearly a value judgement that could be equally applied to all evidence. Just because the US military, for example, could produce a uniform perception, does not automatically equate their presentation of events with truth. All sources should be analysed and motivations of the authors taken into account. To simply discount Indian sources on the basis that they complicate the picture will give a very narrow and perhaps erroneous impression of what actually took place. The more recent historiography of the Little Big Horn is a case in point, and the recent collations of different Indian perspectives have rendered a richer and more complete record of events.

When James Mooney travelled to Pine Ridge to gather information on the Lakota version of the religion for his influential book *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, the Ghost Dancers' reluctance to talk and the absence of Short Bull and Kicking Bear fundamentally affected his interpretation. Furthermore, the significance of the rift between the progressive and traditionalist camps, and its exaggeration by the Sioux Act of 1889, needs to be taken into account when analysing Mooney's sources. That Short Bull consented to speak to George Crager during the same time period and went on to give further interviews about the religion later in his life, would suggest that he might have also spoken to Mooney about the Ghost Dance

in South Dakota. Mooney would have benefited from such information in that he would have gained a greater understanding of the Lakota Ghost Dance.

However, Short Bull's participation with Buffalo Bill's Wild West had brought him into contact with George Crager, an interpreter fluent in Lakota who almost certainly knew the medicine man from the time he had spent among the Sicangu Lakota from 1878-80. This close working relationship resulted in the production of Short Bull's detailed narrative of his experience of the epochal events, which gives us new insights into the Lakota interpretation of the religion and of what transpired in South Dakota during the winter of 1890-91. The document, which is held in the archives of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, remained unpublished and uncited for over a century, and has only very recently been utilised by William Coleman for his book, *Voices from Wounded Knee*. Such an omission clearly illustrates that the link between Cody's Wild West and the suppression of the Lakota Ghost Dance has been long overlooked by historians of this crucial period of American history.

Both Hittman and Kehoe have argued that Wovoka's religion preached peace and accommodation, but neither author suggests the same was true for the Lakota Ghost Dancers. However, all five of Short Bull's texts clearly demonstrate that the doctrine of the Lakota Ghost Dance was essentially the same as what Wovoka had preached to the Indian delegates in March 1890. Short Bull's testimony is confirmed by sources from the white scout Arthur Chapman and the Cheyenne delegate Porcupine, both of whose information was recorded prior to the Wounded Knee Massacre and therefore not swayed or coloured by the event. The Short Bull narratives maintain that when the religion was transported to the South Dakota reservations the Ghost Dance message remained all-inclusive and peaceful. Furthermore, it would appear that the religion encouraged the Lakota towards accommodation, and there is never any suggestion that whites should be excluded from the Ghost Dance or that the leaders encouraged hostility towards them. Instead, the religion remained essentially peaceful,

combining elements of traditional Indian religion and culture with white ones, becoming in time part of the Lakotas' own evolving religion.

Undoubtedly, Mooney has contributed a huge amount to the understanding of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Nevertheless, there has been an over reliance by subsequent historians on his findings. It would appear that the majority of historians have accepted at face value the speeches accredited to Short Bull and Kicking Bear, without examining their contexts or where the sources originated. While these sources should not be discounted, they need to be viewed in the broader context and read alongside other evidence, such as the five Short Bull documents.

As with the eighteenth century Nativists analysed by Dowd, the Lakota Ghost Dancers accepted responsibility for their own part in the situation that faced them, and they saw the solution in pro-active ritual renewal. Moreover, within the context of a religion that preached peace and accommodation, the Lakota Ghost Dance was also a rejection of dependency. Wovoka encouraged the Ghost Dancers to take from white culture what was of benefit, but to ultimately remain independent and it is clear that the Ghost Dancers were attempting to assert their autonomy from government control. In turn the government perceived the Ghost Dance to be a challenge to both their authority and their programmes of assimilation, which they believed was the only accessible way to independence for the dependent Indian Nations. When the Office of Indian Affairs banned the religion, the Lakota Ghost Dance became a form of passive resistance through non co-operation, but it remained in essence a peaceful movement.

This dissertation adds to the historiography of American Indian religious responses to perceived periods of crisis, illustrating many similarities. However, when compared, for example, to the resistant nativists of Dowd's research it is clear that by the end of the nineteenth century the Indian Nations faced a much stronger and increasingly dominant federal authority. They had been militarily pacified and were almost

completely dependent upon the US Government for subsistence, and they therefore knew that armed rebellion would have been futile.

The break up of the Great Sioux Reservation into six smaller separate ones by the Sioux Act of 1889 created discontent for Short Bull's Wazhaza band, when they were ordered to move their camp across the new boundary line towards the Rosebud reservation. Subsequently resistance to forced relocation became entwined with resistance to the government's attacks on the Ghost Dance itself, and when soldiers were deployed the Wazhaza and the Sicangu Ghost Dancers fled on mass towards Pine Ridge. The information in Short Bull's 1891 text adds to the historiography of the Lakota Ghost Dance giving new insights into the motivations and movement of both the Wazhaza band and the Sicangu Ghost Dancers. Suspicion and paranoia about the motives of the military then led the Ghost Dancers to retreat to the relative safety of the Badlands Stronghold. This movement away from the agency in defiance of government orders meant that the Lakota Ghost Dancers were subsequently categorised by the military as 'hostiles'. However, it was the 7th US cavalry who executed the most hostile and aggressive act that winter, when they massacred up to 300 Lakota men, women and children under a flag of truce at Wounded Knee.

The sound of gunfire emanating from Wounded Knee caused panic amongst those Lakota camped around the agency at Pine Ridge, sending them north to the camps of the Ghost Dancers. However, within a couple of weeks General Miles was able to persuade the Lakota held up in the Badlands of South Dakota to surrender. Miles then removed twenty-seven Ghost Dancers to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, as a guarantee that the Lakota would keep the peace. Short Bull, Kicking Bear and the other Fort Sheridan prisoners consented to accompany Miles to the east for the good of the Lakota people as a whole, and in doing so they alone became the 'hostiles'. Ironically, the closest the Ghost Dance prisoners got to armed rebellion was in the arena of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, when they were released into Cody's custody to play the role of formidable barriers to civilisation in his depiction of the conquest of America.

At the same time as the Ghost Dance was sweeping across the western Indian reservations, Buffalo Bill's Wild West faced a crisis over its continued success during its tour of Continental Europe. Reports in the American eastern press of the exhibition's mistreatment of their Indian employees, coupled with the deaths of six Indian performers, led the Secretary of the Interior to order an investigation into Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Furthermore, he placed a ban on issuing any more permits to Indians for employment in Wild West shows, performers who were crucial to Cody's narrative - the triumphant conquering of America. Cody needed the genuine characters his audiences had come to expect, to give the exhibition a cloak of authenticity and to reinforce the show's claims of educational fact. Therefore, without the Indian performers Buffalo Bill's Wild West would have lost its core component.

The employment of the Fort Sheridan prisoners by Buffalo Bill's Wild West was therefore a great coup, which signified the success on the part of the management of overturning the Secretary of the Interior's ban. Fundamental to this reversal in policy was the involvement of the returning Lakota performers in the military suppression of the Ghost Dance in South Dakota. Yet without the ban and investigation into Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Cody and his Indian performers would have never become involved, as they would have remained in Europe enthralled audiences and accumulating huge profits from their immensely popular exhibition. Therefore in order to assess the wider significance of the Wild West's involvement in the suppression of the Lakota Ghost Dance, it is important to first consider the context of their involvement.

The use of Indian performers by Buffalo Bill's Wild West and more precisely the image he presented of them as courageous mounted warriors and hunters of a bygone age, frustrated Indian policy reformers who preferred to promote their alternative image of assimilated Indians. Thomas Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shared the reformers' perception that Wild West shows were antagonistic to their

programmes of assimilation, and did all he could within his power to stop Indians from joining such exhibitions. The Indians did not share the concern of the reformers, and instead embraced the opportunity of working for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. At the close of the nineteenth century employment opportunities on the Indian reservations were few and far between. After education, the government invested little in the Indians, and it was extremely difficult to survive on land not suitable to agriculture. Smits has shown that there were complex and varied motivations for Indian enlistment in the army as scouts, some of which can also be applied to the Wild West performers. Most notably Cody offered the Indian performers a job that appealed, good wages, plus the opportunity to travel and acquire status in the eyes of the audiences, but perhaps more importantly independence from government control.

Significantly, as this research has indicated, both the Ghost Dance and performing in Wild West exhibitions held great appeal to 'educated Lakota' who had gone through a major part of the government's assimilation process. By denying the students their Indian identity at the off-reservation boarding schools reformers had created a vacuum, which the students sought to fill on their return home. They clearly saw the Ghost Dance or the Wild West shows as celebrating Indian identity, which would suggest a major failing in government assimilation programmes. This concurs with Adams' findings that student accommodation was often little more than temporary pragmatic adaptation to changing historical realities.

While some authors have noted Cody's involvement in the Ghost Dance suppression, suggesting that he was making the most of an opportunity, none appear to connect the involvement of the Wild West's Indian performers in the suppression with the continued success of the exhibition. Kasson acknowledges that Cody's involvement perhaps saved his career, while Moses acknowledges that the behaviour of the returning showmen stood them in good stead with the government. However, the involvement of the Indian performers had far greater significance to the continued

prosperity for Cody. Buffalo Bill and the Wild West's Indian performers would not have become involved in the suppression of the Ghost Dance, if they had not been forced to return to America to refute the charges of mistreatment and neglect. Despite having shown Acting Commissioner Belt that the management had kept good faith with regards to their contracts, when the Lakota performers returned home the ban on issuing any more permits to Indians for employment in Wild West shows still stood. The fact that the Indians faced the possibility of losing a valued job will have influenced their conduct when they returned to South Dakota. Furthermore, the presence of significant numbers of newspaper journalists at Pine Ridge would have reinforced to both the management and the performers that their behaviour would be under great scrutiny. Consequently their involvement as Indian police, scouts and negotiators for the government in the suppression of the Ghost Dance needs to be viewed in the context of their desire to overturn the Secretary of the Interior's ban.

The management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West was then able to illustrate to the government the positive effects on the Indians of touring with their exhibition, and in the process further secured their status as Indian employers. Moreover, by invalidating the arguments of the reformers, they went some way to safeguard the Indians' right to work at a job of their choice, which at the same time maintained the Indian's identity rather than denying it, as assimilation would have. Cody's employment of the Fort Sheridan prisoners crowned his success of overturning the Secretary of the Interior's ban. Not only was this a coup in that Buffalo Bill's Wild West now had an unrivalled attraction to draw in the crowds, but the fact that the government had endorsed Cody as their custodian further bolstered his standing as an Indian employer.

That the majority of the Fort Sheridan prisoners should agree to accompany Cody when he resumed his tour of Europe is understandable. Life on the road with Cody offered not only wages and status, but also a good deal more stimulation and independence than the monotony and restrictions of the Fort. However, it was

Cody's hiring of these specific Lakota that impelled the Indian Rights Association to renew their efforts to ban Indian employment in Wild West shows. The reformers were specifically troubled by the perceived message that progressive Indians who had embraced assimilation and stayed loyal to the government would read into Cody's employment of the prisoners. That instead of punishing the wrong doers the government would be seen to be rewarding them, which in turn would discourage progressive Lakota in the future. Despite being at the peak of their influence the Indian Rights Association were unable to persuade the government to rescind Cody's permission to hire the Fort Sheridan prisoners. In consequence they concentrated their efforts upon fashioning an alternate image of the Indians in the mind of the public, one that reflected their ambitions of assimilation.

Yet, despite Cody's arguments that he was working in tandem with the government's assimilation policies, there remained a fundamental difference, in that he celebrated his Indian performers' identity. Furthermore, the debate over the Wild West's use of Indian performers clearly illustrates the ethnocentric perceptions of the Indian reformers. The paternalism that motivated reformers denied the Indians the competency to know what was best for them. Being self-supporting was not enough; the Indians had also to relinquish their tribal affiliations and ultimately their identity as Indians to satisfy the assimilationists. The conclusions derived from this research add to the historiography of the assimilation period of American Indian History, the findings concur with recent research that has examined both the reformers motivations and results, and the variety and complexity of Indian responses. As such, it also further adds to the historiography of late nineteenth century racial concepts.

Cody and his Indian performers resumed their tour of Europe in April 1891, visiting Germany, Holland and Belgium, before returning to Britain for the second time. Most authors writing about Buffalo Bill's Wild West exhibition have concentrated on the show's first visit to Britain in 1887. This initial visit was indeed an important milestone for Cody's Wild West, but the second tour was also significant, and this

research has added to the growing historiography of Wild West shows. The 1891-92 visit differed from the first in that the exhibition toured the length and breadth of the country, bringing to a much wider British audience the Wild West's image of America. Furthermore, the presence of the Fort Sheridan prisoners in Cody's troupe presented a unique attraction for the British public, who had been enabled through the national press to follow the unfolding events in South Dakota during the previous winter.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented to the British public a spectacle that portrayed American efficiency, power, and triumphalism. This was achieved on two levels: within the arena the story of triumphant conquest was performed, blazoning America's arrival on the World stage, and at the same time the actual production of such a mammoth touring exhibition reinforced the message of American efficiency and power. The self-confidence exuded by Buffalo Bill's Wild West was extremely attractive to post-industrialised audiences at the close of the nineteenth century. The conclusions of this research concur with the general consensus in the historiography that Cody promoted the Indians as being formidable warriors to reinforce his heroic status in overcoming them. Nevertheless, at the same time the Wild West did little to challenge the prevalent British concept of Indians as being 'exotic savages'; instead Cody's exhibition reinforced such preconceptions in order to intensify the drama, which in turn was strengthened by the use of real characters, especially the Fort Sheridan prisoners.

The show portrayed a bygone image of Indian life of nomadic warriors and hunters of the Plains, rather than the Indians' actual experiences of reservation life. The majority of Lakota wore 'western' style clothing day to day rather than the costumes of the Wild West, and now looked to the government for subsistence through annuities. But reservation life was not romantic and Indians in white dress did not convey enough danger for the Wild West's narrative of heroic conquest. Furthermore, Indians in western clothes were not perceived to be as 'authentic' as those who

appeared in traditional dress, which in turn concurs with Philip Deloria's findings that the concept of the 'authentic' Indian was rooted in a traditional depiction.

The story of conquest presented by Buffalo Bill's Wild West was structured around Indian and white conflict, yet reality was rarely so black and white. It was often a lot more complicated as the suppression of the Lakota Ghost Dance had demonstrated, and a truer representation might have been how the dominant white society had manipulated Indian against Indian. The Wild West Indians had fought on the side of the government against their kinsfolk in order to secure future employment, and it had been the Indian police who had shot and killed Sitting Bull. But Cody's Wild West was selling an American myth that tapped into the racial ideas of Anglo Saxon superiority and Social Darwinism. The vast majority of British audiences endorsed the Wild West's message, sharing with their American counterparts a sense of racial and cultural supremacy. However, the Wild West's simplified story within the arena, was complicated by Cody's relationship with Indians, and the complexities of audiences responses, which despite their ethnocentrism can be seen in their fascination for, and admiration of, the Indian performers.

Perhaps surprisingly the punishment of the Fort Sheridan prisoners within the larger context of the treatment of American Indian prisoners was not unique, and this research presents another facet of how Euroamerican conquerors dealt with Indian captives. The Fort Sheridan prisoners' notoriety was primarily utilised for publicity to whet the appetites of potential spectators. Their role within the arena was essentially the same as all other Indian performers. When examined in the context of the wider exploitation of the Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee, Cody's comparative restraint appears to suggest a certain amount of empathy with his Lakota performers, who would have all been touched in some way by the tragedy. Cody also allowed the Indians to maintain some traditional Lakota practices such as the sweat bath and the Buffalo Dance Day, but a number were just as keen to learn about the beliefs and religious practices of white culture. As they toured Britain with Cody's Wild West the

Lakota performers were introduced to an expanded world of the whites from a position of relative security. Thus, this examination concurs with the findings of Vine Deloria that while relieving them of the monotony and poverty of reservation life, such experiences would also have given the Indians a greater understanding of white culture and religion, which would hold them in good stead in later years. Furthermore, the research into the prisoners' experiences adds to the findings of Kasson, Ellis, and Moses that touring with the show also helped to maintain traditional practices.

Building on MacKenzie's conclusions on British public opinion in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, it is clear that Buffalo Bill's Wild West offered British audiences a fashionable and exciting form of entertainment. The ethnocentrism of the British can be seen in both their reporting of the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre, and in their comments about the Indian performers with Cody's Wild West. Cody's stereotype of the Indians as an inferior race was almost universally accepted by the British, who on the whole had no specific knowledge to contradict the image being presented, but who also saw parallels with the native societies that had been subjugated by the British Empire. Journalists, who presented the Indians to their readers as specimens to be studied and compared, further strengthened the perception of the exemplary progress of the white race. However, the audiences reaction was open to multiple meanings and there can be no doubt that the Indians held a great appeal for the British audiences, their equestrian feats were greatly admired, and their perceived simplicity stood in stark contrast to the malady of 'over-civilisation' in the industrialised Nations.

Following the Secretary of the Interior's ban and the investigations into the treatment of their Indian employees the previous year, the management of Buffalo Bill's Wild West went to great lengths to care for the Indians during the 1891-92 tour of Britain. Those who became ill or were injured in the arena received the best medical care Cody could secure, and Indian performers who were too sick to perform were given second

class passage home. It would appear that Cody was unable to stop the Indians from drinking and gambling, but when they were not performing they had the freedom to come and go as they pleased making it difficult to police them. However, when it came to Charging Thunder's drunken assault on George Crager, Cody did intervene by handing him over to the local police. Through such action Cody was publicly denouncing drunkenness among his Indian employees, no doubt impelled in part by the criticisms of the previous year. Yet on the whole it is apparent that the Indians welcomed the independence offered by touring with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Clearly the Ghost Dancers had a great deal more freedom than they would have enjoyed at the Fort, and were also able to avoid much of the hostility they might have faced in America. These Indian prisoners fared better than those who had either found themselves coerced into the army, forced into education or left languishing in prison. Furthermore, the study unequivocally contradicts the ideas found in the older historiography, that Indian performers were hapless victims, reviled or patronisingly absolved for not having good sense to realise they were being taken advantage of. Instead the findings concur with Moses who argued that the Indian performers were active agents in what they did.

To alleviate the boredom between performances the Wild West's management laid on trips to places of interest. At the same time such visits were also intended to satisfy Miles' hoped for object lesson, that by showing the Indians the great achievements' of the white race any hostile tendencies would be mollified. The Indians clearly enjoyed the trips finding them to be both entertaining and educational. They were treated with relative equality to the other performers in the exhibition, but their travels were also trying at times, they clearly missed family and friends, as well as the dry climate of the Plains. Correspondence with the Pine Ridge Agent show that a number of the Wild West's Indians had problems back home, these letters also illustrate that Cody was prepared to go beyond agreed contractual obligations in an attempt to assist the Indians. Although not always successful, Cody's perseverance would suggest a close friendship with some of his Indian performers, which further contradicts those historians who saw the relationship more as unscrupulous abuser and victim.

After almost a year of touring with Buffalo Bill's Wild West the majority of the Fort Sheridan prisoners, including Short Bull and Kicking Bear, resolved to quit the show and return to America at the end of the Glasgow winter season. The twelve former prisoners were arrested upon their arrival at New York and a military escort returned them to Fort Sheridan. Miles decided to keep Short Bull and Kicking Bear imprisoned on the basis that they had maintained their faith, which would suggest that the General still perceived the Ghost Dance to be a threat. He further appreciated that he had given these Ghost Dancer leaders a certain amount of status by keeping them imprisoned, and being unwilling to confer such notoriety to Brings the White he argued for his early release.

Miles' hoped for object lesson of dissuading the Ghost Dancers from believing in the religion was as irrelevant as it was unsuccessful, as belief in the Ghost Dance had not made the Lakota hostile. On the contrary, the Lakota Ghost Dance had been a peaceful religion combining white religion and culture with traditional Lakota ones, and as such was an example of Lakota accommodation. Thus, this dissertation strongly contradicts those historians who have argued that the Lakota Ghost Dance was a call for armed rebellion. It adds to the historiography of the Ghost Dance, building on the work of Kehoe and Hittman who also interpreted Wovoka's religion to be one of accommodation, but taking it one stage further and concurring with DeMallie who asserted that there had been no perversion. Furthermore, the research also adds to the historiography of Native American religions and to Indian responses to the assimilation programmes at the close of the nineteenth century. Those who adopted the Lakota Ghost Dance recognised it as being an accessible way forward, which in contrast to the government's programmes of assimilation, linked the past with the future and allowed them to maintain their Indian identity. Short Bull and Kicking Bear appear to have maintained their belief in the Ghost Dance well into the twentieth century. The religion's endurance underlines the fact that the Lakota Ghost Dance had not been 'perverted' into an militant anti-white movement, as this would

have failed and died with the massacre of Wounded Knee, but as a religious form of accommodation it both persisted and evolved.

After the 1891-92 tour, Buffalo Bill's Wild West went on perform in Chicago at the time of the World's Columbia Exposition, and the 1893 season marked the exhibition's greatest ever success. Cody never again faced a ban on Indian employment and instead received praise from later Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Furthermore, with the introduction of the 'Congress of Rough Riders of the World' the Wild West presented an image of America turning her attention to a new role on the world stage. The changes signalled that the country now had a sense of itself as a world power, and that at the close of the nineteenth century the US would now have to look out with its borders for growth and expansion.

Key to Abbreviations.

BBHC	Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming
BBMG	Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, Colorado
CIA	Commissioner of Indian Affairs
CS	Crager Scrapbook 1890-1892
DPL	Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado
FARC	Federal Archives and Record Center, Kansas City, Missouri
IRA	Indian Rights Association Papers, 1864-1973
LR	Letters Received
LS	Letters Sent
NA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington DC.
PR	Pine Ridge reservation
RG	Record Group
SC 188	Special Case 188, Ghost Dance, 1890-1898
SDSHS	South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre, South Dakota
SHSC	State Historical Society of Colorado, Colorado

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