

Advance Work:
Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill's Wild West

by

Michelle Anne Delaney

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

Submitted by Michelle Anne Delaney, to the University of Strathclyde as a thesis for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in HISTORY.

2018

Declaration of Authenticity and Author's Rights

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

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

Signed:

Michelle Anne Delaney

Date: July 17, 2018

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Declaration of Authenticity and Author’s Rights..... | 2 |
| List of Abbreviations..... | 4 |
| List of Illustrations..... | 5 |
| Acknowledgements..... | 13 |
| Abstract..... | 15 |
| Introduction and Literature Review..... | 16 |
| | |
| <u>Part I: Inventing Buffalo Bill’s Wild West</u> | |
| Chapter One: | |
| The Art of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, William F. Cody, and the American West...56 | |
| Chapter Two: | |
| Advertising the Wild West: Cody and Cooke | 104 |
| Chapter Three: | |
| The Wild West Company and Commercial Printers..... | 133 |
| | |
| <u>Part II: Visualizing Buffalo Bill’s Wild West</u> | |
| Chapter Four: | |
| The Visual Culture of the Wild West in the United States..... | 186 |
| Chapter Five: | |
| The Strobridge Lithographing Company and Cincinnati Show Printers..... | 270 |
| Chapter Six: | |
| Wild West Diplomacy and Going Global..... | 328 |
| | |
| Conclusion..... | 381 |
| | |
| Appendix I – Chart – Primary U.S. Printers for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West..... | 389 |
| Appendix II – Research Database – Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Posters and Art...390 | |
| | |
| Bibliography..... | 391 |

List of Abbreviations

Research Collections – Museums, Libraries, and Archives

| | |
|------------|--|
| AHC | American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY, Buffalo Bill Collection, Legal and Financial Records, Barnum and Bailey and Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1884-1905 |
| BBM, BBCW | Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, Poster and Artifact Collections |
| BBMG | Buffalo Bill Museum and Gravesite, Golden, CO, Poster, Photographs, and Manuscript Collections |
| CWM | Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI, Robert L. Parkinson Library and Archives |
| DPL | Denver Public Library Digital Collections, Denver, CO, Western History and Genealogy Collection |
| FRAM | Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY, Digital Collections |
| LOC | Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Digital Collections |
| MRL, BBCW | McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, William F. Cody Manuscript and James W. Wojtowicz Collections |
| NMAH | National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gertrude Käsebier and Rudolf Eickemeyer Jr. Collections |
| NPG | National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Department of Photographs |
| RMA | John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, FL, Tibbals Learning Center, Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection |
| WWMA, BBCW | Whitney Western Museum of Art, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY |
| YALE | Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT, Digital Collections |

List of Illustrations

(Collection catalog numbers, maker, dates, and dimensions included as available)

Frontispiece

Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Indian Canoe Scene, c. 1893, no. 25, by A. Hoen & Company, Baltimore, MD. 28.5 x 22 inches. BBM, BBCW. 1.69.454

Chapter 1 – The Art of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, William F. Cody, and the American West

1. Photo Pin, Portrait of "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.341
2. Duotone lithographic poster, *Academy of Music, Buffalo Bill, Three Nights Only*, c. 1876, by W.J. Morgan and Co., Lithographers, Cleveland, Ohio. 23.375 x 18.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.34
3. 1905 Wild West Company work contract negotiated by Wm. McCune, agent for Cody & Bailey, Jacob White-Eyes, Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, interpreter, and Sioux Indian performer, Sammie Lone Bear. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. MS6.4116
4. Color lithographic poster, *The Scout Buffalo Bill, Col. W.F. Cody*, c.1887, by A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore, MD. 38.875 x 27.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.32
5. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. Cody, Buffalo Bill*, c. 1887, by Hoen. 39.375 x 28.875 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.33
6. Woodburytype print, photomechanical reproduction of portrait of Colonel W.F. Cody "Buffalo Bill" by unknown London photographer, c. 1887. 5.5 x 3.8 inches. Courtesy NPG. NPG.83.145
7. Color lithographic poster, *Johnnie Baker, The Marvelous Marksman*, c. 1890, by Hoen. 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.18
8. Color lithographic poster, *Miss Annie Oakley, The Peerless Lady Wing-Shot*, c. 1890, by Hoen & Co., Baltimore, MD. 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.73
9. Photograph of Italian building with Buffalo Bill's Wild West poster displays around first floor exterior, c. 1906, unknown photographer. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. P.392.006
10. Oil on canvas painting, *Buffalo Bill in the Limelight*, c. 1899, by Frederic Remington. 27.25 x 40 inches. Courtesy WWMA, BBCW. 23.71
11. Oil on canvas painting, *The Summit Springs Rescue 1869*, 1908, by Charles Schreyvogel. 48 x 66 inches. Courtesy WWMA, BBCW. 11.64
12. Photograph, The cast of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, outside the Wannamaker's Department Store, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1908, by photographer W.M. Jennings. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. P.69.0893

Chapter 3 – The Wild West Company and Commercial Printers

13. Color lithographic poster, *The Scout Buffalo Bill Hon. W. F. Cody*, by Forbes Co., Boston, Massachusetts, c. 1883. 39.25 x 26.625 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2056
14. Photograph of Rosa Bonheur at easel painting Cody's portrait in the Wild West arena, Paris 1889, unknown photograph. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-361
15. Color lithographic poster, *Art Perpetuating Fame, Rosa Bonheur Painting Buffalo Bill – Paris 1889*, 1896, by Courier Lithographic Company, Buffalo, New York. 27.5 x 40.125 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.5655
16. Photograph of Rosa Bonheur at easel painting white horse, with Wild West group behind near the grandstand of the Wild West arena, Paris, 1889, unknown photographer. Courtesy

Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-352

17. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. "Buffalo Bill,"* with printed signature, Rosa Bonheur, 1889, and date sheet for "Laval, September 16, 1905," by Weiners, Paris. 54.75 x 39.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1792
18. Photograph, Cody on horseback with Wild West performers in front of painted scenic backdrop, 1892, Earl's Court, London. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-490
19. Photograph, Frederic Remington (center) visiting the camp at Buffalo Bill's Wild West, with Cody partners Nate Salsbury (right of Remington) and Major John M. Burke (left), 1892, at Earl's Court, London. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-508
20. Color lithographic poster, *The Mounted Warriors of All Nations*, 1902, printed by Courier Lithographic Printing Co., Buffalo, New York. 38.5 x 26 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.464
21. Six photographs of Col. W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody on horseback outside the Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, Courier Lithographic Company. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-543; NS-546; NS-542; NS-540; NS-544; NS-541
22. Photograph, *Col. W.F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody*, possibly Cody's last performance with the Wild West and Sells-Floto show, Superior, Wisconsin, 1916, by David F. Barry. Courtesy DPL. B-723
23. Black and white half-tone poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, c. 1912, photographs attributed to Burke and Atwell, and printed by the Western Engraving Company, Chicago, Illinois. 13.25 x 19.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.436
24. Photograph of Annie Oakley, date and maker unknown. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. P.71.806
25. Color lithographic poster, *Miss Annie Oakley, The Peerless Lady Wing-Shot*, c. 1890, by A. Hoen & Co. 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.73 (duplicate Figure 8)
26. Color lithographic poster, *A Tribe of Sioux Indians on the Trail Led by Chief Iron Tail*, 1908, by Strobridge Lithographic Company, Cincinnati, Ohio. 109.5 x 76.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.6137
27. Color lithographic poster, *Iron Tail Last of the Great Chiefs*, 1912, by the U.S. Lithographic Company, Russell-Morgan, Cincinnati, Ohio. 39.625 x 27.375 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.50
28. Photograph of Chief Iron Tail on horseback behind the scenes at the Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, by the Courier Lithographic Co. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-565
29. Gertrude Käsebier photograph of Chief Iron Tail, 1898. Courtesy Photographic History Collection, NMAH 69.236.40
30. Gertrude Käsebier photograph of Chief Iron Tail, 1898. Courtesy Photographic History Collection, NMAH. 69.236.39
31. Color lithographic poster, *Plunging Bucker*, c. 1893, by A. Hoen & Co. 40 x 29 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69. 2644
32. Color lithographic poster, *Rearing Bucker*, c. 1893, by A. Hoen & Co. 42 x 28.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2645
33. Color lithographic poster. *Cowboys' Fun*, c. 1898, by Enquirer Job Printing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio. 109 x 202.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1813
34. Photograph of unidentified Wild West cowboy on plunging horse, possibly 1899 or 1901, by

- Courier Lithographic Co. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-772
35. Photograph of Antonio Esquivel, Mexican vaquero, on rearing horse, 1892, Earl's Court, London. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-521
 36. Photograph, Rough Riders, performers of the Battle of San Juan Hill, on horses outside the Wild West Arena, with "Roosevelt" on the flag, copyrighted 1899, by Courier Lithographic Co. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-551
 37. Photograph, Syrian performers outside the Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, by Courier Lithographic Co. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-587
 38. Photograph, Cowboy in tall hat and sheepskin chaps outside Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, by Courier Lithographic Co. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-549

Chapter 4 - The Visual Culture of the Wild West in the United States

39. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill Combination*, 1877, by the A. Hoen & Co. 23.875 x 18 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.26
40. Color lithographic poster, *Col W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) A Close Call*, c. 1887, by Hoen. 20.75 x 29 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.83
41. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill Shooting on Horseback at Full Speed*, c. 1887, by Hoen. 20 x 28.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.77
42. Color lithographic poster, *A Prairie Pic-Nic*, c. 1887, by Hoen. Half sheet, 21 x 29.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003879
43. Color lithographic poster, *On the Stage Coach*, c. 1887, by Hoen. 27.875 x 38.25 inches. Courtesy BBM/BBCW. 1.69.107
44. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill To The Rescue*, c. 1887, by Hoen. 28 x 35.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.108
45. Color lithographic poster, *Peace Meeting, Pine Ridge 1891, Gen. Miles & Staff*, c. 1895, by Hoen. 29 x 37.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.406
46. Color lithographic poster, *White Eagle, Col. W.F. Cody, Buffalo Bill, Guiding and Guarding*, c. 1890, by Hoen. 28.5 x 22 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.172
47. Color lithographic poster, *International Amity*, c. 1887, by Hoen. 38.5 x 28 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.171
48. Color lithographic poster, *Distinguished Visitors to Buffalo Bill's Wild West [Men], London, 1887*, c. 1890s, by Hoen. 33.5 x 23.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.458
49. Color lithographic poster, *Distinguished Visitors to Buffalo Bill's Wild West [Women], London, 1887*, c. 1890s, by Hoen. 33.5 x 23.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.459
50. Color lithographic poster, *Russian Cossacks, For the First Time in America, By Permission of the Czar*, c. 1890s, by Hoen. 28.25 x 20 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.123
51. Color lithographic poster, *South American Gauchos, First Ever Seen in the United States, By Permission of the Argentine Government*, c. 1890s, by Hoen. 28.375 x 20 inches. Courtesy BBM, BCW. 1.69.125
52. Color lithographic poster, *World's Wondrous Voyage*, c. 1892, by Hoen. 27.875 x 38.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.167
53. Color lithographic poster, *Cavalry of all Nations*, c. 1895, by Hoen. 23.375 x 38.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.170
54. Color lithographic poster, *English Cavalry, Royal Irish Lancers*, c. 1895, by Hoen. One sheet, 27.75 x 41.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003882
55. Color lithographic poster, *Detachment of Mounted Veterans, U.S. Cavalry, in Tactical*

- Evolutions and Manouevres*, c. 1894, by Hoen. 28.25 x 41.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003881
56. Color lithographic poster, *Custer's Last Rally*, c. 1893, by Hoen. One sheet, 27.75 x 40.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003910
 57. Color lithographic poster, *American Cowboy—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters*, 1896, by Courier. 28.125 x 41.625 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.425
 58. Color lithographic poster, *An American—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters*, 1896, by Courier. One sheet, 28.25 x 41.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003899
 59. Color lithographic poster, *A Gaucho—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters*, 1896, by Courier. One sheet, 28 x 40.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003898
 60. Color lithographic poster, *A Cossack—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters*, 1896, by Courier Lithographic Co. One sheet, 28.25 x 42 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003897
 61. Color lithographic poster, *An Arab—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters*, 1896, by Courier. One sheet, 28 x 41 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003896
 62. Color lithographic poster, *Peril of the Cowboy*, 1902, by Courier. 26 x 39.625 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.408
 63. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill Reviewing the Rough Riders of the World*, 1902, by Courier. Quarter sheet, 10.5 x 15.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003906
 64. Color lithographic poster, *Center Hit of the Century*, 1896, by Courier. One sheet, 28.5 x 41.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003900
 65. Color lithographic poster, *I Am Coming*, 1900, by Courier. 27.625 x 40.875 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.4922
 66. Color lithographic poster, *As He Is Today*, by Courier. 28 x 20.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003908
 67. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Great Wild West and Rough Riders of the World*, 1902, highlighting Cody at top, and Nate Salsbury at bottom, by Courier. Half sheet, 41.75 x 14 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003909
 68. Color lithographic poster, *W.F. Cody (Buffalo Bill)*, 1898, by Enquirer Job Printing Co. 110.5 x 81 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1812
 69. Original watercolor poster artwork, *Shooting Glass Balls*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.1
 70. Six-section original painted poster artwork, *Buffalo Bill Head*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.7A-E
 71. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, with American Indian Chief and scenes of Indian life, c. 1900, by Enquirer. One sheet, 42.5 x 29.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003934
 72. Original pencil sketch for poster, American Indian Chief and scenes of Indian life, 1900, by Enquirer. 42.5 x 28.75 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.22.17
 73. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, with American Indian Chief with shield on horseback, c. 1900, by Enquirer. 27.5 x 20 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2361
 74. Original pencil sketch poster art, American Indian Chief with shield on horseback, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.12
 75. Original pencil sketch, *Annie Oakley*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. 27.25 x 22.5 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009. 24.16
 76. Original pencil sketch of *Two Cowgirls Roping*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.18

77. Original painted poster art, *Two Cowgirls*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.28
78. Original painted poster art on heavy board, *Massed Cavalry (The Maze)*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.6A-H
79. Original painted poster art on heavy board, *Massed Cavalry (The Maze)*, detail, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. Detail 2009.23.6A-H
80. Original painted poster art, *Buffalo Bill Before Queen Victoria*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.5A-O
81. Original painted poster art, *Buffalo Bill Before Queen Victoria*, detail, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. Detail 2009.23.5A-O
82. Original painted poster art, *The Cossack of the Caucasus are among the Rough Riders of the World to be seen with Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. 42.25 x 29.5 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.20
83. Original partially painted poster sketch, *The Allied Powers at the Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of Peking, Buffalo Bill's New and Greatest Military Spectacle*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. 43.5 x 29 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.22 (duplicate 121)

Chapter 5 - The Strobridge Lithographing Company and Cincinnati Show Printers

84. Color lithographic poster, *Barnum and Bailey The Greatest Show on Earth* [Portraits of P.T. Barnum and J.A. Bailey], 1897, Strobridge. Courtesy LOC. LC-USZC4-92
85. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill,"* 1907, by Strobridge. One sheet, 39.25 x 29.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003918
86. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill,"* 1908, by Strobridge. 57.25 x 39.375 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.113
87. Color lithographic poster, *The Maze, Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 1907, by Strobridge. 29.5 x 38 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.74
88. Color lithographic poster, *Highly Trained Texas Range & Ranch Saddle Horses in Entirely New & Sensational Acts*, 1907, by Strobridge. 27.5 x 37.375 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2701
89. Color lithographic poster, *Pioneer Perils in the Early Days of the Original Deadwood Stage Coach, An Attack by Hostile Indians and Rescue by the Cow Boys*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 28 x 37.75 inches. Courtesy, RMA. Ht2003922
90. Color lithographic poster, *The Hero Horsemen of the World, US Cavalry & Artillery Practice Drills & Military Evolutions, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Rough Riders*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 28.75 x 38.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003921
91. Original color lithographic poster, *The Barnum & Bailey World's Greatest Show, The World's Biggest, Greatest, Best Amusement Institute, Skillful Cavalry-Exercising and Wonderful Riding a Detachment of the United States Cavalry*, 1900, by Strobridge. Courtesy LOC. LC-USZC4-9040
92. Color lithographic poster, *Cowboys' Fun, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. 109 x 202.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1813
93. Color lithographic poster, *Cowboy Fun, The Broncho Busters Busy Day*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 28.5 x 38 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003923
94. Color lithographic poster, *Arrow-head, the Belle of the Tribe, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, 1908, by Strobridge. 28.25 x 18.25 inches.

Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.457

95. Photograph, Portrait of Zitkala-Ša, 1898, by photographer Gertrude Käsebier. Courtesy Photographic History Collection, NMAH. 69.238.103
96. Photograph, Portrait of Evelyn Nesbit, 1906, by photographer Rudolf Eickemeyer. Courtesy Photographic History Collection, NMAH. 4135.B5.24
97. Color lithographic poster, *A Spirited and Grotesque Gridiron Game of Foot-Ball on Horseback Between Cowboys and Indians, Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Rough Riders*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 28.25 x 28 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003924
98. Color lithographic poster, *The Death of Chief Tall Bull, Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 1907, by Courier. 108 x 121.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.538
99. Color lithographic poster, *The Death of Chief Tall Bull at the Hands of Buffalo Bill, Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Frontier Exhibition*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 40 x 30 inches. Courtesy RMA. HT2003926
100. Color lithographic poster, *A Realistic Representation of the Historic Battle of Summit Springs, Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Pioneer Exhibition*, 1907, by Strobridge. 28.125 x 38.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2033
101. Color lithographic poster, *Here We Are! Home Again from Foreign Lands, Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 29 x 38.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. HT2003925
102. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, 1908, by Strobridge. One sheet, 40 x 29.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003994
103. Color lithographic poster, *Pawnee Bill's Great Far East Combined with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Hons. Alfred Rossi's Marvelous Musical Elephants*, 1909, by Strobridge. One sheet, 30.25 x 40 inches. Courtesy RMA. HT2004003
104. Color lithographic poster, *The Military Pageant—Preparedness, U.S. Cavalry Drill, Buffalo Bill (Himself) and the 101 Ranch Shows Combined*, 1916, by Strobridge. One sheet, 27.5 x 37.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. HT2004011
105. Color lithographic poster, *The Military Pageant--Preparedness, Gorgeously Picturesque Military & Frontier Parade, Buffalo Bill (Himself) and the 101 Ranch Shows Combined*, 1916, by Strobridge. One sheet, 30.25 x 40 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2004012

Chapter 6 – Wild West Diplomacy and Going Global

106. Duotone lithographic poster, *Scenes from the Life of Buffalo Bill*, c. 1895, by Hoen. 28.375 x 39 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.169
107. Program page, *Her Majesty Queen Victoria at the Wild West Exhibition*, MRL, BBCW. MS6.3829.035
108. Photograph, Col. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody and his old war horse "Charlie," probably 1887, 1st European tour, London, by Elliot & Fry, Baker Street, London. Courtesy Nate Salisbury Collection, DPL. NS-16
109. Woodblock engraved poster, *Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Buffalo Bill's Wild West, London, May 11th, 1887*, 1888, by Calhoun Print Co., Hartford, Connecticut. 32-sheet poster, 27 feet x 9 feet 2 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.6354
110. Photograph, "Buffalo Bill" Cody on horseback with two mounted cavalymen carrying large flags, c. 1885-1900, Courtesy Nate Salisbury Collection, DPL. NS-11
111. Color lithographic poster, *International Amity*, 1887, by Hoen. 38.5 x 28 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.171 (duplicate Figure 47)

112. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Cody on Horseback* (white horse) with American & French Flags in background, c. 1903, by Weiners. One sheet, 40 x 29.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003947
113. Color lithographic poster, *Entente Cordial entre La France & L'Amérique*, 1905, by Weiners, 39.875 x 29.875 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2173
114. Photograph, *Cavalry Maze*, Congress of Rough Riders of the World representing different nationalities performing in circular rings during a performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show at Ambrose Park in Brooklyn, New York, probably during the "Grand Procession" introduction of the show in which every performer in the show appeared on horseback. A painted landscape backdrop appears at the far end of the arena, "Souvenir of Ambrose Park 1894 Stacy 5th Ave. and 7th Brooklyn, N.Y." Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-589
115. Color Lithographic Poster, *Wild Rivalries, Barbarous & Civilized Races*, 1898, by Courier. One sheet, 28.25 x 42 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003901
116. Newspaper article and illustration, "Buffalo Bill Writes on How I Could Drive the Spaniards from Cuba with 30,000 Indian Braves," *World-Herald* (Omaha, Nebraska), April 3, 1898. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. MS6, 1898 Scrapbook
117. Oil on Canvas Painting, *Charge of the Rough Riders*, 1898, by Frederic Remington. 35 x 60 inches. Courtesy FRAM. 66.52
118. Color Lithographic Poster, *Charge of the 25th Colored Infantry and Rescue of Rough Riders at San Juan Hill, July 2nd, 1898*, 1899, by Kunz & Allison, Chicago, Illinois. 19.75 x 27.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.5750
119. Color Lithographic Poster, *The Battle of Quasimas near Santiago, June 24th, 1898. The 9th and 10th Colored Cavalry in Support of Rough Riders*, 1899, by Kunz & Allison, Chicago, Illinois. 19.75 x 27.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.5751
120. Photograph, "Buffalo Bill's Congress of Rough Riders of the World" reenacting the Battle of San Juan Hill, in the "Salsbury Collection Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show Rehearsal Pictures 1901" album. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, WHC, DPL. NS-739
121. Original partially painted poster sketch, *The Allied Powers at the Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of Peking, Buffalo Bill's New and Greatest Military Spectacle*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. 43.5 x 29 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.22 (duplicate Figure 83)
122. Newsprint courier, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West's The Rough Rider*, "Battle of Tien-Tsin and Capture of Peking," Season of 1901, Vol. III, 4th edition, pages 8-9. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. MS6.6.G.OS1
123. Color Lithographic Poster, *A Grand Military Tournament, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, 1910, by Russell, Morgan & Co., Cincinnati. 28 x 41.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003998
124. Color Lithographic Poster, *The Military Pageant, Buffalo Bill Himself & 101 Ranch Shows Combined*, 1916, by Strobridge. Half sheet, 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2004008

Conclusion

125. Partially painted original pencil sketch for Buffalo Bill's Wild West poster, by Enquirer Job Printing Company, Cincinnati, Ohio. *The Great National Drama of Civilization*, including "The Great Train Robbery, A Group of Mexicans, Emigrant Train Crossing the Plains,

Cowboy Fun!, Indian Boy Race, Full Blooded Indians From The Sioux, Arrapahoe [sic], Brûlé, and Cheyenne Tribes, Hold-Up of the Deadwood Stage Coach.” Stamped property of Enquirer, 1908 in pencil lower right corner. Courtesy CWM. 2009.22.9

126. A. Hoen & Co. Lithographers & Printers, headquarters complex 1902-1981, 2101 E. Biddle Street, Baltimore, MD. November 30, 2017. Photograph by Michelle Delaney.

Acknowledgements

The opportunity to thank the colleagues, friends, and family who support you in life, school, and join in your significant accomplishments is a gift. Many special individuals have taken the time to listen and support my international journey to explore the life and times of William F. Cody and his Buffalo Bill's Wild West. With a focus on the legacy of the visual culture created for the Wild West, this research has led to my review of thousands of materials in American museums, libraries and archives, including the photographs, posters, programs, newspapers, and books to introduce readers to new perspectives on a story that is more than one century old but with lasting impact on culture today, and attitudes toward America and the West.

The collections at the Smithsonian Institution continue to inspire me daily, as do the colleagues who encourage me to pursue the research, writing, and exhibitions which make the study of the American experience and the history of photography so rewarding. I am thankful to all of my Castle colleagues, especially Richard Kurin, Patty Bartlett, and Liz Kirby for their insights and guidance through the PhD. process; Affiliations staff, Harold Closter, Laura Hansen, and Christina DiMeglio-Lopez; National Museum of American History staff, including Shannon Perich; Sarah Oakman; Helena Wright; David Allison; Bonnie Lilienfeld; Ryan Lintelman; Nigel Briggs; Rosemary Phillips; Ed Ryan and Objects Processing staff; Stacy Kluck; John Hasse; David Haberstich and Archives Center staff; Bill Baxter, Trina Brown, Jim Roan, and the Libraries staff; and National Portrait Gallery staff, Ann Shumard, Brandon Fortune, and Robyn Asleson.

The Buffalo Bill Center of the West has the excellent collections, library, and staff which have made this thesis and research fully possible. Through several fellowships exhibition and research support, I have had the pleasure of full access to the Buffalo Bill Museum, the McCracken Research Library, the Papers of William F. Cody, and further understanding of Cody's Wyoming and Yellowstone. Many thanks to the Center's Board members and staff: Bruce Eldredge, Bill Garlow, Naoma Tate, Wally Johnson, Donna Poulton, Beverly Perkins, Jeremy Johnston; Linda Clark; Deborah Adams, Sam Hanna, Shelly Buffalo Calf, Karen McWhorter, Mary Robinson, Samantha Harper, Mark Frost, Sean Campbell, Liz Holms, Bonnie Smith, and Anne Marie Shriver; William F. Cody Papers board and editors, Frank Christianson, Doug Seefeldt, Katherine Walter, Laura Weakly, Margo Burns, Chris Dixon, Byron Price, Louis Warren, Robert Rydell, Julia Stetler, and Larry Cebula; and former staff, Kurt Graham, Bob Pickering, John Rumm, Lynn Houze, Paul Fees, Peter Hassrick, Maryanne Andrus, Mindy Besaw, and Emma Hansen; and fellows Emily Burns, Emily Voelker, Jennifer Henneman, Gregory Hinton, Alessandra Magrin, Vivianne Perret, and Rebecca Wingo.

Access to original and never before published collections at several institutions make this research even more significant, and led to several digitization projects initiated during my research. This includes the Enquirer Job Printing Company collections at the Circus World Museum, Peter Shrake, Archivist, Robert L. Parkinson Library and Research Center; the Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection, Tibbals Learning Center, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Deborah Walk, Curator of Circus, and Fred Dahlinger; and, the Buffalo Bill's Wild West photography collection, managed by staff of the Western History Collection, Denver Public Library. Also, thank you to the Frederic Remington Art Museum, and Laura Foster, curator; and the staff of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Your courtesy shown in

allowing me to include related images in this dissertation, and continued work with these special collections, is much appreciated.

The Wild West visited Glasgow, Scotland, for some very memorable performances on several international tours. My introduction to Glasgow was through the 2010 Buffalo Bill International Symposium held at the University of Strathclyde, where I had the pleasure of meeting Mark Ellis, Matthew Smith, and John Young, my future history advisors and mentors who started me on this journey, and have seen me through the long and productive process to the PhD.

Finally, and most importantly, so many friends and family have been steadfast in their support of my work on art and advertising in Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Thank you all, and especially, to my family, Paul, Paul IV and Connor, Katie Finch, my in-laws Paul and Helen, and my mother, Barbara Titanic, who never waiver in their love and patience.

Abstract

This analysis of the visual record of Buffalo's Bill Wild West posters in the United States provides the first scholarly interpretation focused on the commercial print production and related cultural impact of the show on American and international audiences, and is divided into two sections: Inventing Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and Visualizing Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Part One interprets the history of the art, advertising, and commercial prints developed for the Wild West. Part Two includes overview and analysis of the visual culture of the Wild West for U.S. tours, the importance of the Strobridge Lithographing Co. and the city of Cincinnati as a commercial printing hub, and the Wild West diplomacy and international perspectives of the program following the successful 1893 season.

The evolution of the art and advertising of Buffalo Bill's Wild West is linked to the highly publicized life of William F. Cody, and his exposure to the art and landscape of the American West. Chapters in each part of this study consistently incorporate elements of Cody's life, his interest in American art, and his friendships with successful artists. Chapter One, *The Art of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, William F. Cody, and the American West*, presents a biography of Cody within that context: his celebrated life and times, and the art of the American West that influenced him. Chapter Two, *Advertising the Wild West: Cody and Cooke*, introduces the professional relationships crucial to Cody's success as a performer and entrepreneur leading the Wild West team, including the impact of general publicity agent Louis E. Cooke on Cody's artistic and business decisions over several decades. Chapter Three, *The Wild West Company and Commercial Printers*, establishes significant advances in lithographic printing following the American Civil War, introducing the printing firms contracted with the show, and the artists and photographers instrumental in advancing the art of the Wild West. Chapter Four, *The Visual Culture of the Wild West in the United States*, defines the history of the three most prominent printing companies in the development of color lithographic posters for the Wild West—A. Hoen & Co., of Baltimore, MD; Courier Lithographic Co., of Buffalo, NY, and Enquirer Job Printing Co., of Cincinnati, OH—and the unique poster art developed through the relationships between Cody, the owners, and artists at the companies. Chapter Five, *The Strobridge Lithographing Company and Cincinnati Show Printers*, explores the prominence of the city of Cincinnati on American lithography and Strobridge and Enquirer as leaders in circus and traveling show poster production, including those for the Wild West. Chapter Six, *Wild West Diplomacy and Going Global*, expands on the changes in the Wild West with the introduction of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, and considers Cody's ongoing role in promoting international peace and diplomacy amid America's emerging imperial role in the world.

Numerous artists, photographers, and lithographers collaborated to create the dynamic and effective imagery for Cody and the Wild West between 1883 and 1913. Newly accessible digital and archival collections provide new opportunities for the analysis and documentation of the art created to advance the celebrity of "Buffalo Bill" and foster the national and international success of the Wild West. The artwork conveyed a carefully crafted and sometimes nuanced version of how the West was won, in which Cody, himself, was always central. The surviving posters and photographs, programs, newspaper accounts, personal correspondence and expense records, confirm the process and intent behind the Wild West advertising phenomenon that fixed the performers and performances into the national memory and American history.



Frontispiece. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Indian Canoe Scene, c. 1893, no. 25, by A. Hoen & Company, Baltimore, MD. 28.5 x 22 inches. BBM, BBCW. 1.69.454

Introduction and Literature Review

1. Interpreting the Visual Record of Buffalo Bill's Wild West

A century after the final performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, there remains a gap in research on, and the interpretation of the lasting legacy of the visual culture of the Wild West. The printed art and advertising produced under the supervision of William F. Cody and his partners differed from American circuses and other "show printing." Cody and his publicity team were dedicated to the artistic portrayal of the American West, and nurtured alliances with some of the most recognized American and European artists of the time. These artists were instrumental in advancing the innovation and artistry of the color lithographs designed as posters for the Wild West tours, especially in comparison to those created for American circuses. The artists' paintings and illustrations were famous well beyond the great arena of the Wild West, but their involvement with the show elevated the impact of this commercial imagery and introduced their work to a broader general public. Artists, photographers, and lithographers created the dynamic and effective imagery for Cody and the Wild West between 1883 and 1913. Newly accessible digital and archival collections at museums, libraries, and archives throughout the United States have expanded research opportunities for the analysis and documentation of the art created, the technological innovations implemented, the business strategies employed, and the popular consumption of the promotional materials printed to advance the celebrity of "Buffalo Bill" Cody and attract audiences to over three decades of Wild West seasons. The surviving posters, programs, professional and photographs, news articles, personal correspondence, and expense records, confirm the process and intent of the Wild West advertising, to promote the legacy of Cody and his the cast, and projected their performances into the national memory and American history.

This analysis of the visual record of Buffalo's Bill Wild West posters in the United States provides the first scholarly interpretation focused on the commercial print production and related cultural impact of the show on American and international audiences. The imagery of the Wild West influences popular memory and the legacy of the American West to the present, and provides an opportunity to reach a greater understanding of the cast and arena performances a full century after the final tour. The art integrated into the national and European marketing campaigns for Buffalo Bill's Wild West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries undoubtedly accelerated the advertising successes pursued by Cody and his partners.

The visual culture of the Wild West also represents a vast underutilized resource for the study of the specialized arts of photography and printing in the era of mass entertainment in America. Research on the "advance work," or promotional art and advertising in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, is an expansion of my previous research on the Wild West's Sioux Indian portraits by New York photographer Gertrude Käsebier in 1898. The study of these Sioux portraits established and reinforced the lack of historical context or contemporary research focused on the visual record created by, for, and about Cody, the man and his Wild West—the posters, photographs and postcards, the performance programs, the newspaper articles and advertisements in local papers, the trade cards, buttons, and even games for sale. The primary museum and archival collections surveyed for this thesis are held by the Buffalo Bill Center of the West (BBCW), in Cody, Wyoming; Circus World Museum (CWM), in Baraboo, Wisconsin; and the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (RMA) in Sarasota, Florida; with additional secondary collections researched from the Buffalo Bill Museum and Gravesite (BBMG), in Golden, Colorado; Denver Public Library (DPL), in Denver, Colorado; the Smithsonian Institution (SI) and Library of Congress (LOC), in Washington, D.C. These collections amount

to a very broad and fully representative body of Wild West artwork and associated materials, spanning the period studied. European institutions, and several American museums and libraries with minor collections of Cody or Wild West materials were not accessed for this research, depending on scope and accessibility. The United States collections not accessed in person because of scheduling or renovations were the Princeton University Library, the Yale University Beinecke Library, and the Cincinnati Museum of Art. Online digital collections were considered, as possible.

Traveling shows, including Buffalo Bill's Wild West, embraced post-American Civil War improvements in printing technologies that allowed for the "golden age" of the American poster and the simultaneous "golden age" of the tent shows, as considered by collectors and auction house owner Jack Rennert.¹ The rise in popularity of the advertising poster coincided with the success of these shows. The growth of the mass entertainment industry at the end of the nineteenth century encouraged the use of advertising in circuses and traveling shows like the Wild West, which were actively developing related advertising materials to promote performances in advance of each season. The real and the mythic American West were depicted in the visual materials developed for the Wild West. Correspondence between William F. Cody, his management team and staff for the Wild West Publicity Department indicated close relationships with at least twelve printing firms in the United States and Europe, and differing strategies for marketing the Wild West nationally or abroad. With the end of the Civil War came an era of expansion in American printing, and a distinctive style or "look" of American-designed prints and advertising. A deeply embedded unique style of American printing was certainly in place by the time of the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. From 1875 to 1900, large

¹Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), p. 4.

scale, highly organized, mechanized, commercial lithographic companies were launched and became capable of the mass production of prints with sophisticated colors at cheaper rates. The printing of large quantities of show “bills” and advertising posters propelled lithographic prints into American everyday life and culture. “Bill posters,” the teams responsible for show poster mounting and displays, were opportunistic and located the most compelling sites for placing or hanging the advertising posters, from smaller store window poster displays to fence billboards, or full wrap-around building displays. The growing American railroad network allowed for new ease in the transport and expansion of traveling circuses and theatrical troupes, and the bill posters who preceded them. Charles Philip Fox and Tom Parkinson’s study, *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (1985), is the most detailed published chronology of circus work and advertisements, using the Circus World Museum (CWM) and other private collections to illustrate the logistics and job tasks necessary to plan successful show tours and the advance work needed to complete advertising strategies.

American society benefitted from the advanced printing technologies and experienced a national explosion of visual culture available during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The very broad range of images generated could be viewed and even owned by the general public. This creative and democratic imagery was—“bringing art into the house.” In 1879, a *New York Times* article of the same title commented on the growing American thirst for high quality pictures. With fine art too costly for most families, lithographers worked with businesses to “put art in the house...proving the growing taste for beauty of form and color.”² And, lithographers began to design advertisements along the same lines. William F. Cody and his Wild West management team clearly understood the marketing options offered them through effective use of colorful

²“Art in the House,” *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1879.

poster prints and publicity photographs to capitalize on the energy and overall excitement of the performances. As author Jack Rennert describes, Cody had an enormous influence on the “America’s consciousness” through an “arsenal of publicity” produced by the Wild West.³ Performed for thirty years, 1883-1913, it is estimated that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West was viewed by 50 million people. Tens of thousands of posters or more a year were printed to advertise it, according to the “Summary of Recapitulation of Billposting” Wild West documents now archived at the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming at Laramie. These billposting costs and inventories include the overall costs for the European tours 1902-1906. The poster printing costs from the American printer contracts only was totaled at \$20,029.98 for the 1904 season. Printing and advertising for the 1905 Paris season was totaled together at \$54,392.10.⁴ The surviving visual culture of the Wild West documents how Cody and his performers presented both the real and a mythic American West to vast audiences across the United States and Europe. 550 color lithographic posters from the Wild West’s American and European tours exist in the major museum collections of the BBCW, RMA, and CWM, with additional posters in private collections and museums with minor related holdings. To stage the dramatic performances conveyed in the posters, Cody famously hired American Indians and an array of international cast members—including American cowboys, Mexican vaqueros, Russian Cossacks, British military units, and Arab performers—who recreated historic and infamous battles, raced horses, displayed marksmanship skills, and generally astounded visitors. The best

³Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, p. 3.

⁴*Printing Bills 1904* (ah00264_0021) and *Recapitulation Summary Billposting 1905* (ah00264_0060), Buffalo Bill Collection, Legal and Financial Records, Barnum & Bailey with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West 1884-1905, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie. Accessed Nov. 1, 2017.
http://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/view/search;JSESSIONID=45e39dfb-3bf3-4462-ae55-3c9d9e2cc896?sort=RID%2CDescription%2CTitle%2CDate_Original&q=%22box%2B1%2C%2Bfolder%2B4%22&QuickSearchA=QuickSearchA&pgs=250&res=1&cic=uwydbuwy~60~60

effort previously made towards assessing a compilation and diverse set of Wild West posters and their makers was published in Rennert's 1976 publication, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. An excellent reference source, the book is intentionally limited in scope to Rennert's selection of, and research into, the top 100 posters published with a template similar to his auction house catalogs. Rennert's selections were made from the more than twelve printing firms in America and Europe identified as making posters during the run of the Wild West. Several firms might be contracted during a season, depending on the designs and sizes selected (one sheet posters, or multi-sheet). "Show printers," as the lithographers and their companies were described, created realism in their detailed artwork and designs. The existing business archives for these printing firms is limited, but the personal correspondence between Cody, his colleagues, and the artists responsible for the poster work outlines the consistent intent for branding campaigns for the show. The lack of surviving correspondence or invoices for the printed materials for the Wild West, especially in the United States (U.S.) may be due to the number of the devastating fires which occurred in the buildings that housed the large printing companies and headquarters for the lithographers. The Tibbals Collection, Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection, and the RMA, includes Cody-Cooke correspondence related to the management and advertising of the Wild West, and the American Heritage Center (AHC) at the University of Wyoming includes Cody correspondence, and recapitulation summary bill postings for the later European tours indicating which American-made posters were replicated by European printers between 1902 and 1906.

William F. Cody's own image and those of the Indian performers, the buffalos, the cowboys and marksmen, and the diverse group of the Congress of the Rough Riders of the World visually dominated the designs made by the lithographers. Major John M. Burke and

Louis E. Cooke had their Wild West advance advertising teams out several weeks ahead of the tour to literally canvas local businesses with posters and later billboards as their best means of promotion, to build interest for ticket sales and an aura of excitement and desire to see the show in each community along the train routes. Historians Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes contend that, “Several decades before the phrase ‘public relations’ came into common parlance and saturation advertising became routine, the Wild West boasted a prototypical public relations division that generated increasingly sophisticated advertising designed to equate a product—the show—with a way of life defined as heroic.”⁵ Cody remained the chief draw and celebrity star of the Wild West for audiences throughout the decades, and his portrait appeared on at least one poster each season. Nate Salsbury was his experienced vice president, knowledgeable in business management and various theater enterprises. General Manager Major John M. Burke was the persistent chief publicist with Cody during the entire run of the Wild West. Louis E. Cooke was an advisor to Cody on the creative advertising developed and general manager of the multiple publicity teams for many seasons. This expert team managed the details of the contracts and designs for the Wild West poster advertisements, which were somewhat similar in template to those made popular by circuses, theatrical touring companies, and vaudeville shows of the same period. The Wild West posters, however, were innovatively conceived as both art and advertising. From the 1880s to the 1910s, the rise in these outdoor shows coincided with the increased use of the American poster as advertising stimulus. The Wild West team capitalized on changing artistic trends, improved print technology, and Cody’s personal relationships with artists to incorporate original art work into advertising in order to advance the quality and

⁵Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 30.

designs of the color lithographic posters contracted each year, invoking a very different approach to publicity than any other traveling show or circus at the time, and to renew public interest in a show that might otherwise have seemed familiar and repetitive.

2. Methodology

This thesis includes a thorough analysis of the primary visual resources and material culture collections created for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and scarcely used by historians and authors to produce secondary resources over the course of the last century. These publications were predominantly biographical, documenting the life and historical impact of William F. Cody, with limited or no use of illustrations outlining the visual history produced for the Wild West. The professional and personal relationships formed by "Buffalo Bill" Cody and his staff with the artists, photographers, printers, and promoters resulted in art-inspired visual advertising materials printed in large format and huge quantities to influence the general public's first and lasting memories of the program. The spectacle of the Wild West and the visual legacy of the exhibition has been steadily collected by three American museums that hold the most substantial numbers of extant Wild West lithographic posters, printed programs, and photographs: the BBCW, CWM, and the RMA. Digital imaging projects at these museums allow for new research perspectives and the deeper exploration of the art and advertising created for the Wild West as well as the strategic business plans needed for marketing and branding the performances. My research at the CWM encouraged their archivist to digitize previously unpublished work by the Enquirer Job Printing Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio, including preliminary pencil sketches, watercolors, and partially completed artwork for the Wild West lithographic posters. All three museums hold associated photographs, personal and select business correspondence related to

Cody and the Wild West. The desired advertising impact for the yearly tours evolved as the tour changed its focus and program elements. Additional lithographic posters, photographic collections and correspondence collections in the archives and special collections of the BBMG, the DPL, AHC, YALE, SI, and LOC further support this study and the collective significance of Wild West materials now distributed across these multiple American museums, archives, and libraries. The study and analysis of these museum and archival collections confirmed the history of the development and sustainability of the Wild West's international success, and its significant role in American cultural heritage in contributing to the myth and memory of nineteenth century Western culture. For this thesis, the "poster art" of the Wild West has been researched and studied most closely, and associated photographic or illustrative materials consulted to discern the creative process used to advance recognition of the show's performances and cast while in the U.S. and Europe. Artwork developed for the Wild West was inspired by the exhibition program and its performers. It later became collectible as authentic fine art painting or lithographs, and consumed as popular souvenirs even when used for advertising purposes. The official show programs, newspaper-like handouts called "couriers" or "heralds," autographed photographs, or Wild West postcards all made the art of the show available to arena audiences, and an even wider general public in surrounding cities and towns along the tour routes.

This dissertation, *Advance Work: Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, represents a unique and specialized scholarly approach to the study of the visual culture of the traveling exhibition, which has never been accomplished in previous secondary discussions published in biographies of William F. Cody or studies of the Wild West. Research in the museum and archival collections concentrated on the examination and interpretation of original art, images, and historical artifacts which constitute the scope of the enduring visual culture for

the Wild West. This project emphasizes the evaluation of the visual and historical evidence of the Wild West within the parameters of the genre of traveling theatrical shows and circuses, with an appreciation for the changing notions of the art and advertising during the era of the Wild West, specifically 1883-1913. The successive chapters establish the connections of Cody and the Wild West to American art and landscape; advertising and mass entertainment; branding and the expansion of printing firms; advertising in America through innovative poster and billboards; the success of Cincinnati show printers and lithographic posters; and the global leadership, imperialism, and the influence of the United States around 1900 as interpreted for its public by the Wild West's advertising and performances. A supplement to this thesis is the database with 550 lithographic posters and original poster artworks created for Cody and his Wild West, including the collections of the three primary museums researched, the BBCW, CWM, and RMA. This concentrated data analysis combined with the review of RMA's newly acquired 100 letters of correspondence dated 1908-1916, between William F. Cody and advance agent Louis E. Cooke, supports one argument within this thesis, that the advertising materials developed for the Wild West advanced not only the success of the exhibition traveling over three decades, but also to some extent influenced European understanding of American culture and attitudes of the period. The primary audience for this research is academic scholars of American history and popular art history, public historians and museum curators, but general audiences in America and Europe continue to have an affinity for the enduring phenomenon of the American West, with its enduring historical and artistic legacy. The visual culture created for the Wild West fueled the daily cross-cultural engagement achieved between the Wild West performers and the audiences that visited the Wild West Village and viewed the arena performances. The commercial and very visible success of the Wild West encouraged growth of additional traveling entertainment

companies that utilized the newest printing and photographic technology for fostering innovations in marketing and advertising products for the shows and celebrities, including increasing focus on the prominence of American Indians and female performers in the Wild West promotional imagery.

3. Chapter Overviews

Primary and secondary resources published previously on Cody and the Wild West have left many questions unanswered in regards to the relevance of the art and advertising of the Wild West. Each of six chapters in this thesis will newly interpret the visual culture and history of the Wild West through the related themes of art and advertising, creative management and commercial poster production methods, with explicit emphasis on the illustrations and analysis of the associated and relevant original posters and photographs. Part one of the dissertation includes the first three chapters related to art, advertising and brand management of the Wild West. Part two includes the final three chapters addressing the visual culture developed for the American tours of the Wild West, the influence of Strobridge Lithographic Company and Cincinnati, Ohio, printers on the Wild West and advertising for traveling shows, and considers aspects of the global impact of the Wild West as it defined America to European audiences prior to World War I. Chapter One discusses the art and advertising produced for the Wild West with explicit links to recognized national and international artists, and the art of the American West. Both the contemporary imagery of the American West and traditional methods are reflected in the style choices made by Cody and his Wild West associates for advertising illustrations. Chapter Two presents the rise in advertising and marketing for mass entertainment for shows like the Wild West, and the creative forces behind the art of the Wild West, Cody and his Wild West

team managers, especially Nate Salsbury, James A. Bailey, and Louis E. Cooke. The close Cooke-Cody relationship, and the influence of Cooke's friendship with Cody over many years, is newly evident in the digitized collections of Cooke's 1915-1916 articles for the *Newark (NJ) Evening News* published online through the Circus Historical Society, and in the original Cooke-Cody letters digitized in the Tibbals Collection, RMA. Chapter Three interprets the branding and management efforts of the Wild West, and the relationship to the commercial printing firms contracted to produce imagery developed to convey different messaging to audiences. Original and partially finished art for the Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, from the CWM collection, is considered here for interpretation for the first time since its donation to CWM in the early 1970s. Chapter Four focuses on the evolution of the art and advertising developed for the Wild West tours within the United States, through printing contracts with the A. Hoen & Co., the Courier Lithographic Company, and the Enquirer Job Printing Company, with some limited comparisons to European equivalent posters. Chapter Five considers the later Wild West advertising created in combination with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East by the lithographic artists of the influential "show printers" at the Strobridge Lithographing Company, while also noting the work of the other prominent Wild West printers and the expanded influence of lithography on the art world, print and advertising markets. Chapter Six asserts that the art and advertising work created for the Wild West reflected the changing status of the United States as a world power, and the extent to which it represented shifting American values to U.S. citizens and Europeans. Following the 1893 Chicago season, the Wild West represented America as a world power through program narratives, news articles, and, most importantly, the posters and visual imagery which conveyed the intended educational value of the performances. Cumulatively, the chapters are intended to build a cohesive interpretation of the visual record of Buffalo Bill Cody

and his Wild West, filling a gap in published scholarship. The substantial Wild West collections surveyed from the BBCW, CWM, and RMA, and selected secondary collections have identified new connections between the visual culture and the history of Buffalo Bill's Wild West. In conclusion, the successful impact of the Wild West advertising, and three decades of Wild West performances to general national and international audiences significantly influenced the legacy and lasting place of Cody and the Wild West and in the American popular memory.

4. Primary Resources and Archival Collections Studied

The primary resources related to the art and advertising for Buffalo Bill's Wild West are vast and distributed throughout American and European repositories. The most extensive collections of Wild West two and three-dimensional artifacts are owned by the BBCW in Cody, Wyoming, and part of the collections of the BBCW Buffalo Bill Museum and the McCracken Research Library. A majority of the art—the paintings, posters, drawing, and photographs—of Buffalo Bill's Wild West have been collected by the BBCW. The extant visual imagery created for the Wild West is abundant and diverse. Many artists and painters contracted with William F. Cody and his staff to depict the persona and character of Buffalo Bill as well as the overall sensation of the Wild West performances—the cast, marksmanship and feats of skill, the historically-based and theatrical reenactments. Cody developed friendships with many established artists, such as Americans Frederick Remington and Charles Schreyvogel, and France's Rosa Bonheur, which further improved the quality of portraits and print illustrations of "Buffalo Bill," and the depictions of the Wild West. Cody also met with and befriended many of the artists, lithographers, and heads of the printing companies responsible for the color lithographic posters to be displayed in cities and towns across the U.S. and Europe. The

surviving letters of correspondence with artists and printing firms remain available for study in the William F. Cody Collections at the McCracken Library/BBCW, the RMA, and BBMG, as well as Frederic Remington's personal collection and archive in the BBCW's Whitney Western Museum of Art. Cody and the Wild West team were deeply involved in the creative concepts and proposals for paintings, prints and posters designed for the advertising the Wild West. For example, Cody and his later partner, James A. Bailey, corresponded in March 1906, to discuss a plan for the next season's printing. Cody wrote, "...I am working when I can on a program for America. I know a good artist who I can get reasonable...and make drawings for the new printing."⁶ Cody and his publicity team established what was eventually considered a truly American form of entertainment with the Wild West programs, despite being continually compared to the traditional circus and traveling theater troupes. Author and poster collector Jack Rennert makes references to some of Cody's meetings with artists in *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, and strongly maintained Cody was indeed involved in the development and design of the Wild West posters.⁷ This thesis expands on such assertions and the significance of the evolving art and design of the Wild West posters through the analysis of newly digitized Cody correspondence showing his personal preferences for hiring artists and printing firms, and associated Wild West expense documents for the Company. Wild West business contracts with leading American lithographic printing firms were initially similar to other routine circus agreements, but eventually included the incorporation of leading artists' work into poster designs advertising to the general public. These posters advanced the visual culture of the Wild West and are studied here to provide fuller context and the overall historical value of this material. The

⁶Sarah Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody, 1879-1917* (New York: Praeger, 1988), p. 32.

⁷Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 4.

visual culture of the Wild West leveraged international celebrity status for William F. Cody and some of his performers, and included distinctive Wild West promotional imagery which depicted the American West and cowboy culture, and scenes from Cody's life and tour performances as iconic representation of strength, bravery, and diversity on an international stage. Wild West advertising changed and adapted over the three decades of performances, as the publicity team reacted to new styles, especially art trends at the turn of the century. Cody and the Wild West team considered how best to artistically advance poster designs to convey the status of the U.S. as an international world power through complex posters designs and lavishly illustrated and text-rich programs. A New York lithographer is quoted in the periodical *Art Amateur*, in December 1894:

“...People in these days seem to have gone picture—crazy. There never has been such a demand as there is now. They do not care so much for the black and white as they used to—they want color; as realism seems to prevail, they want in their pictures the colors of nature, and the crude work of the chromo-lithographers of several years ago no longer satisfies them. True, our pictures are many of them for the soap manufacturers, the insurance companies, and the patent-medicine man; but we try in our own way to be educators of the people, and to give them good drawing and harmonious coloring. These business patrons of ours who use pictures for advertising purposes know that the public have become fastidious; hence they will only accept good designs. It is not so very long ago that advertising pictures invariably had hard, glaring backgrounds, and crude, contrasting colors...but, that sort of work would find

no sale now...⁸

The *New York Times* and many other period newspaper and journal articles defined and explored the increase of the visual culture influx into American cities and homes during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Working with artists and printmakers, the Wild West team effectively translated popular trends in turn of the century art and advertising into the advance marketing of the show. The BBCW's Buffalo Bill Museum (BBM) and McCracken Research Library (MRL) hold more than two hundred original posters printed for the Wild West, thousands of photographs and postcards, and the definitive collection of official programs illustrating the art of the Wild West. The recently acquired James W. Wojtowicz Collection of W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody Collections has expanded and enhanced the already superb visual culture holdings for the MRL. A catalog exists for the Wojtowicz Collection, self-published by the original collector, with excellent citations for individual items, but without a comprehensive analysis of the larger context of the Wild West materials in terms of the turn of the century art and advertising worlds, or in relation to the growing industry of the circus and mass-entertainment tent shows.

More than twelve printing firms identified from America and Europe with associations to the Wild West are represented in the BBCW, CWM, and RMA lithographic poster collections. This thesis includes case studies on Wild West Company relationships with the printers A. Hoen & Co., of Baltimore, Maryland; Courier Lithographic Company, Buffalo, New York; and the Cincinnati, Ohio firms, Enquirer Job Printing Company and Strobridge Lithographing Company. These companies contracted with the Wild West for many years, or decades in the case of A.

⁸*Art Amateur*, vol. 32 (Dec. 1894), p. 15.

Hoen & Co. Artists' and painters' work was reproduced in the Wild West posters from the earliest years, with limited credit given to the original artist, and it was established practice that lithographers were rarely acknowledged for their design work. Very limited information on the individuals within the printing firms is available in local historical or museum archival collections surveyed to date. Identifying individual artists is also made difficult by the fact that many printing firms lost their files and archives to fires in their plants in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, including A. Hoen & Co.

At the BBCW, BBMG, and DPL hundreds of Cody letters, select contracts, and the larger scrapbook collections of newspaper articles have largely been mined for biographical works related to Cody, with references highlighting the celebrity of Buffalo Bill, or the story of the American Indian performers in the Wild West. No previous scholarship has fully assessed the Cody or Wild West Company correspondence for citations on Western American art and Wild West imagery and the strategic planning involved in conceiving and contracting for the advertising and promotional images. This thesis reveals how the Wild West management team focused on advising artists' work in developing the final lithographs, and achieved the desired imagery, and provides evidence that Cody and his publicity team carefully negotiated and controlled the creation of the imagery of the Wild West, by establishing close relationships with artists, photographers, printers, and advertisers. William F. Cody's personal scrapbooks at the BBCW and Vice-President Nate Salsbury's personal collection held at the DPL have been examined for references to business contracts and negotiations with individual artists and printing firms, as have correspondence and business expense documents in the collection of the BBMG and AHC. Thus, the partnership of Cody and Salsbury, throughout the three decades of the Wild West, not only expanded the range of arena theatrics, but also created the innovative

and strategic marketing of the show. When the Wild West achieved success close to that of the leading circuses after just five years, Cody and Salsbury worked with James A. Bailey of Barnum and Bailey's to partner and expand opportunities for national and international tours.⁹

The William F. Cody Collections at the BBCW/MRL include original route books, scrapbooks, official show programs, photographs and ephemera from throughout the full run of the Wild West, 1883-1913, and Cody's final performances, 1914-1916. The annual route books outlined the structure of Cody's Department of Publicity, and provide individual staff names for expanded research on the daily operation and of the tour.¹⁰ These men and women carried out the negotiations and advance work necessary to bring "the buzz" and excitement of the impending arrival of the Wild West to towns and cities across the U.S. and Europe. The news articles included in the Cody scrapbooks are invaluable resource to scholars, providing daily news clippings for tour stops each year. From New York, to Chicago, or Kansas City, publicists for the show supplied journalists with updates on the program, the year's highlights, and sometimes detailed artwork to accompany the stories. Evident in many of the local newspaper columns is

⁹ Correspondence and scrapbooks in collections of the Buffalo Bill Center of the West and Denver Public Library, Western History Division, and online sources at the Circus History Society, <http://www.circushistory.org/>, especially Cooke's autobiographical articles written in 1915-1916 for the *Newark (NJ) Evening News*, provide insight on the life of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and reference the key relationships and partnerships for Cody and his associates in building the success of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

¹⁰ Original Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1899 Route Book, McCracken Research Library, BBCW. For example, publicity staff employed for the 1899 tour are listed in the Route Book, and included Louis E. Cooke, General Advance Manager and General Agent of the Tour; M. Coyle, Railway Contractor; Edward Arlington, Excursion Agent; Major John M. Burke, General Press Agent and tour General Manager; Frank J. O'Donnell, Contracting Press Agent; Miss Maymie Jester and Dexter E. Fellows, Special Press Agents; S. H. Semon, General Contracting Agent; E. H. Woods, Assisting Contracting Agent; and M. Manton and Charles Curtis, as Bill Inspectors. There were also expanded teams to staff the Advertising Car No. 1—a Manager, Boss Bill Poster, Boss Lithographer, Secretary, and Programmer, 10 Bill Posters, and three Lithographers; Advertising Car No. 2—the Excursion Department, with a Manager, Boss Bill Poster, Lithographer, Banner Man, Board Man, Card Man, and 12 Excursion Bill Posters; the "Opposition Brigade" operated with a Manager, Boss Bill Poster, Lithographer, two Bill Posters, and two Layers-Out.

the work of Major John M. Burke and the Cooke's advertising team for the Wild West. Often Burke or his team would visit the tour cities days or weeks in advance of the arrival of the troupe to canvas the area with advertising and tickets, to generate general excitement about the tour. The press, like thousands of spectators of the show, was repeatedly fascinated with the apparent ease at which the show's Indian performers adapted to a theatrical life, and one so far from the Great Plains of the United States. The image of the American Indian is second in use only to that of Cody, himself, on the thousands of advertisements and posters produced for the Wild West. For example, on June 16, 1898, the Wild West tour arrived for a show in Newburgh, New York. The *Newburgh Daily News* reported that streets were thronged with crowds as Buffalo Bill led "the Great Street Parade of the Big Wild West Show" early in the morning. The article continued,

It was in reality like a warlike mounted pageant of life, color, and action, the like of which the city seldom sees." [The day after the performance the newspaper chronicled what the large crowd experienced, and not a single complaint was cited]—"Buffalo Bill kept every promise he made...Every feature was precisely as advertised...nothing advertised was omitted... Advance man Major Burke has been everywhere, and is a most interesting talker...Dexter Fellows also represents [the] show...clever man. Visits [newspaper] offices [and]...makes editors forget that it is their busy day, for his store of reminiscences is most interesting.¹¹

¹¹"The Big Street Parade of the Great Wild West Show," *Newburgh (NY) Daily News*, June 16, 1898, cutting in 1898 Buffalo Bill Cody Scrapbook, McCracken Research Library, BBCW.

Burke was armed with quotes from Cody, descriptions of the performances, stories of the cast and Indians touring, tasked with building the anticipation of the general public in each city. He worked closely with Cody, Nate Salsbury, and the full publicity team to develop press coverage for the show, and advance materials for distribution. There is limited correspondence in the BBCW or the other museum and library collections which reference the direct interaction with the local newspapers, advertising agents, and photographers. Newspaper advertisements and illustrations frequently accompanied the daily news articles found in the Cody scrapbooks held at the BBCW, but no published research has included an analysis of this type of advertisement, which is vastly different from the elaborate show posters or the illustrations used in the official programs. (The William F. Cody Papers Digital Archive Project is currently working in partnership with the McCracken Research Library to digitize the Cody scrapbooks and manuscript materials to make them available to researchers online.) Cody's publicity team adapted their strategy for the marketing campaign for the tour yearly, and they readdressed their promotional strategy when establishing longer stops in cities, such as the 1893 Columbian World Exposition in Chicago, 1894 Ambrose Park in Brooklyn, and longer European venues in London and Paris, with intense local advertising and news articles. Daily advertisements do not usually correlate to the annually developed printed posters, handbills, and program advertisements for the Wild West, and are not usually signed by the illustrator. Therefore, this thesis will not attempt to aggregate the numerous newspaper illustrations, but instead focuses on the yearly advertising in the larger format poster, the program illustrations, and photographic materials that were contracted.

A large primary resource to support the study of the visual culture of the Wild West exists in the photographic collections related to Buffalo Bill and the Wild West. Originating throughout the U.S. and Europe, the most significant photography collections are in the BBCW MRL—thousands of images representing a cross-section of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody photographs, images of show performers, Cody family photographs, and photographs of the tours, the Wild West village (or camp), and the arena and grandstand. In the Western History Collection at the DPL there are over one thousand photographs of “Buffalo Bill” Cody and the Wild West performers. It is an especially important collection for the Denver and mid-West performances and the 1917 Cody funeral. The Library of Congress (LOC) holds stereo photographs and card photographs of the Wild West, and the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of American History (NMAH) owns portraits of Cody, his associates and competitors, and the 1898 platinum and silver portraits made of Dakota Sioux performers by American art photographer Gertrude Käsebier. Surprisingly, none of the primary resource collections have any documentation that Cody contracted with any specific photographers to capture his image, the performers, the Wild West village, or the arena set-up. Lithographic printers were employed to travel with the cast with small printing presses, but no photographers were paid as staff. Cody and his Wild West team were keenly aware of the power of the photograph to convey the persona of Buffalo Bill, and the photography collections survey document that Cody was frequently photographed by local photographers in tour cities—sitting in his tent, with visitors to the show, with performers, in the arena introducing the show, displaying his shooting skills, or possibly participating in a reenactment segment with the American Indians or members of his Congress of Rough Riders. Courier Lithographic Company of Buffalo, New York, copyrighted many photographic images of Cody and the Wild West performers which informed artists and teams at the firm when

designing final posters printed by the company. Improvements in photography and printing techniques were essential to the distribution of the Wild West brand and ever-increasing recognition of the show as the theatrical representation of American West. Panoramic photographs, postcards, trading cards, and 3-dimensional stereo views are the most profuse photographic formats now found in Wild West archival collections. Individual photographers are identified and represented in the primary resource collections listed above, but others may well exist in private collections or European institutions still to be accessed by the next generation of researchers. These photographers, or their studios, gained access to the performers and arena, by contract or by chance visit. Their images captured the “real” likenesses of the celebrities of the Wild West for consumption by the general public. For almost the first half of Wild West, reproduction techniques were not available to print photographs as advertising posters and store handbills. Photographs were therefore produced as collectibles in their own right. By 1896, advances in the halftone photomechanical process, allowing for original photographs to be reproduced in newspapers and books, represented a significant breakthrough.¹²

5. Literature Review – Secondary Resources

The biographies and secondary sources written over the last century about William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and the history chronicling Buffalo Bill’s Wild West are numerous and diverse, yet none fully present or intentionally interpret the visual culture produced as part of the

¹²Rachel A. Mustalish, “The Development of Photomechanical Printing Processes in the Late 19th Century,” *Topics in Photographic Preservation*, vol. 7 (1997), pp. 73-87; Helena E. Wright, “Photography in the Printing Press: The Photomechanical Revolution,” in Bernard Finn, ed., *Presenting Pictures* (London: Science Museum, 2004), pp. 21-42; William Crawford, *The Keepers of Light: A History and Working Guide to Early Photographic Processes* (Dobbs Ferry: Morgan and Morgan, 1979); and Luis Nadeau, “Photolithography,” in *Encyclopedia of Printing Photography and Photomechanical Processes, Vol. 2* (Fredericton: Atelier Luis Nadeau, 1990).

art and advertising for this touring show phenomenon.¹³ The sources documenting Cody's life and career, and the performances of the run of the Wild West presents the facts and the myths, although sometimes exaggerated, but no author has ever determined to complete a comprehensive illustration of the Wild West. A selective survey of existing Cody biographies and books documenting the Wild West must include scholarship on frontier and Western American art; the rise of celebrity in mass-entertainment and popular culture; histories of the American Indian performers and their transition at the turn of the century; lithography, printing, and photographic history; American advertising posters, promotion and consumption; the business of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American traveling circuses and theatrical shows; and related contemporary and modern exhibition and collection catalogs.

Cody biographers have completed exhaustive research to present the life and times of Buffalo Bill Cody to readers. Don Russell's *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* recounts Cody's life from his boyhood beginnings to his end in impressive detail. He interpreted Cody's writings, his autobiography, Helen Cody Wetmore's sometimes less-than-accurate biography of her brother, and a century of texts related to the showman. Russell, like so many other authors, kept his focus on the written word, to the exclusion of all but few illustrations of Cody and his

¹³There are numerous and varied biographies of William F. Cody, and books on the Wild West. The most important for this study have included: Robert A. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man Behind the Legend* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2000); Steve Friesen, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2010); Walter Havighurst, *Buffalo Bill's Great Wild West Show* (New York: Random House, 1957); Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976); Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West: A Pictorial Biography* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989); Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); Eric Sorg, *Buffalo Bill - Myth and Reality* (Santa Fe, NM: Ancient City Press, 1998); and Louis Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America - William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

Wild West. Russell clearly acknowledged the significance of Cody and his publicity teams when discussing Cody's own books and dime novels:

...His books were merely publicity for his showmanship...Cody's press agents seem never to have caught his vision. They took the available material and sought to rearrange it in ways that would appear new, much as makers of the paperback biographies rearranged the same chapters in different order to produce a new book. His press agents collected endorsements as if they were selling a patent medicine. All of their exploitation went into the making of a dime-novel hero, none into documenting his historical career that then and ever since has typified the West that he and they were interested in exploiting.

All of the writings by and about Buffalo Bill were designed to publicize the show[play], but the show is barely mentioned in them. This is understandable, for press agents often exploit their own product by indirection. What they did not know was that the show, while transitory and ever changing, was permanently important. Cody and his press agents may have done a poor job for history, but there were tremendous in their creation of a tradition. That creation was the romance of the West—the romance of the West that ever since has continued in fiction, on the stage, in motion pictures, in radio, in television—and even in history. The credit—or the blame—for starting all this goes to Cody; to what was written by him, for him,

and about him, and about Buffalo Bill's Wild West.¹⁴

Bobby Bridger, author of *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West*, prepared his book as the third and final part of his trilogy, *A Ballad of the West*. The author intertwines the life of Cody with the story of the Lakota Indians. A theatrical performer himself, Bridger admits to artistic license at times when interpreting Lakota "prophecy," especially in regards to Cody, but states,

Nevertheless, as an international icon for nearly 150 years, Cody has been the subject of scores of biographies. Most of these biographers have simply rewritten and paraphrased source material, essentially creating countless versions of the same book...Cody's story has been told and retold from numerous perspectives for over five generations.¹⁵

Bridger references often Russell's *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* to complete his documentary approach to Cody's life and experiences. It is Bridger's intent "[place] the life of Buffalo Bill in a deep context of the Plains Indian culture [to] create new perspectives for interpreting their co-creation of the *Wild West*...[to] draw new attention to the fact that Cody and the Lakota and Cheyenne leaders consciously co-created the Wild West; that without Indian performers there could have been no Wild West."¹⁶ His work also relies heavily on L. G. Moses's *Wild West Shows and The Images of American Indians, 1883-1930*. While many written works on the life of Buffalo Bill Cody and the Wild West are limited in illustrations,

¹⁴ Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 284.

¹⁵ Bobby Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), p. 23.

¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 24.

Bridger chooses to include no imagery at all for Cody, the American Indians, or the show in *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*. Bridger presents many assumptions on this notion of the co-creation of the Wild West, which could be addressed through the inclusion of the visual culture of the show, or the interpretation of advertising and photographic materials created with emphasis on Cody and the American Indian performers. Bridger is among the many authors from varied disciplines and perspectives who choose to write the history of Cody and the Wild West.

Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May pay tribute to the legacy to William F. Cody in their *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography*.¹⁷ Rich with primary visual resources from many of the collections that this dissertation surveys, this pictorial biography is typical of the template used by Cody researchers to lead readers chronologically through the life and experiences of the man to his last days, and anticipated legacy. Rosa and May present more historical information in their captions, but do not integrate this information in the body of their text; therefore, separating Cody's narrative from the thread of visual history created throughout his life and career with the Wild West. It is the intent of the dissertation to provide an integrated interpretation of the history of Cody's participation and skill in directing the promotion and mythologizing of the Wild West, analyzing and interweaving the diversity of the visual materials produced between 1883 and 1913 to document the evolution of the advance work—the art and advertising—created to effectively market and brand the Wild West throughout America and Europe.

Some historians in the last two decades have adeptly moved from straightforward biographical works of Cody and the Wild West to scholarly examination of celebrity, memory,

¹⁷Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West: A Pictorial Biography* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989).

and American popular culture interpreting his professional career. Joy Kasson's *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory and Popular History* is a seminal work researching the connections between Cody's showmanship and the Wild West performing national identity recognizable internationally. She suggests that Cody's fame was carefully cultivated:

In a career that stretched over four decades, Buffalo Bill helped to create the modern notion of the celebrity, . . . Cody reaped the benefits of "star-making machinery," brilliant publicity campaigns waged by his staff to shape public perceptions of his character and accomplishments. So successful were these efforts that to audiences everywhere, Buffalo Bill was an immediately legible figure. Wherever he performed, political cartoons appeared in newspapers, using the easily recognizable metaphor of the Wild West show to comment on local issues: politicians roping each other, holding up stagecoaches, shooting at targets. Audiences understood him so well that posters and advertisements could promote the show with shorthand references: the figure of a running buffalo; a sketch of a horseman with long hair, goatee, and broad-brimmed hat; or a speeding stagecoach. . . . So powerful was the public image of Buffalo Bill, disseminated seamlessly through publicity, dime novels, and performance, that even early accounts of Cody's life and deeds reflect an identity carefully constructed by his publicists.¹⁸

¹⁸Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), p. 6.

Kasson's research introduced selections of new visual materials into the framework of the study for Cody and the Wild West: political cartoons and illustrations from scrapbooks, official program illustrations, broadsides and posters, Remington's *Harper's Weekly* illustrations, and the Käsebier photographic portraits of the Sioux Indian performers.

The best recent publications expanding the international legacy of the Wild West show and its performers include Paul Reddin's *Wild West Shows*, which assesses the nature of the genre over the century 1830-1930, from the beginnings of the Wild West shows in the form of artist George Catlin touring his paintings in Europe to Buffalo Bill and the later 101 Ranch show, and the invention of Western movies in the early twentieth century. Reddin studied four Wild West shows with an emphasis on the European experience, and used very limited illustrations to document his argument. Reddin concludes that Cody and Buffalo Bill's Wild West "evolved over time, always reflecting the dominant ideas in America."¹⁹ L. G. Moses's *Wild West Shows and the Images of the American Indians, 1883-1933* focuses on firsthand accounts of the Indian participants of the Wild West shows, their move from tribal reservations to becoming show performers, their relationship with the federal agencies of the U.S. Government, and their transitional situation at the turn of the century and in the early twentieth century. Louis S. Warren's *Buffalo Bill's America – William F. Cody and the Wild West Show* is an exhaustive and culturally rich biography of Cody, with limited but interesting select illustrations. Warren included mostly lesser-known portrait photographs of Cody, his family and friends, and Wild West performers, from the BBCW collections, several cartoons from British illustrated journals, and Wild West program pages from his own private collection. In most cases, few, if any,

¹⁹Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. xvi.

authors had published these images previously. Allan Gallop's *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West* cites more than 800 newspaper and magazines and entries from personal journals and letters to present the impact of the Wild West on the British. Gallop's detective work also unearths previously unpublished or little known popular illustrations and images of the Wild West. Tom F. Cunningham's *Your Fathers the Ghosts: Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland* provides the definitive documentation on the visits of the Wild West to Scotland, its legacy there, and updates to long-held stories of the tours, and provides new snapshots of the advertising, performers and troupe grand parades.²⁰

Throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Cody biographers and Wild West historians reproduced few images, and those used were often repeated across publications. Black and white portraits were frequently in books, but the vibrant color lithographic posters rarely printed. Color reproductions were limited due to traditional book printing technology and prohibitive costs. The substantial visual materials produced by the Wild West were lesser considered, possibly even irrelevant to scholars until more recently. The advent of museum and archival digital photography and broadening internet access has transformed researching Cody's legacy through photography and the Wild West publicity materials. Wild West-related publications and dissertation research have increased steadily during the last twenty years, with increasingly stronger and more diverse illustrative materials being presented for interpretation.

²⁰Tom F. Cunningham, *Your Fathers the Ghosts: Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Black & White Publishing, 2007); Alan Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West* (Stroud, UK: History Press, 2001); L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America - William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

6. Wild West Digital History: The Papers of William F. Cody

In the last decade, the BBCW launched the Papers of William F. Cody, an international project based at the BBM, to build a digital and online archive of scholarly publications, correspondence, newspapers, printed and photographic materials representing the life and times of William F. Cody and Buffalo Bill's Wild West. With three dozen scholars now participating in the expansion of this digital archive, there is continued expansion of the project. Reprints of scholarly publications with new introductions and new research publications by U.S. and international editors on the Papers project have greatly expanded the available resources for the study of Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild West. The University of Nebraska Press and University of Oklahoma Press have partnered separately with the BBCW to publish new scholarship or new book editions respectively. Charles Eldridge Griffin's *Four Years with Buffalo Bill* inaugurated the reproduction series with Nebraska in 2010, editor Chris Dixon provided a new introduction and insights into Griffin's personal experience on the road with the Wild West in Europe. Papers' senior editor Frank Christianson followed with the 2012 publication of his research and new introduction to *The Wild West in England*. Christianson focused his attention to the chronology of Cody's transformation from actor of the 1870s to the showman and entrepreneur of the 1880s, who grew the Wild West from something U.S.-based to an international export capable of featuring at the American Exhibition at Earl's Court in London in 1887. The Papers project has also supported fellowships for this author, and many others studying the art and cultural significance of the Wild West. Within the last six years, dissertations have been completed by Emily Burns in 2012, Stephanie Knapp in 2013, Jennifer Henneman in 2016, Emily Voelker and Jeremy Johnston in 2017.²¹ All of these dissertations except for Johnston are

²¹Dissertations recently completed for Cody studies and the history of Buffalo Bill's Wild West include Emily Burns, "Innocence Abroad: The Construction and Marketing of an American Artistic Identity in Paris, 1880-1910" (PhD

art history focused, with heavy use of illustrations, especially photographs. Knapp's research on the Wild West posters is more closely related to my research, but differs in methodology. Her analysis of the lithography is based on art history conventions and literature driven, as opposed to my emphasis on the commercial production and cultural history interpretation of the visual materials. Many of these completed dissertations are now being considered for the William F. Cody Series on the History and Culture of the American West, the new joint publication series between the University of Oklahoma Press and the Buffalo Bill Center of the West (Papers project). The latest volumes to be released by Oklahoma in 2017 include Frank Christianson's edited volume of essays from several of the recent doctoral studies, *The Popular Frontier: Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Transnational Mass Culture*, and Steve Friesen and Francois Chladiuk's *Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*, which incorporates the American Indian collections from the BBMG and a unique collection of artifacts which remain in a private European collection.²²

diss., Washington University, 2012); Stephanie Knapp, "Art Perpetuating Fame: The Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013); Jennifer Henneman, "Her Representation Precedes Her: Transatlantic Celebrity, Portraiture and Visual Culture, 1865-1890" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2016); Emily Voelker, "From Both Sides of the Lens: Anthropology, Native Experience, and Photographs of American Indians in French Exhibitions, 1870-1890" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2017); and Jeremy Johnston, "Two Rough Riders" (PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2017).

²²New reprints and research publications supported by The Papers of William F. Cody, BBCM, since 2010 include: Charles Eldridge Griffin, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2010), ed. Chris Dixon; W. F. Cody, *The Wild West in England*, ed. Frank Christianson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Frank Christianson, ed., *The Popular Frontier: Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Transnational Mass Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017); and Steve Friesen and Francois Chladiuk, *Lakota Performances in Europe: The Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017).

7. Circus Printing and the Lithographic Arts

The visual culture of Buffalo Bill's Wild West can be compared and contrasted to the tremendous business and advertising campaigns of circuses in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Noel Daniel's *The Circus 1870-1950* is a mammoth publication presenting the history, and selections of the posters and advertisements for the large circuses traveling the U.S. on the new transcontinental railroad, and garnering audiences in the millions. Daniel asserts that the circus "invented the rules of engagement for today's global entertainment industry...launching sensational press campaigns, employing global talent scouts, and bringing entertainment directly to audiences through the latest technology."²³ Daniel also discusses the concept of circus inserting a "capsule version" of the Wild West into performances—with cowboys, American Indians, stagecoaches, horses, and buffalos—adopting the uniquely American form of entertainment up until World War I.²⁴ A small sample of the Wild West imagery is included in Daniel's account, and also in two encyclopedic works on lithography in the nineteenth century America: Peter C. Marzio's *The Democratic Art: Chromolithography 1840-1900*, and Jay T. Last's *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth Century American Lithography*.

The Marzio and Last publications were written three decades apart, but together form a comprehensive overview of the American lithography business in the nineteenth century. Color lithographs were an extremely popular form used for commercial art work, and Marzio and Last have researched the most active lithographic printing companies in the U.S., their histories and local communities, their European immigrant owners and/or workers, their major business

²³Noel Daniel, *The Circus 1870-1950* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2009), p. 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

clients, and the growth in technology providing for mass production of prints following the American Civil War, and the ubiquitous nature of the poster in society. However, no authors have fully included examples of original lithographic art processes of poster art, or documented the complicated business intersections between print companies, as revealed in Cody's personal letters, advertising strategems, and expense records. *Printing History* is among the journals that have included specific articles on show printing, such as Richard Flint's 2009 article, "A Great Industrial Art: Circus Posters, Business Risks, and the Origins of Color Letterpress Printing in America."²⁵ Flint included extensive research on the history and background on the Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, which provides useful context for the original poster artwork in the CWM.

In all the publications on Buffalo Bill Cody and the Wild West, there is only one devoted to solely to the visual history of the show, and it was intentionally limited to posters. Jack Rennert asserted in *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* that "America's unique contribution in the field of poster art," lithographic craftsmanship and design, was the principal means of advertising for circuses, Wild West shows, tent, and traveling shows.²⁶ He combined an appreciation for excellence in design and lithography in the American and European posters produced for the Wild West, with some detail of negotiations with contracted print companies, and the work of the Wild West advance teams in mounting images across U.S. and Europe. Forty years later, new archival access and digital image research options have led us to better understand the full range of Wild West materials and print company records, allowing the

²⁵Richard W. Flint, "A Great Industrial Art: Circus Posters, Business Risks, and the Origins of Color Letterpress Printing in America," *Printing History* 50, vol. XXV, no. 2 (2009), pp. 18-43.

²⁶ Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 4.

reconsideration of the specific impact of Cody and the Wild West on art and advertising during and just after the show's thirty-year run.

This research on the art and advertising of the Wild West arises from my discovery of the limited scope of publications addressing the visual culture of the Wild West, and the indirect or incomplete surveys of images included in books that reference the show's visual materials. The opportunity remained therefore to complete an assessment of the entire range of the production of visual culture of the Wild West. Lithographic posters have been the focus of much scholarship interpreting the impact of the circus and tent show era on mass entertainment. Many books document circus poster artwork and marketing aimed at sustaining consumer interest in the traveling tent shows operating concurrently with the Wild West. Past authors have consistently focused their studies on specific or the larger circuses to present an array of colorful posters outlining the rapid work of the advance advertising teams. Two weeks ahead of the shows, circus management sent their crews out by wagon or train to mount poster sheets along the route of the performance city or town shows. City names were often printed on the posters, especially if crews posted miles from the actual performance venues. Authors like Rennert, and Charles Phillip Fox in *American Circus Posters*, acknowledged "the most important tool used by the advertising crew was the lithograph of the poster."²⁷ The artwork was viewed from a distance, captivating crowds and potential ticket buyers. I argue that Cody and his publicity team certainly used the show poster most effectively to bring in audiences to shows, but also embarked on creating a larger market by building on his own celebrity, and that of the American Indians and Congress of Rough Riders of the World, to achieve a lasting impact on advertising in the printing and entertainment industries, outshining even Barnum and Bailey. Curator and author Frederick

²⁷Charles Phillip Fox, *American Circus Posters* (New York: Dover, 1978), introduction.

R. Brandt drew on the Virginia Museum of Fine Art collections to edit the insightful *Designed to Sell: Turn-of-the-Century American Posters*, and included an essay by Philip B. Meggs, entitled “Turn-of-the-Century American Posters: Art+Technology=Graphic Design.” He concludes,

American posters of the turn of the century—through their accessibility to the public, their articulation of everyday life, and their stunning graphic vitality—became a distinguished expression of America in the visual arts. In large measure this explains the renown that such posters received in their time, and their enduring popularity as cultural artifacts.

As a direct result of this new generation of poster artists, a new attitude and philosophy emerged in American graphic arts. As the twentieth century unfolded, a distinct category of artists activity emerged: the skilled renderer was replaced by aesthetically trained designers of printed matter who combined an understanding of graphic technology, a sense of visual organization and aesthetics, and a commitment to the communicative functions of the graphic message.²⁸

Therese Thau Heyman outlined how the technological advances in graphic printing, including the lithographic poster printing process in Europe and America allowed for the

²⁸Phillip B. Meggs, “Turn of the Century American Posters: Art + Technology=Graphic Design,” in Frederick R. Brandt et al., *Designed to Sell: Turn of the Century American Posters in the Virginia Museum of Fine Art* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), pp. 44-45.

popularity of the poster in her *Posters American Style*. Thousands of poster copies could be produced without loss of image quality. Shows could also use the photo-mechanical printing processes to augment their sales and advertising. The photo-offset process implemented the half-time screen process to chemically convert an original photograph into a mechanically printed image on paper using an offset press. American advertising modernized and advanced with these innovations and others, as recorded in T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (1994), and Charles McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (2006).²⁹

Radical changes in American print culture mirrored the overall changes in society as the country entered a new era of social, political, and economic innovation and displayed a tendency toward increased modernity and global power. Leading American cultural historians have documented the sweeping changes to the nation in the decades of the Wild West. Alan Trachtenberg, in *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (1982, 2007) and *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans 1880-1930* (2004); T. J. Jackson Lears, in *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (2009); Steven J. Diner in *A Very Different Age: Americans in the Progressive Era* (1998); and Richard White, in *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (2011) all discuss theories on the rapid and transformational changes to the United States that followed the Civil War and would last into the next century.³⁰ Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes, in *Buffalo Bill in*

²⁹Therese Thau Heyman, *Posters American Style* (New York: Harry N. Abrams/Smithsonian, 1998); T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Charles McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

³⁰Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); T. J. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009); Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York:

Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922 (2005) defined the post-Civil War period as an era of reconstruction of American identity during which mass culture became one of America's chief defining characteristics.³¹

Recent publications have meaningfully advanced the scholarship on circus history in America within the context of a changing nation. Janet M. Davis, in *The Circus Age: Culture & Society: Under the American Big Top* surveyed the large railroad circuses operating during the same era as the Wild West, primarily Barnum and Bailey, and included short references to the railroad Wild West shows. Davis established a successful foundation for connections between the circuses and the broader national cultural and historical developments reflected in circus posters, artwork, and illustrated messaging.³² Matthew Wittman, in *Circus and the City: New York 1793-2010*, considered the "Americanization" of the circus "from comparatively modest European roots into the massive railroad shows that traveled around the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the circus was at the peak of its power."³³ Davis and Wittman have expanded on the excellent research completed by Charles Philip Fox and Tom Parkinson on the work of circus organizers, promotions departments, and the performers, using the collections of the CWM, in *Bills, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (1985) and *The Circus in America* (1969). All of these authors discuss major and minor circuses and traveling shows who used lithographic posters and promotional materials from the most prominent of printers in Cincinnati, Ohio. More recently, the Strobridge Lithographing Company's archive and poster collections were exhibited in a landmark exhibition

Hill and Wang, 1998; and Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011).

³¹Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, pp. 4-6.

³²Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

³³Matthew Wittman, *Circus and the City: New York 1793-2010* (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2012), p. 9.

and accompanying publication, *The Amazing American Circus Poster* (2011).³⁴ Kristin Spangenberg, curator at the Cincinnati Art Museum and Deborah Walk of the RAM organized the exhibition and co-edited the impressive catalog including biographies of the Strobridge artists and lithographers, essays which stressed the underappreciated impact of circus posters on advertising techniques developed in the United States, and offered an “overview of the American circus through the lens of the poster.”³⁵

The Wild West and American Imperialism

The visual culture created for the Wild West was shaped by certain program segments which, after the 1893 Chicago season, turned decidedly to representations of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. Cody was presented as the leader of American peace and international amity, as indicated in subtitles on the lithographic posters for the U.S. and European tours. The Wild West tours increasingly included military displays which highlighted American influence and power across continents, including involvement in conflicts in Cuba and China. Cody and his cast portrayed scenes of American imperialism drawn from episodes analyzed in a substantial scholarship that includes David L. Anderson, *Imperialism and Idealism: American Diplomats in China, 1861-1898* (1985); M. Ryan Floyd, *Abandoning American Neutrality: Woodrow Wilson and the Beginnings of the Great War, August 1914-December 1915* (2013); Eric T. L. Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism and the United States Imperialism 1865-1900* (2004); Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War, American and the Remaking of the*

³⁴Charles Philip Fox, and Tom Parkinson, *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing, 1985); Charles Philip Fox, *The Circus in America* (Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey & Ingalls, 2002) [1st pub., 1969]; Kristin L. Spangenberg, and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011).

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6.

Global Order, 1916-1931 (2014); Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and its World in an Age of Civil Wars* (2016); and Richard White, *The Republic for Which it Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865 – 1896* (2017).³⁶

Richard Slotkin addressed directly “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire,” in *Cultures of U.S. Imperialism*, edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (1993). Slotkin noted “Buffalo Bill’s potential as a force for ‘universal peace,’” and that the imagery of the Wild West had “the effect of ‘democratizing’ the imperial project.”³⁷

Although it draws insights and degrees of knowledge from all the previously cited works, *Advance Work: Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* is the result of original research, organization and interpretation, and provides an innovative perspective based on the multitude of primary and secondary resources available on William F. Cody and the Wild West. *Advance Work* seeks to apply an interdisciplinary approach to the study and interpretation of the visual culture of the man and the show—exploring the intersections of turn-of-the-century forces in US history, art, technology, and business management with the creation of an international phenomenon – the Wild West. *Advance Work* and its accompanying database seek to integrate the biographical, historical and visual legacy of Cody and his Wild West.

³⁶David L. Anderson, *Imperialism and Idealism: American Diplomats in China, 1861-1898* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); M. Ryan Floyd, *Abandoning American Neutrality: Woodrow Wilson and the Beginnings of the Great War, August 1914-December 1915* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Eric T. L. Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism and United States Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931* (New York: Viking, 2014); Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910* (New York: Viking, 2016); and Richard White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

³⁷Richard Slotkin, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire,” in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures in U.S. Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 173, 177. This material was originally published in Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) [1st pub., 1992], pp. 80 and 83.

Part One: Inventing Buffalo Bill's Wild West

Chapter One

The Art of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, William F. Cody and the American West

The life and times of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody (1846-1917) have been well-documented and interpreted in hundreds of publications written in the last 130 years. His portrait is synonymous with that of a hero of the American West. In his lifetime, Cody received international celebrity status, but was reviled by some critics as an exaggerated version of his own creation. Cody biographer Don Russell attributed this to envy: “That he allowed himself to be exploited as a hero, and made a living at it, was resented by many contemporaries.”¹ The surviving visual culture of Cody’s life, the legacy of photographs and printed images that were produced for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West touring exhibition, are less well documented in his biographies and the publications produced in the last century. These images were used most frequently as illustrations in advertising and program publications for theatrical plays or the Wild West. The cultural impact and significance of the mass entertainment and international phenomenon that was Buffalo Bill’s Wild West (1883-1913) can be best demonstrated through the study of related art, history, technology, business and popular consumption in the American post-Civil War era and the years leading up to the beginning of World War I. Private and public collections across the United States and Europe have preserved the art and advertising of the Wild West. These collections offer the opportunity for renewed research and analysis of the imagery selected to advertise the Wild West and the promotional materials used to draw general

¹Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 477.

audiences to performances which romanticized, and at the same time seemingly authenticated, the American West at the turn of the century. The show was billed in news advertisements as “America’s National Amusement” and the visual record of the Wild West is a rich collection of American and European posters, photographs and postcards, programs and newspaper-like “couriers,” advertisements and cartoons.²

Becoming Buffalo Bill

Born in 1846, William Frederick Cody spent the early years of his life on a 600-acre farm in the new Iowa territory. His father, Isaac Cody, moved the family to Kansas in 1854, where William grew up learning to live among the native people, the land, and among the animals of the American plains. The Cody’s arranged for all of their children to attend local schools, as possible. William hunted and trapped. With his father’s death in 1857, Cody’s history with work and the frontier began quickly. His biographers document various jobs throughout his youth, and worked for a freight company, wagon trains, and some record time riding with the Pony Express. Cody lived an American pioneer existence. During the Civil War in 1864, Cody served in the 7th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and later became a valued Indian scout for the U.S. Cavalry. Cody

²Newspaper advertisement for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 24, 1898, p. 28. The manuscript collection at the McCracken Research Library at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West (BBCW), Cody, WY, holds the scrapbooks of William F. Cody, documenting the newspaper coverage for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West tours. The newspaper articles included in these scrapbooks are organized chronologically to form a daily record of news, publicity, and advertising illustrations which promoted the Wild West tour stops in cities and towns across the United States and Europe, 1883-1913, and provide a chronicle of the troupe’s successes and challenges by year. “The Greatest Show on Earth,” a slogan most often associated with P. T. Barnum and his circus is also used at times for the Wild West. The BBCW, which includes under one roof five museums: the McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Museum, Plains Indian Museum, Draper Natural History Museum, and Whitney Gallery of Art, has the foremost and largest collection for the Wild West, related objects and visual materials. See *Buffalo Bill Historical Center* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1995), museum catalog, and also the Center websites, <https://centerofthewest.org/>, and <http://codyarchive.org/>. The Cody Archive is the digital result of the BBCW’s Papers of William F. Cody project, created to provide online access to the correspondence, scrapbooks, and a full archive of Cody and his Wild West. Newspaper accounts of the Wild West were enhanced by Cody’s publicity team’s frequent visits to editors. The published articles well describe the performances, and well articulate the nature and spectacle of the performances, and also provide some historical context for the era.

achieved a national reputation for his marksmanship skills while scouting and hunting buffalo for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and earned the nickname “Buffalo Bill” while working for the railroad in 1867. The railroads moved people and necessary supplies across the country to the American West, and launched the “boomtowns” which eventually expanded across the territories, where Cody always felt most at home.³ The nation was rapidly changing, and the popular living legends of the American West became widely accepted literary and entertainment icons. William F. Cody’s adventurous life was recounted in dime novels which eventually led him into the theatrical stage persona of “Buffalo Bill.” It is Cody’s own personal history that launched his national and international celebrity, and inspired the artwork which advertised his many professional projects. Beginning in the 1870s, Cody capitalized on the popularity of the dime novels, the short stories written accounts of his years as an Indian scout, Pony Express rider, buffalo killer, and established Western hero, to embark on an acting career which eventually led to the creation of the Wild West in 1883. Cody’s life paralleled the nation’s focus on westward expansion which progressed quickly as America transitioned from the Civil War era and the emancipation of the slaves, to a heightened phase of modern industrialization in the pre-World War I era. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, and development of a network of train services throughout the nation, further encouraged migration and established new networks for national touring groups and mass entertainment shows. Cody’s

³*Buffalo Bill Historical Center* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1995), pp. 10-17, museum catalog. William F. Cody’s early life and work impressed upon him a love for the American West and frontier lands and an appreciation for the art, history, and native peoples. Exhibitions on Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performances, the art and advertising reflect the image of Cody’s memories and desire to share his “real” Wild West with his audiences. Many biographies have been written for William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody. Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), remains the standard and probably the most respected.

acting career expanded in the 1870s and early 1880s, although he periodically continued to serve the U.S. government as an Indian scout.

The stories of Cody's killing buffalo for railroads and scouting Indians for the government encouraged the legend of "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and the literary and theatrical depictions multiplied. Cody finally left his beloved ranch in Nebraska and pursued financial opportunity to appear on the theatrical stage and later with Buffalo Bill's Wild West to play himself and led the historical reenactments of his life and pivotal moments in national history, including "Custer's Last Stand" (1876) and the "Battle of Summit Springs" (1869). The decision was a tumultuous one, leading at times to great wealth and at others to near devastating financial ruin. Cody built a career promoting his own life and adventures, and the characterization of the real and mythic American West, presenting the life of the cowboy and American Indian, the landscape, and the buffalo. With the Wild West, Cody toured the U.S. or Europe yearly with hundreds of performers and animals and shared his vision and re-creation of the American West within an arena setting. Cody developed the creative framework for this success with his partners Nate Salsbury (1846-1902), Major John M. Burke (1842-1917), and eventually circus owner James A. Bailey (1847-1906), and sustained it through three decades with changing programs and innovative performances, always inspired by Cody's personal story.⁴

Before he turned to acting, Cody met Louisa Frederici (1843-1921) while in St. Louis, Missouri, and married her in 1866. They had a turbulent marriage, but each was committed to

⁴Intense research continues among scholars to confirm the details of the life and times of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and his impact and influence on American history. More than thirty active Cody scholars assembled at the Buffalo Bill Center of the West for the Centennial Symposium, August 2-5, 2017, to mark one hundred years since Cody's death in Denver, in January 1917. Academics, public historians, art historians and biographers gathered to present new information and research as Cody archives and collections continue to be made more accessible online. See <https://centerofthewest.org/event/symposium-buffalo-bill-centennial/>.

their family and four children. Cody and Louisa spent much of the early part of their marriage in the East. They lived in near West Chester, Pennsylvania, and Rochester, New York, while Cody began his career in the theater in the 1870s. Their beloved and only son, Kit Carson (1870-1876), died while the family was in Rochester. Cody was then convinced to give up scouting and start acting by novelist Ned Buntline (1821-1886), who authored *Buffalo Bill: The King of the Border Men*. Cody worked with Buntline for one year, playing himself in theatrical plays like “The Scouts of the Prairie,” starring the scouts themselves, like Cody and fellow scouts Texas Jack Omohundro and Wild Bill Hickok. Cody did not gain critical acclaim for acting in these western melodramas, but successfully toured for ten years in the “Buffalo Bill Combination” stage productions, 1873-1883. He and the other “actors” brought their authentic characters and stories to the live stage productions. It was during this time that Cody met Major John M. Burke and hired him as advertising and general manager of the Combination in the second year. The two men would work together for the next four decades, with Burke also serving as chief publicist for the entire run of the Bill’s Wild West. Together, they managed the Buffalo Bill Combination, and nurtured a theatrical show with Western focus and a precursor to the Wild West, which highlighted marksmanship, Indian war dances, and recent battles on the Plains.⁵ Cody decided

⁵Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), p. 3. See also Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*; Joseph Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West: A Pictorial Biography*. Lawrence (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1989); and Helen Cody Wetmore and Zane Grey, *Buffalo Bill: Last of the Great Scouts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003) [commemorative edn.]. Cody’s entrepreneurial spirit and ability to cultivate long partnerships with skilled businessmen advanced his career in the theater and traveling show.



Figure 1. Photo pin, bust portrait of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Maker and date unknown. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.341

to leave acting temporarily when the U.S. Army prepared to escalate the war against the Plains Indians, and returned to service as a scout for the 5th Cavalry. Just weeks after the July 1876 Battle of Little Bighorn, Cody's regiment encountered Cheyenne Indians. The 5th Cavalry responded to the report that hundreds of Cheyenne had left their Red Cloud reservation in Nebraska to support Crazy Horse to the north. The Indians returned quickly to their reservation, but a small fight with possibly only one Indian dead ensued. The battle was reported internationally. Buffalo Bill, reported in some accounts as dressed in a stage costume, came upon Chief Yellow Hair, both men fired their guns, and the Indian was left dead. The story and later legend developed from Cody's killing of the Indian "Yellow Hair" propelled his fame further. The death was considered early retribution for General Custer and his men. The story is consistently retold and embellished, published in written and graphic prints, and acted on stage and later in the Wild West programs.⁶ "Buffalo Bill" Cody successfully managed his real-life adventures with the onstage acting career, allowing for the financial security to return to ranching on the Plains. By 1878, Cody's theatrical career allowed the family to achieve the goal to purchase a ranch in North Platte, Nebraska. The theater performances also propelled "Buffalo Bill" Cody to embrace the role of showman.⁷

⁶Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 118-19.

⁷*Buffalo Bill Historical Center* catalog, pp. 18-21.

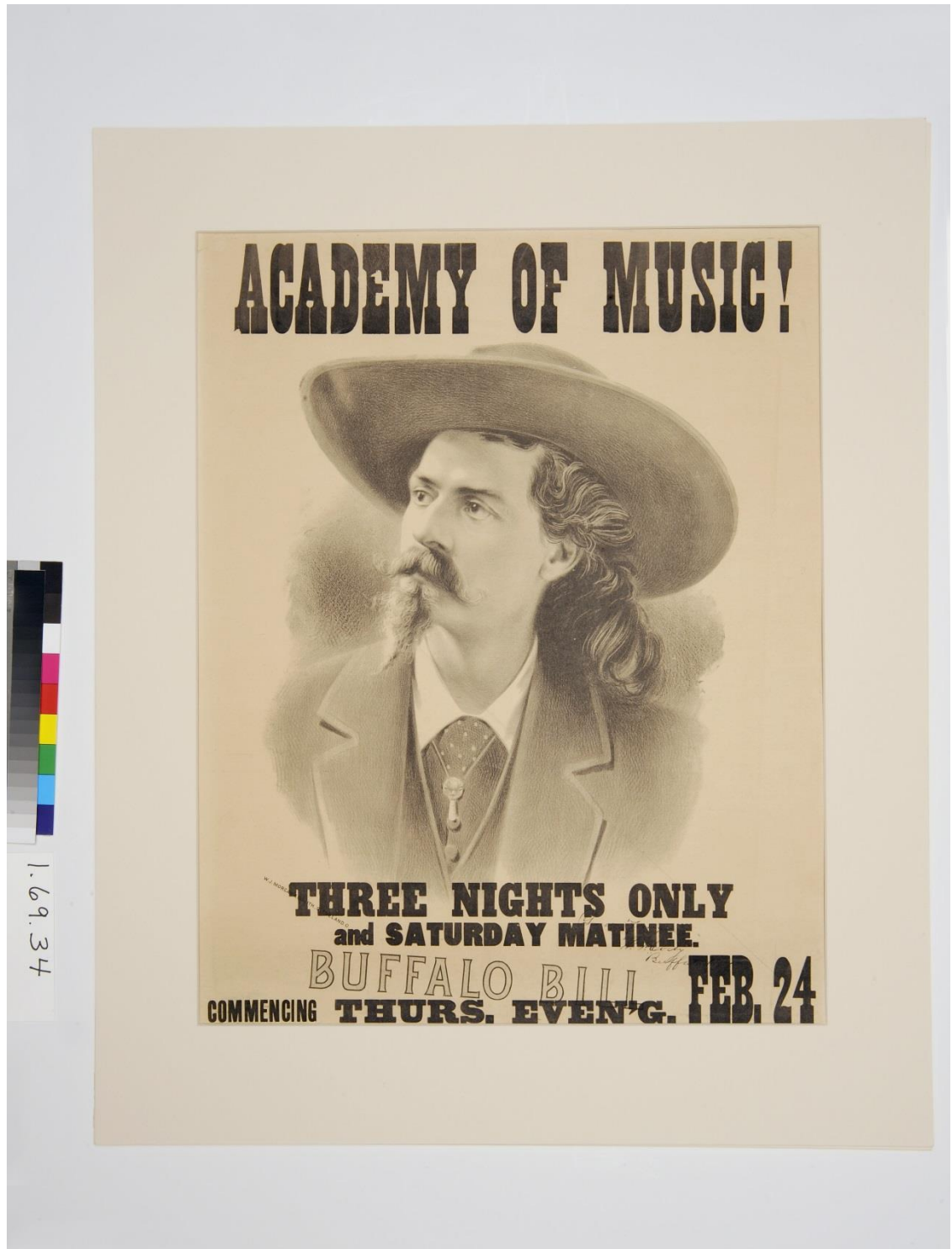


Figure 2. Duotone lithographic poster, *Academy of Music, Buffalo Bill, Three Nights Only*, c. 1876, printed by W.J. Morgan and Co., Lithographers, Cleveland, Ohio. 23.375 x 18.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.34

Staging the Wild West

On July 4, 1882, Cody produced the “Old Glory Blow-Out,” in North Platte, Nebraska. It was the original “Wild West” exhibition, an outdoor show of rodeo, bronco-busting, and shooting contests. Cody effectively began to shift his theatrical career from stage productions to large-scale outdoor arena productions. Cody partnered with Dr. W. F. “Doc” Carver for the next year on the “Wild West, Rocky Mountain, and Prairie Exhibition” and began to travel the show. Promoted by articles in newspapers in cities along the tour, the *New Haven (CT) Register* billed the show’s organizers as Buffalo Bill and Doc Carver, “American Sensations” who arrived in the city with a “special” train of ten cars and over 130 performers.⁸ Cody capitalized on the audience interest in the “Wild West” during this first tour with Carver, and spent the rest of his life focused on entertaining crowds by “interpreting” and reenacting the history of the American West. With Carver and other performers, Cody had proved the successful concept of a Wild West show, and the potential for a national audience. In one year, Cody quickly transitioned to staging his own production of “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West,” which further highlighted the sharpshooting, horseback riding, roping, military conflict, shootouts with Indians, narrow escapes and rescues daily to thousands attending the performances. Buffalo Bill’s Wild West toured the nation and Europe for the next thirty years.

William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and his management team of Salsbury and Burke, contracted with real-life westerners, cowboys and Indians, to expose audiences to famous incidents and real-life events of the American West. Cody built a diverse company of actors who were essentially portraying themselves; traveling by train for six months a year, these “heroes

⁸*New Haven (CT) Register*, July 24-26, 1883.

and villains” lived together across America and Europe. Performances sometimes provided the first interaction many Americans had with Indians. While Cody and his team respected the Indians, the Wild West programs included stereotypical portrayals of Indian warriors as the white man’s enemy. The Wild West Company contracted with the federal government to allow for the “Show Indians” to leave the newly established reservation system, and travel for the six months tour each year. Several hundred Indians lived and worked with Buffalo Bill each season.⁹ The individual contracts were signed by each Indian performer, a Wild West Company agent, and the appropriate federal Indian agents while on tour.¹⁰ The “Show Indians” represented some of the most popular performers after Buffalo Bill and their popularity with audiences encouraged the Wild West Company to include additional acts. By 1893, for the Columbian World’s Exposition in Chicago, Cody included the Congress of Rough Riders of the World: American Indians, Cowboys, Mexican Vaqueros, Russian Cossacks, British and Irish Military Units, Arab performers, and Cuban freedom fighters. Modifications to the program for the Wild West can be detected in the changes to the artwork and aesthetic representation of the exhibition; its visual legacy was evident in the evolution of the art of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.¹¹ Don Russell’s comprehensive biography of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody explored the work of the press and publicity agents as “tremendous in creating a tradition” with the ever-changing Wild West show. With powerful and detailed imagery of Buffalo Bill, the press agents worked with Cody to build up performances as based on the romance of the American West, history and fiction. Historian Joy Kasson has acknowledged the importance of the Wild West publicity staff to engineer

⁹*Buffalo Bill Historical Center* catalog, pp. 21-36.

¹⁰Signed contract for Sioux Indian Sammie Lone Bear of the Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, to perform with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1905. McCracken Research Library (MRL), BBCW, 2012 acquisition.

¹¹Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, p. 284.

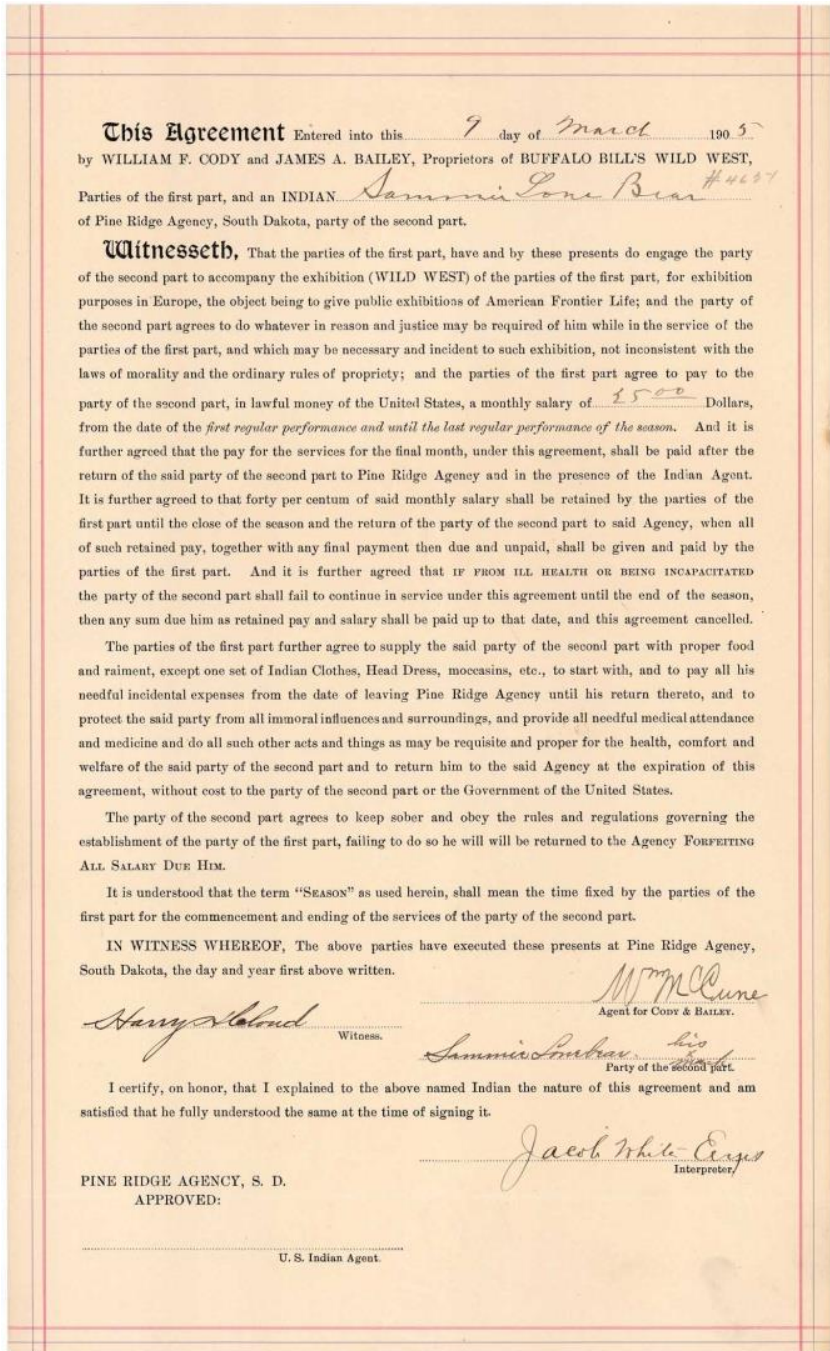


Figure 3. 1905 Wild West Company work contract negotiated by Wm. McCune, agent for Cody & Bailey, Jacob White-Eyes Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, interpreter, and Sioux Indian performer, Sammie Lone Bear. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. MS6.4116

the public image of “Buffalo Bill,” his celebrity character, and the immediate recognition of the man and his show.¹² The visual materials, the advance work and printed imagery, produced for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West provided the “short-hand references” building anticipation of the coming of the man and the touring company to cities and towns each season, and creating lasting memories of individual visits to the show and the camp. The artwork created for the show, included the posters and prints, photographs and postcards, and programs produced each year became instrumental to focus the attention of potential first-time and also repeat visitors to the entertainment to be seen, and offer glimpses into the American West that would be provided during each performance. Cody and his publicity team carefully planned each season’s graphic illustrations for the Wild West. The artistic and historical legacy of the show was crafted to coordinate the idolization with “Buffalo Bill” Cody, and the fascination with the American Indians, the cowboys, the women, and the foreign performers contracted each year. Images of Buffalo Bill, the American Indians, the stagecoach, and buffalo were immediately recognizable elements used in the advertising designs and representations of the show.¹³ The national

¹²Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), p. 6.

¹³Limited letter correspondence and business records exist related to the printing contracts and coordination of the large orders for posters, programs, and photographs each season of the Wild West. The American Heritage Center (AHC) at the University of Wyoming holds some original documents for the last Wild West European tour 1903-1906, which outline the orders for window lithographic prints, new orders for “sheets” of posters, and the recapitulation summaries of “bill postings,” which is the circus and the Wild West term for poster-hanging, available online at <http://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/uwydbuwy~60~60>, accessed July 15, 2018 . The AHC documents show that the cost of new orders for posters could range from \$20,000 to over \$100,000, i.e., the grand totals for the 1904 and 1905 posters produced by the Donaldson, Courier, and Enquirer printing companies for the Wild West in Europe. My researched has focused primarily on the U.S. tours of the Wild West. No comparable records have survived for the U.S. tours.



Figure 4. Color lithographic poster, *The Scout Buffalo Bill, Col. W.F. Cody*, with additional quote “A Man with a History – A Name—Gen. Wm. T. Sherman,” c. 1887, printed by A. Hoen & Company, 38.875 x 27.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.32



Figure 5. Color lithograph poster, "Col. W.F. Cody, Buffalo Bill," c. 1887, printed by A. Hoen & Company, 39.375 x 28.875 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBHC. 1.69.33



Figure 6. Woodburytype print, photomechanical reproduction portrait of *Colonel W. F. Cody* "*Buffalo Bill*," c. 1887, by unknown London photographer, 5.5 x 3.8 inches. Courtesy NPG.



Figure 7. Color lithographic poster, *Johnnie Baker, The Marvelous Marksman*, c. 1890, by A. Hoen & Co., 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.18

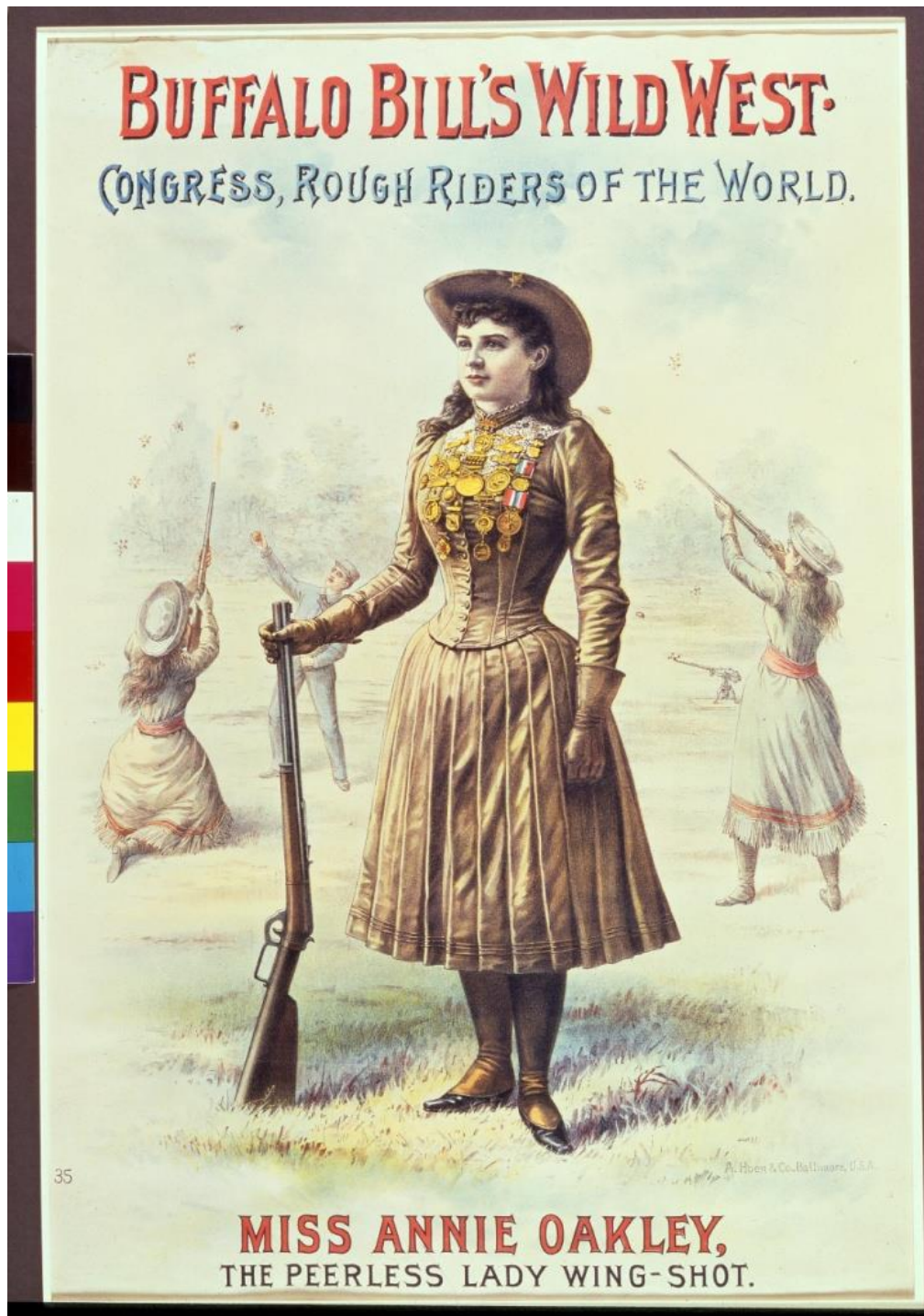


Figure 8. Color lithographic poster, *Miss Annie Oakley, The Peerless Lady Wing-Shot*, with rifle and shooting target glass balls, c. 1890, printed by A. Hoen & Co., 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.73

and international use of these symbols for advertising strengthened the visual recognition of the Wild West promotional materials, but none were as effective as the lasting relevance of Buffalo Bill's own image on the advertising posters. The existing collections of Wild West posters, photographs, and programs available to researchers and enthusiasts for interpretation in the 21st century reflect the dual influences of emerging printing technologies and the aggressive advertising strategies developing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Art historians and scholars have explored the emerging and pervasive significance of the poster in Europe and the United States in the 1880-1910s. These studies included business advertising, book announcements, theatrical shows and circus posters.¹⁴ Few of these studies include the variety of examples of the art and advertising produced by the Wild West, which were strategically and artfully created over the life of the tour, 1883-1913. Commercial art work and custom color lithographic posters were printed for businesses and were popular in American from Reconstruction to World War I, and slightly earlier in Europe. Writer and philosopher Susan Sontag is credited with the statement, "A poster aims to seduce, to exhort, to sell, to educate, to convince, to appeal."¹⁵ In this description of the illustrated poster, Sontag accurately

¹⁴Art historians continue to produce important research and analysis of the cultural impact of the lithographic poster to U.S. and European societies from the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, including Ruth E. Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting 1860s - 1900s* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014); Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company* (Cincinnati, OH: Cincinnati Art Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011); Cornell, Alice M. *Art as Image: Prints & Promotion in Cincinnati, Ohio* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001); and Therese Thau Heyman, *Posters American Style* (New York: Harry N. Abrams/ Smithsonian, 1998). Buffalo Bill's Wild West capitalized on advancing printing techniques and opportunities to diversify the characteristics of its posters, to incorporate artist-inspired designs more frequently than circuses or other traveling shows.

¹⁵Cited in Karen L. Carter, "The Spectatorship of the Affiche Illustrée and the Modern City of Paris 1880-1910," *Journal of Design History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (March 2012), p. 11.

reflects its use in modern capitalist countries in the late 1800s and early 1900s as a promotional tool, including the U.S. and Western Europe.

Innovation, Technology, and Lithographic Art

The lithographic print technology which revolutionized the graphic arts world was initially introduced in 1790s Munich, Germany, by Alois Senefelder. While color prints had been available for centuries by hand-coloring methods or sequential printing with multiple colors or ink, lithographs provided quality images in large numbers. Reproduction techniques were no longer made by relief or engraving, lithographs were printed on a flat surface, greasy crayon drawings were made on limestone by Senefelder, wetted and inked for transfer to printing paper when pressed against the stone. If properly maintained, the greased stone surface could produce multiple copies of the prints, even in to the thousands. Senefelder patented his invention, and licensed it first to printers in England and France, where it flourished and quickly became the most popular commercial printing process. Color prints with impressions from several stones in sequence proved difficult to maintain, especially the color registry and compatibility of inks. It was not until the 1830s that color lithography was achieved with commercial quality and reliable success in Europe. Americans were actively producing color lithographs a decade later.¹⁶

Skilled lithographers were considered artists, not scientists, despite the precise technical requirements of the process. The evolution of the color lithograph included early sequential side-by-side printing of colors, overprinting of inks, and later printing using small dots patterns for “screen” prints. The lithograph “designer” worked with the artwork or sketch to be reproduced,

¹⁶Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005), pp. 275-76. The history of American lithography and its European origins are well documented in Peter Marzio, *The Democratic Art – Pictures for a 19th-Century America: Chromolithography, 1840-1900* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979).

then decided color selections and printing plates to be used. Slow hand presses were first used for the printing, but decades of business growth and competition profit drove the demand for high quantities of lithographs at low cost. Europe developed the first high-speed steam powered presses, which were introduced in America before the 1860s and the Civil War. Europeans also continued to produce the highest quality lithographic stones. American firms worked to improve the designs and function of the mechanized presses, and later experimented with printing on sheets of zinc. U.S. companies that could provide the necessary supplies for paper and inks expanded. By the 1870s and 1880s, American printers finally met the increased demand for large numbers of low-priced color lithographs, especially for the growing number of advertising needs of the circuses and theatrical shows touring the country, which included all formats of advertisements from small-sized illustrated prints for store window display to the largest billboard-sized posters for mounting on buildings or fences. Specialized printing teams had workers operating in the high-volume commercial lithographic firms of the 1880s. There were at least twenty specialized skilled workers needed in the production process. Most important was the initial meeting of the company “sketch artist” with the customer, tasked with producing a watercolor or oil painting in consultation with the customer. Once approved, the “lithographic artist” would then trace the work on the lithographic stone, and the production process with the “color artist,” “prover,” “pressmen” and apprentice helpers crafting the final product.¹⁷

In this golden age of the lithographed poster, form and color dominated the graphic designs used. Commercial advertising inaugurated a strong visual language aimed at persuading

¹⁷Ibid., p. 278-84. A strong analysis of American posters and process is also demonstrated in Therese Thau Heyman, *Posters American Style* (New York: Harry N. Abrams/ Smithsonian, 1998).

consumers and influencing viewers. This “pictorial” tradition matured in the designs of lithographic posters in late nineteenth century France.¹⁸ Artist Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and printer Jules Chêret were leaders in the French influence which advanced the popularity of the lithographed poster. A pivotal period in graphic design history, these artists capitalized on the growing consumer economy of an urban and modern Paris. Improved mechanical reproduction of prints allowed for the saturation of the city in “visually aggressive” advertising methods. The French perfected the transformation of the “public notice” poster from a purely instructive and informative tool for businesses and theaters to a highly designed art poster. The Third Republic saw Napoleon III (1808-1873) and Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann (1809-1891) create a new city of boulevards and modern construction. Millions of posters were “pasted up” yearly, canvassing public streets and spaces with colorful imagery. Walls of building, public toilets, kiosks, and vendor book stalls in commercial areas of Paris were covered with posters. Laws allowing the freedom of posting led to the domination of the poster in the European capital.

Today the poster reigns supreme on all walls of Paris, even on public monuments; here it is sprawled out, glaring, dazzling, gaudy, and tugging at the eye of the passerby (tyrant l’oeil du passant) to whom it promises mountains and marvels.

Gustave Fustier 1884¹⁹

Historian Karen Carter interpreted Susan Stonag’s speculation on the changing nature of the 19th century poster, and explored the psychic effects of the poster on spectators. Color and

¹⁸Robert A. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody: the Man Behind the Legend* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2000), p. 11.

¹⁹Gustave Fustier, “La Littérature Murale: Essai Sur Les Affiches Littéraires en France,” *Le Livre* (Nov. 10, 1884), p. 337.

form dominated the streets of Paris, and provided for overstimulation, especially in working-class dominated areas of the city. Designers and artists responded to their viewers. Bright colors and “explosive” visual effects led to sometimes loud and uproarious images, especially Chêret’s *Folies Bergère* posters of the 1870s. Belgian writer Camille Lemonnier (1844-1913) commented on the power of the poster in 1893: “...the symbol of our fin de siècle life...made ostentatious eye-catching icons [that] lit up and set ablaze the street and presented the passerby with an illusion and divine deceit [that entered] the soul through the eyes.”²⁰ For decades the exaggerated and ubiquitous nature of the Parisian poster displays captivated spectators, but it was the last twenty years of the century that proved a turning point in the movement towards commercial advertising dominating over the previously prevalent political posters. And yet few survived: printed on cheaper paper than fine art prints, many lithographic posters were intended for outdoor advertising displays and exposed to the elements of weather and pollution on city buildings and streets.²¹

American Printing and Poster Production

Americans were equally drawn to the democratic art of the lithographic poster. Beginning in the 1860s with the American Civil War, printing companies in cities throughout the war-torn nation were introducing commercial art to the general public. Several companies based in the mid-western river city of Cincinnati, Ohio, were most active in producing the highest quality poster work for American theatrical and circus posters from the 1870s to World War I.

Cincinnati boasted a growing industrial community, factories, and transportation companies that

²⁰Camille Lemonnier, “Quelques Opinions Sur Les Affiches Illustrées,” *La Plume* (Nov. 15, 1893), p. 497.

²¹Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, pp. 19-23.

encouraged the new printing firms.²² The Cincinnati printers increased the number of colors available on posters up to eight, and improved the concept of the multi-sheet poster for larger advertisements. Cincinnati companies like Strobridge Lithographing Company were responsible for advancing the success of traveling shows across the U.S. Posters were being sized to “wrap” building fronts entirely, their subjects appearing larger than life. In 1875, author D. J. Kennedy commented on the growing popularity of the lithographic prints,

It is almost impossible to estimate too highly the value of work done by lithography in popularizing art among the people...nine-tenths of the illustrations we see placarded in railway waiting rooms, hotels, and other places of public resort, are the product of lithography.²³

Like the European predicament, America experienced “ubiquitous” poster posting. Graphic Arts historian Peter Marzio and author of *The Democratic Art: Chromolithography 1840-1900* acknowledged the twentieth century collectors market for these ever-present images. Marzio examined the question of whether the posters were “public art or public pollutant.”²⁴ Newspaper and magazine articles of the period presented the benefits and consequences of the explosion of visual art in the city. In December 1884, the editor of *Art Age* wrote “Street Lithography,” and stated, “Every...lithographer who sends out well-drawn, well-colored, well-composed poster to adorn the streets of a large American city is materially assisting in the art education of a

²²Alice M. Cornell, *Art as Image: Prints & Promotion in Cincinnati, Ohio* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), pp. 7, 18-22.

²³D. J. Kenney, *Illustrated Cincinnati: A Pictorial Hand-Book of the Queen City* (Cincinnati, OH: Robert Clarke & Co., 1875), p. 147; and, Marzio, *The Democratic Art*, pp. 130-34.

²⁴Marzio, *The Democratic Art – Pictures for a 19th-Century America*, p. 131.

Nation.”²⁵ Large printing firms expanded in American cities across the Eastern United States, New York, Connecticut, and Maryland, and in Ohio and the Midwest. Many of these firms were operated by European immigrants who trained American apprentices, who mentored and shared their skills with Americans and the newer printing firms. Lithographers and their artists increasingly introduced new communities to their art, advertising posters, and prints as creative and democratic art. On February 9, 1879, the *New York Times* published, “Art in the House,” which noted that “American Art is getting into the house...When fine pictures are too costly—chromolithographers...prove the growing taste for beauty of form and color.”²⁶

The last half of the nineteenth century saw growing European and American urbanization and industrial advances. Following the American Civil War new markets were created, and the beginnings of a distinctive American look in advertising and lithographic designs—colors and lettering. Artists’ renderings were being transformed by organized businesses into popular prints, labels, and a variety of advertising materials, promotional literature, and show cards. There was a definite impact on the average American with the availability of inexpensive color images for their parlor walls or greeting cards.²⁷ Printed art went from scarce commodity to pervasive

²⁵Editor, “Street Lithography,” *Art Age* (Dec. 1884), p. 57.

²⁶*New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1879.

²⁷Last, *The Color Explosion*, pp. 15-25.



Figure 9. Photograph of Italian building with Buffalo Bill's Wild West posters shown around the exterior of the first level, c. 1906, Maker unknown. Courtesy MRC, BBCW.

visual culture. American lithographers significantly contributed to what was the thriving age of the poster. An appreciation of the time, place, economics, and the psychology of the intended viewer of the American posters is considered by Rennert in *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*.²⁸ The increased craftsmanship and quality of the American posters of the 1880s through the 1910s was assisted by the expansion of theatrical shows and circuses with tours across the increasing railroad network crossing the nation. These troupes needed large amounts of advertising, including posters, handbills or pamphlets, and printed programs for purchase to publicize their shows in cities and towns along the railroad routes.²⁹ The major market for color lithographs in the early 1880s coincided with the start of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West tours. Thousands of posters and billboards were produced annually in the U.S. These images and the Wild West performances shaped the "image, tradition, and romance of the American West."³⁰

²⁸Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 4. The scope of Rennert's book and research is intentionally limited and tightly focused on the poster imagery for Cody's Wild West, and very similar to the format for an auction sale catalog. Indeed, forty years after the publication, Rennert remains an active owner of a prominent New York auction house well-known for the sale of historic and contemporary posters. *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* is similar in style to all of his auction sale catalogs, with limited "fields" or categories addressed to encourage the history of each poster for sale. However, to Rennert's credit, his publication was the first, and remains the only, book published solely on the Wild West posters, and which sought to recognize fully the artistic intent and historic value of the Wild West posters and their influence on modern advertising in the United States. His expertise with the historic print firms of American and Europe has also introduced a generation of museum professionals and private collectors to these color lithographic posters. The BBCW and other museums and historical societies continue to purchase new poster collection acquisitions from Rennert's sales. The publication of *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* also coincided with the academic trend towards social and cultural history, and material culture studies. Without the groundwork set and standards attained in books like Rennert's, the study of material, and later visual culture studies, would not have expanded as it did after the 1980s. An excellent example of the integrated history book, with visual culture studies emphasized, is Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). My own research is indebted to these authors and the continued expansion of the field of visual culture studies, and also the impact of digitization projects making many archival collections available online to allow better understanding and fuller research into the provenance of the Wild West posters, their creation, the makers, distributors, and consumers involved in the history and legacy of this printed imagery.

²⁹ Last, *The Color Explosion*, p. 25.

³⁰ Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 3.

Cody and the Wild West Posters

Cody himself insisted on authenticity and quality in all aspects of Buffalo Bill's Wild West. This included the designs for the advertising lithographic posters, known as the "paper." He worked closely with his partners and managers, but is also known to have had some direct connections to the selection of printing companies and lithographers. Correspondence established his visits to these companies, and his friendships with the artist and lithographers. Cody was inspired by, and appreciated, the artistic works of painters Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, and Charles Schreyvogel. He also sought the leading poster artists of the time, including Matt Morgan, R. Farrington Elwell, and Henry Atwell Thomas. The posters designed for the Wild West are typically of outstanding quality for the time period, especially when considered in contrast to those of rival touring theater and circus groups.³¹

The visual imagery created for the art and advertising of the Wild West reflected almost a century of American art of the West. Peter H. Hassrick, former director of the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, in Cody, Wyoming, has dramatically summed up the impact of the art of the Wild West,

...when the frontier 'closed,' the Western saga found ample expression in the nation's art and literature as well as through an array of collected material objects. William F. "Buffalo

³¹The poster and archival collections of the MRL and Buffalo Bill Museum (BBM)/BBCW, Denver Public Library (DPL), John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (RMA), and the Circus World Museum (CWM) include Cody's personal correspondence and completed posters. These collections represent the work of Cody and his partners to create poster advertising that characterized the Wild West in ways that were aligned with the work of some of the best American and European artists of the time. The RMA is currently digitizing their Wild West collections and the correspondence between Cody and his long-time agent Louis E. Cooke, which the staff generously forwarded to me for review prior to public online availability.

Bill” Cody, with his Wild West extravaganzas, then carried the spirit of [George] Catlin’s project to a popular conclusion, in which Western myth and history, enveloped in a swirling cloud of dramatic visual display, gained a world audience.³²

Cody and his audiences were familiar with many of the most famous artists of the nineteenth century and their works depicting the land, the peoples, and the material objects of the American West, including George Catlin, Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran, and Frederic Remington, and less recognized names such as James Otto Lewis, Charles Bird King, Karl Bodmer, Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles Russell, and Charles Schreyvogel. Many artists were considered explorers in their own right, and experts on the culture of the American West. Sometimes they were commissioned to undertake an artistic expedition and document the land and its peoples. Several of the artists and their work directly related to the development of the Wild West tour, and the visual culture developed for each season. For example, the paintings and works of Remington and Schreyvogel provided artistic inspiration for the lithographic artists contracted by Cody and his management team.

American Art and the West

George Catlin’s European tours of his “North American Indian Gallery” paintings with American Indian performances represented a precursor of the later Wild West shows. Catlin

³²Paul Fees and Sarah F. Boehme, *Frontier America: Art and Treasures of the Old West from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center* (New York: Harry N. Abrams/Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1988), p. 9.

(1796-1872) was born in the Wyoming territory, and intended to build a career in law. By 1832, Catlin had turned his interest in art into a profession and trained in a Philadelphia studio. An opportunity to see a delegation of Indians visiting the city changed his artistic focus. He “decided on his own to paint the Indian people, but clearly hoped to obtain government patronage for his work.”³³ His comments that the Indians seemed the “lords of the forest,” “wrapped in pictured robes,” and “attracting gaze and admiration of all who beheld them.”³⁴ His project was the first art to render the Indians as living on the Plains, and set a high standard for authenticity and thoroughness in an art project which few artists could ever aspire. Over eight years, Catlin completed more than five hundred paintings of Plains Indians from more than fifty tribes, and scenes of tribal life. Despite the objections of his family and friends, Catlin lived and traveled throughout Indian country, learning as much as possible about the everyday lives, games, and superstitions of the tribes, and the essential character of the Indians. He painted individual portraits and views of the villages, with extreme detail made to dress and weaponry. Catlin published engravings of his paintings in his 1841 *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, and developed exhibitions of the paintings, “The Indian Gallery.” He eventually contracted with Indian groups to perform for crowds at the showings. As a precursor to the eventual Wild West shows, Catlin presented his own interpretation of the Indians through the paintings and sketches, his collections of Indian artifacts, and the real Indians themselves, further authenticated the experience of his viewing audiences from 1843 in America, and Europe first. Catlin also documented his tours and the

³³Ibid., p. 22.

³⁴George Catlin, *Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, Volume 1* (New York: Dover, 1973), p. 2. An extensive collection of Catlin’s work is held at the Smithsonian American Art Museum with online access at <https://americanart.si.edu/artist/george-catlin-782>.

Indian performances with several books detailing his travels with Iowa and Ojibwas Indians.³⁵

Catlin, like Cody later, intended to provide the American public with a historical and visual education for the American West and the complicated co-existence of the North American Indians. His paintings are still considered invaluable, accurate and ethnographic documents for the study of the American West. He wrote in his 1844 edition of *Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*,

...civilization [is] destined, not only to veil, but to obliterate the grace and beauty of Nature. Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter, --and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such as I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are the themes worthy the life-time of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and becoming their historian.³⁶

³⁵Robert B. Pickering, ed., *Peace Medals: Negotiating Power in Early America*. (Tulsa, OK: Gilcrease Museum, 2011), p. 63-64. The Catlin essay in *Peace Medals* details the artist's interaction with Indian performers, as a precursor to the later Wild West shows, including Cody's.

³⁶Catlin, *Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, Volume 1*, p. 2. This quote is from Catlin's London 1844 edition. Catlin included chapters of his letters and notes from his exploration throughout the American West.

Catlin desired to interpret the “Native dignity, beauty and independence” of the Indians for an international audience.³⁷ Catlin and Cody shared a similar respect for the American Indians. Catlin introduced the concept of touring tribal performers with his painting exhibitions, and exposed his audiences to the authentic culture of the Indians. Early portrait photographs existed for some of the Indians traveling with Catlin, but there are no known images of the Indian performances. Photography was invented in Europe four years before Catlin’s initial trip in 1843, but limits in the new technology prevented instantaneous action photography of the performances or street parades so familiar in the later documentation of the Show Indians of the Wild West. While Cody’s theatrical career and showmanship secured his own celebrity status, it was his incorporation of American Indians into the performances of the Wild West exhibition that led to the early and eventual sustained success for decades. Cody and his partners recognized the significance of the art of the American West, and worked to maintain relationships with active artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Artist and sculptor Frederic Remington (1861-1909) and Cody are known to have maintained a long and lasting friendship. Remington worked as a reporter and illustrator for popular magazines, including *Harper’s Weekly*, beginning in the late 1880s, which afforded him the opportunity to explore the American West. He often followed the campaigns of General Nelson A. Miles, and sketched the battles of the U.S. Army and Apache Indians in Arizona. For *Harper’s*, Remington’s assignments also included time with scouts in South Dakota to observe the Cheyenne Indians. Remington produced hundreds of illustrations of the Indian Wars between 1886 and 1913.³⁸ This work proved of lasting influence on Remington’s career, with his art

³⁷Ibid., p. 4.

³⁸William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986), pp. 207-209; and Fees and Boehme, *Frontier America*, pp. 44-53.

focused on scenes of the Indians of the Plains, the military, the cowboy at work, and the buffalo hunt. He ultimately achieved national fame and recognition as a leading American artist for his untraditional bronze sculptures, depicting cowboys or Indians on horseback, and many examples of taming wild horses—the bucking broncos. Remington’s studio was in New Rochelle, New York, but he was known to visit the Wild West on tour often and sketched the performers or the program. In 1897, Remington traveled to Wyoming and stayed at Cody’s ranch. Cody’s sister, Helen Wetmore Cody, had Remington paint the portrait of her brother used for her 1899 biography: *The Last of the Great Scouts*. Entitled *Buffalo Bill in the Limelight*, it is a poignant painting in black and white, dramatically highlighting Buffalo Bill on horseback as he commanded the center of the Wild West arena.³⁹ Remington and Cody shared a mutual respect for the talents and bravery of the cowboy, and the skills needed to work the horses. Many lithographic posters and program illustrations for the Wild West reflected the realism of Remington’s work.

The Munich-trained German-American artist Charles Schreyvogel (1861-1912), was a sometime rival of Frederic Remington, who also attracted the attention of William F. Cody when he visited the Wild West to sketch behind the scenes. As a young artist, Schreyvogel was interested in depicting the men of the exhibition—the cowboys, the Indians, the military. From the 1890s and into the first part of the 20th century, Schreyvogel traveled West each year to sketch, collect artifacts, and listen to the stories of battles from military veterans. Upon return to

³⁹The Whitney Western Museum of Art at the BBCW owns the Frederic Remington art studio and contents, with related archival and collection materials related to Remington and Cody’s relationship in the BBCW’s MRL and BBM collections for correspondence, photographs, and posters, respectively. The Remington Catalog Raisonée is available online at <https://centerofthewest.org/explore/western-art/research/frederic-remington/>.



Figure 10. Oil on canvas painting, *Buffalo Bill in the Limelight*, c. 1899, by Frederic Remington, 27.25 x 40 inches. Courtesy WWMA, BBCW. 23.71

his home in Hoboken, NJ, Schreyvogel painstakingly worked from sketches to finished paintings, using models as needed to determine best poses. He completed few works per year, and for the majority of his career, benefitted from a loyal base of wealthy patrons in his local area. In 1900, Schreyvogel was awarded an annual prize by the National Academy of Fine Arts, and his painting, *My Bunkie*, was instantly recognized in the media. It showed a U.S.

Cavalryman lifting a comrade to safety in the heroic and inspirational painting. Gustave Kobbe (1857-1918), a New York art critic was an immediate admirer of Schreyvogel; upon seeing *My Bunkie* displayed at the National Academy show, he tracked down the elusive forty-year-old artist to learn more about his realistic and detailed Western scene paintings to share in an article for *The Cosmopolitan* October 1901 issue.⁴⁰ By 1903, Schreyvogel produced what he considered his best painting, *Custer's Demand*, which portrayed General George A. Custer and his aides confronting Kiowa Chief Santana. Fellow artist Frederic Remington questioned the authenticity of the scene. A newspaper debate followed and ended with Schreyvogel receiving the public endorsement of Custer's widow, Elizabeth Bacon Custer, Theodore Roosevelt, and Colonel Montgomery Schuyler, who was at the original scene. But, despite their differences, the two artists shared one artistic characteristic in that both Schreyvogel and Remington regularly refrained from depicting death in their individual paintings. Schreyvogel's *The Summit Springs Rescue—1869*, was painted after the recollections of Cody and completed in 1908. It does not include the female captive killed during the rescue. Reenacted during many seasons of the Wild

⁴⁰Gustave Kobbé, "A Painter of the Western Frontier," *The Cosmopolitan*, vol. 31, no. 6 (Oct. 1901), pp. 563-73.



Figure 11. Oil on canvas painting, *The Summit Springs Rescue—1869, 1908*, by Charles Schreyvogel, 48 x 66 inches. Courtesy WWMA, BBCW. 11.64

West, Cody portrayed his own role as scout with the Fifth U.S. Cavalry attempting to rescue two white Nebraska frontier women kidnapped by the Chief Tall Bull and his Cheyenne Indian soldiers. Cody is able to track the Indians to Colorado leading a charge on the Indian camp. One woman is killed, the other rescued. Schreyvogel's work was admired by Cody and encouraged.⁴¹ The Wild West frequently requested the Summit Springs scene as a lithographic poster advertising the Wild West tour.

The Wild West contracted with many national and international printing firms throughout the course of touring 1883-1913, over a dozen. Depending on the needs of the season tours, several firms could be contracted in a year. Producing the largest number of Wild West posters were six firms: The Forbes Company, of Boston, Massachusetts; The Strobridge Lithographing Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Enquirer Job Printing Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Courier Lithographic Company, of Buffalo, New York; A. Hoen Company, of Baltimore, Maryland; and the Calhoun Printing Company, of Hartford, Connecticut; with additional posters designed by the Springer Lithographic Company, of New York; the U.S. Lithographic Company—Russell – Morgan Print, of Cincinnati, OH; and the W. J. Morgan & Company Lithographers, of Cleveland, Ohio. Cody developed friendships with many of the heads of these firms. The Calhoun Printing Co. was led by William H. Higgs, a longtime friend of Cody, who supervised much of the earliest printing transitioning the advertising from Cody's acting appearances to the development of the Wild West. Calhoun printers relied on the older steel and wood engraving processes to create their art, not the new process of lithography or the new artists developing

⁴¹Goetzmann and Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination*, pp. 214-215; the Charles Schreyvogel Papers are housed at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, and available online at <https://nationalcowboymuseum.org/explore/charles-schreyvogel-artist/>.

lithographic designs. Calhoun produced some of the earliest, but fewer, of the signature Buffalo Bill products as the printing industry revolutionizes itself in the 1880s and 1890s. The move to mechanical reproduction processes also increased the firms' reliance on forms of photography. Cody and his publicity partners sought innovative and creative artists' renderings from the A. Hoen Company and others, to raise the standards and quality of their posters and program art.⁴²

American Printers and the Wild West

It is the A. Hoen and Company, of Baltimore, Maryland, which developed the longest standing contractual relationship as a printer for the Wild West. From the 1870s to the 1890s, Hoen was responsible for the design and manufacture of the posters which defined the character and the uniqueness of the Wild West touring exhibition. The company was then the oldest lithographic printing plant in the United States, originally founded in 1835 by German immigrant Edward Weber, who brought his own lithographic equipment to America. His nephew, August Hoen, took over the company in 1848 upon Weber's death. Hoen led the firm until his death in 1886, and his descendants continued the business another century until 1981. Unfortunately, original records and company archives were destroyed in a devastating plant fire in 1901, something which frequently occurred in printing plants because of inherently flammable hazards onsite. The Hoens rebuilt their operation several miles from their original printing plant, and benefited from their close proximity to the nation's capital, Washington, D.C., with many federal contracts for illustrated maps and documents.⁴³

⁴²The A. Hoen & Company story was the subject of an exhibition and illustrated catalog, *A. Hoen on Stone: Lithographs of E. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore, Maryland 1835-1969*, produced by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, 1969.

⁴³Last, *The Color Explosion*, pp. 266- 88.

Hoen's small flatbed stone presses were able to produce the one sheet or half sheet posters which distinctively and clearly represented Buffalo Bill Cody and his cast to citizens in cities across the nation and Europe. Hoen excelled in the production of the smaller in-store display advertising posters used by the advance publicity team for the Wild West. For the first decade of the Wild West, Hoen's designs were predominantly used for the promotion and advertising. Their posters saturated communities, where the show sometimes performed weeks-long stands. Hoen could not produce the larger multi-sheet posters; this was reserved for other companies with larger presses able to create the later larger-than-life billboards wrapping buildings and city blocks along the tour. Nevertheless, Hoen staff produced over fifty posters for the Wild West. Many of the earliest examples of Hoen's posters of the 1880s were used for the Wild West's first trip to England in 1887, and then used again, reprinted or updated for the long stand positioned just outside the entrance to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In 1976, Rennert interviewed Thomas Townsend Hoen, who recounted his forebears' interactions with Cody and his personal visits to the Hoen plant for supervision of the poster printing.⁴⁴ The unusually strong artistic quality of the posters produced for the Wild West continued with the next decades of elaborate images and programs produced by the Courier Lithographic Company, of Buffalo, New York, the Strobridge Lithographing Company and the Enquirer Job Printing Company, both of Cincinnati, Ohio. Courier converted from primarily engraving work to lithography to compete with the Cincinnati companies, and to get the "show work." With both engravers and lithographers on staff, Courier was able to print color program

⁴⁴An original Hoen factory building remains standing today on the outer limits of Baltimore, Maryland, adjacent to the railroad system which remains a vital mode of transport, see Conclusion, figure 126. The BBM/BBCW holds the most significant collection of Hoen produced Wild West posters with more than fifty extant originals available for research. Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 4, mentions the interview with Thomas Townsend Hoen, but does not cite any original quotes from it.

covers with interior black and white pages, and the oddly shaped, detailed “courier” programs and pamphlets, such as the buffalo or Indian’s head shaped booklets. Courier also produced single sheet and multi-sheet posters, with especially fine detail from their work with photographs taken at the Wild West performances and behind the scenes from 1896 to 1907.⁴⁵

Strobridge Lithographing Company was the leader among lithographic companies in America, and created some of the most “classic” circus-like posters for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Strobridge was contracted for many years by Barnum and Bailey circus, and later with the competing Pawnee Bill show to print all of their posters from 1894. Strobridge continued to work with that show when Buffalo Bill partnered with Pawnee Bill in 1908. Strobridge posters were also printed for the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch show when Cody performed with the group in 1916. But it was the other Cincinnati firm, the Enquirer Job Printing Company, which used their expertise in newspaper printing and available large presses to take on commercial contracts to design the mammoth billboard-sized posters for the Wild West. In 1895, H. J. Anderson acquired the Enquirer Job Printing Company from newspaper owner John R. McLean, and hired artist Thomas Tully. The two befriended Cody, and got new work for the Wild West. The epic-sized posters were not the first billboards produced for traveling shows, but are considered finely designed, with rich colors, and exhibited a variety among the printed advertising previously contracted by the Wild West Company. The posters could cover buildings, even wrapped around corners, and created a spectacle of advertising for the Wild West.⁴⁶

⁴⁵DPL holds hundreds over 1000 photographs related to Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild West, including the Courier Lithographic Company copyrighted photographs of the Wild West and its performers in the Buffalo Bill Collection, circa 1899-1901, and photographic albums belonging to Cody’s business partner, Nate Salsbury. See <http://digital.denverlibrary.org/cdm/search/searchterm/buffalo%20bill/order/nosort>, accessed July 15, 2018.

⁴⁶Louis E. Cooke, the Wild West general agent for many years, had direct contact and influence with the lithographers and the printing contacts. Cooke leveraged the careful negotiations for the large contracting the Wild West Company did with printing firms, understanding at times that, even though Cody was longtime friends with

A special correspondent for the Wild West wrote in the September 1, 1895, issue of *Billboard* magazine:

The advent of Buffalo Bill and his Wild West aggregation on the 19th and 20th and the great crowds that thronged to see him with a glowing tribute to the posters, the press and the popularity of the brave border hero. Nearly 100,000 pleased people patronized the performances, and they were drawn there by the finest work in advertising ever witnessed, the paper put out were excellent, the posters and lithographs were everywhere...⁴⁷

Cody and his partners “exploited [the] pageant of [a] passing era,” as Rennert stated, and were made “to amuse, instruct, and astonish the present and rising generation...[were] truly and exceptional historic, heroic, and romantic characters...[the] type shall be seen no more...”⁴⁸ The posters highlighted Cody and the other stars of the show, and therefore, were prominent. They promoted the image and persona of Buffalo Bill Cody, and reinforced the visual characterizations of the American West.

men in this field, their companies could not always perform quality printing needs for the major cities in the tour, especially for New York tours. Cody communicated for years with William A. Bell, owner of the Bell Show Printing Company, in Iowa, as indicated in the correspondence available in the Denver Public Library collection. But, while Cody long discussed possible contracts, Cooke remained opposed to working with Bell Show Printing, considering it not good enough for New York advertising. See correspondence between William A. Bell and Cody, Denver Public Library (DPL), Western History Division. The online finding aid is available at <https://catalog.denverlibrary.org/search/title.aspx?ctx=1.1033.0.0.6&cn=161780>, accessed July 15, 2018.

⁴⁷*Billboard*, Sept. 1, 1895.

⁴⁸Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 5.

Photographing Buffalo Bill Cody

Photographers regularly secured images of Buffalo Bill Cody and his cast of characters traveling with the Wild West. Unlike the “Show Printers” who designed and printed the lithographic posters and programs, individual photographers or studios were not hired during the run of the show. With no official Wild West photographers, local photographers flocked to photograph Cody and the touring troupe each season in cities all along the route. The tour benefitted from the growing numbers of Western and government photographers who wanted to provide images for the general public, from special portrait photography sessions with commercial photographers to the rather informal shots of performances of the village camp taken throughout the tours.

Photographs informed and enticed the Wild West general audience. Photographers often sold their images as souvenirs at tour stops. The Wild West could also purchase these images for use when creating marketing and publicity posters and programs for the tours. Images of the “real” Wild West exhibition were plentiful, like the portraits of Buffalo Bill, the American Indians, Annie Oakley and the cowboys, and the photographs of the arena show in progress or behind the scenes in the Wild West Village at tour cities in the U.S. and Europe. Copies of these images were purchased each season to keep the general public interested in experiencing the performance in person. Photomechanical reproduction, known as the halftone process, was



Figure 12. The cast of Buffalo Bill's Wild West outside the Wannamaker's Department Store, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1908, by photographer W.M. Jennings. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. P.69.0893

introduced in 1896 for newspaper and special print editions, furthering the distribution of Wild West imagery in the press and in the exhibition programs.⁴⁹

As American photography studios expanded, photographers adapted to the vast changes and modernization of late nineteenth century society. The science, technology, and art of photography progressed quickly from its invention in 1839, and photographers explored all aspects of the medium inside and outside the traditional studio setting. Portraiture and landscape photography continued to develop and flourish in the decades during which Cody established his theatrical career. The earlier Civil War era had fostered the beginnings of American photojournalism, advancing documentary photography, and overall uses of photography by the federal government. By 1872, the U.S. Geological Survey included photographers on yearly expeditions to the American West. Photographers endured the dangerous trips to document Western lands. They captured the beauty and natural wonders of the West and selected Native American tribes, but the travel was difficult and cumbersome for the first men who photographed with the Survey teams. William Henry Jackson, John Hillers, William Bell, and other early American West photographers, faced the hardships of the weather and terrain. Like the scientists on the Surveys, the photographers also carried heavy, specialized equipment. Wet-plate collodion photography and 3-D stereo photography were the popular processes and formats used by these photographers on the earliest Western Surveys. Large wooden view cameras on tripods

⁴⁹Extensive research in the libraries and archives of the largest American collections of Wild West materials, at the BBCW, RMA, CWM, and the DPL, yields no trace of existing contracts, correspondence, or records to document the hiring of any photographs on the staff of the Wild West. Evidence remains for Cody's cultivation of his personal relationships with artists, printers, and the heads of printing firms, but not the same for photographers despite the importance of the photographic medium to the Wild West advertising and marketing in the final fifteen years of touring. See Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier* (New York: Harper Collins/Smithsonian, 2007), and Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).

were used to secure the detailed glass plate negatives made for the U.S. Government. The photographers had pack mules carry the many wooden boxes of equipment necessary to complete their photography assignments. In these boxes were the fragile camera and lenses, glass plates and the sensitizing and developing chemicals to successfully photograph throughout the months of an expedition. Often the photographic printing would be accomplished during the winter season back East, in Washington, D.C., at the Department of Interior and Smithsonian Institution.⁵⁰ Popular sets of the U.S. Geological Survey photographs were marketed and sold to the general public as stereo cards for viewing at home with handheld or tabletop viewers. The Eastern, and mostly urban, audiences of the Wild West in the 1880s and later were increasingly familiar with the real dramatic vistas of the American West. Painted arena backdrops mimicked these landscapes for the Wild West programs and provided the setting for the popular performers to entertain thousands each day.

Along the route of the Wild West, local photographers were able to meet and photograph Buffalo Bill and his cast. The cast entered every city in grand fashion, parading down major thoroughfares to announce their arrival. The pomp and circumstances of the entrance was contrasted with the up-close availability of the performers to meet with visitors in the Wild West village erected at each stop. General admission tickets to a performance allowed access to the

⁵⁰William Henry Jackson for years weathered the terrain, temperatures, and all of the dangers of the American West to photograph the landscape and life among American Indian tribes. One album of his works from the U.S. Geological Survey is located at the Smithsonian Institution Archives with online details at <http://sova.si.edu/record/SIL-CL.XXXX-0019>, and another Jackson album from circa 1877 is his *Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians* at the Institution's National Anthropological Archives, online at <http://sova.si.edu/record/NAA.PhotoLot.4420>. Jackson's wrote of his accounts photographing in the West and back in Washington for winters at the Smithsonian in *Time Exposure: The Autobiography of William Henry Jackson* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), accessed July 15, 2018.

area where Buffalo Bill, the Indians, and all of the performers set up camp in each city. Photographers most often photographed Buffalo Bill on horseback and with performers, or in his tent receiving visitors; but photographers also well documented the “Show Indian” performers behind the scenes, individually and in groups, and less frequently in a studio setting. Without archival documentation available it is difficult to know the extent to which Cody or his partners orchestrated the Buffalo Bill’s celebrity persona through photography. Photographers were regularly given access to Cody and the cast and they captured his profile, his famous wardrobe, hats and guns, Cody with visiting dignitaries, and images with the show’s contract performers, the American Indians, Annie Oakley, the cowboys and the military corps. Cody’s comfort in front of the camera, echoed the ease with which he and the performers commanded the arena crowds each season. Occasionally photographers approached Cody to photograph studio portraits of the American Indian performers. In the U.S. and Europe selected commercial photographers were able to arrange special sessions with small delegations of the Indians. Interpreters and staff worked with the Indians and prepared for the studio visits. Costumes and accessories were carefully chosen for the portraits. Photographers prepared their studios and assistants for the unique opportunity to interact personally with these performers.

American Art photographer Gertrude Käsebier photographed twelve of the Wild West’s Sioux Indian performers at her Fifth Avenue studio in New York City as the 1898 tour was closing a three-week run at Madison Square Garden. A personal note sent to Cody, after Käsebier witnessed the grand parade of the troupe making its way through midtown Manhattan, secured the sitting with the Indians. Käsebier’s respect for Native culture and patience with each sitter resulted in a unique set of soft-toned platinum photographic portraits which reflected closely the individual character the Chiefs and men with and without their headdresses and

regalia. It is not known if Cody and his staff were aware of Käsebier's increasing standing as a prominent American portrait photographer. Käsebier rarely published or showed these portraits, which she had considered a personal project. And, there is no evidence of Cody and the Wild West staff using any of the striking Käsebier portraits for reproductions as Wild West posters or prints, or in programs. Archival and special collections at museums and cultural institutions throughout American and Europe hold thousands of unidentified photographs documenting Buffalo Bill, the Wild West performers, the railroad cars, the grand parades, and the arena setting. These formal and informal photographs may be the result of professional or amateur efforts to photograph the popular exhibition as it toured from city to city. Shared with family and friends, candid snapshots are a valuable visual record of the Wild West tour, and documented the complicated logistics and the staff working to make possible performances twice daily during exhaustive six-month tours.⁵¹

Art and Advertising in the Wild West

Cody worked diligently with his management team of Nate Salsbury, James A. Bailey, and Major John M. Burke, and Louis E. Cooke to actively promote and market the Wild West to audiences throughout the U.S. and Europe. The programs and advertisements developed highlighted Cody's personal history, the history of the American West and the recent Indian

⁵¹*An Idle Record of An Idle Summer* is a woman's personal and photographic diary created for a friend and dated 1909, now in the Photographic History Collection, National Museum of American History (NMAH), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The original diary also includes snapshot photographs by her husband of the American Indian performers in their casual living quarters in tipis on the beach, and her own descriptions of the show, the enthusiastic local young boys who worked for tickets, and the performers as she watched as the Wild West the tour performed and lived close to her home in southern coast of New Jersey near Atlantic City. An online blog outlines the diarist's intent and content of the journal, <http://americanhistory.si.edu/blog/2010/08/an-idle-record-of-an-idle-summer.html>, accessed July 15, 2018. See also, Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors*, pp. 35-37.

Wars, U.S. and European Wild West tours, and the unique successes of the Wild West. Artists and photographers provided the visual materials needed to generously illustrate tour programs, provide sketches for newspaper advertisements, artwork for games and trade cards, and photographs for postcards and buttons. Advance publicity teams worked closely with Burke to announce the coming of the Wild West tour to cities, prepared press releases and artwork available to local and regional news agencies. Clippings in Cody's personal scrapbooks reflected the consistent effort to introduce local audiences to upcoming performances by the Wild West through newspapers. Whether preparing for weeks-long tour dates or single date appearances, Burke and Cooke's teams successfully initiated news articles detailing the show, and picturing Buffalo Bill, the American Indians, or the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. For example, a lengthy advertisement ran in the *New York Times* on April 25, 1897,

...Organized upon the most prodigious and lavish scale and exhibited under the joint direction of the world acknowledged triad of greatest managers of vast public exhibitions: Mr. Nate Salsbury, Mr. James Bailey, [and], Colonel William F. Cody. Realistic revival and review of the romance and reality American history making by surviving pioneers who blazed the way across the far reaches of Western plains and through the rugged vastnesses of towering mountains, the while every inch of progress contested by hostile savage tribes. Until they made the Wild West the conquered home of many millions of Americans. Buffalo Bill's Wild West means

something. It is real. No imitation about it. All genuine.

All honest. All true...⁵²

The art and advertising of Buffalo Bill's Wild West reinterpreted the best artists' renderings and imagery of the vast American West and its people. Paintings, sketches, sculptures, posters, and photographs made by some of the most accomplished artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are referenced and reproduced in the visual materials for the tours. As audiences marveled, circuses added their own Wild West segments. The transcontinental railroads carried more travelers westward to see for themselves the landscape and realities of the Plains and the Western lands. The Wild West focused national and international attention on the art and culture of the changing West and established the visual image that was to endure for many years to follow. Cody cultivated professional and personal relationships to support the success of the Wild West, and his efforts to shape the advertising and influence audiences at home and abroad created a legacy of showmanship and imagery that made his own name inseparable from those of other famous American pioneers, conquerors, and entrepreneurs.

⁵²*New York Times*, April 25, 1897, p. 12. The voluminous news articles, illustrated advertisements, and show announcements for the Wild West were gathered by Wild West publicity staff to complete scrapbooks for both Cody and Nate Salsbury and fully documented the daily press and news articles from every stop on the tour, compiled yearly. Cody's scrapbook is owned by the MRC, BBCW, and Salsbury's is now at the DPL.

Chapter Two

Advertising the Wild West: Cody and Cooke

Louis E. Cooke ably managed and shaped the celebrity image and reputation of “Buffalo Bill” Cody in ways that ensured that the Wild West remained a preeminent national and international fixture in the world of traveling shows. This chapter represents something of a case study on how Cooke’s professional career and friendship with William F. Cody affected the success of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Cody’s management team not only exceeded the previous successes of American circuses, but reached further to combine the goals of education and entertainment. The visual culture created for the Wild West was a vital method for introducing program themes and performers to audiences in the United States and parts of Europe. The Wild West’s general publicity agents, like Cooke, and additional advance men worked with Cody to improve the overall operation of the tours yearly, and negotiated a quality of art in their advertising previously unknown in the traveling show and circus world. This was accomplished through many new relationships and agreements with active American and European artists, illustrators, and painters. Cody, Nate Salsbury, John M. Burke, and later with Louis E. Cooke and James A. Bailey, adopted a modern approach to business partnership, and the advertising model for the Wild West became an iconic American example of commercial achievement. The development and production of the Wild West imagery is the prominent example of their achievements. As such, this thesis offers the first fully integrated study of Cody and Cooke’s relationship, showing how the art, advertising and overall management of the show was influenced by their personal friendship and business partnership. Cooke’s autobiographical

writings emphasized his critical role in the management, marketing and program innovations adopted by circuses and the Wild West during his forty-year career.¹

In 1883, when the Wild West launched its first season, the U.S. was continuing its transformation from young nation to world power. Citizens of the post-Civil War and Reconstruction eras encountered ongoing racial tensions in communities across the nation and, while transcontinental railroads pushed forward westward expansion, the Indian wars and removals worsened. Increasing levels of immigration and migration caused major divisions between wealth and poverty. U.S. and foreign technology fostered industry and modernization, and accelerated the growth of massive corporations. By 1900, America was on the verge of assuming a global role as a powerful nation-state, something confirmed by its entry into World War I in 1917 and its decisive impact on the outcome of the conflict. During these years, the nation saw a dramatic rise in national and international business and advertising, introducing American entrepreneurship to a world economy.² The idea of mass popular entertainment, which

¹The Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection within the Tibbals Collection at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (RMA) in Sarasota, FL, includes nearly one hundred original examples of Cody – Cooke letters and correspondence, dated 1887 – 1916. The correspondence spanned the thirty-year relationship between the two men; it reveals Cody's high regard for Cooke, and contains frequent requests from Cody for Cooke's advice on Wild West business and advertising matters, including artist and poster selections, <https://www.ringling.org/tibbals-collection-louis-e-cooke-manuscript-collection-cooke-cody-correspondence>, accessed July 14, 2018. See also, Sarah J. Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody 1879-1917* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 29-52, which includes transcriptions of letters between Cody and the artist R. Farrington Elwell during 1905-1906. Cody's interest in hiring Elwell depended on the approval of his lithographers and Cooke, but, despite Cody's commitment to the artist, Cooke did not progress Elwell's contract with the Wild West. When Bailey died suddenly in 1906, Cody had insufficient financial resources to hire Elwell and explained over several letters his regrets.

²The Progressive Era in the United States coincided with the duration of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. As American society evolved and matured, the increasingly important roles of capitalism and urbanization drew a response in the form of an active social and political reform movement, which in turn influenced national and local policymakers. See especially, Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); T. J. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper, 2009); Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Thomas J. Misa, *A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America 1865-1925* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States 1877-1919* (New York: Norton, 1987); Robert Whaples and Dianne C. Betts, *Historical*

operated beyond local productions and audiences, was also emerging through the success of traveling theater companies. These shows often presented American-themed performances to national audiences, and experimented with international tours and performers. The rise of marketing and advertising best practices for the traveling shows coincided with creation and recognition of a new era of American celebrities and characters. William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and the management team of the Wild West achieved personal success and cultivated his celebrity status through aggressive advertising and marketing campaigns. As the modern United States emerged, the Wild West Company adopted the latest in American and international technology and innovation to support and maintain the show. The Wild West advance publicity and advertising campaigns crafted by the general managers and publicity agents, matured and changed with the times, fueling a new corporate-like entertainment empire based on mass entertainment arena shows and new techniques for creating and manipulating audiences. Cody and his partners were flexible and nuanced in their management of the yearly tours, and this is especially clear in correspondence, business records, and news articles that reveal the professional relationship and friendship between Cody and Cooke.³

Perspectives on the American Economy: Selected Readings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Norton, 2011).³Comprehensive histories and interpretive analyses of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West have been published by Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History*; Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*; and, Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America - William Cody and the Wild West Show*. However, digitized access to worldwide collections of Wild West visual imagery, correspondence, and printed materials allows researchers to reconsider the important relationships and business plans developed by Cody and his Wild West partners. See, for example, the AHC/UW digitization of business records from the second European tour for the Wild West, <http://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/uwydbuwy~60~60>; and the Circus History Society, “Reminiscences of a Showman,” online transcriptions of Cooke’s articles in the *Newark (NJ) Evening Star*, 1915-1916, <http://classic.circushistory.org/Cooke/Cooke.htm>, accessed July 15, 2018.

Managing the Wild West: Louis E. Cooke's Insights

Cody's management and the business operation of the Wild West was also strongly influenced by the context and practices of the circus and traveling shows of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The names and the management of those circuses have mostly been forgotten, but what is evident through research on the varied shows is that there were strong personalities who were influential in the success of the most prominent shows. The Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey management team owned, or were in partnership with, nine or more circuses; this included James A. Bailey's partnership with Cody and Nate Salsbury in the Wild West Company. P. T. Barnum and Bailey also operated their own Barnum and Bailey Circus, as well as Sells-Foto Circus, Hagenback Wallace Circus, John Robinson Circus, Sparks Circus, Al G. Barnes Circus, the Adam Forepaugh Circus, and eventually Buffalo Bill's Wild West.⁴ While Barnum was the visible presence, it was Bailey who strategically managed the operations of the many circuses and other frontier-themed shows for decades quietly behind the scenes. Bailey developed the financial strength of the shows and introduced innovative theatrical improvements for the tours.⁵ To assist his partnership in the Wild West Company and other shows, Bailey employed his longtime friend and circus promoter, Louis E. Cooke. For forty years, Cooke worked as a "showman" and was considered among the best advertising men in the business.⁶

⁴Charles Philip Fox and Tom Parkinson, *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett, 1985), title page. Social and cultural histories of the American circus, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and other western themed touring shows are also available in Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Noel Daniel, *The Circus 1870-1950* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2009).

⁵Matthew Wittmann, *Circus and the City: New York: 1793-2010* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 60-66.

⁶Fox and Parkinson. *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising*, pp. 56-58.

Cooke documented his long career with American circuses and the Wild West in a series of weekly articles printed in his hometown newspaper, the *Newark (NJ) Evening Star*, over the course of one year, 1915-1916, which coincided with the final tour of Cody with the Miller Brothers 101 show. Through comical and sometime serious anecdotes, Cooke provided insightful reminiscences and stories that referred to the major owners and individual managers of the leading circuses of his time, and his work on the road. His first-person narratives are important testimonies concerning his career, the nature of the circus business, publicity agents' responsibilities, and the structure of tours and performances. Cooke's *Newark Evening Star* articles are unique in that they chronicle the personal journey of one influential man through the circus and traveling show circuit. His original intention was to edit the articles and produce a book on his career, but none was published. In the articles, Cooke provided personal memories and first-person accounts of decisions and interactions within the American circus world rarely mentioned in the circus histories.⁷

Cooke's knowledge of the history of the American and European circuses from the 1850s to 1915 is extensive; he included biographical information on the men and women who owned shows, his advance team colleagues, and performers. The first of his articles is published on May 27, 1915, and led with an editor's introduction of Cooke to readers. Readers were told he was one of the best advertising men in the world, but was modest with it; Cooke would present the

⁷In 1915-16, weekly articles by Louis E. Cooke documenting his forty-year career with American circuses and Wild West shows appeared in the *Newark Evening Star* as a regular series, beginning on May 27, 1915, and continuing until January 6, 1916. For transcriptions, see Circus Historical Society at <http://classic.circushistory.org/Cooke/Cooke.htm>. Cooke's name is occasionally mentioned in published histories of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American circuses and Buffalo Bill's Wild West, but no biography exists. The *Evening Star* articles primarily offered Cooke's own point of view, but also represented the most complete narrative of his management and the intersections of the Barnum & Bailey, W.W. Cole, and Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows.

“...orderly confusion of the great show...” Another circus colleague, Frank Winch was quoted as believing that “[Cooke] is a wondrous believer in publicity for everybody but himself.” If true, this could explain why there are fewer references than would be expected to Cooke in biographies of Cody or histories the Wild West. Scholars, collectors, and popular writers include short notations to Cooke being an important figure as general publicity agent for the Wild West, and the Circus World Museum (CWM) in Baraboo, Wisconsin, holds sketches with “OK L.E.C.” that referenced Cooke’s apparent approval for poster designs. Overall, scholarly and popular writings about Cody and the Wild West underestimate Cooke’s role in the daily logistics and planning for the Wild West, and his close consultation with Cody and Bailey, certainly compared to Cooke’s writing for the *Newark Evening Star* articles. Cooke believed, “...Buffalo Bill’s, it has a field of its own and can compete with neither of the others.”⁸ This competition was for show personnel and the best local tour stops never ended for the circuses and traveling shows. But, Cooke and Bailey agreed on the potential for the success of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. No other written accounts outline completely the role of a traveling show general publicity agent compared to Louis E. Cooke’s detailed journalistic history of his career and Cody’s Wild West. The specific references he made to his participation in the Wild West management make clear the history of Cooke’s role in the success of multiple American circuses and frontier themed shows. One hundred years later there are few scholarly works that clearly provide the specific histories of individual circus or traveling show publicity agents.⁹ The *Newark Evening Star*

⁸*Newark Evening Star*, May 27, 1915.

⁹Joe Dobrow, *Pioneers of Promotion: How Press Agents for Buffalo Bill, P. T. Barnum, and the World’s Columbian Exposition Created Modern Marketing* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018). This publication is a first among the important University of Oklahoma book series on the art and history of the American West to focus on the biographies, professional experiences, and impact of the work of John M. Burke, Tody Hamilton, and Moses P. Handy.

articles included Cooke's own family history and his only surviving account of his life. According to the *Evening Star*, Cooke grew up in the "cradle" of American circus history, in the "wilds of Michigan" as he described it. His parents were originally from Jackson, in Tioga County, Pennsylvania, where he was born. The family moved to Michigan when Louis was six years old in 1857. He outlined this year as one of financial panic in the U.S., and the Cooke family suffered the hardships of the times. They were farmers who struggled financially, and then were devastated by the loss of Cooke's mother. As he grew up, any spending money for him and his older brothers came from splitting logs and their sale. When the American Civil War began in 1861 and both of Cooke's older brothers enlisted for the Union. One of them died at the Andersonville prison and the other was wounded but returned to duty. Louis was too young to fight, and his father planned for him to apprentice as a cobbler to gain a trade. However, the apprenticeship did not last long, as Cooke did not want a "master," and returned to his family farm. Eventually, Cooke found his calling in the printing profession. He was hired as a printer's "devil," working nights, morning, and Saturdays at the local village paper, the *Otsego Herald*. He still attended school during the day. When the *Herald* was sold, Cooke found employment at the *Battle Creek Journal* with Editor George Willard. Later when he worked for the *Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph*, where Cooke became an accomplished "job" printer for the newspaper, "compositor," and "pressmen." While in Kalamazoo, Cooke also began taking reporting assignment and writing essays for other local and city newspapers. He was now officially "in the show world" and in contact with managers of circuses and traveling shows, which he referred to as "covered" entertainment. By 1870, Cooke reported he had been offered positions as an advance agent several times. He ultimately agreed to work with a Professor Martino, an illusionist, originally from California. Cooke believed Martino slighted his twenty-five cent

ticket holders with less than promised prizes, and Cooke and the crew headed rapidly for the train out of town. Cooke wrote that integrity would not allow him to stay on with Martino, but he made an important connection while with the illusionist. Cooke is introduced to circus owner W. W. Cole. When Cooke separated from Martino, he went on to his next employment with the Redpath Lyceum Bureau of Boston. He served as an advance agent for lectures, concerts, and attractions, but Cooke eventually joined the W.W. Cole circus until the elder's retirement in 1884. Cole was the man who introduced Cooke to all aspects of the circus business. Cole grew up in the circus, with English ancestors who had worked for the Thomas Cooke Royal Circus. Cole knew the ins and outs of the circus world, and encouraged Cooke to join him as a "middleman." Cooke's news articles and narrative recounted his path through various circus jobs which provided an education towards understanding the significance and purpose of the advance work done by dozens of publicity department workers in the circuses and the traveling shows that coincided with the era of Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1883-1913.¹⁰

As a circus "middleman" position for the W.W. Cole Circus, Cooke traveled

intermediate between the advance brigade of agents
and billposters and the show itself...[it was] his duty
to check up [on] the work of the advance men, to
distribute the special programs with stories and other
interesting matter just to the coming of the show.¹¹

¹⁰*Newark Evening Star*, June 3 and 10, 1915. Dexter Fellows (1871-1937) led the next generation of circus publicity managers and spent part of his formative years of training with Cody and Cooke, while he worked for the Wild West tours. See Dexter Fellows and Andrew A. Freeman, *This Way to the Big Show: The Life of Dexter Fellows* (New York: Viking Press, 1936).

¹¹*Newark Evening Star*, June 3, 1915.

The longest circus tour in Cooke's career was Cole's 1880 tour that crossed the U.S. twice, and visited Australia and the South Seas. His descriptions of the planning and execution of the tour indicated his true interest in entrepreneurship. He learned from situations, thought creatively, and was flexible, even when he avoided an attempted robbery. Cooke's early experience in the printing business allowed for his profitable associations with the show printers contracted to deliver the voluminous shows programs, posters, and billboards needed by the circus. Cooke required one year's worth of printed material when Cole's circus left the U.S. for Australia and New Zealand, and expert bill posters and lithographers traveled with the show. He secured a set of electroplates for small letterpress printing for work to be done while on the tour, as needed. Cooke himself could produce extra publicity notices while traveling. His role was to market Cole's Circus as distinctly American. Cooke investigated new travel opportunities for the circus, and Cooke traveled to India, Samoa, and the Fiji Islands considering these sites for the tour. Telegrams and railroad transportation were key elements for clear communication, as he needed to locate the best and most direct routes for the large circus troupe. Cooke became a master of shipping while he coordinated preparations for the tours, and considered himself a pioneer in shipments by mail and rail. Best rates available were needed for bulk shipping and express rates on immediate or changed plans for plastering the next town with posters and lithographic prints. Labor had to be coordinated and comparison pricing done for the tons of paper needed for the advance work. Profits were of the utmost importance for the yearly endurance of the circuses. The success of this longest continuous national and international American circus tour convinced Cooke of his ability to undertake the difficult coordination and logistics needed to travel tours internationally. In less than a decade, Bailey and Cooke would convince Cody and the Wild West partners to embark on a tour to the England in 1887. The mission to expand the reaches of

the quintessentially American frontier-themed show succeeded greatly, with the Wild West enjoying several multi-year tours across Europe. The Wild West, like Barnum and Bailey, promoted the cultural message of “Americanness,” and authenticity, and during the first decade of the Wild West, half of all its shows were performed in Europe.¹²

Circus and Show Wars: Publicity and Competition

Circus “wars” may be the best way to describe the publicity campaigns conducted by Cooke throughout his career. He and his competitors displayed professionalism, but fierce competition. Sabotage was not out of the question. Cooke organized major advertising campaigns and overall education of the public to the W.W. Cole Circus. He worked closely with local editors, and drafted text for full page advertisements purchased in newspapers. All “bill posting,” as the mounting of posters was called, was supervised, and lithographs were distributed and placed in shop windows. Posters and billboards were pasted along the circus route to attract attention to the future coming of the show. Cooke toured newspapermen through his own shows to secure the best press, or sometimes visited the competition’s shows to elicit favorable comparisons.¹³ In 1884, W.W. Cole (1847-1915) encouraged Cooke to accept an offer for employment with the Adam Forepaugh circus. Cooke moved into the position of general agent, charged with reducing expenses, yet maintaining a high quality show, and if possible, to “create and devise new ideas in both the performances and advertising lines.” Cooke’s diplomacy and skill in his positions made his services in demand by many of those leading large circus and

¹²*Newark Evening Star*, June 10, 1915, p. 16; and Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, pp. 114-17.

¹³*Newark Evening Star*, July 8, 1915; and Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), pp. 238-40. Harris’ comprehensive work on Barnum’s biography and history of the circus notes that the management of the circuses was so complex that “it was often linked to military mobilization, and the circus became a symbol of administrative coordination in an age that venerated and developed executive skills.”

theatrical tours. Large salaries and incentives were offered to agents and high-profile performers to secure audiences and profits. The competition remained fierce, especially among the many shows touring in the Eastern U.S. at the same time. Cooke was at least partially responsible for the negotiated booking for six months at New York's Madison Square Garden for an extraordinary combination of Forepaugh Circus and Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1886.¹⁴

Cody, Salsbury, and Burke were the recognized leaders and managers of the Wild West. However, Cooke's news articles presented a perspective of his influence on the production and touring for the Wild West as early as 1885. Cooke acknowledged that he viewed the first performance of the program in Omaha, Nebraska, in May 1883, and considered Cody and Salsbury old friends. He visited the Wild West when performing at "Erastina" park on New York's Staten Island, and suggested a combination show for Madison Square Garden. Cody was enthusiastic, but the more cautious Salsbury demanded a more thorough plan from Cooke. Salsbury doubted the success of the Wild West confined to a building, and not the usual arena environment. Cooke, Cody, and Salsbury approved a plan together. They would combine with Forepaugh for this special engagement in New York City, and "...utilize every feature of the Wild West, in new form with scenic effects, representing the various epochs in American history."¹⁵ Cooke sold his concept for the Madison Square Garden combination, and won the loyalty of the Wild West management team. The Newark newspaper accounts of Cooke's career reveal his strategy and successful business decisions made for the Wild West.

¹⁴Hall, *Performing the American Frontier*, p. 143. Hall details the complicated production of the 1886 Madison Square Garden season for the Wild West and Forepaugh combination referenced in the Cooke newspaper articles, and the contributions of Steele Mackaye, Matt Morgan, and Nelse Waldron to the complex production and art scenes.

¹⁵*Newark Evening Star*, July 1, 1915.

The 1886 sixth-month run of the Forepaugh-Buffalo Bill's Wild West combination at New York's Madison Square Garden was indicative of Cooke's creative spirit and determination to provide blockbuster shows for audiences. Cooke met and contracted with New York theatrical producer Steele Mackey to develop the combination show. Mackey titled the show, "The Great Drama of Civilization." Cooke proposed the plan to Forepaugh, expressed the Wild West's interest in the project, and lobbied the 50/50 profit share mentioned to Cody and Salsbury. The parties were satisfied and agreed to participation unless weekly receipts fell below actual operating expenses for two consecutive weeks, at which time either party could cancel with one week's notice. The next planning went towards the support for the Forepaugh-Buffalo Bill's Wild West combination printed material for advertising purposes. Cooke's secured master lithographic artist Matthew S. Morgan (1839-1890), formerly of Cincinnati's Strobridge Lithographic Company, when he learned Morgan was moving to New York to open a studio. Morgan was the foremost designer of show bills (posters) and the scenic artist.

Morgan's resignation from Strobridge was timely for all involved. Cooke's team had six weeks to prepare for the production, and Madison Square Garden was available only three weeks before the opening. He added professional carpenter Nelse Waldron to the team to build a double moving stage. Morgan and his staff of artists got started at once on the canvas backdrops for the show which were to provide a panoramic effect in semi-circle, rolling left to right, and avoid any limitations for the enclosed Madison Square Garden. Cooke and Mackey supervised the scenes which depicted a primeval forest, friendly and hostile Indian tribes, the settler's cabin, the immigrant train, a mining camp, and the Deadwood coach. Cooke noted that the show opened to "overwhelming approval" but knowing the rivalry with circus productions, he kept in contact with all of Barnum's "people" who visited the Wild West at Madison Square Garden. Cooke

wrote that he negotiated with his competitors for a four-year plan for Barnum's Circus and the Wild West to competitively share bookings at Madison Square Garden. The shows would not conflict on routes, nor could performers leave employment for the other show unless with written consent of managers. Cooke secured, financial, artistic, and publicity campaign success. He hosted newspaper friends and celebrity visitors through the winter—the journalists, statesmen, authors, artists, and railroad officials. The Wild West ended the run at Madison Square Garden with plans to embark on its first European tour to England for a long summer 1887 booking at Earl's Court, "...creating a decided furor with a unique and immensely interesting exhibition of the Wild West, entirely new and different from anything that had ever appeared in the Eastern Hemisphere."¹⁶

Cooke always befriended local newspapermen in towns along the tour routes. He planned and executed advertising campaigns, and public education for the shows. He wrote news copy, prepared the day-to-day ads with the approval of local editors, and spent hours confirming the posting of all "billing"—hanging posters, and distributing lithographs or window prints. His services were in demand, and he negotiated increasing salaries and net profit percentages as he worked his way to the larger circuses, Forepaugh, Wild West, and Barnum and Bailey. His "O.K. L.E.C." on prints and advertising material signified approval to proceed for printing. Cooke was a proclaimed student of the circus. He knew well the history of American and European enterprises, their successes and failures, and the designs for the few existing permanent arenas.¹⁷ Bailey offered Cooke a position as special agent for Barnum & Bailey Circus in 1887, and

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷*Newark Evening Star*, July 8, 15, 1915. Original poster artwork for Buffalo Bill's Wild West has been collected by the CWM. Cooke's "O.K. L.E.C." notations appear as approval for artwork designs in the collection, along with many pencil notations for changes and color suggestions by the art department for the Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati.

reportedly told Cooke, “We will get Forepaugh’s consent and you will remain with me for life.”¹⁸

Cooke was given the freedom to pursue opportunities in the best interest of “The Greatest Show on Earth.” In 1888-89, he received an annual salary as Bailey’s general railway contractor, excursion and special agent, in charge of all circus printing, designs, and small publications. Cooke’s lasting collaboration with Bailey cemented with the winter season of 1888-1889, the two prepared together for the next season’s Eastern tour. Barnum & Bailey’s Circus was to run at Madison Square Garden from March 23 to April 20 for the Eastern tour, but a priority became Cooke’s work with United Kingdom show expert, Mr. Starr, to secure the future booking for the circus at London’s Olympia arena. This British tour for Barnum & Bailey would include a similar program to the “Great Drama of Civilization” created for the Wild West performances at Madison Square Garden. Cooke traveled by train to the West to procure animals for the show, preparing for an October sailing of the troupe to Europe. Scenery was painted in Paris and Milan. Cooke was also given the task of arranging the for 12,000 arena seating around the Olympian stages. Cooke’s plan dovetailed with his colleague W. H. Gardner’s advertising plan marketed in London as “The Arrival of Barnum’s Bills,” canvassed of the city with posters (“bills”) and lithographic prints in shopkeeper’s windows and building excitement for the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Barnum. Gardner and Cooke were guaranteed a huge news event when Queen Victoria decided that she and her family would visit the Barnum & Bailey Circus presentation. Cooke was present beside Barnum in the receiving line, and when escorting the group to a private dinner. Bailey’s team was successful in London, as new prospects were developing with shows in the

¹⁸*Newark Evening Star*, July 22, 1915, p. 12.

U.S.¹⁹ Circus owner Adam Forepaugh died while the Barnum and Bailey Circus was on their British tour, and the Forepaugh show was offered for sale. It is purchased by the Barnum, Bailey and Cooper firm, and put under Bailey's control. Forepaugh's last season had been unprofitable. Bailey planned for major changes, and included Cooke and others to coordinate the transfer and reorganization of the show. Bailey sent the Forepaugh show animals on loan to the Washington, D.C., Zoological Park, and sent equipment from the show to Philadelphia for potential sale. He also entrusted his treasurer and confidential assistant Merritt F. Young and Cooke to prepare for the future of the Forepaugh. Cooke orchestrated changes that greatly impacted the future of the Forepaugh and the Wild West. At the time of Forepaugh's death, the Wild West was closing their 1894 season at Ambrose Park, South Brooklyn, New York. Cooke wrote of his meeting with Cody at the Hoffman Hotel in New York, to share his opinion on the possibilities their future collaboration and the expansion of the Wild West. Cooke suggested options for Cody and the Wild West to become a major traveling operation and part of the Bailey's circus empire, with the potential for expanded exposure and profit. Cooke needed Cody's agreement first then took his concept to Mr. Bailey and Merritt Young. Cooke proposed to leave most of the Forepaugh animals in Washington, but use their equipment—horses, wagons, seats, and railway cars—to build a new show. A turning point for Cody's enterprise, Cooke envisioned with Bailey new canvas and canopy designs allowing for the open arena for the Wild West, a demonstrated the potential for success of the Wild West format. Cooke recounted that within 24 hours of Cooke's conversation with Bailey and Young, a contract was created for the Barnum & Bailey Company-

¹⁹*Route Book of P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth and the Great London Circus Consolidation 1885*. Compiled by Alvaro Betancourt [A. B. Stewart]. CWM's Parkinson Library provided the photocopy of this route book for online at <http://www.classic.circushistory.org/History/PTB1885.htm>, accessed July 15, 2018. W. H. Gardner remained the general advertising agent and lead man for the Barnum and Bailey's Advance Corps during the 1888-1889 tour.

Wild West Company partnership with Cody and Salsbury. The Wild West would provide the arena performance program working on percentage. Bailey agreed to provide equipment for transportation and additional management support and obligations to the Wild West. Cooke and Young had plans to manage the Wild West partnership themselves, with the support of Cody and Salsbury. However, Bailey intervened and named his brother-in-law J. T. McCaddon as general manager of the Wild West to represent Bailey's interests. W. H. Gardner was named Wild West general agent and head of the advance department, the "all-around advertiser." Bailey required Cooke and Young to plan the Barnum & Bailey tour of Great Britain and Europe. Bailey's control of the Barnum & Bailey Circus and international options strengthened with the deaths of his partners P. T. Barnum and J. E. Cooper. He purchased the controlling interests from their heirs, including their ownership of the Forepaugh show, and moved strategically towards controlling interest of the U.S. circuses and theatrical show circuit.²⁰

Throughout Cooke's career his interest remained strong in the management and success of the Wild West. Cooke's respected Cody. When he could, Cooke always created opportunities to manage, publicize, and enhance the experience of the Wild West. Cooke wrote that Cody was "for all times a typical American...and archetype of perfect manhood."²¹ While clearly excelling in the leadership of the advance work and publicity needed for the larger circuses, it was Cooke's long-term friendship with Cody that initiated many changes and milestones for the Wild West. Cooke's friendship and professional dealings with Cody spanned more than thirty years, and the majority of the seasons of the Wild West. The romance and danger of Cody's life and that of the American West seemed compelling for Cooke, as well as the audiences he cultivated through the

²⁰*Newark Evening Star*, July 29, 1915, p. 12.

²¹*Ibid.*

press and publicity campaigns. Cooke empathized with great artists of the time, and cited Remington, Bonheur, Schreyvogel, and others who all made “[Cody’s] camp their mecca for their greatest studies of the brush and chisel.”²² Cooke and Cody’s interests were singular in their attempts to foster the ongoing success for the Wild West. Prominent work with the major U.S. circuses positioned Cooke well to encourage investments in the Wild West Company, and to advance the management team to include Bailey and himself. Cody and Nate Salsbury accepted Cooke’s suggestions for the combination with the Forepaugh Circus at Madison Square Garden, and later assistance with equipment and logistics for a European tour. Cooke believed in Cody and his team. He agreed with Major John M. Burke’s insistence that the Cody’s exhibition was an education, a worthy presentation to illustrate the progress of civilization, and the history and memory of Cody’s time.²³ His dedication to the circus world was complete, but Cooke’s concern for the telling of the story of the American West seemed a quest.

Wild West Performers and Advertising

As the performers in the Wild West—Cody, the American Indians, the cowboys, Annie Oakley, Johnnie Baker, and the sharpshooters, and later the Congress of Rough Riders of the World—drew vast audiences, Cooke used his skill at advertising to increase the show’s profits and sustainability. Cooke lent his expertise with staff, the laborers and printers, to position the Wild West for longevity in the market. He wrote in 1915,

[The] “Wild West” is true to life...I must emphasize the fact that the Wild West has never been considered a circus in any sense

²²*Newark Evening Star*, Sept. 9, 1915.

²³*Newark Evening Star*, Sept. 16, 1915.

of the word, although it has, unquestionably, been one of the most pronounced educational amusement enterprises the world has ever seen. It carries with it the remains of pioneer days, as well as the strenuous romance and literature of borderland.²⁴

The chance to see American Indians in action became one of the key attractions of the show. Cody repeatedly contracted Sioux Indian performers, including Chief Iron Tail, Chief Joe Black Fox, and the Lone Bear family of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Cody respected the Native American culture, and although the show exploited their presence, he allowed the performers an opportunity to dress and dance in their traditional attire. Cooke's publicity and his personal views of the American Indians, their image and culture differed from Cody's in a pragmatic way. Advertising for the show often focused on the changing nature of life for the American Indians and Cooke tended to be unsympathetic, given to stereotypes, and negative about the future of American Indian culture. During Cooke's several decades working with the Wild West publicity team, the press and artwork reflected Cooke's belief in "something touchingly pathetic in the melancholy spectacle of the passing of our American Indians...the noblest of this romantic people will soon be history."²⁵ These sentiments are similar to those expressed by Cooke's friend photographer Edward Curtis, who early in the 20th century began a life-long project to document the passing of the American Indian, especially in the Northwest. Cody and Cooke differed on their relationships with the Show Indians, but agreed that advance publicity and performance programs promoting the Indians performers was essential. The

²⁴*Newark Evening Star*, Oct. 21, 1915, p. 12.

²⁵*Newark Evening Star*, Sept. 16, 1915.

Indians were second only to Cody's own commercial appeal, and this would be reflected in the imagery generated for the Wild West.²⁶

Many press agents and publicity men on the circus and traveling show tours could be considered "graduates" of Cooke's school of advertising. Cooke and his team were circus celebrities in their own category. Bailey, Cody, and Cole, may have been the signature names leading the shows, but Cooke and his teams strategized with these owners to execute the marketing and advertising plans needed to keep the public wanting more. Audiences needed to be thrilled and amazed year in and year out. Building a strong publicity team was one of Cooke's strengths, and certainly an asset for any of the shows his managed.²⁷ The work of Cooke and his associates was often reported in the important *Billboard Magazine* which started to rank and report the success of shows in the 1890s, and served to update publicity agents to their competition, and to a lesser degree informed show and celebrity fans. Cooke and his colleagues posted the physically huge billboards and canvassed cities and towns with posters and prints to inspire interest in their shows. Their tactics were built on advances in the technology for

²⁶Cody and Cooke's professional relationship and close personal friendship spanned thirty years, 1886-1916. See, for example, Cody to Cooke, Sept. 10, 1911 (from Kansas); May 31, 1912 (Dunkirk); Sept. 7, 1913 (Denver); May 3, 1915 (Seattle); July 1, 1916 (Quincy); and, Oct. 30, 1916 (Winston-Salem) – possibly the final letter exchanged between Cody and Cooke, before Cody's death in January 1917. Cody referred to the "hard fight since paying Bailey estate" for the interest in the Wild West, and "Louie—I'll pay you every dollar." Cody was indebted to Cooke for decades of advice and counsel through the turbulent times of his professional and personal life.

<https://www.ringling.org/tibbals-collection-louis-e-cooke-manuscript-collection-cooke-cody-correspondence>.

²⁷*Newark Evening Star*, Oct. 14, 1915. Cooke's associates kept up with his fast-paced advertising plans and program goals. Edward Arlington served as Cooke's private secretary and as an excursion agent with Cooke for Barnum & Bailey, and Forepaugh-Sells, and later was part owner of the Miller Brothers 101 Wild West show. Lewis S. Barrett was Cooke's stenographer and an excursion agent, working at times for the Wild West and Forepaugh-Sells shows. W. H. Creighton was a secretary and assistant to Cooke, with tasks that included also being an excursion agent, publicity car manager, and accountant for years. George H. Degnon from Newark was Cooke's private secretary and excursion agent for Barnum & Bailey and Buffalo Bill's Wild West after Bailey's death in 1906. Cooke assumed the double duty of general advance agent and railway contracting manager. The advertising car managers, billers posting lithographs, and special agents working for advance publicity included Clay Lambert, Alf Riel, M. Coyle, W.E. Fuller, Henry Hedges, Dave Jarret, and Fred Beckman. Cooke's own son, Victor, followed in the father's footsteps, and learned the work of the circus and show advance work process while on vacations from school. Victor Cooke became a respected excursion agent in his own right.

American and European printers to make better, larger, and more colorful advertisements. The agents benefited from being products of a changing and international community. These men (and some women) expanded each show's possibilities for mass marketing plans. Cooke's advertising philosophy is best expressed in this quote:

...I have always believed that it is absolutely necessary to have a practical, experienced man on the ground in every city, not only to look after advertising, but to court the acquaintance of the newspaper man and bring his personal influence to bear upon everything that might work up the business or familiarize the local public with his attraction before it arrives to town.²⁸

However, there was change in the future for emerging advertising agents working for the long-standing traveling circuses and shows. Cooke's skills were still coveted by leading managers in his field, but theatrical bookings were taken over by larger operations in the years leading up to World War I. No longer were the small teams of individual agents needed to travel in advance of the performances to assure ticket sales. Much like in the growing U.S. corporate state, show details and logistics were being dictated at a new macro level, reducing the need for the man on the road.²⁹

In the vast literature on circus history there is respectful, but usually, brief mention of Cooke, and his career with the greatest traveling shows touring the U.S. and Europe between the late 1870s and 1915. His name is most often linked to his mentors, Bailey, Cole, and Cody. Cooke's autobiographical news articles in the *Newark Evening Star* published provide scholars

²⁸*Newark Evening Star*, Oct. 14, 1915.

²⁹*Ibid.*

and circus enthusiasts with a chronology of circus history, and importantly, the best reflections on a career little known outside the inner circle of traveling shows of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His personal anecdotes included references to his own personal collection of art, especially the original sketches by “many of the greatest artists” of his time. Cooke’s employers expected the best in advertising and art printed for their shows. He built relationships with the established and emerging printing firms, and leading artists of his era, stating

The alliance of art, painting, amusements and literature so manifestly germane it seems pertinent that all these callings should be mentioned in the same breath....the talents of the best artists and best printers have brought their greatest accomplishments to bear more directly upon modern amusement productions.³⁰

Cooke’s special dedication to the Wild West led to friendships with American and European artists producing works illustrating Indians, Western landscapes, and military scenes. Arrangements were made for paintings and original sketches to be transferred by the best U.S. and European printing firms into advertising lithographic posters, prints, and programs. Works by the artists Frederick Remington, Charles Schreyvogel, Joseph Scheurle, Charles Russell, Irving Bacon, Rosa Bonheur, Charles Bryson, H. H. Cross, A.D.M. Cooper, E. W. Linders, E. W. Deming, Charles Stevens, and Homer Davenport were reproduced by printing firms

³⁰*Newark Evening Star*, Nov. 18, 1915.

contracted by Cooke and his teams. Cooke encouraged the artists to “contribute to ‘art preservation’ in connection with the finished pictures, especially for the circus and Wild West which [he had] always tried to depict true to life.”³¹ Not all of the show artists were famous. Many sketches, portraits, and landscapes were created for the Wild West by the diligent and capable artists working for the printing companies. Yet, their artistic vision and skill, incorporated with advancing printing technology at the turn of the century, created realistic characters and respected art for the advertising. The artwork and the innovative advertising for mass entertainment shows reached international success and elevated celebrity, like Cody’s, to inspire new management and partnership models, and ever-expanding marketing campaign. Cooke’s name is not remembered today, but his guiding influence over the changing nature of advertising for the American circuses and the Wild West helped to maximize the cultural impact of these shows in changing times.

The Wild West in a Changing Nation

To some extent, American society was revolutionized in the Progressive era (often defined as 1890-1920). All aspects of life were evolving with innovations found in the home and at work, and increasing recreational interests inside and outside the home, with options like new urban parks, bicycling, and amateur photography. The nation experienced a hard decade in the 1890s, with years of economic depression that affected both rural and urban communities, and citizens looked for economic and social reforms from federal, state and local government. Organizations and reform groups developed for the purpose of concentrating public attention on civil rights, conservation, government reform, health and medicine, labor reform, trade unionism,

³¹*Newark Evening Star*, Dec. 2, 1915.

socialism, temperance, and women's rights.³² The rise of modern capitalism and corporate industrialization witnessed increased government bureaucracy, intended to regulate the effects and pace of change, but also permitted vast differences in lifestyles between the wealthy and the working classes. The nation was moving from being primarily made up of farming and agricultural communities to a modern society in which the mass employment was located in urban factories and city offices. The quality of life ranged greatly, depending on one's wealth, gender, race and ethnicity. Individuals nevertheless sought better control of their daily lives, work and leisure, and these aspects of life in America that had attracted millions of immigrants by 1900.

City workers were consumers, and urban population growth throughout the nation fostered increased government and mail services, retail options, and entertainment opportunities. Whether frequenting the new local department stores, like Montgomery Wards or Sears & Roebuck, or considering attending stage performances or later movies, the ideals of American life were changing in the 1890s. Immigration to the United States expanded, and New York's Ellis Island facility opened. Cities and towns were host to mass entertainment shows that enjoyed financial success—the large arena traveling shows, circuses and frontier-themed performances. While U.S. national politics focused on currency issues and recovery from the economic recession, corporate growth, retail sales, and show ticket profits all continued to expand in the 1890s, and throughout the next two decades up to World War I.³³ This context provided immense opportunities for a determined, charismatic show organizer and performer like Cody,

³²The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History provides online resources and infographics for reform in the Progressive era, available online at <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/content/infographic-reform-movements-progressive-era>.

³³Ibid., pp. 42-46.

and his key associates. The division of work and play widened in American when the early 20th century saw the expansion of available commercial amusements. Urban workers could spend any disposable income on new amusement parks, dance halls, and movie houses. The emerging middle class was exploring new boundaries of standards for entertainment, with norms sometimes differing from those of their parents and elders. In a 1907 issue of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* noted that a ticket to an opera performance was \$5.00, while a picture show cost only five cents. Wages and employment were always a concern, but a five cent ticket was accessible to most workers within a family. There were growing options for amusement and entertainment outside the home. The influence of the press and mass media expanded in this same time period, and offered a new and ample market for the development of newspaper and print advertising.³⁴ Culture and the arts were not removed from this reality. Author Amy Kaplan's analysis of the social upheaval at turn of the century America concluded that "...the growing dominance of a mass culture in the form of newspapers, magazines, advertising, and book publishing—created a national market which constructed consumers a shared reality of information and desire."³⁵ Daily newspapers created a "machinery of American publicity."³⁶ The momentum and rise in public consumption of "news" was also international. American cultural traditions were still being initiated and explored intensely in the 1890s, and compared to European values. What constituted popularity and celebrity in the young and increasingly powerful nation? How and why were popular artists and entertainers gaining national and international celebrity status? The press introduced the American public to the most interesting and captivating artists, authors, actors, inventors, explorers, politicians, and business tycoons of the time. Public curiosity thrived

³⁴Ibid., p. 74 and 203.

³⁵Amy Kaplan, *The Social Construction of American Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 13.

³⁶Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in the Gilded Age America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 4.

on the daily influx of information and activities of these new cultural icons made accessible by the press. The modern press disseminated the beginnings of a new mass cultural identity to Americans and the world, and the selling of American celebrity in the form of media consumerism which intensified by the 1890s. This perpetuated the modern concept of the American commercialism. How each public figure chose to define their celebrity was crucial to the enduring fame and success in his or her field. By 1896, improved printing technologies led to the development of mechanical reproduction and the introduction of photographs into newspapers. Americans received realistic portraits and visual imagery daily and weekly in newspapers and magazines, like *Harper's Weekly*, *McClure's*, *The Century*, *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Ladies Home Journal*. Modern American literacy rates continued to rise at the turn of the century, and in U.S. 1900 Census statistics white Americans were ranked at 93.8% literate.³⁷ American public figures were established, through their talents, contributions, and sometimes by luck, but all were culturally derived and media-generated. Louis S. Warren, author of *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*, has determined that, in this setting,

for generations of Americans and Europeans, Buffalo Bill defined the meaning of American history and American identity...[his Wild West] a defining cultural memory—or a dream—of America. Buffalo Bill's show community became a touchstone for Americans seeking to understand their own rapidly urbanizing, racially conflicted, industrial communities and country, and for Europeans contemplating

³⁷Ibid., p. 16; and Peter Hutchinson, *A Publisher's History of American Magazines: Magazine Growth in the 19th Century* (Copyright Peter Hutchinson, 2008), available online at http://www.themagazinist.com/uploads/Part_1_Population_and_Literacy.pdf, accessed July 15, 2018.

a host of concerns, including industrialism, colonialism, race progress, and race decay.³⁸

Cody's own performances and the Wild West programs were choreographed carefully and his publicity was managed to communicate to the general public audience the excitement and professionalism of the cast and program through newspaper articles, print advertisements, posters and billboards through the advance work of the show's general agents and publicity staff. Cody led the Wild West cast in programs of Western battles and life scenarios, and performances of master skills, choreographed to symbolize his reality of life on the frontier. Cody brought Western imagery to life in the arena performances, and presented an alternative to the harsh realities of the Eastern urban lives of many in his audiences. The distant American West, as vividly advertised and acted out in the Wild West, was still a dangerous landscape with diverse inhabitants and boundless opportunities. Life for the cowboy and the American Indians was shown as primitive and natural, and perceived as vastly different from the idealized modern city of America at the time. Cody's persona merged the frontier and American identity.³⁹

The Wild West management team and publicity agents teamed and fostered the rich and diverse history of the American frontier: the cowboys, the Indians, the women with Annie Oakley most prominently featured, Mexican Vaqueros and a cast of talented foreign military

³⁸Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, p. xi and xv.

³⁹Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 25-46; Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and its World in an Age of Civil Wars* (New York: Viking, 2016), p. ix. Hahn addresses the change in historical research and the scholarly analysis of the "loss of a sense of the American experience as a coherent whole," when considering new scholarship of the last two generations and "new perspectives notably a "global" approach to U.S. history have produced an expansion of the cast of characters who populate works of history and striking new insights into the historical narrative." The Wild West introduced diverse performers, an integrated village and program elements into American entertainment from its inception. The evolution and context of the Wild West is discussed further in Chapter 6.

men in the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. The Wild West was the quintessential American program which became an international phenomenon. It perpetuated the primarily masculine experience and the challenges of life on the frontier. Historian Richard White contended there was a “National preoccupation with frontier images, metaphors, stories, and reenactments,” in his essay “Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill.” The frontier story represented the “cultural glue,” a recognized and positive American image, nationally and internationally. White’s analysis outlined the significance of the historical interpretation of the Frederick Jackson Turner’s theory of European immigrants reinventing themselves on the American frontier, with the resulting Americanization and “fused” or mixed races, and familiar story of westward migration. Cody’s interpretation of the American frontier was a different one. Indians proved central to the history of the West and acted this daily in the Wild West performances. The several hundred Indians who traveled each year with the Wild West were highlighted in the advertisements, the programs, and the overall show. Modern historians like White continued to struggle with the “odd story of the conquest inverted.” Cody and his staff assigned various roles to the Indians. The Wild West team was able to successfully portray the Indians not always as victims, but the programs blurred the relationships and reality of lived frontier experiences that Cody and the Indians shared. It was “history intertwined.”⁴⁰

Frederick Jackson Turner and Cody both contributed to the unfolding national representation of the American West, as territories closed and the Indian Wars ended in 1890. Then in 1893, the two men found themselves on contrasting sides, literally and figuratively, in

⁴⁰Richard White, *The Republic For Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 861. White explains the American historical landscape of the late nineteenth century: “The Lost Cause could never be a national story, and Clarence King, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Buffalo Bill Cody, and others created an alternative narrative that resurrected free labor, restored its whiteness, relocated it to the West, and offered an account of homemaking and nation building.” See also White and Limerick, *The Frontier in American Culture*, pp. 1-13, 27-29.

the ways that they presented their vision of the past at Chicago's Columbian World's Exposition. Turner was lauded inside the walls of the White City, while Cody and the Wild West were made to raise their arena outside the gates. Both men left lasting impressions of the significance of the frontier and the ways in which they interpreted the impact of the real and mythic West, and attributed a strong American identity to the Western pioneer and settler experience. Cody and his Wild West Company impacted the national understanding of the American West, and made a fortune in Chicago. The appeal of the Wild West's theatrical scenes of Cody's frontier life was partly that it presented legends made familiar in dime novels and the popular press, as part of a racially and ethnically diverse program. The complicated history of the United States, American identity and culture was thus interpreted by Cody's programs and his performers.⁴¹ Cody's role in presenting general audiences with an "educational" and entertaining experience of the American West was carefully crafted by him and his partners, Salsbury, Bailey, Burke, and

⁴¹The 1893 Chicago World's Fair commemorated the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the Americas, attracting an estimated 27 million visitors, including 14 million international guests. The Wild West performances outside the gates of the Fair, also known as the World's Columbian Exposition, provided a pivotal and most successful season in the history of the show, with more than one million dollars in box office sales. The Congress of Rough Riders of the World had been recently added to the Wild West performances and represented a turn to a larger military presence in the yearly programs, introducing U.S. and international Cavalymen who performed their feats of horsemanship, marksmanship, military formations and trick-riding. Frederick Turner, a young academic from the University of Wisconsin, spoke of the closing American frontier inside the gates of the Fair to the members of the American Historical Association in July 1893, without fanfare initially, while Cody's program looked forward to American imperialism and global relationships reflected in the collaboration and presentations of the Rough Riders. The latter name was used by Cody years before it was associated with the veterans of the 1898 Spanish-American War. See Ronald H. Carpenter, "Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the Frontier Thesis," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 63 (April 1977), available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00335637709383373?journalCode=rqjs20>, accessed July 15, 2018. For an overall introduction to the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, see Newberry Library digital collections, maps and articles online at <http://dcc.newberry.org/collections/chicago-and-the-worlds-columbian-exposition>, accessed July 15, 2018; Roger Hall, *Performing The American Frontier, 1870-1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 145; Matthew Reborn, *Pioneer Performers: Staging the Frontier 1829-1893* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 1-5; Richard Slotkin, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of U.S. Imperialism* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), p.p. 172-74; and Cody original scrapbooks and Wild West materials from the 1893 season located in the MRL, BBCW.

especially Cooke, and this required them to take full advantage of technological advances in the design, production and distribution of large-scale, high quality, color advertising posters.

Chapter Three

The Wild West Company and Commercial Printers

“Printing, Parade, Performance” was a frequent slogan among American circus agents of the late nineteenth century.¹ Advance publicity was the key to a successful show in any city in the U.S. or abroad. In the era leading up to mass-market advertising and the rise of admen in large American and international agencies, the publicity teams of circuses and traveling shows blanketed their routes with a visual bombardment of advertising, printed materials in all colors and sizes, inviting the public to come to their shows.² Notably in the 1880s, these shows were expanding and influencing entertainment in America. Advertising gained momentum, and helped the visual recognition of individual shows, especially for their headlining stars and cast members. Celebrity was advanced through active marketing and print advertising in newspapers; placards, and posters which covered storefronts, buildings; and, fences along every show route and stop along the annual tours. Circus owner and spectacle headliner P. T. Barnum was well established as national and international celebrity by this time. He and his partners, most importantly James A. Bailey, were influential as leading entrepreneurs in this show business, and cultivated an advertising “buzz” that made audiences want to see the latest and greatest additions to their yearly theatrical extravaganzas. Over decades, advance newspaper articles and print advertising campaigns created celebrity for Barnum himself, but also illustrated the various other human and animal acts selected for the circus and side shows each season. The post-Civil War and Reconstruction-era American traveling shows expanded and diversified their acts to gain

¹Charles Philip and Tom Parkinson, *Billers, Banners and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (Boulder, CO: Pruett, 1985), p. 14.

²The word “adman” originated in the United States in the period 1905-1910. See Dictionary.com, <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/admen>, accessed July 15, 2018.

larger audiences and a following. More shows developed with uniquely American themes, intermixed with the exotic and unexpected. Barnum and Bailey, the Ringling Brothers, W.W. Cole, Adam Forepaugh, the Sells Brothers, and William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody managed intricate networks and logistics for advertising and tour planning that included hundreds of cast and crew members.³ Cody drew on the experiences of circus predecessors and theatrical competitors when he developed his publicity teams to sell the Wild West to general audiences.

Owners and managers operated circuses and traveling shows in a largely self-sufficient manner in the late nineteenth century. They orchestrated the movement of hundreds of cast and crew, animals, tents and equipment, kitchens, and supplies to make camp in each town or city on their seasonal routes and relied on railroad transportation primarily. The U.S. and European railroad systems were dependable and provided options for managers to book reliable travel routes. Rail cars and buildings along their routes were used to advertise the shows. Central to this process were colorful advertising posters announced the dates and the coming attractions of the show.

The sustained annual success of shows came to depend on crucial partnerships between circuses and printers. Small printing presses were available for on the road changes to some print and handbills, but the circuses and shows could not produce in-house the larger-sized posters, the

³On Barnum and Bailey Circus the American circus, see Carl Bode, ed., *Struggles and Triumphs Or, Forty Years' Recollections of P. T. Barnum* (New York: Penguin, 1981); Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973); Noel Daniel, *The Circus 1870-1950* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2009); Fox and Parkinson, *The Circus in America* (Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey + Ingalls, 2002); and Tom Ogden, *Two Hundred Years of American Circus: From A-ba-Daba to the Zoppe Zavatta* (New York: Facts on File, 1993). On the social and cultural impact of American circuses, see Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum and John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011), pp. 20-27, and 85-91. Spangenberg and Walk's groundbreaking research credits the Strobridge Company with the highest quality and productivity.

quality of prints, or the quantity of printed advertising, or “paper” as it was known by owners and workers within the shows, needed to support the show advertising necessary for each season. With consistent and large orders, American circuses encouraged printing companies to advance and improve their technology, and to achieve the precise colors and art-quality designs and advertising for their business promotions. Circuses and theatrical traveling shows created visually attractive and enticing experiences for audiences through their costumes and scenery, and their advertising captured these same aspects of the performance with vivid imagery for display.⁴ Cody and his partners hired strong management leaders and publicity teams who led the complicated Wild West yearly advertising plans and provided consistency to popularize the tours and conveyed the celebrity of the man himself. The Wild West team worked with printing firms and their lithographic artists to prepare the advertising posters, programs, newspaper illustrations and photographs and advanced the public recognition of Cody, Annie Oakley, Johnnie Baker as the lead stars of the show, along with the popular Cowboy and American Indian program performances. By the 1890s, improved printing technology and the introduction of photomechanical reproduction boosted the ability of the Wild West team to successfully integrate their advertising with the availability of both the enormous multi-sheet posters and smaller-sized higher quality art lithographs. Cody and his partners masterminded the original

⁴American and British news accounts of the Wild West performances boosted audience numbers and expectations across tours, in ways that supplemented direct advertising. “The Last of the Wild West,” *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1887, stated over 2 million people had seen the Wild West’s last performances at Madison Square Garden and Staten Island 1886-1887, and that the New York venues were “uncomfortably filled with a very enthusiastic audience”. In a letter to the editor of the *Liverpool Post*, July 29, 1892, Walter Goodman clarified the location of the Wild West’s London performance at Earl’s Court, and confirmed the *Post*’s statement that “the audiences at Earl’s Court are to be initiated into the way in which it is done.”

concept of the Wild West, and expanded the established artistic parameters of circus advertising which identified the exhibition and Cody and led to national and international fame.⁵

The Wild West and Artists: Frenzeny

Advance agents for the Wild West managed the celebrity of Cody by posting the art and photography inspired by the man, his life and career. Famous artists, illustrators, and photographers were eager to paint, draw, and photograph Cody. No other show at the time commanded such a high standard in art for advertising and marketing purposes. The artistic vision of painters and skilled technique of illustrators provided excellent materials for promotion of seasonal tours, and also advanced Cody's own fame and recognition. The French-born American artist and illustrator, Paul Frenzeny, created an early likeness of Cody for the Wild West which was the inspiration for the early poster *The Scout Buffalo Bill, Hon. W.F. Cody* printed by the Forbes Company of Boston, circa 1883, and later reinterpreted for another poster printed by the A. Hoen & Company, Baltimore, circa 1887.⁶ Frenzeny's artistic representation of Cody represented the beginning of the distinctive visual imagery for the Wild West. Frenzeny interpreted the younger Cody as the Indian scout who led General William T. Sherman's U.S. Cavalry over the bleak American Plains of the West. Cody was shown on a white horse well

⁵William F. Cody, *The Wild West in England*, ed. Frank Christianson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), pp. xiii-xl.

⁶Relatively little is known about Frenzeny. His Western engravings for *Harper's Weekly*, 1873-1874 with partner Jules Tavernier resulted in 100 illustrations of American frontier life. His portrait illustration of Buffalo Bill Cody resulted in one of the earliest and most familiar posters produced for the Wild West. Frenzeny traveled with the Wild West briefly and later died in London in 1902. Short references to Frenzeny's life and career are included in Tavernier biographical works: Claudine Chalmers, Scott A. Shields, and Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., *Jules Tavernier, Artists and Adventurer* (Portland: Pomegranate Communications, 2014); Chalmers, Shields, and Harrison, "Jules Tavernier, Artist and Adventurer," *California Art Club Newsletter* (Summer-Fall 2014), pp. 1-6; Robert Taft, *The Pictorial Record of the Old West*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Feb. 1946), pp. 1-35, transcribed online by Kansas State Historical Society at http://www.kancoll.org/khq/1946/46_1_taft.htm, accessed July 2, 2018; and, Curatorial Files, BBM, BBCW.

ahead of a long line of army cavalry, only Sherman and his immediate aides are well-defined in the painting. Cody's clothing was plain and unadorned compared to the later highly embroidered buckskin jackets and pants worn for the Wild West tours. His clothing was drawn as functional to the task of scouting during the U.S. Indian wars which followed the American Civil War. Frenzeny painted Cody on his horse with a buffalo pelt at the back of his saddle, a smoking gun, and with bullets and knife on his belt. The illustration of the smoke and bullets represents an early difference from most posters produced for the Wild West which often showed Cody in a static pose or scene and with a hat instead of a weapon. But, Cody was shown as the leader ahead of the troops, just as he was later depicted for decades in the posters and photographs for yearly Wild West publicity. His hair and beard were dark brown in the painting, compared to his later signature white hair used in the majority of the posters and photographs from the 1883-1913 run of the Wild West. Cody's figure in the painting was set against a vast background of cloud-filled sky with little to detract from the intended viewer's concentrated focus on the man himself, little landscape was represented in the illustration but for a small patch of grass and one lone flower in the foreground. Slight figures of the Cavalry troops can be discerned faintly behind Cody and as far as the eye can see fading into the distance. He led this army as a scout, as he later led his performance troupe down streets for parades when entering cities and towns for shows, and then into the arena twice daily for the Wild West performances. The iconic Frenzeny portrait illustration represented the quintessential scene staged and restaged daily in the life and performances of Cody. The man upon a horse ready with his gun to lead battles, fight Indians, shoot buffalo, save innocent civilians from marauding Indians and outlaws, or to establish his

marksmanship when shooting glass target balls.⁷ The Forbes Co. Frenzeny poster exhibited warm colors used for the scenic Western Prairie background, in Cody's coloring, clothing, and horse, but the similar poster printed several years later by the A. Hoen & Company included cooler tones with a pink tint overall. There would be expected changes or losses to some details from the Frenzeny original illustration, when compared to a newly sketched mechanically reproduced advertising poster. Cody's pale facial features are more strongly defined in the Hoen poster version of Frenzeny's Cody. His eyes are darker, but still focused to the far distance. In the Hoen version (See Chapter 1, Figure 4), his glance remained locked to his left and indicated a possible impending threat in the distance. From this poster forward for two decades, Hoen artists frequently featured Cody large and fully centered in many their posters produced for Wild West. Cody "the Scout," or the leader of the hunt, was often characterized in this victorious stance throughout his theatrical career. For the poster, a quote from Cody's friend General Sherman was added at center bottom and just above the title. It identified Cody as "A Man with a History—

⁷Yearly programs printed for most of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West seasons 1883 – 1913 include narratives describing Cody's biography, and complete list of theatrical program segments. A comprehensive collection of Wild West programs is housed in the MRL and BBM, BBCW. The 1902 *Rough Rider, An Illustrated Periodical*, published by Cody & Salsbury through the Courier Company of Buffalo, NY, guaranteed a circulation of 500,000, and linked Cody's experiences to the life of every man. In the *Rough Rider*, Cody is described as "The Man, The Epitome of His Time," and it is stated:

Nothing, however, is more true than the affirmation that every episode in the Wild West program illustrative of characteristically Western American life, in peace and war, represents an incident in the life of Buffalo Bill. To a certain extent those episodes represent common experiences among all who have shared the privations and dangers of the border, but Buffalo Bill managed to have a plentitude of them because his was the uneasy and adventurous sort of nature that goes looking for trouble, seeking its wisdom by the road of actual experience. So, while each old plainsman, scout, cowboy or pioneer may see his past reflected in portions of the Wild West's episodic reproductions, Buffalo Bill has been through the originals of all, and few live who can veraciously rival that claim.

Transcribed online at The Papers of William F. Cody, BBCW, <http://codyarchive.org/memorabilia/wfc.mem00274.html>, accessed July 15, 2018.

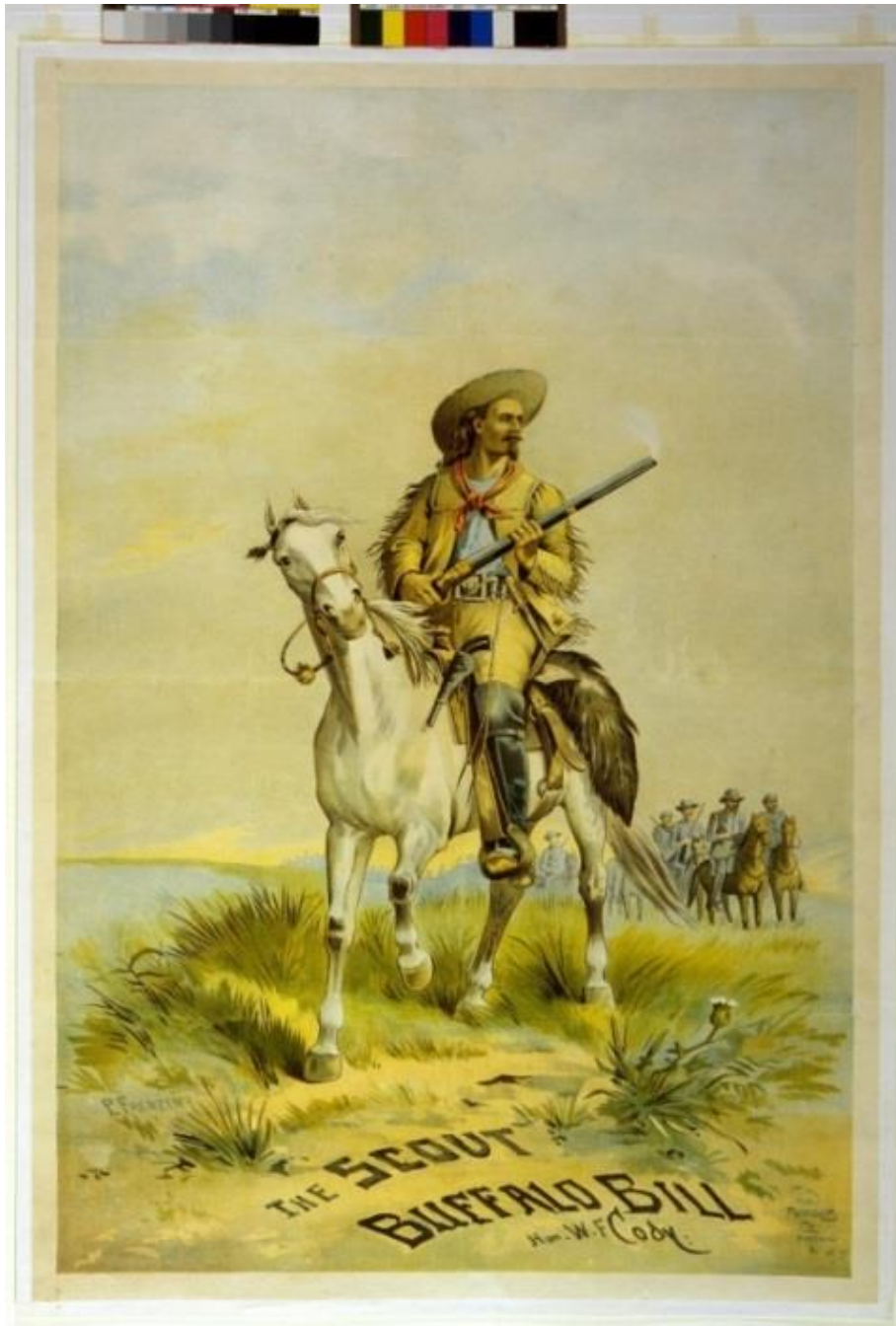


Figure 13. Color lithographic poster, *The Scout Buffalo Bill Hon. W. F. Cody*, c.1883, by Forbes Co., Boston, Massachusetts, 39.25 x 26.625 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2056

Record—a Name!” This endorsement resonated with all publicity agents and managers for Wild West in their marketing Cody nationally and internationally as a tried and true hero of the American West. Cody’s publicity team managed to keep him in the spotlight for the rest of his life. Famous artists and illustrators continued to interpret Cody’s persona.

Rosa Bonheur and the Wild West

Beginning in May 1889, the Wild West performed in Paris for five months during the Exposition Universelle. While there, Cody posed on horseback for the famous French painter Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899), who was best known for her large-scaled paintings of animals and sculptures. Bonheur’s realism in paintings presented science, nature, action and the everyday life of the working poor, and integrated sketch work and photography into her massive six by nine foot finished works.⁸ Together, the Wild West and the Courier Lithographic Company, of Buffalo, New York, later capitalized on this meeting, and in 1896 produced a poster titled *Art Perpetuating Fame*, which juxtaposed a portrait of Napoleon on horseback at left, the seated artist Bonheur at center with her easel and paints, and Cody on horseback at right. In the

⁸Charles Musser, “A Cornucopia of Images: Comparison and Judgement Across Theater, Film, and the Visual Arts During the Late Nineteenth Century,” in Nancy Mowll Matthews, ed., *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film 1880-1910* (Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2005), pp. 5-38. Musser’s significant research on early motion pictures in America integrates the potential general spectator experiences and exposure to visual culture representations across newspapers, photography and the earliest motion picture films. “Certainly the newspapers did not imagine naïve, passive spectators awestruck by the lifelike moving images but active viewers making judgements and comparisons in relationship to other cultural works and their own everyday experiences,” p. 5. Musser has a detailed section on Bonheur’s connections to other prominent cultural figures, like painter Ernest Messonier, painter and photographer Thomas Eakins, artist and illustrator Frederic Remington, photographer Eadweard Muybridge, and William F. Cody, and notes her important place, not only in art, but also the history of her time. Musser also pointed to the similarities between the Bonheur’s rendering of Napoleon and Messonier’s Napoleon paintings, especially *Napoleon in 1814* (1862). Artists’ choice of pose for the figures often conformed to long-standing European art history conventions for portraiture, and therefore, these similar stances of subjects or their mounting on horseback are reflected in the Wild West posters.

dramatic poster, both accomplished gentlemen are seated regally on white horses, situated on a grassy landscape with Indian tipis in the far distance. Neither of the men was depicted with a weapon. Cody's portrait shows only a rope at his side tied to his saddle. The strong portraits are simply illustrated, and clothing worn by each man quickly identified his place in history. Neither Napoleon nor Cody were rendered ready for battle, both seem dressed for royal presentation. Napoleon's stern glance is directly aimed at the viewer. Cody's head and eyes are turned to his left, and provided the more youthful figure of the two. Cody was shown without a jacket, pictured wearing a decorative dark shirt similar to the costumes he would have worn at a Wild West performance. Napoleon's portrait is captioned for his military persona as "The man on the horse of 1796. From the Seine to the Neva. From the Pyramids to Waterloo." Cody's poster caption was written to describe his theatrical life's journey, and read "The man on the horse of 1900. From the Yellow Stone to the Danube. From Vesuvius to Ben Nevis."⁹

Bonheur's own representation at the center of the poster was based on an actual photograph, probably taken by a Courier photographer or one hired by them. The caption below her own figure on the poster was "Art Perpetuating Fame. Rosa Bonheur painting Buffalo Bill. Paris 1889." This exact match of her position appeared in a photograph of Bonheur at her easel seated next to the Wild West's empty general admission stands. This may be the only poster from the thirty years of touring the Wild West to place an artist directly in an advertising poster. Another photograph from Paris showed Bonheur with a small group including, several men, an American Indian, a woman, and a white horse with a handler. The scene documented and reflected the importance of her visit to paint Cody's portrait. Leading political and cultural

⁹Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), pp. 85-88, outlined well Rosa Bonheur's interaction with the Wild West show cast, and later related paintings.

figures regularly visited Wild West as guests to the performances, but few leading artists completed portraits or drawings that would be reprinted for commercial advertising use. Bonheur's artistic representation of the two international figures stressed military leadership, but Courier artists created a balanced poster which translated the international appeal of Cody, juxtaposed with the historic importance of Napoleon, and a respect for Bonheur's artistry as famed French painter. Her memory of the meetings with Cody and his Wild West cast and animals was fond,

“Buffalo Bill was extremely good to me. He was as nice as could be about letting me work among his redskins everyday. That gave me time to study their tents; I watched everything they did, and talked as best I could with the warriors, squaws, and children. I drew studies of their buffaloes, horses, and weapons, all tremendously interesting.¹⁰

Bonheur's finished portrait painting of Cody on his horse was also used as a Wild West advertising poster, but differed from the Cody image on the *Art Perpetuating Fame* 1896 poster. The poster from the artist's 1889 portrait was used to promote later European tours. Bonheur painted an older white-haired Cody astride his white horse in a pastoral scene with dirt road and green forest background. The beautiful setting evoked a place far from the Wild West arena, and

¹⁰Anna Klumpke, *Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre* (Paris: Flammarion, 1908), including Chapter 3, “Nouvelle Visites à Rosa Bonheur. Les Indiens de Buffalo-Bill,” pp. 27-38; and *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's (Auto)Biography*, translated and with introduction by Gretchen van Slyke (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 24. Klumpke (1856-1942), an American artist and final partner of Bonheur, published on Bonheur's life and letters, including the visits with Cody and the American Indian performers Rocky Bear and Red Shirt with the 1899 Paris tour.



Figure 14. Photograph of Rosa Bonheur at easel painting Cody's portrait in the Wild West arena, Paris 1889, from the Nate Salsbury Scrapbook Albums. Courtesy DPL. NS-361



Figure 15. Color lithographic poster, *Art Perpetuating Fame Rosa Bonheur Painting Buffalo Bill* – Paris 1889, 1896, by Courier Lithographic Company, Buffalo, New York. 27.5 x 40.125 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.5655



Figure 16. Photograph of Rosa Bonheur at easel painting white horse, with Wild West group behind near the grandstand of the Wild West arena, Paris 1889. Courtesy DPL. NS-352

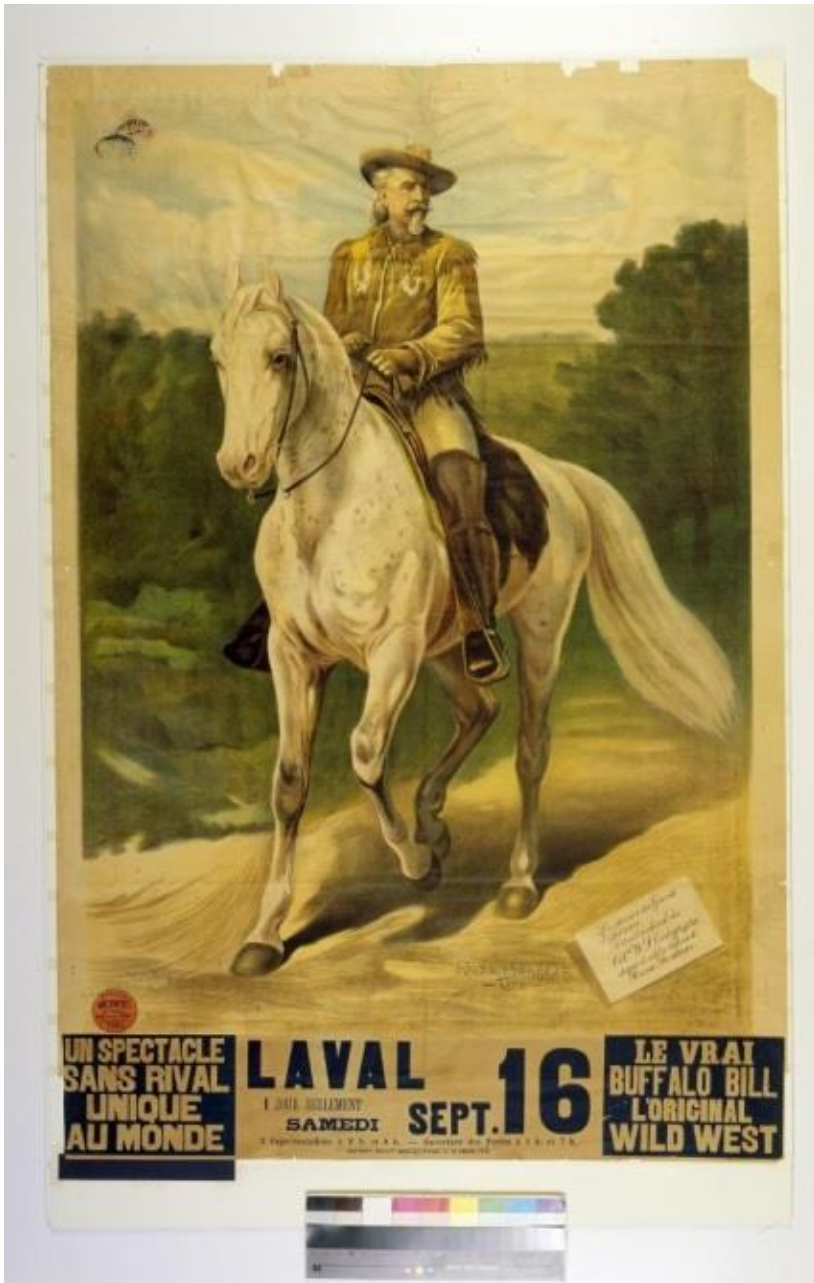


Figure 17. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. "Buffalo Bill"*, with printed signature, Rosa Bonheur, 1889, and date sheet for "Laval, September 16, 1905," by Weiners, Paris, 54.75 x 39.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1792

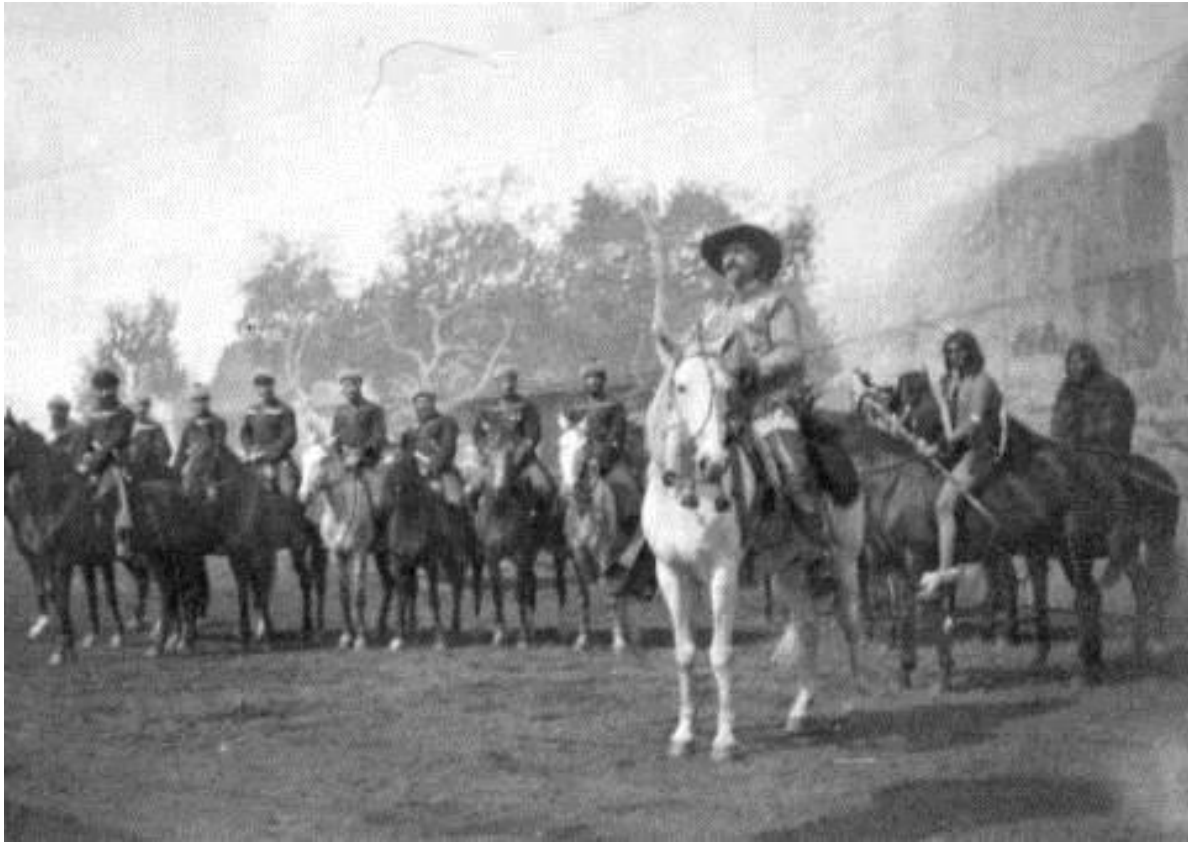


Figure 18. Photograph, Cody on horseback at Earl's Court, London, with Russian Georgian Cossacks and American Indian performers in front of Wild West painted scenic backdrop, date and photographer unknown. Courtesy DPL. NS-490

conveyed a strikingly similar pose to Cody's strut in daily performances of the show and behind the scenes in the Wild West camp, where general admission ticket holders could visit before each performance. Another Courier Company photograph showed Cody posed on horseback in front of a group of Cossacks with an American Western scene backdrop with trees and landscape as depicted in the original Bonheur painting. Remington, Bonheur, and the artists at the lithographic printing firms were faithful to the figure of Cody. His presence and stature at daily performances was captured in photographs, painted on canvas, and drawn at the illustrator's table to produce unique advertising among the field of traveling circuses and shows of the time.

Cody and Frederic Remington

Artist and illustrator Frederic Remington became a frequent visitor to the Wild West following his first visit to the Wild West in London 1892. Remington's imagery of cowboys had already served as the inspiration for posters produced by the Calhoun Printing Company, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1889, for the Wild West's Paris season. Remington had several years earlier gained acclaim for his illustrations of Theodore Roosevelt's *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* which were reproduced in the *Century Magazine* in 1888. Calhoun Printing Co. poster artists closely copied several of the Remington *Century* illustrations for new posters displayed in Paris. The *Hartford Courant* newspaper commented, "The most noticeable pictures in Paris today, outside the Louvre, are the Calhoun Printing Company's stirring delineations of Buffalo Bill's Wild West...Two or three of them are copies of Remington's sketches in the *Century*."¹¹ For the next decade, the Wild West continued to use select posters similar to Remington art

¹¹"Display Show Bills: An Important Hartford Industry," *Hartford (CT) Courant*, July 13, 1889, p. 8.

work. Despite this situation, Cody and Remington grew closer friends as the artist continued to make frequent visits to the Wild West and sketched the cast, and eventually made trips to Wyoming to visit the developing town of Cody, Wyoming. Remington accepted Cody's request to produce paintings for reproduction in the 1899 biography, *Last of the Great Scouts*, written by his sister Helen Cody Wetmore. The *Buffalo Bill in the Limelight* painting (See Chapter 1, Figure 10) and another *Hiding the Trail* were completed.¹² *Limelight* contrasted greatly with the Frenzeny colorful illustration representing Cody's early career and Bonheur's later pastoral portrait. Remington commemorated Cody's traditional final bow at Wild West performances in a dramatic black and white painting. *Limelight* presented Cody as the master of the arena and theatrical performance. A bold character in the spotlight, Cody and his dark horse took a bow in the foreground of the painting. His hat is removed and down at his side. Behind Cody are hundreds of show performers, with only the American Indians on horseback identifiable in the painting representing the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. In the far background of the painting, a viewer could vaguely see the thousands of audience members who packed the arena for daily shows. Electric lights are painted in the scene high above the audience and emphasized the advanced technology included in each choreographed evening performance. As previously done with Remington's illustrations, elements of *Limelight* were repurposed in what could be termed composite poster designs for the Wild West. This includes the 1902 color lithographic

¹²Helen Cody Wetmore and Zane Grey, *Buffalo Bill: Last of the Great Scouts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003 commemorative edition). Historians remain critical of Wetmore's biography fictionalized representation of Cody's life and experiences. Frederick Remington's painting *Buffalo Bill in the Limelight* is now owned by the BBCW Whitney Gallery of American Art, as is Remington's archive and studio collection. Laura F. Fry, "Wonders from Out-of-the-Way Places: Shared Imagery of Frederic Remington and William F. Cody," in Peter H. Hassrick, ed., *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonné II* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2016), pp. 17-41, presents a concise history of the Remington – Cody mutually beneficial relationship and its impact on each man. Cody's appreciation of art increased through the friendships with Remington and Bonheur, while Remington's respect for Cody and his international performers possibly eased the artist's previous anti-immigration opinions.



Figure 19. Photograph of Frederic Remington (center) visiting the camp at Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Earl's Court, London, 1892, with Cody partners Nate Salsbury (right of Remington) and Major John M. Burke (left), date and photographer unknown. Courtesy DPL. NS-508



Figure 20. Color lithographic poster, *The Mounted Warriors of All Nations*, 1902, by Courier, 38.5 x 26 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.464

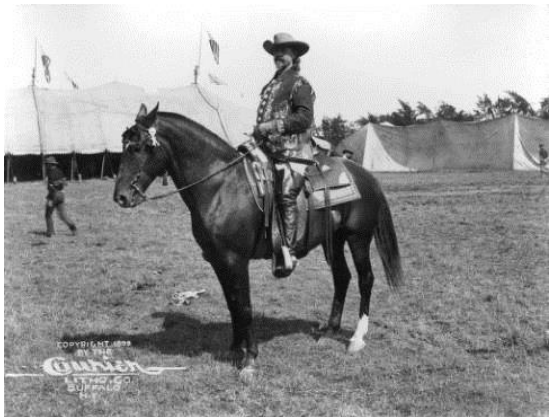
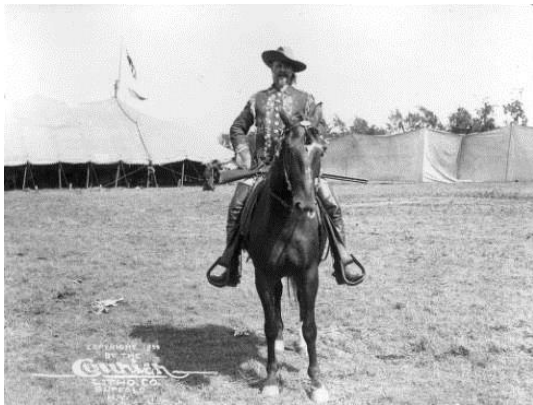
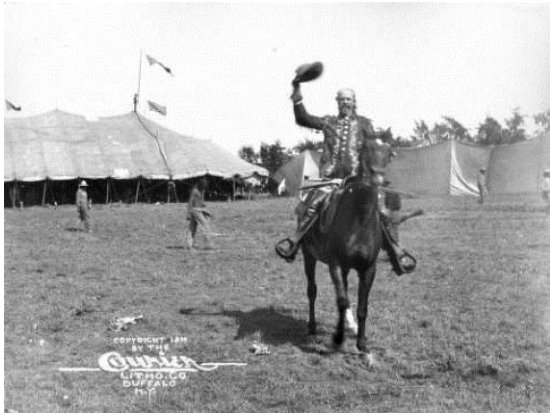


Figure 21. Six photographs of Col. W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody on horseback outside the Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, Courier Lithographic Company. Courtesy DPL. NS-543; NS-546; NS-542; NS-540; NS-544; NS-541

poster *Mounted Warriors of All Nations* by the artistic team at Courier Lithographic Company of Buffalo, New York, which seems to reference Remington's skillful and reverential portrayal of Cody in the *Limelight* portrait. However, lithographic artists at Courier created posters that also referenced the many photographs of the Wild West that Courier copyrighted in 1899. The Nate Salsbury Collection in the Western History Division of the Denver Public Library (DPL) holds over one thousand photographs related to the Wild West show, including many Courier copyrighted photographs with poses of Cody on horseback, the Congress of Rough Riders performers and theatrical arena scenes. Major U.S. lithography printing houses in the Eastern and American Midwest regions, like Courier, Strobridge, and Enquirer Job printers, received yearly contracts with Wild West, Barnum & Bailey, and other large traveling troupes for art work reproduced in programs and posters. Courier's photographs of the Wild West are possibly the only surviving copyrighted images presumably made to direct and inform lithographic artists and staff assistants who were to draft sketches for contracted artwork. Courier photographers, or those contracted by Courier, made images with careful attention to the poses and positioning of Cody, his performers, and the arena theatrics, to bring authenticity to the company's advertising posters. This was so critical to the Wild West publicity departments. Artists reinterpreted and conveyed the unique experiences viewed by audiences seated in the grandstand.¹³

¹³Digital access continues to expand for the Denver (Colorado) Public Library (DPL), Western History Division Collection of Buffalo Bill's Wild West materials, including the files online for photographs from Nate Salsbury's personal scrapbook albums documenting the Courier Lithographic Company's efforts to photograph and copyright behind the scenes images of Buffalo Bill Cody, and the diversity of his performers inside and outside the arena. <http://digital.denverlibrary.org/cdm/search/searchterm/buffalo%20bill's%20wild%20west/field//mode/all/conn/and/cosuppress/>, accessed July 15, 2018.

Courier's 1902 *The Mounted Warriors of All Nations*, highlighted the Remington-like posed Cody center and forefront, with his Congress of Rough Riders of the World represented behind him. Fourteen individual nationalities of horsemen are sketched into one group for the poster, with Cody commanding the diverse group of skilled riders and marksmen. Cody's right arm held his hat high, while his horse bowed to the arena crowd. This familiar action by Cody completed his opening stride on horseback into the arena beginning each Wild West performance. The poster showed his raucous groups of performers already in the arena when Cody entered to the cheers of the audience. *The Mounted Warriors of All Nations* captured the action and energy of all of the riders, each with their own unique uniforms and nationalistic character. From the rearing bronco with American cowboy rider at far right, to the American Indian chief in headdress and breastplate, and Arab horseman, this poster reflected the powerful and realistic military-style performance staged during the Wild West. All the horses drawn in the poster were in motion. The diverse soldiers had their guns and swords raised high. A dynamic group of international warriors turned actors were fearless as the Courier poster implied, and were added to the Wild West to further inspire curiosity and build enthusiasm of the paying crowds, and artists like Remington.¹⁴

Capturing the Image: Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild West Performers

Many American circuses and other traveling shows that highlighted frontier performances were handicapped in not having a headlining performer like Cody. His persona had grown to be comparable with the phenomenon of P. T. Barnum in the circus and traveling show genre. Barnum was known for the curious and unusual fare of his circus and museum, while

¹⁴Fry, "Wonders from Out-of-the-Way Places," pp. 25-29.

Cody presided, or commanded, over his own production as the embodiment of the American frontiersman—scout, military leader, and entrepreneur. Photographer David Francis Barry (1854-1934) of Superior, Wisconsin, often traveled to photograph Cody and the Wild West. This included some of the last photographs of Cody performances near the end of his long theatrical career leading the Wild West tours when the Wild West combined with the Pawnee Bill's Far East 1908-1913, and Sells-Floto Circus 1915. A poignant image in black and white highlighted the elder Cody as performer in his last days of fame in his arena. Cody's thirty-year run of Wild West ended in 1913, but he contracted extensions to tour with Sells-Floto Circus and then the Miller Brothers and Arlington 101 Ranch Wild West 1916.¹⁵ Barry's photograph of "the last appearance" of Cody as Buffalo Bill was included prominently in the top center box of a complex poster for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Far East, circa 1912. But, the photographic half-tone poster montage included credit for the photographic images to the Burke & Atwell, Press Photographers, Chicago, Illinois, not Barry, and the Western Engraving Company. A smaller three-quarters portrait of "Pawnee Bill," Gordon Major W. Lillie appeared in the upper most right corner of the poster, credited to Gessford Photo, New York. Action photographs of scenes of the Buffalo Bill/Pawnee Bill "Two Bills" combination show filled the remainder of the frames of the composite poster—cowboys, cowgirls, American Indians, and expert horsemen from around the world—with exciting scenes from performances. Photographs of Cody appeared in the center with the Barry photograph, at the upper left corner with an image of the showman at his desk in the same costume as the Barry image, and at the lower right corner of the poster with Cody galloping on horseback, with smoke leaving his rifle, as buffalo

¹⁵Over 900 photographs by David Francis Barry are in the collection of the DPL, and include many later Cody portraits and images of the Wild West performers. The Cody "last appearance" photograph by Barry appears to have been possibly hand-painted it to enhance the dramatic quality of the image and give it a painterly quality, or in preparation for half-tone reproductions made for newspaper use or poster production.



Figure 22. Photograph, *Col. W.F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody*, possibly Cody's last appearance with the Wild West and Sells-Floto show, c. 1916, by David F. Barry. Courtesy DPL. B-723



Figure 23. Black and white half-tone poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, c. 1912, photographs attributed to Burke and Atwell, and printed by the Western Engraving Company, Chicago, Illinois, 13.25 x 19.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.436

stampede in the foreground of the image. Gordon Lillie's contract with Cody renewed the concept of the Wild West when debt and Cody's own ailing health would have otherwise ended touring completely in 1908. The continued marketability and audience attraction for the Wild West was evident in the billing of Buffalo Bills Wild West's which appeared first in the name for the new combined show, and the placement of three photographs of Cody in this poster and only one of Lillie. The upper right corner image of Cody at his desk suggested the professional stature of the man in the lead for management of the joint enterprise, but Lillie and his team were leaders in the venture. Barry's portrait of Cody epitomized the man's difficult situation at that time of Cody's life.¹⁶ The familiar pose of Cody in a saddle, comfortable on one of his famous horses, was different this time. The Barry portrait showed Cody with his glance downward and hat lowered at his right. It could be interpreted as a defeated and final composition as compared to the strong, commanding portraits of Cody used to sell tickets for the previous three decades of Wild West performances. This poster also used only photographs to promote the Two Bills combination show. The use of the half-tone printing process to reproduce photographs in the poster was a departure from the prominent lithographic art posters used during the entirety of the Wild West. The Two Bills poster resembled a 20th century newspaper advertisement centerfold more than the highly designed and sketched artwork for posters which promoted the earlier Wild West performances. "Show poster" printing firms now had the opportunity to transition from straightforward artist-sketch inspired lithographic artwork to combinations of hand-drawn art to advertisements created directly from related original photographs. Photo-mechanical posters made with the half-tone technology were advertisements

¹⁶Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, pp. 151-156. Even Pawnee Bill (Gordon Lillie) and Cody's joint efforts could not support any long-term success of the combined shows, and the partnership dissolved within five years.

made directly from photographs reproductions.¹⁷ The Wild West posters progressively showed an appropriate aging of Cody in their renderings, but their attention to his dynamic personality and strong physical presence dominated throughout the show's run. The brutal reality of Barry's late portrait of Cody as Buffalo Bill suggested a new frailness and possible failing health of the once larger than life man. Ticket sales to see Cody perform in his "last performance" were marketed through late 1916 when he played his final show with the Miller Brothers 101 show.

Photography always performed an important function as a medium available to foster new creative development of a brand for the Wild West. Cody's "Buffalo Bill" persona was ever present in the publicity advance work and news advertising for the tours, but throughout each season there were strong contenders for other major performers to highlight. Sharpshooter Annie Oakley, born Phoebe Ann Moses (1860-1926), and Chief Iron Tail (1842-1916), the respected Sioux Indian performer who traveled with the Wild West for decades, were often photographed for promotional postcards or sketched for posters. Individual military troops from the Congress of Rough Riders of the World also dominated press and poster artwork from the early 1890s to the close of the tour in the 1910s. The A. Hoen & Co. printing firm of Baltimore, Maryland, was among the longest contracted with the Wild West Company and produced one sheet and window posters for advance publicity for tour stops. Over the course of two decades, Hoen artists and

¹⁷Illustrated Advertising," in *Modern Advertising: A Monthly Journal for Advertisers*, no. 1, edited by Hugh MacLeay as supplement to *The Poster: An Illustrated Monthly Chronicle*, Volumes 4-5 (June 1900), p. 5. Half-tone posters provided the opportunity for advertisers to use the realism of photography to sell their products or productions, but the black and white nature of these posters was a stark contrast to the vivid colorful lithographic posters popular for decades with advertising companies, theatrical and touring shows. The half-tone reproductions were also best suited for smaller sized reproductions, and not the large scaled posters typically used in the Wild West after 1900. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 233; and, Musser, "A Cornucopia of Images," pp. 16-28. Photography from 1839, and early motion picture films in the 1890s-1910s, created new cultural experiences and opportunities for active viewer participation and comparisons of artistic and cultural works within their everyday life experiences.

printers created the advertising for the Wild West. The Hoen poster, “Miss Annie Oakely—The Peerless Lady Wing-Shot,” accurately captured the spirit of Oakely’s prowess with a gun, with enhanced feminine depiction of the real woman performer. Hoen artists most likely referenced a photographic studio portrait of Oakley in which she was photographed standing, and wore a pleated dress to below-knee length and gathered at her waist, western style hat, and held her gun at right rested to the ground.¹⁸ Hoen artists adapted this photographic portrait of Oakley in the poster produced in the 1890s for the Wild West. Oakley was represented in the same pose, with additional silhouetted Oakley poses of her shooting in the background of the poster. The lighter background sketches of Oakley in the poster showed her in action shooting glass targets thrown in the air by her male assistant, probably her husband Frank Butler. Oakley’s friendship with Cody, like many of his longtime performers, allowed for general agents and the publicity team who worked with the Wild West to develop audience recognition for these charismatic and skilled individual performers or groups. Posters, postcards and souvenir photographs publicized these rising stars who shared the spotlight with Cody daily.

American Indian imagery was also ever-present in the publicity images and advertising posters for the Wild West. Cody and his partners, especially Major John M. Burke, worked closely with the agents of the U.S. Government Bureau of Indian Affairs and negotiated contracts for performers for each season of the Wild West. The early 1885 season represented the

¹⁸The Oakley studio photograph was located at the MRL, BBCW, P. 71.806, with the generous assistance of Housel Librarian Mary Robinson and former BBCW fellow Jennifer Henneman. Oakley, like Cody, achieved international celebrity through her performances with the Wild West. For a closer interpretation of Oakley and female celebrity of the era, especially to consider the U.S. and British perspectives on femininity and societal customs, see Jennifer Henneman, “Her Representation Precedes Her: Transatlantic Celebrity, Portraiture, and Visual Culture, 1865-1890.” PhD diss., University of Washington, 2016.



Figure 24. Photograph of Annie Oakley, date and maker unknown. Courtesy MRL, BBCW.
P.71.806

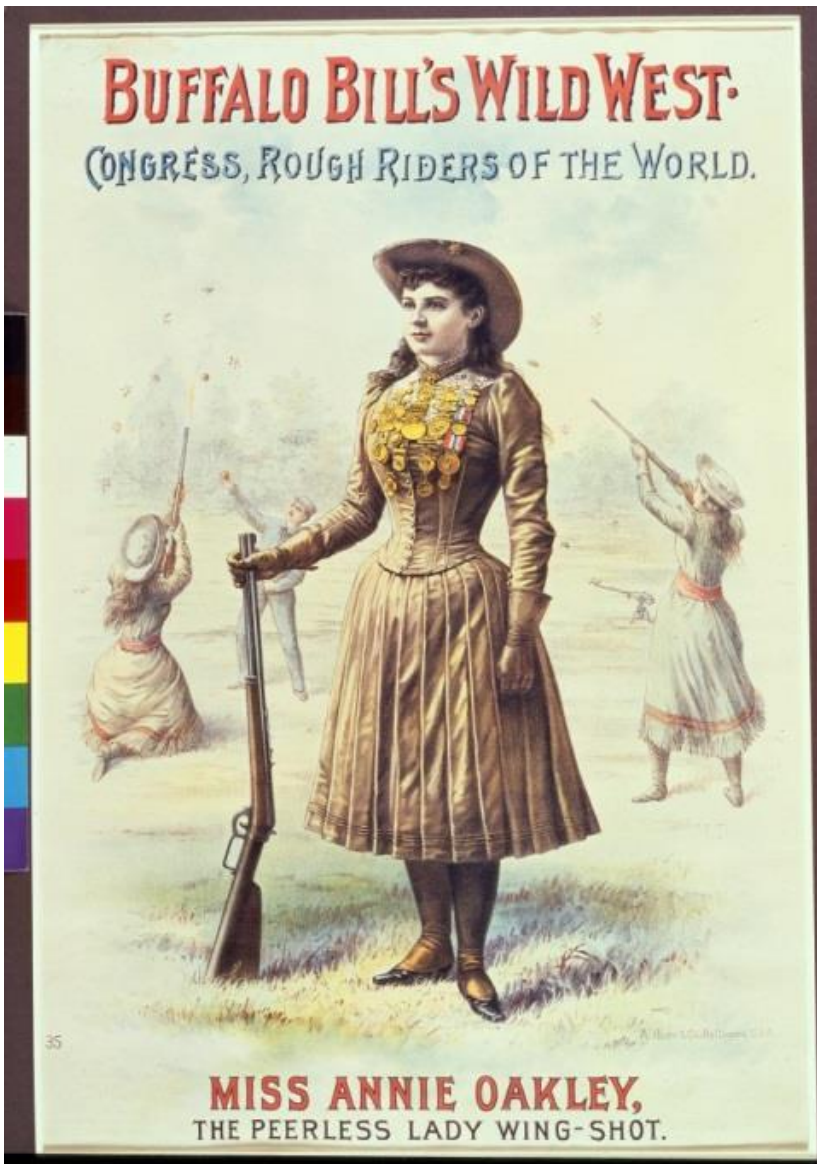


Figure 25. Color lithographic poster, *Miss Annie Oakley, The Peerless Lady Wing-Shot*, c. 1890, by A. Hoen & Co., 28.5 x 19 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.73 (duplicate Figure 8)

single year of the most famous American Indian cast member, Sitting Bull, but it was another Indian who remained a steady presence at Cody's side performing for two decades. Chief Iron Tail performed with the Wild West from 1889-1913. He would later also be famous for his profile being used as one of the Indian models for the American Buffalo nickel coin 1913-1938. Iron Tail was a leader among American Indian chiefs who chose to participate in the Wild West cast. He was prominently photographed by the press and in behind the scenes candid photographs of the daily activities of the Wild West village camp. Iron Tail was the only "Show Indian" performer to be identified and promoted on show posters. This included two posters specifically, the 1908 Wild West poster printed by the Strobridge Lithographic Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, titled *A Tribe of Sioux Indians on the Trail Led by Chief Iron Tail*, and the combined Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Far East poster for 1912 printed by the U.S. Lithograph Co., Russell-Morgan Print, Cincinnati, titled *Chief Iron Tail, Last of the Great American Chiefs*. The Strobridge artists chose a design for their Chief Iron Tail poster very similar to earlier Wild West posters which featured Cody on horseback leading a long line of military soldiers on the bleak Great Plains of the United States. In the Strobridge poster, Chief Iron Tail was depicted leading his men over the stark Plains with only a staff and determined stern illustrated presence of a warrior and strong patriarch. His clothing was similar to that worn by the Sioux Indians when traveling with the Wild West: western designed fabric shirt, blanket draped over waist, brass cuffs, bone breast plate, and short headdress. Indians trailed Iron Tail in the background of the poster. They were drawn with less clothing, bare-chested as most Show Indians performed. Strobridge designers may have been familiar with the several platinum portrait photographs of Iron Tail made by Gertrude Käsebier in her New York Studio on the last day of the Madison Square Garden three-week run during the 1898 Wild West season. Käsebier, an important

member of the era's new American art photography movement, wrote to Cody and requested a portrait session with the American Indian performers after seeing the troupe's grand parade down Manhattan's Fifth Avenue towards their Madison Square Garden destination. Iron Tail cooperated with the photographer through the Wild West interpreter, and posed for photograph without his regalia or headdress. The photographer achieved the dramatic and raw portrait of the Indian warrior, but Iron Tail would not accept the print when offered it. When the photograph was showed to him several days later, he destroyed it, but agreed to be photographed once again by Käsebier. The final image created in the Käsebier studio represented the Chief bravely in profile wearing his short headdress, and less vulnerable position.¹⁹ The Strobridge poster of 1908 presented what could be described as a composite print of Iron Tail, his likeness transformed into a morph between many photographs of the man. Artists had numerous images to consider when preparing the poster artwork for Chief Iron Tail's portrait, possibly the informal photographs taken by Courier Lithographic Co. photographers and others visiting the Wild West camp in 1899, which showed Iron Tail on horseback or in front of a tipi holding a staff, or the more formal studio 1898 photographs by Käsebier.²⁰ Panoramic photographs of the full cast from the late 1880s to the 1910s usually included Iron Tail seated or standing close to Cody. Photographs of the Wild West camp for many seasons included Iron Tail on horseback alone, or with younger Sioux Indian men. He was photographed in front of a decorated tipi dwelling, seated in an early

¹⁹See *New York Times* April 1898 articles referencing Buffalo Bill's Wild West three-week run at New York City's Madison Square Garden and the Käsebier photography session; "Some Indian Portraits," *Everybody's Magazine* vol. 4, no. 17 (Jan. 1901), pp. 1-22. See also curatorial files, Photographic History Collection, NMAH.

²⁰Photographs of Chief Iron Tail are prominent in historical collections of Buffalo Bill's Wild West materials, including MRL and BBM/BBCW and DPL. Despite the prominence of the American Indian performers in the Wild West programs and publicity, Iron Tail is the only Indian to be identified in printed poster advertisements during the entire run of the Wild West. Sitting Bull was not promoted on any posters for his single season with Cody in 1885. Most printed advertising and photography promoted the Show Indians in generic and stereotypical formats. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, pp. 546-47, elaborates on the irony of the oppressive ideology of the Wild West: in "its cultural messages of womanly domesticity and Indian subjugation, we have seen over and over again how performing it brought liberation, or something like it." Annie Oakley and Iron Tail were prime examples.

automobile, or seen visiting British or European historic cities or sites. While Cody himself was definitely the most photographed performer and rightful celebrity brand for the Wild West, Iron Tail could arguably be the second most photographed and depicted performer with the cast. Cody and Iron Tail were frequently photographed together. Their friendship based on a mutual respect was documented through cast photographs and off-season opportunities for Cody to include Iron Tail on hunting party expeditions, especially near Cody's ranches in Wyoming. However, there is no evidence of Iron Tail's image being used specifically for market advertising of products as was Cody's image. Cody contracted for his image and name to be used for marketing guns, games, and other consumer products. Generic American Indian figures were widely to market many late nineteenth and early twentieth century products, including tobacco, and even pens. The publicity that used Iron Tail's likeness was most prevalent after 1900, and in the final decade of the Wild West. Press agents for the show created dramatic portraits of the elder Chief after the photographs which portrayed the man as an actor and patriarch for a people and society in transition. Iron Tail performed for seasons with the Wild West, like his fellow Indians who were opposed to remaining confined to the U.S. government imposed reservation system at Pine Ridge, South Dakota.²¹

The 1912 U.S. Lithographic Company poster of Iron Tail produced for the "Two Bills" tour, and portrayed a distinctly aged Iron Tail. Drawn on a backdrop to replicate a fringed piece of animal hide, the poster presented a close head-and-shoulders portrait of the tenured Wild West show performer. This Russell-Morgan print showed deep-set lines on Iron Tail's face. He was depicted with a similar, if not the same headdress as drawn into the 1908 Strobridge poster, with

²¹McCracken Research Library photography collections, and files related to "Show Indians". See also Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier* (New York: Smithsonian/Harper Collins, 2007).

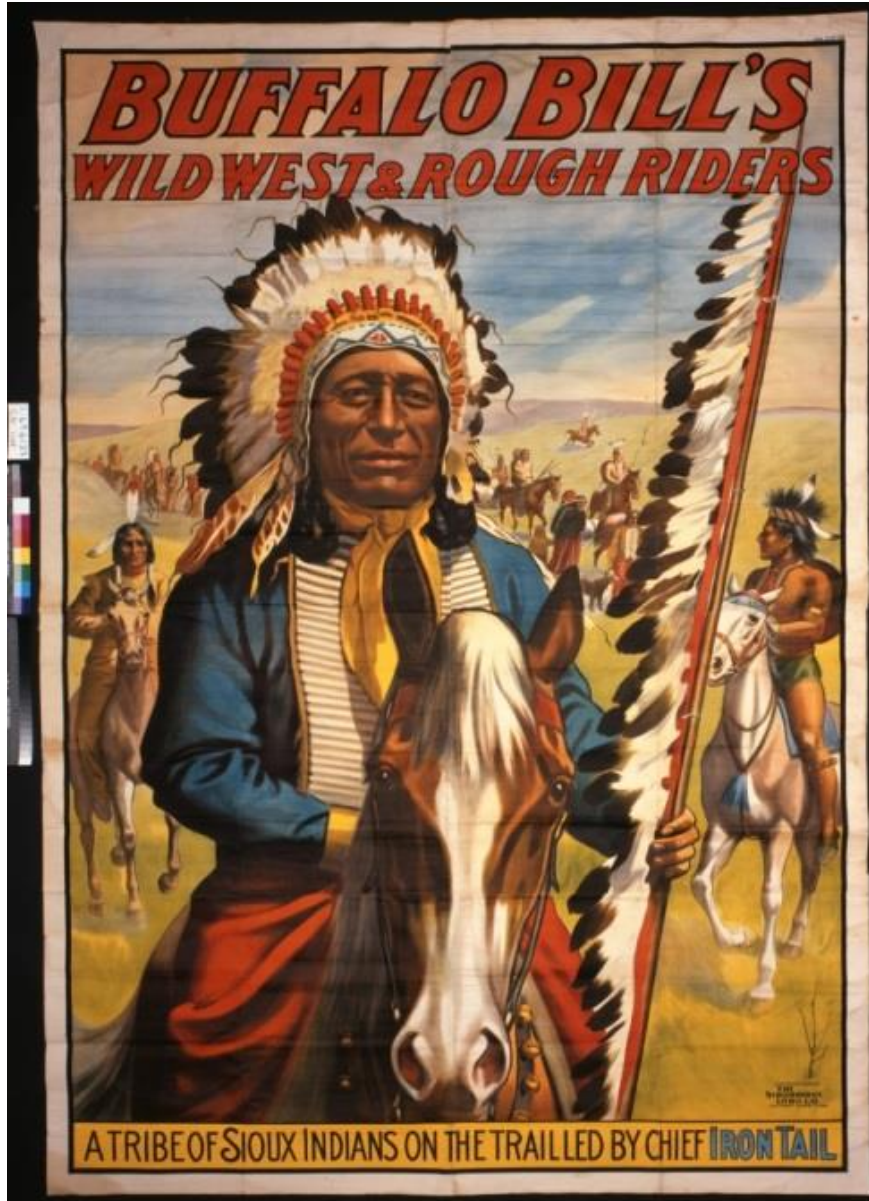


Figure 26. Color lithographic poster, *A Tribe of Sioux Indians on the Trail Led by Chief Iron Tail*, 1908, by Strobridge Lithographing Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, 109.5 x 76.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.6137



Figure 27. Color lithographic poster, *Iron Tail Last of the Great Chiefs*, 1912, by the U.S. Lithographic Company, Russell-Morgan, Cincinnati, Ohio, 39.625 x 27.375 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.50

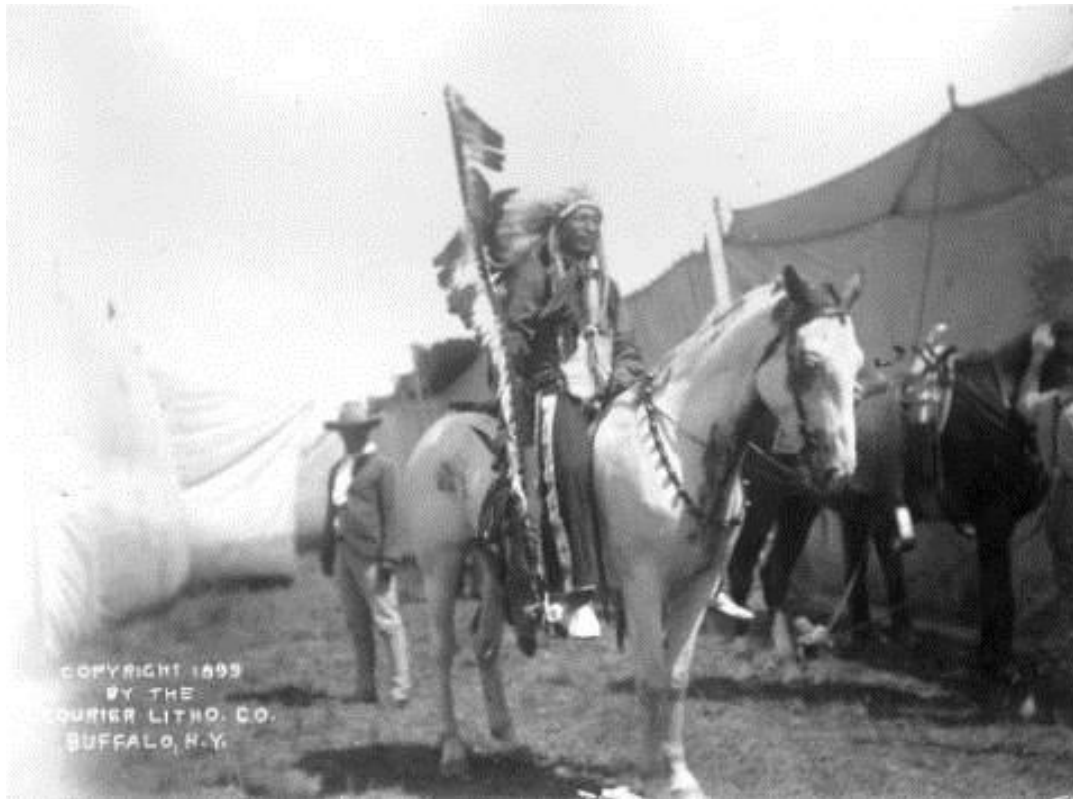


Figure 28. Photograph of Chief Iron Tail on horseback behind the scenes at the Wild West arena, copyright 1899, by the Courier Litho. Co., Buffalo, N.Y. Courtesy DPL. NS-565



Figure 29. Photograph, Chief Iron Tail, 1898, by Gertrude Käsebier. Courtesy NMAH. 69.236.40

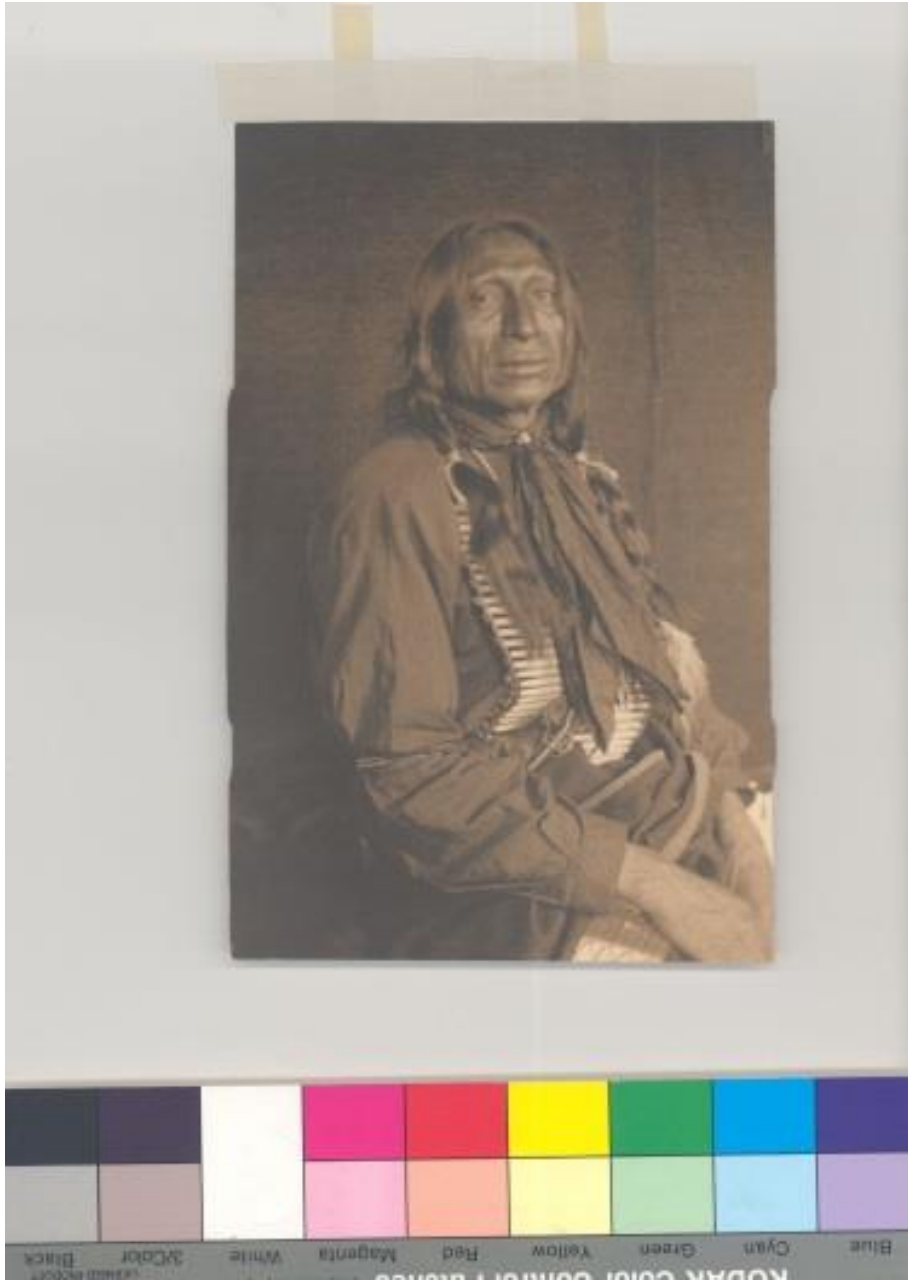


Figure 30. Photograph, Chief Iron Tail, 1898, by Gertrude Käsebier. Courtesy NMAH. 69.236.39

bright white eagle feathers, red, white and blue geometric beading, and red and blue fabric strands from the headband. Iron Tail's shirt was stark white at the shoulders, and he wore delicate strands of a beaded necklace of the same colors reflected in the headdress. The poster was a simple design, like many of the Cody focused Wild West posters. A single detailed figure represented one aspect of the program, but it conveyed a poignant message to viewers. Iron Tail, like Cody, represented masculinity, bravery, authenticity, and loyalty as a performer. Iron Tail was a real Sioux Indian warrior. With two decades of commitment to the Wild West, and then the Pawnee Bill combination show, Iron Tail attained an even more elevated status with the poster recognition. His name and face recognition were used to sell tickets. At the lower left corner of the poster was included an oval inset which could be considered similar to an American Indian shield, or even a painter's palette. Drawn in the oval were a running buffalo and charging Indian with spear raised. Outside the oval, underneath it, were two arrows and tomahawks, reminiscent of artist's brushes and tools. At the top edge of this advertising poster, metal nails were drawn to simulate the hanging of the show poster worthy of an artistic work.²²

²²The *New York Times* frequently reported cast activities and daily events surrounding the Wild West yearly shows in New York City and the surrounding area. Chief Iron Tail was often highlighted or mentioned in these articles, confirming his status and celebrity within the Wild West 1889-1913. See, for example, "Buffalo Bill's Indians Here," April 14, 1908 (only Iron Tail joined Cody for the cameramen as the Indians from Pine Ridge and Rosebud Agencies in South Dakota arrived at Grand Central Railway Station in New York, before departing to the headquarters of the Wild West in Bridgeport, CT); "WH-O-O-OP! Iron Tail and His Braves Come; But They Travel on to the Rising Sun this Morning," Feb. 8, 1906; "Indians in the Wild West Shows: Even When Not Performing They Wear Native Dress," April 21, 1901. Iron Tail was reported to be "the chief of Buffalo Bill's aggregation; [and] one of the participants in the Custer massacre.... There is a chief of police among [the Indians] and over him sits Iron Tail, whose authority is not questioned. He is amenable only to Col. Cody". See also "The Indian as a Gentleman: Those of the Wild West are most Chivalrously Inclined, as Shown at Reception and "Show Party,"" April 23, 1899. Iron Tail greeted photographer Gertrude Käsebier at the Wild West in New York and then visited her studio and later a reception with other Sioux performers, where Joe Black Fox expressed Iron Tail's fondness for the photographer.

Cody's Congress of Rough Riders of the World

Not all of the advertising posters presented the prominent performers of the Wild West. Publicity agents did adopt some generic approaches to advertise and promote the Wild West with illustrated posters and program art that captured the daily physical demands of frontier life for the cowboys, military skills, and the horsemanship of U.S. and foreign cavalry troops. The Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders posters by Hoen printed in the late 1880s and early 1890s regularly used relatively simple artwork designs with one cowboy and one the Remington-like horses plunging or rearing, and focused the viewer attention on the special skills seen in the arena performances. These Hoen posters highlighted the movement and muscularity of the horses, the agility, ability, and masculinity of the cowboys, and the characteristic clothing of the individual men in textured and fringed chaps, plain color fabric shirts, decorated bandanas around their neck, and classic wide-brimmed hats. These realistic close-up drawings of individual figures and a horse had little background included, save slight abstract watercolor sky or green grass. The unnamed cowboys in each of the posters were generic master horsemen. The Hoen Wild West poster style was contrasted with the later artwork completed for the billboard-sized color lithographic posters designed and produced by the Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati. Most of the Wild West posters printed by Enquirer were completed for 1900-1910 seasons. The larger facilities and printing machines available at the Enquirer newspaper plant allowed for the creation of massive multi-sheet posters, which were also being used for wider circus advertising. The Enquirer *Cowboys' Fun—Riding Wild Horses—Taming Mustangs and Broncos* depicted a chaotic scene of cowboys in action. At least nineteen horses were drawn in various poses with riders in saddles, roping, or thrown and ready to mount once again. Much like circus posters of the period, the title of the show—Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of the

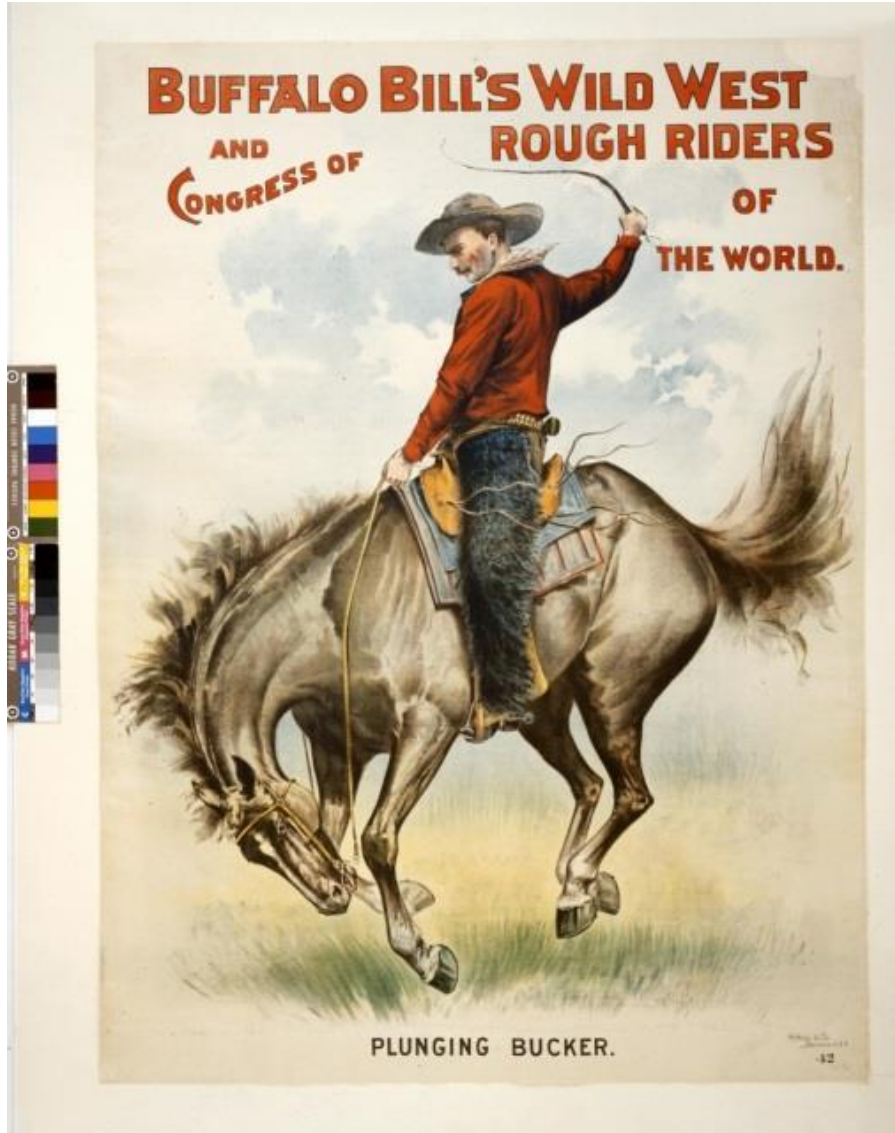


Figure 31. Color lithographic poster, *Plunging Bucker*, c. 1893, by A. Hoen & Co., 40 x 29 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69. 2644

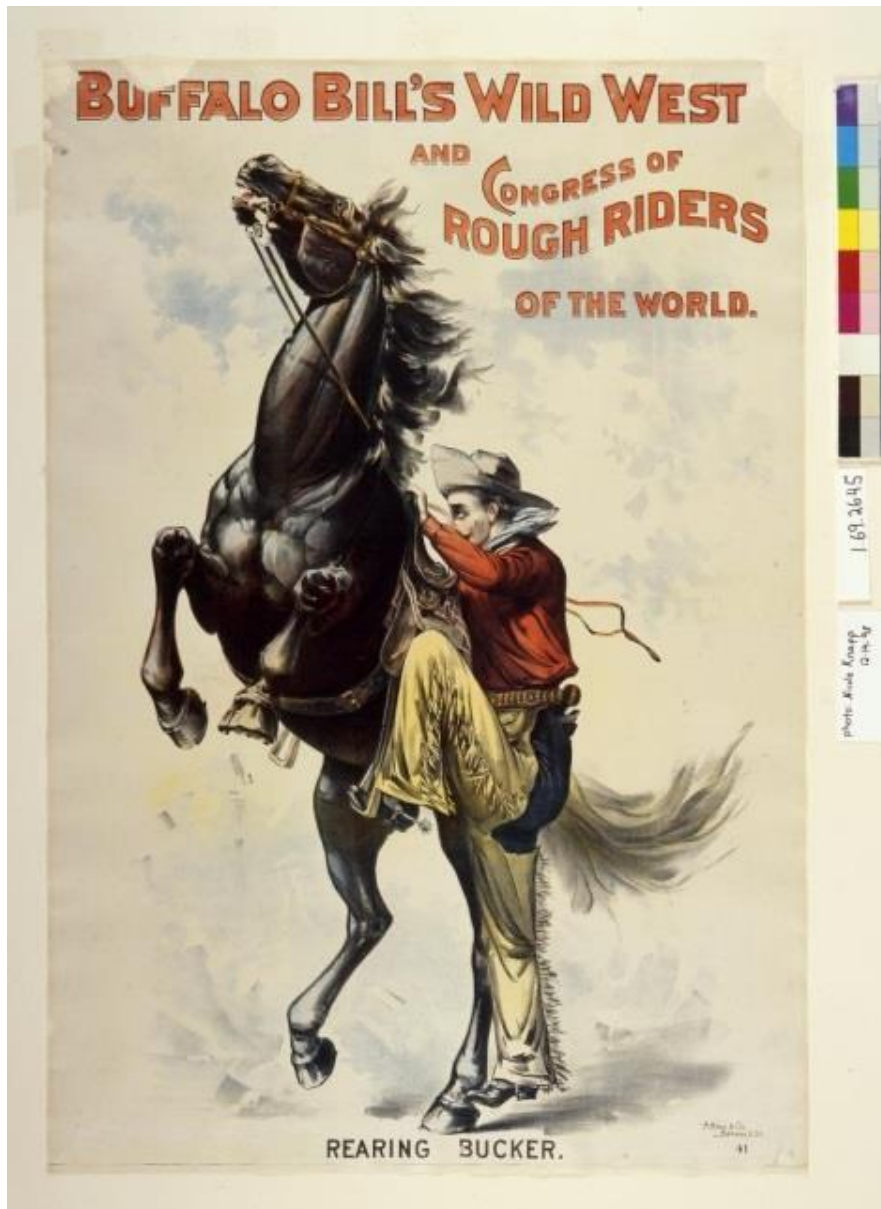


Figure 32. Color lithographic poster, *Rearing Bucker*, c. 1893, by A. Hoen & Co., 42 x 28.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2645

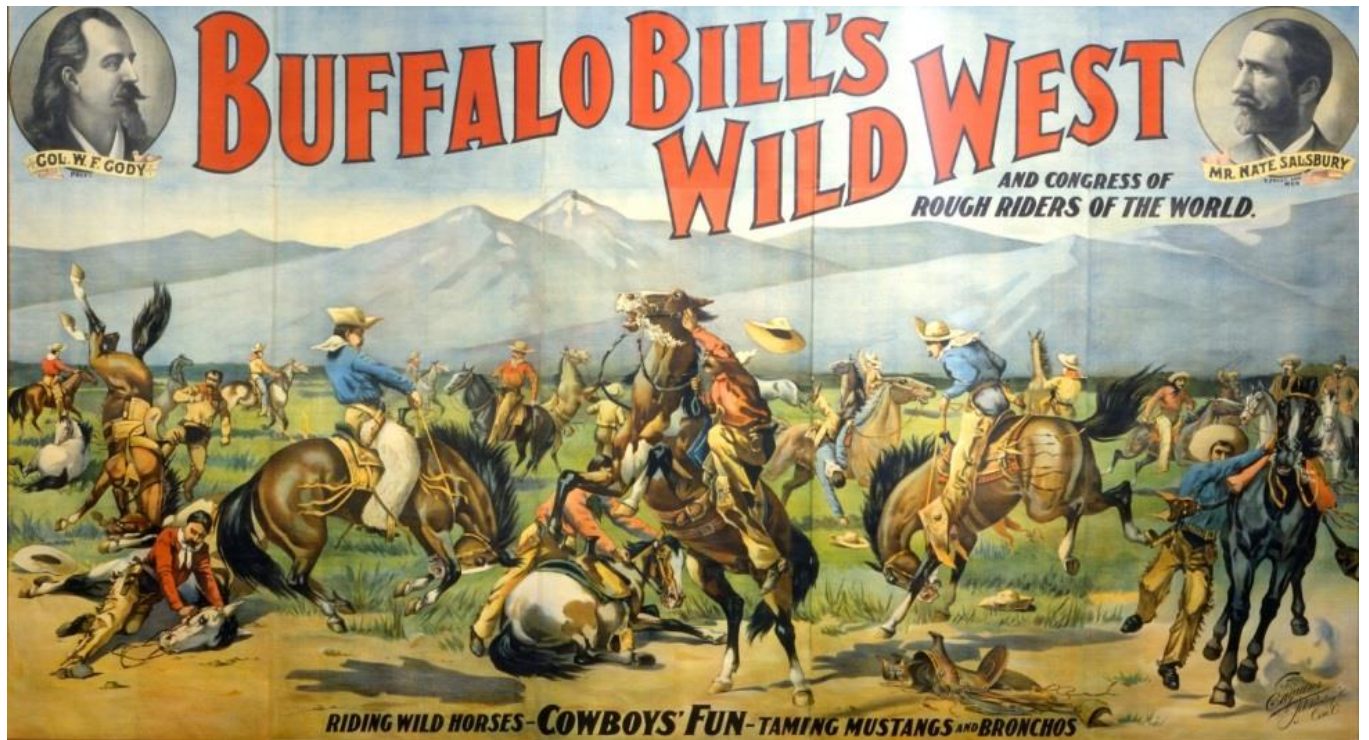


Figure 33. Color lithographic poster. *Cowboys' Fun*, c. 1898, by Enquirer Job Printing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, 109 x 202.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1813



Figure 34. Photograph of unidentified Wild West cowboy on plunging horse, possibly 1899 or 1901, by Courier Lithographic Co. Courtesy DPL. NS-772



Figure 35. Photograph of Antonio Esquivel, Mexican vaquero in the Wild West arena, on rearing horse, 1892, Earl's Court, London. Courtesy DPL. NS-521

Rough Riders of the World—appeared in bold lettering across the top middle of the poster with circular images of president Col. W.F. Cody and vice-president and manager Nate Salsbury at the upper most left and right corners, respectively. Cody and Salsbury’s likenesses were included a second time in the poster, at extreme right middle of the poster. Both men were drawn mounted on white horses, seemingly calm surveyors of the wild scene of performers who worked with the horses. Cody and Salsbury were dressed in buttoned-down jackets and were quite business-like when compared to the cowboys. The cowboys were not drawn constrained by jackets or coats. They wore blue, red, or tan shirts, pants covered with leather or animal-hair chaps, bandanas, hats, and gun holsters. Some items were drawn lost on the ground to the hard practice--hats, a saddle, and a gun—while the cowboys practiced their horsemanship skills on grassy flatlands with a mountainous background. The *Cowboys’ Fun* poster characterized most every type of bucking and rearing position of horse and rider seen during a Wild West performance. Would this composite scene even have existed in daily practice or performance? Or, did the Enquirer artists design a poster with a variety of possible cowboy position with horses as seen in the Courier photographs from the 1899 season which captured the reality of many lone cowboys as they rode horses in or near the Wild West arena. The cowboys in the photographs displayed prowess in the saddle, and maintained control of the horse in extreme positions, while they worked alone in the arena or with a spotter. In contrast, the Enquirer poster showed the excitement and variety of the Wild West cowboy performances. The danger and random movements of the riders and the horses together created a dynamic and realistic scene not to be missed by the public.

The branding of the Wild West and celebrity of Cody was achieved through the expertise of the publicity agents hired by management who expanded through the saturation of the

advertising campaigns. Cody and his business managers and press agents prepared for the poster production each season and cultivated the friendships of printers, artists and photographers to create the most realistic and captivating advertising. Like many circuses, the Wild West principally utilized printed lithographic posters for advertising, but Cody's team also employed a multi-layered and thoughtful approach to intense campaigns which introduced the show to the public through newspaper advertisements, printed flyers, and special programs. Wild West and circus publicity agents worked in an era prior to the advertising agency in America, and laid the groundwork for later innovations in mass-marketing and large advertising agencies.²³ Cody's team distributed free or discounted tickets to editors and shop owners for their cooperation, and also left artwork with them for window displays. The institutions and traditions of the circuses and traveling shows were powerful initiators in the development of American advertising vigor as evidenced in the marketing of the yearly special programs, and the Wild West advertising expanded on the best practices of the circus world. While it was always Cody receiving top billing and promotion for the Wild West, he could not have fully managed the Wild West Company successfully on his own. His partners, Salsbury, Bailey, and agents Burke and Cooke worked closely with him, and provided the additional skills in the daily operation and advertising campaigns for the American and European tours. Bailey's promotional techniques and savvy

²³Margaret A. Blanchard, *A History of Mass Media in the United States* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 5-22; T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), p. 2; Johnathon E. Schroeder, *Visual Consumption* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 162-69; Christine Bold, ed., *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 6, United States Popular Print 1860-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 623-24. Scholars researching the development of the history of advertising in America have not specifically addressed the significance of the Wild West promotional work or relationships with the artistic and photographic community. The Wild West advertising agents were operating prior to the establishment of advertising agencies in America. By 1918, an American Association of Advertising Agencies was started and defined best practices of new firms with workers acting as intermediaries and replacing the individual agents hired by the Wild West and circuses to facilitate sales and advertising. Cody and the Wild West agents and printing firms also embraced and expanded the use of photography and photo-mechanical reproduction effectively for advertising in the immediate years after the availability of real photographs use in promotional materials.

financial investments were complimentary skills to Cody's interest in the overall program and development of the related art and advertising. This strong management team kept the audiences coming back yearly for the evolving Wild West tours.²⁴ They embraced the challenge of advertising for the shows with daily stops in different cities up to 150 times a season. Billboard and outdoor advertising allowed for their marketing effectively in rural and urban locations.

It was Bailey and his circus press agents who worked with "show printers" to develop a high-quality and variety of reproducible color lithographic posters, prints, herald and courier news magazines, and programs to advertise the uniqueness of each traveling theatrical enterprise in which he partnered.²⁵ But, it was Cody who best cultivated new relationships with prominent American and European artists, illustrators, and photographers who created unique and respected artwork for the Wild West advertising. While no contracts for photographers or firms are found in the largest collections of Wild West archival and museum collections, there remains evidence that Cody's team of artist and printers used photographs as inspiration and guidance for the illustrations made for the designs of posters and news advertising. The Courier copyrighted photographs documented the Wild West and captured most fully the true nature of the individual, group performers, arena, and behind the scenes images for the two seasons of 1899 and 1900. Courier's own photographers or local contract photographers posed Cody in a variety of

²⁴Alan Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West* (Stroud: History Press, 2001), pp. 211-215, and 245-47; Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 143-52. See also Louis E. Cooke articles in the *Newark Evening Star*, 1915-1916 – Bailey's interest and management in Buffalo Bill's Wild West is consistently referenced in Cooke's writings.

²⁵Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: Strobridge Lithographic Company* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum and the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011), p. 17. Spangenberg and Walk's research of the Strobridge archives and works at Cincinnati Art Museum and Ringling Museum defines the strong relationship between the Barnum and Bailey management team and show printers. Strobridge was the prominent printer for Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey circus when James A. Bailey led their management in the 1880s to the early 1900s. Bailey's influence over advertising extended to Strobridge contracts for Buffalo Bill's Wild West promotion during the same years.

positions on horseback alone and with the various performers or groups, including marksman Johnnie Baker, American cowboys and cowgirls, Sioux Indians, U.S. Cavalry, Arabs and Syrians, Russian Cossacks, French Chasseurs, and a Mexican vaquero.

Courier's investment in producing these images was for a multiple purposes and printing uses. Courier not only had their artists working with the photographs for poster and program illustrations, but also sold photographs to other printing firms for use with their own Wild West printing contracts. Courier's images were referenced for Courier Wild West posters and news advertisements, but also acquired by the Enquirer Job Printing Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio, for use in additional Wild West posters. Courier copyrighted photographs were visible and credited in Wild West posters produced by Enquirer. The two firms were competitors and the dominant printing companies contracted with the Wild West during the 1890s and early 1900s for the advertising posters and programs. The negotiated use of Courier's photographs in Enquirer advertising for the Wild West is indicative that Cody, his team, and printers, collaborated for the most innovative and quality advertising. Courier was prominent in the production of smaller formatted Wild West posters, programs, heralds and couriers, and Enquirer excelled at the production of large-scale billboard posters. By working together, the Courier images supported the highest quality and detailed art for the Enquirer posters. The Courier photographers completed a systematic and thorough documentation of the Wild West, including the portraits of Cody from many angles outside and inside the arena; action and still images of bucking broncos and cowboy feats; posed lines of Rough Rider groups, horsemen entering the arena, and more candid scenes of these performers outside the arena. The Courier photograph collection supplemented some of the best artwork created for the Wild West, both American and European advertising and promotions for years afterwards. These photographs guided artists and

illustrators, and enabled the continued authenticity and creativity in advertising for the show. The Courier-based advertising materials presented a faithful interpretation of the Wild West, even beyond that of the famous artists and illustrators who contributed their considerable skills to the promotional posters and programs.²⁶ Cody, Salsbury, Bailey, and the Wild West publicity team thus effectively used original artwork and photography to transfer visual and transcultural messages of the legacy and myths of the Wild West and American transitions through entertainment to national and international audiences. None of this would have been possible without the aggregations of skill, artistry, and investment in new technology that American printers could now offer. (See Figure 21, Courier photographs)

²⁶Examples of Courier copyrighted photographs are held in the Buffalo Bill Wild West collection, Nate Salsbury Scrapbook Albums, at the DPL; and also appear as illustrations in the Wild West Courier and Heralds program collections at the CWM. The president of the *Courier* newspaper and the Courier Lithographic Company, of Buffalo, New York, was George Bleistein, who became close friends with and a business partner to Cody. Bleistein was one of original partners who invested in the creation of the town of Cody, WY.

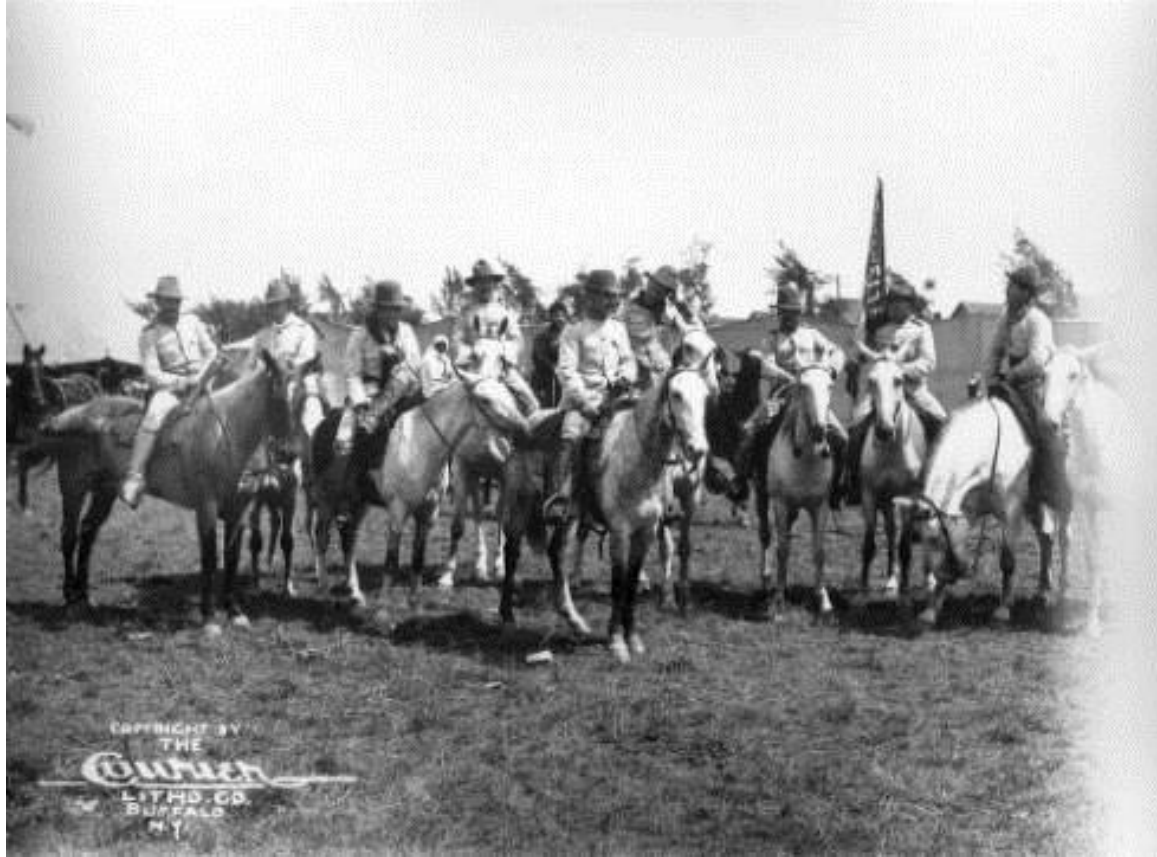


Figure 36. Photograph, Rough Riders, First Regiment of the United States Cavalry, known as “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders,” on horses outside the Wild West Arena, with flag with the word “Roosevelt” on it. This group re-enacted the Battle of San Juan Hill for Wild West performances, 1899, copyrighted by Courier Lithographic Company. Courtesy DPL. NS-551



Figure 37. Photograph, Syrian performers outside the Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, by Courier Lithographic Company. Courtesy DPL. NS-587

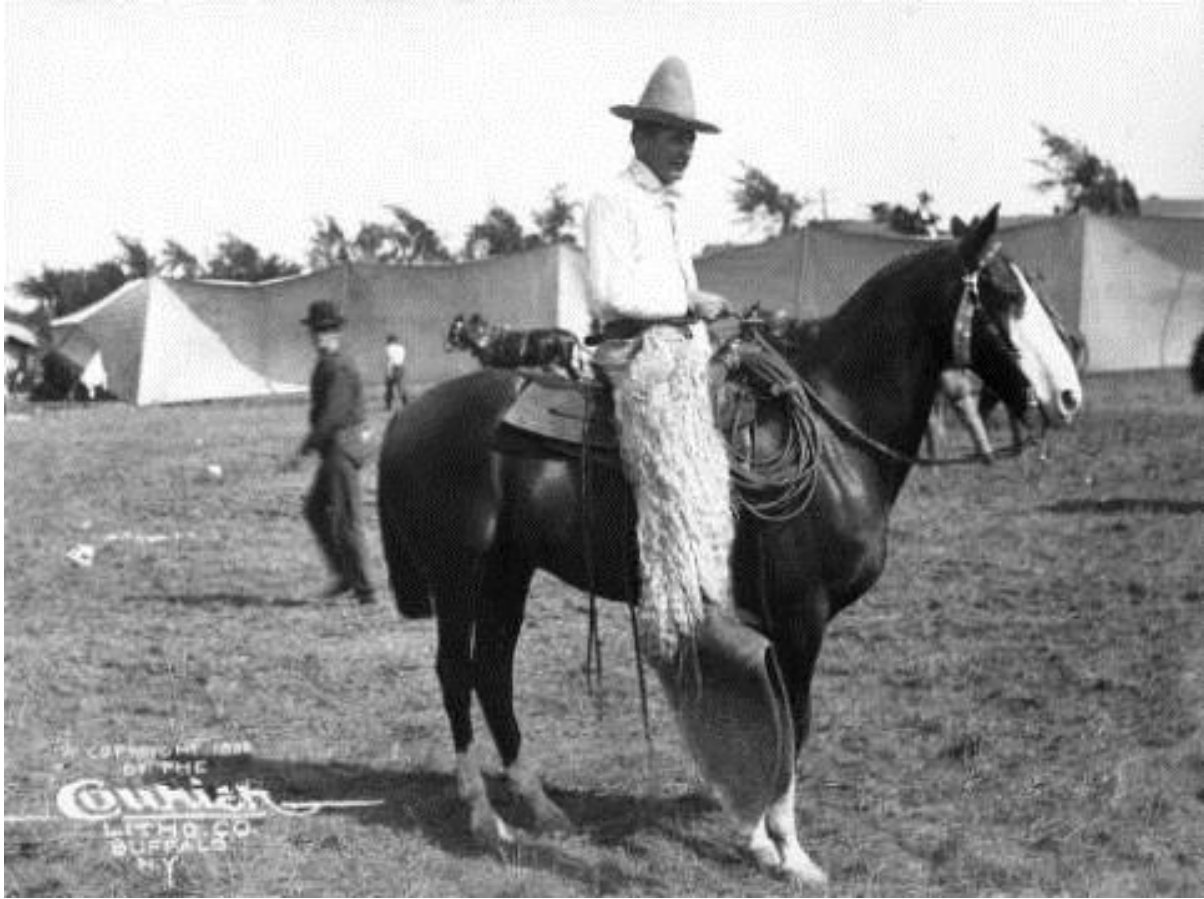


Figure 38. Photograph, Mexican vaquero on horseback with tall hat and sheepskin chaps, outside Wild West Arena, copyrighted 1899, by Courier Lithographic Company. Courtesy DPL. NS-549

Part Two: Visualizing Buffalo Bill's Wild West

Chapter Four

The Visual Culture of the Wild West in the United States

Partnerships were vital to the business of circuses and traveling shows like the Wild West in the late nineteenth century. Income and promotion for the shows depended on expanded advertising created with the latest technology, just as it did for industry and corporations in the U.S. and internationally.¹ An extensive chronological survey and interpretation of the stunning color posters designed to show off Cody's exotic and diverse troupe shows a continual development of effective advertising. Cody and his team worked with graphic printing companies, their owners, artists, and craftsmen, to create aesthetically attractive, strategically innovative, and increasingly super-sized advertisements to draw crowds daily to shows.

More than 500 original color posters survive today in museums, the largest of which are the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art and the Circus World Museum.² The styles and sizing of the Wild West posters changed over time with advertising trends and improved print technology. Over time, the performers and scenes illustrated on the posters also evolved, showing Cody aging, fewer scenes of cowboys and

¹Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 1-36; Charles Phillip Fox and Tom Parkinson, *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1985), pp. 9-50; Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), pp. 1-5.; Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011), pp. 15-19.

²Select digital collections for posters and visual culture of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West are available at Buffalo Bill's Center of the West www.centerofthewest.org and <http://codyarchive.org>; Circus World Museum www.circusworldmuseumbaraboo.org/our-treasures; and, the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art www.ringling.org/collections, accessed July 15, 2018. 548 posters are represented in the companion database to this dissertation, documenting chronology, keyword, maker, and national origin of the art and advertising of the Wild West.

American Indians, and more highlighted depictions of the Congress of Rough Riders and contemporary military events reenacted with each season's new program. A consistent quality and attention was devoted to the Wild West's production of this advance work, or "paper," used to market and promote the show. Many of the posters designed and printed for the U.S. tours were later reproduced by leading European printing firms, whereas few instances exist where European imagery was created and then adapted and reproduced for the Wild West tours in the U.S. It was American printers who were instrumental in setting the standard for the visual culture of the show, and poster art which still has longstanding impact, more than a century later.³

Three American lithographic printing companies were responsible for the majority of the poster artwork, and the most distinctive visual imagery created for the Wild West: A. Hoen & Co. of Baltimore, Maryland; Courier Lithographic Company of Buffalo, New York; and, Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati, Ohio. Each of these printing firms created multi-colored lithographic posters for the Wild West Company for a decade or more. Some overlap did occur between these and other company contracts as Cody and his publicity team sometimes used work from more than one printer at a time. The workload and production of the posters was intensive, and demanding. In most years, one company alone would be unable to fulfill the Wild West's large poster orders. Cody and his managers worked with more than a dozen primary

³Richard W. Flint, "A Great Industrial Art: Circus Posters, Business Risks, and the Origins of Color Letterpress Printing in America" *Printing History*, vol. XXV, no. 2 (2009), pp. 18-43; Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, California: Hillcrest, 2005); Peter Marzio, *The Democratic Art, Pictures for a 19th Century America: Chromolithography, 1840-1900* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979); Margaret Blanchard, *History of Mass Media in the United States* (London: Routledge, 1999); and, Johnathon E. Schroeder, *Visual Communication* (London: Routledge, 2002). Flint's research provides important biographical information on the Anderson family and the history of the Enquirer Job Printing Company; Last's and Marzio's books are the fundamental reference works for American lithography; and, Blanchard's and Schroeder's works provide the history and impact of the powerful rise of print advertising in U.S. history, and the function of photography in the business of advertising.

printing firms over their thirty-year history.⁴ The Hoen, Courier, and Enquirer lithographs existing in museums today point to strong business relationships forged between the owners and managers and Cody's general agents. Hoen produced earlier and smaller window displayed posters, somewhat characteristic of a "Currier & Ives"-type print, during the first decade of the Wild West tours. Courier expanded the types of posters and promotional material produced for the show. George Bleistein, publisher of the *Courier* newspaper in Buffalo, utilized his company's large format printing machines to profit from the expanding circus world and Wild West traveling shows. Bleistein contracted with the most prominent circuses and then the Wild West Company to be dominate in the "show print" business for at least a decade in the late 1890s and early 1900s. During this time, Bleistein and Cody became close friends and business associates. Bleistein is one of five influential U.S. businessmen to partner with Cody in the development of the city of Cody, Wyoming, in 1896. His Courier Lithographic Company printed medium and larger-sized multi-sheet posters for the Wild West, seasonal and special edition programs, and newsprint "couriers" and "heralds" for purchase at daily shows.⁵ Enquirer Job Printing Company expanded the potential for Cody's advertising group when the Anderson family led the *Enquirer* newspaper's printing facility to make some of the most detailed and largest billboard-sized posters for the Wild West.⁶ These three printing firms had some overlap, exchange, and collaborations. The Wild West Company contracted with Hoen for more than the decade of the show. Courier images and programs were produced in the final years of contracts

⁴Museum accession records and library archives provide documentation and limited correspondence for posters produced in the U.S. by the primary and most frequently contracted printing firms by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, at MRL, BBM at the BBWC; Tibbals Learning Center, RMA; and the archives of the CWM. More detailed summary bill posting and recapitulation documents exist for the Wild West's poster production for the later European tours 1903-1906 at the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming at Laramie, which includes lists of posters used, quantity and costs incurred by year, <http://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet>, accessed July 15, 2018.

⁵"George Bleistein Notable in City and Nation, Dead," *Buffalo Courier*, April 22, 1918, p. 5.

⁶Flint, "A Great Industrial Art," p. 30-31; and Enquirer Job Printing Company poster accession records and archives of the CWM.

with Hoen. Courier expanded options for types and sizes of posters available to the show beyond the one sheet or half sheet window display posters made by Hoen, and also introduced a variety in the show programs and souvenir pamphlets. Courier generated many copyrighted photographs of the Wild West arena and performers in their programs and on posters, and most interesting, these were sometimes included in Enquirer poster imagery. This necessarily indicates that there was some level of interaction across and among printing firms. With geographic distance and the differences in the capabilities of the printing firms, there was an apparent respect across the printing industry and at times an exchange of artwork.⁷ The Wild West Company effectively orchestrated a saturation of visual imagery before each stop on its tour.

A. Hoen & Company

The Hoen Company created some of the earliest and most memorable of the Wild West marketing material, first working with the Buffalo Bill Combination team, highlighting Cody's acting, and then his amalgamation of the frontier experience and exhibition with the Wild West. Hoen artists and printers were responsible for the broad introduction of the likenesses and characterization of Cody, Annie Oakley, Johnnie Baker, cowboys, American Indians, and the Congress of the Rough Riders of the World military cavalry groups to the American public. Beginning in the mid-1880s, Hoen produced the dominant promotional poster materials for the Wild West.⁸

⁷Couriers and heralds were newsprint fold-out small publications available for sale at the Wild West performances. Many of these news pamphlets were printed by Courier Lithographic Company of Buffalo, NY, and included reproduction of photographs copyrighted by Courier, other professional photographs, and original artwork and poster imagery by Enquirer Job Printing Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio; examples of the couriers and heralds are held by the MRL, BBCW, and the archives of the CWM.

⁸A. Hoen & Co. of Baltimore, Maryland, contracted to produce more than 60 posters for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. The BBM, BBCW holds the most significant collection of the Hoen posters made over a decade, mid-1880s to the late 1890s, with over 50 posters and duplicates.

Hoen's *Buffalo Bill Combination* poster clearly established Cody himself as the center and focal point with *Chief of Scouts* and *Guide to the U.S. Army* scenes from the Cody's life reflected in the drawings set around Cody's relaxed figure in the 1877 poster. The handsome and ruggedly masculine figure of Cody is linked to the many aspects of his frontier life experiences. The Hoen drawings of Cody introduced the viewer to what they will see represented in the productions of the Buffalo Bill Combination, for example, Cody's riding skills in the Pony Express sketch, the perils of driving a stage coach and protecting the occupants or contents, leading hunts for buffalo on the vast prairie of the Great Plains, scouting for Indians across the American West with the U.S. Army, or guiding a special hunting party for international dignitaries, like the Grand Duke Alexis, son of Tsar Alexander II. Hoen artists expanded on the black and white drawings of the life and times of Cody previously seen only in the dime novels or sketches in the newspapers illustrations of the 1870s and later. Full color artwork by Hoen for the Wild West was viewed by the general public with the advertising posters and audiences who experienced Wild West images upon entrance. The Hoen posters depicted Col. W.F. Cody with a charismatic and dark masculinity. He was still a young entrepreneur, but also an emerging showman, and soon to be international phenomenon.⁹

⁹Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp. 282-84; Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), pp. 18-63; Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 105-116.



Figure 39. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill Combination*, 1877, by the A. Hoen & Co. 23.875 x 18 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.26

In the Hoen poster, *Col. W.F. Cody "Buffalo Bill"*, an 1887 advertisement for the Wild West, Cody's close-up portrait seems more like a painted photograph. (See Chapter 1, Figure 5) The realistic interpretation of the emerging entertainer is vignettted and softened by the feathered-like edges colors surrounding Cody's head and shoulders. The background is earth-toned brown closest to the figure of Cody, and transitioned to a lighter blue sky-colored at the edges. These dramatic and painterly effects may be the Hoen artist's representation of the colors of the Great Plains, and the open skies and snow-capped mountains of the American Western frontier. Cody's profile image was defined by his trademark dark moustache, goatee, and the long flowing hair which highlighted his strong facial features. His tan buckskin jacket, bandana with buffalo figure bolo, and large cowboy hat later became characteristics easily recognizable by fans across the world. Cody's clothing increasingly transformed into a more cowboy high-style throughout the run of the Wild West show, possibly a result of needing to meet the expectations of his printed image. More ornate and embroidered jackets, pants, gloves and hats were worn and meticulously sketched into the promotional posters as the show matured, and Cody secured financial success and fame. Fans and followers would become quite familiar with Cody through their recognition of the showman in the visual imagery of the posters and newspaper illustrations. The Hoen art work was posted most often in store windows with adjacent date and title sheets identified the show's name, dates of local performances, and tickets sales. Hoen's poster art "sold" the Wild West to Cody's fans, and established the early and lastly iconic images of the tour. Audiences were enticed by the images of Cody, the daring feats and live reenactments of the cowboys, and Indians pictured in their local shop windows.¹⁰

¹⁰Fox and Parkinson, *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising*, pp. 40.

There are few archival records remaining for most of the American printing houses which produced posters for the Wild West. Some records exist for select years of the show and indicate the amount of “paper” (posters) ordered for any one type of poster or series purchased from a printing house. Very limited documentation exists to indicate the negotiations conducted by Cody, his partners, managers or press agents to finalize selection of poster artwork commissioned each season in the U.S.¹¹ Hoen’s business records were destroyed in a fire early in the twentieth century, thus eliminating any original correspondence, log books, and invoices for the partnership with the West.¹² The Hoen posters for the Wild West were produced prior to 1900 establishing the earliest concepts for the imagery, and setting the standard for the visual culture created for Wild West marketing. Hoen’s long relationship printing for the Wild West

¹¹Few surviving references exist for the printing orders or final invoices for the Wild West posters. The Buffalo Bill Collection at the AHC/UW holds select bill posting and summary records referencing the American posters reordered for European distribution in 1903-1906, which include indicators of which company originally produced the posters and the thousands ordered for European venues available online at <http://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/view/search>, accessed July 15, 2018. However, few records exist in current special collections for the Wild West correspondence for poster production or display (posting). The MRL/BBCW includes some bill posting invoices and newspaper advertising invoices for the 1906 European tour and 1909 bill posting, William F. Cody Manuscript Collection, MS 6, Box 1, Folders 18 and 26; The Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection at the Tibbals Collection/RMA includes approximately 100 personal letters of correspondence between Cody and Cooke, with references to bill posting and costs of labor. For example, in Cody to Cooke, May 31, 1912, Cody pleads with Cooke to reduce art expenses and staff as previously discussed for the Two Bills combination show; and, in Cody to Cooke, June 3, 1912, Major Lillie and Cody believe expenses can be reduced for advertising “in advance and still get the secure results...”, online access at <https://www.ringling.org/tibbals-collection-louis-e-cooke-manuscript-collection-cooke-cody-correspondence>, accessed July 15, 2018; and, individual letters in the Western History Division/DPL Buffalo Bill archival collection address the unsuccessful deliberations between Cody and William F. Bell regarding Bell’s continuous requests over several years to secure poster print work from the Wild West, and Cody’s deference to Cooke’s decision making. See Buffalo Bill Collection, DPL, WH72, Box 1, Folders 1 and 2, letters W. F. Cody to William F. Bell 1902-1913. On Feb.(?) 5, 1905, Cody writes that he is unable to give Bell an answer on Bell Show Print work; on Oct. 25, 1907, Cody tells Bell, “I have taken the printing matter ref with our General Agent Mr. L. E. Cooke and he will write to you and when we get West we will give you an order.”; on Nov. 12, [1909], he writes, “Dear Bell, Later on we will give you some work but not the Eastern dates. Mr. Cooke claims they are not good enough for New York.”; and on Jan. 3, 1911, he writes, “My Dear Bell,...I spoke to Major Lillie and Mr. [Cook] when we all met at Pawnee, Oklahoma a short time ago in regard to giving you some printing without fail when we get out in to Illinois, Indiana and Iowa in your portion of the country and I think it would be well for you to write to Major Lillie [Care] of Trenton, N.J. and remind him of this work that we should give you the coming season...”

¹²Last, *The Color Explosion*, p. 102-105.

indicated a probable strong relationship between the Hoen management and endorsement by Cody himself, Salsbury, Burke, and Cooke. No known original correspondence or photographs exist to detail the Hoen designs; nor, do any accompanying original watercolor paintings or pencil sketches remain in public or private institutions.

Marketing the new Wild West form of traveling show and theatrical arena performance, the Hoen posters were made to directly inform American audiences of the thrilling and far Western-themed acts to be seen. Hoen produced a portfolio of American visual imagery attractive enough that they could be considered similar to the quality lithographic prints art which could be displayed in a home, and yet exotic enough to entice tickets sales to local urban and rural crowds. By 1887, the Hoen posters produced under contract with the Wild West included the full new title of the show, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World.”¹³ The Hoen artists completed a related set of posters that introduced Wild West audiences and viewers of the posters to stereotypical ethnic and racial perpetuated stories of the American West, illustrating the difficult history of the U.S. Army and the American Indians; the cowboys versus the Indians; and, the settler versus the Indians. *A Close Call*, *A Prairie Pic-Nic*, and *On the Stage Coach* are Hoen posters circa 1887 that demonstrated the extreme and chaotic situation on the American Plains in the post-Civil War era. As the U.S. Army moved its attention from the mostly Eastern battlefields of the Civil War to the Western territories and the Indian Wars, Cody joined U.S. Army Scouts to pursue Western lands for national expansion and development. As the Army succeeded, American Indians continued to be removed to new lands, and more battles followed. The irony in the Hoen posters in that Cody and the Indian performers

¹³BBM Hoen poster collection, BBCW. Changes in the Wild West name and program necessitated that Hoen artists adapt the posters designs and titles for the range of posters A. Hoen & Co. produced yearly.

in the Wild West reenacted the same scenarios of the real and sometimes recent battlefields, prairie skirmishes, and the stage coach raids. The fear of the “different” or “uncivilized” Indians existed as Cody embarked on his theatrical arena tour. These real situations, sketched and illuminated in the Hoen posters. The posters portrayed fiercely tenacious Indians of the Plains. Hoen artists advanced a public campaign through the promotional advertising posters that persuaded audiences that they would see real cowboys, Indians, and military units acting out the Western campaigns in the daily performances of the Wild West. Cody and his agents worked diligently to protect the right to contract with the U.S. Federal Government to sign agreements with hundreds of Indians each season to perform. Even before the end of the Indian Wars in December 1890, Cody leveraged his respected role and considerable ability as a scout of the Plains into leadership and working relationships with Indians from many tribes who signed on to perform each season with the Wild West tour.¹⁴ The Hoen posters depicted the ongoing difficult military skirmishes and transitions occurring in the real American West while helping to expand the popularity of the Wild West tours.

¹⁴“The Indians Remain Out, They Show Little Dispensation to Come Into the Agency,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 14, 1891; and Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America - William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), pp. 364-89. See also specific publications on the Indian Wars, individual battles, and cultural interpretations of Indian life: Gregory F. Michno, *Encyclopedia of Indian Wars, Western Battles and Skirmishes, 1850-1900* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 2003); Herman Viola, *Trail to Wounded Knee: The Last Stand of the Plains Indians, 1860-1890* (Washington: National Geographic, 2003); Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Indian Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), and Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984); Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sandy Creek* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Margaret Connell Szasz, ed. *Between Indians and White Worlds: The Cultural Brokers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); and Louis S. Warren, *Red Sun: The Ghost Dance Religion and the Making of America* (New York: Basic Books, 2017). The Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian opened the “Americans” exhibition in January 2018 which includes dedicated sections to the dual Native and EuroAmerican interpretations of the “Trail of Tears,” the nineteenth century Indian Removal from tribal lands, the “Battle of Little Bighorn,” and the stereotype of the American Indians that continued in the lithographic posters and photographs produced for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, see website at <https://nmai.si.edu/americans/>, accessed July 8, 2018.

The Hoen poster *A Close Call*, circa 1887, depicted Cody at the center of a raging gun battle with U.S. scouts or cavalry against a group of American Indians. Both sides defend themselves with rifles or smaller guns, with many wounded or dead fallen. Cody's white horse has fallen at the center of the poster, but he is not harmed and has his gun ready aimed at the closest Indians at left. Dressed in a decorated buckskin jacket with red epaulets, cowboy hat, and distinctive high black boots made him recognizable to all viewers of the poster. Despite the danger of the scene printed for *A Close Call*, Cody is represented as a calm determined protector of the Plains, and experienced marksman against a savagely drawn group of Indian attackers. In contrast, *Shooting at Full Speed on Horseback* was printed by Hoen later in their work with the Wild West, circa 1893. Used for promotion of the Wild West in America in the first years following the conclusion of the Indian Wars at Wounded Knee in 1890, this poster confirmed the now defeated status of the American Indian. Cody is shown on horseback in full stride, practicing his marksmanship skills in target practice. Cody was dressed in the same clothing or costume as *A Close Call*, with tan buckskin jacket and pants with red accents at the shoulders, thigh-high black boots, and hat firmly placed on his head. A neutral scene is presented in the foreground of the poster, where an Indian assistant rides next to Cody ready to throw another glass target ball into the air above.

In *Shooting at Full Speed on Horseback*, Cody's horse appeared the same white animal he rode in *A Close Call*, and his Indian assistant rode ahead on a dark horse similar to the black horse at the left foreground of the earlier poster. The horses are awkwardly drawn at full gallop. Not too far from the Hoen's Baltimore printing facility, photographer Eadweard Muybridge was completing his influential studies for human and animal locomotion at University of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Zoo (1884-1886), expanding his 1870s studies of the horse in

motion, and providing factual documentation for a horse's movements.¹⁵ The quiet camp background shown in *Shooting at Full Speed on Horseback* also included an American flag raised high above the U.S. military tents to the left and the Indian tipis to the right. The calm village seen behind in the *Shooting* poster is not the Great Plains, but the Wild West camp highlighted. Ticketed audience members were welcome every day to walk among the cowboys or Rough Riders, the U.S. and international military units, or the Indians in their living spaces. All those who worked the Wild West were constantly on "display," and ticket holders viewed performers as they prepared for the show, workers who completed daily behind the scenes work tasks, and sometime Cody himself leisurely entertaining in his tent. Once seated in the grandstand of the Wild West arena, audiences were witness to a combination of tableaux and reenactments that promoted both the past and the present situations on the American frontier. The range of Hoen's promotional posters captured both these characteristic elements of the daily performances of the show. The similarity in the poses of Cody and the artistry of the posters in such dramatically differently poster interpretations of *A Close Call* and *Shooting Full Speed on Horseback* is consistent with the cultural transitions occurring in real time across the American West, and seemingly immediately incorporated into the "theater" of the Wild West show and village camp.¹⁶

¹⁵*Eadweard Muybridge's Complete Human and Animal Locomotion*, vols. 1-3 (New York: Dover, 1979). Volume 1 includes introductory essay by Anita Ventura Mozley interpreting the social and artistic implications for Muybridge's achievements in motion photography; and Charles Musser, "A Cornucopia of Images: Comparison and Judgement Across Theater, Film, and Visual Culture During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Nancy Mowll Matthews, ed., *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film 1880-1910*, pp. 16-24. Musser's research documents that artists in the U.S. and Europe followed Muybridge's progress and published photographic findings of the horse in motion. Some, like Rosa Bonheur, acknowledged Muybridge's work, but did not change artistic interpretation of horses in their paintings.

¹⁶L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883 – 1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. 21-168.

Keen entrepreneurs, Cody and Salsbury capitalized on the changing American physical and cultural landscape in the late nineteenth century United States. Together with their team of theatrical and circus experts, Cody and Salsbury directed performance art of the West, in program segments where actors playing themselves in what they termed an historical education exhibition meant to teach and entertain their audiences. The Wild West management turned a wildly popular Nebraska summertime festival in Cody's home of North Platte, Nebraska, into a long-running traveling exhibition. The cast of the Wild West program chose to get paid for their daily roles acting out the past and current changing events in American culture and society. Marketing for the Wild West was defined by the most significant performers and segments of the show. Hoen artists created posters which provided audiences to the Wild West a glimpse into the exciting opportunity for a "safe" experience with the Wild West, a sharing of the past and present, good and bad, but always a diverse show with scenes of the dramatically changing American nation. The poster art encouraged both urban and rural citizens to witness the Wild West show, in its popular years touring between the final years of the Indian Wars to the start of World War I.¹⁷

As the real battles over land and rights in the American West ended, the Wild West continued to bring choreographed reenactments and the issues of change, diversity, and transition to public attention. During the 1880s and first decade of the Wild West, warfare ended and all

¹⁷Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, pp. 161-263; and, Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, pp. 417-53.



Figure 40. Color lithographic poster, *Col W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) A Close Call*, c. 1887, by Hoen, 20.75 x 29 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.83

BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST
AND CONGRESS OF **ROUGH RIDERS OF THE WORLD.**



BUFFALO BILL SHOOTING ON HORSEBACK AT FULL SPEED.

1.69.77



Figure 41. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill Shooting on Horseback at Full Speed*, c. 1887, by Hoen, 20 x 28.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.77

Indians were forced into assimilation on government-run reservations, and many children sent to distant schools to learn and develop Western customs and skills. Bureaucratic battles remained in Washington, D.C., and reformers lobbied across the nation for Indian rights issues and gained momentum. Cody and his partners were able to continue working with Government officials to allow personal contracts between individual Indians and the Wild West Company for yearly employee contracts, ensuring American Indian performers were included in each tour. Cody expanded his own interests in lands once held by Indians, and worked with investors to develop the frontier. This culminated in the establishment of the city of Cody, Wyoming, to bring settlement to the Big Horn Basin at the gateway to the area designated as Yellowstone National Park since 1872.¹⁸

The Hoen posters of the 1880s and 90s artistically interpreted battles and the issues facing the U.S. Westward expansion and closing of the frontier. *A Prairie Pic-Nic*, circa 1887, attempts to advertise the “true” action that audiences would see at the Wild West performances, but also details the devastating and brutal reality of the conflicts between the U.S. Cavalry, using scouts like Cody, probably the center figure on white horse, and the various Indian tribes across the nation. The successful American military campaign to dominate and control former Indian lands defined the basic themes of the Wild West programs, and the strategic approach to the advance advertising campaigns reiterated the real horrors of the conflicts, and the reenactments created for the season. *A Prairie Pic-Nic* graphically illustrated the close combat of the frontier battles on horseback, and the intensity of the scenes. The poster print presented an expertly sketched, painted, and printed visual entanglement of human and animal flesh in close fight for

¹⁸Examples of U.S. Government contracts between the Indian performers, Cody, and the Wild West Company, are held by the National Archives and Records Administration, with select contracts from 1905 available at the MRL, BBCW; and, Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, pp. 364-65.

life and land. Combatants used the latest weapons technology available. The Cody-like figure at the center of the print shot and conquered the wounded fallen figure of a strong Indian figure on a dark horse.¹⁹

Hoer posters reinforced not only the “romance” and myths of the American West perpetuated in the U.S. and abroad, but the promotion of Cody and the U.S. Cavalry dominant roles in setting the course for the twentieth century development and invention of the West as a uniquely American space, with endless lands of opportunity and potential wealth now safe for modern and cultural transformation. Hoer’s Wild West poster, *On the Stage Coach*, c. 1887, and the show segment reenacting the Indian threats to the regular route of Deadwood Stage Coach, vividly demonstrated to viewers the real danger of travel and business on the frontier Plains. Armed drivers and passengers protected themselves with guns against Indian attacks, and relied on the support of the U.S. military to be stationed at forts close enough along the route of the stage coach to provide cavalry men ready to assist in developing battles. The stage coach carried well-dressed men on their way to settle the West, who ended up caught in the crossfire of the quintessential battle of the Great Plains.²⁰ White Euro-Americans crossed boundaries and expanded efforts to dominate former Indian-held land. Right or wrong, the progress for U.S. control of the all lands and peoples in the West continued throughout the run of the Wild West,

¹⁹Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984), pp. 227-72. Utley seeks to provide an objective account of the transformation of the American West, with Native perspective and details of the Government advance through Indian lands.

²⁰“Plenty of Wild West Enthusiasm: A Group of Howling Savages Pursue a Defenseless Stage Coach,” *Washington Post*, June 23, 1885; “Wild West Amuses Newport,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1899; Daily newspaper clippings from yearly tours were kept by Wild West staff, and bound in Cody’s scrapbooks. Local news media regularly detailed program highlights for the show, including the Deadwood Stage Coach segment. See The Scrapbooks of William F. Cody, MRL, BBCW, MS6 collection, select examples are now available online at <http://codyarchive.org/search/result.html?q=Deadwood+Coach>, accessed July 15, 2018.



Figure 42. Color lithographic poster, *A Prairie Pic-Nic*, c. 1887, by Hoen, half sheet, 21 x 29.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003879

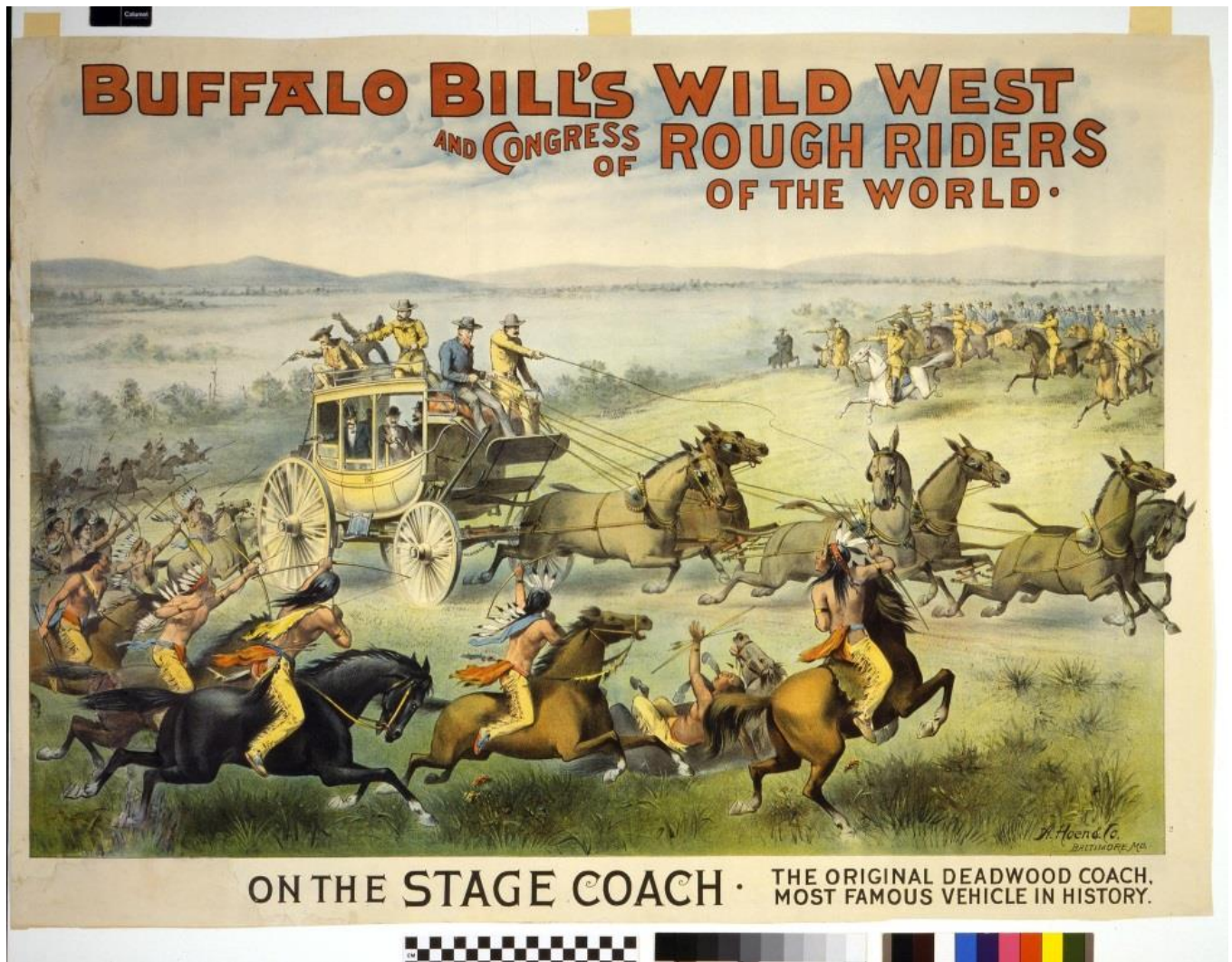


Figure 43. Color lithographic poster, *On the Stage Coach*, c. 1887, by Hoen, 27.875 x 38.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.107

and it converged all of the diverse participants in one spectacular performance of history and change in the making. In *Gunfighter Nation*, historian Richard Slotkin interpreted the Wild West presentation as Cody's "moral truth of the frontier experience and "its exemplification of the principle that violence and savage war were necessary instruments of American progress."²¹

Scouts, like Cody, and American military recounted dramatic rescues of Western settlers, white women and children taken from newly established homes by fierce groups of Indians, who took their hostages back to Indian villages. Regularly, the Wild West yearly program included the *Attack on the Settler's Cabin*, with Cody led the military efforts to secure the safe return of the hostages to the white settlements and towns. The Hoen poster *Buffalo Bill to the Rescue*, circa 1877, advertised this segment. In the foreground, frightened white settlers are bound to trees at the edge of an Indian camp, fire and smoke seen at their feet. Armed Indians, depicted again as the enemy, protected their captured victims in the forefront of the poster scenes, while the Cody figure appeared triumphantly in the center striding fearlessly into the Indian camp to lead the rescue party, and free the captives.²²

²¹Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), p. 77. In Slotkin's work and that of other scholars, references to the myth of the closing of the frontier in American history, include the settling of the American West, displacement of Native Americans, and the changing nature of American democracy from agrarian to industrialized nation, are continuously linked to Cody and the Wild West, but heightened during and after the highly successful 1893 Chicago season, when Frederick Jackson Turner also presented his lecture, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," to members of the American Historical Association, inside the White City, July 12, 1893. See John Mack Faragher, *Re-Reading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History and Other Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, 1998), pp. 31-60; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp.96-111; Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Frontier in American Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 1-55; and, Richard Slotkin, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 164-84.

²²Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 78-9.

The final defeat and reconciliation of the American Indian was illustrated in Hoen's *Peace Meeting, Pine Ridge 1891, Gen. Miles & Staff*. In this poster dated circa 1895, a peaceful Indian village is represented with tipis, Indians dancers and onlookers, as a distant line of military men advance towards the village. A lone figure on a white horse, with the familiar personal characteristics of Cody, was drawn at the center of the poster and led the oncoming military line and next to the figure of the General. Military tents and a long line of cavalry stretch into the far background of the poster scene. This final surrender at Pine Ridge is a definitive moment in the history of America, and the signified the ultimate defeat of the Native American Indians. In the visual culture created and marketed for the Wild West, Cody is omnipresent in the scenes of history. Throughout the decade prior to the Civil War through Reconstruction, and into the Gilded Age and Progressive era, Cody's life included a leading role in the march toward a modern America and international involvement. Cody befriended the Sioux Indians at Pine Ridge, and those on many other newly formed reservations, at a pivotal moment of transition for the Indians and time of extreme hardships. At this end point and final push toward full control of the American frontier, the showman Cody took a lead role as self-made ambassador to the West and the world. He moved skillfully to continue his ascendance to a new role as international celebrity and quasi diplomat.²³ The U.S.-Indian skirmishes ended after centuries, and wars between the Euro-Americans and American Indians were played out in theatrical form in the arenas of the Wild West, and an increased number of copycat traveling shows and circus performances.²⁴ The great success of the first five years of the Wild West provided new

²³Utley, *Indian Frontier of the American West*, pp. 255-57; and, John M. Burke, *From Prairie to Palace – The Lost Biography of Buffalo Bill*, edited by Tim Connor with introduction by Jason Berger (Spokane, Washington: Marquette Books, 2005), pp. 157-211.

²⁴See the original souvenir programs for the Wild West seasons at Brooklyn's Ambrose Park 1894, 1898 season, and the final 1907 season prior to the combination with Pawnee Bill. Each season the Wild West publicity team

opportunities for Cody and his troupe. Audiences flocked to shows in the U.S. East coast and Midwest. A partnership with circus magnate James A. Bailey opened the possibilities for tours of Great Britain and Europe, with access to the railcars, transportation routes, and logistics used by the Barnum & Bailey Circus. The celebrity focus on Cody himself and the intrigue of audiences continued, especially for the emphasis on the American Indians performances. Hoen's *The White Eagle, Col. W.F. Cody 'Buffalo Bill,' Guiding and Guarding*, was a picturesque advertising poster with an individual portrait of Cody on horseback scouting the Plains. In the next decade, the Wild West exhibition interests expanded to include more than a dozen military units from around the world fully realizing the intent of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. Hoen continued to retain the contracts for the majority of Wild West printing for the U.S. tours with new additions to the types of posters provided. Cody's international notoriety supported another level of individual success and leadership. He garnered the attention of distinguished world leaders who attended the performances in Europe, and who noticed the international amity Cody and the Wild West fostered.²⁵

Following the 1887 performances at Earl's Court in London, Hoen produced, for American display, posters related to the international shows. Later in Wild West tours, European printers would be contracted for posters needed on the international tours. Cody's popularity among the royalty of Europe was highlighted in the two versions of the *Distinguished Visitors to Buffalo Bill's Wild West, London, 1887*. There were many royal visitors to see the performances

promoted details of Cody's life and experiences, and the illustrated histories of the program segments, through detailed articles and commentary in the souvenir programs, in the William F. Cody MS6 collection, MRL, BBCW.

²⁵Wild West programs and news articles related to the Earl's Court 1887, London, MS6 collection, MRL, BBCW; and Louis E. Cooke articles in the *Newark (NJ) Evening Star*, 1915-1916.

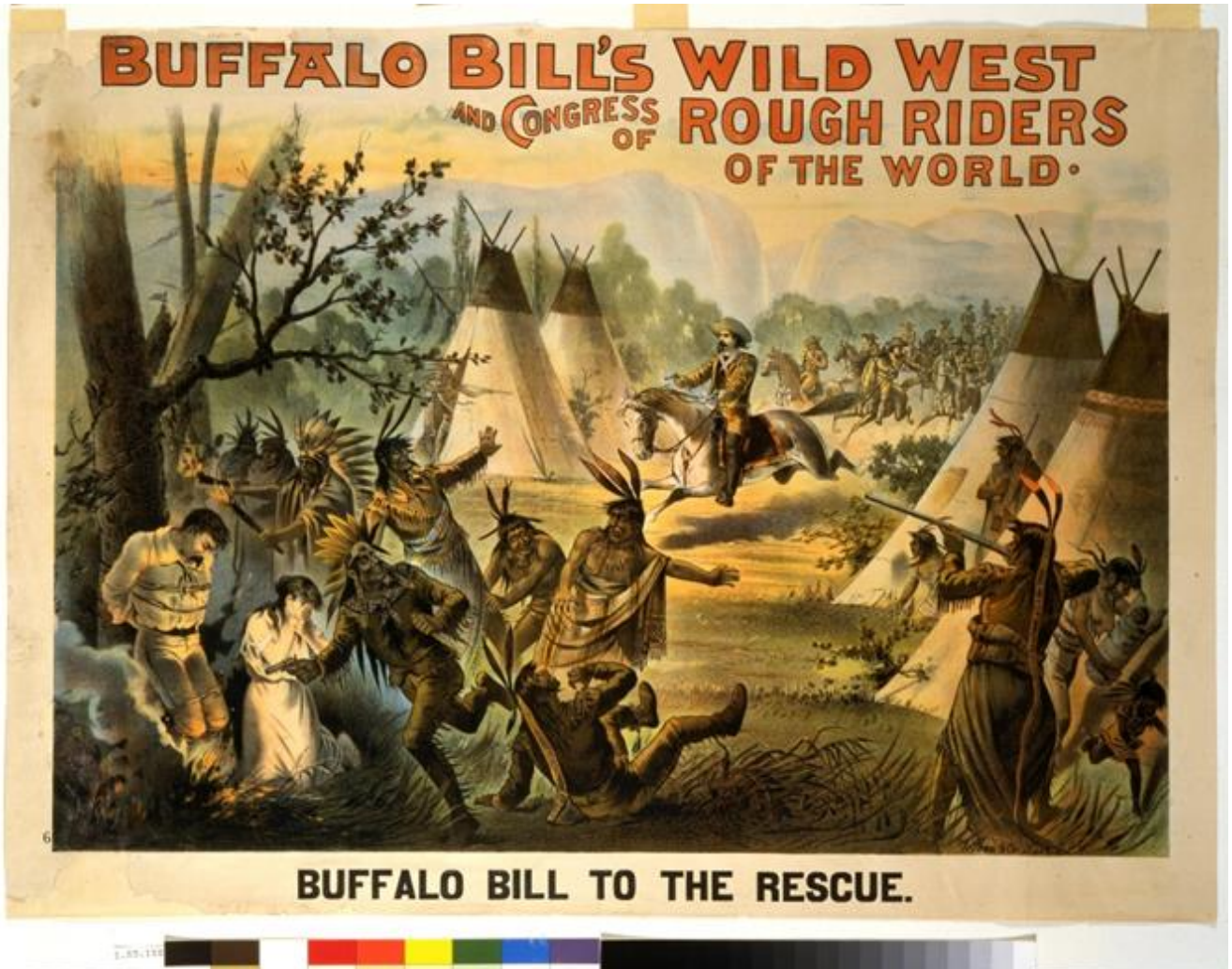


Figure 44. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill To The Rescue*, c. 1887, by Hoen, 28 x 35.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.108

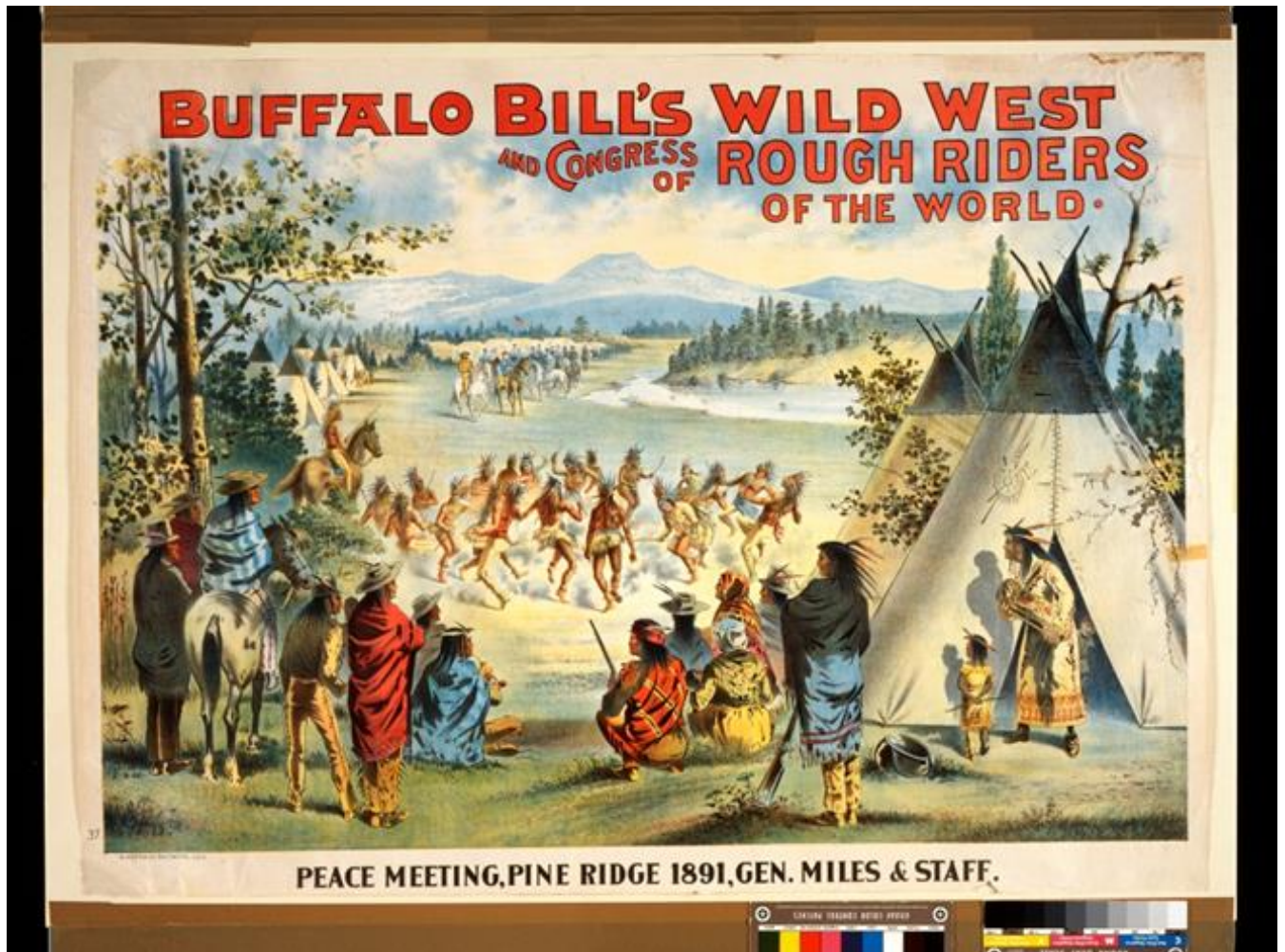


Figure 45. Color lithographic poster, *Peace Meeting, Pine Ridge 1891, Gen. Miles & Staff*, c. 1895, by Hoen, 29 x 37.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.406

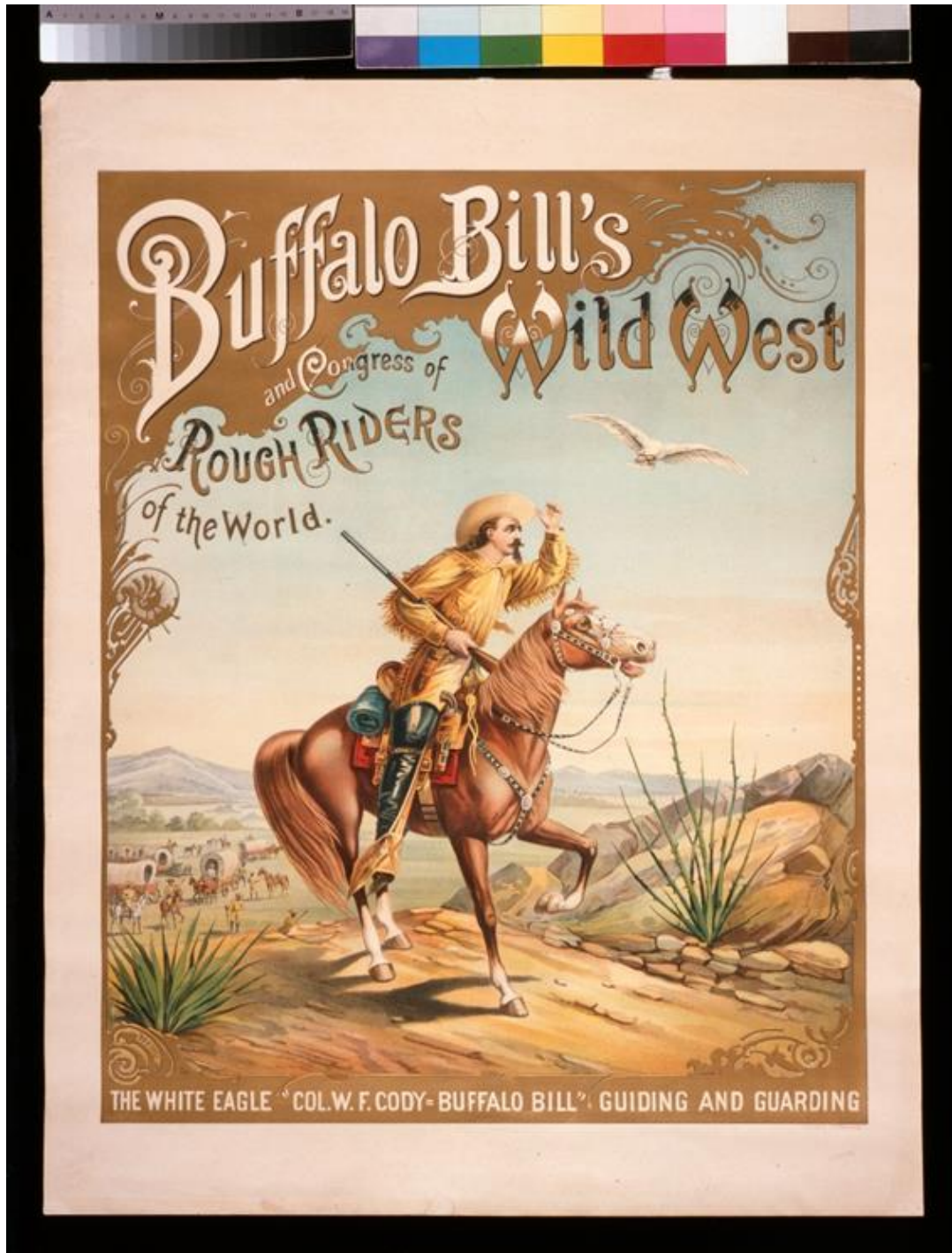


Figure 46. Color lithographic poster, *White Eagle, Col. W.F. Cody, Buffalo Bill, Guiding and Guarding*, c. 1890, by Hoen, 28.5 x 22 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.172

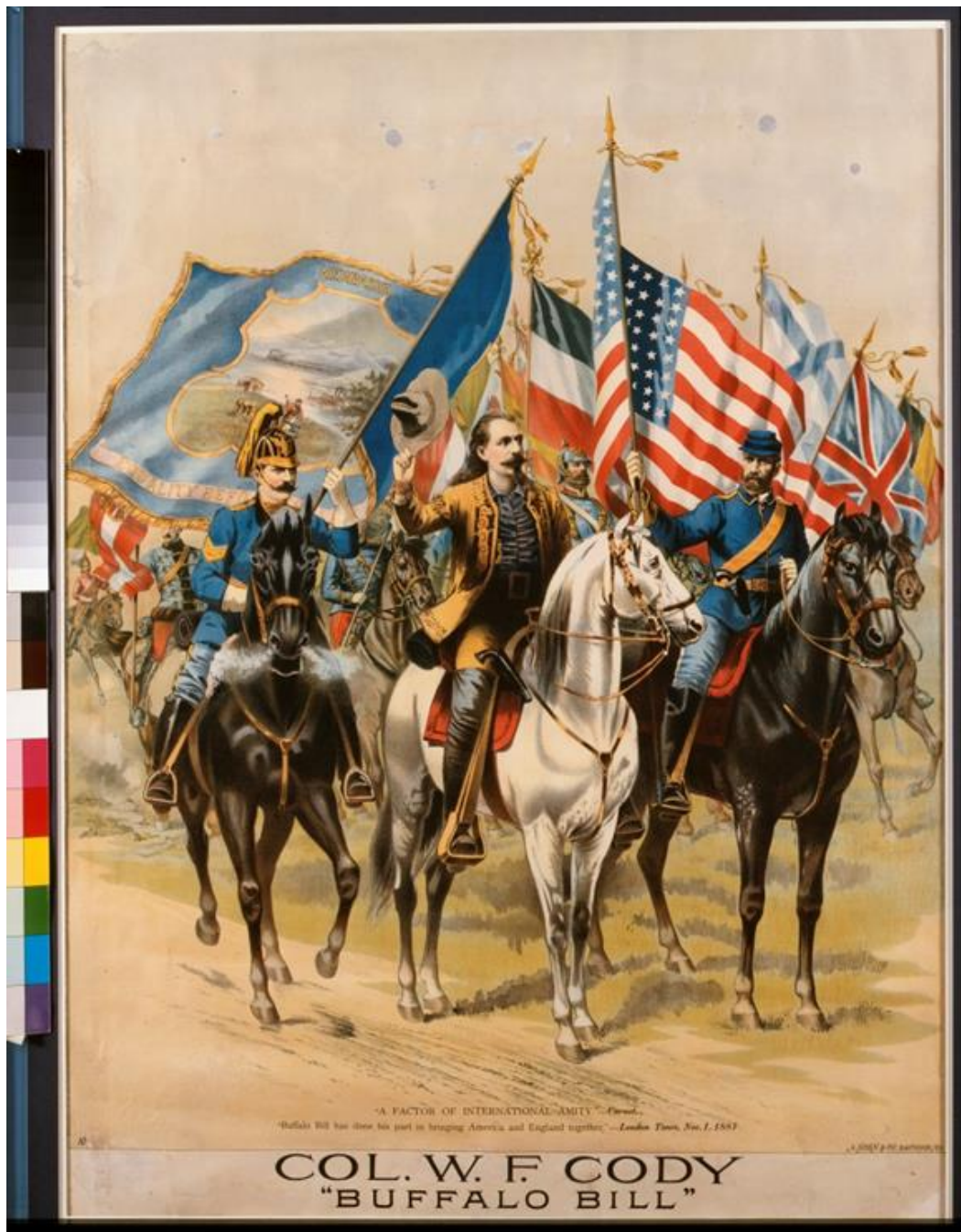


Figure 47. Color lithographic poster, *International Amity*, c. 1887, by Hoen, 38.5 x 28 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.171



Figure 48. Color lithographic poster, *Distinguished Visitors to Buffalo Bill's Wild West, London, 1887 (Men)*, c. 1890s, by Hoen, 33.5 x 23.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.458



Figure 49. Color lithographic poster, *Distinguished Visitors to Buffalo Bill's Wild West (Women)*, London, 1887, c. 1890s, by Hoen, 33.5 x 23.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.459

and who met with Cody that separate posters were created to include the likenesses of male and female visitors; while the *International Amity* poster clearly posed Cody at the front of multiple international cavalry leaders and diverse world flags carried by the military units of the Rough Riders. Cody's Wild West village was an extraordinary multi-cultural experience, as developed by the management team. Circuses also presented great diversity among their performers and sideshow acts, but less likely to include as many foreign military units as the Wild West. The diversity in the performance troupe and unique quality of the show led the Wild West to its most lucrative seasonal booking when Cody and Salsbury decided to take space outside Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Occupying space adjacent to the World's Fair, and open Sundays when the White City experience was not, and the Wild West achieved its highest yearly gross in Chicago. The acts provided entertainment probably more along the lines of the Chicago Fair's Midway experience, the addition of the variety and exotic nature of the Rough Riders in the program enhanced the opportunities for visitors to the Chicago to consider the Wild West's three hour performance as an added destination near the Exposition.²⁶

Many new selections of Hoen posters were printed for the Chicago 1893 season, and just after. This expanded selection focused more on individual performers, the iconic or dramatic individual scenes they provided in the program, and the immediate recognition of the diverse

²⁶The 1893 season of the Wild West incorporated a new segment for "Custer's Last Fight," the reenactment of the Battle at Little Big Horn, and continued the prominent attention to the U.S. – Indian wars. However, the later 1899 inclusion of performers and acts representing the Spanish-American War showed more prominent inclusion of U.S. imperialism with each new season's program. Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, p. 82-83, "The Wild West's conflation of the Frontier Myth and the new ideology of imperialism was fully achieved in 1899 when "Custer's Last Fight" was replaced by the "Battle of San Juan Hill," celebrating the heroism of Theodore Roosevelt—whose First Volunteer Cavalry regiment was best known by its nickname, "The Rough Riders." Cody did acknowledge Roosevelt's prominence in American culture, his military record, hunting skills, and writings on the West, but always asserted the Wild West's original use of the term Rough Riders; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, pp. 93-121.

performing acts or groups. Hoen artists worked with the Wild West team and were inspired to build a portfolio of poster artwork based on portraits of the leading acts from the show. Posters were created after the famous Frederic Remington cowboy prints “Plunging Bucker” and “Rearing Bucker.” (See Chapter 3, Figures 31 and 32) New advertising was printed introducing and highlighting major stars of the show, sharpshooters Johnnie Baker and Annie Oakley. (See Chapter 1, Figures 7 and 8) Individual horsemen from the Rough Riders were presented on beautifully detailed posters of individual Russian Cossack and South American Gaucho riders on horseback, indicating that it was the first time in America their equestrian and military feats were seen. Faint sketches in the background of the Baker, Oakley, and Rough Riders posters were drawn to entice viewers further. This included, Baker shooting while standing on his head, Oakley’s various shooting stances, and the trick horse riding of the Rough Riders. The posters also indicated a change in strategy and expanded priorities for the advertising campaigns considered by Cody, his partners, and press agents. By 1893, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World commanded a strong brand and thrived internationally. No longer did posters need to primarily focus on Cody himself or the American Indian performers. Advertising expanded and thrust new groups and skills from the show into the spotlight.

The successful first tours abroad in Great Britain and Europe were termed *A Wondrous Voyage* upon Buffalo Bill’s Wild West return to the United States. Hoen documented the triumphant return with a poster honoring the achievement. *From Prairie to Palace*, as the poster map indicated, traced the Wild West’s movement from the shores of the U.S. through England, Scotland, and mainland Europe. Now known on two continents, the performances had taken the

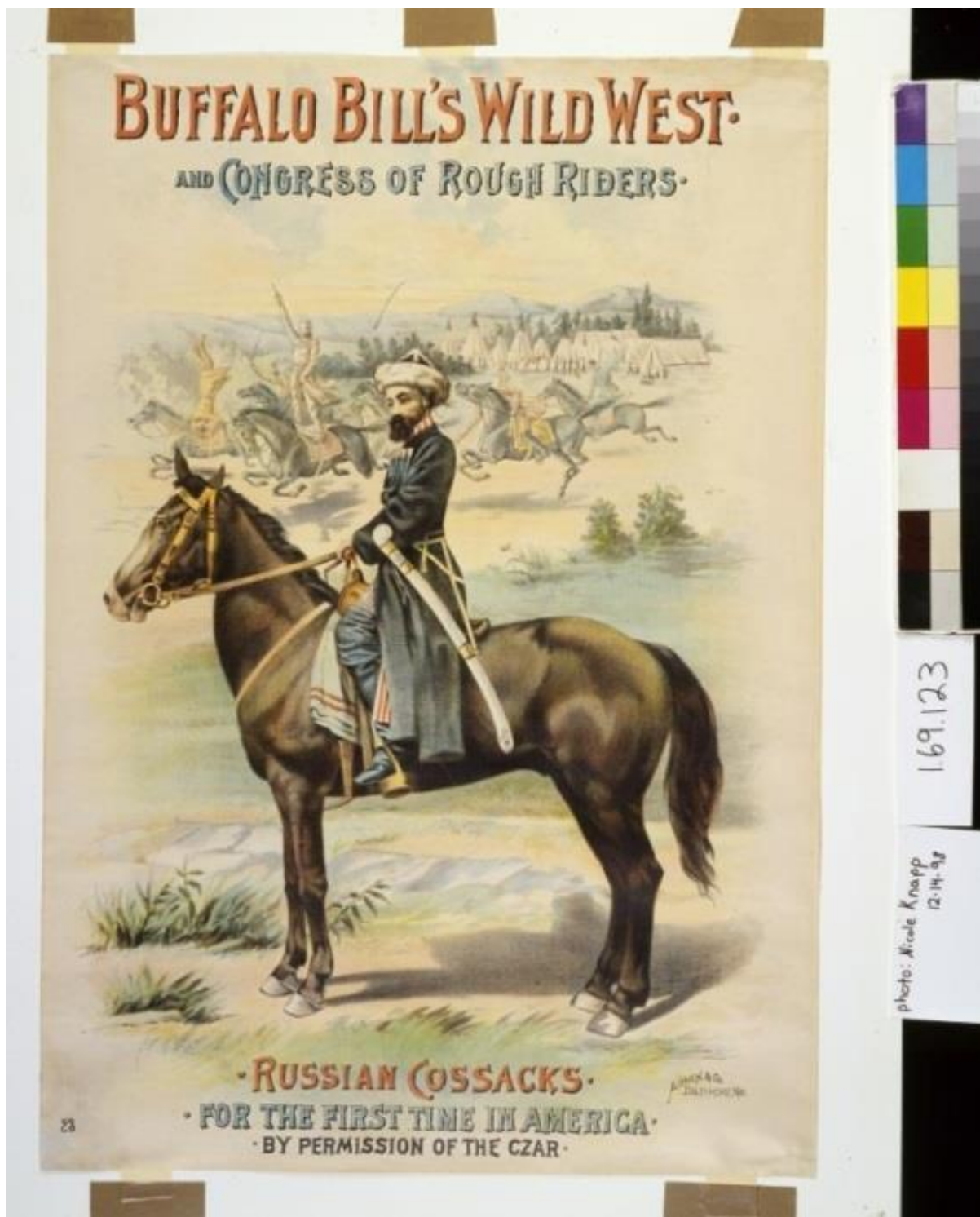


Figure 50. Color lithographic poster, *Russian Cossacks, For the First Time in America, By Permission of the Czar*, c. 1890s, by Hoen, 28.25 x 20 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.123

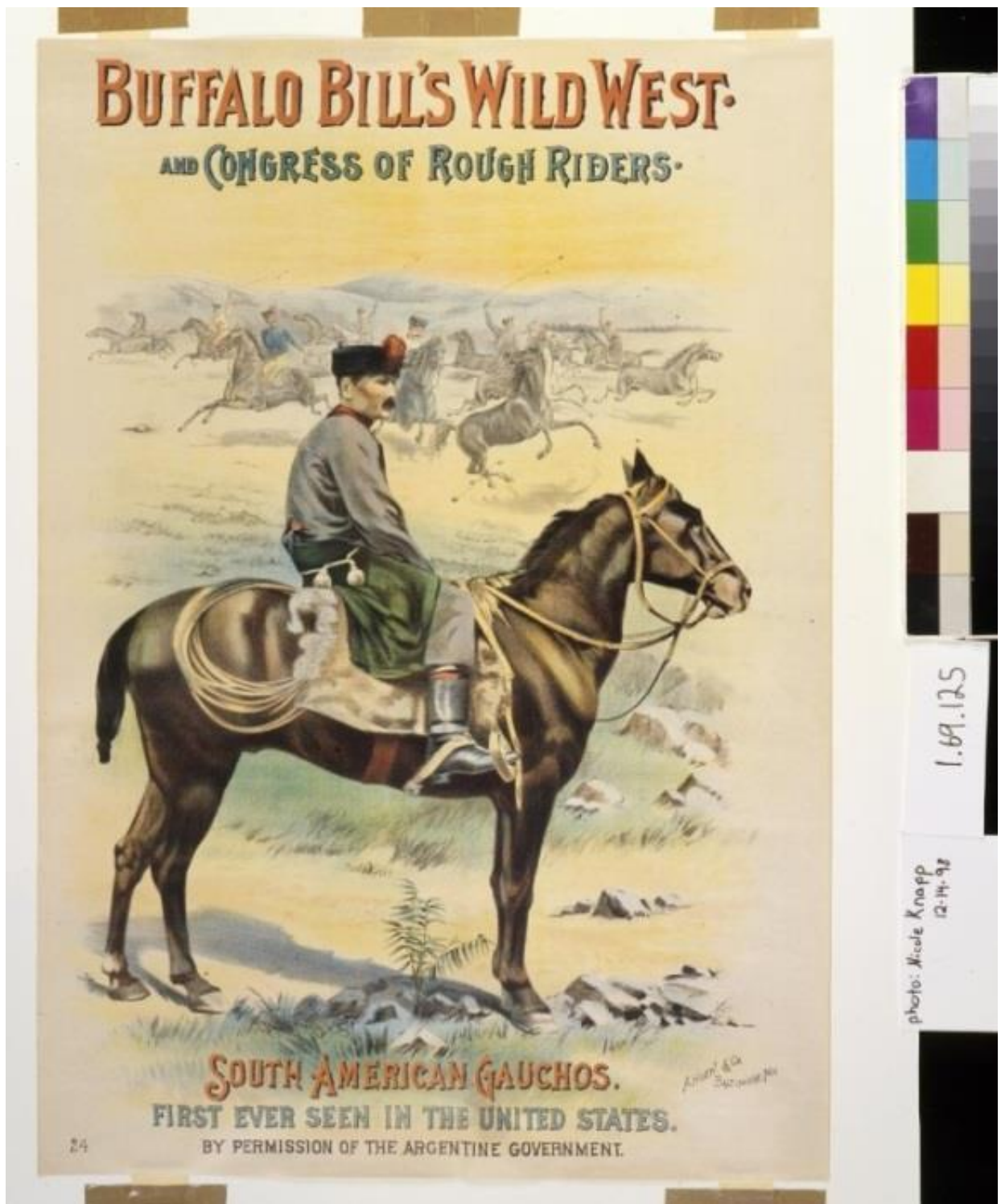


Figure 51. Color lithographic poster, *South American Gauchos, First Ever Seen in the United States, By Permission of the Argentine Government*, c. 1890s, by Hoen, 28.375 x 20 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.125

Wild West to the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle and the 1887 London's Earl's Court and Windsor Castle to perform in front of Queen Victoria in England, meetings with the rulers of Belgium, Italy, and Germany, to the Vatican and Pope Leo XIII, and safely back again to America. The Hoen staff cleverly sketched one American Indian in apparent flight in a long jump across the Atlantic Ocean. The right perimeter of *World's Wondrous Voyage*, circa 1895, was full of scenes which illustrated the European landmarks visited by Cody, Oakley, Baker, the American Indian performers and staff, and to the left along the U.S. coastline, the key city monuments identified for major city stops on the yearly U.S. tour. Chicago's White City and Greater New York were represented at the top left and top right of the poster, noting the importance of both major cities' impact on the financial success of the Wild West. Cody's figure was positioned at the extreme left of the poster confidently looking west towards Europe, an Indian shield decorated with a buffalo head at his feet, and the American flag directly behind him. With one decade of the Wild West behind them, Cody and Salsbury maneuvered to ready the company for the continued national and international success in their next decade.²⁷

Hoen posters were produced for the Wild West through the mid-1890s, and for the most part introduced more dense and dramatic composite renderings for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World. In the poster, *Cody and the Cavalry of All Nations*, portraits of "Col. W.F. Cody, Pres." and "Nate Salsbury, Vice-President" are prominently at the

²⁷William F. Cody, *The Wild West in England*, ed. Frank Christianson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Griffin, Charles Eldridge, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*, ed. Chris Dixon (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2010); Tom F. Cunningham, *Your Fathers the Ghosts: Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Black & White Publishing, 2007); Alan Gallop, *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*, (Stroud: History Press, 2001). Cody and Wild West manager Charles Griffin provide first person recollections of the European tours in their publications. Scholars Cunningham and Gallop benefitted from the extensive newspaper coverage of the show while in Europe to interpret the season abroad.



Figure 52. Color lithographic poster, *World's Wondrous Voyage*, c. 1892, by Hoen, 27.875 x 38.5 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.167



Figure 53. Color lithographic poster, *Cavalry of all Nations*, c. 1895, by Hoen, 23.375 x 38.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.170

top left, with select equestrian-focused groups drawn below: Cody and the Cavalry of All Nations parade, including the Arabs of the Desert, Mexican Vaqueros, Russian Cossacks, Cowboys and Indians, and South American Gauchos.²⁸ Additional posters featuring the *English Cavalry*, *Royal Irish Lancers*, and a *Detachment of Mounted Veterans, U.S. Cavalry, in Tactical Evolutions and Manoeuvres*, helped Cody, Salsbury, and their publicity team to redefine the promotional needs for the Wild West tours. Military preparedness, cavalry equestrian drills, and battle tactics became dominant themes of posters and program segments throughout the second two decades of the Wild West tours. International conflicts and the unique aspects of military training across the world provided endless opportunities for Cody's Congress of the Rough Riders of the World to expand and include wildly diverse military units turned performers.²⁹ The later Hoen posters for the Wild West depicted elegantly drawn lines of U.S. and international cavalymen in colorful uniforms, swords raised, mounted on muscular horses, as they pushed bravely forward in similar fashion as they would have entered the arena to perform for the Wild West, and greet the cheer from crowds in the grandstands. This was in great contrast to Hoen's *Custer's Last Rally* poster which illustrated the deadly violent hand-to-hand combat between

²⁸See Irakli Makharadze, *Georgian Trick Riders in American Wild West Shows, 1890s-1920s* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015); and, Richard Alexis Georgian, *Cossacks, Indians and Buffalo Bill: The Adventures of the Georgian Riders in America* (Naples, FL: Barringer Publishing, 2011). Makharadze and Georgian conducted the primary research to determine the Wild West "Russian Cossacks" were actually Georgian Trick Riders from Guria in Georgia, Russia, and the true history of these men from the Black Sea Coast and southern Caucasian Mountains.

²⁹The Wild West route books and programs provided lists that identified the diversity of the international performers of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World (cavalry and military units). The 1896 *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Route Diary* lists the Rough Riders as the U.S. Cavalry, German Cuirassiers, French Dragoons, 5th Royal Irish Lancers, Cossacks, Gauchos, Arabs, Mexicans, and American Indians. The 1899 *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Route Book* lists noted an increase in the season's performers representing the Rough Riders as U.S. Cavalry, U.S. Artillery, Roosevelt's Rough Riders, American Cowboys, English Lancers, German Cuirassiers, Mexicans, Cossacks, Arabs, Cubans, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and American Indians. By 1902, the Wild West's *Rough Rider* listed the performers as the U.S. Artillery, German Cuirassiers, Cowboys, American Indians, Mexican Ruralies, Bedouin Arabs, Mexican Vaqueros, Russian Cossacks, Roosevelt's Rough Riders, and Cuban Patriots. MS6 collection, MRL, BBCW.



Figure 54. Color lithographic poster, *English Cavalry, Royal Irish Lancers*, by Hoen, c. 1895, one sheet, 27.75 x 41.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003882

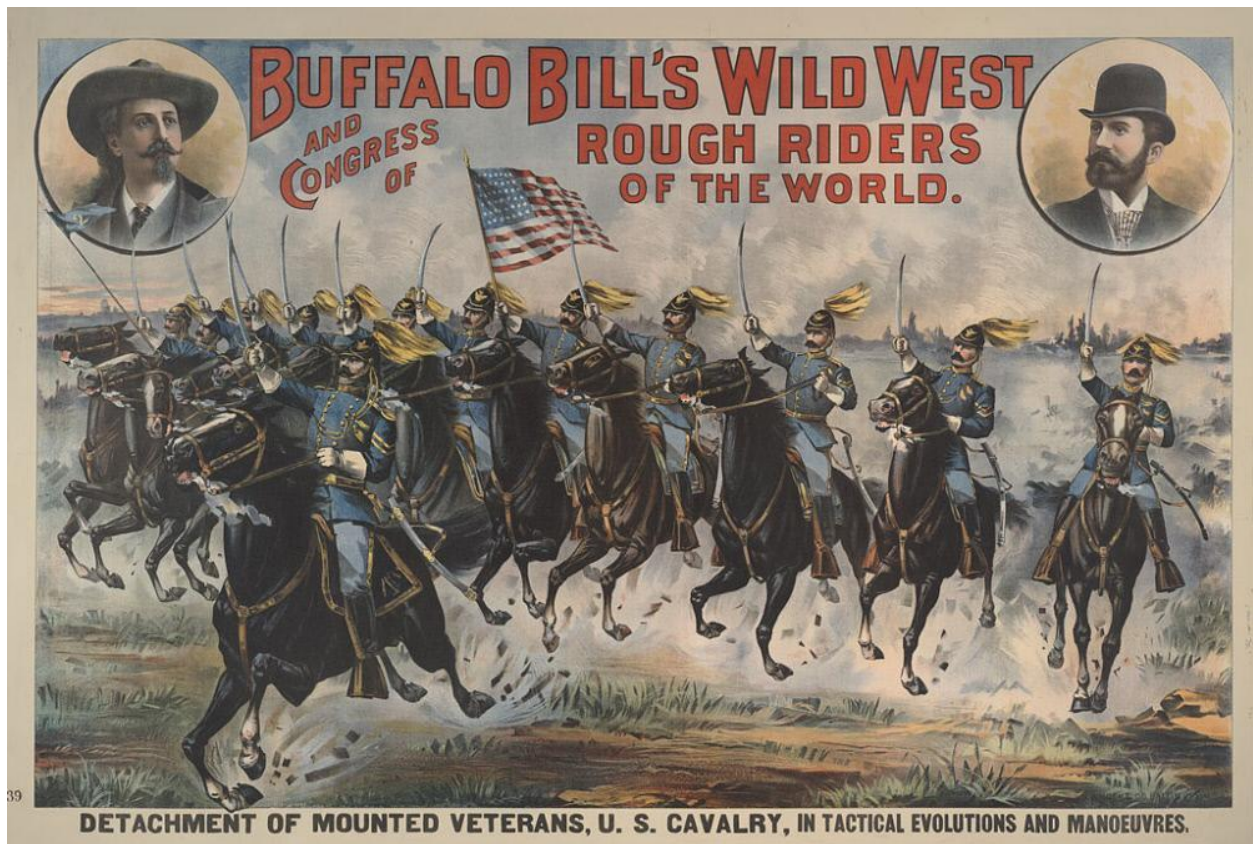


Figure 55. Color lithographic poster, *Detachment of Mounted Veterans, U.S. Cavalry, in Tactical Evolutions and Manoeuvres*, by Hoen, c. 1894, one sheet, 28.25 x 41.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003881

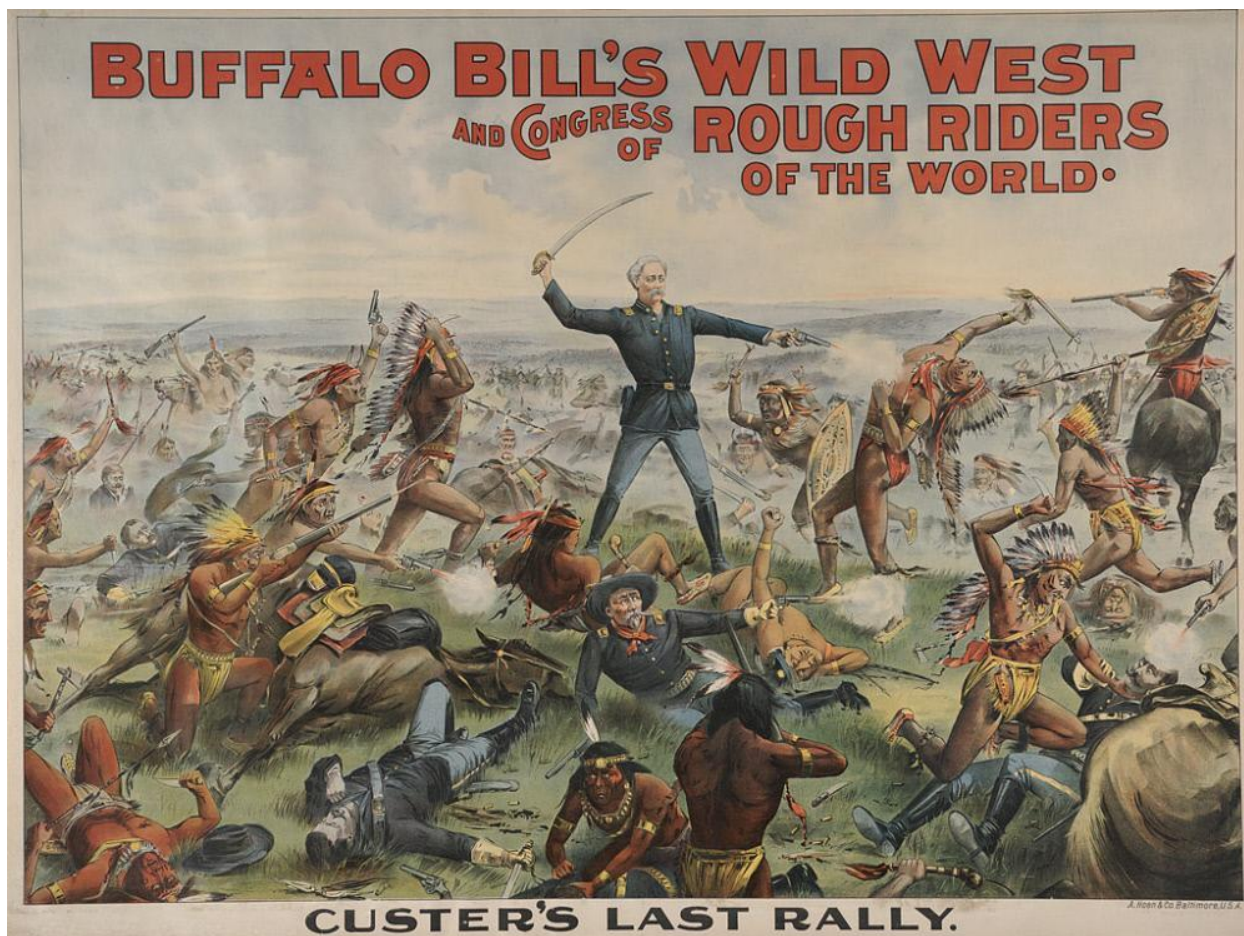


Figure 56. Color lithographic poster, *Custer's Last Rally*, c. 1893, by Hoen, one sheet, 27.75 x 40.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003910

American Indians and Custer's troops at the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. The chaotic events of Custer's Last Rally are represented by Hoen artists with a defiant blonde Custer at center, with sword raised and gun firing, among many wounded soldiers and Indians. Custer stood alone as multiple Indians charged forward. Custer's strong central figure is analogous to the representation of Cody as a focal point in many of the Hoen posters. The muted colors of the Custer poster and the foggy distant plains in the background are less distinct than the later Hoen military-themed cavalry unit posters with their close-up details of the skills of the cavalymen and their horsemanship, or the super-sized billboard posters of the next decade made by newspaper printing companies. While Cody, the cowboys, and Indians always dominated Wild West performances, but modern audiences were increasingly introduced to the heroes of battle from across all continents. Cody and Salsbury contracted with veteran and battle-experienced military troops to perform drills and manoeuvres to crowds across the U.S. and Europe. The Congress of Rough Riders of the World began with a focus on U.S. and European cavalry units that had established tremendous recognition by the 1893 season on Chicago outside the Columbian Exposition. This success for the Wild West led to an increased interest in contracts with military from across the world, and included units from Spanish-American War in Cuba 1898, Battles of Tien-Tsien 1900, and extraordinary exotic military troupes from Southeast Asia Filipinos and the Middle Eastern Bedouin Arabs. These military performers created renewed excitement and publicity opportunity for the Wild West. World conflict and modern warfare became a dominant theme for performance segments throughout the next twenty seasons.³⁰

³⁰John R. Haddad, "The Wild West Turns East: Audience, Ritual, and Regeneration in Buffalo Bill's Boxer Uprising." *American Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2008), pp. 5-38. Haddad describes the Wild West performance in Pittsburgh, in the summer of 1901, and the overwhelming crowd and press response to "The Rescue at Peking," and refers to Cody's team reviving the Wild West through by extending the Far Western-themed show to include program elements introducing the Far East, and the notion of American empire; Davis, *The Circus Age*, pp. 212-26; and, Reddin, *Wild West Shows*, pp. 124-57.

Courier Lithographic Company

With advancements in printing, lithographic firms were able to produce larger grand multi-sheet posters and billboard-sized advertising for the show. Cody and Salsbury turned to their best newspaper contacts and close publicity advisors to expand options for promoting the tours through detailed yearly programs, special edition printed Wild West “courier” and “herald” newspapers, and the largest possible posters to captivate viewers. Hoen’s prolific impact on the Wild West poster art ended, and after 1895 the Wild West Company focused many new contracts for advertising work to two newspaper-affiliated printing firms, Courier Lithographic Company, in Buffalo, New York, and Enquirer Job Printing Company, of Cincinnati, Ohio. While not the only two U.S. firms working with the Wild West, Courier and Enquirer combined would print a majority of advertising and printed visual materials for U.S. tours from 1896 to the 1908. The Courier and Enquirer Companies at times exchanged copyrighted materials for Wild West posters, programs, couriers and herald newspapers, and influenced the designs completed for European printing for the show.³¹ In 1896, W.F. Cody’s growing friendship and business relationship with Buffalo, New York, newspaperman George Bleistein changed the nature of the advertising materials being produced for the Wild West. Bleistein established a stronghold and lead in advertising the Wild West for the next decade. His Courier Lithographic Company was the printing facility linked to the *Courier* newspaper, the leading newspaper of in Buffalo.³² Courier Lithographic Co. seized on the success of poster and program production for the Wild West by companies like A. Hoen & Co. and others contracted in the 1880s and early 1890s in the

³¹Select newsprint “couriers” and “heralds” available at the Wild West show performances are now in the collections of the MRL, BBCW, and the Archives of the CWM. Courier Lithograph Co. printed couriers often included copyrighted Enquirer Job Printing Co. poster imagery during 1900-1908.

³²Robert E. Bonner, *William F. Cody’s Wyoming Empire: The Buffalo Bill Nobody Knows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), pp. 31-65; *Buffalo Courier*, April 22, 1918, p. 5.

U.S, and increased both the detail included and eventually the overall size of posters. By 1896, the Courier Company initiated a series of posters for the Wild West using strong facial portraits of the diverse men of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World titled, *Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters*. *American Cowboy* sets a first example of the *Actual Scenes* posters, and a template to the design of each of these posters. Three vertical strips of dramatic and highly detailed scenes of cowboy life were drawn across the poster, with a large facial portrait of a strong and handsome male figure in cowboy hat was positioned at the dead center of the poster. The Courier Co.'s *American Cowboy* resembled a Cody-like figure with strong features, dark hair and mustache. The scenes of the cowboy's life were defined in captions under each of the sketches on the poster: At Home, In Prairieland, Round Up, Buckers, and incorporated along the bottom vertical drawing was the artistic rendering of the arena performances of cowboys for the Wild West.³³ The complexity of the Courier posters was also in contrast to the earlier art produced for the Wild West. There was an artistic transition from the softer, simpler designs of the Hoen posters created for the first decade of the Wild West tours, to that of the complicated, detailed military and life scenes prominent in the posters made from the mid-1890s to 1913. Courier and other newspaper-driven print companies initiated a journalistic approach to the art of the Wild West contracted in the last two decades of the show. Cody and the American Indian performers held their celebrity status throughout the thirty year touring of the Wild West tours. Especially after the Chicago 1893 season, the Rough Riders military and equestrian performers are prominently illustrated and eventually dominate program segments and the accompanying visual materials produced for the Wild West. The new focus of the performances provided audiences

³³Dissertation research database, over 500 Wild West posters and original art work documented from the collections of the BBCW, RMA, and the CWM, .pdf list available at request to author.

with a showcase of U.S. Cavalry and Artillery units with American frontier experience, and then additional global perspective through the later introduction of a selection of the world's premier international military units, including their unique uniforms, prowess with weapons and swords, and especially their equestrian feats achieved and overall riding skills. An 1899 *Washington Post* which discussed the local Wild West street parade noted, "The whole outfit, re-enforced by representatives of our colonial acquisitions, will be in the line."³⁴

In 1896, Courier artists and poster designers set upon a template for introducing the potential American audiences to national and international stars of the Wild West in cities on the seasonal tour. The *Actual Scenes—Genuine Character* series was a familiar one sheet sized 28 x 42 inches, like most of the Hoen posters for the show. But, *Actual Scenes* was a markedly different aesthetic design for the Wild West posters. It provided an historical overview of the life and times of the type of performer being showcased. This was accomplished earlier in the show's history with the scenes and times of Cody's life. Now the highlighted performers in the posters were prominent while Cody's presence was understated within the historical or arena scenes in the posters. Each of the *Actual Scenes* posters included at dead center one composite face portrait of a performer, a "Genuine Character," surrounded by scenes from the "history" and life of this generic representation of one group represented in the Wild West. The five poster series featured

³⁴Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, pp. 4-8. Cody and the Wild West delivered what Rydell and Kroes termed the pleasure of the "realm of experience and fantasy" through the visual communication of the advertising posters and also the vivid live performances. The Congress of Rough Riders of the World incorporated a global context into the Wild West programs after 1892 that correlated to the "rise of the United States stature of a global political, economic, and military power". See "Buffalo Bill Writes a True Tale of Frontier Heroism and Explains the Origin of the Term Rough Riders," *Omaha World Herald*, June 18, 1899, in which Cody wrote, "The genesis of the rough rider is easily determined. The origin of the name is apparent to anyone who has roughed it in the west"; and "Horsemen of All Nations: Buffalo Bill's Rough Riders From All Parts of the World," *Washington Post*, April 19, 1899.

an American Cowboy, an American (Indian), a South American Gaucho, Russian Cossack, and an Arab. *Actual Scenes* posters were narrative historical illustrations that interpreted the transition of the individuals from far-off lands to the Wild West performance grand arena. Probably intended to extend an educational mission of the performances, each poster template showed a strong central portrait figure with three vertical scenes across the top, middle, and bottom of the posters. The sequential drawings surrounded the central figure represented two-dimensional interpretations of the three-dimensional historical tableau vivants seen the Wild West performances. The small, but complicated, drawings in the *Actual Scenes* posters set the context for audience expectations. Americans would immediately understand the origins of each of the individual Rough Riders represented. Editors and daily newspaper writers met with the publicists for the Wild West to match with words the spectacular Western and international scenes to be performed. Courier poster artists stretched the viewer's imagination with their visual interpretations of stories and real life experiences for the *Actual Scenes* poster series. These advertisements showed a visual summary of the character's life.³⁵ The acrobatic and fine horse

³⁵Courier's *Actual Scenes – Genuine Character* posters followed a formula and visual summary of the individual performers and groups illustrated: "An American Cowboy" showed scenes from "At Home," "In Prairieland," in the "Round Up," with the "Buckers," and in the Buffalo Bill's Wild West grand arena performing for the grandstand viewers. "An American" sketched the "Historical Scenes" of Indian life, a "War Dance," and the "Peace Council" (with a familiar Cody-like figure representing the U.S. military), and a dramatic Wild West performance at bottom. "South American Gaucho" promoted the experiences of the South American cowboy "From Argentine South America," "To the Wild West North America," and the "Hunting the Llama," to "Throwing Up Bolas," and then the chaotic scene at below of the Wild West equestrian performance. "A Cossack" illustrated the dramatic journey of the Russian performer "From Russia to America," "Leaving Caucasus for Buffalo Bill's Wild West," and arriving to perform with the maze of military horseman in the large Wild West arena. "An Arab" poster represents possibly the most exotic group of performers to the American audiences. Courier artists worked with the Wild West to portray "An Arab" with scenes "From the East to the West," in "Tournament, and in "Sport." William Manns, "Posters of the Wild West," *American Cowboy* (Sept./Oct. 2002), pp. 48-51; and, Stephanie Fox Knappe, "Art Perpetuating Fame: The Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West," PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013, pp. 117-45. Both Manns and Knappe specifically address the effectiveness of the 1896 Courier *Actual Scenes – Genuine Character* posters to convey the sensational aspects of the Wild West, and the lives and adventures of the performers highlighted. Knappe's dissertation is an art history interpretation of the Wild West posters divided into the four categories, the posters of Cody, the American Indian, the cowboy, and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World; and, Appendix II, dissertation poster research database, .pdf list available at request to author.



Figure 57. Color lithographic poster, “American Cowboy—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters,” 1896, by Courier. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.425



Figure 58. Color lithographic poster, “An American—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters,” 1896, by Courier, one sheet, 28.25 x 41.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003899



Figure 59. Color lithographic poster, “A Gaucho—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters,” 1896, by Courier, one sheet, 28 x 40.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003898



Figure 60. Color lithographic poster, “A Cossack—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters,” 1896, by Courier, one sheet, 28.25 x 42 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003897



Figure 61. Color lithographic poster, "An Arab—Actual Scenes—Genuine Characters," 1896, by Courier, one sheet, 28 x 41 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003896

skills of the Arab performers contracted with the Wild West could be compared to those of the American Indians performers. The Arabs were also sensationalized and stereotyped, but performed as an exotic act without the complications of arousing the societal prejudices of Americans against the Indian tribes. While national and world conflicts influenced the selection of tour performers each year, the perils of conflict across the American Plains or international borders remained popular in the action-filled program elements included in the Wild West. In 1902, Courier posters for the American tour presented *Perils of the Cowboy*, *The Mounted Warrior of All Nations* (See Chapter 3, Figure 20), and *Buffalo Bill Reviewing the Rough Riders of the World*. The dangerous cattle round up shown in the *Perils of the Cowboy* vivid color poster was a scene recreated daily for the Wild West. Charging, or fallen horses, and shooting cowboys dramatically depicted the dangerous life of the men working on the American frontier. In contrast, many early 1900 posters announcing Buffalo Bill's Wild West's Congress of Rough Riders of the World were not battle scenes or dangerous settings at all. Often the posters advertising the Rough Riders were long lines of international cavalymen on horseback in dress uniforms being reviewed by Cody on horseback. His figure resembles a military general reviewing the troops more than the entertainer he is in this situation. The cavalymen cheering his review or lined in silent respect, as in the *Mounted Review* and *Buffalo Bill Reviewing the Rough Riders of the World*. Cody's Rough Riders included the American Cowboys and Indians, but notably moved the Wild West show towards introducing audiences to performances and stories of military preparedness, through the unique skills of the cavalymen and the national units contracted with the Wild West and their significance in written program highlights.

Despite the expanded international scope of the Wild West program and performers, Courier staff and Wild West managers also continued a bulls-eye focus on the marketing of the

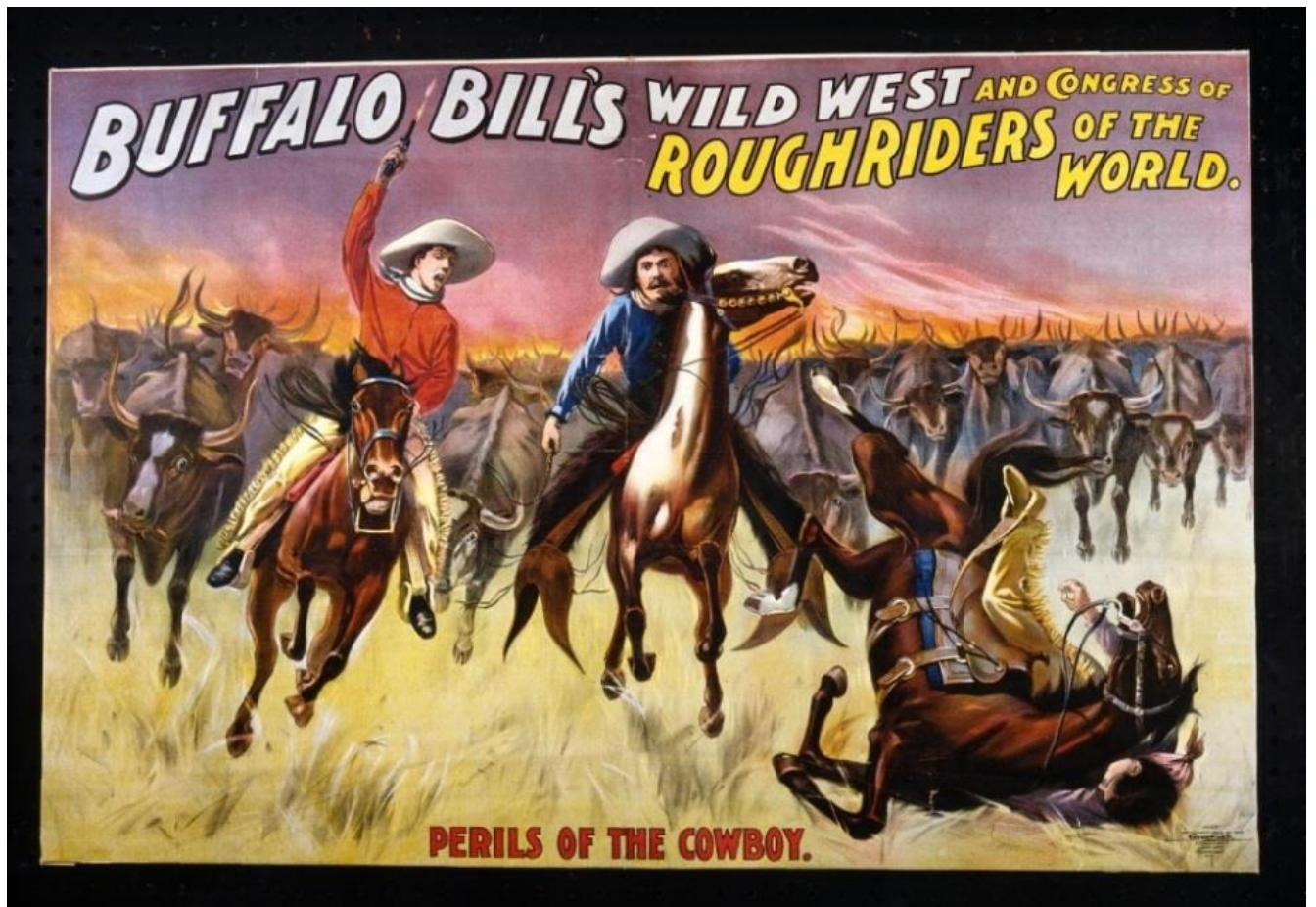


Figure 62. Color lithographic poster, *Peril of the Cowboy*, 1902, by Courier, 26 x 39.625 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.408



Figure 63. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill Reviewing the Rough Riders of the World*, 1902, by Courier, quarter sheet, 10.5 x 15.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003906



Figure 64. Color lithographic poster, *Center Hit of the Century*, 1896, by Courier, one sheet, 28.5 x 41.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003900



Figure 65. Color lithographic poster, *I Am Coming*, 1900, by Courier, 27.625 x 40.875 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.4922

tours around the celebrity and growing international appeal of Cody. In 1896, Courier made the *Center Hit of the Century* poster which resembled concentric circles of zoetrope strips which could be spun into motion and viewed through the popular zoetrope apparatus, a pre-motion picture history device.³⁶ Cody's portrait at the center of the poster was a strong image of the mature and aging leader, with crowded circles of sketched troops and performers from the Rough Riders around his image. Generic larger portraits of representative individual Rough Riders were drawn along the edge of the outermost band circles and immediately next to the title of the show. This poster was the composite of the *Actual Scenes – Genuine Characters* series, but much different from the repeated template used in the same year for the individual Rough Rider group posters. To contrast, Courier's lasting and potential most popular image for the Wild West, was the *I Am Coming* poster for the 1900 American tour. An alternative to the busy *Center Hit of the Century* poster, *I Am Coming* presented a similar aged Cody portrait wearing his signature white hat, with his oval portrait directly drawn and placed in the middle of a large charging buffalo. Grassland and other distant buffalos were the only background elements provided in this advertisement. Simplistic and effective, Courier's art department, created what is probably the most iconic image of the single most important reason to visit the Wild West, to see Cody in live action.

Courier's *As He Is Today* poster also graphically represented a popular William Rau photograph with a white-haired Cody seated in a folding chair outside his tent in the Wild West camp, with floral-embroidered jacket and knee-high boots, and in the background a standing cowboy with horse. The relaxed pose contrasted the alternate image of Cody on horseback with

³⁶Examples of original zoetrope strips are found in the Pre-Motion Picture History Collections, NMAH.



Figure 66. Color lithographic poster, *As He Is Today*, by Courier, 28 x 20.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003908



Figure 67. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Great Wild West and Rough Riders of the World*, 1902, highlighting Cody at top, and Nate Salsbury at bottom, by Courier, half sheet, 41.75 x 14 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003909

hat raised to greet the arena crowds. Courier's 1902 *Buffalo Bill's Great Wild West and Rough Riders of the World*, was atypical for the printing company, but precursor to the style of poster frequently produced by the Enquirer Job Printing Company poster and later title sheets for the Wild West Company. Courier continued to work with Enquirer closely at the turn of the century, and protected the ownership of "show printers" work. In 1903, the United States Supreme Court ruled on a landmark case for the copyright protection of advertisements and poster artwork. Cody friend and Courier's president, George Bleistein sued the Donaldson Lithographing Company for copyright infringement, and the eligibility of posters for copyright protection. Bleistein filed the suit against Donaldson over three posters originally created by Courier for Benjamin Wallace's "Great Wallace Show," later the Hagenbeck Wallace Circus. When the Wallace circus ran out of the additional Courier posters more were ordered at a cheaper rate from Donaldson. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. ruled for Courier, and wrote in his ruling that it was irrelevant that the posters were made for advertising. His statement read,

It would be a dangerous undertaking for persons trained only to the law to constitute themselves final judges of the worth of pictorial illustrations, outside of the narrowest and most obvious limits. At the one extreme, some works of genius would be sure to miss appreciation. Their very novelty would make them repulsive until the public had learned the new language in which their author spoke. It may be more than doubted, for instance, whether the etchings of Goya or the paintings of Manet would have been sure of protection when seen for the first time. At the other end, copyright would be denied to pictures which appealed to a public less educated than the judge. Yet if they command the interest of any public, they have a

commercial value – it would be bold to say that they have not an aesthetic and educational value – and taste of any public is not to be treated with contempt.³⁷

Originality and the potential fine art quality of circus and Wild West show posters were thus protected for copyright. Many printers would take advantage of this and secured copyright protection for artwork. Courier and Bleistein won the 1903 copyright court case, and impacted the future for their advertising interests and that of their many competitors. Courier chose to work closely with select other printing and “show printers.” As president of the Courier Company, Bleistein had sold the newspaper in 1897 to concentrate on the Lithographing Company, and specifically the poster business. A decade later, he would lead the consolidation of several printing companies in New York and Ohio.³⁸ For his friend Col. Cody, Bleistein fostered a form of collaboration between the Courier Lithographic Company and Enquirer Job Printing Company, working together for shared visuals and designs to produce posters, and illustrated newspaper print “courier” and heralds which provided popular advertising for the Wild West in the period 1900 – 1908.

Enquirer Job Printing Company

Henry J. Anderson was superintendent of the Enquirer Job Printing Company, Cincinnati, Ohio when he mortgaged his home to purchase the company from John R. McClean, owner of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* newspaper, in 1889.³⁹ Anderson expanded the operations for Enquirer

³⁷Bleistein v. Donaldson Lithographing Co., 188 U.S. 239, Supreme Court of the United States, 2 Feb. 1903; and Diane Leenheer Zimmerman, “The Story of Bleistein v. Donaldson Lithographing Company: Originality as a Vehicle for Copyright Inclusivity (Copyright),” in Jane C. Ginsburg and Rochelle Cooper Dreyfuss, eds. *Intellectual Property Stories*, (New York: Foundation Press, 2006), pp. 77-108.

³⁸*Buffalo Courier*, April 22, 1918, p. 5.

³⁹Flint, “A Great Industrial Art,” p. 31.

Job Printing, especially for show posters. Within a decade, his firm contracted to produce the largest ever poster for the Wild West of 100 sheets total, and including many of the iconic images promoting the show from 1898 – 1908, when the original plant burned. Copyright imprints on Wild West programs and posters indicated that Anderson and his staff sometimes also collaborated with Bleistien’s Courier Lithographic Co. for the production of posters, programs, and newspaper-like souvenir “couriers” and heralds for the Wild West.⁴⁰ Courier Company was aggressive in its marketing campaign and production of visual advertising and souvenir programs for the Wild West, and could be considered second only to the Strobridge Lithograph Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, in the production of U.S. theatrical and circus advertising posters. Strobridge was well-known for its leadership among “show printer” in America, and its long-term relationship printing for the Barnum & Bailey Circus.⁴¹ Bleistein devoted his years as president of the Courier Company to strengthening its place in the industry, and this included understanding the business partnerships and opportunities. Courier expanded the use of photographic reproductions in the Wild West printed materials, and sought increased art quality through collaborations with Enquirer Job Printing Co. The Wild West Company contracted with Enquirer for larger-than-life and billboard sized posters. In 1898, Enquirer and Courier were the both creating new poster designs for the Wild West season. Enquirer’s posters, like W.F. Cody(Buffalo Bill) was sized to expand the larger than life visual impact of the Wild West imagery, at 9 feet high by 6 feet. The “Cody” poster was finished in soft toned browns and blues with an emphasis on the profile of a brown-haired Buffalo Bill. The poster reflected the quality and size Enquirer was capable of creating for the show. While not the exclusive printers for the Wild West, Enquirer and Courier dominated the U.S. production of posters and printed programs

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 30-33; and, accession records, Robert L. Parkinson Archives and Library, CWM.

⁴¹Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, pp. 85-90.

for a decade.⁴² Existing archival collections today provide new insights into the creation of the visual culture of the Wild West. The Nate Salsbury collection of Courier Co. photographs now housed at the DPL documents the Wild West arena and performers at the turn of the century, were possibly made to best inform Courier artists designing the advertising posters. There is an Enquirer Job Printing Co. original poster artwork collection at the CWM, since the early 1970s, which documents the creative design development and the artistic production process at the firm from sketch art, to watercolors, partially painted drawings, and painted poster proofs to be used for the final lithographic enlargement.⁴³

The Anderson family continued management of the Enquirer Job Printing Company in Cincinnati for almost a century. Despite the plant fire which occurred in 1908, many examples of the original poster artwork remained with the company until 1970 when Harry Anderson offered the purchase of this unique material to the CWM. The Enquirer Job Printing Co. artwork provides the only historical evidence of the detailed exchange between art staff, managers, and client (Wild West Co.), with partially developed sketch concepts, instructive pencil notes at edges, and sectioned final painted poster proofs.⁴⁴

⁴²Dissertation research database, dating Wild West posters and original art work documented from the collections of the BBCW, RMA, and CWM, .pdf list available at request to author.

⁴³Author research of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West photographic and poster collections and accession records at the DPL; and, Parkinson Archives and Library, CWM, respectively.

⁴⁴Flint, "A Great Industrial Art," pp. 30-31; Accession records and archives, CWM.



Figure 68. Color lithographic poster, *W.F. Cody (Buffalo Bill)*, 1898, by Enquirer Job Printing Co., 110.5 x 81 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1812

The unfinished poster artwork from the Enquirer company archives spans the array of possible subjects for the posters of the Wild West, with depictions of Cody, cowboys, American Indians, Annie Oakley, and many of the various units from the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. *Shooting Glass Balls* is the first example found in the map unit drawers filled with Wild West poster art in the storage area at the CWM. This is a fragile sketch with watercolors painted to show Buffalo Bill riding on horseback at full speed and shooting glass balls thrown from another horseman in the background. The composition is a vast empty prairie similar to the open-air arena of the Wild West show. The painted sketch beautifully captured a moment from Cody's show marksmanship performances. But, the remainder of the perimeter of the artwork is incomplete, with blank box at the lower right, and uncaptioned round portrait drawings for Cody and Salsbury at upper left and right corners. This image is unique among Enquirer poster art, with no companion finished poster; but, is very similar to the Hoen *Shooting at Full Speed* poster.

The *Buffalo Bill Head* poster art work is a trompe l'oeil inspired painted sketch by the Enquirer art department, in six rectangular pieces. The title appears on the reverse with a note possibly referencing 8 sheets, and anticipated large poster size. Cody's portrait is framed in an elaborate golden frame with small trade card-sized images of American Indians and mounted buffalo heads along the lower rim of the frame. Blue-toned Western landscapes are presented at the top left and right corners.⁴⁵ The composition is elegant in layout, emulating a painting more

⁴⁵Ibid.



Figure 69. Original watercolor poster artwork, *Shooting Glass Balls*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.1



Figure 70. Six-section original painted poster artwork, *Buffalo Bill Head*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.7A-E

created by Enquirer Job Printing Company was less romanticized than the earlier Hoen and many other lithographic color posters for the Wild West, including the American Indian poster art by Courier. The stereotyped *Red Skin Warriors* title was also used more frequently on Enquirer posters after 1900. Hoen and Courier artistic renderings of the American Indian performers were often titled *An American*. Enquirer art, except for a few posters highlighting Chief Iron Tail, generalized the “show Indians” in the final drawings and posters. In 1903, Enquirer completed its most detailed Indian poster for the Wild West which presented scenes of American Indians on the Plains, with a large Indian Chief figure standing at left with staff and shield. The scenes shown on the poster represented directly the types of performances the Wild West audiences would see during the show, including an attack on a wagon train, attack on a settler’s cabin, attack on the Deadwood Stage Coach, a war dance, and a warrior-like Chief in full Indian regalia. The Enquirer archive included the artist’s preliminary full pencil drawing with great detail made for Wild West Company management approval, which matches the final printed poster.⁴⁶

Enquirer’s *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* poster showed an American Indian wearing a headdress sitting on a white and brown horse, and carrying a decorated shield and rifle. Its companion early pencil sketch in the archives at the Circus World Museum provided a more close-up perspective to the viewer. The addition of a large title panel at the top of the poster may have necessitated the change, and smaller sizing of the Indian man on horseback. This sole figure was meant to be representative of the many chiefs from different tribes traveling with the Wild

⁴⁶CWM accession records and archives, onsite research and review of Enquirer original poster artwork collection, May 5-6, 2014.

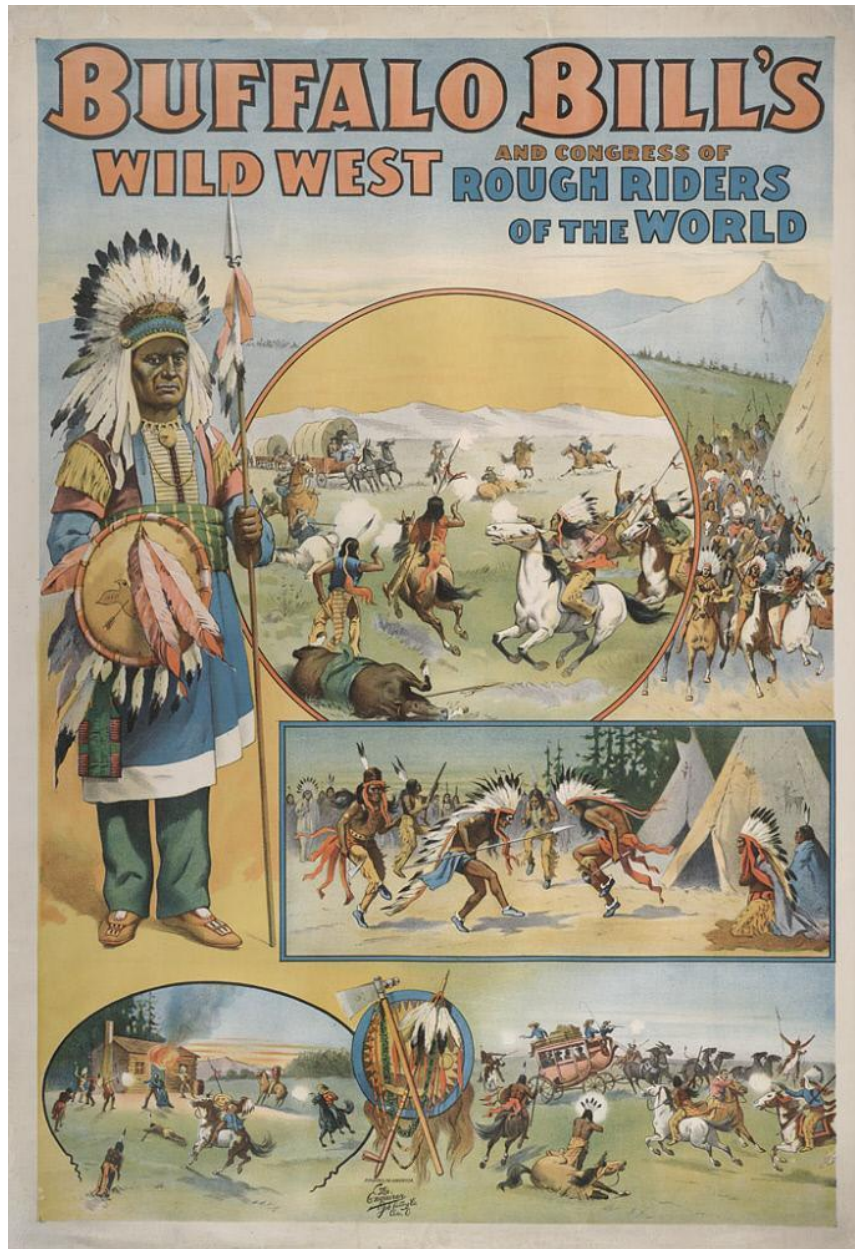


Figure 71. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, with American Indian Chief and scenes of Indian life, circa 1900, by Enquirer, one sheet, 42.5 x 29.25 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003934



Figure 72. Original pencil sketch for poster, American Indian Chief and scenes of Indian life, 1900, by Enquirer, 42.5 x 28.75 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.22.17

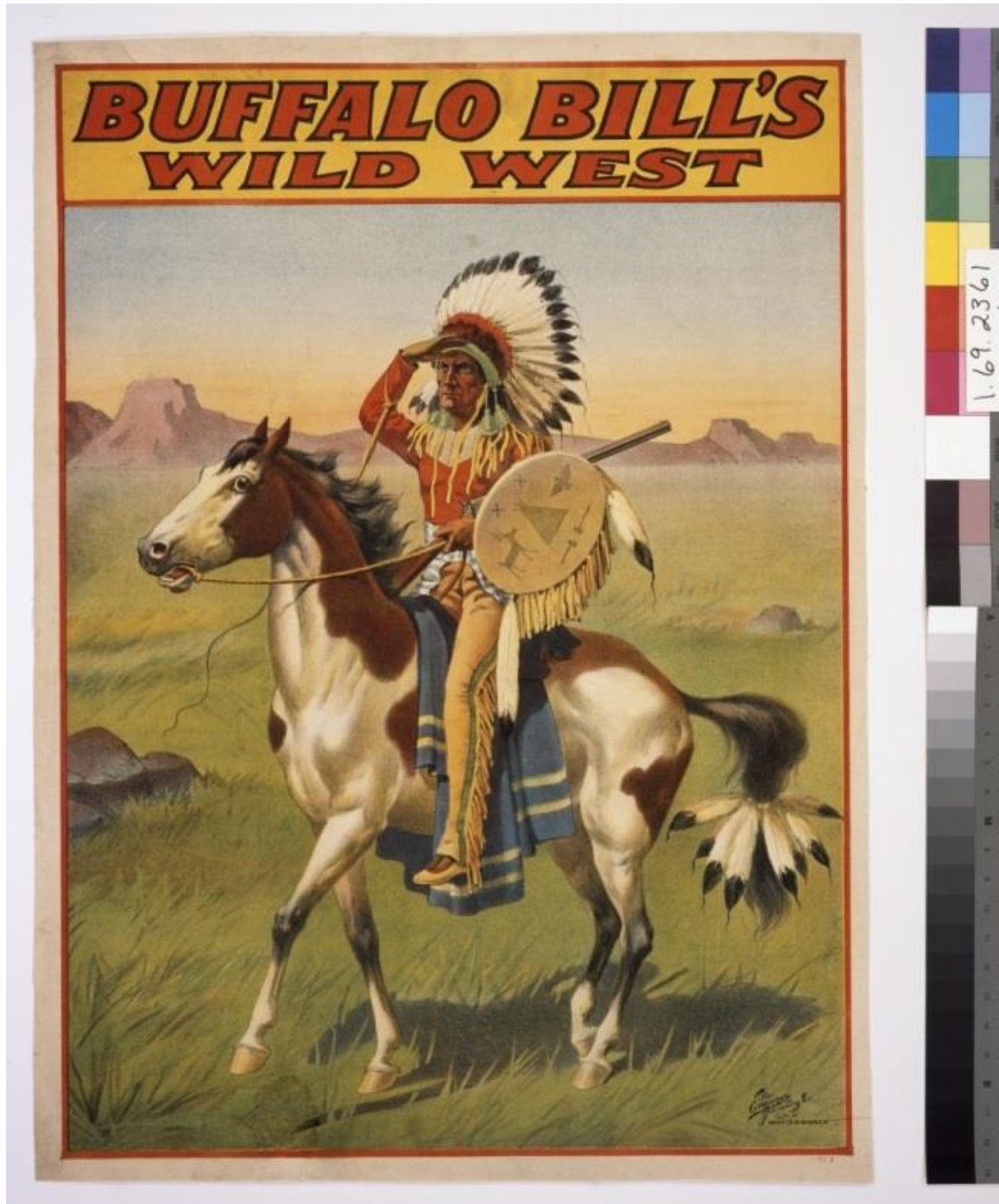


Figure 73. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, with American Indian Chief with shield on horseback, c. 1900, by Enquirer, 27.5 x 20 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2361

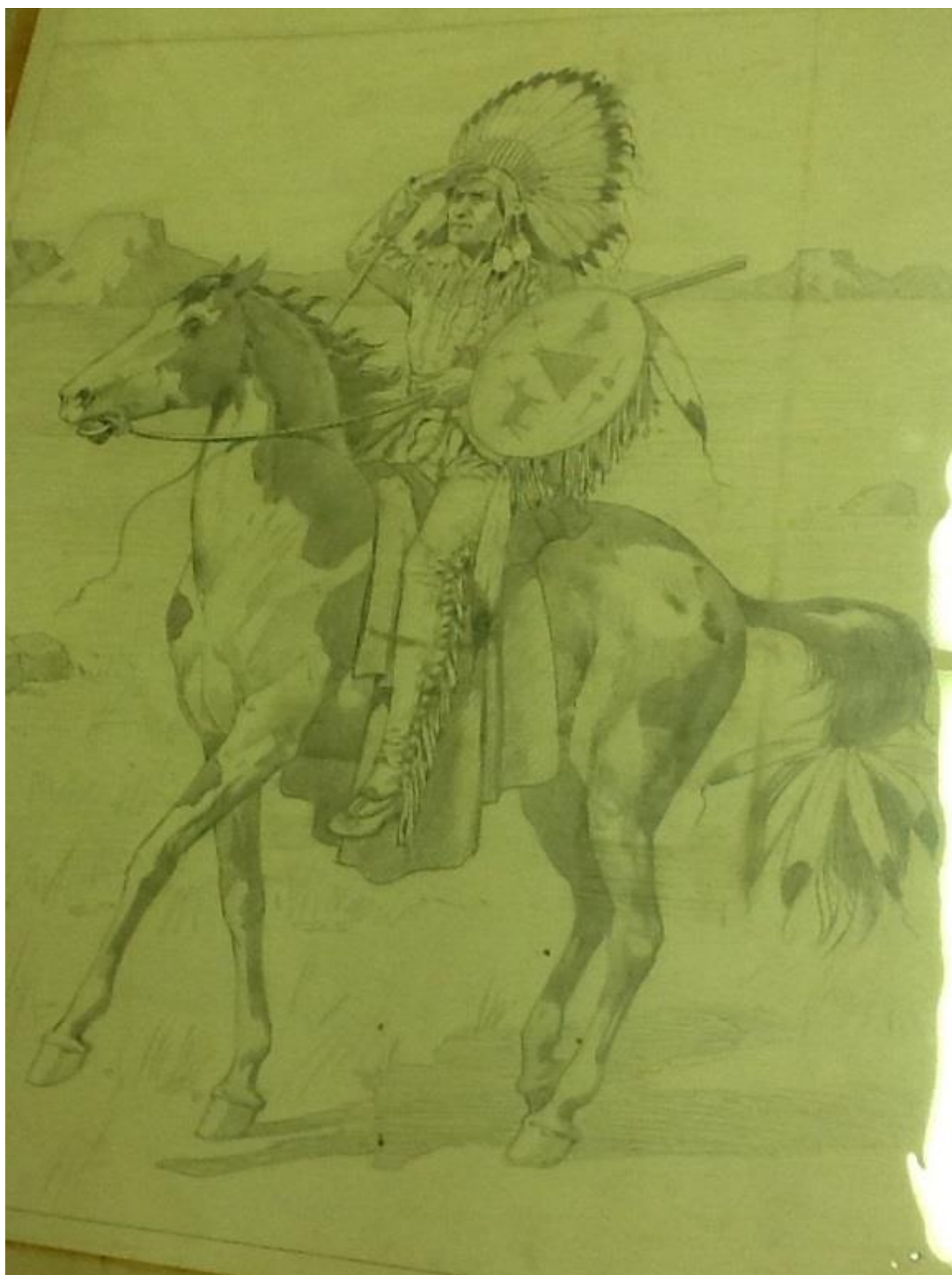


Figure 74. Original pencil sketch poster artwork, American Indian Chief with shield on horseback, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.12

West each season. Throughout the history of the Wild West, each season's performers included 100-200 American Indian men. Enquirer poster art continued to highlight these Indian performers, but usually with even more stereotypical drawings and titles for the artwork than completed by other printing firms.

Enquirer's original poster art for the poster *Annie Oakley, The Peerless Wing and Rifle Show* is a complicated seven-scene rough pencil sketch. From the upper left counterclockwise scenes included, "A Feature of Nutley Jr. Amateur Circus March 94"; "A Flying Double Shot"; "Breaking six balls thrown in the air at one time"; "The Wild West in a blizzard, Trinidad, Col. Sept 10th 98"; "A New Way of Splitting a Card with a Revolver"; "Competing in Grand American Handicap Interstate Park LI"; and, at center "Head large size" with placement of a medal award. Wild West publicity managers worked with Enquirer artists to highlight Oakley in a detailed and specific way most often considered for only Cody.⁴⁷ No other performers with the Wild West attained the international celebrity level of Buffalo Bill than Annie Oakley. Enquirer produced additional cowgirl posters for the Wild West, and there exists an original pencil sketch and poster proof of two cowgirls used for a generic depiction of the female Wild West performers. This original art work includes two cowgirls riding side-saddle in skirts. In contrast, the final painted poster proof shows both girls riding like men and wearing pants. Final changes like this are found on many of the original sketches in the Enquirer archive at the Circus World Museum.

⁴⁷Henneman, Jennifer. "Her Representation Precedes Her: Transatlantic Celebrity, Portraiture, and Visual Culture, 1865-1890." PhD diss., University of Washington, 2016, pp. 186-91. Henneman's detailed research on Annie Oakley's role in the Wild West leads her to conclude (p. 191): "Positioning Oakley in a supportive role to the primary hero Buffalo Bill corresponded with [her] personal convictions regarding the structure of home and family. Further, the antics of her tomboy heroine persona was balanced by her return to appropriately tamed and domesticated wife upon exiting the arena."



Figure 75. Original pencil sketch, *Annie Oakley*, c. 1900, by Enquirer, 27.25 x 22.5 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009. 24.16

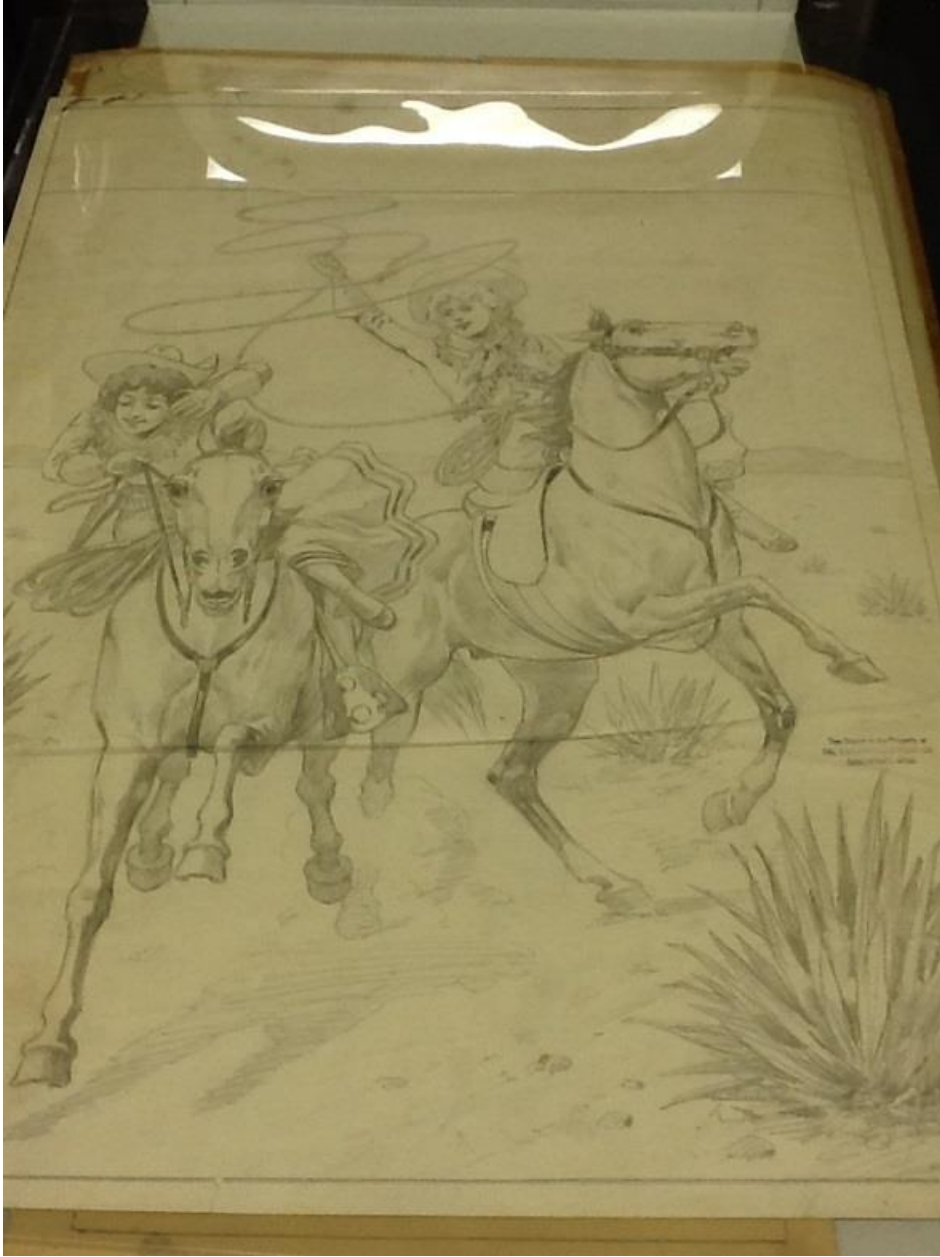


Figure 76. Original pencil sketch of *Two Cowgirls Roping*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.18

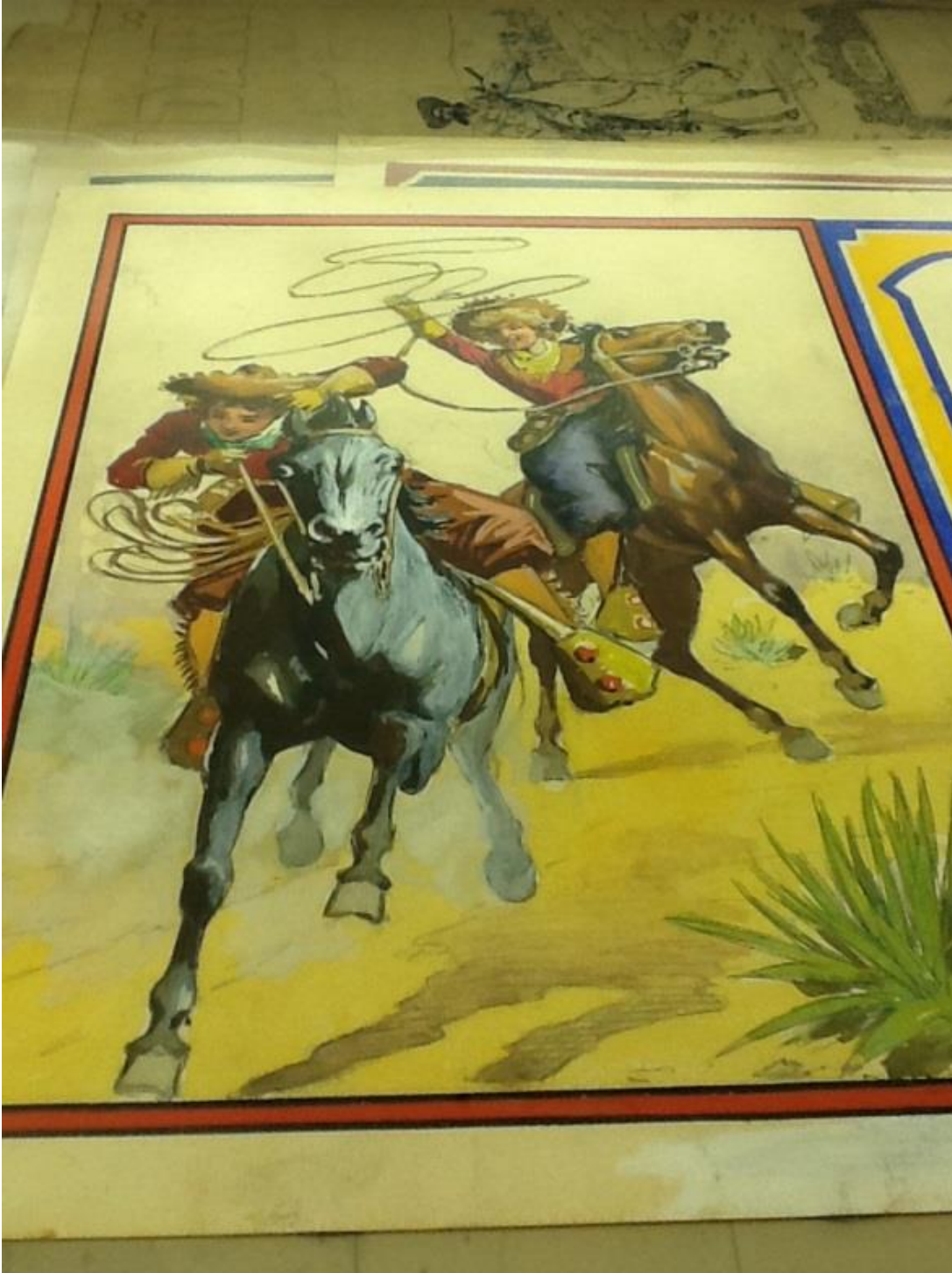


Figure 77. Original painted poster artwork of *Two Cowgirls*, c. 1900, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.28

The original art work for the *Massed Cavalry (The Maze)* poster by Enquirer was completed over eight vertical sections on heavy paper, has many notations in pencil written on its surface by the art director or lithographer supervising these design and production of posters for the Wild West. “Make this US Cavalryman a good strong figure”; “Make this a German Cavalryman”; “Reverse the Indian and horse to go in the opposite direction”; “as a Turk”; “U.S. Cav”; “Arab”; “German”; “New figure for Cody and horse”; or just “Out” were some of the notations faintly apparent in the very detailed original sketch, with some in-painting. Close inspection of the *Massed Cavalry* shows dozens, or even hundreds, of individual mounted horsemen drawn to represent a majority of Cody’s Congress of Rough Riders of the World, and a full grandstand in the background. Placement of individual Cavalrymen and their horses is intricately achieved, and sections numbered for orientation. Enquirer’s famous large format multi-sheet posters started as layered pencil, ink, or painted drawings before being photographed by graphic arts camera and enlarged to the final lithographic poster size.

Lithographers and artists employed by Enquirer completed designs and sketches for some of the most complicated posters ever produced for the Wild West. *Buffalo Bill Before Queen Victoria* is a seven panel painted poster sketch which illustrated Cody and the performers triumphant pass in front of the Queen’s viewing stand, with the Tower of London in the background. Additional scenes along the perimeter at left and right show the “White City” of Chicago’s 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, and views of European royalty standing in elaborate viewing boxes, waiting for Cody and show performers to pass in review. Images of U.S. presidents, military and world leaders were included in the poster design with smaller portrait photographs surrounding the center image of Cody and the Queen’s viewing area, and under the title panel. The Wild West and Cody’s success with international shows and audiences



Figure 78. Original painted poster art on heavy board, *Massed Cavalry (The Maze)*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.6A-H

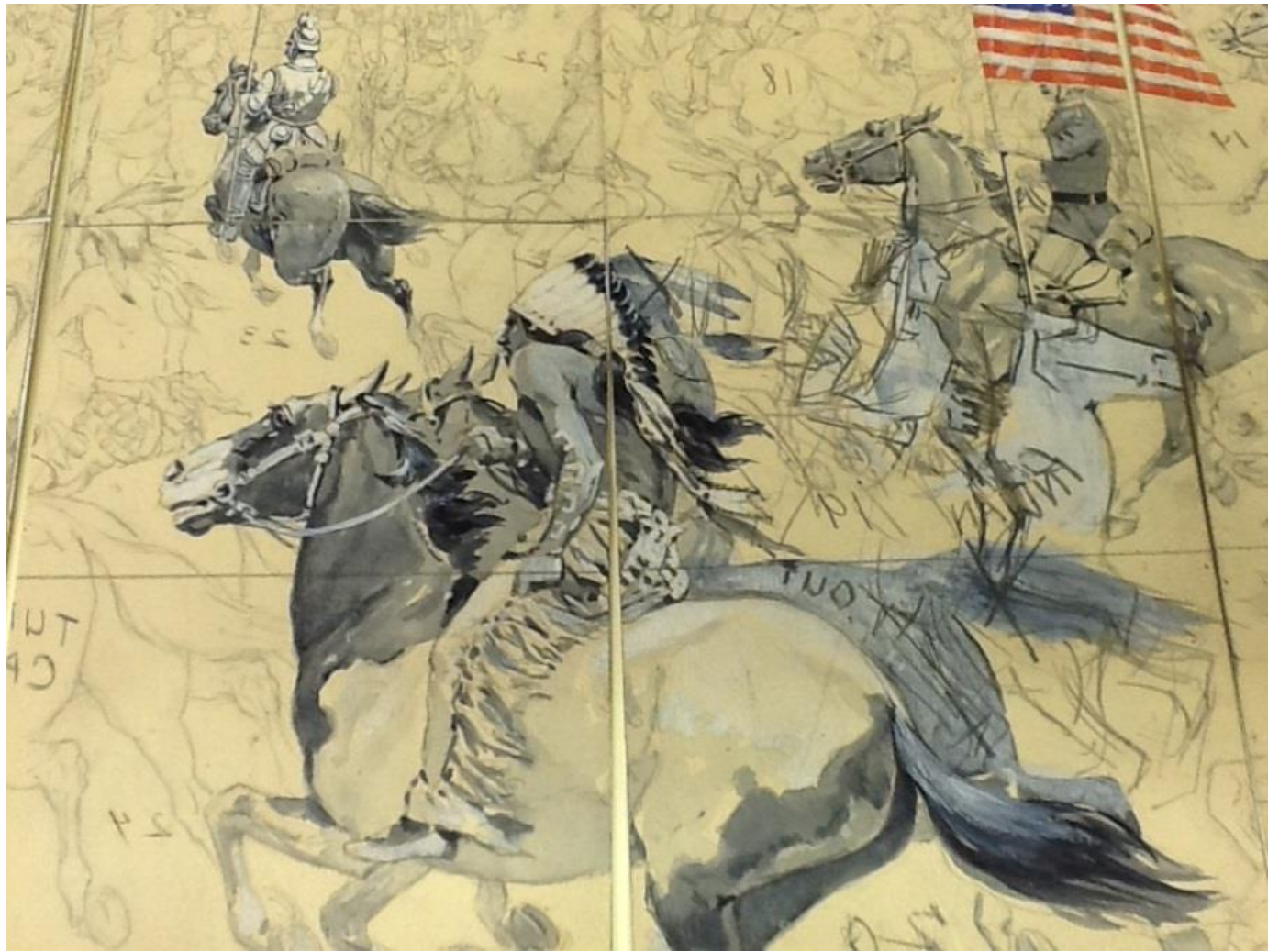


Figure 79. Original painted poster art work on heavy board, *Massed Cavalry (The Maze)*, detail, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. Detail 2009.23.6A-H

with world leaders mirrored the globalization and new influence of the United States at the turn of the century. Enquirer artists incorporated Cody's special brand of international diplomacy through his own showmanship, and selections for art work including performing groups and program segments for the Wild West. Producing posters in the first decade of the 20th century, Enquirer art work reflected a significant change in the art of advance materials for the Wild West show. Larger multi-sheet and billboard sized posters from Enquirer continued the marketing and depiction of life in the American West, Cody, cowboys, and American Indians, and their complicated history through the show's performances. But, the Enquirer lithographers also focused a new emphasis on international military actions, innovation, and technology in the production of the posters, and the world as the established stage for the Wild West. Foreign troops, world battles, and marine technological advances were shown through the creative designs of the Enquirer team.

Enquirer artists completed a series of boldly colored original poster art designs advertising performances including foreign military cavalrymen. Each poster included a large image of a soldier on horseback at left, and show title at right. "Cossacks of the Caucasus," like other similar posters, showed the cavalryman in national military uniform, and fiercely astride the horse. The Cossacks (Georgians) joined the Rough Riders first in England during the 1892 tour, and participated for the next two decades with Cody, in the U.S. and in Europe, and later with other Wild West shows.⁴⁸

⁴⁸Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, pp. 142-144. The Cossacks, or Georgians, were first added to the 1892 Wild West performances in London and a special viewing at Windsor Castle for the Queen, her family and guests.



Figure 80. Original painted poster sketch, *Buffalo Bill Before Queen Victoria*, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.23.5A-O



Figure 81. Original painted poster sketch, "Buffalo Bill Before Queen Victoria," detail, c. 1898, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. Detail 2009.23.5A-O



Figure 82. Original painted poster artwork, *The Cossack of the Caucasus Are Among the Rough Riders Of The World To Be Seen With Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, c. 1900, by Enquirer, 42.25 x 29.5 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.20

Cody's continued international diplomacy and presentations of program segments representing world battles was portrayed vividly in Enquirer's dramatic "Allied Powers at the Battle of Tientsin and the Capture of Peking," a half-painted poster drawing in the Circus World collection. One allied infantryman is shown about to bayonet a Chinese soldier on the ground in front of the tall walled city of Tientsin, now Tianjin. Eight allied nations combined military forces to try and put down the Boxer Rebellion in Northern China in June - July 1900, with the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary providing troops. Future president Herbert Hoover and his wife were in China at the time, while Hoover worked as a mining engineer. Hoover assisted the military effort and guided forces as best he could, and he and his wife attended to wounded after the battle.⁴⁹ The Wild West quickly incorporated a program performance of the Battle of Tientsin, similar to the quick inclusion of veterans of the Spanish-American war following the 1898 conflict. Cody and his partners worked with Enquirer staff to fully represent in advertising the important growing international focus to the show. Enquirer's title sheets printed for the Wild West announced the show as "America's Educational Exhibition" with "Horsemen From Every Clime."⁵⁰ From European military heroes to Middle Eastern nomads, Cody and his team monitored world news and international opportunities, and initiated the process with managers sent to contract with groups to participate as members of the Rough Riders. These foreign and the exotic riders worked side by side with American Indians and cowboys. Through entertainment and spectacle, Cody engaged audiences with distant cultures and prompted media attention in every country and city where the show

⁴⁹Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, Years of Adventure, 1874-1920*. (New York: Hollis and Carter, 1952), p. 53; and Haddad, "The Wild West Turns East," pp. 5-38.

⁵⁰CWM accession records and archives.

performed. Enquirer lithographs focused less on Cody's celebrity than that of the diverse community of performers he assembled, and the world has transitioned into the 20th century.

The effective operations of the Hoen, Courier, and Enquirer Lithographic Companies and their expert owners, managers, sketch artists, and lithographers delivered appealing and consistent advertising for the Wild West on annual basis. Seasonal contracts produced large numbers of posters sheets needed for each season, the newsprint couriers, and the increasingly super-sized imagery of the later years dominating the landscape throughout the countries visited. Cody's team advertised their version of the American past, and the world's future through carefully crafted advertising campaigns. Promotional materials and the programs provided a glimpse into current innovations and technology of the future through its performances. A precursor to the future world-wide success of the motion picture industry, the Wild West advertising campaigns defined the excitement and dynamic nature of the daily shows—through celebrity marksmanship, performances depicting the American West and Native Americans, and national and international military heroism.



Figure 83. Original painted poster artwork, “The Allied Powers at the Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of Peking, Buffalo Bill’s New and Greatest Military Spectacle,” c. 1900, by Enquirer, 43.5 x 29 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.22

Chapter Five

The Strobridge Lithographing Company and Cincinnati Show Printers

After the Civil War, modern print technologies and new photomechanical processes increased the popularity of prints, especially lithographs that reproduced original photographs for popular entertainment advertising, and sometimes for home decoration. Certain U.S. cities developed as centers for large commercial print production: specifically, New York City, Buffalo, and Cincinnati. Chicago and Baltimore also had large printing establishments with certain high impacts on the development of persuasive advertising in the later nineteenth century, but not to the levels of the three more prominent print cities. These cities and communities boasted growing manufacturing sectors, new immigrant skilled labor, and viable transportation routes. They became prime locations for printing companies whose major clients included circuses and traveling shows, like William F. Cody's Wild West. Cincinnati emerged as the strongest competitor, followed by New York City and Buffalo, among the leading centers of nineteenth and twentieth century lithography.

Cincinnati Lithography: Enquirer and Strobridge

In 1875, D. J. Kenny's *Illustrated Cincinnati: A Pictorial Hand-Book of the Queen City* stated, "It is almost impossible to estimate too highly the value of the work done by lithography in popularizing art among people...nine-tenths of the illustrations we see placarded in railway waiting rooms, hotels, and other places of public resort are the product of lithography."¹

¹Daniel J. Kenny, *Illustrated Cincinnati: A Pictorial Hand-Book of the Queen City* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1875), p, 147, 159-61. Kenny's handbook provided extensive research and data for the city of Cincinnati in 1875; it claimed to be "Comprising architecture, manufacture, trade; its social, literary, scientific, and charitable institutions; its churches, schools, and colleges; and all other principal points of interest to the visitor and resident; together with an account of the most attractive suburbs," and included a description of the Strobridge Lithographing Company headquarters, where 50 workers were employed, and the printing was accomplished with "eight power presses

Commenting on “Street Lithography,” the editor of *Art Age* noted in the December 1884 issue, “Every...lithographer who sends out well drawn, well colored, well composed posters to adorn the streets of a large American city is materially assisting in the art education of the a Nation.”² Known as the “Queen City of the West,” Cincinnati could boast two of the most significant show printing companies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, run by strong, driven and independent family entrepreneurs: the Enquirer Job Printing Company and the Strobridge Lithographing Company, both of which produced key print work for the Wild West between 1898 and 1916. As manufacturing developed and thrived in Cincinnati, the city’s location, the availability of skilled and trained workers, raw materials, and both river and railroad transportation routes for distribution all created opportunities for tremendous growth of print companies. The Enquirer and Strobridge companies became known for different printing specialties. Enquirer had access to the large printing presses for Cincinnati’s *Enquirer* newspaper, which led to the production of some of the largest ever posters for traveling shows, while Strobridge’s attention to art quality and the retention of artists on its staff resulted in the production of smaller one-sheet-sized posters. The success of these two firms, along with Cincinnati’s several other printing firms, such as Donaldson, Russell Morgan, and later the U.S. Printing Lithographic Company, made the Queen City a leader in the American print industry, especially in lithography. Enquirer and Strobridge printers cultivated lasting business relationships with Cody and his advertising team, and influenced the quality and style of Wild West posters and programs.³

and a large number of ordinary lithographic presses.” Lithography was an expanding trade for printing houses in the city, and the art produced significantly changed the nature of home decorating and enhancement.

²“Street Lithography,” *Art Age*, December 1884, p. 57.

³ The influence of the leading companies of the Cincinnati, Ohio printing industry is well presented in Richard W. Flint, “A Great Industrial Art: Circus Posters, Business Risks, and the Origins of Color Letterpress Printing in America” *Printing History*, vol. XXV, no. 2, (2009), pp. 18-43; Charles Philip Fox and Tom Parkinson. *Billers, Banners*,

The artistic portrayal of scenes of the Wild West performances and performers resonated with both the national and transatlantic public. In *Buffalo Bill's America*, historian Louis S. Warren wrote, "For generations of Americans and Europeans, Buffalo Bill defined the meaning of American history and American identity." He continued, "Buffalo Bill's show community became a touchstone for Americans seeking to understand their own rapidly urbanizing, racially conflicted, industrial communities and country, and for Europeans contemplating a host of concerns, including industrialism, colonialism, race progress, and race decay."⁴ Remarkably, the artists, the illustrators, and the lithographers at the printing firms who designed Wild West advertisements managed to capture the undertones of conflict and heroism that Cody and his performers acted out.

Cincinnati printers benefitted from the emigration of many skilled German immigrants from the early lithographic print shops of Europe to the Ohio Valley. The city was also an important port for the regular supplies required by the travelling circuses, such as wagons, tents and special rope production, and other manufacturers' needs. The Cincinnati printing firms worked with the American innovative and competitive spirit and business acumen of the circus leaders, like P. T. Barnum and his partner James A. Bailey, and Cody and Nate Salsbury. The show management teams pushed the limits of printing and helped to introduce new levels of promotion for their yearly tours in the 1880s to the 1910s. Each sought to improve on both their

and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing, 1985); Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005); Peter C. Marzio, *The Democratic Art, Pictures for a 19th Century America: Chromolithography, 1840-1900* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979); and Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company* (Cincinnati, OH: Cincinnati Art Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011).

⁴Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. xi and xv.

previous efforts and those of their rivals. Full color lithographs and printed programs were created by the several leading Cincinnati firms to capture the imagination of the general public audience through dramatic visuals and text. Cody and Salsbury were most likely introduced to the Enquirer Job Printing Company through George Bleistein, their business colleague in funding the establishment of the town of Cody, Wyoming, and president of the Courier Lithographic Company of Buffalo, New York. Bleistein's firm had already embraced its own contract with the Wild West with vigor and intent to expand the opportunities for the Wild West programs and the poster work. His team invested in the copyright of both the photographs and the printed work for the Wild West, and the company's "couriers" – souvenir programs on newsprint – were developed for sale or distribution at the Wild West. They were richly detailed with imagery from photographers and lithographers working for the Courier Co., and with stories about the performers and new program selections each year. Bleistein's Courier Co. staff frequently collaborated with Cincinnati's Enquirer Job Printing Co. and included Enquirer artwork in the Courier souvenir programs produced for the Wild West in the decade 1898-1908.⁵

The Courier and Enquirer collaborations were strategic. Enquirer artists and printers were expert in the most complicated scenes requested for the Wild West poster imagery, and could execute the largest poster sizes up to billboard to present the latest and greatest color visuals to advertise the traveling exhibition at home or abroad. Enquirer was known as the premier printing company of the American Midwest from the middle of the nineteenth century forward. The Anderson family dominated the leadership of the firm, which grew out of the work of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* newspaper. Henry J. Anderson purchased the printing plant from the

⁵*The Rough Rider Annual*, 1902, printed by Courier Company, guaranteed a circulation of 500,000, and included copyrighted images for the Wild West's late program segments on the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, and the U.S. Life Saving Service. These were originally copyrighted to the Enquirer Job Printing Co., MRL, BBCW.

newspaper in 1889. He and his descendants would lead the printing firm for another full century up to its sale in early 1970s. The earliest Enquirer color circus posters were printed from woodblocks, before the transition to lithography.⁶ Enquirer, like the most successful American printers, also produced diverse commercial work to complete the company portfolio, including circulars, calendars, and stationery. Cody and the Wild West team looked to Enquirer to produce the largest, “epic” sized, posters for the tours of the late 1890s and early 1900s. These largest billboard sized posters were called “stands” or “colossal stand.” In 1898, Enquirer went far beyond the largest 32-sheet poster for the Wild West and moved up to 108 sheets for a printed billboard sized image. It was four horizontal one-sheet posters high and 27 sheets long, totaling nine feet high and 91 feet long (or 2.8 x 27 meters), with lively scenes of the Wild West program, from the *Attack on the Settler’s Cabin* to the more recent addition of the *Battle of San Juan Hill*. The limits of production were further stretched during the 1899 season when Enquirer went forward with a larger 168-sheet stand to wrap around a street corner fence or full building front. These rare and largest poster displays were carefully designed and posted to create visual impact and feelings of awe in the street passersby. The Andersons hired artist Thomas Tully to maintain quality designs and work for their clients. Poster collector and connoisseur Jack Rennert has acknowledged the visual quality of the Wild West stands were unusual in that they often represented one continuous image or scene. They differed from those of Barnum and Bailey and other circuses; they might have had larger posters consisting of up to 375 sheets, but these circus posters were created from many different individual posters.⁷

⁶Flint, “A Great Industrial Art,” p. 31.

⁷Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), p. 5.

The continued high demand for posters by the most successful circuses and frontier-inspired shows fostered perpetual printing industry competition and improvement. Cody and the Wild West were well-known clients to the printers contracted each season. One of the main ways in which Cody's poster commissions differed from the historical norms of circus advertising lay in the seriousness with which they approached the artistic portrayal of the American West.⁸

Strobridge, Bailey, and Cody's Wild West

Longtime circus leader James A. Bailey relied on the skills of art lithographers and not recognized painters for circus poster designs. Bailey was focused on the quality and vibrant color of posters, to attract large audiences and, therefore, financial success. His knowledge of the circus business and touring companies led him to a lucrative collaboration with Cody, as a partner in the Wild West Company. Cody acknowledged the growing potential for his own Wild West program, and always reached for additional business opportunities throughout his life and career. He enjoyed entrepreneurship, and diversified his own businesses interests in ranching, city building and mining, and wisely partnered with Bailey when the latter offered to invest as a partner in the Wild West prior to the 1887 London tour. Bailey was used to working with Barnum, and Cody had many personal similarities to Barnum when it came to aspirations in life and work. Bailey was the consistent character behind the scenes leading skilled management teams to impressive financial achievements and international celebrity for both Barnum and Cody, and their shows. Bailey, with W.W. Cole and Cooke, cultivated the relationships with

⁸Chapter One of this dissertation has analyzed the relationship between Cody and the changing characteristics of American art, and the specific artists who were influential in the development of art-inspired advertising for the Wild West. Cody's friendship with numerous artists immersed in the representation of the American West, such as Frederic Remington, Charles Schreyvogel, and Rosa Bonheur, suggests the importance of design and artistry to Cody and his team. These artists, in turn, were instrumental in advancing an appreciation of the artistry involved in the color lithographs produced for the Wild West.

contracted printers for the circuses and other shows under Bailey's management.⁹ Cincinnati's Strobridge Lithographing Company was the leading circus printer when Bailey invested in Cody's Wild West, but Strobridge was not yet contracted with the Wild West. In fact, Strobridge was not fully associated with the Wild West until Bailey's death, which resulted in the sale of his percentage of the Wild West in 1907 to Gordon Lillie of Pawnee Bill's Great Far East. Strobridge's artists and lithographers then worked most closely with Cody, Burke, and Cooke during the hardest transition in the history of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, when bankruptcy necessitated the combination with the Pawnee Bill show. Bailey had epitomized the "entrepreneurial audacity" exhibited by the leading circus producers described by Noel Daniel in *The Circus 1870-1950*: "[they] invented the rules of engagement for today's global entertainment industry...launching sensational press campaigns, employing global talent scouts, and bringing entertainment directly to audiences through the latest technology."¹⁰ Bailey and others in the circus community watched as Cody and his contemporaries experimented with early traveling versions of frontier-inspired shows. Some circuses began to insert a "capsule version" of frontier-focused segments into performances, as uniquely American entertainment with, asserts Daniel, its "significant unifying effect, heroes often appeared on both sides of the conflicts" presented in the arena.¹¹ Bailey's stabilizing and responsible management and international experience had lifted the Wild West operational overall.¹² The investment in Cody and Salsbury's Wild West Company increased Bailey's formidable influence on the development and logistics for the primary mass entertainment shows based in the United States. This included the

⁹Matthew Wittmann, *Circus and the City: New York: 1793-2010* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 57-60.

¹⁰Noel Daniel. *The Circus 1870-1950* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2009), p. 13.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹²Wittmann, *Circus and the City*, p. 60.

contracting for the advertising print work and the establishment of relationships with the leading printers, including Strobridge, the primary printer for Barnum and Bailey. In the last two decades of the 1800s, the Strobridge family and their accomplished agent, A. A. Stewart, secured the regular annual print contracts meeting lithographic poster needs for most of the larger American circuses. Strobridge was known internationally for the artistry and quality of its work and its efficient distribution systems.¹³

Strobridge Success: Artistry and Legacy

After 1854, and particularly following the Civil War, Hines Strobridge, and later his sons, transformed a small Cincinnati printing firm into an internationally significant business. Adapting to social change and the growing opportunities for mass marketing with the circuses and later shows, Strobridge and his team were aggressive in driving Cincinnati's printing business to become one of the most recognized in the U.S. and Europe. Strobridge and its local competitor, Enquirer, led Cincinnati's growth into the third largest printing center by 1900. Like New York and Buffalo printers, Strobridge often used the portraits and names of the show owners on posters and advertisements to capture the interest of potential audiences. The advertising also reflected the diversity of the overall programs and troupes. Strobridge's poster

¹³Strobridge Lithographing Company, Cincinnati, is consistently noted by graphic arts scholars and cultural historians as the premier producer of color lithographs in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially for the large traveling circus and theater shows. The bulk of the company's surviving collection and archive was distributed between Cincinnati art institutions and libraries in the 1960s, with the Cincinnati Art Museum receiving most of these materials. See Kristin L. Spangenberg and Deborah W. Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company* (Cincinnati, OH: Cincinnati Art Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011), p. 17-22; Joseph Pennell, *Lithography and Lithographers* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915), pp. 221-22; Elena Millie and Andrea Wyatt, "Tomorrow Night, East Lynnel: American Drama as Reflected in the Theater Poster Collection at the Library of Congress," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, vol. 37, no. 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 114-20; Cornell, Alice M. *Art as Image: Prints & Promotion in Cincinnati, Ohio* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), p. 166; Erika Piola, "The Rise of Early American Lithography and Antebellum Visual Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 48, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2014), pp. 131-36.

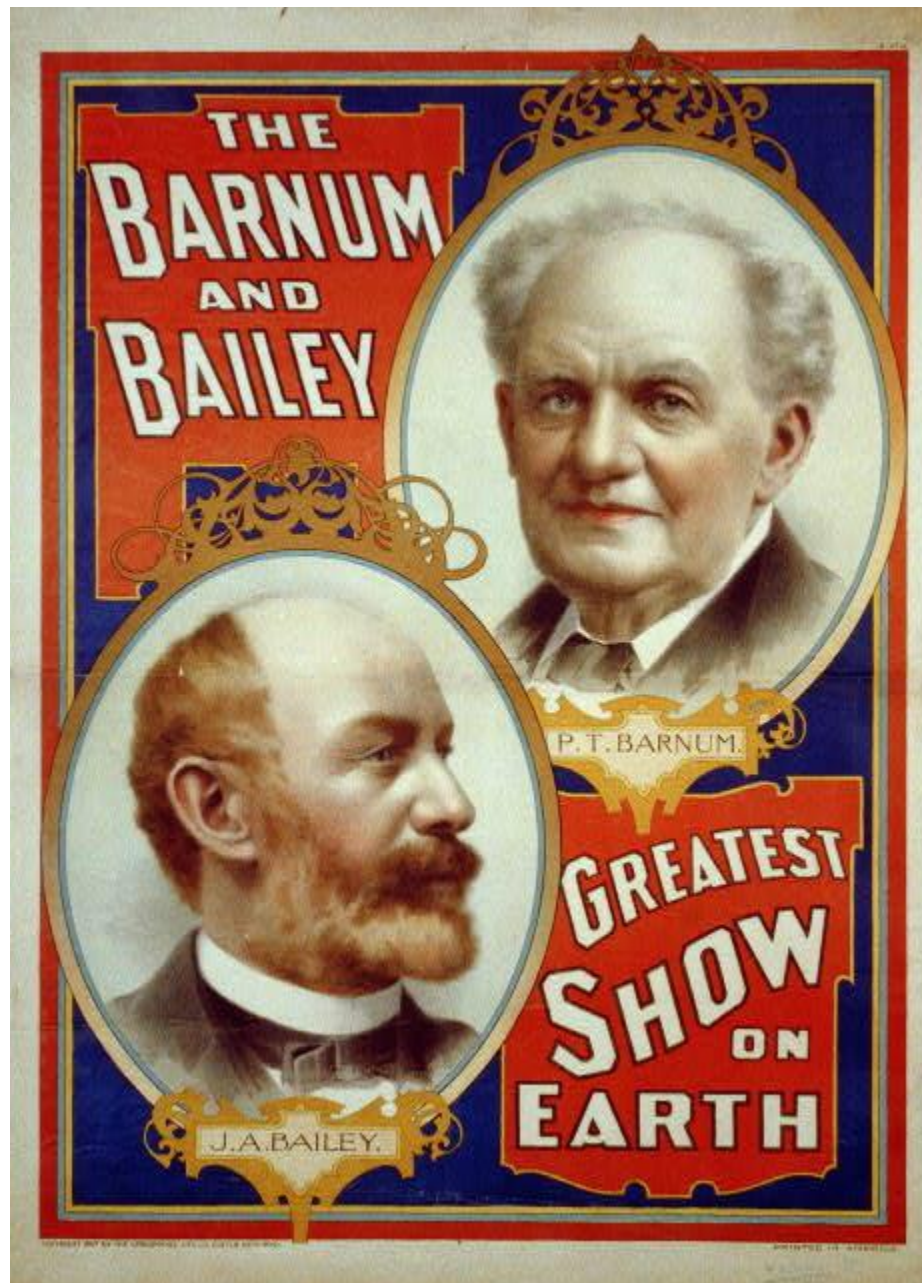


Figure 84. Color lithographic poster, *The Barnum and Bailey Greatest Show on Earth* [Portraits of P. T. Barnum and J. A. Bailey], 1897, by Strobridge Lithographing Co., 39.8 x 29.1 inches. Courtesy LOC. LC-USZC4-921

art contributed to the creation of the visual identity of the broad range of performers and programs presented. Especially for rural America, the circuses and traveling shows presented an informal education concerning cultural change and the growing international interests of the U.S.¹⁴ The Strobridge family and management team continually employed a strong group of staff artists, who cemented the company's prominence in the printing industry, but formidable competitors also thrived for years in Cincinnati, including the Russell Morgan Printing Company, the Donaldson Lithographing Company, and Enquirer, and all produced significant numbers of "paper" (posters) for traveling shows and touring companies each year. When Chicago emerged as the western hub of the U.S. railroad system, Cincinnati remained an important location for manufacturing and production, with its metal foundries, clothing and shoe industry, and liquor and printing industries. According to a May 1915 issue of *The Cincinnati*, the official publication of the city's Chamber of Commerce, the local printing industry had seen

\$13,183,000 in capital invested in Printing and Publishing of Cincinnati. This investment is far greater than that of any other industry except the foundry and liquor businesses...\$11,519,118 worth of work is produced yearly by the Printing and Publishing of Cincinnati. This amount is exceeded only the boot and shoe, clothing, and foundry industries...318 Establishments – 5000 Employees are engaged in the Printing and Publishing of

¹⁴Cincinnati manufacturing and business development experienced strong growth from mid-century until the significant economic crisis in 1893. The city's comparative loss of manufacturing strength came with increased expansion of other mid-western cities by 1910. Jeffrey Haydu, "Business Citizenship at Work: Cultural Transposition and Class Formation in Cincinnati, 1870-1910." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 107, no. 6 (May 2002), pp. 1424-67; Cornell, *Art as Image*, pp. 18-22; and, Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, pp. 6-7.

Cincinnati. The number of plants is second only to the clothing industry; the number of employees exceeded only by those of the foundry, clothing and shoe industries.¹⁵

The Chamber of Commerce journal issue also highlighted the “Ben Franklin Movement,” through which the printers of Cincinnati supported the recently formed nationwide network of Ben Franklin clubs spreading information about the history of printing, best practices in quality, services, and value in all branches of the printing art, and “putting the printing business on a more scientific basis.”¹⁶

By 1890, Cincinnati, as well as being an important regional and national center, was a thriving locale for art, literary, and education centers. The population had reached almost 300,000 and a public library, art museum and academy, opera house and university were established. Printers in the city were responsible for the production of an estimated 130 local newspapers and magazines to inform the growing population. Travel and commerce were facilitated by the railroad connections between Cincinnati and the rest of the country.¹⁷ The Strobridge Company was situated perfectly and maintained its hold on circus poster printing and also remained flexible, adapting to the changing climate in design and the art of the poster driven by European printers and the collecting market. As the U.S. economy and its relationship with the world economy was transformed in the half century after Reconstruction, bringing greater wealth and disposable income to ordinary Americans, a parallel expansion took place in both the mass entertainment industry (and especially traveling shows) and in the services such as printing

¹⁵“The Printing Industry in Cincinnati,” *The Cincinnati: The Official Organ of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce*, vol. 2, no. 20 (May 17, 1915), p. 6.

¹⁶Ibid. See also *Indianapolis News*, March 14, 1912, p. 8; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 22, 1913, p. 14.

¹⁷www.ohiohistorycentral.org, accessed July 15, 2018.

that were essential to the marketing and promotion of celebrities and their performances. The frenetic pace and the success-driven mentality of show business in the 1890s is summed up well by P. T. Barnum himself in his final letter to partner Bailey,

It has been my universal plan, as you will know, to make the public aware of what I was about to offer it, to get the best of everything and the most of it, and then to advertise freely and without fear. Never attempt to catch a whale with a minnow. I am indebted to the press of the United States for almost every dollar which I possess and for every success as an amusement manager which I have ever achieved. The very great popularity which I have attained at home and abroad I ascribe almost entirely to the liberal and persistent use of the public journals of this country. But it is of no advantage to advertise unless you intend to honestly fulfill the promises made in this manner.¹⁸

Bailey and Cody were at times overshadowed by the larger than life persona of Barnum, but they shared this philosophy and it was Bailey who maneuvered behind both Barnum and Cody to bring leadership and effective management of the Barnum and Bailey Circus and the Wild West. When the showmen were unable to deal with the day-to-day logistics and needs of their growing empires. Bailey worked consistently with the Strobridge Company to create the most dynamic and vivid imagery to advertise the yearly show tours. Bailey became the sole owner of the Barnum and Bailey Circus with the death of Barnum and expanded to form partnerships with

¹⁸A. H. Saxon, ed., *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 332-34. Barnum acknowledged Bailey as his successor in this letter. The location of the original letter is unknown, but a typed transcript is in the Joseph McCaddon Papers in Princeton University Library's Theater Collection.

several circuses, and with Sells and Forepaugh and the Wild West, making increased European tours for the new partners possible. Non-competition agreements were initiated under Bailey's leadership between his circuses and the Wild West, allowing them to divide their routes and maintain the best opportunity for all to be profitable.¹⁹ Strobridge maintained a solid relationship with Bailey throughout the expansion of his portfolio of entertainment businesses, and strive to reflect modern trends in posters and printed art for their clientele.

Importantly, more than a century later, the Strobridge Lithographing Company archives and original printed work have made it the most documented lithographic firm and its work has been widely collected by individuals and public cultural institutions. The existing Strobridge business records and biographies of the artists employed by the firm provide insights to researchers. The company archives are substantial, compared to those of other American printing firms of the era. The Cincinnati Museum of Art and the RMA hold the most significant extant collections of Strobridge correspondence and original posters. The RMA, the BBCW, and the CWM, specifically, hold the largest existing original Wild West poster collections, including vintage Strobridge work. The Strobridge family, printers, and now collectors, maintained a significant American archive, providing access to the history and visual culture of roughly 150 years of printmaking and preserving the artistic intent, skill and business acumen of this Cincinnati printing powerhouse.

The Strobridge Archive

Hines Strobridge cultivated his successful family business after early associations with the print company of Elijah C. Middleton and W. R. Wallace, who worked in Cincinnati in the

¹⁹Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, p. 17.

1840s and early 1850s. Strobridge joined Middleton and Wallace in 1854, and stabilized the financial management and growth of the firm. During the American Civil War, Middleton, Wallace, and Strobridge printed hand-colored lithographs in genre scenes, sentimental and landscape scenes, reproductions of portraits of United States leaders (especially, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and U.S. Grant) and news events. The quality of the Cincinnati-led firm competed easily with the giants, such as Currier and Ives of New York; Kellogg Brothers of Hartford, Connecticut; and Louis Prang and Company of Boston. Strobridge continued to expand the printing operations in Cincinnati and joined with new partners Gerlach and Wagner in 1864. That year, a fire devastated the firm's building, equipment and files, but Strobridge emerged from the loss with renewed interest in his business and began a strong push towards national and international acclaim in the print business from the 1870s onward. Strobridge and Company relocated in 1867, and sold \$100,000 in stock at \$50.00 a share. Hines Strobridge was the initial majority shareholder, with fifteen printing presses under his company management using upgraded steam press technology and automatic paper delivery.²⁰ Strobridge led the circus show printers in the outdoor advertising expansion of the 1870s and last decades of the century. During this period, "Strobridge red" became a distinctive and recognizable color on the posters made to withstand at least one month exposed to the daily elements.

Of all the printing companies that worked with the Wild West, the Strobridge Company, through its archive, offers the most well-documented surviving artist files, with biographical details on the artists who worked for the firm in Cincinnati, 1878-1954. In 1878, artist Matt Morgan was hired to head the art department. His reputation as an internationally known scenic and stage designer, London cartoonist, and illustrator for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*

²⁰Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion*, p. 104; Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, p. 5; and, Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, p. 20.

Newspaper, signified a serious investment in quality art design for Strobridge. Morgan attracted clients and mentored other Strobridge artists. The impact of these artists on early advertising history in the United States was ensured in December 1879, when the Strobridge Board met to vote to concentrate on large-scale circus printing and theatrical printing. In July 1880, the firm was renamed the Strobridge Lithographing Company, and within a year was advertising in New York newspapers as “the Largest Show-Lithograph House in the World.”²¹ Morgan brought in artist Arthur Jules Goodman to work with Strobridge on contract for several years in the 1880s, before Goodman moved to Europe where he connected with the Wild West and Barnum and Bailey’s circus. Another *Frank Leslie’s* illustrator, Harry Ogden, joined Strobridge’s new office in New York in 1881, and led the designs for some of the largest posters produced by the company, working there until his retirement in 1932. Like most lithographic artists of the time, Ogden was not known for signing his poster art work. Artist Paul Jones came to Strobridge the same year as Ogden, and worked as a “black artist” to complete the color on Ogden’s black and white sketches. German-born artist Emil Rothengatter (“E. Roe”) worked for the firm from 1881 to 1896, and Austrian-born Joseph G. Scheuerle became well-known for his drawings of animals for the Strobridge circus and some general Wild West posters between 1896 and 1900.²²

As the art department expanded at Strobridge, the company opened additional sales branches. A. A. Stewart joined the company as a sales agent in Cincinnati, moving to the New York branch office when it opened in May 1882. It was significant that the growth of Strobridge coincided with the beginning of the strong relationship with Bailey in 1879, and he continued to be a consistent client until his death in 1906. Bailey, Ogden, Cole, and Cooke, collaborated well

²¹Pennell, *Lithography and Lithographers*, p. 222; and Millie and Wyatt, “Tomorrow Night, East Lynne!” p. 119; and Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster* pp. 21-22.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 254-56.

and in 1883 they were behind the creation of a gigantic 100 sheet poster by Strobridge. The *New York Clipper* mentioned the poster in its March 10, 1883, issue:

A monster, illuminated circus poster is now produced by Strobridge Lithographing Company for W.W. Cole, the well-known circus Proprietor. Louis E. Cooke, press agent for Mr. Cole, suggested the mammoth pictorial which we are informed, comprises 100 sheets of paper, lithographed in six colors, and when posted will measure 100 feet in length by twelve feet in height. Over 1,500 characters are represented, and in the general design presents an interior view of a circus tent. It is stated that the contract price for 1,000 copies is \$10,000...H.A. Ogden of this city sketched the design from ideas furnished by Mr. Cole and his agent.²³

Compared to other printers, and the primary printers working with Cody's Wild West, the Strobridge art quality remained excellent, but relatively conservative in design. The attention to detail in each of the lithographs produced by Strobridge Lithographing Company, led to their decision to copyright their circus posters beginning in 1893. This protection for their print product was common among all their competitors by the close of the century, with the Courier and Enquirer Companies also filing for copyright of photographs (Courier) and color lithographic posters (Courier and Enquirer). For the next fifty years, Strobridge continued its

²³*New York Clipper*, March 10, 1883, p. 822.

dominance in the area of color lithography, amid rapidly changing economic and national circumstances. National labor issues and competition were growing in the 1880s and 1890s. This was acknowledged in the print industry with the start of the National Lithographers Association and Lithographers National Association, the Association of Bill Posters of the United States and Canada, 1892, and the Poster Advertising Association in 1912. By 1909, clients and advertisers were contracting for exclusive use and specific dates for billboard displays. A major change also occurred in the Strobridge Lithographing Company with the death of its founder and leader Hines Strobridge on April 11, 1909. His son, Nelson, took over leadership at the printing firm, having worked with his father for over thirty years. This was a time of changing demographics for the circuses and traveling shows. New popular entertainment was also available, particularly motion pictures, but the circuses and traveling shows continued to consolidate to remain viable. For example, John Ringling merged and led multiple circuses following Bailey's death in 1906, and Cody merged Buffalo Bill's Wild West with Gordon Lillie's Pawnee Bill's Great Far East, in 1908, partly because of Bailey's death. Several years later, in April 1912, Strobridge's lead and most dynamic sales agent A.A. Stewart died aboard the *Titanic*. His death had a major impact on the business, as Stewart had developed an elaborate network of clients and commissions over thirty years with Strobridge.²⁴

The complicated printing processes for lithography led to a clear demarcations of the work for artists at Strobridge and other show printers. The Strobridge business archives outline the four types of artists working for the firm: design; black; color; and lettering. The "design" artists were responsible for the overall pictorial designs for the posters. The "black artists" were

²⁴Sarah J. Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody 1879-1917* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 32-40; and, Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, pp. 25-26.

known as the “skilled draftsmen” who “executed the drawings” of the design artists on the printing stones or plates. Many of the “black artists” developed special expertise in specific aspects of art for the posters, such as portraits, animals, or detailed lettering. The Strobridge business records explain the complicated production methods, from original poster art creation to the printing, itself. For the smaller posters at one sheet or half-sheet, “black artists” could draw directly on the stones. The larger posters necessitated designs and drawings to be completed and “black image” proofs to be “pulled” and dusted with red chalk, then transferred to the printing stones or plates for the “color artists” who prepared five or six separation prints. Strobridge poster sizes spanned from half-sheet, one sheet, or two sheets, to multiple sheets up to 100 sheets, arranged vertically or horizontally, depending on the artistic designs. The multiple sheet posters were designed and drawn and then needed to be enlarged. Sheets of “black paper” drawings for the larger posters could be pinned to the walls of the Strobridge building with markings made for registration and trimming. Large posters needed multiple artists and teams to complete sections of the drawings up to full size in charcoal crayon. Strobridge also used the newly introduced lantern slide projections for completing drawings on paper by tracing, which could then be transferred to stone or zinc plates for final design inspection before the print impressions were pulled. The drawings then went through a series of red chalk dustings, transfer presses on new stones or plates, and the application of a “gum arabic” solution (made from acacia tree sap) for intentionally blank areas, to prepare the prints for the “color separation” artists’ inspection for appropriate overall color density of the lithographic plate. Before the “press crew” readied the final poster print, the plates were “washed out” with turpentine to remove any crayon and readied for inking. The pressmen, the feeders, and the helpers were tasked with the final color and press work resulting in the finished product. For the color

lithographic posters, Strobridge used a specific brand of heavyweight paper from the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company. The Strobridge warehouse was where the lithographic posters were collated and folded. The firm provided a five-year apprenticeship program for their artists, print “transferrers,” and “pressmen.”²⁵ The advance of the color lithographic printing process immensely furthered opportunities for mass production and advertising in America, from one-sheet to billboard ads.²⁶ Strobridge Lithographing Company remained focused on the show prints and posters, as did many of their major competitors. A 1912 reflection on the theatrical poster underscored the impact of print advertising:

A small fortune is spent each season by the big show companies and circuses in the publicity line, and they try to get the very latest forms of advertising ideas. In fact, nearly all the posters and paper are just what the show doctors ordered. Show printing is a gigantic business in itself, and where yesterday the bills and posters were turned out by the job houses and newspaper offices, today they are huge establishments, equipped with every facility for turning out any kind of advertising matter desired. Each department is complete in itself, and a small army of employees keeps things on the move.²⁷

²⁵Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839 – 1889* (New York: Dover, 1964) [1st pub. 1938], p. 408. Magic lantern slide projections, frequently used by printing houses for completing drawings, were also used by photographers for lectures. Taft references Henry Heyl’s and Eadweard Muybridge’s use of lantern slides in their work on the reproduction of motion. See also Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, pp., 88-89.

²⁶Wittmann, *Circus and the City*, p. 70.

²⁷M. B. Leavitt, *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management* (New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 1912), p. 330.

Strobridge senior management aspired to dominate in the printing for the circus business, and achieved success over many of their competitors in larger cities. Within Cincinnati, Strobridge and Enquirer were competing family-owned printing firms with different emphases on circus and show poster production. Strobridge focused on independent growth and leadership printing for circuses and theaters, while Enquirer fostered collaborations with other show printers like Courier of Buffalo, New York, to produce the largest billboard posters possible and to include Enquirer print images in newsletters and heralds produced by Courier. Quality and shipping services were of primary importance to all firms providing promotional materials to the traveling shows. Press agents and tour managers of the shows were responsible for the itineraries and routes for their shows, and implored the printing firms to keep confidential the plans for yearly tours to ward off competitors.²⁸ As the Wild West Co. executives—Cody, Salsbury, Burke, and Cooke—worked closer during Bailey’s growing investment in the Wild West, the primary print work for posters remained with the Courier and Enquirer companies. When Strobridge finally received the bulk of the advertising work for the Wild West, the posters were not nearly as innovative as the posters and programs from Cody’s prime seasons 1883 to 1907. Strobridge produced, or re-produced, images that were similar, in fact almost exactly the same poster designs, for the Wild West as earlier posters by Hoen and Courier. Nevertheless, Strobridge lithographic work for the Wild West was fully pursued after the death of Bailey in 1906, because of the combination with Gordon Lillie’s Pawnee Bill’s Great Far East between 1908 and 1913.

²⁸Flint, “A Great Industrial Art,” p. 31.

The Two Bills Combination

Bailey and Salsbury had each served Cody well as lead advisors and logistics coordinators for the Wild West Company. With Salsbury's death in 1902 and Bailey's a few years later, Cody was left without the backbone of the Wild West management structure. The Wild West entered a difficult transition during the 1907 season after losing Bailey's management and fiscal strength. Cody and the Wild West troupe had completed several European tours and Bailey and Salsbury provided overall tour management allowing Cody to diversify his business ventures. He starred in the performances of the Wild West, consulted with partners and built varied business deals, and advanced his real estate and business holdings. Even with the tremendous celebrity success of the Wild West, Cody's business holdings and wealth fluctuated. He relentlessly negotiated to continue to development of the city of Cody, Wyoming, after its establishment in 1896, and continued to pursue new opportunities with a mining business in Arizona in the early 1900s. These ventures, along with his several ranches, financially drained Cody's personal wealth, and necessitated his prolonged touring and prominence in the Wild West. Cody's correspondence with the American artist R. Farrington Elwell during the period 1905 to 1911 and with Wild West advance agent Louis E. Cooke outlined the changing times for both Cody personally and the eventual end of the Wild West Company's sole management of the yearly tours.²⁹ Prior to Bailey's death, Cody wrote to Elwell from Toulon, France, on March 7, 1906, about his future plans to tour,

²⁹Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 30-31. See also William F. Cody to Louis E. Cooke, Feb. 13, 1915, letter 81, Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection, Cooke – Cody Correspondence, Tibbals Collection, RMA (digital copy available online). In early 1915, Cody was attempting to sell his interest in Arizona mines and deeded oil lands. His financial obligations necessitated that he continue working, despite continued failing health. In the letter to Cooke, he mentions the opportunity he eventually took in signing a contract with Sells Floto circus to tour for one year.

...for several years before I retire from the show business. Hope to live long enough to spend a few years in the land we both love old Rockies and Plains...Now dear friend I am again to try and see if I can do something for your where you can make some money. I will have some new Lithographs from my return to America. And I will write my lithographers and see if they will engage you to make the drawings. If they will give you this which I think they will you can meet me in New York on my return there about the 17th of next November. And I can lay out your work before I go west. Then you will work in our office in New York under the directions of Major Burke and Johnie Baker. And Mr. Dean our General Agent. Mr. James Bailey my partner will be there also to make suggestions and criticize your work. Should you be able to please such a man as Mr. Bailey and our Lithographer/Publisher Mr. George Bleistein of the Buffalo Courier Printing Co., Buffalo, New York. You will never have any more worries with Magazine Publishers.

Answer this to Florence, Italy

Yours in haste

W.F. Cody³⁰

Bailey's death delayed the arrangement Cody hoped to make with Elwell, as he wrote from Vienna on May 28th, 1906:

³⁰Cody to Elwell [from Toulon, France], March 7, 1906. MS6.0175, MRL, MMCW. A self-taught artist, Elwell was given work at Cody's TE Ranch in Wyoming, while Cody tried to secure work for him with the Wild West through Bailey and Cooke.

Had Mr. Bailey lived you would have been with me here today. But as it now stands Mrs. Bailey can do nothing regarding the Wild West until the Court confirms her as executrix which will be the latter part of June. Then something definite will be doing. And you will be informed. J.T. McCaddon will represent Mrs. Bailey. We are still doing fine. My health is excellent. If you can get the order to come you had better bring your things to go right to drawing.

Yours truly

W.F. Cody³¹

The harsh reality of the situation for Cody and the Wild West was that the production was caught up in the complicated Bailey will and estate, which was contested. Delays were considerable, making it impossible to prepare for the following year tour and all the lithography needed for promotion. Elwell was positioned well before Bailey's death to be a leader among the artists working on the new 1907 lithographic designs for the Wild West's return to America. Cody wanted Elwell to get started by joining the last remaining tour stops in Europe late in the 1906 season, but business decisions and decreased revenue affected Cody during the proceedings concerning Bailey's estate. After the four years on the European tour (1902-1906), Cody hoped to carry on the international travel of the Wild West with a tour of Mexico. Elwell was invited to illustrate a trip envisaged from Cody, Wyoming, to Mexico, for magazine publication. Writing

³¹Cody to Elwell [from Vienna] May 28, 1906. MS6.0169, MRL, MMCW. The timing was not good for Elwell to join the Wild West to create new art for illustrated advertising and lithographic posters. Bailey's sudden death eventually prompted the sale of the Wild West to Gordon Lillie, also known as Pawnee Bill.

from New York, Cody told Elwell, “Remember this will be the trip of our lives from the T.E. [Ranch] to Mexico City. Most of the way on horseback.”³² However, the 1907 season of the Wild West in the United States became progressively difficult. At the time of his death, Bailey held a half interest in the Wild West, and a \$92,000 note of loans made to Cody. The Bailey estate was effectively in control of the Wild West and was unwilling to sink more funds to keep the performances running as they had under Cody and Bailey’s partnership.³³ As was his routine business move, Cody sought out a new and steady business partner to secure the future of the Wild West and the ability to continue his entrepreneurial pursuits.

Cody’s choice, Gordon Lillie, worked briefly as a Pawnee interpreter with the Wild West in its first year, before he launched his own Pawnee Bill Historic Wild West with his wife in May 1888. By 1907, the Lillies had expanded the show and added performers to become Pawnee Bill’s Great Far East. Lillie’s business acumen and conservative financial operation balanced Cody’s risky and generous style. The combination of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West with Pawnee Bill’s Great Far East benefitted both shows and created the best opportunity for continued success of both men, despite competition from John Ringling’s many circuses and other frontier-type shows. In the “Two Bills” operation, W. F. Cody was not only the part owner, but also the clear headline performer with twenty-five years of national and international tours behind him. Previously responsible for business management and marketing, Cody’s role evolved from leader

³² Cody to Elwell, April 27, 1907. MS6.0177, MRL, MMCW.

³³Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, p. 35; and Cody to Joseph McCaddon, May 25, 1907. MS6.0183, MRL, MMCW. Down to one show a day, Cody pleaded with McCaddon, the late Bailey’s business manager and brother-in-law, for resources to staff the Wild West and put up the tents and big top. Cody’s letter ends: “We must have men or its all off.”

and recognized partner in the Wild West to that of aging performer and perpetual negotiator for rights and financial privileges from Lillie and the Pawnee Bill management team.

The visual and advertising impact of the combination and the changes for the Wild West meant the advance work for the posters and programs now moved from the decade-long influence of George Bleistein and the Courier Lithographic Company to the circus-focused Strobridge Lithographing Company. The artists and printers at Strobridge were the final printing group to consider how to present the image of an aged Buffalo Bill Cody in the color lithographic materials. They needed to balance the visual presentation of advertising for the “Two Bills” (Cody and Lillie) combination tour and its traveling production, and manage the expectations of the merged teams for promotional materials. Strobridge produced two copyrighted posters which featured “Buffalo Bill” in 1907 and 1908, as changes to the Wild West were negotiated and initiated. Each of the Strobridge posters presented a regal portrait of Cody, but without the usual title of “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” at the top of the lithograph. These two posters each focused on an older, gray-haired Cody in the saddle of a magnificent brown horse, and holding his hat lowered in his right hand. One poster showed Cody and the full horse portrait; the other was a closer vertical portrait of Cody in the saddle and the detailed horse’s head, mane and bridle. Although this was not the first time the Wild West contracted a poster with the sole image of Cody, these two Strobridge posters visually represented the isolation of W. F. Cody, no longer supported by the previous long-time Wild West Co. leadership, and suggested a foray into a new era of his career. His closest allies in the management of, and financial investment in, the Wild West were dead, meaning that the future of the traveling production remained his responsibility. Press agents Burke and Cooke remained close supporters to Cody in 1907 and throughout the next decade, but they were not able to personally support the

logistics of the operation in the same way as Gordon Lillie. Cody's major investments in Wyoming and Arizona impacted his personal financial status and necessitated a lesser partnership in the "Two Bills." The 1907 Strobridge poster, "The Maze", presented the crowded chaos of the Wild West arena, with Cody, Annie Oakley, Johnnie Baker, American Indians to the fore and the cavalry of the Congress of Rough Riders of the World circling behind them. Behind the scenes, more than ever in the history of the Wild West, Cody was navigating his own maze of complicated financial matters to sustain the tour and traveling production.

Hundreds of performers and staff of the Wild West were needed to support the Wild West daily programs. Cody managed careful negotiations to keep the tour alive, but he could not cover the costs on his own. During the 1907 Wild West tour, the fate of the next year's tour was decided. Mrs. Bailey's representative, her brother Joseph McCaddon, would not back the Wild West financially to the extent Cody requested, so the latter settled all affairs with the Bailey estate.³⁴ The financial situation forced the Wild West to tour with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East in 1908 and for the next five years. Lillie wanted increased profits, and Cody continued to attract large audiences and beat the completion along the Wild West tour route. Cody had found a willing partner, one who was prepared to cover the winter quarters expenses, transportation and performance costs.

Lillie also contracted with the Strobridge, and this transition of the Wild West lithographic work fully to the "other" Cincinnati printing firm became complete during the 1907 tour and start of the 1908 season. The new advertising relationship with Strobridge impacted the final years of printed materials, and indicated a waning influence of Cody and Burke in this area.

³⁴Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, pp. 35-38.



Figure 85. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill,"* 1907, by Strobridge, one sheet, 114 x 116.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003918

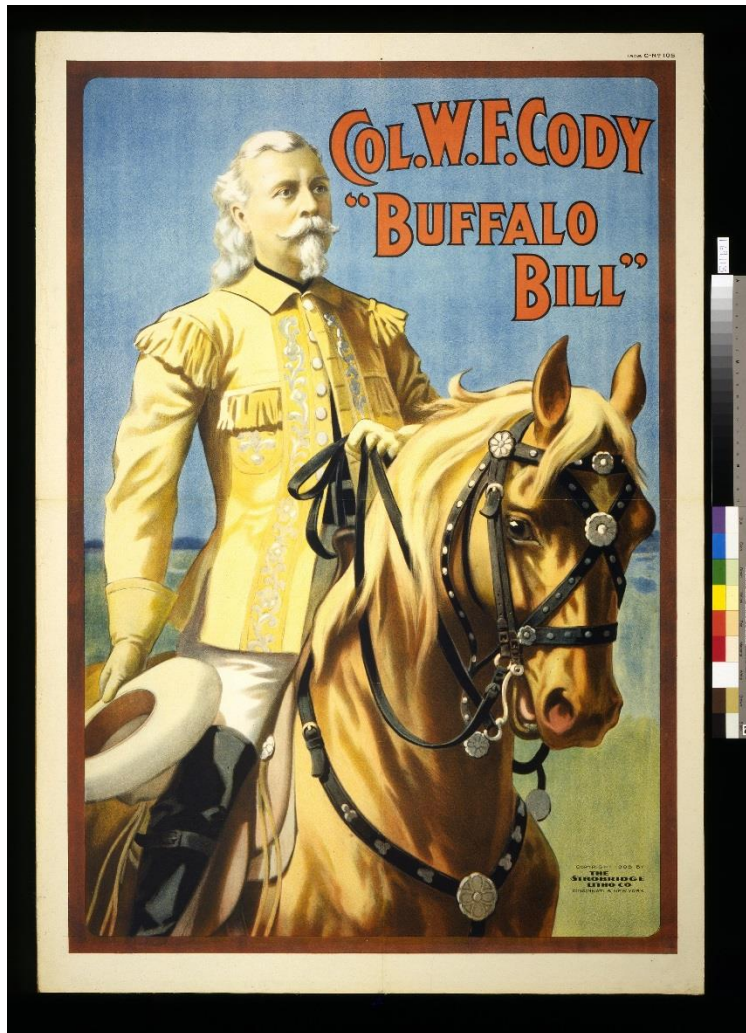


Figure 86. Color lithographic poster, *Col. W.F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill,"* 1908, by Strobridge, 57.25 x 39.375 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.113



Figure 87. Color lithographic poster, *The Maze*, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, 1907, by Strobridge, 29.5 x 38 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.74

Cody tried unsuccessfully to get Cooke back on the Wild West management team to oversee the visual materials created for the markets, but the consistent innovation and unique artistry of the posters of the Wild West over three decades was now diminished.³⁵ The limited range of posters and promotional images that Strobridge introduced in 1908 consisted of posters and promotional images which were close imitations of previous posters created for the Wild West, Pawnee Bill, or others for circuses and traveling shows.

Strobridge artists excelled at circus and animal acts primarily, with less successful attention given to historical scenes and military acts in their poster production. There was an awkward period of identity crisis for the Wild West which began in 1907 and which continued during the first year of combination with Pawnee Bill. Several Strobridge poster designs for the Wild West printed during the transition in 1908 did not mention the combination with Pawnee Bill's show. *The Highly Trained Texas Range & Ranch Saddle Horses in Entirely New & Sensational Acts*, a color lithographic poster highlighted cowgirls at the center and front foreground of the poster, riding side-saddle and were portrayed mid-jump. The dynamic scene was a free form display of horsemanship by both cowboys and the cowgirls, and captured the rehearsed Wild West scenes intended to portray the reality of the range and ranch to audiences. Strobridge's *Pioneer Perils in the Early Days of the Original Deadwood Stage Coach, An Attack by Hostile Indians and Rescue by the Cow Boys* was also printed for 1908. It represented a close-up view of a deadly Indian attack on the Deadwood Stage Coach. The cowboys were drawn as bold defenders of the stage coach, passengers and contents, in the face many more hostile

³⁵Cody to Louis E. Cooke, letters 55 to 65 (dated in 1913), available online at the Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection, Tibbals Collection, RMA. During the final year of the Two Bills combination, Cody repeatedly wrote to Cooke to explain current overall conditions relating to the show's advertising and financial debt, and to implore him to return to work with him and to contact Lillie, <https://www.ringling.org/tibbals-collection-louis-e-cooke-manuscript-collection-cooke-cody-correspondence>, accessed July 15, 2018.

American Indians on horseback. A. Hoen and Company had printed a similar lithograph for the Wild West, *On the Stage Coach*, in the late 1880s (see Chapter 4, figure 43). The Hoen version of the raid on the Deadwood Stage Coach showed no fighting compared with the later Strobridge poster. The Hoen version showed a “Cody-like” figure leading cavalry to the rescue in the scene. The Strobridge lithograph, printed twenty years later, was a chaotic fight scene with no prominent heroic image of Cody. This deviated sharply from the consistent heroic image of Cody and the Wild West presented in the earlier posters, and cultivated by the press agents and advance men over decades.

Strobridge circus lithographs advertised the performers and the acts, but included fewer sketches of reenactments of historical scenes depicted in the Wild West posters between 1883 and 1906. The increased focus on the U.S. Cavalry and the horsemen of the Rough Riders following the 1893 season provided the Wild West with a new visual identity for the lithographic posters produced for all subsequent seasons to the finale of Cody’s performances in 1916. Strobridge maintained the prominence of *The Heroic Horsemen of the World* concept with the 1908 poster for the Wild West, which depicted the *U.S. Cavalry & Artillery Practice Drills & Military Evolutions*. The difference in the Strobridge poster, compared to the undated Hoen poster (possibly early to mid-1890s) or the 1902 Courier cavalry-focused lithographs, is the absence of Cody from the center of the action of the military drills and horsemen. Fewer and fewer of the posters produced for the Wild West in 1907, and for the later combination with Pawnee Bill, would feature Cody as prominently as early versions of posters which focused on military prowess and imagery. The 1880s posters by Hoen which depicted Rough Riders and U.S. cavalymen introduced individual groups of international military performers on horseback with Cody center lead of the long line of cavalymen, front and center. Salsbury’s portrait was

next to his partner's, at the upper left of the poster, with full title of the exhibition at the top of the lithograph. There is a soft-toned impressionistic quality to the poster, and a Victorian-era ornateness to the "framed" oval portraits of Cody and Salsbury. The 1902 Courier poster, *The Mounted Warriors of All Nations*, was a highly-detailed closer view of a tight group of individually-drawn Rough Riders on horseback who represented the estimated fourteen national troupes combined into Cody's Congress of Rough Riders of the World. (See Chapter 4, Figure 53) In this active scene, Courier artists drew the cavalymen in far from passive stances on horseback, but with weapons raised and their horses moving in various gaits. Cody's figure on horseback is centered in the foreground, in the familiar pose immortalized by his friend and prolific artist Frederic Remington in his painting *Buffalo Bill in The Limelight* (See Chapter 1, Figure 10). The older and gray-haired Cody extends his hat to acknowledge the Wild West audience. In this poster, the depiction of Cody could potentially be considered as welcoming to the street viewer. It introduced the varied and colorful performers and highlighted Cody. The signature of "William F. Cody 'Buffalo Bill'" was copied at the bottom center of the Courier poster, as it often was for the first two decades of the tour advertising. The 1908 Strobridge poster, *The Hero Horsemen of the World*, produced for Cody's new partnership with Gordon Lillie used only the Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Rough Riders title across the top of the poster, but did not use Cody's name or image. *US Cavalry & Artillery Practice Drills & Military Evolutions* highlighted riders in the foreground on white horses, but Cody is no longer their leader in this group image. Strobridge had produced a similar poster for Barnum and Bailey's German tour in 1900, entitled (in translation) *Skillful Cavalry-Exercising and Wonderful Riding a Detachment of the United States Cavalry*.

In certain posters a dramatic difference in the color and tonal quality existed between the Strobridge posters 1907-1916 and Enquirer posters produced 1898-1908. This is evident in the comparison of the *Cowboy Fun* poster of the Enquirer (1898) and Strobridge (1908). Enquirer artists may have used bolder colors—reds, blues, and greens—and, an enhanced drawing of the foreground grasses, shadows and dust along the dirt. In both posters, the cowboys were drawn in many different active positions, with bucking broncos, and the chaos among the fallen horses. Enquirer artists effectively rendered in the background a range of mountains to emulate the Big Horn Mountains of Cody's beloved Wyoming, with Cody's circular portrait at the upper left above the pale mountains, and Salsbury's matching portrait at upper right. The standard title, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders*, was included on the Enquirer poster and printed in bold red across the top of the poster. The Enquirer poster was probably scaled much larger than the Strobridge. The contrast in the Strobridge 1908 poster is significant. Its close-up view of the four bucking broncos included a female cowgirl at the far right of the poster, but otherwise artist details were shadowy representations of other cowboys in the foreground and background. Slight mountains were apparent, but generically applied. The title, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Rough Riders*, was again in a deeper red, famous among Strobridge artists, but the font type was different from the classic lettering used by previous printers for the Wild West. Strobridge used a new fluid "Buffalo Bill's" lettering atop the lower "Wild West" angled upwards, and "Congress of Rough Riders of the World" in straight blue lettering below "West." Strobridge artists were conservative in their work for Cody and Lillie, and standardized the Wild West and Far East combination posters to the formulaic designs used in their most successful Barnum & Bailey Circus posters—close-ups and tight scenes of performers and animals, mostly without the owners depicted on the poster.



Figure 88. Color lithographic poster, *Highly Trained Texas Range & Ranch Saddle Horses in Entirely New & Sensational Acts*, 1907, by Strobridge, 27.5 x 37.375 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2701



Figure 89. Color lithographic poster, *Pioneer Perils in the Early Days of the Original Deadwood Stage Coach, An Attack by Hostile Indians and Rescue by the Cow Boys*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 28 x 37.75 inches. Courtesy, RMA. Ht2003922



Figure 90. Color lithographic poster, *The Hero Horsemen of the World, US Cavalry & Artillery Practice Drills & Military Evolutions*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 28.75 x 38.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. HT2003921



Figure 91. Original color lithographic poster, *The Barnum & Bailey World's Greatest Show, The World's Biggest, Greatest, Best Amusement Institute, Skillful Cavalry-Exercising and Wonderful Riding a Detachment of the United States Cavalry*, 1900, by Strobridge. Courtesy LOC. LC-USZC4-9040

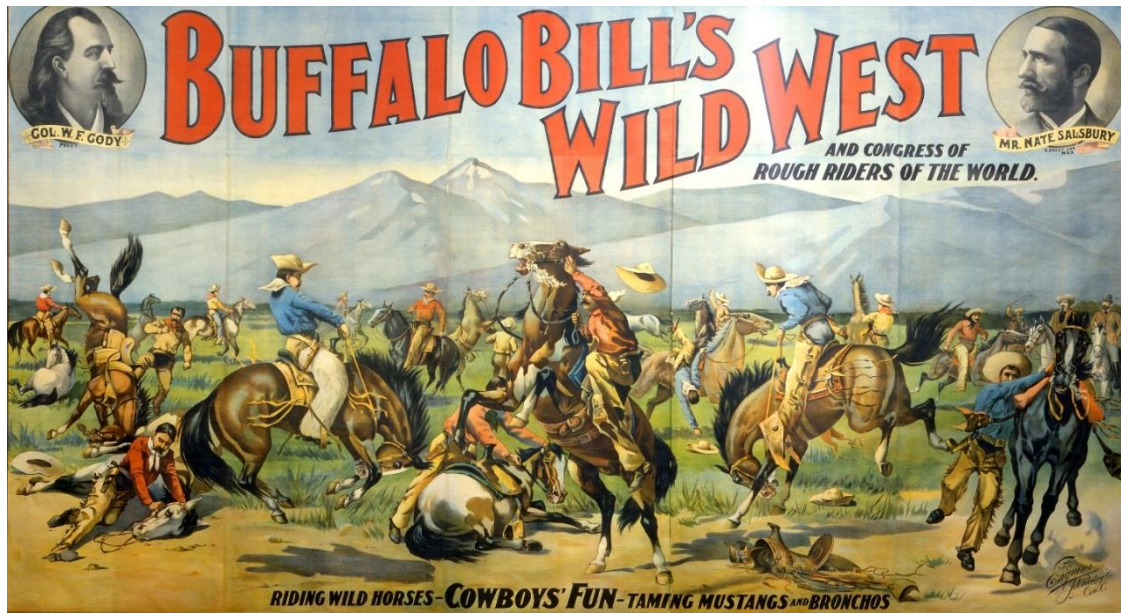


Figure 92. Color lithographic poster, *Cowboys' Fun*, c. 1898, by Enquirer, 109 x 202.75 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.1813



Figure 93. Color lithographic poster, *Cowboy Fun, The Broncho Busters Busy Day*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 28.5 x 38 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003923

Exclusive Strobridge for the Two Bills

A few Strobridge posters veered away from the company's standard circus lithographic posters, including *Arrow-head*, *The Belle of the Tribe*, two posters of *Chief Iron Tail*, and *A Spirited and Grotesque Gridiron Game of Foot-Ball on Horseback Between Cowboys and Indians*, all printed for the 1908 season. They were unique among the U.S. posters ever contracted for Cody's Wild West. The *Arrow-head* poster depicted a sole attractive, and seductively drawn portrait of a Native American young woman within the background of an Indian arrow-head with subtle shadowing to intensify the texture and three-dimensional nature of the weapon tip. She wore Native dress and jewelry, with a single eagle feather in a beaded headband. Like the drawings of young women for Charles Dana Gibson's illustrations of the same time, or a vaudeville heroine from a theatrical show, *Arrow-head* possessed a model-like poise and beauty, with luminous dark hair and deep-set eyes.³⁶ She was drawn with a backdrop of the dangerous arrow-head which framed her bust portrait and presented the intrigue of an exotic performer for the Wild West-Far East combination. Gertrude Kasebier's portraits of Zitkala-Ša (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) captured a similar character and both the Native and Western proud personas of a young Zitkala-Ša, a strong Native woman photographed in various settings of Victorian wallpapered rooms or dark backgrounds. The work of art and commercial photographer Rudolf Eickemeyer also conveyed modern beauty and signaled female celebrity presence in his 1906 photographs of model and Broadway performer Evelyn Nesbit commissioned by her lover Stanford White, the famed New York architect of the original Madison Square Garden and partner in the influential

³⁶*Collier's Weekly*, "Charles Dana Gibson, The Man and His Art, with a Brief but Entertaining Narrative of Two Gibson Girls," (New York: Collier's Weekly, 1903), p. 4. (This is a booklet composed of extracts and illustrations from *Collier's Weekly*.) Gibson's journal illustrations, which he termed the "ideal of young womanhood," inspired an advertising stereotype of American young womanhood in early 1900s. Strobridge's *Arrow-head* poster depicts the female portrait in quite a similar fashion.

McKim, Mead and White firm. Nesbit was photographed in a variety of costumes from historical 18th and 19th century women's clothing to Asian-inspired kimonos and Grecian-like flowing gowns.³⁷ In a similarly direct image, *Arrow-head* was presented as a new star of the combination show, and represented a focus on the "modern" Native woman performer which had not been promoted previously in the Wild West.³⁸ The new combination show also acknowledged the prominent performer, Chief Iron Tail, a long-time friend and performer in the Wild West for decades. Strobridge printed two 1908 posters of the chief for the Wild West and Two Bills combination, with one close-up portrait and a second a poster showing Iron Tail on horseback, entitled *A Tribe of Sioux Indians on the Trail led by Chief Iron Tail*. American Indians were omnipresent and central to the success of the Wild West from its inception, and were depicted on advertising materials, program covers and posters throughout the thirty-year run of the exhibition. The recognition and named prominence on the poster for the 1908 posters of Chief Iron Tail was a first for the Cody Wild West management. The two posters solidified the leadership role for Iron Tail among the Native performers traveling, and the marketing power of his performances to attract audiences to the grandstand. Through his association and friendship with Cody, his travel and performances with the Wild West, Iron Tail's face became one of the most recognizable Native personalities in the Two Bills performances. He was respected across the United States and Europe for his Sioux leadership and warrior ranking among the Plains Tribes. Lillie and the Strobridge artists accordingly acknowledged and elevated Chief Iron Tail's position within the poster production. Both of Iron Tail posters showed the chief in full regalia, with warrior headdress and a Western-style shirt and scarf. The artistic interpretation of Iron

³⁷Mary Panzer, *In My Studio: Rudolf Eickemeyer, Jr., and the Art of the Camera, 1885-1930* (New York: Hudson River Museum, 1986), pp. 8-11. Eickemeyer's portraits of vaudeville celebrity Evelyn Nesbit were posed as romantic fantasies, but also seemed to reflect a confident spirit in the young American woman.

³⁸Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors*, p. 18; and, Accession files, Photographic History Collection, NMAH.

Tail's face was consistent in both posters, and possibly based on the portraits taken by New York photographer Gertrude Käsebier in 1898.³⁹ (See Chapter 3, Figures 29 and 30) The Strobridge artists achieved highly detailed and life-like portraits of Arrow-head and Chief Iron Tail, and in a style closely aligned to the type of poster later used consistently in the motion picture industry, showing starring actors for individual movies. The final atypical poster image produced for the combination by Strobridge was a lithograph with a close-up detail for the program segment featuring cowboys and American Indians on horseback in a lively game that involved kicking a huge ball across the arena, cowboys to the left and the Indians to the right. The "kick-off" was detailed in a box drawn at the upper right of the title with one cowboy on horseback and the horse's back legs extended to hard kick the ball to the waiting teams. The poster background included faint mountains, implying that this was a regular occurrence in the American West, and not merely a gimmick for the Wild West program. Weapons were replaced with the *Kick-ball* for this poster.

Wild West Transitions

1907-1908 saw a transition of the Wild West primary poster contracts from Courier and Enquirer, to Strobridge, with some overlap in production. One poster title with a similar design was attributed to both the Courier and Strobridge companies. Each produced *The Great Train Hold-Up and Bandit Hunters of the Union Pacific* in 1907. Both Courier and Strobridge posters used a new show title, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pioneer Exhibition. This name was used on very few Wild West posters, and seemingly limited to the 1907 season. Strobridge had printed

³⁹Delaney, pp. 15-17.



Figure 93. Color lithographic poster, *Arrow-head, the Belle of the Tribe*, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East, 1908, by Strobridge, 28.25 x 18.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.457

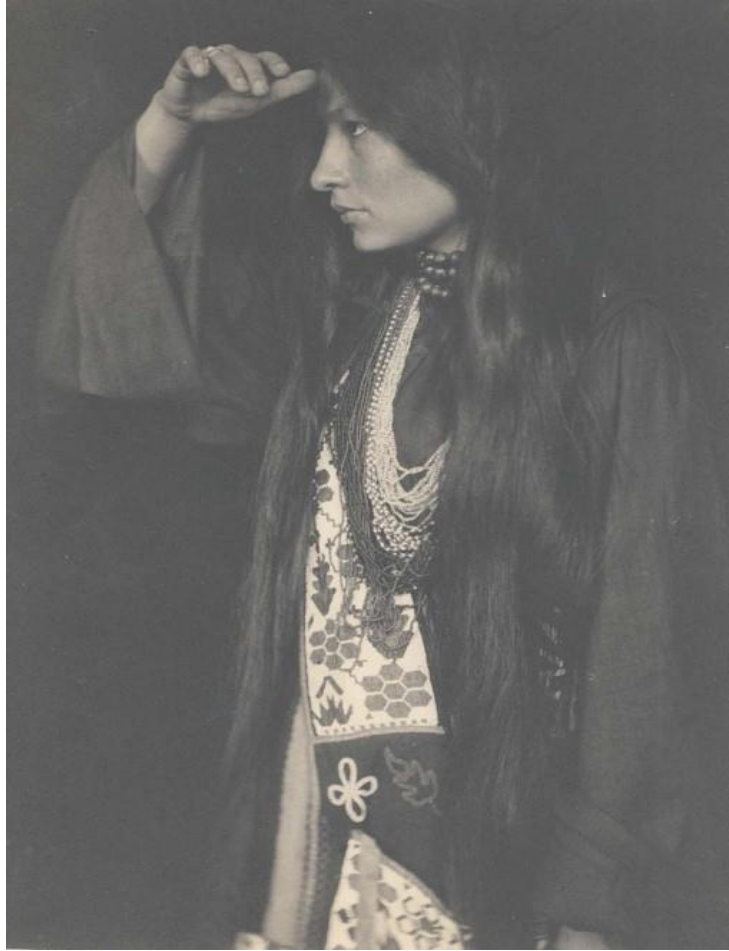


Figure 95. Platinum photograph, portrait of Zitkala-Ša, c. 1898, by photographer Gertrude Käsebier, New York. Courtesy PHC, NMAH. 69.238.103



Figure 96. Platinum photograph, portrait of Evelyn Nesbit, c. 1906, by photographer Rudolf Eickemeyer, Yonkers, New York. Courtesy PHC, NMAH. 4135.B5.24

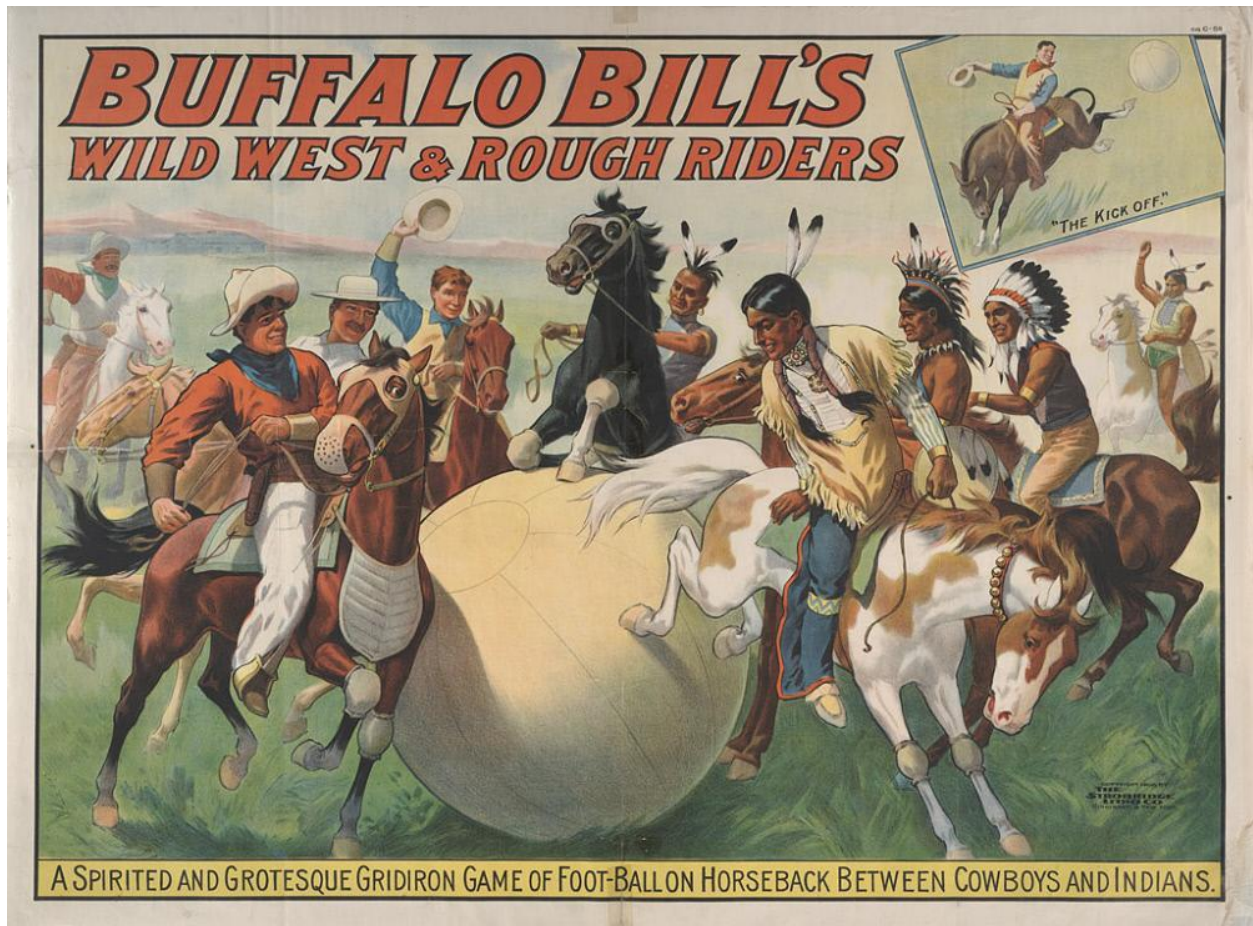


Figure 97. Color lithographic poster, *A Spirited and Grotesque Gridiron Game of Foot-Ball on Horseback Between Cowboys and Indians*, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Rough Riders*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 28.25 x 38 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003924

the poster for Scott Marble's play *The Great Train Robbery* in 1896, when it was first produced in New York. The intrigue of the robbery, death, and rescue of the play provided an appropriate drama and some comic relief for early motion pictures, including Edison Studios and Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery*, a silent movie which debuted in December 1903. It was a twelve-minute action-filled movie completed for an estimated \$150.00.⁴⁰ Like the movie, Strobridge's *Great Train Hold-Up* depicted an explosion of a small trunk of "valuables" at the front center of the image, with shocked men and horses close to it. The wide popularity of the theatrical production and motion picture probably influenced Cody's management team's selection for the scenario and reenactment in the Wild West Pioneer Exhibition. *Courier* (1907) and Strobridge (1908) also both printed posters based on the program re-enactment of the 1869 Battle of Summit Springs, when U.S. military and scouts rescued white settlers from the Cheyenne Indians and their leader Tall Bull. These two posters were quite similar. Tall Bull was shown with his gun tossed backwards, and his white horse rearing back and falling after shots fired from a scout at the lower left of the poster. *Courier's* poster was entitled *Death of Tall Bull*, while Strobridge's was called *Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Frontier Exhibition*, which reflected another change in name for the production. The *Courier Death of Tall Bull* poster showed extensive landscape in the foreground and background, which included the attention to the detail of the white horse rearing awkwardly, all muscles flexed, compared to the Strobridge portrayal of the horse, less intensely drawn with a smooth body and legs in the air in a familiar circus-like performance pose. The *Death of Tall Bull* lithograph conveys a stark and bold reality, unlike the

⁴⁰Roger Hall, *Performing the American Frontier, 1870-1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 182-83, 224; and, see the fully restored original film, "The Great Train Robbery," at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuto7qWrplc>, accessed July 15, 2018.

Strobridge close-up of the horse and rider in cooler and subdued color tones. Strobridge's *Realistic Representation of the Historic Battle of Summit Spring* poster from 1907 for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pioneer Exhibition was a complicated and busy interpretation of the military raid on the Cheyenne Indian village. (See Schreyvogel painting, Chapter 1, Figure 11) A gray-haired heroic figure is at the center of the poster, looking much like Cody, surrounded by decorated tipis, while Indians and U.S. cavalrymen fight throughout the scene. At the far background is a lone figure shooting at a light-colored horse and Indian rider, possibly the figure of Tall Bull. Finally, the Strobridge *Here We Are Home Again from Foreign Lands* (1908) can be compared to the earlier *I Am Coming* poster printed by the Courier Company. Strobridge recycled the use of a single iconic buffalo with a circular inset of Cody's portrait overlaid on the buffalo's mid-section to reintroduce the Wild West exhibition to the American public after four years on tour in Europe. The older gray-haired Cody portrait was used for both posters, and became a familiar image in the final years of the Wild West advertisements. The original concept of the *I Am Coming* poster (See Chapter 4, Figure 65) appeared in 1875 with a woodcut poster that illustrated P. T. Barnum for his circus promotion, with animals and carts at the border of the poster.⁴¹

One Strobridge poster fully introduced the Cody-Lillie partnership with the large circular image of the "Two Bills" surrounded by Western acts and Eastern exotic animals. Cody, the elder showman, was prominently drawn and placed first, with Lillie's more youthful image in the background of the black circle at center of the poster. The Wild West was also given "top" billing across the uppermost edge of the poster. Lillie's troupe included Asian-influenced acts and animals not previously exhibited with Buffalo Bill's Wild West. In 1909, the *Marvelous*

⁴¹Wittmann, *Circus and the City*, p. 59.

Musical Elephants poster was produced by Strobridge and highlighted Alfred Rossi's trained animal act with eight "talented" female performers, riding the elephants or dancing with their instruments. Pawnee Bill's Great Far East received top billing over the Wild West at the bottom of the Rossi Elephant poster. The next posters printed by Strobridge which incorporated William F. Cody's likeness were not made until 1916. "Buffalo Bill (Himself)" was by then an act and contracted with the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Shows. "The Military Pageant Preparedness" was the theme of the Strobridge posters, as the U.S. readied itself for possible entry into World War I. U.S. Cavalry exercises were prevalent in the artwork created for the pre-belligerency posters. Cody's figure was only included in one of the four extant posters now in the collection of the RMA. The years leading up to World War I saw continued evolution in show advertising posters and promotional materials, and the launch of mass advertising techniques. Photo-mechanical reproduction continued to advance, and half-tone screen reproductions and color separation allowed even more modern techniques in lithography to produce higher quantities more quickly. The critical "modern eye" and trends were changing, as Europe had seen a decade previously, obliging Strobridge and competing lithographers to modernize their designs, and consider artwork for the WWI "Preparedness" campaigns of 1915 -1916.⁴²

Strobridge, Enquirer, Courier, Hoen, and all the most prominent American lithographic printing firms had grappled with the changing nature of popular art and poster production from the 1890s forward. This was an international phenomenon, as French and British printers led the modern art trends in poster production for theatrical and commercial sales. Art historian Ruth E. Iskin has discussed the crucial role of the poster in the later nineteenth century visual culture and

⁴²David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) [Commemorative edn.], pp. 3-45.

modernity in *The Poster Art: Advertising, Design and Collecting*. The medium had reached a decisive moment. Iskin's research "proposes that the illustrated poster, during its formative stage, occupied a unique position at the crossroads between fine art, reproductions, and the emerging fields of graphic design and advertising, and popular culture."⁴³ The French artists Jules Chéret and Toulouse-Lautrec, the Moravian Alphonse Mucha, and the British illustrator Aubrey Beardsley were leaders among the European artists whose work influenced and elevated the growing popularity and commercial impact of modern, abstract, stylised and minimalist art posters from the 1890s to the 1920s. Strobridge management observed new trends in art and new techniques in lithography and continued both to diversify its print work and improve its processes. The Cincinnati firm managed the continued production of its circus and traveling show posters, and also sought to enhance the impact of its art-inspired posters and advertising posters for commercial products at the start of the twentieth century. When Strobridge created the final advertising poster conveying the portrait of "Buffalo Bill" Cody in 1916, it marked the end of the evolution of the most prominent and recognizable image of a single individual in the history of the American West.

⁴³Ruth E. Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting 1860s - 1900s* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2014), p. 1.



Figure 98. Color lithographic poster, *The Death of Chief Tall Bull*, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, 1907, by Courier, 108 x 121.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.538

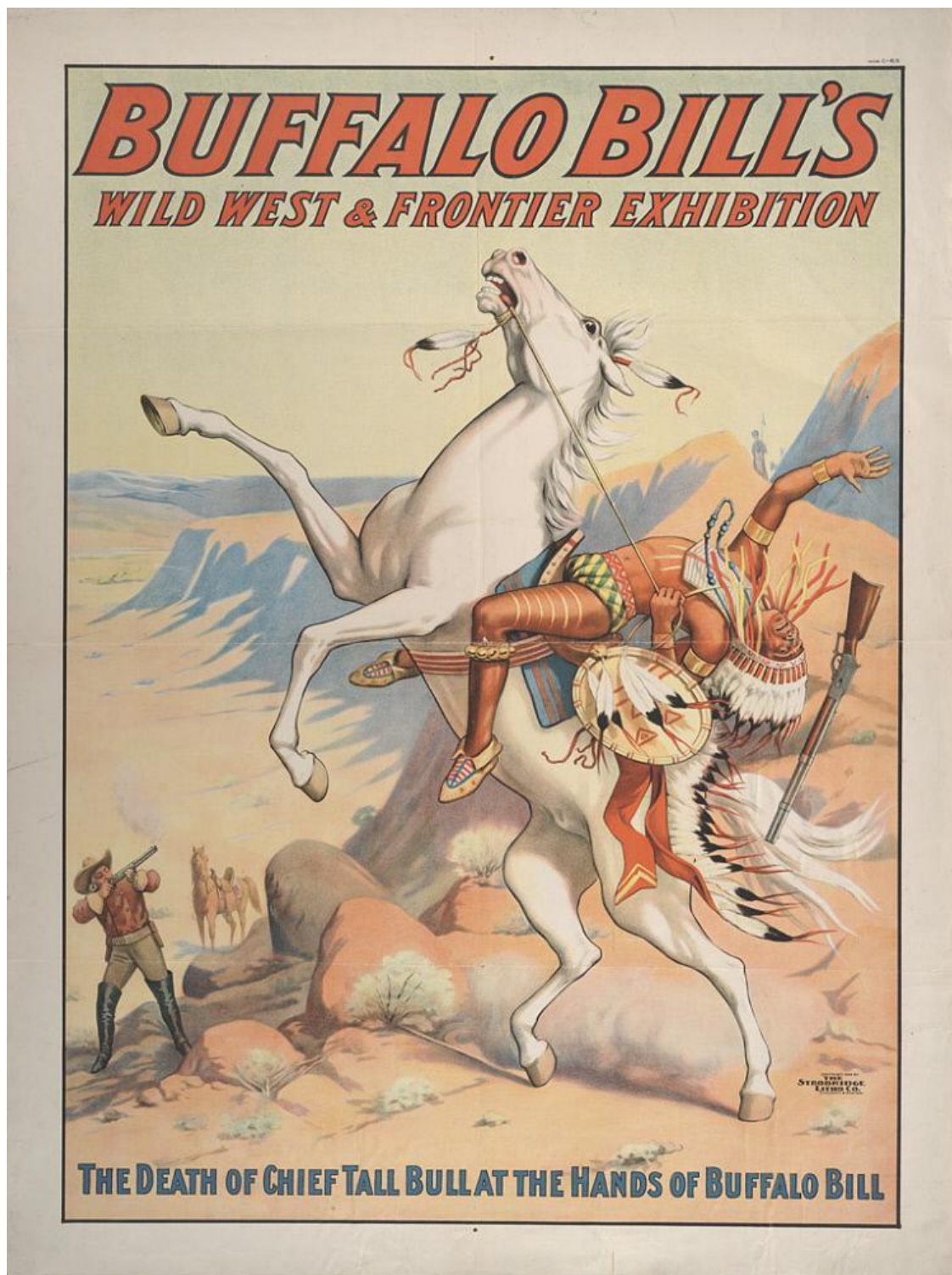


Figure 99. Color lithographic poster, *The Death of Chief Tall Bull at the Hands of Buffalo Bill*, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Frontier Exhibition*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 40 x 30 inches. Courtesy RMA. HT2003926

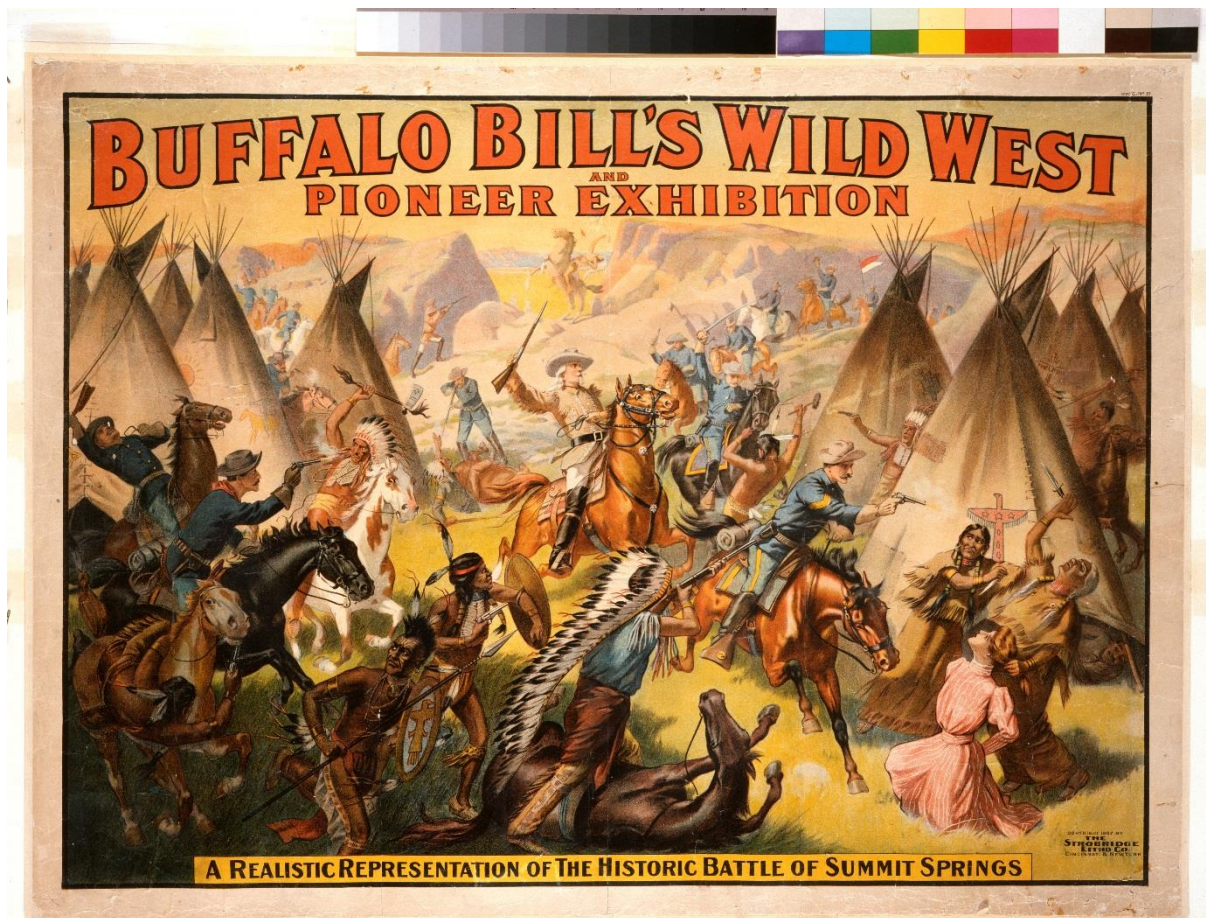


Figure 100. Color lithographic poster, *A Realistic Representation of the Historic Battle of Summit Springs*, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West & Pioneer Exhibition*, 1907, by Strobridge, 28.125 x 38.25 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2033



Figure 101. Color lithographic poster, *Here We Are! Home Again from From Foreign Lands*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 29 x 38.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003925



Figure 102. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, 1908, by Strobridge, one sheet, 40 x 29.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003994



Figure 103. Color lithographic poster, *Pawnee Bill's Great Far East Combined with Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Hons. Alfred Rossi's *Marvelous Musical Elephants*, 1909, by Strobridge, one sheet, 30.25 x 40 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2004003



Figure 104. Color lithographic poster, *The Military Pageant—Preparedness, U.S. Cavalry Drill, Buffalo Bill (Himself) and the 101 Ranch Shows Combined*, 1916, by Strobridge, 27.5 x 37.5 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2004011



Figure 105. Color lithographic poster, *The Military Pageant--Preparedness, Gorgeously Picturesque Military & Frontier Parade, Buffalo Bill (Himself) and the 101 Ranch Shows Combined*, 1916, by Strobridge, one sheet, 30.25 x 40 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2004012

Chapter 6

Wild West Diplomacy and Going Global

American international influence, visibility, prestige and diplomacy in the late nineteenth century derived from traditions and behaviors that differed from those of the Old World powers, and were driven less by politicians and diplomats than by entrepreneurs and cultural ambassadors. William “Buffalo Bill” F. Cody combined both of those roles and led the Wild West Co. to develop a brand of diplomacy beyond what any U.S. presidents or secretaries of the U.S. Department of State could imagine, in the way he marketed and celebrated advances in American imperialism to an audience of millions.¹ The Wild West performances in the second half of the production’s thirty-year run introduced national and international audience members to an interpretation of the world as a global community. Each day and night, grandstands were filled with audiences who were treated to the skills of Buffalo Bill’s performers, especially the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, who introduced a theatrical presence based on the military heroism of cavalry units from the U.S., Europe, the Middle East, and later even Asia. The feats and skills displayed by the diverse military men were a program spectacle that rivaled the prominence of the traditional cowboy and Indian acts in the early years of the Wild West and the international flavor was to continue into the Wild West’s final phase, when Cody’s performances were contracted with other circus and frontier-type shows between 1913 and 1916.

¹See Paul Fees, “Wild West Shows: Buffalo Bill’s Wild West,” at <https://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/wild-west-shows/>, accessed February 10, 2018. Fees was formerly curator of the Buffalo Bill Museum. The grandstand for the Wild West held up to 20,000 seats for audiences daily. With this capacity, the Wild West could sell as many as 2,000,000 tickets per year, at its peak.

The yearly Wild West programs were adapted to include complicated performances by surviving soldiers and cavalymen of the Spanish-American War, additional military teams of European cavalry, the nomadic Arab Bedouin horseman of the Middle Eastern desert, and, ultimately, Asian-themed military acts when joined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East, during 1909-1913. The Wild West thus developed a corps of performers who represented aspects of the changing role of the U.S. in the world; the Rough Riders performed both together and separately by unit, and daily portrayed a visual interpretation in the arena of engagements between military units of the U.S., its allies and enemies, real and potential, invoking expanding American international diplomatic entanglements and the complex imperialist tensions of the new century.

By 1900, news reports of Wild West performances noted that “the spectacle has been made more military than ever, with none of the wilderness of its Western features omitted.”² Cody had successfully contracted and maintained a camp of international military performers who lived together in the Wild West village, worked side-by-side, and traveled thousands of miles across the U.S. and Europe together. Cody could now entertain heads of state throughout the Wild West tours in Europe with a show that symbolized the developing military prowess and preparedness of the United States. The Wild West had thus evolved over three decades from a focused presentation of the American West—a cowboy and Indian showcase of merged myths and realities of the region—to a display of marksmanship, horsemanship, and military strength across nations and continents. The Wild West transformed from a post-Civil War traveling production, which brought to life the people and challenges of the American West for the entertainment of a reunited nation, to an international exhibition of military tactics in an imperial

²“Buffalo Bill is Here: Wild West Show Will Entertain the Veterans,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 27, 1900.

age. In this phase, the promotional advertising and visual materials produced for each tour season documented the increasing emphasis on the Congress of the Rough Riders of the World, enabling the development of a form of Buffalo Bill's Wild West diplomacy and internationalism, in presenting a theatrical account of U.S. imperial destiny for audiences to witness and consider.³

Wild West diplomacy extended from the advertised premise, "From Prairie to Palace," which followed the national celebrity of Buffalo Bill Cody as he made the transition from government scout and rancher to entrepreneur and peacetime performer.⁴ Cody led his troupe across the U.S. and Europe as an ambassador of international "amity," a peacetime envoy of culture, even though his production was dominated by marksmanship skills and military strength. The Wild West village was an international camp with communal living and dining, where sometime rivals ate under the same tent and lived a shared experience for six months every year. Audiences were able to walk through the village each day before the arena performance. There, visitors saw the American Indians and their families, as they lived in tipis and wore traditional tribal clothing in the camp and during their performance. Cowboys and South American gauchos presented themselves authentically with their clothing style, scarves, and hats. International

³A century after William F. Cody's death in 1917, historians continue to interpret the significance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West touring in Europe between 1887 and 1906, with an enlarged cast of international military acts, and program segments reflecting the rise of American imperialism. See, for example, Frank Christianson, "Introduction," in Christianson, ed., William F. Cody, *The Wild West in England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), i-xxxv, 44-61; Roger A. Hall, *Performing the American Frontier, 1870-1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1-21, 138-67; Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), pp. 65-122; Matthew Rehorn, *Pioneer Performers: Staging the Frontier 1829-1893* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 1-23, 149-51; Robert W. Rydell and Robert Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World: 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 1-42, 105-117.

⁴This advertising phrase was used initially on the color lithographic poster, *World's Wondrous Voyages*, c. 1892, printed by the A. Hoen & Company and in associated programs now in the BBM, BBCW, 1.69.167.

cavalry units wore their respective countries' uniforms and arms. Cody presided over the international camp as leader, mentor, and often friend.⁵

Wild West International

Lithographs designed for advertising the Wild West, including those for European tours, continued to reflect scenes from Cody's life and the Rough Riders' skills. Beginning with the A. Hoen & Co. printer contracts with the Wild West Co., small-format window display lithographic prints were created for publicity in the 1880s. Advance men hired for the Wild West used images of international groups performing with the Rough Riders to promote the foreign acts. Prominent Americans and foreign heads of state acknowledged Cody's success during private and public meetings and frequented grandstands to see local performances. The tours to England in 1887 and European seasons in the early 1890s drew international and royal audiences to see Cody's marksmanship, stories of the American West and cowboys and multi-national cavalrymen in fast-action drills and dramatic trick riding.⁶

In *Gunfighter Nation*, Western historian Richard Slotkin synthesized this popular attraction: "The appeal of the Wild West could only be enhanced by representing it as a kind of

⁵Articles and press clippings documenting the arrival and daily performances of the Wild West were collected and compiled throughout the history of the tour. See William F. Cody Scrapbook Collection, MRL, BBCW. See, for example, "Rough Riders of the World: Horsemen of Many Nations to Show Their Skill at Buffalo Bill's Show," *New York Times*, May 6, 1894; "Crowd at the Wild West: The Exhibition at Ambrose Park Continues to be Well Patronized," *New York Times*, June 10, 1894; "The Warriors of All Nations: A Military Masterpiece Enacted by Real Soldiers," *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Times*, May 6, 1899; and, "An Ethnological [sic.] Congress: Rough Riders from Everywhere and a Host of Military Heroes," *Wilkes-Barre Times*, May 13, 1899.

⁶See online digital reproduction of the original *Souvenir Album of the Visit of Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the American Exhibition London 1887*, in the MRL, BBCW, <http://codyarchive.org/memorabilia/wfc.mem00276.html>, accessed February 3, 2018. This program includes thorough details of the American Exhibition location, map, and overall design, the Wild West running order and images, and recounts the Queen's visit and interactions with the performance and performers.

cultural embassy from the New World to the Old—an exhibition of all the exotic American types that had piqued European imaginations since [James Fenimore] Cooper, if not since Columbus.”⁷ Upon the Wild West’s return to America for the 1893 season, the overall importance of the Rough Riders to the expanded program was secured. Situated in an arena adjacent to Chicago’s Columbian World’s Exposition, Cody’s troupe performed as usual the American West segments with cowboys and the American Indians, but the emphasis on new presentations of the Rough Riders further defined a change in the program planning for future years, and this impacted on the visual advertising in ways that built on the monumental success of the 1893 season. While Frederick Jackson Turner lectured inside the Exposition and interpreted the closing of the American frontier, Cody performed outside the gates of the White City as an American leader of international troops. The phenomenon of Buffalo Bill Cody and the performances provided a contextual tableau that more than hinted at America’s changing role in the world. The art and advertising of the Wild West conveyed a vibrant message of historic nation-building and determined imperialism. Always a central figure in the performances, Cody solidly remained the public face of the Wild West, but in his Rough Riders he commanded a powerful, influential, and diverse military team. The U.S. remained racially and ethnically segregated in the years after the Civil War, but the Wild West performed as integrated and representative aggregation of global citizenry. Joy Kasson argues persuasively that in Chicago “the 1893 Wild West had found a place for itself in the increasingly hierarchical cultural milieu of modernizing America.”⁸

Cody and his team fostered what at the time was a unique and deliberate mission to represent an American perspective on the world which was Western-centric, but tolerant. This

⁷Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), p. 75.

⁸Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, pp. 121; Matthew Reborn, *Pioneer Performers*, pp. 4-5.

was counter to the reality of America at the turn of the century, but audiences continued to pay admission to see the rugged Western Cowboys, the exotic Native Americans, and the foreign cavalymen stride together to present the “maze” of nations at every performance. Individuals who would be segregated in everyday living situations in the United States co-existed and lived in close quarters at the Wild West village and performed together to the daily applause of thousands in the grandstands. It was intended to be an educational and combined theatrical opportunity that Cody and his managers sought and negotiated. The impact and the special characteristics of the Wild West resonated beyond the usual traveling production. Without paying overt attention to the daily racial tensions of the American society, Cody’s goodwill and entrepreneurial skills focused a community-building emphasis within the Wild West, one that paralleled the logistical day-to-day existence of the cast and crew needed to achieve the production. Cody’s leadership and personal diplomacy allowed the continuation of his yearly U.S. Government contracts which enabled the participation of American Indians, some of whom worked for him for decades. His personal style of leadership also secured the the best advance men and managers to travel the world to persuade performers and soldiers to join the Wild West on what was termed, in a lithographic poster in 1892, the “World’s Wondrous Voyage.” (See Chapter 4, Figure 52).⁹

Artistic directors and artists at A. Hoen & Co. capitalized on the public interest in the transatlantic adventures of the Wild West and the Rough Riders and created a lithographic poster map to advertise the tour’s success and to represent as much of the American and European itinerary as possible. Going “From Prairie to Palace,” the text on the map declared, Cody and his

⁹Christianson, “Introduction” to Cody, *The Wild West in England*, pp. xviii-xxx.

performers had camped on two continents and “traveled 63,000 miles or nearly three times about the globe.” Beautiful American city landmarks and international locales were depicted along the edges of the lithograph, encouraging viewers to consider the great vast world beyond their own shores. Tour routes were highlighted in red and blue across the U.S., the Atlantic Ocean, and across Europe. The figure of Cody was positioned at the far left looking out over the entire map, with American Indian figures featuring prominently in three sections of the poster, and a cowboy on bucking bronco at the lower right. The expanding Rough Riders were not included specifically in this lithograph, but many of the European countries from which they originated were depicted. Cody had brought his own brand of diplomacy and globalism to every city and town where the Wild West performed. Strongly rooted in the task of depicting the internal struggles of the nineteenth century American West, Cody’s Wild West nimbly adjusted to become a model for twentieth century mass entertainment and made itself relevant to modern American interests. Program segments mirrored fast-paced motion picture-like frames, with races and military maneuvers, and at the same time advanced a new international image for the U.S.

When the *Scenes from the Life of Col. William F. Cody ‘Buffalo Bill’* duotone lithograph was produced in 1895, the episodes of Cody’s life were presented visually to interpret both a transnational journey and American cultural influence at the royal courts of Europe. The one-sheet black and white poster recorded one man’s personal journey from small-town middle America to impressive audiences with the kings and queens of Europe—Britain’s Queen Victoria, the King and Queen of Belgium, German Kaiser Wilhelm II and his Court, French President Marie François Sadi Carnot and his Cabinet, and Italian King Umberto I and his Court. Cody’s portrait was centered at the top middle of the lithograph, as often presented, and his first

cabin on the Platte in Nebraska drawn into the poster to the left. Cody long held his ranch in North Platte, which was characteristic of the man who returned to his American western homes as often as possible during the off-season. Detailed drawings of Cody's scouting with distinguished U.S. generals across the American West in the years after the Civil War were also prominently presented on the poster, which included famous military figures, such as Philip Sheridan, William T. Sherman, George A. Custer, Winfield S. Hancock, Nelson A. Miles, and Wesley Merritt. Many of these generals penned statements of support for the Wild West programs, in honor of Col. Cody's dedication to the U.S. military expeditions into the Western frontier following the Civil War. But it was Chicago's White City, site of the 1893 Columbian World's Fair that was positioned at the center of the poster. The single most successful season of the Wild West was accomplished there. It was the pinnacle of the production financially, and the turning point for the expansion of more diverse program segments in later years of the production with the Rough Riders. The incorporation of performances by international cavalry troops and horsemen started during the 1892 European tour in Germany, continued for the entire run of the show, and escalated during the years of the Wild West in combination with Pawnee Bill's Far East and then Miller Brothers and 101 Ranch shows through 1916.¹⁰ Selected American presidents are also included with circular portraits on the poster—Benjamin Harrison, Ulysses S. Grant, Chester Arthur—but there is little documentation to indicate presidential visits with Cody, or any presidential visits to the Wild West performances. The Wild West publicity team was more highly focused on the exchanges with the European royals, and reprinted the images of kings, queens, princes, princesses, dukes and duchesses in show posters and programs

¹⁰Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, pp. 79-87.

along with landmarks of European cities visited, including, Earl's Court in London, Windsor Castle, the Eiffel Tower, Mt. Vesuvius, and the Vatican.

Queen Victoria and the Wild West

Queen Victoria's 1887 Jubilee, celebrating the 50th year of her reign, coincided with the first opportunity for Cody and Salsbury to consider a tour across the Atlantic. The 1886 Wild West season at Madison Square Garden, New York, established the market success of the production, and this was noticed by traveling show competitor James A. Bailey. The Barnum and Bailey Circus had already toured Great Britain, and Bailey contacted Cody and Salsbury with an offer not to be refused. Bailey was interested in owning a percentage of the Wild West and, as part of the negotiated arrangement, the Wild West Company would have access to train routes across Great Britain that had been created for Barnum and Bailey. The terms were negotiated with Cody and the management team who accepted Bailey's terms.¹¹ The Wild West would make their first tour to Great Britain, camping and performing at the 1887 American Exhibition at Earl's Court. Within five years of starting the Wild West, Cody and Salsbury now carried their entire touring operation to Great Britain by ship. American Indians performers endured the rough seas with the rest of the troupe, and were introduced to English life and society. They were greeted with as much intrigue and interest abroad as they were when they performed in the Wild West at home in the United States. English and European audiences craved the experience of the production as much as Americans, including royalty. While they performed at the American Exhibition at Earl's Court,

¹¹Louis E. Cooke in *Newark [N.J.] Evening Star*, Aug. 5, 1915.

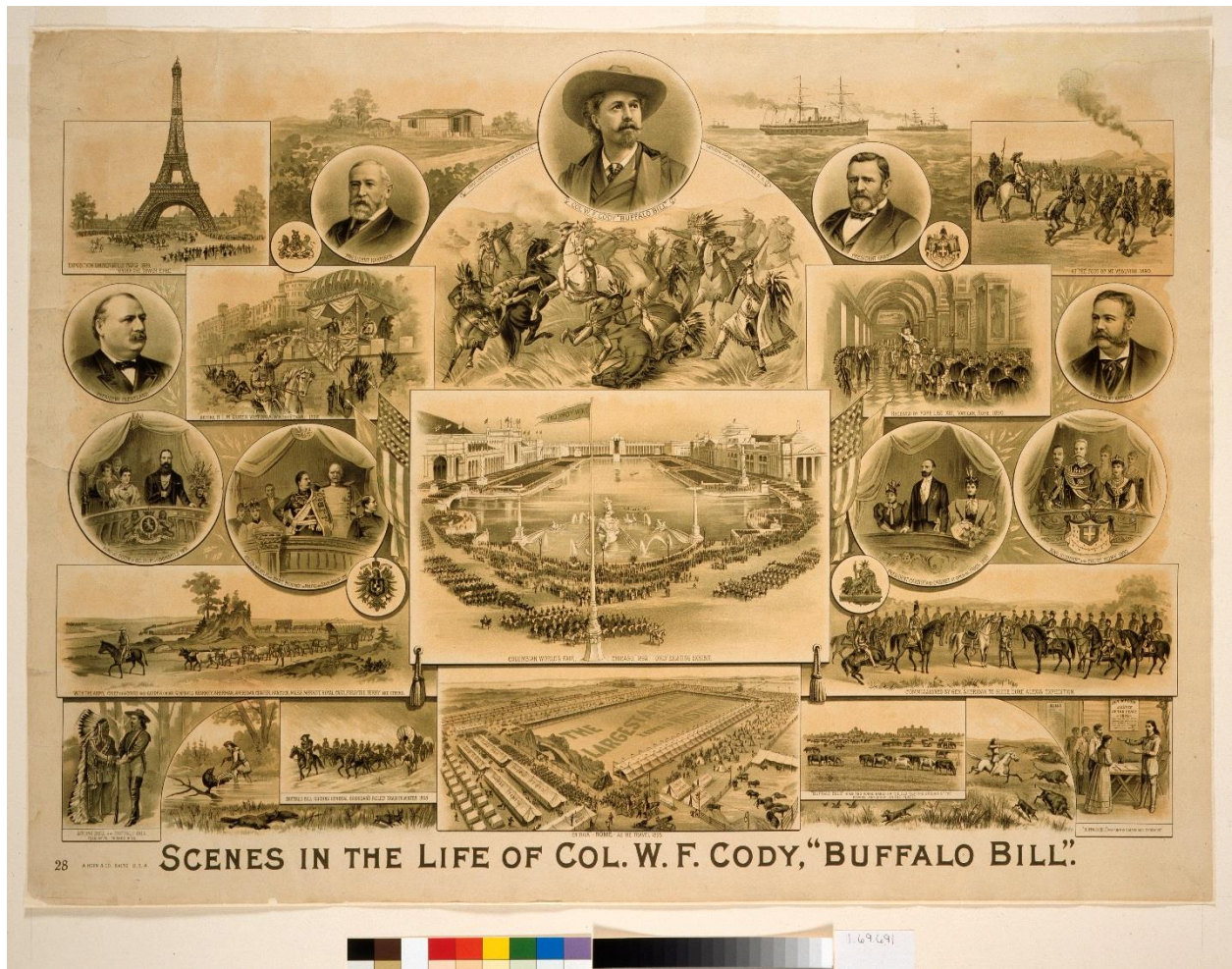


Figure 106. Duotone lithographic poster, *Scenes from the Life of Buffalo Bill*, c. 1895, by Hoen, 28.375 x 39 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.169

the Wild West become a known favorite for royals to visit.¹² The Wild West publicity team produced posters to commemorate these visits in their “Distinguished Visitors, London” color lithographs depicting the royal men and women who visited and viewed the Wild West – visits at which the cast and management were presented to most of these European rulers. Bust profile portraits of multiple ladies and gentlemen of European courts were included on the Hoen posters. (See Chapter 4, Figures 48 and 49.)¹³ When the press and audience response to the Wild West at Earl’s Court became known to Queen Victoria a request was made for a special performance, two days after the opening. Cody and his team performed for the Queen and twenty-five guests for 50 minutes, and she received Cody, selected Indians and staff for royal introductions. The *Souvenir Album of Her Majesty’s Queen Victoria’s Visit to the American Exhibition* is dominated by information and staff lists from the Wild West, including the shooting programs and marksmanship performed by Cody and Annie Oakley, and the cowboys and Indians horsemanship segments. The booklet identified the Wild West show as coming “from the Plains of America,” and listed it as “Designed to Illustrate the Life of the Frontiersman and the North American Indian.” The Wild West arena and the camp area within the American Exhibition space at Earl’s Court covered seven acres of space.¹⁴ The “Court Circular” from Windsor castle,

¹²Roger A. Hall, *Performing the American Frontier*, pp. 143-44.

¹³The A. Hoen & Co. Distinguished Visitors to the Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, London, 1887, posters for the Wild West included portraits of the Princess of Wales; Her Majesty Queen Victoria; Princess Beatrice, Battenberg; Princess Louise; Her Royal Highness Princess Mary Adelaide; the Queen of Belgians; Countess of Dudley; Grand Duchess Serge of Russia; Her Royal Highness Princess of Saxe-Meiningen; and the Duchess of Leinster. Male royals on the companion Hoen poster were the King of the Belgians; the King of Sweden; the King of Greece; Lord Wolseley; John Bright, M.P.; the King of Denmark; the King of Saxony; William Gladstone; and His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. Both posters included a center bust portrait of William F. Cody “Buffalo Bill”. BBM, BBCW collection, 1.69.458 and 1.69.459.

¹⁴*Souvenir Album of the Visit of Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the American Exhibition London 1887*, MRL, BBCW, <http://codyarchive.org/memorabilia/wfc.mem00276.html>, page 35, accessed Feb. 10, 2018.

dated May 12th, 1887, in the *Souvenir Album* described the Queen's viewing of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in detail:

The Queen, accompanied by their Royal Highnesses Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg, attended by the Dowager Duchess of Athole, General the Right Hon. Sir Henry Ponsonby, K.C.B., General Lynedoch Gardiner, and Colonel Sir Henry Ewart, K.C.B., Drove to the American Exhibition in South Kensington, yesterday afternoon, and witnesses the performances of the "Wild West" Exhibition.

The Queen witnessed the various performances on horseback of the Hunters and Indians of the Prairies, as well as feats of shooting by the men and by Miss Annie Oakley and Miss Lillian Smith. A war dance was also executed by the Indians, and the squaws brought their papooses to salute her Majesty... After the performance, Colonel the Hon. W.F. Cody had the Honour of being presented to the Queen by the Marquis of Lorne. Two of the Indian chiefs were also presented to the Queen.¹⁵

My current archival research has not located any photographs in public collections that would illustrate this important performance for the Queen, but one page of the *Souvenir Album*, captioned "Her Majesty Queen Victoria at the Wild West Exhibition," shows black and white

¹⁵Ibid., p. 36.

drawings of Cody on horseback bowing his head to the Queen, with an Indian on horseback at his left; a small child on horseback with a Vaquero style hat with hand to his chin; the Queen and court seated in the arena watching a performance, possibly the Attack on Settler's Cabin; the Queen receiving an American Indian woman and child; and finally, the Queen receiving a sole American Indian chief.¹⁶ The symbolism of the documented meeting with the Wild West American Indian performers was significant in that Victoria had been named the Empress of India in 1876, a further confirmation of Britain's colonial empire and her role as head of state of the world's greatest colonizer.¹⁷ More significant still, certainly for the British public, was that this appearance at a public event was the first for Queen Victoria since Prince Albert's death in 1861. This, in itself, was international news, and Cody's Wild West benefitted from the large press coverage that also acknowledged the Queen's reverent movement to bow for the American flag as the performance started. In a statement reeking of presumption and brilliant opportunism, Cody was quoted as saying, "All present were constrained to feel that here was an outward and visible sign of the extinction of the mutual prejudice, amounting sometimes almost to race hatred that had severed two nations from the times of Washington and George the Third to the present day. We felt the hatchet was buried at last and the Wild West had been at the funeral."¹⁸ Cody and his team remained in England until May 1888, performing for six months in London and staging additional shows in the provinces, including Manchester. Queen Victoria acknowledged

¹⁶Ibid., "The Programme of Exhibition Before the Queen," consisted of 14 selections completed in just fifty minutes on the evening of May 11, 1887: *Introduction*; *Race*—Cowboy, Indian, and Mexican; *Pony Express*—with Rider Mark Beardsley; *Rifle Shooting*—Lillian Smith; *Wing Shooting*—Annie Oakley; *Cowboys' Fun* with fifteen American Cowboys and Mexican Vaqueros; *Ladies Race*—Georgie Duffy and Della Ferrell; *Fancy Riding*—Emma Hickok; *Deadwood Stage Coach*—Driver Fred Mathews—Guard, John Nelson; *Indian Race*—Two Indian Boys; *War Dance*—85 Indians; *Horseback Shooting*—Colonel W. F. Cody; *Buffalo Hunt*; and, the *Attack on Settler's Cabin*—Principals, John Nelson and Mr. Frank Whittaker.

¹⁷Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 182-85.

¹⁸*Rennert Auction Rare Posters Catalog*, New York, Sept. 8, 2011, poster 111.

Cody himself and the Wild West as unique American export and entertainment with her attendance.

Upon their return to the U.S., Cody and Salsbury worked with the Wild West publicity agents and printing companies to derive the fullest benefit from the audience of the Queen in London. Two printing companies worked for the Wild West to visually convey the impact of the Queen's visit to Earl's Court. Hoen produced the smaller one-sheet duotone and color lithographic posters with bust portraits of the various royals who attended the show and met with Cody and his staff. Calhoun Print Co., of Hartford, Connecticut, was contracted to make the largest woodblock engraved poster which vividly memorialized the evening of May 11, 1887, a 32-sheet poster, 27 feet long x 9 feet 2 inches high. The Wild West introduced this larger format, one-scene massive advertisement, *Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, in 1887. The mammoth poster was created with a dramatic black background with dark highlights throughout the pivotal scene.¹⁹ Calhoun Print Co. used strong primary colors to dominate the printed huge final product, which could allow viewers to see it from far distances along streets, compared to the often muted and smaller Hoen posters sized for storefront window displays. As drawn by the Calhoun artists, Queen Victoria's small royal group was seated in the grandstands for their private performance, and seen to the extreme right in the poster. Queen Victoria wore a black mourning outfit and was sat in the middle of the front row, a bold red fringed fabric covering the railing in front of her. The younger princesses and duchesses were in more colorful dresses and hats, the princes and men in suits wearing top hats. Close to the royal group was a

¹⁹*Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Buffalo Bill's Wild West* is known to be held in at least two poster collections: Prints and Photographs Department, Library of Congress; and the BBM, BBCW. 1.69.6354, where it is on current display.

lone figure at the far right of the poster, Nate Salsbury, Cody's partner and vice-president of the Wild West Company. In thigh-high black riding boots, tan pants, red shirt, black jacket, blue bolo, and cowboy hat, Salsbury was depicted in a much more relaxed stance than usually seen in later publicity materials, where he appears in a top hat and suit most often. Salsbury's gaze was focused on his partner and star of the show, the dark-haired and youthful looking Cody with his horse, giving their signature bow to the crowd. Cody daily performed this respectful gesture towards the grandstand audiences, but on May 11, 1887, the important moment of acknowledgement was to the reigning Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The life-size Calhoun poster reflected the importance of the actual scene, an American celebrity and English monarch sharing a moment of mutual respect and admiration. Queen Victoria was in the presence of American Indians in full traditional dress with feathered headdresses, staffs, and some carrying weapons or wearing peace medals. The rugged American and Mexican cowboys are shown in full ranch attire. The Wild West horses were artfully drawn and shadowed in the Calhoun poster, with elaborate texturing and coloring for each, especially Cody's horse and those nearest the front and middle of the scene. The performers and Cody appeared more like a dense cavalry troop than nightly theatrical performers, but the Queen and her court are depicted watching graciously with apparent ease and acceptance. An American flag can be seen in the back left of the mounted performers. An inset at the lower left of the large poster "Grand Stand at London Seating 20,000 People" provided a contrast to the scene with Cody and Queen Victoria, and an indication to the poster's viewers of the lighted arena with a packed grand stand and arena procession of dozens of riders on horseback introducing the daily introductory maze of the show's performers, or possibly the Deadwood Stage Coach segment. This would be the experience for most audiences, not the special private performance for the

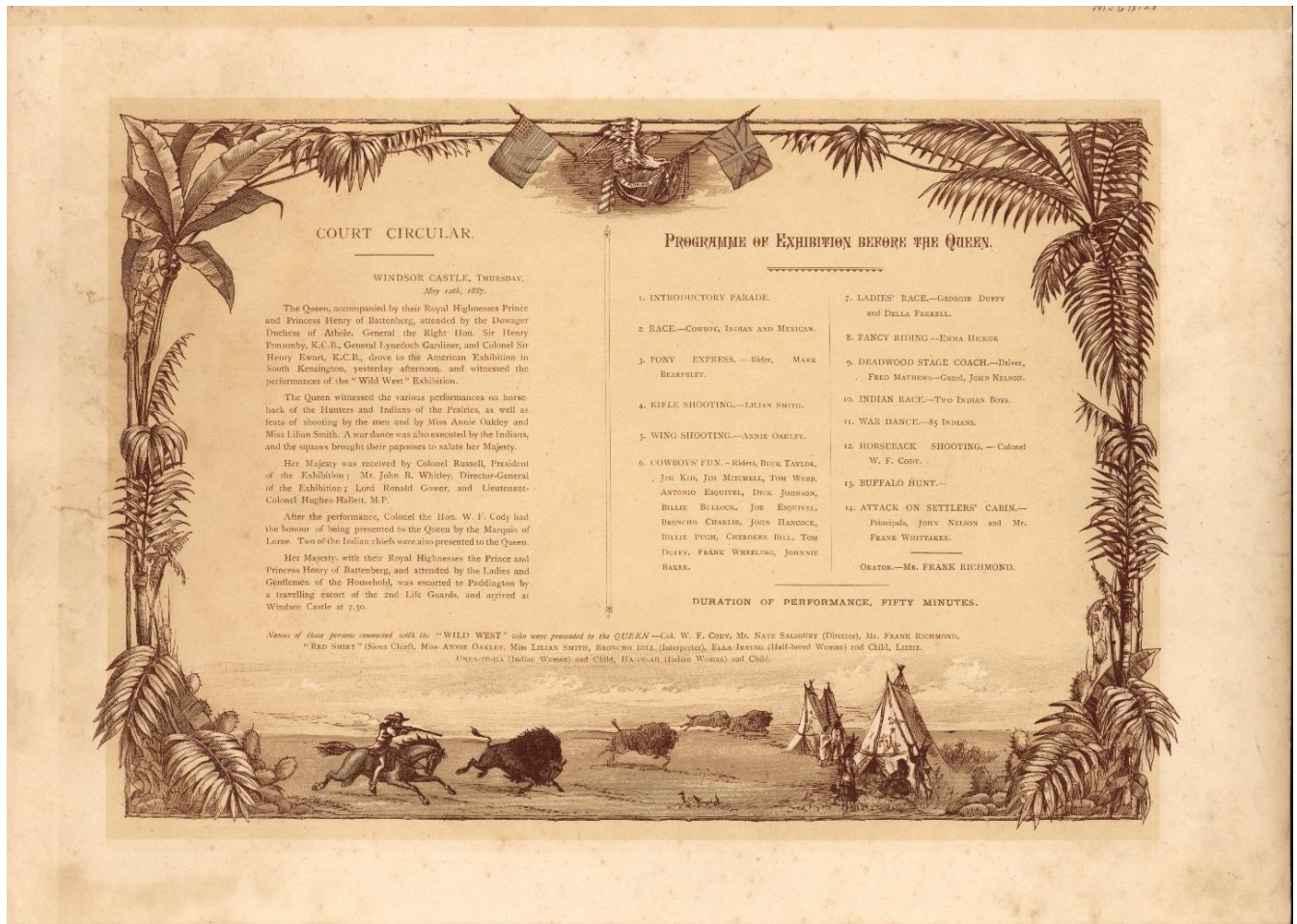


Figure 107. Program page, "Court Circular and Programme of Exhibition for the Queen," *Programme of Exhibition Before the Queen*, in the *Souvenir Album of the Visit of Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the American Exhibition London 1887, 1888*, published by Waterlow & Sons, Limited, London. Courtesy MRL, BBCW. MS6.3829.035



Figure 108. Photograph, Col. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody and his old war horse "Charlie," 1887, Wild West's first European tour, by Elliot & Fry, Baker Street, London, Courtesy WHC, DPL. NS-16



Figure 109. Woodblock engraved poster, *Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Buffalo Bill's Wild West, London, May 11th, 1887, 1888*, by Calhoun Print Co., Hartford, Connecticut, USA, 32-sheet poster, 27 feet x 9 feet 2 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.6354

Queen. The meeting of the American showman and the Queen provided years of potential marketing opportunities within the poster imagery and program narrative for the Wild West, and the whole experience was presented in the United States as continued evidence of international goodwill towards the United States that could be generated by through Cody's interpretation and re-enactments of life in the American West. The transcontinental success achieved in London and Manchester in 1887 confirmed the potential for future Wild West tours throughout Europe, and appears to have prompted Cody and his team to grasp the opportunity to reconsider the content of the yearly tours and to revise the performances and the cast, resulting in a far greater global emphasis in terms of both content and promotion.²⁰

Cody, Peace, and International Amity

The theme of "International Amity" was introduced into the visual imaging and promotional marketing for the Wild West with the success of the 1887 season. The newsworthy spirit of racial and ethnic coexistence of the traveling Wild West exhibition, especially between the American cowboys and Indians, was often highlighted in the press, acknowledging the message conveyed by both the arena presentations and tableaux moments, and by the daily living situation in the village camp. Cody always focused on building alliances, friendships and partnerships throughout his life. The expansion of the Wild West program, after the first five years and the London season, was indicative of the spirit of change and rebirth in his career and business efforts. His close relationship with the American military, as an Indian scout and Civil War cavalryman, allowed him long-standing access to, and relationships with high-ranking generals and officials in the U.S. Army. Cody's personal nature, both on and off the stage, was

²⁰Cody, *The Wild West in England*, pp. 44-49.

both open and accepting, and always entrepreneurial.²¹ Late 19th century international relations were highly sensitive, characterized by intense economic competition, regional rivalries and diplomatic alliances, and ostentatious displays of power, but Cody the businessman had the confidence to risk introducing a new military element into the Wild West following his meeting with Queen Victoria. Operating alternate tour seasons and extended periods in American and Europe, Cody worked with Salsbury, Bailey, and other close advisors in the Wild West Co. for an expanded program of military and equestrian feats and skills indicative of, as the company's promotional literature put it, a "strong desire for Universal Peace."²² The visual image perpetuated by the meeting of Cody and Queen Victoria was further interpreted by the Wild West as a virtual bringing together of nations, and of flags. After 1887, Cody and his team began a subtle, but continual and solid, restructure of the Wild West program. Each year from 1888 to the final seasons leading up to World War I, the Wild West expanded its military-type tournament features, adding them to the hallmark Wild West segments which audiences had come to expect. The U.S. Cavalry, Cody's own former comrades, were the first of the military marksmen and equestrian experts to be contracted and join the cast in the early 1890s. With the ending of the Indian Wars in the American West, the Wild West program gradually mirrored the

²¹See, for example, William F. Cody to John R. Brennan (agent for the Pine Ridge Reservation), June 18, 1909, DPL, William F. Cody Collection, Box 1, Series 1, FF 7. Cody specifically expresses fondness for the Ogalala Indians and Chief Iron Tail. Cody wrote, "Please remember me to Iron Tail or any of my red brothers."

²²1910 program, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Great Far East, printed by Courier, p. 30, MRL, BBCW. The article, "A Military Tournament Open to the World," described the "impetus" for Cody to add the Rough Riders and military reviews to the Wild West performances which continued in the combination show with Pawnee Bill's Far East. This 1910 program outlines that the US government supported grand military tournaments "in several localities," with up to 5,000 soldiers, to introduce the American public to army work and exercises. The author/s of the Wild West program noted that "it has been officially suggested that the U.S. government could well afford to subsidize the Wild West and perpetuate its school of usefulness in scientific horsemanship and military perfection." Over a twenty-year period, the Wild West increasingly offered "military elements" during the daily performances. The 1910 season featured an "animated tableau, a Peace Congress, of military representatives."

eventual American focus on the new frontiers of the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the Far East. Cody's celebrity was as strong as ever, as was that of his consistent cast of American and Mexican cowboys and Indians. The main Wild West program remained adaptive to ever-changing national and international situations, and ways were found to include relevant new segments. As Cody and Major Burke had orchestrated performer contracts for American Indians during some of the most tense and horrific final years of the Indian Wars, they were also adept negotiators and managers in dealing with the varied and charismatic international veterans and military representatives who joined the show after the first British tour. As was needed for all who joined the Wild West cast, the military men were introduced to the complicated program routines, rhythms, and expectations of their new leader, Cody. The Wild West continued to gain in reputation. However, historians Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes point out that by the German tour in 1890, the production was "refashioned into an imperial circus billed as 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World.'"²³ The ways in which it would evolve demonstrated Cody's awareness that popular culture was increasingly affected by world affairs and the narratives of conquest and civilization.

As the central figure of the Wild West, Cody brought together veterans from around the world. Photographs of the rehearsals and performances showed Cody in the middle of cavalrymen proudly displaying their national flags. The Wild West seasonal poster advertisements throughout the next two decades heralded the significance of the military tournament segments of the performances. In time for the 1893 Chicago season, the Wild West added the title to most posters, programs, and billings: the "Congress of Rough Riders of the

²³Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, p. 110.

World.”²⁴ This expanded title for the production also recognized the closing of the American frontier. Frederick Jackson Turner discussed his theories of the changing American West inside the White City of the World’s Columbian Exposition, while Cody and Salsbury led the new production just outside the Exposition. The Wild West benefitted from not only their proximity to the World’s Fair site but also the understanding of the American place within the global community.²⁵ Performances and the accompanying visual materials manipulated the evolution of Cody’s persona from that of the buffalo slayer and Indian scout to Cody the purveyor of American culture and the international diplomat. Whether Cody was leading two men or dozens of international cavalymen in the Wild West arena, he was the character beyond borders. British and French cavalry dominated the early additions of men to the Congress of Rough Riders. Britain and France were notably the first to welcome the international tours of the Wild West, when Wild West managers were able to conduct the negotiations with the respective governments and individual veterans to secure performers over the next several decades.

The Wild West production and Cody’s pervasive presence were emerging as purported international agents of peace and inclusivity. The captions at the bottom of the Hoen “International Amity” poster placed the 1887 *London Times* quote above Cody’s name: “Buffalo Bill has done his part in bringing America and England together.” French President Carnot’s statement – “A Factor of International Amity” – is also printed above Cody’s titles.²⁶ The Congress of Rough Riders expanded yearly, over the same period as US and international imperialist interests multiplied. American and Europeans audiences were introduced to the heroes of international military operations, and were thrilled by their weaponry, special feats, and

²⁴Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, pp. 79-80.

²⁵Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, p. 120.

²⁶Original color lithographic poster, BBM, BBCW. 1.69.171.

horsemanship, just as earlier audiences had marveled at the Wild West performances of cowboys and Indians during Cody's first years with the original version of the American West – years when bitter conflict with Indians was a vivid memory and to some extent a lingering reality. Weiners Printers in London and Paris followed Hoen's earlier design and created two posters related to "International Amity." The 1903 Weiners poster was a sole figure of Cody on a white horse in front of the American and French flags, with a title of only, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West." The 1905 Weiners lithograph for the Wild West and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World visually represented the "Entente Cordiale Entre La France et L'Amérique", as captioned beneath the poster image of Cody on white horse leading a French chasseur and American cavalryman with their respective flags, with a forest in the background. The slogan, "Entente Cordiale", also appears above the three male figures as if written in the clouds, in soft white letters with dark outlines. Cody and Weiners art directors here took liberty with goodwill associated with the 1904 Entente Cordiale, an understanding through which Britain and France expressed a shared belief in improved relations, the reduction of tensions concerning existing colonies, especially in North Africa, and the isolation of Germany.²⁷ This new understanding would prove important in the years leading up to World War I, and for a century thereafter. Cody and his team were presuming to project their own Wild West brand of diplomacy and global engagement through their steady program development, wider inclusion of military performers, and broader tours of Western and Eastern Europe in the early years of the twentieth century.

Cody's personal brand of diplomacy was initiated with the expanding nature of the Wild West, and was always business-oriented, primarily, and yet it would not have resonated deeply

²⁷Richard Mayne, Douglas Johnson, and Robert Tombs, eds., *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. xii.



Figure 110. Photograph, "Buffalo Bill" Cody on horseback with two mounted cavalrymen carrying large flags, c. 1885-1900. Courtesy Nate Salsbury Collection, DPL. NS-11

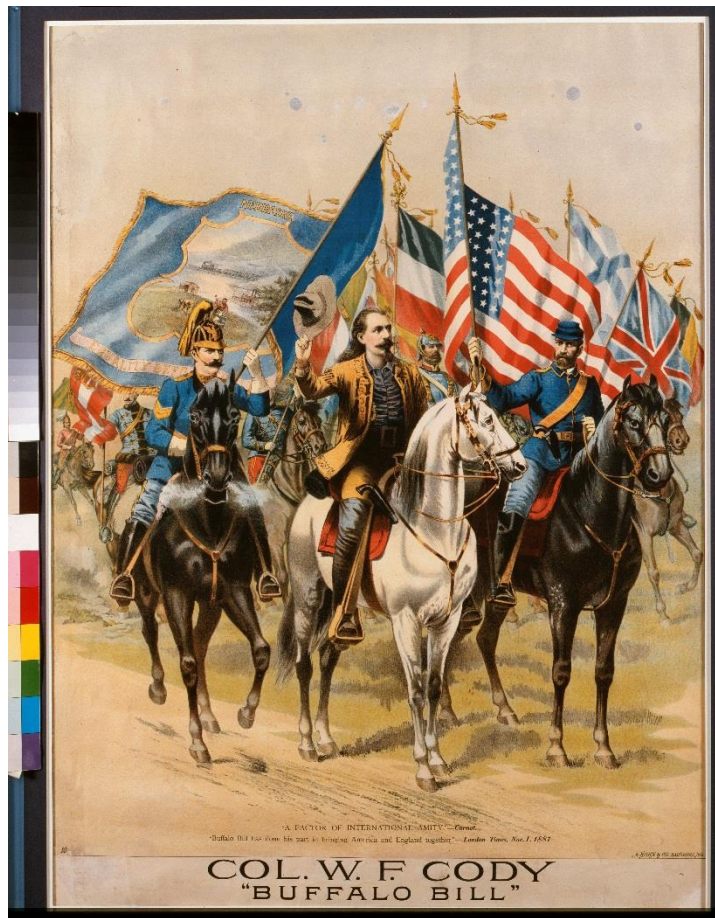


Figure 111. Color lithographic poster, *International Amity*, 1887, by Hoen. 38.5 x 28 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.171 (duplicate Figure 47)

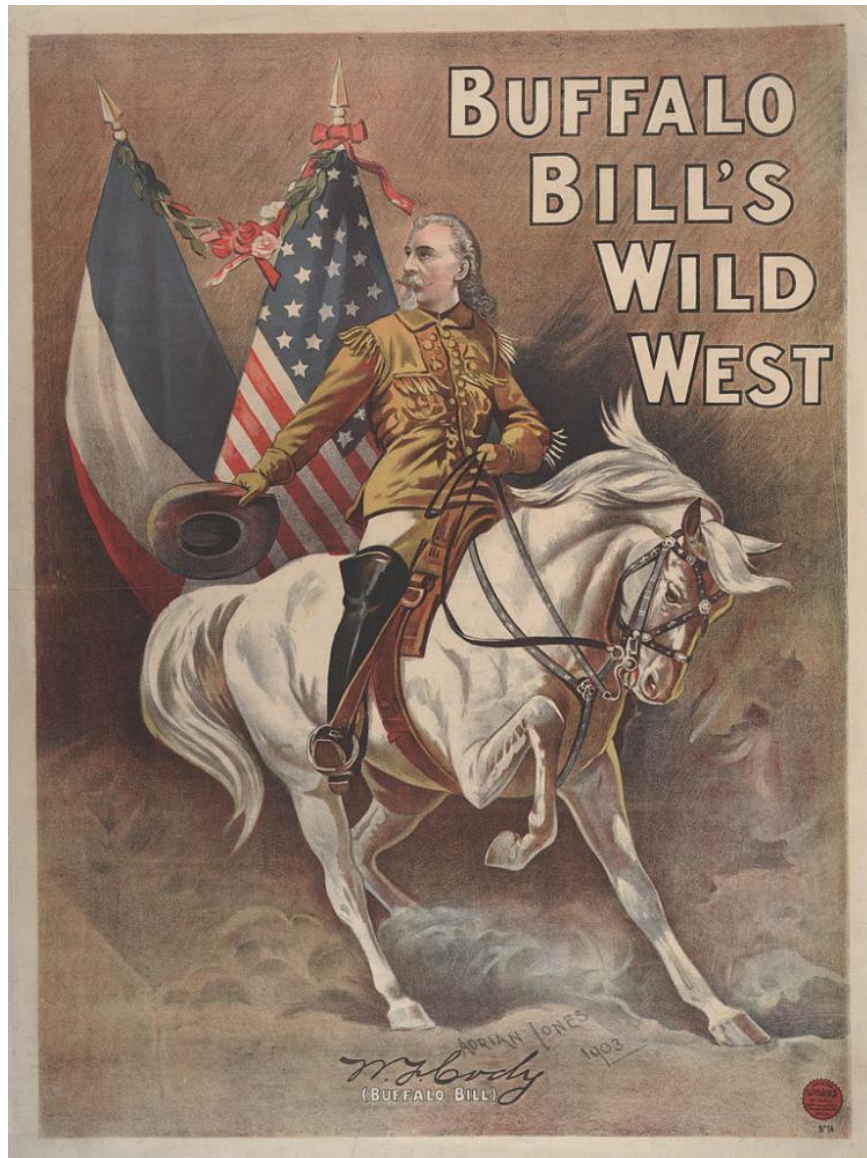


Figure 112. Color lithographic poster, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Cody on Horseback (white horse) with American & French Flags in background, c. 1903, by Weiners, one sheet, 40 x 29.75 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003947

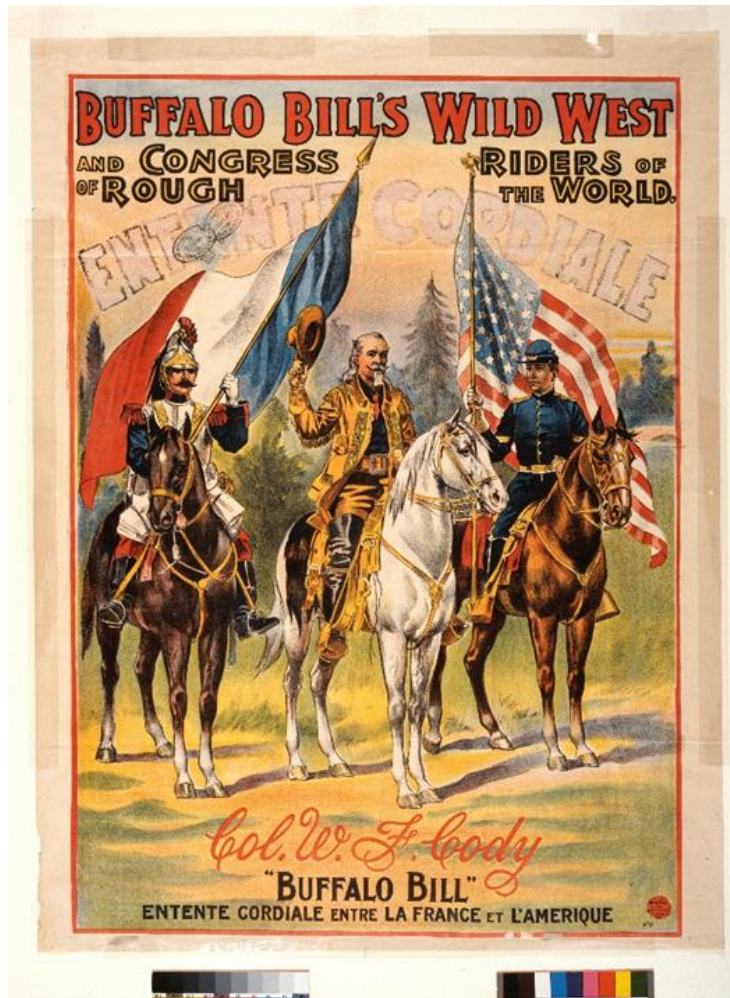


Figure 113. Color lithographic poster, *Entente Cordiale entre La France et L'Amérique*, 1905, by Weiners, 39.875 x 29.875 inches. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.2173

with audiences had it not reflected, however superficially, the established and emerging center of power globally. Yearly additions to the program elements related to new world conflicts and military coups, which influenced the diversity of the Rough Riders selected for contracts. The title, “Rough Riders”, was used first in dime novel stories prior to 1880.²⁸ The Wild West’s “Cavalry of Nations” advanced through the late 1880s, to the 1890s, and into the new century to represent more than a dozen of the leading international equestrian military traditions.

At the same time, America was experiencing the arrival of millions of immigrants to the country through Ellis Island and other ports of entry. The Rough Riders represented not only many of the home lands of origin of the native-born American population, but also the home countries of the new American immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. At the same time, American leaders looked to a new future abroad and beyond the coastal borders of the nation.²⁹

The federal government had finalized United States territorial and administrative occupation of the West, and the relocation of most American Indian tribes in the decades after the Civil War. Now at the turn of the century, the United States forcibly transitioned Indians into new settlements and government-designated Indian reservations.³⁰ Western settlement, mining, and exploration eroded and replaced the frontier. The West, in other words, was now far from “Wild”, meaning that Cody’s shift to an international focus exhibited a certain logic and

²⁸Richard Slotkin, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire,” in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of U.S. Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 172.

²⁹David Healy, *US Expansionism: The Imperialistic Urge in the 1890s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), pp. 12-13. American leaders watched in the late 1890s as the grip of European powers on their colonial possessions grew stronger; for example, British and French colonialists proclaimed the Victorian argument of the imperialism represented a force for progress and “improvement of the human condition.” Such a version of empire could appeal to Americans, convinced of their own beneficial influence.

³⁰Christine Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987), pp. 101-02. Bolt argued that, despite the expansion of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and elaborate processes for evaluation and inspection after 1887, it became increasingly “difficult for the Indian voice to be heard and [this] strengthened the assimilation campaign.” The U.S. reservation system forced “dependence and entrenching governmental paternalism towards the Indians.”

tenacious coherence in his planning. By 1900, the Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World would represent a theatrical interpretative response to a new phase of external American military external engagement and the pursuit of world power. As America engaged in *de facto* imperialism, Cody carefully managed the changing times with the same creative instincts and team support that he had brought to the enterprise since the first season of the Wild West. Cody invested in international performers and programs that were increasingly relevant to the changing world. Rough Riders were veterans of the latest world conflicts, just as some of the American cowboys and Indians had been participants in the battles in the West, bringing a powerful immediacy to their reenactments. Western historian Richard Slotkin described the Rough Riders as “exotic and [an] appropriately international note for the Columbian Exposition edition of ‘America’s National Entertainment,’” another title claimed by Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World.³¹

Cavalry of Nations

By 1896, the Courier Lithographic Co. of Buffalo, New York, printed a majority of the promotion advertising, courier newsletters, and show programs (See Appendix 1). It is reasonable to conjecture that Courier photographers and artists captured the essence of the Wild West production, rehearsals, and daily lives of the performers outside the arena and in the camp. Courier’s poster “Center Hit of the World” showed Cody as the “bullseye” at the center of concentric circles with images drawn for the various Rough Riders performing in 1896, and larger bust portraits of individual Rough Riders from nine nations, while Britain and Germany received prominence at the bottom left and right of the lithographic poster. (See Chapter 4,

³¹Slotkin, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire,” p. 173.

Figure 64) The three circular bands on the posters represented the cavalry maze used in the grand procession of performers as they were introduced to Wild West audiences.

Courier's artists, Cody, and his staff may all have been familiar with the early motion photography and experimentation of Englishman Eadweard Muybridge, who was active from the 1870s to the 1890s in the United States. Muybridge showed his experiments in human and animal photography on his unique Zoopraxiscope motion projector on the Midway at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. His photography was often compared to the depiction of animal movements in Rosa Bonheur's paintings, as previously discussed. Courier's "Center Hit of the World" poster appears to evoke intentionally the similar disc motion achieved with Muybridge's Zoopraxiscope glass positives images that were reproduced with circular images drawn after his photographs.³² Courier artists may have also been motivated to design this poster after the "Cavalry Maze" photograph sold as a souvenir at Brooklyn's Ambrose Park performances in 1894. The image clearly showed three or more circular bands of Rough Riders galloping during a performance or rehearsal inside the Wild West arena, with a wooden podium in the foreground possibly for the director of the arena performance. The contrast between the watercolor-like A. Hoen & Co. 1895 poster "Cavalry of Nations" (See Chapter 4, Figure 53) and the dense and modern design of the Courier 1896 "Center Hit of the World" poster showed the change in letter design and artistic direction that Courier would pioneer with Cody's team in the late 1890s and early 1900s, as they became the Wild West's dominant printers.

³²Anita Ventura Mozley, introduction to *Muybridge's Complete Human and Animal Locomotion, Volume 1* (New York: Dover, 1979), p. xxxvi. See also Charles Musser, "A Cornucopia of Images: Comparison and Judgement Across Theater, Film, and Visual Culture During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Nancy Mowll Matthews, eds., *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film, 1880-1910* (Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2005), pp. 5-37.



Figure 114. Photograph, Cavalry Maze, Wild West's Congress of Rough Riders of the World, representing different nationalities performing in circular rings, during a performance at Ambrose Park in Brooklyn, NY, probably during the "Grand Procession" introduction of the show in which every performer in the show appeared on horseback. A painted landscape backdrop appears at the far end of the arena. "Souvenir of Ambrose Park 1894 Stacy 5th Ave. and 7th Brooklyn, N.Y." Courtesy WHC, DPL. NS-589

Courier became an all-purpose printing firm for the Wild West. The company documented the performers and the arena performances, and printed the yearly programs, posters, and “courier” newsletters. Courier excelled in the small format print work, and worked as needed with the Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati when larger multi-sheet or billboard sized posters were requested.³³ Courier printed the “Wild Rivalries, Savage, Barbarous, Civilized Races” lithographic poster for the 1898 season of the Wild West. Still, today, one of the posters most reproduced in contemporary publications, it has typically posed Rough Riders at full gallop on their horses, with weapons, whips, or hands raised high, but there are also several differences between this and most other Wild West posters, and especially when it is compared to the work of Courier overall, in terms of the uniforms, weapons, or accessories. Cody is not centered or in the lead of the group. He appears to be the figure second from the right. Next to this figure and to the right of Cody is a cowgirl slightly visible. The female riders were not usually included with the Rough Riders in specific poster work. The most curious thing about this Courier poster is the figure at the center of the group, a green colored figure of an American Indian wearing only a headdress, belt and knife. To the right of the American Indian figure is an Arab horseman with tunic and head cloth that appears toned pink instead of the usual white, with a vaquero, a gaucho, and a cowboy also illustrated. There is no background or foreground landscape included in the poster. The intended focus for the viewer is the wild and savage group, as drawn, racing against each other in the “civilized” races of the Wild West production. The figure of Cody is less the dominant leader than just one of the pack of rivals. The title and artwork for this Courier poster is divergent from the many other examples of the company’s

³³Wild West programs, William F. Cody Manuscript Collection, MS6, MRL, BBCW.

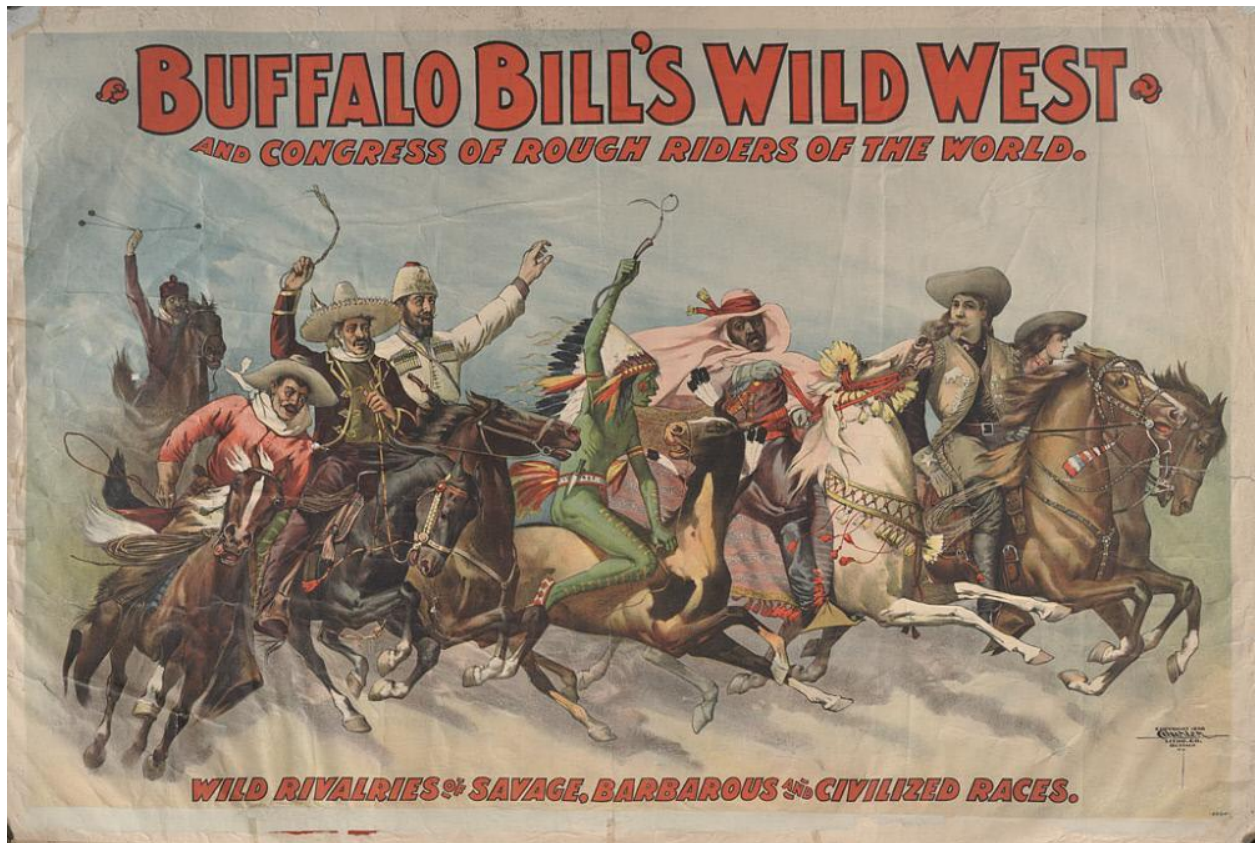


Figure 115. Color Lithographic Poster, *Wild Rivalries, Savage, Barbarous & Civilized Races*, 1898, by Courier, one sheet, 28.25 x 42 inches. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003901

work which explicitly highlighted goodwill among the international groups and the inclusive spirit of the Cody camp.

Cody and the Spanish-American War

The Wild West programs and newspaper publicity document that a program segment reenacting American service with Cuban insurgents fighting the Spanish was included in the Wild West just one year after the conflict. Cody had commented early in the Spanish-American War to the press and public that with his knowledge of conflict and with the assistance of 30,000 American Indian warriors, he could drive the Spanish from Cuba. A stunning and provocative illustration accompanying Cody's statement in Omaha's *The World* on April 3, 1898, made clear his offer to the United States. Cody was drawn on horseback in full stride with his sword drawn, and six strong Indian faces and two horses flanking him, resulting in a formidable and fierce sketch.³⁴ He did not, however, go to Cuba to fight. Instead, Theodore Roosevelt, the former assistant secretary of the Navy, a man with negligible military experience but a comparable flair for publicity, led several hundred American troops into combat on the San Juan Heights, having assumed command of the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, popularly known as the "Rough Riders."³⁵ Cody's longtime friend and artist Frederic Remington was commissioned by William Randolph Hearst to illustrate the fighting in Cuba for the *New York Journal*, along with war correspondent

³⁴"Buffalo Bill Writes How I Could Drive the Spaniards from Cuba with 30,000 Indian Braves," *The World* [Omaha], April 3, 1898, p. 27. William F. Cody Scrapbook, MS6 Collection, MRL, BBCW.

³⁵G. J. A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War: An American Epic 1898* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1984); Louis A. Pérez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998); and, Spencer C. Tucker, *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History*. 3 Vols. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2009. The centennial of the 1898 Spanish-American War prompted new research and recent historiographies, addressing the war's chronology and its somewhat ambiguous consideration in American history.

Richard Harding Davis. From the journalism of the period surrounding the issues leading to the Spanish-American War came the common use of the term “Rough Riders,” particularly in reference to the cavalry troops led by Roosevelt. The title “Congress of Rough Riders of the World,” meanwhile, was specific to the Wild West brand and had not been used more broadly. Remington’s familiarity with the Wild West and Cody’s programs may have been influential in continued use of the term Rough Riders in the news coming out of Cuba back to America. Remington sketched the war scenes for use in the *New York Journal*, but also quickly turned to painting scenes of the conflict, including the dramatic infantry “Charge of the Rough Riders,” 1898.³⁶ Within a year, Cody and Salsbury worked with the Wild West management team to contract with and incorporate Cuban veterans into their program and began full re-enactments of the Battle of San Juan Hill in 1899. Advertising posters for the Wild West in 1899 provided several alternate views of the Battle of San Juan Hill, July 2, 1898, and the Battle of Quasimas, June 24, 1898. Both posters were printed by Kunz & Allison of Chicago, not a usual print company for the Wild West. The Battle of San Juan Hill poster by Kunz & Allison illustrated the *Charge of the 25th Colored Infantry and Rescue of Rough Riders at San Juan Hill, July 2nd, 1898*. American soldiers in blue uniforms were depicted bravely moving up the hill towards a fort heavily armed and populated with enemy soldiers. An American flag was proudly waved at the top of the lookout tower. Some dead American soldiers were depicted, but the design of the poster evoked an overall forward rush and flow of the soldiers toward the retaining wall. Uncharacteristically, there are no Wild West titles for these posters by Kunz & Allison, only one-line titles in small print at the lower left. These posters may have been used for other

³⁶*Charge of the Rough Riders*, 1898, oil painting on canvas, Frederic Remington Art Museum (FRAM), Ogdensburg, New York, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/fredericremington/6329130219/in/album-72157649247951734/>, accessed Feb. 4, 2018.

advertising purposes beyond the Wild West, as there are no defining features to indicate specific use or even show dates for these lithographs. The second Kunz & Allison Wild West poster was the illustration of *The Battle of Quasimas near Santiago, June 24th, 1898. The 9th and 10th Colored Cavalry in Support of Rough Riders*. This poster shows a dense and rugged island landscape with, palm trees, water, and hills in the background. More loss of life for the Americans was depicted, with slain cavalrymen included in the group as in the Quasimas poster. The Americans appear to be at the crest of a hill fighting forward and downhill towards several buildings held by the Spanish, with smoke and fire shown near the front line of the combat in the poster. African American cavalrymen were indeed represented among the reenactors in performances of the Wild West, but they appeared less frequently in advertising; mostly they were included in newspaper articles and advertisements in local papers. Usually, this entailed the addition of an individual of African origin among the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, in a newspaper format or show program only. The Wild West posters of the 9th, 10th, and 25th Colored regiments fighting in Cuba are the only existent publicity for the production which highlighted the American “Buffalo Soldiers,” as they were known during their service in cavalry regiments in the western territories, and later in Cuba and the Philippine-American War, and the 92nd Infantry Division in the two World Wars.³⁷

³⁷Debra J. Sheffer, *The Buffalo Soldiers: Their Epic Story and Major Campaigns* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2015), pp. 163-64. See also “Delighted Twenty Thousand: Buffalo Bill’s Great Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1894. This report concerning Brooklyn’s Ambrose Park season includes “American negroes” listed among the cast of the Rough Riders. Illustrations of the Rough Riders on program covers and news advertisements also commonly depicted the yearly casts and included “American negroes” for a short duration in the 1890s, before the new focus on military preparedness, international military and horse troops was developed more fully. There is a lack of information on the attendance and accommodation of African Americans at performances of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Louis Warren asks, “Did African Americans attend the show? If, so we may assume they were segregated, as they were at circuses and other traveling amusements. But why did so few notice their presence in the arena? Why have these Wild Westerners been largely forgotten?” Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, p. 434.

Rehearsal photographs for the Battle of San Juan Hill in the Wild West program include images of the Cuban veterans assembled in a Spanish-American War Color Guard, and arena scenes with actors as soldiers on foot approaching the smoke of the Battle of San Juan Hill as re-enacted daily. Often American Indians or other cast members were used to portray the African American soldiers' roles. These photographs were taken from behind the scenes, and therefore, do not allow the viewer to see well who was acting as African American soldiers. Cody and the cast continued to promote the Wild West as a traveling educational exhibition that used entertainment to put a lens on the American experience. Cody and Salsbury continued to quickly react to new opportunities for military program segments as American forces entered new conflicts at the turn of the century.³⁸

The Wild West and the Boxer Rebellion

The 1901 Wild West *Rough Rider* souvenir newspaper documented "The Battle of Tien-Tsin [sic] and the Capture of Peking," signaling the inclusion of yet another international conflict—the Boxer Rebellion—in the Wild West program schedule. In fact, Tien-Tsin [Tianjin] replaced the Battle of San Juan Hill program segment. The *Rough Rider* article promised readers and audiences that the new segment would be "illustrating American prowess in conflict."³⁹ American heroism, a consistently popular theme throughout the Wild West seasons, was given heightened prominence by the new international nature of American military deployment and new, less well-known enemies. The *Rough Rider* noted that "Messrs. Cody and Salsbury are resolved that keeping abreast with the truth shall always be a distinguishing characteristic of their Wild West. Hence their selection, this season, of the battle of Tien-Tsin for that of San Juan Hill,

³⁸Slotkin, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire," pp. 178-79.

³⁹"The Battle of Tien Tsin and Capture of Peking," Buffalo Bill's Wild West *Rough Rider*, 1901, p. 8. MRL, BBCW.



Figure 117. Oil on canvas painting, *Charge of the Rough Riders*, 1898, 35 x 60 inches, by Frederic Remington, Courtesy Frederic Remington Art Museum. 66.52



Figure 118. Color Lithographic Poster, *Charge of the 25th Colored Infantry and Rescue of Rough Riders at San Juan Hill, July 2nd, 1898*, circa 1899, 19.75 x 27.5 inches, by Kunz & Allison, Chicago. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.5750



Figure 119. Color Lithographic Poster, *The Battle of Quasimas near Santiago, June 24th, 1898. The 9th and 10th Colored Cavalry in Support of Rough Riders*, circa 1899, 19.75 x 27.75 inches, by Kunz & Allison. Courtesy BBM, BBCW. 1.69.5751



Figure 120. Photograph of "Buffalo Bill's Congress of Rough Riders of the World" rehearsing the Battle of San Juan Hill, from the "Salsbury Collection Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show Rehearsal Pictures 1901" album. Courtesy DPL. NS-739

upon a scale of increased magnitude.”⁴⁰ The Chinese attack on foreign diplomats was denounced by nations worldwide. American forces, at the time in the Philippines, were closest to the Chinese siege. The American 9th Infantry were the first forces to come to the rescue of men, women, and children as the Chinese uprising to drive foreigners out of their country commenced. Westerners referred to this Chinese faction as “Boxers,” a nickname occasioned by the rituals of the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, which led to uprising, itself, being called the Boxer Rebellion. Original photographs of the attacks on the walled city were used by the Wild West team to reproduce what they deemed “Buffalo Bill’s Newest and Greatest Military Spectacle.” The Wild West interpreted the operations of the international coalition as having been led by the Americans and later joined by the Japanese, English, Germans, Russians, and French. The illustrations in the 1901 *Rough Rider* for the double-page article, “The Allied Powers at the Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of the Peking”, are copyrighted to the Courier Company of Buffalo, New York. Appearing at the top of the article was an artistic reproduction of the dense military parade of cavalry as seen in the Wild West arena, interpreting the Allied Powers coalition in the battle. The drawing reproduced at center page of the *Rough Rider* showed the chaotic military scene at the battle, with infantry soldiers and cavalry fully engaged in the conflict near the walled portion of the city, with swords drawn, rifles used to balance soldiers who scaled the wall, the Gatling gun blasting toward a center gated door, and a never-ending line of Allied troops. These illustrations would have also been printed for use as advertising posters and souvenir program images. In the Wild West arena, the cast of the “Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of Peking” recreated the scene with American troops scaling the prop wall via a human pyramid and using a Gatling gun to finish the victory over the Chinese rebels. The

⁴⁰Ibid.

Chinese Imperial flag is removed from atop the wall, to be replaced by the Stars and Stripes.⁴¹

The Enquirer Print Company of Cincinnati also prepared artwork for a poster which depicted the brutal close combat of an American infantryman with a bayonet pointing at the chest of a Chinese enemy, a quite different close-quarters exchange between enemies to the larger scenes characterized in the Wild West images and arena performance.⁴²

The Courier Company continued with the development of visual publicity materials with the 1902 lithographic poster of *Buffalo Bill Reviewing the Rough Riders of the World* which triumphantly showed Cody galloping past a long line of a colorful cavalry of nations honor guard with flags displayed for all of the Allied Powers who had joined to fight the Chinese Boxer Rebellion. (See Chapter 4, Figure 63) This Courier poster reinforced the image of Col. William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody as commander of the Rough Rider troops and convener of international allies and enemies in every performance of the Wild West. Cody and Salsbury worked efficiently with their production team and cast to bring the most exciting new acts and especially the new international American and world conflicts into their arena, with speed and drama highlighted, and as much accuracy as possible within the spectacle, scale and physical parameters of the Rough Riders’ performance, and always accorded moral, as well as military, superiority to the victors. This had been the case since the Wild West began.

The continued success and durability of the Wild West in America allowed for the planning of four more years in Europe, in 1902 -1906. During these years, much change would

⁴¹Buffalo Bill’s Wild West *Rough Rider*, 1901, p. 8.; and Slotkin, “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire,” p. 178.

⁴²Partially Painted Poster Artwork, *The Allied Powers at the Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of Peking*, c. 1901, by Enquirer, 43.5 x 29 inches. CWM. 2009.24.22



Figure 121. Partially Painted Artwork for Poster, *The Allied Powers at the Battle of Tien-Tsin and the Capture of Peking*, c. 1901, by Enquirer, 43.5 x 29 inches. Courtesy CWM. 2009.24.22 (duplicate Figure 83)

THE ROUGH RIDER.

THE BATTLE OF TIEN-TSIN
And the Capture of Peking.

A Brilliant Spectacular Reproduction of an Epoch-Making Event.
THREE two seasons past, hundreds of thousands of spectators have been thrilled by patriotic enthusiasm and martial ardor at night of the splendidly realistic presentation, by Messrs. Cody and Salsbery, in the Wild West arena of the battle of San Juan Hill, the most important recent event illustrating American prowess in conflict. No better evidence could be desired of the esteem in which it was held by the public than the fact that its continuance the second season was in response to a popular demand from all parts of the country. That it would still enthrall the interest and stir the blood of Americans by its brilliant portrayal of heroism, is beyond a doubt, but the extraordinary wheel of time brings another great historic incident to compel recognition and invite reproductive scene celebration.



The American forces operating in the Philippines, and after weeks of anxious waiting, during which time the Foreign Concession was almost constantly under artillery fire from the walls of the native city.

THE ROUGH RIDER.

The next scene presents the arrival of two battalions of the 9th U. S. Infantry, under command of the gallant Colonel Lincoln (who was killed in the battle of Tien-Tsin). To the stirring music of drum and fife playing the air ever popular among soldiers, "The God Bless Behind Me," they enter with a swinging quick step, halt, stack arms and quickly form up. The earnestness of the march to suppose their apprehensions of an attack by the alien nation to find another. The Chinese warrior has a well-defined preference for having a fight well before him, and his every long range, when he fights. At all events, they are in haste to get inside the city, and when they have passed through the gate it closes behind them. Hardly have they disappeared when the skirmishes of the 9th Regiment, U. S. Infantry, enter.

THE ROUGH RIDER.

Each man drew his washbowl, then taken down to bed. "Tigger and me and some, his boy, and hard-ly." "This is a picture of the American soldier being on his feet, for when he had been made the American to himself was a bright enough. At that they were taken with a strange covering for death. The best of them were generally to be found in places where they had not been. "Long his magnificent dimensions were saved by other hands not to go strong when near present buildings, their graves, or the American soil." "Were that correspond to witness the Wild West's reproduction of the scene. It would find it true to life in the person and morale of the soldiers to find them in the *Real* accounts of the battle. Captain Fuller's American man, worthy comrade of the men of the Ninth, dash on and plunge eagerly into the conflict. When all the allies participating in the assault have carried them near enough to the wall to dash to take it by storm, the American man, under cover of the allies, for he made the daring attempt. They can carry no other arms than their revolvers, in the last they possess, but there are enough when



"New seasons back our date. Time again good women; The most we've got around. Who would sleep alone with you?" And Messrs. Cody and Salsbery are expected that keeping abreast with truth shall always be a distinguishing characteristic of their Wild West. Hence their substitution, this season, of the battle of Tien-Tsin for that of San Juan Hill, upon a scale of increased magnitude. The Chinese Attack upon the Foreign Legations at Peking was an event that attracted more intensely the common concern of all civilized nations than anything in the world's history preceding it. Not only was it an unprecedented outrage, but one of such enormity in its heinous defiance of civilization, treacherous violation of sacred rights and brutal disregard of humanity, that the first intelligence of it was received everywhere with appropiate amazement. Overwhelming indignation quickly followed. The world's voice was for war. With velocity and unanimity that demonstrated the interest in Tien-Tsin, where he took refuge in the Foreign Concession and called for reinforcements from the coast. They came eventually, but not

of Tien-Tsin, within any range. The period of action selected by Messrs. Cody and Salsbery for their illustrative exhibition begins near the end of that weary time of waiting, when some of the misadventures have occurred. This

Magnificent Military Spectacle has been so arranged as to enable an appreciative knowledge of the situation and incidents antecedent to the battle of Tien-Tsin and culminating in the capture of the walled native city and its environs. The primary action takes place on the plain just outside the Foreign Concession of Tien-Tsin, where the troops of the various commands, already in camp are divided together to bring them into confusion for united service. The evolutions introduced here afford an impressive and correct realization of the appearance and distinguishing characteristics of the cavalry of the different nations represented, and of their mutual relations in this extraordinary coalition, as could be attained by an eye-witness of the actual scene, the men participating in them being actually enlisted soldiers belonging to the respective armies of the allies.

Buffalo Bill's New and Greatest Military Spectacle

In this case, the misadventures of a company cook promote the general gaiety. Evidently he, or some person, had been bringing on the march; or, by some strange accident, low spirits, promising of innumerable possibilities, have found their way into his big camp-bag and kettles. Various other army rations are not likely to be ignored when they come within a soldier's reach—and his reach is long as when the orders against foraging are stringent. Of course, the intractable practical labor gets his work in turning loose—by pretended accident—the concealed pig and fowl, which starts a general peep, is tossed in a blanket to impress upon him the lesson of greater caution.

The picture is true to life. Sentimental persons, who have more about temperance than wit, are prone to imagine the soldier inclined to worry about the uncertainty of his immediate future. Moreover! He is never gay, more light-hearted and sportive than when he knows the next day's sun will find him taking his chance on the battlefield. And as for his bearing on the march, he knows, as Antipope said, that

continually but swiftly upon the scene, deploy to right and left, take what cover they can by lying down and open the engagement. The first two shots fired by them ripple over a couple of the Chinese sentries on the wall. At once the warriors of the Yellow Dragon rush out and commence volley firing from their elevated position, to which quick and effective response is made by a company of the 9th U. S. Infantry (under Major Lee's command), who run on, following their skirmishes and eager for the fray. Here it seems apposite to quote, as the opinion of an impartial expert upon the Fighting Qualities of American Soldiers, the observations of the English war correspondent of the *Times of India* upon what he noted in this battle. He says: "When a British man advances upon a Chinese man he is met by the latter with a common sabre cut the left hand, but the Britisher makes a goodly use of his rifle, and the Chinese man is never gay, more light-hearted and sportive than when he knows the next day's sun will find him taking his chance on the battlefield. And as for his bearing on the march, he knows, as Antipope said, that

Figure 122. Buffalo Bill's Wild West's *The Rough Rider*, "Battle of Tien-Tsin and Capture of Peking," Vol. III, 4th edition, pages 8-9, 1901, by Courier. Courtesy MRL, BBCW.

occur in Cody's management team and the financial security of the production. Before the end of the first decade of the new century, Cody would consider combining his Wild West with another traveling show. The financial strain mounted on his professional holdings in the Wild West and personal property investments in and outside of Cody, Wyoming. There were also many American circuses and other western themed shows traveling at this time. Cody negotiated a partnership that allowed the most flexibility, both personally and for the show, and retained the name of his enterprise and lead billing on a new combination with the Pawnee Bill Great Far East traveling show.⁴³

The Wild West and the Great Far East

For five years, 1908 – 1913, the Two Bills worked in collaboration to run the final tours of the Wild West. Advance poster billings in rural areas and overall budgets for tour advertising were cut, including the number of posters printed and the staff to be hired for the season.⁴⁴ The letters also showed Cody's declining health and that problems with his diversified property interests interfered with his focus on the new show. This included the situation with the Dyer and Cody Mine Company operating in Arizona. The mine needed to be sold when Carl Dyer's ill-health prevented him managing the operation while Cody was on tour with the show. Cody discussed the prospects of strikes at the mine, but also the potential for Cooke and business associates to purchase the company, and lift yet another financial risk from Cody.⁴⁵ Age and the daily stresses caught up with the once youthful hero of the American West. Artists of the

⁴³See the 100 letters of Cody-Cooke Correspondence, in Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection, Tibbals Collection, RMA, <https://www.ringling.org/tibbals-collection-louis-e-cooke-manuscript-collection-cooke-cody-correspondence>, accessed July 15, 2018.

⁴⁴Cody to Cooke, May 12, 1912, Tibbals Collection, RMA.

⁴⁵Cody to Cooke letters, June 29 and 31, 1912, Tibbals Collection, RMA.

Strobridge Lithographic Company of Cincinnati printed advertising produced materials for the combination show which included the patriarch and leader of the Wild West as a haggard white-haired older man, especially beside Gordon Lillie, eighteen years Cody's junior. Cody had to share the center oval of Strobridge's poster for the Two Bills Combination. This was similar style to the Strobridge posters for the Ringling Brothers Circus and other traveling shows that presented their owners and operators in roles of celebrities in their own right. However, for the vast majority of Wild West publicity and souvenir materials, Cody was featured at center with full focus on his celebrity name. Strobridge artists and lithographic designers placed the Two Bills in a dark circle at the center of the Combination poster, with various performers from the Wild West and Far East included along the edges of the poster in duller soft-toned colors. The full focus of the poster was on the two men, and it clearly implied the prominence of Cody backed by the supportive and more youthfully drawn Pawnee Bill. The older Cody looked the part of the tired and concerned showman who gazed off into the distance, away from the viewer of the poster image. This was a pronounced difference from the usual publicity posters of Cody in which his glance was focused and positioned forward, or towards his grandstand audience. It also differed from the predominant use of Cody's image alone in promotional materials and programs, or else clearly shown as the paramount individual. The Strobridge artistic interpretation evoked the transitional period for Cody, and to some observers may have indicated a series of the final performances of a long theatrical career.⁴⁶ (See Chapter 5, Figure 102)

Russell, Morgan and Company, also of Cincinnati, again centered Cody's important figure in the Combination with their lithographic poster, *A Grand Military Tournament*, from the 1910 season. The quality and artistry of the Russell, Morgan output is far lower than that of the earlier

⁴⁶Spangenberg and Walk, eds., *The Amazing American Circus Poster*, pp. 255-57.

print work created for the Wild West by Hoen and Courier. The busy design is similar in some respects to *The Maze* poster produced for the Wild West a decade previously, which gave viewers the illusion of motion and a dance as the riders performed in tight groups on the arena floor. *The Grand Military Tournament* presented a rather indistinct, but centered, Cody on horseback with hat raised high in his right hand as usual. In great contrast to the quality of the artwork prepared to publicize the Wild West, this Combination poster was so cluttered with figures that they became indistinguishable from one another. Flags of nine nations are held high in the formation of each of the military cavalry, and groups of cowboys are represented in the massive performance. This Russell, Morgan poster did convey a strong military structure of the Combination show, but the detailed figures seem replicas of each other, and not as individualistic as was attempted in earlier posters. Lillie may be the figure drawn directly behind Cody, but if so he is not well-defined. The identical and repeating figures on horseback at the top line of the poster, just under the show title, appear drawn in military position rather than show performance choreography. This line of cavalry was prepared in the background, and waited to advance.

The theme of military “Preparedness” was increasingly dominant in the final years of Cody’s Wild West performances, something that was heightened with the outbreak of World War I in Europe and his partnerships with other businessmen.⁴⁷ The posters produced for the 101 Ranch Shows included a text reference and a military shield inset portrait of the older Cody image. “Buffalo Bill Himself” was the rather solitary title included on the 101 Ranch Shows poster banner headlines. In 1916, Strobridge produced the poster series for the 101’s

⁴⁷Cody to Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Army Chief of Staff, Washington, DC, Feb. 26, 1916, in Woodrow Wilson Presidential Papers, Microfilm Series 4, Reel 341. Cody wrote to Scott requesting assistance in securing furloughs for military men to join “Buffalo Bill’s Military Pageant in War and Peace,” and indicated, “I want to make this Show wake up every American and realize the true situation. I am sure it will be the means of doing much good; consequently I want the military part of it perfect.”

“Preparedness” season. Advance posters included artwork and scenes of khaki uniformed soldiers of the U.S. Cavalry and Field Artillery units, and their feats on horseback. The U. S. Cavalry was captioned on posters with phrases like “A Whirlwind Charge of Uncle Sam’s Troopers,” and “Expert Hurdling Rough Riding Skills.” *The Military Pageant* introduced the expert skills of cavalry troops, furloughed to perform patriotic service with the 101 Ranch Shows, showing American audiences glimpses of wartime realism through the styles of entertainment and arena performance originally perfected by Buffalo Bill, himself.⁴⁸

After twenty-five years of press and advance publicity which used Cody’s western persona and the unique lifestyles and experiences of the cowboy and American Indians, the Combination show heralded future American hegemony in the Far East, along with the presentation of military skills, feats, and accomplishments to sell tickets. The short but crucial partnership was well-timed for each of the Two Bills, showmen turned entrepreneurs. Together, they created an expanded and truly international performance with the potential for even wider appeal to, and impact on, an American audience.

Although show posters mostly highlighted the celebrity of Buffalo Bill Cody, Cody’s leadership and dominance in management in the case of the Combination and his other collaborations continued to be severely limited, compared to his years running the Wild West Company with the assistance of Salsbury and Bailey.⁴⁹ Cody and Lillie partnered for the final five years of touring the Wild West. By the 1913 season, Cody’s personal and professional financial obligations and failing health determined the end of an era in American entertainment. The charismatic Cody was unable to sustain the Wild West which he masterminded for a full

⁴⁸Michael Wallis, *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1999), pp. 456-59; and, Hall, *Performing the American Frontier*, p. 152.

⁴⁹See Cody to Cooke letters, 1912, Tibbals Collections, RMA.

thirty years. Within a year, World War I broke out in Europe, making international tours impossible. Recent technological innovations and improved public and private transportation expanded entertainment options for the public, especially with motion picture theaters and the growth of amusement parks. Always a businessman, Cody nevertheless continued to look for opportunities to market his name and earn a living. He performed with the Sells-Floto Circus (1914-1915) and the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Shows (1916) before his death in Denver, in January 1917.⁵⁰

Cody did not live to see the United States enter World War I, and the 101 Ranch Shows were suspended because of the war. But this could not diminish the lasting influence of Cody and the Wild West on the presentational tone, imagery, and pace of modern rodeo, military shows and spectacular displays. Their place in American mass entertainment and their influence on how the era of “the wild West” has been perceived and celebrated by millions of people around the world was firmly entrenched by the life’s work of William F. Cody, an impact that continues to the present day.

⁵⁰Hall, *Performing the American Frontier*, pp. 151-52.



Figure 123. Color Lithographic Poster, *A Grand Military Tournament, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Combined with Pawnee Bill's Great Far East*, 1910, 28 x 41.25 inches, by Russell, Morgan & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio. Courtesy RMA. Ht2003998

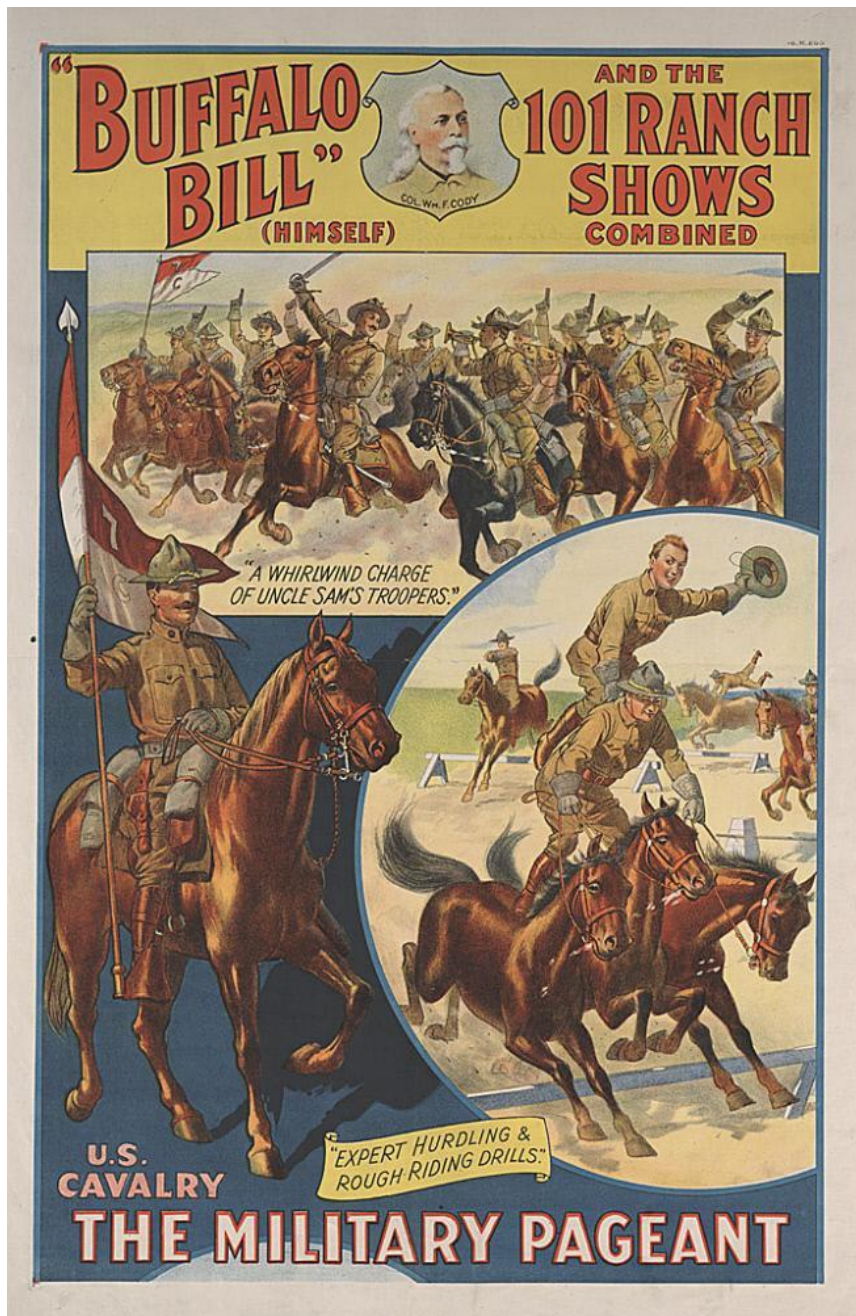


Figure 124. Color Lithographic Poster, *The Military Pageant, Buffalo Bill Himself & 101 Ranch Shows Combined*, 1916, half sheet, 28.5 x 19 inches, by Strobridge. Courtesy RMA. Ht2004008

Conclusion

Cody's Legacy, Wild West Art and Advertising

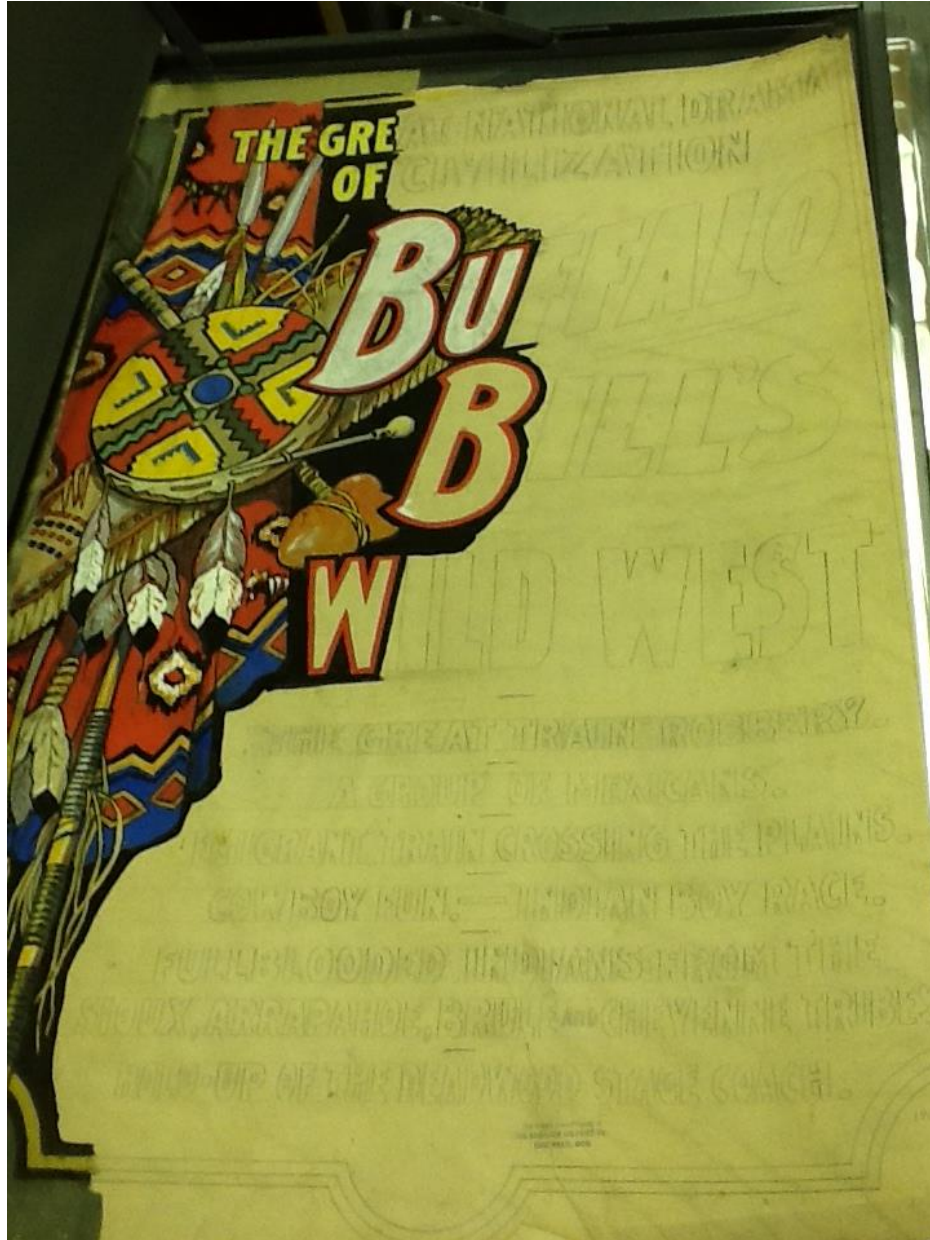


Figure 125. Original partially painted pencil sketch for Buffalo Bill's Wild West poster, *The Great National Drama of Civilization*, to include "The Great Train Robbery, A Group of Mexicans, Emigrant Train Crossing the Plains, Cowboy Fun!, Indian Boy Race, Full Blooded Indians From The Sioux, Arrapahoe [sic], Brûlé, and Cheyenne Tribes, Hold-Up of the Deadwood Stage Coach," 1908, by Enquirer. Courtesy CWM. 2009.22.9

Buffalo Bill's Wild West visual culture and advertising differs vastly from any American circus or traveling show in its dedication to the artistic portrayal of the American West. William F. Cody established friendships with noted American and European artists who visited the Wild West, and who were later instrumental in influencing the artistry of the colorful lithographs produced. Some of the artists, such as Frederic Remington, Charles Schreyvogel, and Rosa Bonheur, deeply influenced the realistic treatment of frontier and rural life, military pageantry, and equestrianism, and were famous well beyond the great arena of the Wild West. Their involvement with it elevated the imagery and helped to heighten the interest of the broad general public in dramatic western subject matter. Ultimately, it was lithographers and their own artists who created the final product – the lasting dynamic and effective imagery for Cody and the Wild West.

This extent to which this advertising for the Wild West was closely developed by Cody and his management can now be better understood by bringing together and analyzing the materials held in newly accessible museum collections and archives. These collections provide the researcher with evidence and insights that allow the production process and intent behind the posters and other printed materials for advertising the Wild West to be deciphered. This in turn enables a fuller understanding of what Cody was trying to achieve, his impact on the business of entertainment in America, his legacy in popular culture and his influence on how the United States has been perceived internationally. This dissertation is intended to be a major step in these direction; it is also hoped that, through gaining access to and collating a mass of material, this dissertation will indicate further avenues to other researchers and lead to the location of further original source material.

The close relationships forged by Cody and his staff with printers and newspaper agents helped to define and produce the visual material, and influenced the public's first impressions of this fascinating Wild West spectacle. The surviving imagery of the Wild West documents the way in which performances presented both the memory and the myth of the American West to vast audiences across the United States and Europe. Cody and his dedicated Wild West Company partners, Nate Salsbury and James A. Bailey, and press agents Major John M. Burke and Louis E. Cooke worked diligently to orchestrate the elaborate, complicated logistics and promotions for the tours, adding program segments regularly to address national and international events, and generated new advertising materials accordingly. A century after Cody's death, the visual culture of the Wild West has remained an under-studied resource through which to interpret the specialized art of lithographic printing in the era of mass entertainment in America, and to research more fully the advertising and overall business operations of the Wild West seasons, between 1883 and 1913. The unpublished original poster artwork from the Enquirer Job Printing Company of Cincinnati, for example, related to digitized photographs from the Courier Lithographic Company of Buffalo and the correspondence from Cody to Louis E. Cooke, taken together, all offer the opportunity for expanded analysis of the imagery created for the Wild West. The life of W. F. Cody and the phenomenon of the Wild West tours are worthy subjects of research, but there is also value in focusing on the production of what is now the visual legacy Cody and his Wild West—through the posters, photographs, the programs and couriers, and the illustrated newspaper and periodical articles.

The unique American poster collections at the BBCW, RMA, and CWM provided the foundation for this research, enabling me to study and assess the art and advertising of the Wild West, and its significance as innovative marketing. The companion digital research database

created during this thesis research has expanded to 547 posters and original sketches produced for the Wild West in the American and Europe. The posters and their provenance reveal the high levels of artistry, technical quality, and combined business acumen of the Wild West team which effectively elevated the Wild West advertising beyond even the efforts of other famous showmen, including P. T. Barnum and James A. Bailey of the Barnum and Bailey Circus. The American posters produced for the Wild West were art-focused and technical achievements, setting the print industry standards for design, artistry, color, and size, and varying from painterly portraits of Cody on horseback, or Annie Oakley or Johnny Baker in mid-shot, to very complicated and busy scenes with hundreds of performers on horses in grand processions around the Wild West arena, or related program scenes derived from recent history. The European Wild West venue posters are intentionally limited in this study, and extensive evaluative and comparative work on the contrasts between the American and European print work has not been attempted. The European visual culture produced surrounding the Wild West is worthy of its own full interpretation by scholars, but lies outside the scope of this researcher's indicated parameters. The European lithographs that survive are yet to be fully located, identified and researched, although the University of Wyoming's American Heritage Center has over 800 documents related to the Wild West, now digitized, including the business correspondence, recapitulation and bill posting summaries for the European tours of 1902-1906.

Some of the largest and most successful lithographic printing firms in American defined the visual presentation and immediate recognition of Cody and the Wild West then and now. More than twelve firms completed final "show posters" which convinced the public and the press to flock to performances, and introduced Cody's special blended exhibition of American history and entertainment. The Enquirer original pencil drawings and watercolors unlock the process

specific to the Wild West lithography and Cooke's interaction with printing companies, including his initials and notes appearing on sketches. No other American library or archive holds similar "process" collections, allowing research into the stages of development for the initial art sketches, the design edits and notations to artists, layers of production methods, trial color painting efforts, and final layouts of cardboard-mounted original art for enlargement using large graphic cameras and photomechanical reproduction methods. The Enquirer lithographic art posters were produced for the Wild West between 1898 and 1908. Also newly available for research are 100 original letters of correspondence dated 1898-1916 between Cody and Louis E. Cooke, general agent and Wild West tour director. These letters are now digitized as part of the ongoing collections work of the Tibbals Learning Center at the RMA. The letters indicate the close professional relationship and friendly respect that existed between Cody and Cooke. Most letters represented ongoing business negotiations by Cody to keep Cooke employed with the Wild West and to solicit advice from the consummate promoter and advertising agent.¹

The essential branding of the Wild West remained consistent, whether posters were reproduced from an artist's original or created from scratch by lithographic artists and assistants. Art directors and lithographers capitalized on the celebrity of "Buffalo Bill" Cody, the Indian performers, the buffalos, the cowboys and marksmen, and the diverse Congress of the Rough Riders of the World. These figures visually dominated the poster advertisements. Major Burke, Cooke, and the Wild West "advance" teams prepared the posters ahead of the tour and literally canvassed the local businesses with posters and billboards. Cody's team surpassed the leading circus advertising teams at the turn of the century, and built a marketing campaign that was noted

¹Charles Philip Fox and Tom Parkinson, *Billers, Banners and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing, 1985), pp. 31-32.

for the art quality of its posters. Ticket sales and an aura of excitement were first and foremost the results of the Wild West advertising. Cody was potentially the first reality “star”, with his personal life, career, and performances covered faithfully by the local, national and international press, sometimes in highly unflattering detail. The Wild West team created Cody and Salsbury scrapbooks of daily news articles and performance announcements, which continue to provide scholars with access to the local community response to the Wild West, and lasting insight into the popularity of Cody and his troupe.² The art of the Wild West posters projected a distinct aesthetic and advertising ethos into everyday life and culture for many Americans. Cody’s influence was enormous on the “America’s consciousness” through the “arsenal of publicity” produced by Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.³ For thirty years, Wild West advertising continued to evolve, displaying sufficient flexibility to sell Cody’s vision of America and the West at home and abroad, with changing program segments that exhibited global influences—especially America’s military prowess and leadership among nations—on the program and performance selections.

Cody’s team and associated printing firms combined a progressive approach to realism in their art and advertising with attention to developments in printing and photographic reproduction, lithographic designs, and the enormous billboard sizing of the posters. Wild West posters developed by Cody and his partners were investments in the proven successful techniques of the advertising of the American circuses to boost ticket sales, but Cody was also influenced by his friendships with notable artists, painters and illustrators and this led him to seek much more accomplished imagery. The Wild West model ensured positive changes over

²The Scrapbooks of William F. Cody, MS6, MRL, BBCW.

³Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), p. 3.

time in poster design, color quality, scale, and innovation, with a greater focus on American landscape. On August 17, 1898, the *Omaha World Herald* printed the assurance William F. Cody gave to his public concerning his every appearance with the Congress of Rough Riders of the World: that he was “...conscientiously fulfilling every advertised promise made in my name...”⁴

The art and advertising for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West succeeded in branding the American experience at home and abroad as the Western experience, with Cody as the consummate ambassador. Cody played his final performances in Denver to close the Miller Bros. 101 Ranch Real Wild West 1916 season. In his letters dated November 1916 to Louis Cooke, he expressed interest in continuing to work and conduct business in the coming year, but that was not to be. When the U.S. entered the World War in April 1917, four months after Cody’s death, the poster printing business began to work flat out. Advertising for the war effort included the creation of the Division of Pictorial Publicity to oversee the design of 700 posters for U.S. Government, generating some of the most enduring and powerful images of American appeals to patriotism and xenophobia.⁵ These World War I era posters embodied the best qualities of art and lithographic technology combined – characteristics honed, displayed and instantly recognized across thirty years of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West advertising.

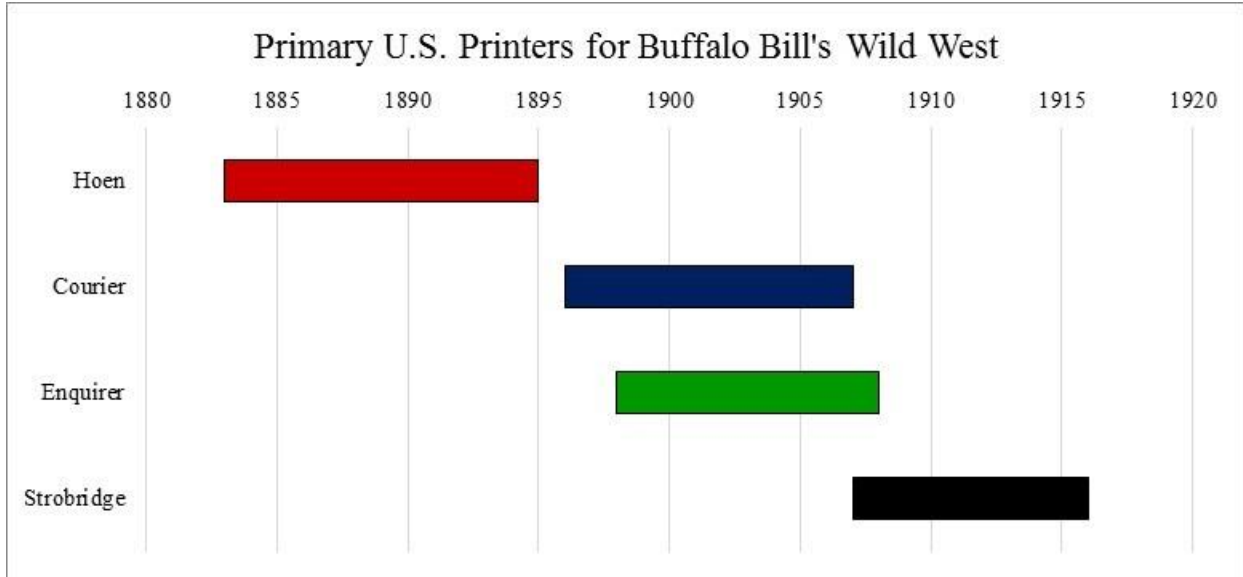
⁴*Omaha Herald Record*, August 17, 1898, in the Scrapbooks of William F. Cody, MS6, MRL, BBCW.

⁵“Advertising War,” World War One centennial exhibition, Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C., April 2017-2019.



Figure 126. A. Hoen & Co. Lithographers & Printers, headquarters complex 1902-1981, 2101 E. Biddle Street, Baltimore, MD. November 30, 2017. Photograph by Michelle Delaney.

Appendix I



Courtesy: Katie Finch, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution

Appendix II

Research Database, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Posters and Art

A companion FileMaker Pro research database has been completed supporting the research for this dissertation for posters and original poster art work for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. Representing the original color lithographs produced for the Wild West, it contains over 540 entries from the three major collections surveyed: 149 posters from the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, in Cody, Wyoming; 143 posters from the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, in Sarasota, Florida; and 253 posters and original Enquirer artwork from the Circus World Museum, in Baraboo, Wisconsin. Fields documented in the database include, as available: collection, collection number, object name, title, maker, year, subject, dimensions, condition, credit, description, digital image, and notes on publication.

In consultation with The Papers of William F. Cody, and through the support of the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, it is the intention of the author to collaborate with the Ringling Museum of Art and Circus World Museum to publish these posters online at codyarchive.org, and thereby dramatically increase the availability of the poster images and related research information online for continued scholarship and possible new digital humanities projects related to the visual culture of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the western show phenomenon. A .pdf version of the database is currently available, upon request to delaneym@si.edu.

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

Museum Collections and Archival Materials

Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Digital Collections

Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Museum, Plains Indian Museum, and Whitney Gallery of Art Collections

Buffalo Bill Museum and Gravesite, Golden, Colorado, Poster, Photograph, and Manuscript Collections

Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, Digital Collections

Circus World Museum, Baraboo, Wisconsin, Robert L. Parkinson Archives and Library

Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado, Western History and Genealogy Collection

Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, Libraries and Digital Collections

Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, New York, Digital Collections

Gilcrease Museum, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Anthropology Collections and Archives

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Department of Prints and Photographs and Digital Collections

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, Department of Photographs

Museum of Modern Art, New York, New York, Department of Photographs

National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Archives Center and Division of Arts and Culture

National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Handbook of North American Indians and National Anthropological Archives

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Department of Photographs

Nebraska State Historical Society and Scout's Rest Ranch, North Platte, Nebraska

Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, Digital Collections for the Classroom

New York Public Library, New York, New York, Department of Prints and Photographs, and Manuscript Division

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C., Departments of Graphic Arts and Photography

The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, Tibbals Learning Center, Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection

University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, University Gallery and Library, Gertrude Käsebier Collection

University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, American Heritage Center, Buffalo Bill Collection, Legal and Financial Records, Barnum & Bailey and Buffalo Bill's Wild West 1884-1905

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, Beinecke Library and Digital Collections, Nate Salsbury Collection

2. Contemporary Printed Materials

i. Periodicals

American Amateur Photographer

British Journal of Photography

Bulletin of Photography

Camera Notes

Camera Work

Collier's Weekly

Everybody's Magazine

Frank Leslie's Weekly (Illustrated)

Harper's Weekly

History of Photography Journal

Photograms of the Year

Scribner's Magazine

The Century (formerly Scribner's Monthly)

The Cosmopolitan

The Graphic

The Photo-Era

The Photo-Miniature

The Photographic Times

Wilson's Photographic Magazine

ii. Newspapers

(Many newspaper articles were located using online databases including, Chronicling America LOC, Newspapers.com, and CodyArchive.org, or microfilm for the Cody Scrapbooks, MRL/BBCM, and Salsbury Scrapbooks DPL)

Atchison Daily Globe, Kansas

Baltimore Sun, Maryland

Barre Gazette, Massachusetts

Birmingham Age Herald, Alabama

Brooklyn Eagle, New York

Buffalo Courier, New York

Charlotte Observer, North Carolina

Chicago Daily News, Illinois

Chicago InterOcean

Chicago Post

Chicago Daily Tribune

The Clarion, Jackson, Mississippi
The Columbus Daily Enquirer, Georgia
The Columbus Enquirer-Sun, Ohio
Columbus Ledger, Ohio
Constitution-Democrat, Keokuk, Iowa
The Daily Register, Newburgh, New York
The Daily Sun, Vincennes, Indiana
Dallas Morning News, Texas
Davenport Republican-Tribune, Iowa
Denver Evening Post, Colorado
Duluth News Tribune, Minnesota
The Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia
The Evening News, Kalamazoo, Michigan
The Flint Daily News, Michigan
Fort Wayne News Sentinel, Indiana
Idaho Stateman
Kansas City Journal, Missouri
Knoxville Journal, Tennessee
London Daily News
Illustrated London News
Macon Daily Telegraph, Georgia
Manchester Guardian, United Kingdom
Morning Herald, Lexington, Kentucky

Morning World Herald, Omaha, Nebraska
Newburgh Daily News, New York
New York Journal
New York Sun
New York Times
New Haven Courier, Connecticut
New Haven Register
Newark Evening Star, New Jersey
Omaha Daily Bee, Nebraska
Oregonian
The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated, London
Philadelphia Inquirer, Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Press
Pittsfield Sun, Massachusetts
Punch, London
Salt Lake Tribune, Utah
Southern Patriot, Marion, Virginia
St. Joseph Herald, Missouri
St. Paul Daily Globe, Minnesota
The State, South Carolina
The Times, Davenport, Iowa
The Times, London
The Times-Star, Cincinnati, Ohio

Trenton Gazette, New Jersey

Washington Post, District of Columbia

Wheeling Register, West Virginia

The Wichita Daily Eagle, Kansas

The World, New York

iii. Newspaper Advertisements

“Buffalo Bill Entertains.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1893, p. 8.

“Buffalo Bill and Dr. Carver’s Wild West: Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibitions,”
Philadelphia Inquirer, August 30, 1883.

“Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.” *Baltimore Sun*, July 4, 1884.

_____. *Baltimore Sun*, May 30, 1909.

_____. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 29, 1893.

_____. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 24, 1898, p. 28.

_____. *Morning Herald Lexington*, April 28, 1901.

_____. *Daily InterOcean*, July 27, 1893.

_____. *Dallas Morning News*, October 7, 1900.

_____. *Dallas Morning News*, October 5, 1902.

_____. *Duluth News-Tribune*, August 4, 1898.

_____. *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, n.d.

_____. *Idaho Statesman*, August 3, 1902.

_____. *Manchester Guardian*, June 4, 1892.

_____. *New York Times*, April 25, 1897.

_____. *Oregonian*, September 6, 1908.

_____. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 14, 1895.

_____. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 24, 1898.

_____. *New York Times*, April 25, 1897, p. 12.

_____. *Trenton Gazette*, June 24, 1884.

_____. *Washington Post*, September 25, 1895.

_____. *Wheeling Register*, October 10, 1884.

_____. *Wheeling Register*, August 22, 1895.

“Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, To the Southland People—Greeting.” *Charlotte Observer*, September 24, 1895, and reprinted in *The State*, September 29, 1895, and *Birmingham Age Herald*, October 6, 1895.

“Cody Day.” *Dallas Morning News*, September 23, 1900.

“The Scroll of Fame.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1907, p. 12.

“Wild West, Buffalo Bill, Doc Carver’s American Sensations.” *New Haven Register*, July 24, 1883.

iv. Selected Newspaper and Periodical Articles

“A Swindle Nipped in the Bud: Work of a Bogus Advance Agent of Buffalo Bill,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1888.

“A.G. Palmer Dies,” *Des Moines Tribune* (Iowa), Aug. 29, 1955, p. 2.

“An Ethenological Congress: Rough Riders from Everywhere and a Host of Military Heroes,” *Wilkes-Barre Times*, May 13, 1899.

“An Unnecessary Accomplishment,” *Carlisle Evening Herald* (Pennsylvania), March 29, 1900, p. 4.

“Artist Receives Indians. Mrs. Käsebier Invites Children. Friends to Meet a Contingent from Buffalo Bill’s Show.” *The New York Times*, April 14, 1901, p. 7.

“Becoming Civilized: Buffalo Bill’s Sioux Chieftians Show the Influences of Travel,” *Washington Post*, April 16, 1907.

Boyer, Mike. “Circus Still Main Attraction,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 11, 1999, p. 52.

- Britt, George. "He Put 'Gee!' in Glamour," *Messenger-Inquirer* (Owensboro, Kentucky), Feb. 8, 1925, p. 2.
- _____. "Has Sold Circus to the U.S. Public," *Muncie Evening Press* (Indiana), Feb. 7, 1925, p. 6.
- "Buffalo Bill," author. "Famous Hunting Parties of the Plains." *The Cosmopolitan* Vol. XVII, No. 2 (June 1894): 131-43.
- "Buffalo Bill Called." *Denver Evening Post*, April 18, 1898.
- "Buffalo Bill Dips Into the Past and Tells Changes in the West." *Washington Post*, May 10, 1908.
- "Buffalo Bill Here," *New York Times*, April 14, 1908.
- "Buffalo Bill is Here: Wild West Show Will Entertain the Veterans," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1900.
- "Buffalo Bill is Recalled by Standish," *Hartford Courant* (Connecticut), July 30, 1944, p. 24.
- "Buffalo Bill Returns: Wild West Show Here After Two Years in Great Britain," *New York Times*, October 30, 1904.
- "Buffalo Bill in Trouble," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 14, 1885.
- "Buffalo Bill Pictures," *Moving Picture World*, September 10, 1910.
- "Buffalo Bill Enters Protest." *Washington Post*, December 29, 1899.
- "Buffalo Bill's Wild West." *Washington Post*, May 28, 1909.
- "Buffalo Bill Writes a True Tale of Frontier Heroism and Explains the Origin of the Term 'Rough Rider,'" *Omaha World Herald*, June 18, 1899.
- Caffin, Charles H. "Mrs. Käsebier's Work—An Appreciation." *Camera Work*, No. 1 (Jan. 1903): 17-19.
- Carpenter, Dan. "McMurtry's Strong Suit is Love of Literature, the West," *Indianapolis Star*, March 2, 2002, p. 13.
- "Cincinnati Posters Vivify the Past," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 24, 1948, p. 118.
- "Circus Memories," *Pittsburgh Press* (Pennsylvania), July 31, 1949, p. 76.

“Col. William F. Cody ‘Buffalo Bill.’” *Atchison Daily Globe*, September 20, 1898, p. 20.

Cooke, Louis E. “40 Years a Showman.” *Newark Evening Star*, autobiographical articles, 1915-1916.

_____. “I Knew Buffalo Bill When.” *The American Weekly*, July 14, 1946, p. 10.

_____. “The End of the Trail: A Final Chapter in the Life and Story of William F. Cody—Buffalo Bill.” Original manuscript chapter, Buffalo Bill Museum and Gravesite, Golden, Colorado, nd.

Cowan, Wes. “Wild West Memorabilia Can Be Affordable, Fun Collectible,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 21, 2012, pp. E1 and E3.

Cowan, Wes, and Ted Sunderhaus. “Buffalo Bill Still a Show-Stopper,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April, 15, 2006, p. 48.

“Crowd at the Wild West: The Exhibition at Ambrose Park Continues to be Well Patronized,” *New York Times*, June 10, 1894.

“Delighted Twenty Thousand: Buffalo Bill’s Great Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1894.

Dow, Arthur W. “Mrs. Gertrude Käsebier’s Portrait Photographs.” *Camera Notes* 3 (July 1899): 22-23.

Editor. “Street Lithography,” *Art Age* (Dec. 1884), p. 57.

Fustier, Gustave. “La Littérature Murale: Essai Sur Les Affiches Littéraires en France,” *Le Livre* (Nov. 10, 1884), p. 337.

“George Bleistein Notable in City and Nation, Dead,” *Buffalo Courier*, April 22, 1918, p. 5.

Gutman, James. “Lucas Printing and A. Hoen & Co. to Form Holding Company,” *Baltimore Sun*, Jan. 23, 1981, p. 13.

Hendricks, Theodore W. “Hoen Lithographic Firm Closes Doors on 146 Years of History in City,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 18, 1981, p. B16.

Hervey, Dr. Walter L. “Gertrude Käsebier—Photographer.” *Photo Era* 62 (March 1929): 131-32.

Hirsch, Rod. “Early Advertising Posters Used Women to Sell Products,” *Courier Post* (Camden, New Jersey), May 4, 2000, p. 26.

“Horseman of All Nations, Buffalo Bill’s Rough Riders from All Parts of the World,”

- Washington Post*, April 19, 1899.
- Hunter, David. "Cincinnati Print Go To Museum," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 9, 1967, p. 90.
- "Illustrated Advertising," in *Modern Advertising: A Monthly Journal for Advertisers*, No. 1, Edited by Hugh MacLeay as Supplement to *The Poster: An Illustrated Monthly Chronicle*, Volumes 4-5 (June 1900): p. 5.
- "Indians in the Wild West Shows: Even When Not Performing Wear Native Dress," *New York Times*, April 21, 1901.
- "It is to Educate: Buffalo Bill's Wild West Repeats Historical Events," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 14, 1899.
- "Joseph Scheuerle," Obituary. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 9, 1948, p. 14.
- "John R. Stricker," Obituary. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (New York), May 24, 1896, p. 23.
- Johnston, Frances Johnston. "The Foremost Women Photographers of America: The Work of Gertrude Käsebier." *Ladies Home Journal* 18 (May 1901): 1.
- Johnston, Frances Benjamin. "Gertrude Käsebier, Professional Photographer." *Camera Work*, No. 1 (Jan. 1903): 20.
- _____. "To Whom It May Concern." *Camera Notes* 3 (Jan. 1900): 121-22.
- _____. "Attracting Customers to the Studio: A Public for Every Class of Work." *British Journal of Photography* (Oct. 14, 1910): 777.
- _____. "Praise from Mrs. Käsebier." *Bulletin of Photography* (September 18, 1912): 419-20.
- _____. "Picture Making: A Talk to the Department of Photography, Brooklyn Institute." *American Photography* 9 (April 1915): 224, 226.
- "[Ma Be] Big Circus Combine." *Baltimore Sun*, August 31, 1907.
- Käsebier, Gertrude. "Studies in Photography," *Photographic Times* 30 (June 1898): 269-72. Reprinted in Peter C. Bunnell, ed. *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography, 1889-1923*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1980.
- Knight, Marion. "Gaudy Mombest in the Heyday of 'Mellerdrummer'," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, November 6, 1966, p. 192 and 206.
- Kobbé, Gustav. "A Painter of the Western Frontier." *The Cosmopolitan*, Volume 31, No. 6 (Oct. 1901): 563-73.

- Lemonnier, Camille. "Quelques Opinions Sur Les Affiches Illustrées," *La Plume* (Nov. 15, 1893), p. 497.
- Myers, Chuck. "Smithsonian Showcases Evolution of American Poster Illustration," *Orlando Sentinel* (Florida), April 19, 1992, p. 81.
- "Pre-Auction Estimates." *Baltimore Sun*, November 24, 2016, p. A18.
- "Preparing to Close: Buffalo Bill's Wild West show Giving to Farewell Performances," *New York Times*, September 23, 1894.
- "Rich Day for Exposition," *Omaha World Herald*, September 18, 1899.
- "Ringlings Buy Out Barnum and Bailey." *New York Times*, October 23, 1907.
- "Rough Riders of the World: Horsemen of Many Nations to Show Their Skill at Buffalo Bill's Show," *New York Times*, May 6, 1894.
- "Sioux Chief's Party Calls. The Indians Make Daily Visits to the Studio Where They Were Entertained at Ten." *The New York Times*, April 23, 1899, p. 20.
- "Some Indian Portraits." *Everybody's Magazine* 4 (Jan. 1901): 2-24.
- "The Circus Stays in Town," *Pensacola News Journal* (Florida), March 20, 1977, p. 57.
- "The Indian as a Gentleman. Those of the Wild West Are Most Chivalrously Inclined as Shown at a Reception and 'Show' Party." *The New York Times*, April 23, 1899, p. 20.
- "The Printing Industry in Cincinnati," *The Cincinnati: The Official Organ of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce*. Volume 2, No. 20 (May 17, 1915): 6.
- "The Warriors of All Nations: A Military Masterpiece Enacted by Real Soldiers," *Wilkes-Barre Times*, May 6, 1899.
- "This Week in History," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, New York), Jan. 7, 2017, p. A24.
- "WH-O-O-OP! Iron Tail and His Braves Come," *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1906.
- "Wild West Attractions in Spite of the Unfavorable Weather Thousands Have Visited Ambrose Park," *New York Times*, May 27, 1894.
- "Wild West Show Opening: First Performance on Wednesday and a Street Parade Tuesday," *New York Times*, March 26, 1899.
- "Wild West Show Opening: Madison Square Garden," *New York Times*, March 26, 1899.

“Woman’s Club” update, *Columbus Journal* (Nebraska), April 22, 1896, p. 3.

3. Secondary Resources

i. Journal Articles and Essays in Books

Anderson-Spivy, Alexandra. “Portraits of the Oglala Sioux Who Rode with Buffalo Bill,” *Esquire Sportsman* (Autumn 1992): 53-58.

Benjamin, Walter. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in Hannah Arendt, ed. and introduction, *Illuminations*. NY: Schocken Books, 1969, pp. 217-252.

Bonner, Robert E. “Not an imaginary picture altogether, but part: The Artistic Legacy of Buffalo Bill Cody.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Spring 2011): 40-59, 94-94.

Breitenback, Edgar. “American Graphics in the Late Nineteenth Century.” *Archives of American Art Journal*, Vol. 30, No.1/4, A Retrospective Selection of Articles (1990): 19-26.

Caffin, Charles H. “Mrs. Käsebier and the Artistic-Commercial Portrait.” *Everybody’s Magazine* 4 (May 1901): 408-495, and included in *Photography as a Fine Art*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901. Reprinted: Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: Morgan & Morgan, 1971, and New York: Amphoto, 1972.

Carpenter, Ronald H. “Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the Frontier Thesis.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, Volume 63 (April 1977).

Carter, Karen L. “The Spectatorship of the Affiche Illustrée and the Modern City of Paris 1880-1910,” *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (March 2012).

Christensen, Paul. “The *Wild West*: The Life and Death of a Myth,” *Southwest Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (2008): 310-325.

Cohn, Bernard S. “Representing Authority in Victorian India,” in Eric Hobsbawn and Terrance Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 182-85.

Cutrer, Emily Fourmy. “Visualizing 19th Century American Culture.” *American Quarterly*, Volume 51, No. 4 (December 1999): 895-909.

Dorsey, Leroy G., and Rachel M. Harlow, “*We Want Americans Pure and Simple*: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism.” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1, (Spring 2003): 55-78.

- Flint, Richard W. "A Great Industrial Art": Circus Posters, Business Risks, and the Origins of Color Letterpress Printing in America," *Printing History* 50, Volume XXV, No. 2 (2009): 18-43.
- Fry, Laura F. "Wonders from Out-of-the-Way Places: Shared Imagery of Frederic Remington and William F. Cody," in Peter H. Hassrick, ed., *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonné II*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2016, pp. 17-41.
- Gerstle, Gary. Theodore Roosevelt and the Divided Character of American Nationalism. *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (December 1999): 1280-1307.
- Green, Rayna. "Gertrude Käsebier's 'Indian' Photographs." *History of Photography Journal* 24 (Spring 2000): 58-60.
- Haddad, John R. "The Wild West Turns East: Audiences, Ritual and Regeneration in Buffalo Bill's Boxer Uprising." *American Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2008): 5-38.
- Haydu, Jeffrey. "Business Citizenship at Work: Cultural Transposition and Class Formation in Cincinnati, 1870-1910." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 107, No. 6 (May 2002): 1424-1467.
- Holm, Ed. "Gertrude Käsebier's Indian Portraits." *The American West* (July 10, 1973): 38-41.
- Hutchinson, Elizabeth. "When the Sioux Party Calls: Käsebier's Indian Portraits and the Gendering of the Artist's Studio." *American Art* 16 (Summer 2002): 40-65.
- Hutchinson, Peter. "A Publisher's History of American Magazine: Magazine Growth in the 19th Century." Copyright Peter Hutchinson, 2008. Published online http://www.themagazinist.com/uploads/Part_1_Population_and_Literacy.pdf
- Limerick, Patty. "Fencing the Past," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (June 2012): 505-509.
- Manns, William. "Posters of the Wild West." *American Cowboy* (September/October 2002): 48-51.
- Millie, Elena, and Andrea Wyatt, "Tomorrow Night, East Lynne!: American Drama as Reflected in the Theater Poster Collection at the Library of Congress," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Winter 1980): 114-151.
- Musser, Charles. "A Cornucopia of Images: Comparison and Judgement Across Theater, Film, and Visual Culture During the Late Nineteenth Century," in Nancy Mowll Matthews, ed., *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film 1880-1910*. Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2005, pp. 5-38.
- Mustalish, Rachel A. "The Development of Photomechanical Printing Processes in the Late 19th

- Century,” *Topics in Photographic Preservation* Volume 7 (1997): 73-87.
- Nadeau, Luis. “Photolithography,” in *Encyclopedia of Printing, Photography, and Photomechanical Processes, Vol. 2*. Fredericton, New Brunswick: Atelier Luis Nadeau, 1990, p. 375.
- Parker, Mike. “Printing—19th Century Style...Buffalo Bill’s Posters,” *Points West* (Summer 2014).
- Piola, Erika. “The Rise of Early American Lithography and Antebellum Visual Culture.” *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 48, No. 2/3, Representation of Economy: Lithography in America from 1820 to 1860 (Summer/Autumn 2014): 125-138.
- Shields, Scott A., and Claudine Chalmers, “Jules Tavernier, Artist and Adventurer,” *California Art Club Newsletter* (Summer-Fall 2014): 1-6.
- Slotkin, Richard. “Nostalgia and Progress: Theodore Roosevelt’s Myth of the Frontier.” *American Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 5 Special Issue, American Culture and the American Frontier (Winter 1981): 608-637.
- _____. “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the Mythologization of the American Empire,” in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of U.S. Imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993, pp. 164-84.
- Smith, Henry Nash. “Buffalo Bill: Hero of the Popular Imagination.” *Southwest Review*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Autumn 1948): 378-384.
- Taft, Robert. “The Pictorial Record of the Old West: I. Frenzeny and Tavernier.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (February 1946), pp. 1-35.
- Wattenberg, Richard. “Frontier Myth on Stage: From the Nineteenth Century to Sam Shepard’s *True West*.” *Western American Literature*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Fall 1989): 225-241.
- Wright, Helena E. “Photography in the Printing Press,” in Bernard Finn, ed., *Presenting Pictures*. London: Science Museum, 2004, pp. 21-42.
- _____. Guest editor, Special Issue devoted to the National Museum of American History Photographic History Collection, Special Issue. *History of Photography*, Volume 24/1 (Spring 2000).
- Wrobel, David M. “Global West, American Frontier.” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 1, (February 2009): 1-26.
- Zalesch, Saul E. “Competition and Conflict in the New York Art World, 1874-1879.” *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 29, No. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1994): 103-120.

Zimmerman, Diane Leenheer. "The Story of Bleistein v. Donaldson Lithographing Company: Originality as a Vehicle for Copyright Inclusivity (Copyright)," in Jane C. Ginsberg and Rochelle Cooper Dreyfuss, eds., *Intellectual Property Stories* (New York: Foundation Press, 2006): 77-108.

ii. Books

A. Hoen on Stone: *Lithographs of E. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore, Maryland 1835-1969*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1969. [exhibition catalog]

Anderson, David L. *Imperialism and Idealism: American Diplomats in China, 1861-1898*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Barnum, P. T., ed. Carl Bode. *Struggles and Triumphs: or, Forty Years' Recollections of P. T. Barnum*. New York: Penguin Books, 1981. [1st pub., 1872]

Basso, Matthew, and Laura McCall, Dee Garceau, eds. *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Beniger, James R. *The Control Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. *The White Man's Indian*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Bird, Elizabeth, ed. *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Bridger, Bobby. *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

Black, Mary. *American Advertising Posters of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Dover, 1976.

Blackstone, Sarah J. *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

_____. *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody 1879-1917*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.

Blanchard, Margaret A, ed. *History of Mass Media in the United States: An Encyclopedia*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Bode, Carl, ed., *Struggles and Triumphs Or, Forty Years' Recollections of P. T. Barnum*. New

- York: Penguin, 1981.
- Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the 20th Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Boisseau, T.J., and Abigail M. Markwyn. *Gendering the World's Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Bold, Christine, ed. *Oxford History of Popular Print: Volume 6, United States Popular Print 1860-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Bolt, Christine. *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987.
- Bonner, Robert E. *William F. Cody's Wyoming Empire: The Buffalo Bill Nobody Knows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- Brands, H.W. *American Colossus: The Triumph of Capitalism 1865-1900*. New York: Doubleday, 2010.
- Brandt, Frederick R. *Designed to Sell: Turn of the Century American Posters in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*. Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1994.
- Broome, Jeff. *Dog Soldier Justice: The Ordeal of Susanna Alderdice in the Kansas Indian War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Brown, Dee. *The American West*. New York: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1994.
- Buffalo Bill Historical Center. *Frontier America: Art and Treasures from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center*. Text and captions by Paul Fees and Sarah E. Boehme. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988.
- _____. *Buffalo Bill Historical Center*. Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1995. [Museum catalog]
- Burns, Sarah. *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in the Gilded Age America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Burke, John. *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1973.
- Burke, John M. *Buffalo Bill from Prairie to Palace*. Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1893.
- _____. *From Prairie to Palace – The Lost Biography of Buffalo Bill*. Ed. Tim Connor. Spokane, Washington: Marquette Books, 2005.
- Burns, Sarah. *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America*. New Haven:

- Yale University Press, 1996.
- Catlin, George. *Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, Volume 1*. New York: Dover Publications, 1973. [1st pub., 1844]
- Carter, Robert A. *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man Behind the Legend*. Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2000.
- Chalmers, Claudine, Scott A. Shields, and Alfred C. Harrison, Jr. *Jules Tavernier, Artists and Adventurer*. Portland, OR: Pomegranate Communications, 2014.
- Christianson, Frank, ed. *The Popular Frontier: Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Transnational Mass Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017.
- Cody, Colonel W.F. *Buffalo Bill's Life Story: An Autobiography*. New York: Dover, 1998 [1st pub. 1920] [Commemorative edn.]
- _____. *Buffalo Bill's Life Story*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1920.
- _____. *Life of Buffalo Bill*. Hartford, CT: Frank E. Bliss, 1879.
- _____. *Story of the Wild West and Campfire Chats*. Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company, 1888.
- _____. *True Tales of the Plains*. New York: Cupples & Leon, 1908.
- _____. *The Wild West in England*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Ed. Frank Christianson.
- Cody, Louisa Frederici. *Memories of Buffalo Bill*. New York: D. Appleton, 1919.
- Collier's Weekly. Charles Dana Gibson, The Man and His Art, with a Brief but Entertaining Narrative of Two Gibson Girls*. New York: Collier's Weekly, 1903. [booklet]
- Cornell, Alice M. *Art as Image: Prints & Promotion in Cincinnati, Ohio*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001.
- Crawford, William. *The Keepers of Light: A History and Working Guide to Early Photographic Processes*. Dobbs Ferry, New York: Morgan and Morgan, 1979.
- Cunningham, Tom F. *Your Fathers the Ghosts: Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Black & White Publishing, 2007.
- Davis, Janet M. *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Daniel, Noel. *The Circus 1870-1950*. Hong Kong: Taschen, 2009.

- Delaney, Michelle. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier*. New York: Harper Collins/Smithsonian, 2007.
- Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- DeMallie, Raymond, ed. *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Diner, Steven J. *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.
- Dippie, Brian W. *Custer's Last Stand: The Anatomy of an American Myth*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976 [1994].
- Dobrow, Joe. *Pioneers of Promotion: How Press Agents for Buffalo Bill, P. T. Barnum, and the World's Columbian Exposition Created Modern Marketing*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.
- Faragher, John Mack. *Re-Reading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History and Other Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Fees, Paul, and Sarah F. Boehme, *Frontier America: Art and Treasures of the Old West from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center*. New York: Harry N. Abrams/Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1988.
- Fellows, Dexter, and Andrew A. Freeman. *This Way to the Big Show: The Life of Dexter Fellows*. New York: Viking Press, 1936.
- Fleming, Paula Richardson. *Native American Photography at the Smithsonian*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003.
- Fleischer Museum. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Scottsdale Gets Bill's Best, Selections from the Buffalo Bill Historical Center*. Scottsdale, Arizona: FFCA Publishing Co., 2002. [Exhibition catalog]
- Flint, Kate. *The Transatlantic Indian 1776-1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Floyd, M. Ryan. *Abandoning American Neutrality: Woodrow Wilson and the Beginnings of the Great War, August 1914-December 1915*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Fox, Charles Philip. *American Circus Posters*. New York: Dover Publications, 1978.
- Fox, Charles Philip, and Tom Parkinson. *Billers, Banners, and Bombast: The Story of Circus Advertising*. Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing, 1985.
- _____. *The Circus in America*. Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey & Ingalls, 2002. [1st pub., 1969]

- Friesen, Steve. *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2010.
- Friesen, Steve, and Francois Chladauk. *Lakota Performances in Europe: The Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017.
- Gallop, Alan. *Buffalo Bill's British Wild West*. Stroud, UK: History Press, 2001.
- Garvey, Ellen Gruber. *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Genty, Gilles. *Toulouse-Lautrec Illustrates the Belle Epoque*. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2016.
- Georgian, Richard Alexis. *Cossacks, Indians and Buffalo Bill: The Adventures of the Georgian Riders in America*. Naples, FL: Barringer Publishing, 2011.
- Goetzmann, William H., and William N. Goetzmann. *The West of the Imagination*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986.
- Goodyear, Frank III. *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Gower, Lord Ronald Sutherland. *Old Diaries 1881-1901*. London: J. Murray, 1902.
- Green, Jonathan. *Camera Work: A Critical Anthology*. New York: Aperture, 1973.
- Greene, Jerome A. *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.
- Griffin, Charles Eldridge. *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2010. Ed. Chris Dixon.
- Grossman, James R., ed. *Essays by Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick: The Frontier in American Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Hall, Roger. *Performing the American Frontier, 1870-1906*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Halttunen, Karen, ed. *A Companion to American Cultural History*. Malden: Blackwell, 2008.
- Hahn, Steven. *A Nation without Borders: The United States and its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910*. New York: Viking, 2016.
- Harris, Neil. *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1973.

- Hassrick, Peter H. *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonné II*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2016.
- Havighurst, Walter. *Buffalo Bill's Great Wild West Show*. New York: Random House, 1957.
- Healy, David. *US Expansionism: The Imperialistic Urge in the 1890s*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011.
- Heyman, Therese Thau. *Posters American Style*. New York: Harry N. Abrams/Smithsonian, 1998.
- Hoganson, Kristin L. *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Homer, William Innes. *A Pictorial Heritage: The Photographs of Gertrude Käsebier*. Wilmington: University of Delaware and Delaware Art Museum, 1979.
- Hoover, Herbert. *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, Years of Adventure, 1874-1920*. New York: Hollis and Carter, 1952.
- Huhndorf, Shari M. *Going Native: Indian in the American Cultural Imagination*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Hutchinson, Elizabeth. *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Iskin, Ruth E. *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting 1860s - 1900s*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014.
- Johnson, Myron. *American Advertising, 1800-1900*. Scotia, NY: Americana Review, 1960.
- Jonnes, Jill. *Eiffel's Tower, and The World's Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, The Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count*. New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Kaplan, Amy. *The Social Construction of American Realism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Kasson, Joy. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.
- Kelman, Ari. *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Kennedy, David M. *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. [Commemorative ed.]

- Kenney, D. J. *Illustrated Cincinnati: A Pictorial Hand-Book of the Queen City*. Cincinnati, OH: Robert Clarke & Co., 1875.
- Klumpke, Anna. *Sa Vie Son Oeuvre*. Paris: Flammarion, 1908.
- _____. *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's (Auto)Biography*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1998. Trans. and intro., Gretchen van Slyke.
- Jackson, William Henry. *Time Exposure: The Autobiography of William Henry Jackson*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.
- Last, Jay T. *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth-Century American Lithography*. Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2009.
- _____. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Leavitt, M. B. *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management*. New York: Broadway Publishing, 1912.
- Levine, Lawrence W. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Love, Eric T. L. *Race over Empire: Racism and United States Imperialism, 1865-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Maddra, Sam A. *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Makharadze, Irakli. *Georgian Trick Riders in American Wild West Shows, 1890s-1920s*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015.
- Maryland Historical Society. *A. Hoen on Stone: Lithographs of W. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore 1835-1969*. Prepared by Lois B. McCauley. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1969.
- Marzio, Peter. *The Democratic Art – Pictures for a 19th-Century America: Chromolithography, 1840-1900*. Boston: David R. Godine, 1979.
- Mayne, Richard, and Douglas Johnson, Robert Tombs, eds. *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- McGerr, Michael. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920*. New York: Free Press, 2003.

- McGovern, Charles. *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- McMaster, Gerald, and Clifford E. Trafzer, eds. *Native Universe: Voices of Indian America*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian and National Geographic, 2004.
- McMurtry, Larry. *The Colonel and Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Superstardom in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.
- McNenly, Linda Scarangella. *Native Performers in Wild West Shows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.
- Michaels, Barbara L. *Gertrude Käsebier: The Photographer and Her Photographs*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992.
- Michno, Gregory F. *Encyclopedia of Indian Wars, Western Battles and Skirmishes, 1850-1900*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 2003.
- Misa, Thomas J. *A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Moses, L. G. *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
- Mozley, Anita Ventura. Introduction. *Muybridge's Complete Human and Animal Locomotion: All 781 Plates from the 1887 Animal Locomotion, by Eadweard Muybridge*. New York: Dover Publications, 1979.
- Novak, Barbara. *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- Ogden, Tom. *Two Hundred Years of American Circus: From Aba-Daba to the Zoppe-Zavatta Troup*. New York: Facts on File, 1993.
- O'Toole, G. J. A. *The Spanish War: An American Epic 1898*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1984.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1987.
- Panzer, Mary. *In My Studio: Rudolf Eickemeyer, Jr., and the Art of the Camera, 1885-1930*. New York: Hudson River Museum, 1986.
- Pennell, Joseph. *Lithography and Lithographers*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915.

- Pérez Jr., Louis A. *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998.
- Peterson, Stephen, and Janis A. Tomlinson. *Gertrude Käsebier: The Complexity of Light and Shadow*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013.
- Pickering, Robert B., ed., *Peace Medals: Negotiating Power in Early America*. Tulsa, OK: Gilcrease Museum, 2011.
- Prochaska, Frank. *The Eagle and the Crown: Americans and the British Monarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Prown, Jules David, et al. *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Rebhorn, Matthew. *Pioneer Performers: Staging the Frontier, 1829-1893*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Reddin, Paul. *Wild West Shows*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Rennert, Jack. *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. New York: Darien House, 1976.
- _____. *Rennert Auction Rare Posters Catalog*, New York, Sept. 8, 2011.
- Rosa, Joseph G., and Robin May. *Buffalo Bill and his Wild West: A Pictorial Biography*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.
- Russell, Don. *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.
- Rydell, Robert W., ed. Ida B. Wells, Frederick Douglas, Irvine Garland, and Ferdinand L. Barnett, *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition 1893*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- _____. *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- _____. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Rydell, Robert W. and Rob Kroes. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Sagala, Sandra K. *Buffalo Bill on Stage*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2008.

- Sato, Tomoko. *Alphonse Mucha: In Quest of Beauty*. Prague: Mucha Foundation Publishing, 2015.
- Saxon, A. H., ed. *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Sayers, Isabelle. *Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. New York: Dover, 1981.
- Schroeder, Johnathon E. *Visual Communication*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Sheffer, Debra J. *The Buffalo Soldiers: Their Epic Story and Major Campaigns*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2015.
- Slotkin, Richard. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998. [1st pub., 1992]
- _____. *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization: 1800-1890*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Picador, 1977.
- Sorg, Eric. *Buffalo Bill - Myth and Reality*. Santa Fe, NM: Ancient City Press, 1998.
- Spangenberg, Kristin L., and Deborah W. Walk, eds. *The Amazing American Circus Poster: The Strobridge Lithographing Company*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum and The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 2011.
- Sprague, Donovan Arleigh. *Images of America: Pine Ridge Reservation*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004.
- Stanton, Theodore, ed. *Reminiscences of Rosa Bonheur*. New York: D. Appleton, 1910.
- Szasz, Margaret Connell, ed. *Between Indians and White Worlds: The Cultural Brokers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Taft, Robert. *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889*. New York: Dover, 1964. [1st pub., 1938]
- _____. *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900*. New York: Scribner, 1953.
- Tooze, Adam. *The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931*. New York: Viking, 2014.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

- _____. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Trask, Jeffrey. *Things American: Art Museums and Civic Culture in the Progressive Era*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
- Truettner, William H. *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America 1710-1840*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Tucker, Spencer C. *The Encyclopedia of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars: A Political, Social, and Military History*. 3 Vols. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2009.
- Robert M. Utey, *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- _____. *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Utey, Robert M., and Wilcomb E. Washburn. *Indian Wars*. 3rd ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.
- Viola, Herman. *Trail to Wounded Knee: The Last Stand of the Plains Indians, 1860-1890*. Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2003.
- Wallis, Michael. *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999.
- Warren, Louis S. *Red Sun: The Ghost Dance Religion and the Making of America*. New York: Basic Books, 2017.
- _____. *Buffalo Bill's America - William Cody and the Wild West Show*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
- Webb, Walter Prescott. *The Great Plains*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981. [1st ed. 1931]
- Wetmore, Helen Cody, and Zane Grey. *Buffalo Bill: Last of the Great Scouts*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. [Commemorative edn.]
- Whaples, Robert, and Dianne C. Betts, eds. *Historical Perspectives on the American Economy: Selected Readings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- White, Richard. *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- _____. *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*.

- New York: W.W. Norton, 2011.
- White, Richard, and Patricia Nelson Limerick. *The Frontier in American Culture*. Edited by James R. Grossman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Wittmann, Matthew. *Circus and the City: New York: 1793-2010*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Wilson, R. L. with Greg Martin. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: An American Legend, Featuring The Michael Del Castello Collection of the American West*. New York: Random House, 1998.
- Wojtowicz, James W. *The W. F. Cody Buffalo Bill Collection with Values*. Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1998.
- Yost, Nellie Snyder. *Buffalo Bill, His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures and Fortunes*. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1979.
- Zitkala-Ša. *American Indian Stories and Old Indian Legends*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2014.

iii. Dissertations

- Burns, Emily. "Innocence Abroad: The Construction and Marketing of an American Artistic Identity in Paris 1880-1910." PhD diss., Washington University St. Louis, 2012.
- Dixon, Christopher. "Buffalo Bill in Barcelona." PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2013.
- Henneman, Jennifer. "Her Representation Precedes Her: Transatlantic Celebrity, Portraiture, and Visual Culture, 1865-1890." PhD diss., University of Washington, 2016.
- Johnston, Jeremy. "Two Rough Riders." PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2017.
- Knappe, Stephanie Fox. "Art Perpetuating Fame: The Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West." PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013.
- Voelker, Emily. "From Both Sides of the Lens: Anthropology, Native Experience and Photographs of American Indians in French Exhibitions, 1870-1890." PhD diss., Boston University, 2017.