5-2019

The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly: Performance, Identity, and the 1887 London Residency of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West in Context

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The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly: Performance, Identity, and the 1887 London Residency of Buffalo Bill Cody's *Wild West* in Context

An Honors Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
Bates College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By

Cameron Connor Huftalen
Lewiston, Maine,
March 20, 2019

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family. Without them, I don't know where I would be. Thank you for always letting me ramble at you, because I know you probably don't need to know about every bison that got on board a steamboat, but I'm happy you don't mind me telling you anyway. To my parents who raised me to always be learning (even when that learning is very niche), and to my brother who is always ready to challenge me or tell me to cool it, thank you.

I would also like to thank my advisor, Dr. Caroline Shaw for encouraging me in every way as a student of history over the last four years. Thank you for nudging me in the right direction year after year (i.e. picking up the History major sophomore year, picking up Honors last year, and now thinking about the future...). You have always supported me, from the first time I ever took your class and told you I was going to write my European Revolution paper on the "Punk Revolution," to the year after that when I told I wanted to write my seminar paper about different occult societies' gender and sex norms, to this past spring when I decided I wanted to try to bring my interest in the American West and the mythos around it into my *European* history concentration. I will be forever grateful for your guidance.

To my friends as a whole, thank you simply for making it through this process. To Francesca Steiner I will be forever grateful to have met someone who likes coffee *and* doesn't mind me bouncing my ideas off them. To Katie Ziegler, thank you for never bringing up my deadlines when I was taking "self-care" nights on the floor of your common room watching wrestling– you are one of my favorite people to talk cultural history with, and I will always be thankful for that. To Katie Weidmann, thank you for reminding me to not let picture perfect get in the way of good.

To my thesis writing group, you are all so very sweet and I wish I could take your affirmations and vibes with me beyond this year.

To the Office of Intercultural Education – you have been my home for the last four years. Thank you for bringing me into your light and letting me do my best to shine it back outward.

To the history department as a whole, thank you for always engaging with me, and making me feel like I have something to contribute to a bigger discussion.

To Sam Carbery – A wise man once told me, 'so far so good.' I hear he's doing well these days. Thank you for always being there for me, you don't know how much you mean to me. Thank you also, for inadvertently sparking this entire thesis. We didn't know what we were getting into but I'm so glad I could get into it with you.

To Manuel Garcia-Rulfo – I'm going to be working on a book that needs an actor soon.

To myself: I'm very proud of you. Whatever you do next, you have this piece of work that is *yours*.

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Introduction

"George Sanger's Buffalo Bill, wrainer of the ancient order and his Bully Boys. No connection with any other person known as Buffalo Bill either in London or the provinces." - *The London Times,* September 8, 1887.[1]

In 1887 *The London Times* noted a legal action filed against George Sanger, by American citizen William F. Cody -- better known as Buffalo Bill. 1887 was the year in which Cody brought his famous *Wild West* performance show to Great Britain as part of the American Exhibition of that year. The legal action filed against Sanger was one concerned with the use of Cody's image, and the language he was utilized to promote his *own* version of Cody's show. At the end of the legal back and forth the court decided there was no legal precedent to inhibit Sanger from the wording he was using to promote his show (provided he not use Cody's name in it, and that he made use of his term "far West" rather than "Wild West"), but that the use of pictures directly from Cody's show would violate the legality of his advertising, and he was advised to publish the pictures at his own risk.[2]

The response to the American Exhibition was great, and there is no lack of newspaper coverage to cue one in to that. What is particularly interesting, however, is how Cody's show overtook almost any other aspect of the Exhibition, prompting all sorts of favorable reviews, and even (in Sanger's case) copycat shows. Britons of the late 1800s experienced a deep fascination and engagement with aspects of the American frontier, and the mythos surrounding it. Though Sanger's interest can certainly be tied into financial benefit, there are many others whose interest falls outside of that arena, and allow us to look more toward identity formation in Britain during this era. There is a considerable canon of work on Empire and the intersections that it co-

[1] "High Court of Justice," *The London Times*, August 25, 1887, page 8.
[2] "High Court of Justice," *The London Times,* September 8, 1887, page 8.

produced during this time period, i.e. race, gender, and class. However, what has not been looked at, is British interest in the mythos of the American West, particularly as it pertains to how British identity is consolidated during an era of increasing industrialization, imperial expansion and rule, and burgeoning cultural anxieties. Much attention has been given to how mainland Britain engaged with its Empire abroad, and how colonial engagement shaped perceptions of race, gender, and class at the end of the 1800s, but the connection with the American frontier provides new avenues for analysis. I argue that by looking at British reaction to and consumption of American Western 'culture,' and portrayals thereof (particularly the *Wild West* in London in 1887), we can better understand the complexity of British self reflections and resonances of identity development.

Much of my work falls within the analysis of performance and exhibition. While I am looking at a very particular example of exhibition (i.e. The *Wild West* in London in 1887), it is also an idea that undergirds the entirety of my work in a more amophous sense. My framing for this is inspired by Judith Butler's work on gender and performance, wherein I see direct links to my own findings in that just as "the acts by which gender is constituted bear similarities to performative acts within theatrical contexts," so too do other acts and constructions or facets of British self-understanding and identity, such as class and race.[3] The scholarship on exhibition touches many areas of interest inherent to Empire. Not only do world fairs and exhibitions provide recreation opportunities to occupy the spare leisure time of the masses, but rather as Sadiah Qureshi points out in her chapter on the development of racial evolution rhetoric, that

[3] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal,* 40, no. 4, (December 1988): 521

world fairs were distinct arenas for, "making and displaying scientific knowledge," through presentation, performance, and calculated audience engagement.[4]

Rather than being simple displays of "individual human curiosities," international fairs moved into the realm of providing audiences with "sequences of human evolution that sought to reconfigure how visitors conceptualized human pasts," and reified linear racial evolution.[5] Often, exhibitions would rely on rhetoric that reinforced that linear narrative of evolution, touting performers as "missing links" in an evolutionary narrative. Advertising of those performances aided in creating an understanding of racial evolution for fair-goers.[6] However, beyond that singular "missing link" mainstay of exhibits Qureshi argues that international fairs also "presented visitors with hundreds of performers arranged in highly racialized, synchronic sequences that were claimed to exemplify diachronic human development through the *races* of mankind." [7] Thus, by walking through such arrangements and observing and internalizing the otherness and racialized lack of civilization exhibited by these races, British visitors were creating a.) a solidified racialized evolutionary narrative and b.) a concrete sense of self derived from comparison to the other. Jeffrey Auerbach too comments on this phenomenon of exhibitions engaging the British public in a way that set up performance of non-British people, generally colonial subjects. He references in particular the Sydenham Crystal Palace Museum of Man, and how it deliberately allowed for British patrons to internalize a racialized hierarchy, of which they existed at the same end of the spectrum that Qureshi's subjects found themselves.[8]

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[4] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development: Exhibition and Evolution in Victorian Britain," in *Evolution and Victorian Culture*, edited by Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, , 274.
[5] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development…" 270.
[6] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development…" 269.
[7] Sadiah Qureshi, 274.
[8] Jeffrey Auerbach, "Empire Under Glass: The British Empire and the Crystal Palace, 1851-1911," in *Exhibiting Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire* edited by John McAleer and John M. MacKenzie, Manchester University Press, 2015, 125.

Though Auerbach's example utilized dioramas and non-living depictions of such different cultures and races, it is still indicative of both exhibitions as an arena wherein performance was occurring, and where racialized identity was continually created and reinforced. The performance here was not on behalf of the inanimate depictions of colonial peoples, but rather on behalf of the British individuals that were walking through the exhibit and making comparisons of their own lives to the lives of those depicted. Furthermore, performances at exhibitions are an extremely important factor to consider in that they drew some of the biggest audiences of British society. Thus, not only were exhibits arenas wherein identity could be created through a symbiotic performance, that performance could then reach to all manner of audiences in attendance, creating a wide-sweeping national theatrical spectacle.

Performance then, is a somewhat amorphous concept for my work. I, like Butler, argue that 'successful' creations of social constructions, like gender, rely on the performance of an individual as well as the recognition of the audience for which they are performing rather than being static predetermined conditions removed from any human agency. In the case of the exhibits mentioned above, there is the obvious answer of colonial subject performers doing the physical performing, either in shows or in static displays, but I also argue that there is performance being done on the part of British consumers. The way in which they attended, observed, internalized, and then spoke about what they had seen, is just as important as the performance of the racialized subjects to a creation of that racial theory and rhetoric. Exhibition then, was a key part of developing and consolidating British identity in the late 1800s. I propose that just as gender is created through a series of mutually recognized acts constantly being re-created and re-defined by the circumstances of the audience and actors, so too were other facets of British self-understanding and identity at this point in history. If I can connect Butler's work

with the scholarship Qureshi and Auerbach provide here to link Butler's conception of gender formation to that of racialization, I believe I can likewise extend it to gender and class performances within exhibition. Thus, my work seeks to build upon a number of areas, branching very prominently from scholarship on identity performance and exhibition writ large, in order to analyze the impact of the American Frontier mythos on Britain, specifically the 1887 residence of Buffalo Bill's *Wild West* at the American Exhibition in London.

Though as stated previously there have been many forays into the scholarship of Empire regarding class, gender, and race, none yet have fully touched on the idea of how British engagement and interest with not just America as a recognized geo-political actor, but specifically the American West as a concept and theater of performance, affected British self-perceptions. The United States in the late 1800s provided a unique partner for British engagement. On the one hand, history was integral to interaction between these powers as it directly pertains to their own political history -- with Britain holding colonial dominion over what became the United States less than 150 years previous. This past created a unique relationship for the British Empire to grapple with, as it sought to strike a balance between paternalistic views and rhetoric of the United States, and engagement and recognition that befitted a similarly powered global actor. On the other end of history's importance to this relationship was the contemporary American Imperial expansion into the west, within which Britain could find many mirrored actions and performances from their own historical and current imperial expansions.

The American imperial expansion upon which the entirety of Cody's *Wild West* was based dealt greatly with phenomena British imperial expansion also encountered.[9] Beyond that,

[9] We see similar imperial expansion and conflict with indigeneity in Australia, with concessions made toward indigenous groups that tend to be very paternalistic and still control oriented - see Philippa Levine, "After America,"

however, it *also* dealt with arenas wherein cultural anxieties were beginning to grow within Britain. The American West at large and Cody's show as a particular realm, were areas where British anxieties regarding their classed hierarchy and the possible permeable borders thereof, gender norms, roles, and performance, and finally racialized engagements, divisions, and tensions could be grounded.[10] Through consumption and perpetuation of American Frontier stories and exhibitions, Britain could come to work with some of those anxieties through performance. Though the American West was not a total balm for said anxieties it did allow for a unique interaction through which Britain's identity could be developed and an entity it could be tested against or with. In short, stories, performances, and British presence in and about the American West allowed for Britain at large to involve itself in a years-long performance of identifying with particular areas of American Western life, while at the same time distancing itself from other areas, that would in total help to reify what a uniquely British sense of self was at the time in areas such as white class, gender, and race.

Obviously, providing an entire overview of Britain's engagement with performance and exhibition as it applies to identity development in this context would be too ambitious a project, especially given the lack of scholarship surrounding the impact of the *Wild West* and American Frontier on Britain during the late nineteenth century. While the existing canon on Empire is extensive, my work on how the *Wild West* and depictions of American Western life affected British identity formation within this broader context of Empire is new. Therefore, I have predominantly framed my work utilizing several key authors in order to ground myself in a vast

in *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset*, 49-69, second edition, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2013. Additionally, Catherine Hall discusses the desire to export domestic structures from Britain to colonial holdings - see Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire,* 46-76, edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

[10] These anxieties and traditional roles will be woven into chapters as we go along, therefore, though much is intertwined and will carry over, each chapter will seek to situate itself with supporting primary material regarding contemporary anxieties, the link to my own argumentation, and references to other scholars' work in the areas.

area of academia. Judith Butler, Jeffrey Auerbach, and Sadiah Quereshi are scholars I have already mentioned in this work and are integral to how I align that with work on British exhibition and performance in the late 1800s.

With regards to the intersections of class, race, and gender, much of my work has been shaped by Gregory Kosc's discussion of the use of the American West and all its trappings as a space wherein British sport-hunters could develop a uniquely British classed and racialized masculinity through both their surroundings and the work they engaged with.[11] Louis S. Warren's piece "Cody's Last Stand: Masculine Anxiety, The Custer Myth, and the Frontier of Domesticity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West," ties very closely into Kosc's work as well as other scholars in his analysis of the resonance that the *Wild West* had with American audiences, through its work to portray 'traditional' (American) gendered, classed, and racial roles.[12]

Catherine Hall's work on intersections of gender, race and Empire have been indispensable, as will become very apparent in chapters three and four.[13] Likewise, I also have drawn from Philippa Levine's work within that same collection that features Hall's work -- *Gender and Empire*-- which has been essential to better understand how current scholars are viewing these intersections.[14] Anne McClintock's chapter "Olive Schreiner: The Limits of Colonial Feminism" in her work *Imperial Leather* has been vital to my exploration of how gender and race were engaging with one another on the British colonial frontier in Africa, and

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[11] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity and Reconciling Class in the American West: British Gentlemen Hunters and their Travel Accounts, 1865-1914," PhD Diss., University of Texas, Arlington, 2010, ProQuest.
[12] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand: Masculine Anxiety, The Custer Myth, and the Frontier of Domesticity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 49-69.
[13] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire,* 46-76, edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, and Catherine Hall, "The Nation Within and Without,"in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867*, 179-233, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2000.
[14] Philippa Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?," in *Gender and Empire,* 1-13, edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

thus has informed my conceptions of the intersections of race, gender, and Empire as they relate back from a wider global sphere. This is likewise similar to some of Hall's work regarding colonial holdings in the same vein, wherein British ideals were imposed and reified in colonial spaces.[15] Toward an explicitly gendered end, though her work is not necessarily content-wise in line with my own, Alex Owen is also integral to the development of my third chapter, in terms of understanding the contemporary social roles of women and the parameters for their transgression, of which I have drawn from the first chapter of her book *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England.*[16]

All of these authors have been integral to furthering my conception of how gender and the other social constructs with which it is co-produced (i.e. class and race) work to create the climate in which my work situates itself. While none of these works directly confront the specific topic I look at throughout this thesis, their work toward analyzing the same intersections I do has laid a foundation from which I can assess conceptions of these social categories in conjunction with my own original research, and come to the conclusions that I do. Though I bring them in as they become necessary to framing my own work within each individual chapter, I wanted to utilize this brief section within my introduction to draw attention to the vast canon of work that my own work seeks to embed itself in. Furthermore, while other authors and contributors are brought into my work as they become necessary and relevant per thematic chapter, these particular scholars warrant highlighting within this introduction due to the overlap of their work with how I have attempted to integrate my own argumentation into their broader realms of academia, wherein British existence in an age of Empire is analyzed through lenses of class,

[15] Anne McClintock "Olive Schreiner: The Limits of Colonial Feminism" in *Imperial Leather,* 258-295, New York: Routledge.
[16] Alex Owen, "Power and Gender: The Spiritualist Context," in *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England,* 1-17, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

gender, and race. My unique contribution here is the analysis of a moment that thus far has remained unanalyzed, and especially has not been given consideration toward the role it plays in shaping British identity.

I have identified several areas of particular interest in this identity development to which I would like to extend my analysis over the course of this work. The three thematic chapters deal with white Anglo-American interaction and class, creation and performance of gender, and finally race and Empire. However, preceding these three large thematic sections is an initial section that deals with setting forth whose voices are being recognized in this cultural transference, what their role is, the social history thereof, and their stake in this performance of British-ness. This chapter acts as part set-up in order to understand the entirety of the question of cultural translation from the American West to Great Britain, and serves both to set up later chapters in that it explains some of the actors and lays groundwork for their relationships, but also tackle motivations and social history for these actors and facets. Within this chapter I look at two main areas— British individuals on the ground in the American west, and British investors, consumers of culture, and individuals involved with the American Exhibition back in Great Britain. By looking at the patterning of investments, descriptors, and practices of both these sides of the Atlantic, my goal is to be able to get at the nuance of these roles. In particular, I look to assess what the British are doing at this point, why they are doing it, and what its effects were. Though this seems fairly removed from my initial claims about exhibition and performance, it is a necessary chapter to include as it does work toward understanding the social landscape and history that provide for my thematic chapters. This section gets into questions of who is creating rhetoric about American West-British engagement in this era and what their stake in that engagement is. This aids in better understanding how they are contributing to the overall

performance Britain is engaged with going forward. By understanding the actors, circumstances, and their respective histories, we can understand the exhibition they engage within in the following more targeted areas.

The second chapter of this project aims to assess the Anglo-American relations aspect of this era and cultural cross-over. There is a pattern of hierarchical relations indicative of the complicated British psyche in this era that we can see through media coverage of events such as the American Exhibition. While there was emphasis on developing good relations with the United States both in the realm of economic investment as well as in the case of the international relationship building (like the American Exhibition), there was also an air that Great Britain was still "above" the United States, so to speak, and that they were somewhat responsible for the successes of their former colony. On a more nuanced level, class anxieties and tensions and the concept of egalitarianism emerge thematically within this chapter. At this point in history the two respective countries were operating within very different frames. The United States was working in a democratic framework with the West truly embracing the idea of egalitarianism (granted, this presumes one is white) and was Britain working within a monarchical and politically classed framework. However, against the backdrop of changing voting legislation that threatened those class boundaries in the Britain (at least in the realm of politics) we see anxieties become more pronounced, resulting in an attempt of distancing from the American Exhibition and "American-ness" while the seemingly paradoxically *Wild West* maintained success in the press.

The third chapter builds out of this concern about shifting traditional social boundaries, extending into the realm of gender. Class considerations are intertwined with gender performance of the era, wherein there was a concern about masculinity tied to concerns about shifting class identities. Upper and middle-class British men were seeking ways in which to

engage in a performance that reified their position as economically and socially privileged. At the same time, however, they also sought to engage with tenants of more working-class masculinity merely to enable them to say they *could* perform that work should they have to, yet their status as upper-class should keep them separate. Exhibition became truly powerful here when British visitors to the American Exhibition were treated to a performance that assuaged concerns about masculinity by providing depictions of powerful men that were self-sufficient protectors of the domestic sphere, as well as larger racial hierarchy. Tied into these performances was the status of women as well. Occupying a dualistic role of being seemingly transgressive yet ultimately a part of a performance that reaffirmed traditional domestic roles, women within the *Wild West* provided Britain with something that would possibly assuage both sides of the tumultuous push for more expansive gender roles. On the one hand, figures such as Lilian Smith and Annie Oakley allowed British audiences both to witness and then review positively their independent, seemingly masculine shooting prowess. On the other hand, the entire rest of the show worked to relegate women to the domestic sphere, and continuously put them in the position of something to be protected. Thus, they aided men within their ultimate performance and creation of masculinity. Additionally, women's role in the show addressed concerns regarding the consequences of urbanization on women by providing safe, sanitized middle class women in the show protected by the men in their lives from both industrialization and racialized danger. This resonated well with British audiences for the most part, as the soothing balm of masculine competency and role as protector reverberated with those concerned about a lack of masculinity, and narratives about the protection of women fell into familiar narratives, such as that of a protection against racial violence.

Thus, we arrive at my fourth and final chapter that deals with British consumption of racialized tension in the context of the American Frontier and *Wild West.* As one can readily see, these three thematic chapters contain a lot of overlap and should not be considered in isolation from each other. Expressions of class tie into racial hierarchy, gendered anxieties deal directly with classed concerns, and race permeates both categories. They are separated in order to provide deeper, individual looks into several rich areas of each theme; however, they are all co-produced by each other and thus we arrive at a junction wherein a chapter upon anxieties regarding gender can easily transition into performance, anxieties, and reification of race. While race is an integral part of Empire scholarship, it did not necessarily come home to Britain when it came to self-reflecting on racial conflict on the colonial frontier. What *did* play at home, however, was intense coverage and essentially blow-by-blow recounts of indigenous and white American conflict both within official newspapers and story-papers such as the *British Boys' Paper*. British outlets and audiences were then left to either praise or condemn it, and they did this in equally minimal measure. Above all else, they consumed these stories of conflict. This also happened with the *Wild West* when it makes its year-long residence in London. The most talked about aspect of the entire show was the indigenous peoples, their lifestyles, and the play-conflict. The coverage of this mirrored the enthusiastic and evocatively worded coverage of conflict in North America, and there was obviously an intense element of entertainment associated with it. What this final chapter seeks to do is narrow into the importance of exhibition and performance of race within the context of British interest in the American Frontier, tap into existing scholarship on race and empire, and provide a preliminary insight into these intersections while foregrounding Cody's *Wild West*'s residence at a particularly poignant time for British racialized thought. My argument is that British society was so enamored with these depictions of indigenous/white conflict from a

different country than theirs because it validated their own racial beliefs without forcing them to confront the violent consequences of their own imperial presence.

What will become apparent within the conclusion to this work, is that at the end of this particular project we are still left with a lot of ends to consider and that provide viable avenues for future research. Though I will not belabor those points now, the impact that the *Wild West* and that stories of and engagement with the American Frontier provided Britons something that went beyond surface level entertainment. Though entertainment is not to be discounted, the underlying idea of performance and exhibition and how those concepts interacted with and even worked to create distinctions of class, gender, and race in the British context is one that deserves to be highlighted. The American Frontier was doing active political and social work within Britain, and despite immense literature having been written about the British Empire and its constructions of these identities and their intersections, there remains a lack of insight into how the performance and narrative of the "Wild West" had a poignant effect in these realms.

Welcome, then, to the *Wild West*.

Chapter One: Historic and Social Context for British Engagement with the American West

Over the span of several decades within the 1800s, North America saw a renewed interested from the British population, particularly with the expansion of the American West. As more and more people ventured to the American West on different excursions, written accounts of their interactions and experiences were published and made available to those with means to consume them. As Terry Abraham puts it, "the armchair travelers were interested in nearly everything about the West."[17] Further to that end, accessibility became less of a concern with the expansion of railroads throughout the American frontier, opening up not only trade but also a means of travel for Britons "bored with the scenery of Europe and the Alps" that had come to the West "to see what was different and new," -- a "Tourists' Frontier" to so speak.[18] There is something unique about the unbridled interest in the American West expressed by the British that sets it apart from any other curiosity. Abraham sets it forward that "because of the strained relationship between the Britons and their former colonists, there was a great deal of interest in the developing republic's politics and cultural life."[19] This trend of interest within politics and culture of America as a whole is something I will spend more time developing in the next chapter, but even beyond that, I argue this interest functions beyond the realm of an intertwined past. Experiencing the American West and consuming the translated and transported culture thereof gave Brits an avenue through which they not only could further define themselves as sharing similar experiences and anxieties, but ultimately defining themselves as distinctly Other and British, thereby validating their own performance of a British identity.

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[17] Terry Abraham, *Mountains So Sublime: Nineteenth Century British Travelers and the Lure of the Rocky Mountain West*, Michigan State University Press: Michigan, 2007, 10.
[18] Terry Abraham, *Mountains so Sublime…*174-175.
[19] Terry Abraham, 10.

While I am most interested in the performance of this identity in the context of the American Exhibition era, and thus much of my work falls into the latter years of the 1800s, the historical impact and precedents that early interlocutors had with the American West is essential to understanding the late 1800s. This chapter seeks to provide a historical overview spanning British engagement from early 1830s sport hunters, through to the engagement of cattle ranching investors in the five years immediately preceding the American Exhibition. This will ground my later work on British identity development in the context of the American West.

In order to more fully understand the transference of culture that occurred throughout these years, it is important to note the particular actors within this transfer. On a broader level, there were the British authors on the ground in the United States. Those are the people that witnessed the American Frontier, detailed it, and reported their interpretations and descriptions of it to an audience not present. The other group was that intended audience -- the Brits that were local in their home country. To break this down even further, there were sub-groups within these broad swathes. I have identified British sportsmen, cattle ranchers/investors, and general travel writers as the corpus for British literature that emerged from Brits on the ground in North America. On the flip side to that, we have business class Brits, royalty and government, and the general British public (more working class and daily life), that consumed the culture within the geographic boundaries of the United Kingdom. I want to foreground a sentiment to keep in mind for the duration of this chapter. In examining the reasoning behind the interest, and perpetuation and accessibility to American Western culture in the British sphere of existence and experience, there lies a common thread. Whatever the class status, profession, or locale of the separate parties involved in the larger transference, there runs a common thread that the perpetuation and consumption of this culture aided in the definition of an authentically British self. That is to say,

despite complex nuances within the implementation of this cultural transfer, there remained a larger impact. The transfer absolutely shaped British identity during this crucial era of its modern history and that recognition will go on to aid us in understanding where traction of the performance of British identity through the consumption of the American West and Bill Cody's *Wild West* had its roots. While some of these actors will have direct presence in later chapters, others are provided more in an effort to explain where British engagement with the American West was historically tracking from, and helps to inform our interpretations of it in a later era nonetheless.

Chronologically speaking, the British sportsmen are the first of the groups I've outlined that aided in shaping British identity in the context of the American West. Beginning in the earlier years of the 1800s, roughly the 1830s, it became more commonplace for British gentlemen to seek sport hunting in North America. This manifested in an influx of British gentlemen taking voyages across the ocean, pairing up with American guides, and taking their prowess west in search of buffalo and elk. Important to note about these individuals, is both the manner in which they discussed themselves and their adventures. Their descriptions of themselves and of the people they interacted with are indicative of the impact these journeys had on British gentlemen as a whole. The narratives produced from these endeavors act toward multiple ends.

On one side, they were instructional in nature. Take Grantley F. Berkeley's *The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies*. At the outset of the memoir, he wrote that his goal with the documentation and publishing of this piece was to address a gap in the informative literature regarding the North American continent. Departing England in summer of 1859, Berkeley hoped to show "to the rich and rising, and, I hope, adventurous and hardy sportsmen of the present

day," that one could participate in the House of Commons session of parliament, take a several month hunting excursion to the American West, and be back in time for Christmas.[20] Berkeley's book was published in 1861, and he directly commented on the lack of useful literature up to this point. The romantic literature was there (something we will see also within our discussion on travel literature of a more descriptive nature), such as the book he found describing one man's time spent with the Pawnees. However, everyone he spoke to about a hunting trip "could not tell [him] a jot more than [he] knew [himself]."[21] Though there were descriptions of the hunts from other Britons, "many gentlemen, who, having… done everything, had forgotten to take notice of the method, cost, and practice, the all in all as to future usefulness…" [22] Thus Berkeley now had a larger purpose-- he was preparing an informative instructional manual for others with his shared identity to engage, and in the process of doing so, he carefully constructs the identity of a Britishness against what he sees as American in his work. I will return to shortly to these earlier gentlemen, because despite their work not being instructionally up to Berkeley's standards, they *were* developing and practicing likewise a similar specifically British identity in the West, just as Berkeley was.

In the same vein as Berkeley was Lord Dunraven, though his status was more noteworthy and his manner of documenting his work slightly different. Dunraven is one of many who made up the corpus of sportsmen journalists of the era, and he operated in the second half of the 1800s. An Anglo-Irish journalist by trade, he spent a lot of leisure time hunting in the American West, and it is from these experiences that he documented his accounts. One in particular I will

[20] Hon. Grantley F. Berkeley, *The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies*, London: Hurst and Hackett Publishers, 1861, hosted on HathiTrust as an ebook, 1-2.
[21] Hon. Grantley F. Berkeley, *The English Sportsman...* 3.
[22] Berkeley 3-4.

highlight later was an address to the American Geographical Society, transcribed and then circulated in print, detailing moose and caribou hunting in Colorado.[23]

Another key voice in the cultural transfer is those of the cattle ranchers and investors, making themselves known through media outlets. Memoirs like that of John Clay about his life operating within numerous ranches and ranching systems in the American West provided readers with extra information to assess the personal experiences of those involved with the cattle business. However, the primary and most consistent flow of literature regarding these business endeavors in the American west were made through papers such at *The London Times* and the *Economist*. It was through these venues that the cattle business's roots, boom, and eventual collapse, were best chronicled. Important to note with this as well, is that though most likely intended for more upper-class business-oriented audiences, these were accessible forms of media for the general literate public, and they bridged a more direct link between those in North America and those in the United Kingdom. In this system, cattle ventures such as Prairie Cattle Company, Texas Land and Cattle Company, and Matador Land and Cattle Company, would be backed by investors. Facing growing competition from the American beef cattle industry, the British Government sent a commission to North America to assess the opportunities for economic development on the ground in the country, and published it in 1880.[24] It would be prudent to note at this point, that the American West was not the only locale of interest to the United Kingdom in this regard, however I do believe it is an important case study to look at as the aura surrounding it plays into the larger framework of cultural consumption I wish to

[23] Lord Dunraven, "Meeting at Chickering Hall. Moose and Cariboo Hunting in Colorado and Canada, *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York,* 11 (1879): 334-368.
[24] Clare Read and Albert Pell, "Report of the Agricultural Interests Commission," in Great Britain. House of Commons. *British Sessional Papers, 1880* (Reader Microprint Edition, ed. Edgar L. Erickson) vol XVIII p8-12, from Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom in British Texan Cattle Companies 1880-1885," *The Business History Review* 34, no.4 (Winter 1960): 423.

investigate. Despite this interest and interaction with cattle ranching in other areas such as Australia or Brazil, the investment in American ranching was uniquely situated to support a framework of thought larger than simply economic interest. It also branched into later discussions of class and masculinity that I will return to in later chapters. The later American Exhibition and *Wild West* directly worked off conceptions of the American West with which some people had previous engagement primarily through the coverage of the cattle industry.

What should be noted within this introduction to the cattle ranching aspect of this project, is that this was a practice largely predicated on previous ventures in the west-- sport hunting in particular. Richard Graham states that the boom of interest in the cattle industry by Brits was aided in part due to the knowledge of "enormous profits of certain individuals" that were recounted to the British "through the tales recounted by adventuresome tourists, Western America being a favorite hunting ground of British sportsmen" as we have established.[25] In fact, it was common practice at the beginning of this era of new economic investment for British sportsmen to go into the business with their hunting guide, as John Adair did with his guide Charles Goodnight in 1877, several years before the boom really took effect.[26] Thus, we are already seeing how the expansion of British engagement in the West directly built off earlier excursions and the structures left behind. Likewise, the furthering of a British identity more broadly built off these earlier ventures, and the Britishness that would come to be performed through the consumption of the *Wild West* likewise would benefit from us working to track its roots and development.

[25] Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom…" 422.
[26] Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom in British-Texan Cattle Companies 1880-1885," *The Business History Review* 34, no.4 (Winter 1960): 422.

The third voice from the continent that I want to highlight is that of travel writers. This is a more difficult voice to pin down directly, and that is because it is not necessarily that these individuals had traveled explicitly to write back to the U.K. about their experiences. Certainly, there was a carved-out role for adventure and explorer writers in nineteenth century Britain, with figures like Isabella Bird making names for themselves in this arena as explicit explorers. How I find this functioning in my project, however, is that the travel writing I source from is a byproduct of different travel. Rather than traveling with the intent of writing about their travels, these authors were writing as they were traveling for other purposes. Therefore, though my sourcing here pulls from letters and more descriptive writing, I have found the commonality to be that all these individuals were writing back information directly related to their travel and experiences in new territory as they attempted to navigate it and settle their lives, with that being the core of a lot of their narrative choices. As stated before, there was a proven audience of armchair travelers within the United Kingdom, and Stephen Fender argues it manifested in a substantial audience for literature on the American West during this era.[27] Great Britain already had an established literary tradition at this point in time, and with the types of upper class Brits that were traveling it makes sense that there was an instinct to write back about those travels to showcase both status but also Britishness prevailing in foreign lands.[28]

Though attention to the producers of the literature emerging from experiences with the American West is necessary to understanding the social and cultural history that built to the case study I wish to examine, what will be more important is the audience receiving it. To return to the cattle industry, the primary form of interaction between those at home and the industry in the

[27] Stephen Fender, *Sea Changes: British Emigration and American Literature*, Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992, as cited within Terry Abraham, *Mountains So Sublime*... 11.
[28] The reasoning behind this will be considered more fully later in this chapter.

American West was by way of simply reading and internalizing the reports, but also through writing back and challenging certain business choices. Graham, in his work chronicling the Cattle Investment Boom, highlights an instance of this in *The Times* when he points to Brits back home questioning the validity of some of the investing and economic benefits and expressing that concern through a letter to the editor.[29] Though the content of these rebuttals is interesting, for now I merely want to emphasize that this is a unique way in which we can view the cultural consumption of the American West by business class Brits back in home territory. While the economic aspect was the core of these interactions, there was still attention being paid to the American Frontier, and an atmosphere of interest regarding the unfettered nature of the area and the danger inherent (though economic rather than physical in many cases) of operating in this environment. Similar to the Royal Commission to assess agricultural prospects in the American West, this was an economic inspired transaction and consumption, that did not escape without having larger implications for the impression and internalization of the American West on Brits. Thus this was a contribution to Western mythmaking in an economic consideration that paved the way for our look into a broader consumption of Western mythos.

On the whole, a lot of the interaction that the British general public had with the American Frontier was through direct consumption of its mythos, which then leads us into our eventual return to the American Exhibition in London in 1887-- specifically, William F. Cody's residency. Cody, more colloquially known as Buffalo Bill, was by far the most spectacular part of the American Exhibition. Bringing 240 Mexicans, Texan cowboys, and Native Americans, and more than 150 Native American ponies and Mexican mustangs, and numerous buffalo, elk, antelope, deer, and Texas steers with him on the steamship Nebraska in 1887, his show was a

[29] *The London Times*, March 20, 1883 -- sourced within Richard Graham... 436.

mainstay and guaranteed draw for crowds, drawing 10,000 people to the first performance.[30] Though there was a very heavily documented presence of British royalty that also interacted with the Wild West (with royal family visits often shutting down the entire show for private performances), the fact that it was available for consumption to a larger group of more 'every-day' Brits is notable.[31] Attendance at this show was marketed as a widely British experience, in the larger vein of attending the American Exhibition. This allowed for a broader portion of the British public to interact with elements of the American West that had either not been available to them earlier, or that they had some engagement with but had not been fully embroiled in (essentially, those without means to either adventure travel or engage in the business of the cattle industry).[32] It stems from this wider engagement then, that the *Wild West* is perhaps one of the best case studies through which to examine how the British public were performing their own British identity in juxtaposition to the performance of the American West they were witnessing.[33]

So, the actors of this performance have been set forth, but how did they engage in this performance? In the case of the sportsmen, cattle investors, travel writers as transmitters, and British citizens back on British soil, a lot of the transmission was had via consumable media. Books, collections of letters, and newspaper articles were the primary source of consumption of

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[30] "The American Exhibition and Wild West Show" *The Pall Mall Gazette*, May 10, 1887, issue 6909.

[31] Heavily documented in the sense that every review of the Wild West show wherein royalty was present made sure to do an entire section on it, and the Court Circular for that day would *also* mention the presence of different royalty at the show.

[32] Recall earlier assertions that the realm of sport hunting or adventure traveling is much more a classed/privileged experience, due to the financial means necessary to completing these excursions.

[33] One more avenue that I don't want to spend as much time on, but is worth a footnote mention is the role of the general reading public in Britain in consumption of American Frontier stories, *from* the Frontier itself. This primarily makes itself known in the re-publication of Western stories in British papers. Tying into the mythos and mystique of Buffalo Bill's show, his own writings of fanciful Western adventures that relied on a lot of the same narrative elements and structures as his shows did, found themselves published in Great Britain. British story papers were evidentiary of this with William Cody's "The Death Trailer of the Wild West" appearing as a mainstay of the *British Boy's Paper* in the 1880s. The fact that efforts were undertaken to reprint these stories so consistently means there was an active interest in them, and I think it would be neglectful to ignore this, though it's important to note that as with the American Exhibition, this is a more direct consumption of American culture from Americans, rather than the other consumption that's delivered through a lens of British couriers.

this information and culture. With the exception of those interacting with the American Exhibition in person (though there was also considerable newspaper coverage of that also consumed), the written word was the historically precedented medium for experiencing and interfacing with the American Frontier. Because of this, a lot of how this cultural transfer occurred was historically through narrative methods. The concept of narrative is essential to later developments of both performance and self-conception. Descriptions of the American West set up conceptions of it in public consciousness, and sensationalization and romanticism were powerful tools in drawing attention to particular aspects of a specifically American Western mythos. Furthermore, that narrative could be transformed into consumable performance, which leads into my argument that performance is multi-sided and the witnessing, internalizing, and then speaking/writing about such performances allowed for identity solidification. The narrative features I wish to emphasize next as integral to this historic cross-cultural consumption can be tied together toward that end of performance of identity. Romanticism and descriptive choices, the establishing of common ground, and storytelling, are all part of a larger narrative tradition--one that enabled this cultural consumption to occur in years previous to the American Exhibition, thus grounding that performance in London in preconceived mental pathways.

Romanticism is, to some degree, inherent in all of the literature surrounding British interaction with the American West. Though travel narratives are the best examples of this, there is something to be said for the descriptions of fortune in the cattle industry, or the glory of hunting in an untamed land, that eventually led to the regaling of British citizenry with the heroics and feats performed by “authentic” Wild West on their own soil. As Abraham argues in his chapter “Lost Landscapes: British Travelers in the Far West,” some of this romantic observation was due to the fact that British travelers in the late 1800s were not beholden to the

same struggles that those living in the American West, born there and toiling for survival, were. The scenery strikes many of these travelers. Scottish explorer Isabella Bird commented on the duality of beauty and danger, and Englishwoman Evelyn Hertslet wrote about the "grand scenery, plenty of snow mountains and huge red rocks of most peculiar shapes" and "lovely fertile valley" as her train passed through, "with plenty of willows and poplars in it, and nice cozy-looking villages about."[34] Even those involved with military duties, such as Major Charles William Wilson, on a survey trip approaching the Rocky Mountains from the west, took time to note and appreciate the sublime beauty of the West's landscape:

> I went to the top of one of the peaks about 8,200 feet high with some of our party and we had a glorious view, perfect sea of peaks all around us and running off to the north and south, whilst on the west we looked into the valley of the Flathead, small lakes of the most brilliant blue, with their borders of bright green herbage lay scattered in all directions in the hollows, hundreds of feet beneath us and (where it could still cling) some patches of snow and small glaciers heightened the beauty of the scene. [35]

Isabella Bird created a similar sense of awe when combining the rugged life she was now leading within the Rocky Mountain west, with the comment that it fulfilled a "dream of [her] childhood."[36] Likewise, in his address to the Geographical Society, Lord Dunraven began his speech by regaling the audience with his own take on the creation of the American West.[37]

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[34] Evelyn M. Herstlet, *Ranch Life in California*, extracted from the home correspondence of Evelyn M. Herstlet, 1886, and printed by W. H. Allen and Co., 13 Waterloo Place.

[35] Terry Abraham, 10

[36] Isabella Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879-1880. 60-63.

[37] "It would appear that the American continent was originally of considerably larger dimensions that it is at present. It was probably found to be altogether too large for comfort or convenience, and it was reduced by the simple process of pressing or squeezing it together from the sides, an operation which caused it to crumple up towards the centre and produced that great, elevated, tumbled and tossed region generally and vaguely known as the Rocky Mountains. If this simple theory of formation of a continent sounds somewhat infantile, you must remember that I am not a scientific man, and that it is not more unscientific than many other theories of creation. There is no such thing as a chain of Rocky Mountains. You all know very well that under that term are included various ranges and belts of mountains which embrace within their far-stretching arms, fertile valleys, arid deserts, sunny hill slopes clothed with valuable timber, parks full of pastoral beauty, basking beneath a sun that warms them into semi-tropical life, but that never melts the virgin snow that whitens the hoary heads of the mountains that forever look down upon those smiling scenes. Rich and extensive plains…" Lord Dunraven, "Meeting at Chickering Hall. Moose and

Branching off from that, when looking at this transatlantic interface, it is necessary to pinpoint the language that was used as the words and phrasing prominent in this cultural transfer can give more insight into how audiences were impassioned by descriptions of the American West, it sparked a desire for consumption. Though economic papers seem like they would be an odd area in which to find descriptive and romantic language, the patterning was present. Playing into an idea of great fortune to be garnered with relative ease, goes along with fanciful descriptions of mountains and landscapes. Articles published in the *Times* would sometimes utilize laudatory descriptions, such as that "ordinary work consists of riding through plains, parks, and valleys" and that one could

> pick out for [their] stock a good range for grazing, as yet unoccupied, drive on to it a herd of ten thousand cattle, select a suitable spot near to a convenient creek, and there build [their] ranche or farmhouse… and, in fact, make [themselves] entirely at home, disporting [themselves] as virtual owners of the land, without paying one penny for it, or outstepping any territorial or United States statute, or doing what is not perfectly lawful. There is no trouble about title, deeds, surveyors, and lawyers.[38]

Going by reports such as these, as well as the prominently published reports of dividends in papers like the *Economist*, one might be inclined to view the American West as a land free of blemishes, at least financially.

Part of the curation of the later British identity I seek to analyze grew out of these earlier cultural transferences, with those romantic descriptions and narratives working to establish common ground with the audience that was reading them. Not everyone reading about these riches both in finance and environment, physical and intangible, were able to engage with it either by way of investment or travel. Therefore, we arrive at the question of how did these

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Cariboo Hunting in Colorado and Canada, *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York,* 11 (1879): 335.

[38] *London Times,* April 6, 1880; and W. Bailie Grohman, "Cattle Ranches in the Far West," *Fortnightly* vol xxxiv (1880), p444, both quoted within Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom in British-Texan Cattle Companies 1880-1885," *The Business History Review* 34, no. 4 (Winter, 1960): 424.

primarily upper-class actors on the ground in the American West connect with a larger base of support back within Great Britain? This is where the establishing of common ground, on the basis of identity, becomes important. Present within the travel narratives of Isabella Bird, Grantley Berkeley, the writings of cattle men and sportsmen, and those writing articles for the newspapers surveying the western territory, was an emphasis on being British within the American territory. Berkeley made this extremely clear within the first 40 pages of his memoir. By comparing some of the American estates he first laid eyes on upon arrival to America to "beautiful spots on the coast of Old England," he was working through a shared memory with readers of all sorts in England.[39] Furthermore, his commentary on Americans and American ways, such as his story of attempting to correct their practices on many accounts, such as dining, galvanized his British base. By pointing out the incorrectness of American practices-- be it their meal practices, the way they spoke, or their patterns of business-- and comparing them to what he deemed as superior and widespread British practices, he forewent hierarchy within his audience and appealed to a pan-British audience. Evelyn Hertslet in her letters did this as well, and coverage of the cattle industry in North America achieved the same end by critiquing American owned businesses vs. Scottish or Irish ones.[40] Likewise, coverage in the *Times* also drew attention to the identity of those working on ranches, through means such as commenting that "the infusion of British races… is bringing marked improvement in the classes of men who work upon the ranch" and alluding to that "infusion" as reasons for success.[41]

[39] Berkeley, 18

[40] James MacDonald, *Food from the Far West,* as referenced in Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom in British-Texan Cattle Companies 1880-1885," *The Business History Review* 34, no. 4 (Winter, 1960): 425.

[41] "A Canadian Tour" *The Times*, October 12, 1886, page 3. **yes, it's noted that this is referring to Alberta and the plains of Canada, however it does make direct mention within this article of the extension into the American western plains, and is a good more directly worded example of what's alluded to more subtly in other British papers.

It makes sense then, to assume that both the subconscious (i.e. romantic descriptions) and conscious (i.e. proponents of the mining and cattle industries) narrative choices from the authors of literature in North America about their travels and experiences would prompt those on the ground in England to interact with any source of American Western culture, given the chance.[42] That chance would come with the American Exhibition. Those that could not go to North America themselves, or could not invest in the industry there, were able both to continue to read stories of the region, and to engage with iterations of it on their own soil, i.e. the *Wild Wes*t show of the American Exhibition. This addresses a question that naturally develops from deeper consideration about the cattle boom: how come Brits were still so entrenched in their desire to engage with American Western culture in 1887, despite the die out of the cattle industry in 1885, and the thus negatively colored collapse of one of the core British inroads to the American West? This is where my argument becomes more relevant and will continue to do so throughout the next three chapters.

The *Wild West* does work for Britain. While the general populace attending the Wild West in 1887 were not generally barons of business (therefore would not have lost huge stakes in any investment in the cattle industry, or have been in any way tinged with bitterness at such a quick dry up of lucrative avenues), they *were* people that were hearing more of the storytelling of the west, and had possibly internalized the encouragements inherent in those narratives about engaging with such a romanticized place. Therefore, when presented with a tangible way to interact with the American Frontier (more accessible than either traveling themselves, or investing in new cattle corporations), the general populace took it. They were not burnt by the

[42] See Emma Silver Mine and George Alfred Lawrence as an example, Terry Abraham *Mountains so Sublime: Nineteenth Century British Travelers and the Lure of the Rocky Mountain West*, Michigan State University Press: Michigan, 2007, 18.

cattle boom's subsequent fall, and thus were able to continue along an avenue of positive engagement with the American West. This culminated in their attendance at a performance directly dealing with those narratives they had been confronted with for years, and as I will prove, allowed them a development and validation of their identity as British. On the opposite side of this, there was the more complicated consideration of royalty, upper class business men, and government figures who *were* affected by the fall of the cattle industry and were also prominently engaged with the American Exhibition. If not the royalty and government, at least the upper class were particularly affected by the fall of the cattle industry, and therefore it leads one to consider why they were so eager to also participate in this consumption of American culture on British soil. On the one hand it is possible there was a sense of nostalgia, and a callback to the romanticism here. Nostalgia perhaps acted in that seeing the feats of cowboys and the rest of Cody's menagerie invoked a remembrance of good fortune in the American West, regardless of how short lived it may have been. However more overwhelmingly, I see Cody's show as a dualistic space for performance both of the American West, and through that performance, Britishness, that would work to galvanize facets of a 'correct' British identity, including considerations of class, gender, and race.

After establishing the actors in this cultural transfer, and the methods in which they were enacting this, we turn to a question of why? Why were these people on the ground initiating this transfer in the first place? There was travel occurring in all corners of the world, especially with the expansiveness of the British empire, so in what manner was the American Frontier a different animal? In the interest of providing a fuller interpretation, I want to briefly look at a tangible impetus for creating this cross-continental dialogue. Privileged actors engaging with the West by traveling or conducting business wanted to set forth instructions for others to follow. One of the

first things that Berkeley mentions in his memoir is that he was seeking to create an effective compendium of instruction. He aimed to show the ease with which one could depart England for several months of sport hunting in the American West, and return satisfied and successful by Christmas.[43] As the memoir progresses he kept up with the instructional writings -- information about how to best ship guns, information about how to deal with Americans' different meal practices, etc. Furthermore, the economic writings regarding cattle ranching took on a similar instructional manner. Though more interested in regaling audiences with the successes of particular businesses, or the encouraging of others to throw their hat into the arena as well, there was an aspect of these articles that acted as instructional texts. By providing a continuous breakdown of the profits management, and the ways in which those profits are gained -- i.e. methods used for buying and selling—there was a layer of instruction taking place.

Beyond the sense of educational duty transmuted through these texts, I argue there's a further goal to solidify status and image. For the sportsmen, this was apparent throughout their entire journeys. Being able to take the time away from any steady professional income within Britain in order to journey to the United States, stay there for any substantial amount of time for hunting, and then make the return journey without anxiety about the time lost, is something available only in an upper class echelon.[44] Though I made the argument earlier of establishing common ground with an audience earlier, I think there was also a complex co-existence of that, and the cementation of status at work within this exchange. I do think that it is possible to establish a wide audience base and strengthen a primarily "British" identity, while also subtly cementing one's own personal social status. Certainly, Berkeley did this within his memoir when

[43] Berkeley 2.
[44] This idea of the upper and middle class Briton traveling to the American West will be essential to a discussion within chapter three, around the intersections of masculinity and class -- it is not something that will go undiscussed.

he discussed the amount of time he planned to take off, and his target audience of instruction-- "to the rich and rising… adventurous and hardy, sportsmen of the present day."[45]

To pin this classed consideration for a moment however, there is a larger affirmation of identity at work within these texts.[46] As mentioned earlier, there was a sense of self that was being strengthened and refined throughout this cultural consumption. Despite intense interest within American Frontier life and culture, what it means to be British was being reinforced against a different, American Other. This occurs throughout these texts, whether it is British sport hunters defining themselves against the Americans or indigenous people they are with as Gregory Kosc argues, or through to the case study of the American Exhibition.[47] Though the Queen and other royalty attended the Wild West performances of the American Exhibition, met the performers, and approved of the whole performance very openly and wholeheartedly, it was never in question that the Queen was British.[48] That seems silly to even suggest, but it is important to keep in mind during this larger examination -- throughout the entire fervor of consuming culture of the American West, British identity was never given up in favor of playing at American identity. When the authors on the ground in North America wrote back to Britain, though it may sometimes be to deliver information or instruction, it was also to ground themselves in new territory. Evelyn Hertslet wrote of the jarring differences in the west as compared to England in her letters, Isabella Bird talked of creating connections with fellow English people, and Berkeley attempted to reconcile new American practices with his memory of proper English ones, holding onto them.

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[45] Berkeley, 1.
[46] Class is not being abandoned for this discussion, but rather I engage with it far more fully in the next chapter and thus here seek to mention it in passing, leaving a meaningful examination for the next chapter to take on.
[47] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity and Reconciling Class in the American West: British Gentlemen Hunters and their Travel Accounts, 1865-1914," PhD diss., University of Texas, Arlington, 2010, v.
[48] "Court Circular," *London Times*, May 13, 1887, page 9.

Historically the entire construction of cultural translation and consumption was based on storytelling. Through the combination of the romanticization, the creation of a shared experience, and the written and visual ways in which this played out for British citizens, there was a powerful element of storytelling at work. Through entertaining audiences of different backgrounds through romantic descriptions, informative walk-throughs, or semi-interactive performances, the creation of a mythos was at the forefront. This mythos was powerful because not only was it the mythos of the beautiful and profitable, yet dangerous and somewhat unattainable American Frontier, but it was one that British citizens could find footholds in for their own insertion. By telling the story of the American West through British eyes and for British audiences, an investment and semi-personal stake was formed. The American West, exciting to many as 'new' land, provided fertile ground for adventure and possible insertion of British presence. Those that had traveled there brought their undeniable British identities and continued to hold and express them for the duration of their stay -- sometimes to the exasperation of Americans.[49] Despite this consumption, however, there was never a loss of what it meant to be "British." Rather, by witnessing the performance of what the American West was, be it in the historical build up to the *Wild West* or the moment itself, British identity was *also* performed. There was an admiration of tenets of the American Western experience, and excitement surrounding it, but it never truly posed a widespread challenge to British identity.[50] Rather, there

[49] British travelers tending to be labelled "eccentric" by Americans, though there are ways in which to gain respect if not actually assimilate with the culture -- see Oscar Wilde discussing how he won over a group of miners by drinking "a cocktail without flinching" resulting in their "unanimous" acceptance." From Oscar Wilde, letter April 17, 1882 to Mrs. Bernard Beere, in *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, as found within Terry Abraham, *Mountains so Sublime: Nineteenth Century British Travelers and the Lure of the Rocky Mountain West*, Michigan State University Press: Michigan, 2007, 112.

[50] In fact, there seems to be a limit to how much British citizens are willing to engage with aspects of the frontier when it comes to directly negatively impacting their lives rather than allowing for an affirmation of identity. For example, the case of Garland v. American Exhibition, wherein a resident near where the Exhibition set up filed a nuisance case against the American Exhibition (specifically the Wild West) citing the noise and smell as disruptive, hoping for a resolution. Though the article is certainly framed in a way to sympathize not with the plaintiff, but with

seems to be a way in which the general population consumed this entertainment to support and further galvanize a previously established identity. Entertainment then became more than simple entertainment-- it became a method for developing, redefining, or reasserting identity through performance. The reports of those adventures took the form of entertaining journals or letters. Spinning to my more focused interest, interaction with the American West within Britain, i.e. the residency of the *Wild West* in 1887 or the republication of Western themed stories, also became a conduit for consumption of this culture.

This is a performance that in part succeeded so well as it grew out of the venues I have discussed thus far in this chapter, allowing for a moment such as 1887 to hold such a rich for analytic moment in British history. In an era of shifting social, economic, and political considerations, a performance like the *Wild West* that allowed for the performance of British identity through its depictions of life on the American Frontier was comforting to a population unsure about shifting status quos. Classed, gendered, and racialized experiences intersected with this performance of both Western American and British identity at the American Exhibition, and by looking at the content of the performance (both in the literal sense of Cody's physical show, and in the more intangible sense I refer to in my introduction, seeking to combine Butler's work on performance of gender to a wider scope of performance of identity) we can better understand how British conceptions of self and identity as it relates to those areas was reified. To begin to better break this down, I want to bring us back to two ideas we have seen emerge in this historic overview of the conditions leading up to the 1887 moment: the seemingly paradoxical British

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the Exhibition, it's solid evidence that British residents were not willing to throw every aspect of their life into mimicking or engaging with the culture of the American West, despite the strong interest. -- "The City and the Jubilee," *The London Times*, August 30, 1887 page 7 and "High Court of Justice," *The London Times,* August 5, 1887, page 8.

practice of distancing themselves from American values while at the same time consuming them, and considerations of class.

Chapter Two: White Anglo-American Relations and Classed Productions

"The destinies of America loomed so large that the mere thought of what was contained in them became almost overwhelming. It was not difficult to predict that before another century had elapsed, and they were already beginning to count their history as a state by centuries, they would overshadow by the magnitude of their population, as well as by their territory, every other portion of the Anglo-Saxon race, and not only so, but every other State and nation in the world. But with their opportunities would also come their responsibilities, and if they were about to become a people of such enormous power and resources, it would be incumbent upon them to set a correspondingly noble example; and if they attained that greatness without setting such an example, he was far from saying that in their case greatness and wisdom will prove to be synonymous… There was nothing more desirable on this side of the water than that we should have a correct appreciation of the attainments of the United States… The people of England and the United States had not always been so closely united as they should be. He could not say how far there were prejudices in the United States against England. He was certain that there had been great prejudices in England against the United States. Those prejudices, however, had now disappeared (cheers), and the Englishmen who had laboured and were labouring in raising the great building of which they had seen the rudiments that day rejoiced in being employed on a work that was to draw more closely together the relations of the two countries. They had duties to one another, and they ought also to have affections to one another. There had been some difficult questions raised between the two countries, questions maritime and otherwise, and some of them, he was pleased to say, had almost disappeared from the chapter of current diplomacy. The future was as bright and beautiful as the most sanguine among them could wish it to be, (cheers)..."[51]

The above quotation, published in the *Times* on April 29, 1887 was from a larger speech in which former Prime Minister William Gladstone expounded on the bountiful future that the United States has, and the way in which Great Britain should not lose sight of appreciating that destiny, or at the very least studying it and how it came to be. Furthermore, he tied the relationship that Great Britain had with the United States into this praise, allowing for a positive connection to be drawn both subconsciously through linking Great Britain to the United States, as well as blatantly through his words of a healed post-colonial relationship.

This quotation came at a particularly interesting time in British relationships with their former colony. Gladstone's words here were an address necessitated by the soon to open

[51] "Mr. Gladstone at the American Exhibition," *London Times*, April 29, 1887, page 10.

American Exhibition in London. The point of the Exhibition was to showcase the developments America has had and allow for economic interests to be pursued as well as distinctly "American" entertainment to be enjoyed. However, despite the congenial tone of Gladstone here, this entire speech came also at a moment of complexity with regards to Great Britain and the United States' relationship. Though the Gladstone spoke of a repaired relationship between his own country and the relatively young America, there still existed simultaneously a desire to admire and benefit from particular aspects of American life, while retaining a paternalistic relationship indicative of a British wariness about other aspects that manifest in a linguistically employed distancing -- a hierarchical positioning of Great Britain when speaking about the two countries. 1887 was a particularly interesting year for examining this, as the American Exhibition is in full force with exuberant attendees in London, eclipsing other London attractions, like the Crystal Palace of 1851 Great Exhibition fame (which was still, however, an installation that garnered visitors enough to warrant a write up in a *London Times* bank holiday article detailing possible trips and attractions).[52] The widespread experience of the Exhibition by the British public is not only indicative of the intense interest with American life at this point, but it also allows us to further analyze what work this exhibition, and specifically the *Wild West* did for the general public.

Great Britain had been holding and maintaining a complex relationship with the United States for several decades by this point. Despite their interest in maintaining a good relationship and benefiting from it, there were also concerns that came from a relationship of that nature. The existence of this dualistic relationship emerged from built up political, economic, and social considerations in the decades preceding the late 1880s. Questions of international relations, egalitarian versus hierarchical social roles, and the opportunity for economic benefit all tracked

[52] "The Bank Holiday," *The London Times,* August 2, 1887, page 9.

into this moment, allowing for a particularly interesting consumption and co-option of American Western components by Britons, yet with a steadfast current of detachment or superiority. Despite an enticing America, perpetuated through recreation, business, and politics, Britain maintained an identity divorced from that of the developing United States, and it is that dualistic consumption yet performance of differentiated identity that I am most interested in, especially with how it drew classed considerations into it. While the enjoyment and performance ushered in by the *Wild West* of the American Exhibition garnered primarily positive reviews, the larger American Exhibition experienced a more subtle ambivalence expressed by the British press. I argue that this was due to the complex clashes of economic and political considerations between Britain and the United States, combined with contemporary anxieties regarding the positionality of the lower class in British society. Too much external praise of the American Exhibition could lead into tacit approval for highly different ideologies to gain traction within Britain, thus disrupting a British classed status quo. The *Wild West*, however, gave a safe avenue for consumption that while, yes, extremely 'American' in its depiction, actually operated within accepted class roles and performances that validated the existing classed ideals of British society.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, Britain maintained a relationship with the United States in different manners. On the one very obvious hand, there was a historical component of international relations. Outside of obvious conflicts (i.e. the War of 1812, etc.) there were areas of political engagement that authors such as Phillip E. Myers see as having shaped relationships toward tentatively positive ends. In his work on the relationship that Britain and the United States cultivated by way of the Civil War, Myers cites that rather than having a negative relationship borne out of geopolitically navigating the two American sides of the conflict, that the American Civil War was actually a demonstration of continued tradition of

cautious Anglo-American cooperation, that was complex.[53] This is an idea that I want to utilize to my own ends, though not in full. I argue that just as Meyers purports the American Civil War is a case study wherein we can see complicated Anglo-American relations, so too is the rest of the century up to the American Exhibition filled by Britain's footwork to both maintain a beneficial relationship with the United States, yet also keep its distance and refrain from identifying too heavily with the new nation.

Despite the acrimonious separation of the United States from the British Empire in the eighteenth century with the American Revolution, Britain had to maintain a working relationship with the country on two levels. On a surface level, ignoring America in an increasingly connected Atlantic world was not a viable option, in either international relations or the economic sphere after the cotton kingdom took off in 1810. To another end, however, Britain did benefit from a genial relationship with the United States. To hearken back to discussions of the cattle industry, there was an obvious economic incentive to working with American partners to develop successful franchises in the American West. As I argued in my previous chapter, there was a sharp increase in British involvement with American cattle ranching during the late 1870s and early 1880s. In an era when Britain was struggling agriculturally, the opportunity to engage in a profitable avenue in North America was very enticing. Before the more corporate cattle boom between British corporations and American corporations in the early 1880s, there was an uptick of amicable and mutually profitable partnerships with British sport hunters and the American guides that shepherded them through the wilderness of the west in search of elk and buffalo. These "camp-fire companions" would rally their rapport over the course of hunting trips, then move into individual partnerships in which the Englishman acted as private individuals

[53] Phillip E. Myers, *Caution and Cooperation: The American Civil War in British-American Relations*, Kent State University Press: Kent, 2008.

with the guide would draw 15 to 20 per cent interest on their capital.[54] Furthermore, once the corporations got into the mix, there was more published praise of the mutually beneficial relationships. Though there was some wariness surrounding the new business route, it was far outweighed by the laudatory coverage within economic papers, the *Times,* and personal memoirs like that of John Clay's *My Life on the Range.*

However, we see a dualism occur as the success becomes more grounded, and increasingly there was an expansion of British pride regarding their fledgling prowess and apparent success and aptitude in the American Western ranching market. Though I noted earlier that good relationships were necessary to this this success, the dualism emerged in British self-observation of their own skill in the arena. Very shortly into this venture, there were talks dismissing concern of British owners or investors being fleeced by American ranchers. Ranching was touted as a can't-lose business venture, yielding massive profits to be reported in the economic papers of the era. Though developed under the wing of American partnerships, the ranching industry was something that British corporations viewed themselves as navigating with proficiency, if not expertise, after their quick initiation in the realm. Discussions of "infusion" of the British into ranching endeavors improving their quality are indicative of this mentality, as is the assertion that should something go wrong it was the fault of Americans.[55] Though there was discussion about the Englishman in ranching being a particularly gullible mark, British coverage of shortchanging within the industry tended toward the side of blaming nefarious maneuverings of American partners. Coverage like that of an 1888 volume of the *Economist* allege that "original property purchases frequently were tainted by false statements and dishonest dealings

[54] W. Bailie Grohman, "Cattle Ranches in the Far West," *Fortnightly* vol xxxiv (1880), 450; *London Times,* April 6, 1880, page 4, both as cited within Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom in British-Texan Cattle Companies 1880-1885," *The Business History Review* 34, no. 4 (Winter, 1960): 424

[55] "A Canadian Tour," *London Times,* October 12, 1886, page 3. Hosted by *The Times Digital Archive.*

on the part of the vendors," coupled with warnings from one corporation to another of avoiding particular methods of purchasing cattle, as it was easy to be duped when buying cattle, specifically when using a book count method.[56] Thus, a sense of being above the darker dealings of American ranchers -- having not only the strategic ability to avoid being swindled but the moral high ground as well, are indicative of a separation being maintained throughout this beneficial relationship. Britain still stood to gain from its involvement with the American Western cattle industry, yet they were separate from the Americans who could be shady and manipulative in their business dealings. Furthermore, as the industry began to dwindle in the mid and late 1880s, British withdrawal from it indicated an understanding that whatever benefits were to be had were gone, and thus necessitated a disconnection from the failing industry.

This dualistic dialogue existed in interactions outside of economic dealings as well, such as in political ideology, governance, and way of being. Some authors, like Grantley F. Berkeley, communicated these differences back to a home audience, by pointing out the differences as well as their own actions, acting as educators to Americans. Within memoirs such as Berkeley's, readers could see stories of British travelers struggling to work within the cultural and ideological norms of the American nation. Multiple times within the first several chapters of his memoir, Berkeley was attempting to ground himself with his British audience through regaling them with his experiences navigating cultural differences within the United States. Not only did they eat at the wrong times and conduct their business and business hours differently to those adhered to in Britain, they were wholly uninterested in changing that based on recommendation

[56]*Economist,* Vol. XLVI (1888): 594, as directly quoted in Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom…" 425; Book Count Method: "This was a system by which the number of cattle were estimated through an inspection of the ranch's books, through which it could be established that so many head were bought and sold, and so many calves branded. The percentage of loss was estimated at a certain figure and conclusions drawn as to the actual number of the herd. This method was supposed to save time and expense for both buyer and seller and be easier on the cattle." Quoted in Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom…"425.

by Berkeley. He mentions in several scenarios that he tries to point out what he perceives as flaws within American societal day to day interactions. Evelyn M. Herstlet mentions some of these differences as well, voicing her displeasure with particular etiquette differences in her letters back to England. However, she does not take the same role as Berkley in attempting a re-education.[57]

How these differences existed in a political and governance realm is perhaps the most important to highlight in setting up my later discussion of classed experience. The political ideology of these two nations in the late nineteenth century is of particular interest as there were facets of American political ideology that should the general British public engage with, had potential cause for anxiety amidst privileged classes. Britain, one can easily say, held a historically storied relationship with the United States. The differing political systems employed by the two nations are of interest in this area as the United States very famously deviated from the British political system in favor of a democratically elected leader rather than a monarchical system. Furthermore, though the United States had its share of issues and legalities regarding who has the freedom to vote, with time came more (theoretical and rhetorical) expansions of voting rights. In the case of white men, the United States saw an expansion of voting rights sooner that Britain did, with the United States reforms coming into play throughout the late 1700s and early to mid 1800s, with some abolitions of property qualifications and eventual amendments to the Constitution. Though implementation thereof was certainly not infallible or even equitable, the language did exist. Conversely to that, Britain struggled through voting reforms as well, but more conservatively. With the Reform Act of 1832, voting rights were extended to those adult men with property that yielded a minimum of £10 annually. Moving

[57] Evelyn M. Herstlet, *Ranch Life in California*, extracted from the home correspondence of Evelyn M. Herstlet, 1886, and printed by W. H. Allen and Co., 13 Waterloo Place.

forward in time, the Reform Act of 1867 extended voting rights the urban working-class male population, yet still required a particular property qualification that excluded a portion of the population. While the third Reform Act of 1884 once more addressed the inequities of the system, and in a sense worked toward fixing an imbalance of voting rights, there was not a provision that addressed the disenfranchisement of a population that did not meet the required property rights.[58] Thus, one begins to see some of the ideological differences between the United States system and the British system existed. This was something that seeped into a larger daily tradition, observed by Brits that would spend time in America, particularly in the West.

In line with the overarching political ideologies of the time in the United States, the West too experienced more theoretical egalitarianism. Robert G. Athearn claims that one particularly large stumbling block for British sport hunters in the American West, and Brits in the West at large, was the widespread egalitarianism at play. He argues that many Brits with backgrounds entrenched in social hierarchy had to work hard to adjust to the notion of social equality in their new environment.[59] Giving several colorful examples of either domestic workers challenging British heads of household regarding their status, or cowboys being perfectly happy to help British sport hunters granted they were asked as an equal rather than an expectation, he illuminates a scene wherein Britain emerged appearing trapped in their social status quo in comparison to the democratically egalitarian American West.[60] Though there is a lot to unpack within this claim of egalitarianism, as it certainly did not extend to those indigenous groups that

[58] Reform specifics found on parliament.uk, under "The Reform Act 1832," "Second Reform Act 1867," and "Third Reform Act 1884," respectively. Accessed December 21, 2018.
[59] Specifically citing English cattle-barons in one case having to change lifelong attitudes, though he goes on to extend it to many other scenarios of English people in the American West, essentially settling on the idea that for English people operating in the West needed to either comply or get out -- Robert G. Athearn, "The Egalitarian West," in *Westward the Briton: The Far West, 1865-1900*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Publishing, 1953, 82.
[60] Robert G. Athearn, "The Egalitarian West,"84.

white Americans chased out of their homelands in the pursuit of westward expansion, it does allow an avenue to examine classed anxieties or enticements that appear within this relationship. The majority of British citizens that traveled or relocated in the American West was one of a privileged upper class-- those that had the financial means to strike off into a new land, leaving behind stable work. These were most likely the same people that benefit from voting rights in Britain, as they had the class status easily associated with a robust property ownership-- a prerequisite for those voting rights. To be accustomed to a system wherein there was an inherently classed system of political involvement to what (at least outwardly) professes to be that of widespread egalitarianism, infiltrating not only suffrage, but day to day social interactions, is one that could conceivably provoke anxiety on the part of the privileged class of Britain, and enticement on behalf of the disenfranchised. This becomes especially apparent when we take into account Gregory Kosc's theory that British sport hunters were working to create a specific British masculinity in the American West, explicitly classed and developed in opposition to the Americans they were surrounded by.[61]

There are documented cases beyond what Athearn expresses in his analysis that emerge as British commentary on the rhetorical egalitarianism of America. In his memoir, targeted at similarly statused British sports-hunters, Berkeley went on what, without a background knowledge of some of the political ideological differences and systems of the era, seems to be an excessive tangent targeting American democracy. He starts one area of this disdainful evaluation by likening the American system to a near collision he witnessed between two boats -- writing that both boats felt they had the right of way, that they were equal and in the interest of "going ahead" neither wanted to move out of the way for the other. In essence, he saw it as

[61] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity…" v and 9.

representative of a "democratically childish desire at the risk of self-destruction."[62] He took this moment to go further in his assessment, writing that he "was about to see the worst of all slavery, that beneath the feet of a democracy, or where millions of kings were more easily to be found than one legally ruled subject, or than a generally industrious man."[63] Slightly further along in his memoir he took on the voice of an American citizen, writing from what he believed to be their position of moral authority critiquing "English democrats and selfishly-prominent demagogues as to the boasted 'blessings of universal suffrage' and what they called the 'popular rights' of mankind," before moving to make his final conclusion that nothing good can come from a country "when all are masters and none are men" and that, "a man has but to travel in America and to mix with all the classes, to see the errors in the system of what may be called the universal suffrage of an irresponsible people."[64] Though a more spelled out critique of those errors is lacking from Berkeley's account, it is obvious there was a distaste that he assumes will resonate with his perceived audience as he took the time to make the critique. Though this critique could be seen as leaning into the same paternalistic duty Berkeley expresses earlier, what with attempting to re-educate Americans on their daily rituals, this seems to strike a more serious and deeply ingrained cord. Berkeley becomes a prominent case study of an upper-class British individual that has co-opted part of American Western life into his own life to use to better define his Britishness and class status, yet he kept an important distance from other aspects of the developing country -- thus, he is an individual case of what I see as a far larger phenomenon at work during this historical moment. Britain, during the mid to late 1800s incorporated the American West where it is useful to (i.e. economic ventures, or with personal identity formation)

[62] Grantley F. Berkeley, *The English Sportsman...,* 18.
[63] Berkeley, *The English Sportsman…,* 19.
[64] Berkeley 27-28.

yet performed its larger identity in opposition. I argue that this dualistic relationship manifested due to a desire to mitigate the pushing of class boundaries that might come with an increased alignment with American political ideologies. The West was to be used historically as a space wherein those privileged enough can travel and perform their classed British identities, but it was not to be brought home to the lower classes where it could shake up socio-economic and political boundaries. This became particularly poignant when we take a closer look at 1887.

To return once more to the topic of the American Exhibition, the coverage that it garnered could be categorized as majority positive. There is an important distinction I want to highlight, however. Coverage of the American Exhibition as a whole is emblematic of a dualistic relationship, with both praise and distancing occurring within the coverage. Coverage of the *Wild West*, however, was overwhelmingly positive. Though we will return to the important reasoning for that shortly, first I seek to provide a closer look into how this dualism presents in the media. Throughout newspaper coverage of the American Exhibition, and Bill Cody's Wild West in particular, there was an overwhelmingly a positive reaction. There were numerous royal visits made to the Exhibition, Cody's show in the spotlight for many of these. Over the course of these royal visits, prominent figures like the Prince and Princess of Wales commented that they would be in attendance in the royal box as often as possible throughout the run of the show that year.[65] Furthermore, in an article published just several days after the one containing that assertion from the royal family, Colonel Russell commented that the relationship between his own country and that of the United States holds no ill will anymore-- he reiterated what Gladstone had, that all animosity and prejudice has disappeared.[66] Additionally, the playing out of a nuisance suit filed

[65] "The American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 6, 1887, page 5 and "Court Circular," *London Times*, May 6, 1887, page 9.
[66] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 10, 1887, page 10.

during July and August of 1887 allowed for the public to have their voice in the appreciation of their resident installation of America. Mr. Garland, a London citizen that resided near to the Exhibition filed for an injunction against the American Exhibition, the Wild West in particular, asking for a halt to shows until further trial. The claim was founded on the grounds of a nuisance complaint, citing the noise of shouting, firearms, and audience applause coupled with the smell of the stabling areas exacerbated by the summer heat created an environment in which it was extremely difficult to conduct daily life at an acceptable standard of living.[67] What was particularly interesting about this case, other than the fact that it was the most noteworthy published complaint about the Exhibition that I have found, is that when the plaintiff provided a list of signatures of neighbors he had gathered to back his claims, the defense likewise produced a list of their own negating his list and went further to strengthen their position by providing claims in the next session of the trial that come from many of those who originally signed Garland's complaint, saying they regretted taking steps to halt the Wild West.[68] Instances of public support such as this, the high attendance records, as well as a resounding support of Mr. Poland's quest to gather signatures to renew the license for the Exhibition to finish out the run of the American Exhibition before transitioning to a similarly stylized ancient Roman exhibition, are glimpses into the general public's support for an exhibit that was representative of a healthy relationship with the States.

However, as I initially outlined, there was a complex dualism at work here. Where there was evidence of a mended relationship between Britain and its former colony, there was also an undercurrent of paternalism and superiority that manifested throughout this historical moment. Though continually insisting that there was no longer animosity lingering as a hold-over from the

[67] "High Court of Justice," *London Times*, July 30, 1887, page 5.
[68] "High Court of Justice," *London Times,* August 5, 1887, page 8.

American Revolution, there was still a difficulty in addressing the young United States in a manner divorced from Britain's colonial rule. In an article published in the *Times* of April 27, 1887, some of the first descriptions of the American Exhibition were given, discussing that it represented the "life and wonderful activity of our old colony."[69] On the one hand, it was praise of the achievements that the young nation has garnered in the years since its independence. On the other, it was a published assertion that the nation used to be in Britain's colonial grasp. This paternalism reasserted itself more within other rhetoric surrounding the American Exhibition, particularly through quotes such as that one "object of the promoters was to show what improvements Americans had made since they reclaimed the forests from the families of the red men who had accompanied them across the Atlantic."[70] The sentiment within this coverage was not nearly so blatant as the quote from April 27th, but it is worth digging deeper into. This praise was aligned American achievements with imperial expansion-- something that Britain of the era certainly has experience and pride associated with. In a way, the United States, in their pursuit of Manifest Destiny and what they developed along the way, were following in the footsteps of their imperial predecessor. While there was praise delivered to the nation, there was also a prevailing air of Britain having some sort of connection or claim to that achievement, and thus in praising America with its conquering of the West they were in a way, praising themselves for setting a path that the United States merely had to follow in order to succeed.

While one might see similar superiority in the coverage of the *Wild West* as an element of the American Exhibition, in actuality this was not truly the case. Outside of two minor instances that might be construed as somewhat paternalistic, coverage of the *Wild West* was overwhelmingly positive and separated from the language of hierarchical distance. In back to

[69] "The American Exhibition," *London Times,* April 27, 1887, page 6.
[70] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 10, 1887, page 10.

back articles in the *London Times* in May 1887, there was distinct phrasing of aspects of the Exhibition, particularly the Wild West, being "presented" to the Queen or other members of the royal family. Though throughout these scenarios, be it the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, or other members of the royal contingent, there was an aspect of the Americans and their acts, belongings, and inventions having to pass a sort of muster, that was important enough to be written about multiple times in the media. In a letter sent to Bill Cody (the helm of the Wild West at the Exhibition) from General W.T. Sherman, a retired commander of the U.S. army, the comment was made that the English seem to love American pluck and endurance, and he was happy to hear that the royal family and the English people seem to have approved of their display of life in the American West.[71] Though this particular letter did not stem from an English base as the aforementioned articles do, it does point toward an understood acknowledgement that there was English approval to be won in these circumstances. The enjoyment of Cody's show was simple enough, but the idea that there were levels of approval to satisfy the English people, and that there was an outwardly acknowledged idea of "presentation" or passing approval gives credence to the existence of that complex dualistic relationship.

Despite these two instances of the *Wild West* being perceived as having to measure up to English standards, the rest of the media coverage it enjoys is unequivocally positive. With each newspaper article that set out to cover the spectacle, laudatory language abounds. Descriptions of the feats on horseback, combined with shooting prowess, and eventual play-conflict between Cody's scouts and the indigenous people he brought with him all made the rounds in the published coverage. There was never quite the same sort of distance or paternalism when it came to the direct coverage of the *Wild West* as appeared in that of the American Exhibition as a

[71] "The American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 20, 1887, page 7.

whole. Particularly of interest for this consideration of class we will be looking at next, was the praise given not only to Cody, but the other men involved in the show. Quoted in Clifford P. Westermeir's chapter, a representative of the London *Era*, wrote of the cowboy of Cody's show, "he is a perfect hero with respect to bearing pain and meeting danger… Absolute indifference to peril, perfect fealty to a friend, extreme amicability and openness, coupled with a readiness to 'shoot' as soon as a certain code of civility has been transgressed."[72] These men were, if not wholly, at least partially representing the characteristics that earlier British authors like Samuel Smiles were attempting to set forth as idealized, self-sufficient men. The idea of being able to combine a good character, with the ability to defend oneself and one's own code of honor fell in line with Smiles' literature, and with other similarly classed directives of the era.[73] This falls in line too with Gregory Kosc's analysis of British middle and upper class sport hunters in the American West seeking to reinscribe class values, such as the "hard work" and "self-reliance" "preached to the working class and embraced by the middle class" of Britain during this era.[74] Therefore, there existed a connection between the ideals espoused by theorists regarding the character of the ideal middle class, and the performance of the *Wild West* occurring in the midst of these considerations. I suggest it is this connection that leads into my next point of consideration

What I seek next to define, is why did these dualisms occur in this moment? There is an obvious case to be made that it is simply building off historical trends -- a continuation along the same path that Anglo-American relations have been walking since the 1830s. However, I believe

[72] "Buffalo Bill in Camp," *Era* London, April 23, 1887, as quoted by Clifford P. Westermeir, "Buffalo Bill's Cowboys Abroad," *Colorado Magazine* 52, no. 4 (Fall 1975), 281. (out of 277-298)
[73] "Samuel Smiles: Self Help, 1882," hosted on *Fordham University: Modern History Sourcebook*, edited by Paul Halsall, July 1998.
[74] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity..." 9.

that when we look at this dualism in coverage more critically, and in the cultural context of the time period, we can better understand both the praise and distancing with facets of the American Exhibition and *Wild West* as they pertain to British identity and class intersections. The idea of divergent political ideologies allows us a look into how this manifests with British audiences, amidst an era of shifting political power (i.e. Voting Reforms). As we have already discussed, the idea of an egalitarian America is one with possible power to entice British citizens who are held back from having influential political power. The condemnation of American political systems is one that made itself known in several texts, like Berkeley's, yet due to the situation of Britain and American relations it was not something that could come forth strongly in the British press. Thus, there was a more subtle way in which this occurs, wherein the paternalism and hierarchical positioning comes into play.

What is fascinating, however, is that coverage of the Exhibition as a whole vs. coverage of the *Wild West* specifically diverged in that sense. While newspaper coverage of the Exhibition as a whole was where the distancing and differentiation of British vs. American identity occurred (while also staying positive regarding the whole experience), coverage of the *Wild West* tended to *not* have the same subtle distancing. Reviews of the show were overwhelmingly positive, and it leads me to the belief that the *Wild West* as an isolated performance actually did work to support the current classed status quos at work in Britain, and thus the consumption and performance of it in relation to British identity validated that status quo. 1887 was a moment wherein notions of class were making more ruckus, with developments of alternatively socio-economically minded groups and texts like William Morris' 1887, "How We Live and How We Might Live."[75] With calls from these texts to "change the basis of society," through rethinking

[75] William Morris, "How We Live and How We Might Live," 1887, in *The Fin de Siècle: A reader in Cultural History c.1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 175.

the current classed and economic divisions and systems, there was a genuine case for privileged, non-working class Brits to worry about the sanctity of the class boundaries they benefitted from and defined themselves by. The idea of promoting too much a wholly American ideology threatened that status quo, by way of approving total democracy or egalitarian principles. However, the benign approval of the *Wild West*, its self-sufficient portrayals of comportment on behalf of the heroic cowboys, and even the finale scene of Cody's scouts swooping in to save a white homestead (without the intervening help of the government) could all be connected to those action-driven class ideals.[76] Therefore, the consumption of this show rather than encouraging lower classes to push against classed boundaries and perhaps dislodge the comfortable positioning of the upper classes, glorified tenants of the middle class and further underscored rhetoric of the era regarding ideals of behavior and responsibility for ideal middle-class men.[77] The excitement of grasping an "otherwise inaccessible" American frontier experience furthered these subconscious internalizations of classed ideals.[78] Whether or not that experience was true to the actual reality of the American frontier, it pleased crowds and allowed for engagement with exciting American life without truly challenging traditionally held class values.

Therefore, I argue that it was this division between the idealized class values on display in the *Wild West* and the more amorphous ideologies that might come with the American Exhibition as a whole that allowed for this dualism in coverage. While too much praise for the

[76] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand: Masculine Anxiety, the Custer Myth, and the Frontier of Domesticity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Spring, 2003): 54-55.
[77] Another interesting trend that I don't have time to fully cover here, is the faithful republishing of Western stories like Cody's *Death Trailer of the West* in different British Boys Papers of the era (*The New Boy's Paper* and *The British Boy's Paper*), indicating once more that there are masculine and classed values abundant in these narratives that are desirable for young British boys to internalize.
[78] "Extraordinary Pluck of an American Cowboy," *The New Boy's Paper* 1, no.1, 1886, page 14.

American Exhibition might have called into question Britain's anxieties and tensions around classed identities and boundaries, the enjoyment of self-sufficient, honorable, hard working men in the *Wild West* was a safe avenue of consumption of American culture as it lined up with traditional Victorian ideals, and therefore we see the dualism emerge. This consideration of class was largely tied into masculinity, and though it may seem I have tried to navigate around that throughout the course of this chapter, it is largely because I wanted to foreground the classed aspect on its own with regards to the Exhibition and show before moving into my next chapter on how gender comes into play.

Chapter Three: Annie Get Your Gun – Gender in the *Wild West* as it Relates to Britain

"[Annie Oakley] put out her hand to shake hands with the Princess, on the Republican rule of ladies first. The princess smilingly pointed to the Prince, and their royal highness in turn shook hands warmly with the lady and complimented her on her skill with the rifle." -- *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, May 7, 1887.[79]

The above quotation recorded in a review of the Prince and Princess of Wales' visit to the *Wild West* of the American Exhibition of 1887 in London paints a fairly comical illustration of renowned American sharpshooter Annie Oakley seemingly committing a cross-cultural faux pas in attempting to shake hands with the Princess of Wales before the Prince. As the quote implies, it was not a serious transgression. The Princess smiled through the correction. Still, it is a very interesting interaction to prompt our examination of gender construction in late nineteenth-century Britain, especially in relation to the engagement with the American West. As the quotation details, the "ladies first" rule came off as Republican -- very American for the time. As I have highlighted in the previous chapter, there was a dominant narrative of the American frontier as egalitarian. The narrative of democracy extending west, and a frontier where you could make your success off the land allowed for conceptions of the American West as egalitarian to grow. Robert G. Athearn writes of newly migrated British men struggling to navigate the egalitarian social contract with American born cowboys, or British women heads of house with American domestic maids.[80] That sharp contrast of social engagement, with Americans on the frontier embracing the idea of social egalitarianism and Britons in the area struggling with that echoed directly to this interchange. Within this isolated scenario between Oakley and the Royal Family, it is clearly defined that the American way of doing things is *not*

[79] "Multiple News Items," *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* May 7, 1887, page 5, issue 10099.
[80] Robert G. Athearn, "The Egalitarian West," in *Westward the Briton: The Far West, 1865-1900*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Publishing, 1953), 84-85.

analogous to the British way -- and the idea of "ladies first" is definitively an American custom not to be matched or partaken by the British. Though this was a mildly amusing two lines in a larger review of the Royals' visit to the *Wild West*, it opens an avenue for larger considerations of gender within this realm of British and American Western interaction.

One would interpret from this exchange and Athearn's accounts of British social unease at egalitarian principles of the west, that it is something that would upset Brits that were already uneasy about evolving social boundaries. It is here that one of my initial questions when researching emerged-- why, if we have clear indication of British concern and discomfort with American Western egalitarianism, would a show that in theory represented life in the American West be received so well? The answer I have found is that the *Wild West* in fact did not push Britons to change their comfortable conceptions regarding social identity, and we see this particularly prominent when looked at through the lens of gender. Moments that seem to transgress these precious boundaries were apparent within the *Wild West*, yet when looked at more closely, reveal that there was in fact no transgression occurring. The consumption of stories and performances of anomalously independent or masculine performing women was safe, as the larger narrative surrounding it paints a protective shield that reifies traditional domestic sphere realities. The surface level egalitarian picture painted of the American West was something that British individuals could enjoy in observation to safely give the illusion that gender roles could shift, while at the same time reifying a new middle/upper class British masculinity. In essence, many privileged Britons of this era desired an engagement with facets of the American West to a.) define their own identity as a foil and b.) soothe cultural anxieties regarding the potential shift of masculine and feminine boundaries and roles, and the consequences thereof.

While numerous scholars have looked into intersections of race, class, gender and Empire, my work seeks to supplement that by examining the importance of performing identity, both on the very literal scale of the *Wild West* and the larger amorphous consumption of American Frontier narratives. Performance and exhibition are key to understanding how cornerstones of the American West mythos resonated and shaped British identity. Performances of masculinity were prominently on display, and the role of women was demonstrated in a dualistic manner that assuaged cultural anxieties of the era regarding gender roles. In sum, the engagement that British individuals had with Cody's *Wild West* and the American West at large allowed for performances of identity, specifically of gender.

As with class in the previous chapters (and race in the next chapter), the subject of this third chapter is one that should not be looked at in isolation. Gender is something that intertwines with constructions and implementations of both race and class. Middle-class aspirations, upper-class actions, and the evolution of voting legislation aid in creating a unique nineteenth-century masculinity, and both masculinity and femininity are at play within narratives of indigenous existence as a contrast to whiteness. Toward classed ends, Gregory Kosc pays particular attention to how Britons utilized the American frontier as a space through which they could both create a new middle/upper class over the course of sport hunting trips. Facing shifting class boundaries in Britain like the expansion of voting legislation we have tracked through the middle of the 1880s, upper class individuals sought to reinstate boundaries between classes. Kosc details how this was achieved through upper and middle class attempts to develop mastery of all class-associated character traits. Performance of masculinity on the American Frontier, and the recording thereof and distribution amongst Britons back in Great Britain then depended on the existence of the American Frontier and co-option by it in British narrative. Furthermore, this

formation and performance of middle/upper class British masculinity was heavily racialized as well -- the engagement with indigenous communities in the American West provided theaters wherein faced with indigenous hunting prowess, British sport hunters fell on racial science rhetoric to prove inherent superiority over these people, and define themselves in opposition.[81] Catherine Hall specifically details the desires of Christian missionaries to recreate British domestic spheres in colonial spaces, citing Jamaica as a case study.[82] Though these were not necessarily successful, the attempt at demonstrating what a traditional male role *should* be to indigenous communities, and the highlighting of the lack of adherence to that aided in the constructed performance of British masculinity by a.) practicing it and b.) recognizing lack in other communities -- in this case, racialized lack. Louis S. Warren brings these concepts into conversation as well, though oriented more toward American anxieties regarding gender, class, and race with the disappearance of the American Frontier. The *Wild West* provided depictions of a soothing dynamic of those social constructions.[83]

That is all to say, there is very evidently existing scholarship on the extent to which gender, class, and race are co-produced within Empire. With that being said, I want to make a caveat that there are boundaries to my own interpretations. As Levine and her co-contributors warn within their collection *Gender and Empire*, different experiences occur within gender, and one should not paint generalizations over an entire group-- while gender should be invoked as a significant historical consideration, it should not be presupposed that experiences of colonial

[81] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity and Reconciling Class in the American West: British Gentlemen Hunters and Their Travel Accounts, 1865-1914," PhD diss., University of Texas, Arlington, 2010, vi.
[82] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire,* edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 61-62.
[83] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand: Masculine Anxiety, The Custer Myth, and the Frontier of Domesticity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 49-69.

practice were common to all women or all men.[84] With the limited scope of my project, this becomes somewhat difficult, as I rely on public conceptions and generalizations when it comes to women within the show. Furthermore, I do make some generalizations with regards to how gendered anxieties are felt during the era of the American Exhibition, though I find them to be founded well within the social historical context. For the sake of this project and without the benefit of much more targeted research, I have to limit my analysis to my sources -- primarily newspaper coverage-- with hopes of making conclusions that would benefit from further examination at a later time.

To fully cover this lens of gendered performance and how it was both consumed, internalized, and reified through exhibition and the American West, I will move through several thematic sections. First, I look to developments and the contexts that allow for a unique British masculinity to develop during this era, and the areas of the American West that connect with this identity formation. From there, I look to move into how women functioned in relation to men, specifically in the *Wild West*, but also in a larger role within Empire. Following that, I look to contextualize anxieties surrounding the shifting role of women, and how narratives and performances of the American West looked to assuage that, through protection of the domestic sphere and a buffer against industrialization and dangerous metropolis. Overall, I seek to better understand how and why portrayals of the American West created space where British gendered identity was safely reinforced, and what the larger classed and racial implications of such a reinforcement of identity were.

[84] Philippa Levine, "Introduction," in *Gender and Empire*, edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 2.

Sport-hunting in the American West was something that lent itself very easily to an interpretation of active masculinity building. As Gregory Kosc points out in his dissertation, *Performing Masculinity and Reconciling Class in the American West: British Gentlemen Hunters and Their Travel Accounts, 1865-1914*, upper class British men were crafting a particular masculinity in the American West, largely through physical hunting prowess, and superiority over American land, animals, and people. With multiple references toward what Kosc deems as "character building" references (references to the harsh environments faced by British hunters, be it weather, fauna, or hostile human related) as well as the continued references to the hunt being "fair-game" for the animals, rather than a game park of Britain with animals raised and loosed specifically for hunters' purposes.[85] Kosc argues that amidst changing times in Britain, sport-hunting in the American West allowed British men to demonstrate a "hearty work ethic" equal to that of Imperial Pioneers, Western Frontiersmen, and the British working and middle class in order to prove competency should they have to adapt to changing social or marketplace circumstances or cope with "the increasing democratization, professionalization, and commercialization of Britain," yet at the same time, define themselves *against* the egalitarian social and political systems that were prominently on display in the American West.[86]

Furthermore, these conditions allowed for upper-middle class Britons to feel mastery over particular cornerstones of a middle-class or working-class British identity they were inundated with at home yet retain a superiority over them due to their unique status. They had the monetary means to take time and be able to travel to the American West, but their engagement with the rugged terrain of the American West and their success over what they continuously referred to as fair game animals (i.e. animals existing wholly outside of human means, rather

[85] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity..." 94-96.
[86] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity...," v, vi.

than raised specifically for sport purposes on an estate or hunting park) allowed them to inculcate themselves in the toil filled lifestyle of the working man.[87] This masculinity would take shape through several levels, and thus broaden its base of impact -- not only where these men building this masculinity in real time with each other and in their own conceptions while they were on the ground in America, they both brought it back in their own rhetoric or sourced it out to other British citizens by way of travel memoir. Thus, the canon of British sport hunting would grow and come to influence more and more a unique middle- and upper-class masculinity produced by engagement with the American West. This formation will come to be extremely useful in providing an early and decades long base from which the *Wild West* can gain traction in later decades of the 1880s.

We also see that masculinity took shape through economic opportunities within the American West. Established in the first chapter, is the growing British interest in the American cattle industry in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The transition of businesses from beginning as British hunter - American guide partnerships to fully formed British franchises backed by British investors is indicative of an increasing independence of Brits within the cattle industry.[88] With companies such as Prairie Cattle Company, Texas Land and Cattle Company, and Matador Land and Cattle Company all making substantial dividends, that independence was demonstrably visible in economic conversations at home where many of the franchise backers and overseers were located. That division from American partnership within the cattle industry also came along with the necessity to avoid American 'tricksters' in the industry. It was well-known that there were methods of selling cattle (like the book-count method) through which particular ranchers

[87] Gregory Kosc, "Performing Masculinity…" 94-96.
[88] Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom in British Texan Cattle Companies 1880-1885," *The Business History Review* 34, no.4 (Winter 1960): 426.

attempted to take advantage of perceived British gullibility or the lack of direct oversight by remote heads of corporations. The ability of British-owned corporations to overcome this by successfully limiting their losses pointed toward eventual British avoidance of this, especially with comments detailing although "'A few reckless Americans' had failed in the business, no Scotsman or Irishman ever had."[89] Thus, to mirror what Kosc has stated about mastery and prowess over a field, and direct comparison to Americans in the process, I see British success in the cattle boom of the early 1880s as another field wherein British upper-class businessmen used the American West to developed their distinct masculinity through successful performance in an industry that provided extreme economic benefit and thus translated to taking care of ones' family and country as a whole, with the added bonus of doing it independently of American assistance and to the detriment of those "few reckless Americans."

Both of these areas set the scene for the later *Wild West* to resonate with a British audience, and aid in the reinforcement of these identities. The American West, by 1887, held an important role in providing a space for the development of British masculinity. When performances and depictions of it would come to British soil for the American Exhibition, this performance of masculinity continued. The *Wild West* would make these earlier models of masculine behavior immediately apparent, with the show itself and coverage of it in newspapers accentuating the qualities of competent, independent, action oriented and working class valued but middle/upper class appearing masculinity. Performance of this identity moved beyond the amorphous idea of performing an identity through success in an industry, mastery over landscape and animals, and became something much more tangibly consumed at exhibition, then entering public discourse and mentality.

[89] Richard Graham, "The Investment Boom…"425.

In coverage of this event, newspapers highlighted both the handsomeness of Bill Cody, as well as the prowess he held over his show. Described as being

> Taller than most Americans, with a bronzed and handsome face, and considerable personal dignity indicative of physical courage, Buffalo Bill cannot fail to be admired by all ladies who see him, for I feel these characteristics go a long way to win favor among the fair sex, and amongst his numerous followers there are many fine fellows who deserve to divide such favors with him,[90]

Bill Cody enjoyed the appreciation of the British people. The hierarchy amidst his menagerie was also present and observed and asserted itself in either the successful technical feats of showmanship his performers would carry out under his guidance, or the racially charged observations. One such observation, was that despite the indigenous performers in the show having come from a background in conflict with Cody, they viewed him as their "great chief" now, with Red Shirt of the Sioux acting as a representative for his people having "resigned himself to the fate of his people and, like other Indians, regards Buffalo Bill as his great chief."[91] Not only was Cody referred to in glowing terms as a "king of men," those of his ilk were likewise assumed to have led equal lives of adventure and glory.[92] Additionally, depictions of his appearance such as the above point to a man not struggling to make ends meet, despite his engagement within rugged nature and history with battle. Rather, it mimicked what Kosc has argued -- that British middle and upper-class masculinity was developed in part due to a maintenance of upper-class image and self-conception but intertwined with middle class working ethics and hard-won success over an unruly dominion. Thus, there was ample ground for such heroes as Bill Cody to land within an expanding middle and upper class of men. Furthermore, the

[90] "Editorial," *The Derby Daily Telegraph*, May 20, 1887, page 4, issue 2380.
[91] "The American Exhibition," *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, May 14, 1887, page 3, issue 10100.
[92] "The American Exhibition," *The London Times*, April 27, 1887, page 6, issue 32507.

racialized hierarchy was something that also hearkens back to Kosc's argument about identity development that utilized the setting of the American West to British advantage.

Echoes of these earlier frontier experiences were found within appreciative and complimentary reviews of Cody's show over the course of its run. The spectacles of the cowboys day-in and day-out showcasing mastery over their animals both with their riding prowess and with demonstrations such as steer roping allowed for an appreciation of that hard-earned success to be in near constant discourse. The cowboy performing heroic daily feats for audience of riding and shooting garnered appreciation from British audiences, demonstrating a masculine prowess over his mount and firearm. Aristocratic arenas such as precision sport shooting were tinged with unique frontier flair during these shows, and it resonated with those who witnessed it.

One particularly salient aspect of masculine power throughout the run of Cody's show, was the mainstay 'Attack on the Settlers' Cabin.' Though prefaced by other various staged attacks throughout the show, either taking the form of an attack on a mail coach, a train, or other sort of convoy in travel, the attack on the settlers' cabin was a favorite finale of Cody's for his show. The premise for this spectacle was simple: there would be a homestead set up, often with a family indicated to be unsuspecting in their domestic daily life. Then they would be ambushed by indigenous forces. The panic that this evoked would soon be quelled as Cody's band of white cowboys and scouts would swoop in, repulse the indigenous forces, and restore the bubble of relative safety around the home. This caught the attention of numerous reviews of the show within the British press. I argue this occurred because it resonated in multiple areas of British consciousness, to multiple ends. On a simple level, this was a high energy moment of entertainment, with papers citing the level of anxiety and excitement was exacerbated by indigenous performers war whooping to add an additional element to draw audiences into their

attack beyond a visual portrayal. However, more substantially and something I will return to in various sections of this chapter, this one scene does work to demonstrate masculinity through protection of the domestic sphere, utilizes women in a non-transgressive and culturally soothing way to reinscribe the traditional social order of the domestic sphere, and finally preys on racial anxieties and colonial experiences with indigeneity. The simplest part to focus on now, is that this is definitively another area wherein a protective masculinity was on display and could be appreciated by British audiences and could resonate with them.

Temporally, this performance was situated almost perfectly for success in terms of resonating with many British men and assuaging contemporary cultural anxieties in the realm of masculinity. As mentioned earlier with the examination of British sport-hunting in the American West, the search both to define British masculinity on the American Frontier and protect aristocratic ideals were prominent through this era of shifting social considerations (i.e. voting legislation that would threaten traditional class behaviors). Kosc argues that in the wake of the 1867 Second Reform Act, the masculine upper class was on a hunt to curtail both "real and perceived threats to British patriarchy, social exclusivity, traditional social values, and international economic, cultural, and military dominance."[93] Though British hunters in the American West sought to demonstrate "middle class values" such as "courage" and "endurance" and the working class mantras of "hard-work" and "self-reliance," they were still generally elite members of society attempting to embody a middle class identity rather than truly stemming from such more in an attempt to prove adaptability than any true empathy or desire for change -- something that the shifting voting legislation looked like it might usher in.[94] However, as the American Frontier increasingly industrialized into the late 1800s and hunting became much more

[93] Gregory Kosc, 4.
[94] Gregory Kosc, 7.

structured and less appealingly rugged or rangy, the ability for British men to partake in this identity development overseas was losing ground. Additionally, by this point in time the Cattle Boom and economic advantage it brought was years in the past. As Graham writes, the most prominent and productive years of this enterprise were the first several years of the 1880s, with the trade essentially losing any profitability by 1885.[95] Ray H. Mattison corroborates this assessment in his own work, writing that if the industry were not already on the decline from the intense investments poured into it from England and Scotland in the 1870s and early 1880s, the extremely harsh winter of 1886-1887 was the death knell of the industry.[96] Thus, I believe that Cody's *Wild West* was an enticing arena through which to develop that Western influence masculinity that had experienced closed doors. The West historically provided not only a space to test out manliness that many children had internalized stories about due to the prevalence of Westerns' publications in British Boys Papers by the end of the nineteenth century, it also provided a space wherein traditional ideals and values could be reified and protected amidst changing ideas. This will become a theme when we come to address the cultural anxieties felt around the shifting conceptions of femininity and the role of women further in this chapter.

Both these active experiences *in* the American West that set the scene for *Wild West* success, and the and consumed spectacles at the American Exhibition, allow for what Philippa Levine directs attention to within her introduction to *Gender and Empire*-- masculine imperial vision allowed for a focus on groups of pioneer men "taming wild terrain into productivity and profitability, put[ting] the spotlight on physically courageous and industrious men."[97] We can see

[95] Richard Graham, 442.
[96] Ray H. Mattison, "The Hard Winter and the Range Cattle Business," *The Montana Magazine of History* 1, no.4 (October 1951): 1.
[97] Philippa Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?" in *Gender and Empire*, edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, 7.

that masculinity was both being shaped on the ground in the American West, as well as at home in Britain, and appreciation for performative masculinity was also abound. This leads into the question of where femininity falls.

Levine highlights that, despite the robust prevailing narrative of Empire as a very masculine enterprise full of "white men dressed stiffy in sporting and hunting clothes, or ornate official regalia," other experiences of gender should not be forgotten, despite the fact that they are often obscured from popular memory.[98] One comment that stands out particularly within this opening introduction, is the idea that gender and empire intersect in constructions and conceptions of women and their role in relation to men -- that is, the development of the idea that "a critical function of society was to *care* for and protect women, an idea which logically secured that women would be defined by men and compared against male behaviors."[99] The contrast of this idealized masculinity on display was of course to "women's femininity" which was "seen to derive in large part from their lack of physical prowess, their delicacy, and nervousness."[100] These were certainly on display within what we have just looked at (i.e. attacks on the domestic sphere during the show), and thus there was a formation of feminine identity occurring simultaneously throughout the *Wild West* just as there was a performance of masculinity being carried out and received by British audiences.

Where then, does Annie Oakley's perceived transgressions with which we began this chapter with fall? Women take on seemingly dualistic roles within this performance. On the one hand, there are well-known shooters, such as Lilian Smith and Annie Oakley. On the other, there

[98] Philippa Levine, "Introduction…" 1.
[99] Philippa Levine, "Introduction…" 6.
[100] Philippa Levine, "Introduction…" 7.

is the woman as something nameless to be protected, as a part of a bigger play at masculinity through protection of the stagecoach, or homestead during the performance.

Before moving too far into an assessment of domestic protection exhibited within these spectacles, I would first like to establish the cultural tone of women and femininity within Britain during this era. Just as there were emerging anxieties regarding what sorts of masculinity Britain was creating and enabling during this era, so too were there social concerns regarding the role of women in society. Though the scope of her work differs from the content of my own, Alex Owen provides a useful overview of the feminine experience at the fin-de-siècle, and her own interpretations of boundaries of transgression. Despite the gradual increase in rights for women in legal and economic arenas, the lived reality for many women during this time frame was still one of external control, and a struggle for autonomy. Though discourse surrounding women's right to vote was gaining traction during this era, many women were still caged in due to a lack of legal protections regarding property rights (which would in part be aided by a series of acts in the late 1870s and 1880s), rights to bodily autonomy (Contagious Diseases Act or diagnoses of hysteria), and the ability to be realistically economically independent. Owen highlights that "intrinsic to the consensus view of Victorian womanhood which emerged was the distinction between the relative spheres of operation for men and women, coupled with the suggestion that women possessed an innate moral and spiritual superiority which was best exercises for the benefit of all within the confines of the home."[101] This desire to assign women to the role of the domestic sphere is further reinscribed as important to the British identity through analysis of how Britons reacted to indigenous peoples' refusal or reluctance to adhere to such gendered norms and roles within their colonies as Catherine Hall highlights in her work on missionary

[101] Alex Owen, "Power and Gender: The Spiritualist Context," in *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, 12.

engagement with freed Caribbean slaves.[102] Not only was work being done at home within Britain to delineate what the correct role of women with regards to the domestic sphere was, it was also being exported to colonial holdings in the interest of homogenizing the Empire.

What will be of particular importance to this examination is that prescriptive British femininity created itself largely in opposition to the construction of masculinity -- female frailty was constructed in opposition to masculine strength and virility, female passivity was constructed in opposition to masculine will-power, and sexuality was to be only for the purpose of childbearing and the marriage bed rather than any eroticized sexuality, with any aberrations to that falling upon those relegated to the categories of poor or insane.[103] Thus, the presence of a British masculinity was essential to the creation and enforcement of a British femininity. Furthermore, one point to note that will become increasingly important as we look toward attitudes of egalitarianism, masculinity and femininity functioned heavily in relation to notions of "civilization" within Empire -- that is to say, numerous authors have commented on the prevalent notion held by Britons of the nineteenth century that appears to walk a tightrope: though women were to be protected, they were to hold an 'inferior' so to speak position within the family, and though it was up to Britain to regulate indigenous people and therefore seek to regulate "cruelty" and "depravity" toward indigenous women by indigenous men, they would not go so far as to reimagine the role of women within their own society, seeking more simply to 'improve' indigenous populations within their far reaching Empire in hopes of creating similar hierarchical systems.[104] At its core, the idea of 'protecting' women yet not granting them autonomy in any significant political or non-domestic realm was the base for British judgement

[102] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire,* edited by Philippa Levine, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 61-62.
[103] Alex Owen "Power and Gender…" 7.
[104] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire…" 55.

of femininity -- within colonies like that of the Caribbean, the mission family served as the pinnacle of what white Britons should be encouraging their colonized brethren to emulate - "Black men were to become responsible, industrious, independent, and Christian. Black women should occupy their small but satisfying separate sphere, as wives and mothers, freed from the degradation of concubinage, and the unremitting labour of the plantation."[105] This was the desired export of British civilization to the colonies, and it gives an indication toward what Britons at home were seeking to highlight about their own societies, and what they felt were important cornerstones.

Despite these constraints however, there were emerging social movements calling for a shift in the societal role of women. The pushback to these movements were obvious through male critiques of "The New Woman" that worked to undermine the movement by stripping away at the femininity of those involved -- in essence, attacks on these movements were also highly gendered, in that their detractors worked to highlight distinctly "unfeminine" characteristics in their critiques.[106] In a very evident way, this connects to what scholars like Levine have stated -- masculinity develops itself in opposition to femininity, and thus I argue that should that perception of femininity be changing, in this instance to something more self-sufficient, and independent and autonomous, there was a perceived loss of masculinity that could occur. Thus, in an era in which masculinity was something tenuous and surrounded by ambiguous anxiety with not only the loss of traditional arenas through which masculine prowess could be demonstrated and developed (i.e. American Frontier, or as I argue, the economic Cattle

[105] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire…" 62.

[106] See M. Eastwood, "The New Woman in Fiction and In Fact," 1894, in *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History c. 1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 90-92 and "Character Note: The New Woman" 1894 *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History c. 1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 80-83; though both occurring after the period I am examining, they are good measures of the sort of attack on women's femininity that occurs as a way to condemn shifting gender roles in society

Industry). These paths would lead directly to the discovery of the Cleveland male brothel in 1889 and the trial of Oscar Wilde in 1895 it is understandable that the idea of transgressing boundaries of the feminine would be uncomfortable.[107] This is where I find Cody's *Wild West* to do particularly important work for British society in assuaging some of these concerns and reinscribing more comfortable gender roles and performance.

Despite the presence of seemingly transgressive acts within the show, such as Annie Oakley and Lillian Smith's shooting demonstrations, I find what could appear to be an anomaly within a pattern of soothing depictions of gender reveals in fact no real transgressions. Though their commentary of the women is rather in the same vein, multiple publications write that the women shooters were "not less remarkable" than the men, and that, Lillian Smith ""exhibits a most unerring aim with a pea rifle, and Annie Oakley, a pre-possessing young woman does remarkably well with a shotgun."[108] One author of an editorial within the *Derby Daily Telegraph* wrote of the show that they witnessed "wonderful rifle shooting in which boys and girls seemed to be equally expert" but to this author less exciting than the races between cowboys.[109] The complimentary nature of reviews and write ups of the show, and even the royal appreciation that Annie Oakley received upon the Prince and Princess of Wales' visit to the show at the beginning of its run is interesting. One might argue that the outspoken recognition of women existing and succeeding in what is largely deemed a masculine world is indicative of a transgression of gender norms. However when probed more deeply, I see the reception of the frontier girls and the whole of Cody's show as in fact not too far out of bounds with cultural gender norms of the

[107] Anne McClintock "Olive Schreiner: The Limits of Colonial Feminism" in work *Imperial Leather* New York: Routledge, 1995, 283.
[108] "The American Exhibition," *The Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, May 14, 1887, page 6, issue 1219; and "Notable events and prominent personages," *The Ipswich Journal,* May 13, 1887, issue 8711.
[109] "Editorial," *The Derby Daily Telegraph*, May 20, 1887, page 4, issue 2380.

era, and propose that instead of transgressions that would shake up British gender roles, the consumption and appreciation of women within the Wild West was a 'safe' mode of consuming aberrant experiences of femininity that resemble masculine productions of gender.

Hearkening back to Warren's article, Cody's show and the mainstay of the attack on emigrant train, mail coach, or settler's cabin were all undergirded with anxieties about attacks on vulnerable women and children -- vulnerable domesticity that needs protecting. Much of this concern comes from the cultural anxieties of the era wherein America was industrializing, and "American society was transfixed by the problem of shoring up womanly domesticity" as the industrial revolution created a dualism of women working for wages as well as the new bourgeoisie class wherein women were stay-at-home wives as a symbol of status.[110] With the attack and subsequent protection of the domicile in the show, the messaging implied that the domestic sphere *was* the only safe place for women, and that venturing outside of it risked physical and sexual danger by indigenous peoples, representative of the new threats of cities from crime and prostitution, to alcoholism or nervous disorder.[111] From that assessment, I believe that the presence of women trick shooters within the show is dualistic. Despite the platform that the white frontier women were given to showcase their skills, and Cody's insistence of equal pay for women and outspoken support of voting rights for women, the domestic protection tone of the entire show overshadows any individual contribution the frontier women might experience. Spinning outward from this, then, I argue that British consumption of this performance of "transgressions" in actuality did not challenge any previously held conceptions of femininity, and rather reified the already developed idea of masculinity in contrast to femininity as a protector thereof. Despite the fact that women were independently

[110] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand…" 57.
[111] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand…" 57.

featured and allowed to demonstrate their success in what would appear to most to be a masculine field (i.e. shooting), they were still perceived as distinctly feminine, as evidence in their depictions such as "lovely," "fair," and "respectable."

Though as mentioned earlier, Owen and other historians of late nineteenth-century women recognize the desire by women to gain more autonomy and political power, their standing within larger British society was still marked by a lack of such autonomy, and still curtailed by strong cultural norms. However, it is my belief that despite these strong cultural norms, the shifting of particular aspects of women's existence toward the end of this nineteenth century allowed for success of Cody's show, just as it did on North American soil. With women beginning to make headway within legal realms of existence, such as the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, the place and level of influence of women within British society *was* in fact experiencing a slight transition-- or at least the grounds for such a perception were there. Owen highlights the 1882 Act as one which opened opportunities for women in marriages to allow for control over separate property and recourse to the same civil and criminal remedies as unmarried women.[112] Owen uses this particular case as a jumping off point to allude to the larger shifts of the era, wherein women's' education, right to employment, legal rights and standing, and even discourse surrounding women's suffrage were gaining traction amidst society.[113] With figures like Annie Besant and Josephine Butler working on behalf of British women, there was a palpable atmosphere of change within British society during this era. There was thus fertile ground for anxiety surrounding the change to status quo of 'traditional' roles of men and women. It is my interpretation that not only did Cody's *Wild West* and other stories of British engagement with the American frontier allow for Britons to somewhat safely consume vaguely transgressive

[112] Alex Owen "Power and Gender…" 3.
[113] Alex Owen "Power and Gender…" 4.

narratives of female empowerment, but the overall message of the show was soothing to those who were grappling with changing attitudes toward women's roles and positions in British life.

The compliments paid to Smith and Oakley over the run of their London based shows were indeed laudatory, but nothing that would suggest British internalization of a shift in gender roles prompted by such displays. Rather, the compliments were fairly bland praise of their shooting ability, commentary on how they are sometimes even with and sometimes better than the men marksmen they were with. The only transgression that seemed to make itself particularly evident is from the quote that begins this chapter, when Annie Oakley was reported to have attempted to shake hands with the Princess of Wales, after which she was corrected of her "republican rule of ladies first," and shook hands with the Prince instead while the Princess looked on.[114] Amidst burgeoning questions of the role of women in British society, the appreciation and publicization of the frontier women of Cody's show's prowess was a safe arena in which to export some of that anxiety and questioning, therefore keeping the pillars of British masculinity and femininity more resolute. However, beyond the initial claim that the dual role of women in Cody's *Wild West* provided a 'safe' avenue for British consumption that did not push traditional gender boundaries, there is also something to be said for the intricacies of the femininity produced in the show. To go along with an idealized version of British masculinity that was middle and upper class, and that would appropriate the ethics from the working class, the version of British femininity that was being produced as a result of consuming and internalizing this performance was also classed.

These depictions of gender were not only successful because they allowed a British audience to receive a soothing portrayal of idealized gender performances amidst a backdrop of

[114] "Multiple News Items," *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, May 7, 1887, page 5, issue 10099.

shifting uncertainty of these roles, they also did work to reinscribe intersections of idealized gender performance as it related to class and race within Empire. Class was on display when we look to the distinct lack of an industrialized or urbanized danger presented within Cody's show. This era in England was one that is marked by heavy urbanization, and the consequences it was demonstrably beginning to have on society. Metropolis areas became associated with danger, and narratives of violence and dirtiness emerged on a large scale. There was no shortage of coverage of the dangerous metropolis, with the East End of London being a sharp acknowledgement of the inequities produced by a society that engaged in industrialization that allowed for class boundaries to sharpen. Urbanization allowed for immense human suffering to occur by way of forcing those without means to secure proper housing and protection from what might come after them in the dark of the city (especially poignant to consider when remembering that the *Wild West* would have its residency in London only one year prior to the notorious terror Jack the Ripper would concoct). This state of destitute contained within it numerous implications for gendered performance, most prominent being the widespread engagement and discourse surrounding feminine immorality. Faced with economically dismal circumstances in an industrialized era, there were women that turned to prostitution in order to be at all economically viable. The reception of this, despite being a widespread phenomenon, focused in on what were perceived as perversions of an idealized femininity and its interaction with masculinity and the domestic framework. 'Social explorer' Andrew Mearns writes of Outcast London that

> immorality is but the natural outcome of conditions like these. 'Marriage,' it has been said, 'as an institution, is not fashionable in these districts.' And this is only the bare truth. Ask if the men and women living together in these rookeries are married, and your simplicity will cause a smile. Nobody knows. Nobody cares. Nobody expects that they are. [115]

[115] Andrew Mearns, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Conditions of the Abject Poor" 1883, in *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader In Cultural History c. 1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, 29.

Mearns goes on detail that in these areas the sanctity of traditional domestic relationships are thrown to the wayside, writing of a man who lived with a woman three years and who had several children by her easily moving on to another woman shortly after her death, with no true sign of emotional struggle.[116] The ways in which Mearns describes these incidents, and the state of young girls being virtually forced into selling their bodies for their families, the lack of adherence to traditional domestic formations, and the sensationalization of the abject poverty experienced by all these individuals that would go to further perpetuate their circumstance is sensationalized, yet at the same time is meant to shock readers into a state of revulsion with the perversion of idealized societal relationships and roles. Likewise, sensationalized pieces covering similar topics such as W. T. Stead's "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" of 1885 were meant to showcase terrible social circumstances within metropolis and the inherent danger faced by those lower classes and vulnerable populations, yet also were written from distinctly outside point of views, meant to galvanize these experiences as something Other. Though these were certainly experiences of female Londoners, and they were acknowledged as having to result from circumstances of industrialized inequality, they were not something to identify with.

Louis S. Warren highlights the particular resonance that of Cody's spectacle of domestic protection and reification of traditional gender roles in the context of American industrialization. As we have established here, the consequences of urbanization were felt wholly by British society, and there is a distinctly gendered aspect to this experience. Warren argues that in part, Cody's show did work within North America to assuage anxieties regarding industrialization, and the loss of a previously very delineated domestic sphere wherein women were heads of household, not involved in economic production as they were beginning to be thanks to

[116] Andrew Mearns, "The Bitter Cry…" 30.

industrialization, and they were to remain pure and protected from anything that might taint them (i.e. indigenous men and sexual danger).[117] Though Britain was experiencing urbanization differently -- there was less of a loss of expansive open frontier space on the island -- the anxieties surrounding what might happen to women with urbanization appear to me to be extremely applicable. As I have shown, we have narrative evidence from the era that shows us the acute attention paid to the pitfalls of the metropolis, and how it affected the realm of female experience. Warren points out that with the construction of Cody's show, the continuous pleasant depictions of men and women interacting in acceptable roles (i.e. dancing the Virginia Reel on horseback) and the eventual portrayal of masculine protection women against danger in the finale of the performance allows for a palatable consumption of idyllic gender roles, removed from the anxieties of industrial consequence (both with how it might empower women, or how it might corrupt them). Therefore, I argue that it is possible this show was working toward similar ends within Britain, due to similar anxieties and realities faced by industrialization that were sensationalized and widespread.

Versions of femininity produced within Cody's show, though initially seemingly transgressive in action, did not resonate that way with British audiences -- in fact I argue that they provided an oasis for idealized femininity amidst such sharp consequences of urbanization and social 'impurity.' There is something to be said for both the fairness of the featured women, and the contexts within which the rest of the women of the show resided (i.e. the settler's cabin or non-descript supporting roles, dancing with men) remaining untainted by industrialization. Though perhaps the women within the depictions Cody's show gives audiences were working, they were not working in the same way or to the same consequences that working-class women

[117] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand…" 55.

in Britain were. Furthermore, within an overview of the whole troupe set up, particular attention is given to their tent which are "highly tasteful and attractive, and in some cases even luxurious."[118] These were not women struggling to make ends meet, and this appreciation reifies an idealized woman, removed from the blight of industrialized labor that would take a toll on the female body, either in an overarching manner stemming from squalid conditions of housing, or more directly through necessity of prostitution. The continuous fear of sexual impurity, or other corruptions of femininity were not at play in these depictions of the American West. This would resonate well with a middle and upper class who already feared those things, and how they manifested in their own backyards (i.e. Contagious Diseases Act, fear of the metropolis, Jack the Ripper and morality, etc.). Just as a classed version of British masculinity was shaped by the American West, so too is a British femininity.

The protection of women in this instance leads us to a final point I would like to make with regards to the intersections of race and empire with gender during this era. Louis S. Warren argues that not only did Cody's show assuage fears of industrialization changing the traditional social roles and structure of the frontier and the gendered experiences thereof, he also highlights how the masculinity and femininity produced within the show was distinctly racialized. The show flourished in an era wherein there was a heavy anxiety, "about the swamping of America by immigrants, freed blacks, and union organizers, and that it was a set-piece of masculine combat in an age profoundly concerned about the survival of white masculinity."[119] To return back to my earlier point of the attack on the settlers' cabin doing work toward multiple ends, Warren argues in his article that alongside the showmanship and skills demonstrated for entertainment value throughout the course of the show, the mainstay finale -- the attack on the

[118] "The American Exhibition" *The London Times*, April 27, 1887, page 6, issue 32057.
[119] Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand…" 50.

settler's cabin -- was so genuinely popular and important to construction of an American Western identity because it reinforced the idea of white masculinity within the American West. The attack on the cabin housing a white family, sometimes a white woman and sons, by indigenous peoples, and the subsequent fighting back and victory by white American cowboys showcased both racial cultural dominance over the indigenous populations of the American West, as well as the successful action of masculine, patriarchal duty -- the protection of the domestic sphere, women, and children. With the longevity of this finale and its place within the lineup of the performance (finale holding a poignant impact), Warren argues that this spectacle with its inherent reification of masculinity and masculine duty in relation to femininity resonates with a population of people anxious about the shifting gender roles of the end of the nineteenth century, when frontier gender roles were giving way to industrialized experiences that allowed for more varied experiences of femininity.

I see this construction of performance doing work for Britain, just as Warren argues it did for America. Just as concerns regarding the vulnerability of women in the metropolis were abound, so too were narratives of sexual danger with regards to colonial population. Though inherently contradictory as much of racism is, British narratives regarding colonial subjects worked either to feminize colonial men or portray them as perpetrators of sexual danger.[120] With more and more women moving to the colonial frontiers, this became an increasingly applicable area of thought for British society. White British women and the domicile they inhabit was something that could feasibly *be* under attack, just as it was in Cody's depiction of the American West. To audiences that have connections to the imperial frontiers, the idea of racialized conflict was not a new one.

[120] Catherine Hall, "Gender and Empire…" 50-52.

Though, as I'll get into in my next chapter, that conception of racialized conflict would resonate differently depending on the way in which it was consumed, there is a generalized acknowledgement of the clashes of race during this peak of imperial colonial expansion. Though racial science was at its peak during this era as well, with anthropologists, phrenologists, and other scientific and pseudoscientific professionals establishing the categorical and hierarchical differences between the white race and those non-white races, there was no hierarchical solution for anxieties regarding conduct of colonial subjects and how they might corrupt the white domestic sphere. Therefore, I argue that there is an intersection of race and gender that must be considered when looking at the reaction of British audiences to Cody's exhibition, particularly sections of it wherein indigenous actors were tasked with the implication of domestic destruction both very literally and in more implied manners. This transitional look into that intersection prepares us well for the next and final chapter of this argument -- that of the importance of race in the *Wild West*, British Empire, and conception of British identity.

Chapter Four: Entertainment Eschewing Ethics? Britain, Consumption of Racial Conflict, and Conceptions of Empire

"A dispatch from Pine City, Minn., to the St. Paul Press, August 19, gives a thrilling account of the murder by a half-breed Indian of his white father, with the apparent knowledge and sympathy of the Indian mother… Twenty years ago, when scarcely of age, [the white man] espoused a Chippewa squaw, and had lived with her ever since. The woman was an irredeemable savage -- vindictive and passionate, at times abusive and violent, but [he] clung to her with a strange and inexplicable devotion. She assaulted him in the streets, pulled his hair and whiskers, and on at least one occasion has stabbed him. They had six children - Herbert, the parricide, and a little boy only two years old, and four girls, of whom two are young women. Hutchinson was always indulgent to his family, never denying them anything his means could procure. Herbert now wears a handsome gold watch, the gift of his father a few months since. The young man is said to be of a vindictive and indolent disposition, and for the last two years has borne hard feelings toward his father."[121]

The above is an excerpt from a 1880 newspaper story from the American Frontier that both the *Edinburgh Evening News* and the *Morning Post* ran, which detailed the murder of a white man, married to an indigenous woman, by their "half-breed" son.[122] Though the *Post* article got further into the investigative details, as though it were attempting to embody a twenty-first century forensic procedural, both articles dealt heavily in the sensationalization of the crime. Throughout this sensationalization there was heavy emphasis on the racial identity and characteristics of both the son who murdered his father, and of his indigenous mother. The use of "half-breed," to describe the son, is very evident as is the repeated descriptor of "savage" when discussing his mother, with both publications characterizing her as an "irredeemable savage."[123] Not only were there racially charged words used within these publications to describe indigenous individuals, the racialization goes further into characteristics and behaviors. Once the audience of

[121] "An American Frontier Tragedy," *The Morning Post,* September 9, 1880, page 6, issue 33762.
[122] "An American Frontier Tragedy," *Edinburgh Evening News*, September 7, 1880, page 3, issue 2288; and "An American Frontier Tragedy," *The Morning Post,* September 9, 1880, page 6, issue 33762.
[123] "An American Frontier Tragedy," *Edinburgh Evening News*, September 7, 1880, page 3, issue 2288; and "An American Frontier Tragedy," *The Morning Post,* September 9, 1880, page 6, issue 33762.

the publication has been made aware through these more blatant means that these two individuals are the Other, the reification of that other-ness arrives through descriptors of interaction and behavior. When discussing the actions of the two during the investigation conducted, the *Post* wrote that the mother and son's, "Indian faces show[ed] no sign of emotions lurking underneath."[124] Though this is one instance of description, it is a stereotype that furthered itself within other publications over time, and within British consumption of racial tension between white and indigenous groups in North America during the late nineteenth century.

When Cody's *Wild West* landed on British shores in 1887 for the American Exhibition, British publications were enamored with describing the North American indigenous members of the show. One of the first articles covering their arrival within *The London Times* in April of 1887 described them as having, "all the traditional calm associated with the Indian character."[125] Beyond the physical caricatures that emerged in descriptions of indigenous populations, this attention to racializing behavior was normative and perpetuated throughout publications over the course of the Exhibition's run. *The Times* would continue to highlight the "reserved" character and a "philosophical indifference," that was widely enthusiastically observed by London citizens upon their visits not only to the *Wild West* show, but to their visitation to the indigenous encampment on the Exhibition grounds.[126] Within all aspects of reporting on indigenous peoples during this era, their indigeneity was foregrounded, and subjected to external judgement. Whether it be visitors to the American Exhibition observing the jarring appearance of North American indigenous people, or the Queen visiting and virtually appraising the indigenous

[124] "An American Frontier Tragedy," *The Morning Post*, September 9, 1880, page 6, issue 33762.
[125] "The Wild West Show," *The London Times,* April 15, 1887, page 10.
[126] "The Bank Holiday," *The London Times* August 2, 1887, page 9; and "The American Exhibition," *The London Times* April 27, 1887, page 6.

group, the Othering of this community is extremely visible.[127] By highlighting this process, media coverage was furthering an identity derived from dichotomy -- that there as a collective British "us," and there is an external, and in this case North American indigenous, "them."[128] This division was further exhibited through both visible appearance-oriented characteristics, and through more simple physical engagements, such as when *The London Times* reported on the somewhat "surprising" fact that Red Shirt, the leader of the Sioux within the show, and other indigenous folks would shake hands with the Englishmen.[129]

To accompany the reinforcement of racialized inherent personality characteristics occurring in the press, there was also an emphasis on the ability of these people to embody extreme energy, and the ability to direct it toward others, generally through chaotic violence. Just as coverage of the initial disembarking of the indigenous people within Cody's show covered their apparent inherently indigenous stoicism, reviews of the show once it began during the American Exhibition tended to emphasize the vigor with which these indigenous peoples go about their parts in the show using descriptors such as "whirlwind" to attempt to capture the excitement.[130] Papers often focused on the shocking appearances of the performers, the way they could heighten the energy of the performance with their war-whoops throughout the show, or the chaotic feats of horsemanship they engaged themselves with.[131] Attacks by indigenous groups on the stage coach or settlers' cabin ere mainstays of the performance, and evoked intense reaction from the crowds, with the Royal Family even commenting that it was the favored part of the

[127] "The American Exhibition," *The London Times* April 27, 1887, page 6.
[128] These considerations and forms of interaction will be very important when I shortly arrive to discussions of scholarly work on Empire and Exhibition, connecting these observations to that of Sadiah Qureshi and Jeffrey Auerbach.
[129] The Wild West Show," *The London Times*, April 15, 1887, page 10.
[130] "The American Exhibition" *The London Times*, May 6, 1887, page 5.
[131] The Wild West Show," *The London Times*, April 15, 1887, page 10.

entire show.[132] Though it was widely understood by audiences that this was by no means a legitimate conflict occurring in real-time and that these were merely enactments of previous battles, particular attention is drawn to the past rivalries of Cody with indigenous groups in the American West during his time as a scout.[133] the interaction as widely understood to be an instance of "playing at war," despite the known histories of both Bill Cody and Red Shirt (in that they have "taken many a scalp, and on opposite sides too") and thus was consumed much in the way any theatrical performance would be, which will be essential to our understanding of what this performance aligned with in British cultural resonance.[134]

The residence of Cody's show in London not only works to reify a white/indigenous Othering that has been occurring through imperial expansion for centuries and resonate with current racial boundary hardening, it allows Britons to experience conflict between a white race and non-white race from the stance of an outside observer. This does not mean that white British audiences abandoned their identities as that, rather it means they keep a hold of that identity, and connect it to what they are witnessing play out in front of them-- ergo, they partake in the performance and creation of their own identity by watching fictitious conflict occur in front of them, with the added benefit of having no immediate stake. This creation of identity worked toward multiple ends: on the one hand, it allowed white Brits to feel more secure in an era where degeneration is a chief concern and racial science and eugenics are rapidly gaining footholds in popular conception. Through the consumption of relatively sanitized conflict between white and indigenous peoples wherein the white groups are always the victors, there was a reinforcing of racial hierarchy occurring that helped to support pillars of British imperial self-conception.

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[132] "Court Circular," *The London Times,* May 6, 1887, page 9.
[133] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *The London Times*, May 10, 1887, page 10.
[134] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *The London Times*, May 10, 1887, page 10.

Furthermore, to the extent that indigenous and white people were working together within this show (because it is directly acknowledged by British papers that it is a play-conflict) there was still an underlying hierarchy wherein white man Cody holds dominion over a group of indigenous people that follow in the footsteps of their leader in show Red Shirt, who, "has evidently resigned himself to the fate of his people, and… regards Buffalo Bill as his great chief."[135] This lead into the other closely related piece of work that this particular performance does, which is that it supports a narrative of extinction amongst less civilized populations. No matter what, Cody's troops always repulsed the indigenous peoples in the exhibition, and beyond that, they submitted to him within their everyday life. Thus, racial hierarchy was further bolstered. This was something that combined with a trend of absence of self-reflective commentary in coverage of the show, despite the many possible connections Britain could make to its own Empire through describing this fictitious conflict. I argue that by examining Cody's *Wild West* in London in the context of late 1800s Britain, we can better understand anxieties surrounding racial degeneration, as well as the curious coexistence of absence of Empire's true goings-on with indigenous peoples in the news at home. This performance was important because it not only worked well to fit in with racial science and anxieties of the time, but it also allowed for a somewhat gentler or sanitized narrative of 'civilizing' to play out on the home front, where other presence of Empire was *not* as acutely felt and these two things together worked to aid in the development of a cohesive understanding of race and self within Empire, though possibly with gaps in the knowledge (i.e. press coverage of feats in show do not make allusions to own experiences of white/indigenous conflict when there is distinct room to do so - tend to avoid it so much that it does appear to be a prominent and maybe needing-discussion

[135] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *The London Times*, May 10, 1887, page 10.

gap). In short, the *Wild West* worked within popular conceptions of race, and the intriguing absence of detailed connections to Empire.

The engagement between British audiences and a performance wherein indigenous peoples were on display, in any capacity, during this era of history is one of import. As I have highlighted with Sadiah Qureshi's work in the introduction to this project, exhibition was an increasingly important and well attended facet of many cultures of the time, particularly British. The manner through which things were displayed and consumed aided in the creation and cementation of particular beliefs -- her article points directly to evolutionary logic and racial evolutionary hierarchy.[136] Part of the success behind such undertakings was largely due to the components of how exhibition is marketed (here being the excitement of the American Frontier enticing audience members to attend), but the other aspect to consider here is the uptick in racial science occurring within Britain during this era. With the expansion of Empire, and the increasing traveling of not just soldiers to new lands, but citizens, scientists and anthropologists, and eventually families, more and more literature was being recorded and added to the canon of Empire. Building off a strong Victorian legacy of explorer narratives of the likes of Richard Burton and David Livingstone, narratives of exotic lands gained traction in the late 1800s beyond simple exoticized narratives. The study of human difference benefited greatly from both this expansion of Empire and the increase in exhibition throughout Britain, and that increasingly popular study of ethnological investigation worked hand in hand with discussions of racial anxieties. In an era growing more concerned with degeneration and the shifting social boundaries that society was undergoing, works such as Edward Taylor's *Primitive Culture* of 1871 and,

[136] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development: Exhibition and Evolution in Victorian Britain," in *Evolution and Victorian Culture*, edited by Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 274.

stemming from that, Herbert Spencer's *The Principles of Sociology* of 1876 provided an avenue wherein possible explanations for degeneration, and subsequently, the ways in which to avoid it were detailed, gained traction. Tied into biologized racial characteristics was the idea of evolution and temporality, and from that, civilization. As Taylor pointed out in his work,

> By comparing the various stages of civilization among races known to history, with the aid of archaeological inference from the remains of prehistoric tribes, it seems possible to judge in a rough way of an early general condition of man, which from our point of view is to be regarded as a primitive condition, whatever yet earlier state may in reality have lain behind it. This hypothetical primitive condition corresponds in a considerable degree to that of modern savage tribes, who, in spite of their difference and distance, have in common certain elements of civilization, which seem remains of an early stage of the human race at large. [137]

Furthermore, Spencer's work added further credibility to these racial science claims of the 1870s by outlining trends such as the fact that "primitive" societies adapt to their environments, yet still hold emotional and intellectual lower standings when compared to "civilized" societies.[138] Race by 1887 then, was sufficiently biologized, with the move toward support of eugenic theories such as Karl Pearson's of a 1900 writing that discussed how hereditary characteristics could have effects on entire societies, but reassurance that,

> if we once realize that this law of inheritance is as inevitable as the law of gravity, we shall cease to struggle against it. This does not mean a fatal resignation to the presence of bad stock, but a conscious attempt to modify the percentage of it in our own community and in the world at large.[139]

Put very simply, degeneration was something to be fearful of, however it could be held at bay should the concerned populations take correct action. We will return to this after contextualizing British enjoyment of these mock attacks by indigenous peoples during the *Wild West.*

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[137] Edward Taylor, "Science of Culture" from *Primitive Culture,* 1871, in *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader In Cultural History c.1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 320-321.
[138] Herbert Spencer, "The Principles of Sociology," 1876, in *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader In Cultural History c.1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 324-326.
[139] Karl Pearson, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*, 1900, in *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader In Cultural History c.1880-1900*, edited by Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 327-328.

Though it certainly had an impact on British audiences, the *Wild West* and the American Exhibition were not the first instance of British engagement in the perpetuation of story-telling of indigenous and white conflict. Just as we have seen with the story that began this chapter, there has been British tracking of white vs. indigenous conflict in North America for years preceding Cody's residence. The British press and public took great interest in observing and commentating on indigenous/white-American conflict in the American frontier. This took several avenues, the two most prominent being the coverage of North American conflicts in the papers, as well as the enthusiastic attendance and reaction to the *Wild West* of the American Exhibition. Though the latter is an isolated historical moment like that of the "Frontier Tragedy" described at the outset of this chapter, we can see the former continuing over the course of several years and several different conflicts. Two such conflicts of which I have chosen to highlight, are that of Red Cloud and the Sioux's conflict with the American government in the wake of treaty negotiations, and the violation thereof, occurring from 1866 through 1868. The second conflict I've examined British reaction to, is that of General George Custer's ultimate demise at the hands of a Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho force. What stands out the most within this coverage, outside of the intense interest in the details of the conflict, is the line that British coverage walked between sometimes aligning and identifying with white-Americans and sometimes condemning their actions.

The background for both of these conflicts was intertwined and worked off years of United States Government engagement with the indigenous nations that inhabit the imposed borders of the United States. Red Cloud's War, fought from 1866 to 1868 was a conflict between the Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, Northern Arapaho on one side, against the United States, fought within the current territories of Wyoming and Montana, and was fought on the basis of control

over land in northern Wyoming. Essentially, amidst the expansion of white settlers into the west in the early 1850s met with aggression from local indigenous groups, the United States brokered the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851) that outlined territorial boundaries that the local tribes were entitled to, and that in theory, white settlers would stay away from. However, in the following years it was discovered that there was economic benefit to be gained in Montana, made easier by traveling through these lands, and thus white settlers began to ignore the tenants of the treaty, prompting retribution from the indigenous groups. While treaty re-negotiation was attempted in 1866, it fell through, and thus conflict erupted more coordinated, continuing for the next two years until the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1868) was signed that allowed for Sioux residence in the Black Hills of Wyoming.

It is this treaty that actually brings us to the second conflict that I have tracked through the British press -- that of the Battle of Little Bighorn and the demise of General George Custer of the United States Army. Though likely more well-known than Red Cloud's War, the Battle of Little Bighorn was part of a larger conflict known historically as the Great Sioux War of 1876. The impetus for *this* conflict, lies on the breaking of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie by the United States and its affiliates, due to the significant presence of gold in the Black Hills -- the land that had been outlined as belonging to the Lakota in the treaty that ended Red Cloud's War. Once more fought between the United States and the Lakota and Cheyenne. Though indigenous groups did in fact work with the United States (particularly the Crow, who had been pushed off lands by the Lakota in years previous), I highlight these main combatants as this is the manner through which it tends to appear the most in British press coverage -- as a fight between indigenous groups and the United States military, predicated on broken treaties. Custer, as a key

figure in this conflict, would go on to attempt an attack on the indigenous forces, only to be thoroughly ambushed and overtaken by the Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho fighters.

To best understand how the consumption of racial tension within the *Wild West* works within British public conception and the formation of racialized identity in an age of Empire, we first need to understand the historical impetus of exhibition in the country. Sadiah Qureshi covers this over numerous publications, two of which I want to highlight being "Displayed Peoples and Natural History of Race," and "Dramas of Development: Exhibitions and Evolution in Victorian Britain."[140] Both pieces of work get at the function of Exhibition in this developing Victorian society -- namely, they act as areas wherein developing scientific and ethnographic theories can be made into fact through presentation and consumption by both "the lay and learned" people alike.[141] With Britain existing and expanding as a global player, more and more people were encountering humans not like themselves, and some of these individuals were engaged in the process of bringing these people back to the homeland, to display in the larger scheme of defining the human race, either as part of a "missing-link" evolutionary rhetoric, or as subjects that help to reify racialization in human evolution narratives as a whole.[142] As Britain trended toward being more anxious regarding racial degeneration, and as "a 'harder-edged' form of racism is commonly argued to have emerged whilst older, elastic definitions of human variation were successfully overthrown," exhibitions became spaces through which racial difference is reified through performance -- both the performance of observing the existence of someone racially different to audiences, as well as the performance of the audiences in internalizing that,

[140] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development: Exhibition and Evolution in Victorian Britain," in *Evolution and Victorian Culture*, edited by Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 261-285; Sadiah Qureshi, "Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples, And the Natural History of Race: 1854-1866," *The Historical Journal* 54, no.1, (March 2011): 143 - 166.
[141] Sadiah Qureshi, "Robert Gordon Latham…" 145; and Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development…" 262.
[142] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development…" 269-270.

and leaving the exhibition with their 'new' knowledge.[143] The American Exhibition benefitted directly from this trend of accessible, instructive institutions meant to showcase human development. Though the *Wild West* was not marketed the same as the Sydenham Crystal Palace was (as "'a three-dimensional encyclopaedia of both nature and art… that would help visitors to understand evolution and civilisation in relation to their own times'") what audiences received from it as I argue later, was largely toward the same end.[144]

However despite the utilization of colonial subjects as the basis for these racialized lessons, Jeffrey Auerbach argues that it was not until much further along within British exhibition history (specifically, the latter half of the 1800s) that the concept of Empire rose to prominence within British exhibitions in a more tangible sense.[145] He argues that earlier exhibitions were much more concerned with the idea of exposing the British population of the homeland to the potential profits and resources of British colonies with raw materials, rather than a concentrated display of people.[146] Furthermore, though the 1851 Great Exhibition was one where Empire was much more on display than in previous years, it was still largely underrepresented and even when the Sydenham Crystal Palace of 1854-1886 was functioning with prominence and labeled as "a locus of imperialist sentiments," Auerbach argues that it largely functioned more as a depiction of Britain's status as a successor to great ancient empires rather than a truly representative display of Britain's contemporary empire.[147] Additionally, though modeled human displays *were* in use at this exhibit, their juxtaposition with animals and

[143] Sadiah Qureshi, "Robert Gordon Latham…" 145
[144] Jan R. Piggott, *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 1854-1936*, London: C. Hurst and Co., 2004, v. as quoted in Sadiah Qureshi," Dramas of Development…" 271.
[145] Jeffrey Auerbach, "Empire Under Glass: The British Empire and the Crystal Palace, 1851-1911," in *Exhibiting Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire* edited by John McAleer and John M. MacKenzie, Manchester University Press, 2015, 111.
[146] Jeffrey Auerbach, "Empire Under Glass…" 115.
[147] Auerbach 121.

plants also indigenous to whatever area they were from, made them function more as "natural history specimens," rather than anything contemporary that one might interact with.[148] Working hand in hand with the ancient empire heir role of Britain established through other displays, these "human" exhibits allowed for British individuals to compare themselves to, and to feel more evolved from, thus allowing for a cementation of self through comparison to the Other.[149] Sadiah Qureshi corroborates this as well, discussing that exhibitions became integral areas for the creation and cementation of racial conceptions in Britain during the nineteenth century, largely due to how audiences could interact with them.[150] By walking through carefully curated displays of foreign peoples, eventually arriving at displays of Victorian England's achievements, visitors further internalized racial evolution as diachronic, with white Britain being at the fore and others lagging behind.[151]

Auerbach's analysis of the track that exhibition of Empire was on is extremely integral to understanding the framework in place for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886. More human elements had been building into exhibition over the years, but this particular one was the first to put on display the peoples of Empire in a more organized fashion than earlier national demonstrations.[152] While Qureshi demonstrates how the use of human subjects within exhibitions and sideshows throughout the nineteenth century aided in the development of racial hierarchy, Auerbach presents the Colonial and Indian Exhibition involvement of colonial subjects in a light interesting and different to that of earlier racialized shows or the *Wild West* of the following year.

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[148] Auerbach 126.
[149] Auerbach 126-127.
[150] Sadiah Qureshi, "Dramas of Development…" 274.
[151] Sadiah Qureshi, "Robert Gordon Latham…" 151-152.
[152] Auerbach 130.

The way in which these people were put on display is essential to my argument for a better understanding of British self-conception and the intersections of race and Empire. As in keeping with earlier instances of Empire in exhibition, trade and commerce were at the forefront. As the *Edinburgh Evening News* reported, "great pains were taken to keep British firms that traded with India from taking business away from the 'true native exhibitors.'"[153] South Asian artisans were assigned to shops foregrounding the specially build Indian palace, and implored to go about their trading the way they would in their native homes.[154] Though there was an introduction of displaying colonial peoples, it was very market oriented. The purpose of these colonial artist and trader exhibitions, and the larger exhibition, was to provide education about the Empire's vast resources. In fact, this was such an important task that the Queen took it upon herself at the recommendation of the Prince of Wales, to bestow honors on those who worked to make the Exhibition what it was, claiming that there were several great goals of such an exhibition such as

> the awakening of the constituents of a world-wide Empire to the fact of its enormous and many-sided existence, and the impregnation of its individual subjects with the idea that of this great inheritance they are bound not less to take up the inheritance than to defend it against all invaders. All those who have contributed to this end have deserved well of the Empire.[155]

Even within mentions of Empire related to this Exhibition, such as the Imperial Federation League and their presentation, conflict is merely alluded to and devoid of racialization, such as in lines like "In Canada and in South Africa there was an earlier white population to be reckoned with. Canada has shown herself well able to cope with any difficulties

[153] "The Indian and Colonial Exhibition," *Edinburgh Evening News,* January 2, 1886, page 2, issue 3947.
[154] Frank Cundall (ed.) *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, London: William Clowes and Sons, 1886, pp 26, 81 referenced in Auerbach, 130.
[155] *The Standard,* June 28, 1886, page 5, issue 19331.

arising from this source; and there is no serious reason for apprehending trouble at the Cape…"[156] Furthermore, this article boils once more down to trade and commerce, alleging that "between the Colonies and the home country there flows an ever increasing 'wave of trade.'"[157] Thus, trade emerged as an extremely important facet of this exhibition.

Though due to what we know about performance of identity and exhibition as a space for racial narratives to ingrain themselves in audience's minds, the intended role of Empire and colonial subjects of Empire within this exhibition was trade oriented -- something very different to the racialized aspects of exhibition the following year at the *Wild West*. No grand scale re-enactments of colonization occurred, rather the idea of this particular exhibition was to showcase the variety of goods and artistry from far reaches of the Empire. This was done in two veins, as I can deduce. The first was the continual need to prove the solvency of imperial expansion and colonial holdings to those who believe it to be a waste of money. The second was to educate everyday citizens about their role as citizens of a far-reaching community. Neither of these goals undertook the sensationalization of conflict or colonization, however. Despite there being buildup of colonial superiority within exhibits of Empire, as Auerbach alludes to, there was no explicit portrayal of physically violent colonization or conflict. This will be increasingly important when I return to what this means of identity and Empire, and how I build off Bernard Porter's absence of Empire theory later in this chapter, and how sensationalized conflict plays within British audiences, particularly when it is racially charged and when there is no direct need to self-reflect on one's own stake in the conflict.

Historically speaking, as I have outlined with Red Cloud's War and the Battle of Little Bighorn, Britain has been engaged with the narratives of racial conflict within North America.

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[156] *The Morning Post*, July 5 1886, page 4, issue 35581.
[157] *The Morning Post*, July 5 1886, page 4, issue 35581.

Throughout this history of consumption, however, despite minute instances of either alignment with white Anglo-American military forces, or the condemnation of the U.S. government for its actions, there was an overall stance of distance exhibited in consumption of these narratives. That is to say, that the way in which the British press reports on these conflicts is by highlighting the almost theatrical elements of the conflict, yet not inserting Britain into the narrative. In the interest of addressing those few engagements of alignment or condemnation by Britain in the historical conflicts, I have endeavored to highlight the strongest instances of explicit 'siding' before moving onto what that external, yet entertained observer role looks like and how it functions.

In a *Liverpool Mercury* article from July 27, 1876, there was an instance of alignment with the white American population engaged in what appears to be an enduring conflict with the North American indigenous population. Comparing how the indigenous forces now are just as dangerous in combat as they were against General Braddock's troops in Virginia 120 year prior as well as the use of phrases like "the Americans, like the English" and "Anglo-American" to describe white Americans, allowed for a sense of connection to be fostered.[158] Though the tone of the article was somewhat somber in that it is discussing the massive loss faced by Custer at the Battle of Little Bighorn, there is a sense of inevitability that indigenous people will eventually die out, as despite their enduring strength, over 250 years of conflict "Anglo-Americans" have changed for the better while indigenous groups have remained stagnant in their ways, their only strength being their skill at fighting within the forests and executing ambushes.[159]

Furthermore, we see this alignment manifest within the scope of the American Exhibition coverage. Though this was not directly pitting White Europeans/Americans against indigenous

[158] "The Custer Disaster," *The Liverpool Mercury,* July 27, 1876, issue 8901.
[159] "The Custer Disaster," *The Liverpool Mercury,* July 27, 1876, issue 8901.

peoples in conflict, it *does* imply that there was a European-American connection, and there are references to frontier violence committed against indigenous populations by white Americans, of which there is British approval. As noted within my second chapter, there was a paternalistic relationship being exhibited between Britain and America during this era, and it is particularly showcased through the American exhibition. The objective of the promoters of the American Exhibition of 1887 was to, "show what improvements Americans had made since they had reclaimed the forests from the families of the red men who had accompanied them across the Atlantic."[160] This was a recognized objective of the event, as General W.T. Sherman of the American army wrote in a letter to Bill Cody, the proprietor of the *Wild West* to be featured heavily within the Exhibition -- relying on reenactments of indigenous-white conflicts to close out every performance -- that what was important about the *Wild West* show was not that it was only to be entertaining, but that it was to resonate with British individuals as a "palpable illustration of the men and qualities which have enabled the United States to subdue the 2,000 miles of our Western continent and make it the home of civilization."[161] Thus, though this was less of an alignment through a true violent conflict, it is an inroad to aligning philosophically with the aims of the American Empire. Due to the paternalistic relationship between Britain and the United States at this point, I believe that there was heavy interest in and consumption of this show as it allows for similar viewpoints on expansion of empire, and the duties of 'civilizing' that both Empires are experiencing. Thus, by watching this spectacle of reenacted victory over "savage" indigenous peoples within the *Wild West*, Britain was allowed to experience the excitement of the performance, but also the subconscious affirmation of their own narrative of

[160] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 10, 1887, page 10.
[161] "The American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 20, 1887, page 7.

expansion. However, other aspects of coverage of conflicts of this nature complicate this interpretation slightly.

Despite instances of alignment with white Americans in a dichotomy of white/indigenous, there was also evidence of condemnation of American governmental actions toward indigenous groups. Though I believe that a lot of this condemnation existed within the vacuum of the idea that eventually uncontrollable American expansion will be "fatal to the existence of the Indian race," and despite their longevity of resistance, there will come a time when "Anglo-American" evolution will fully eclipse their efforts, it is worth looking at within this historical moment because this too reaffirmed British racial conceptions.[162] To understand the condemnation of United States government dealings within indigenous groups, one has to understand to which conflicts the British papers were referring. As we have seen, both engagements were related to the same general conflict: the creation and signing of treaties, and the eventual reneging on such treaties. This gets at a larger thematic issue in historic conflict between white America and indigenous groups, which is the lack of adherence to treaty agreements -- something that the British papers comment on. Red Cloud's Wars were over indigenous attacks on white American passing through tracts of land, and eventually ceased due to the signing of the treaty of Fort Laramie, wherein indigenous groups were allotted the rights to a particular area, including the Black Hills. Once it was discovered that there were beneficial resourced to be mined in the Black Hills, however, individual Americans, and later, organized American military groups, engaged with the local indigenous groups in an effort to commandeer the land.

[162] "The Custer Disaster," *The Liverpool Mercury,* July 27, 1876, issue 8901.

In the case of covering the failure to adhere to the stipulations of the Treaty of Laramie of 1868 eventually leading to conflict that would kill General George Custer and much of his cavalry *The Illustrated Police News* wrote that a "great source of trouble was the failure of this government to carry out the stipulations of the treaty of 1868... and for this the president is directly responsible-- directly guilty of bad faith."[163] Furthermore, coverage upon the death of General Custer that gets into the details of his life and station sympathized with some of his opinions regarding the Indian Department. The general idea expressed here, was that despite indigenous people very truly committing violence against white settlers, there was a reasoning behind it, and until fair treatment and dealings are to occur between the Indian Department -- and by extension, white American government -- and the indigenous populations,

> the Indians will continue to murder, steal, and outrage the whites, and in their turn, be cheated, robbed, and from time to time, massacred by wholesale, until the last of the savages disappears from the forest primeval, or until the last of the contractors retires to his mansion in Fifth-avenue.[164]

Though this a re-presentation of Custer's ideology regarding indigenous groups within the United States, it merited republishing for British audiences, and with sentiments such as that written in the *Police News*, it suggests somewhat of an agreement with Custer's ideology -- that the American government is not carrying out relations with these groups in a successful manner. *The Leeds Mercury* commented on the "efforts" of the American government to assuage the wounds of reneging on this treaty by paying "the pitiful sum of 25,000 dollars" to those tribes affected, the paper obviously is critical of the attempt.[165] I am hesitant to agree to the idea that this is evidence of Britain seeing indigenous groups as equals deserving of equitable treatment as

[163] "The Massacre of General Custer's Troops," *Illustrated Police News*, August 5, 1876, issue 651.
[164] "General Custer on the Red Indians," *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 27, 1876, issue 3569.
[165] "The Defeat of General Custer," *Leeds Mercury*, July 10, 1876, issue 11934.

we have an established canon of commentary on the less civilized nature of such indigenous groups through exhibition or literature in Britain. Furthermore, with Britain's track record in other areas of Empire, it would make sense that this sympathy comes less from true empathy and concern, but more that it's unfortunate these groups had to suffer in the process of civilizing. As Philippa Levine argues in her "After America" chapter in *The British Empire, from Sunrise to Sunset*, instances of what could appear to be British good intention on the colonial frontier are actually continuations of control (i.e. Aboriginal Protection Acts in Australia being paternalistic colonial practices cloaked under altruism).[166] Thus I see this apparent sympathy for the plight of indigenous groups within North America comes from a combination of cloaked colonial opinions of racial superiority, tied to the idea expressed within the *Liverpool Mercury* article of the same year *and* evolutionary exhibition and literature, namely, the idea that this is a race of people doomed to extinction in the coming years. Therefore, both alignment and condemnation of these conflicts was within boundaries of racial conceptions and theories Britain held, and were merely laid over a new context (North America).

To step back from both interpretations of alignment and condemnation however, there is a third vein of interpretation that exists most prominently - that of entertained outside observation. Though there are instances, as I have highlighted, of a conflicted insertion of British opinion into the conflicts of indigenous and white Americans, there is a bulk of news coverage that falls into a third category, of catering to an uninvolved third party that enjoys the intensity of the conflict and does not make commentary toward either end. It is my belief that this, bridging later into the consumption of the *Wild West,* in fact did not necessarily have as little stake as it initially seemed. Rather, I believe that by consuming this conflict between parties that were not

[166] Philippa Levine, "After America," *The British Empire, From Sunrise to Sunset,* 2nd Edition, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2013, 57.

Britain yet shared similarities to Britain and various indigenous centers in Empire, allowed for a sanitized version of Empire to play at home while the true details of Empire did not necessarily make it home. Essentially, narratives of entertaining conflict between foreign parties allowed British audiences to validate their racial conceptions and attitudes to Empire without truly confronting their own ethical hurdles of violence on *their* frontiers.

This stance made itself known over several conflicts, through reporting that tended to emphasize emotive language, yet detachment at the same time. "The Frontier Tragedy" that began this chapter is one of the more sensationalized pieces I have come across, with extreme detail paid to the process of narrowing down how the murder could have happened, the eventual confession of the son to murder, and the public reaction to it all. Though there was racialization occurring as I explained earlier, it was period-typical and while the article did slant towards condemnation of the son and his indigenous mother for murder, it read as if out of a storybook. This is likewise apparent within coverage of Red Cloud's war, with lines such as "the road from Laramie to Powder River is filled with the graves of murdered men," or coverage of Custer's disaster, "the story was inscribed on the surface of the barren hills in a language more eloquent than words."[167] Additionally, while there was admittedly a reliance on the violence of tribes against U.S. citizens and military in this storytelling, there was also a detachment from those white citizens rather than an empathy for them. The use of phrases such as "the whites" rather than "Anglo-Americans," as in *The Leeds Mercury* article covering Custer and his cavalry's demise is evidence toward this distancing. Furthermore, use of this terminology *did* heighten the racial aspect.

[167] "General News (Massacre of Whites by Indians),"*Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Herald*, October 13, 1866, page 2, issue 692; and "America," *Daily News*, September 16, 1867, issue 6667; and "ON… (The Death of General Custer)" *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times* July 22, 1876, page 51, issue 779.

Historically speaking, we know that Britain had a colonial past with violence toward indigenous groups, either physically or symbolically (i.e. physical harm, or more "intangible" violence such as ethnocide with religious conversion or other cultural enforcements). That, however, is something much harder to conceptualize as an individual -- violence occurring with groups that one has no stake in can provide entertainment, but should one have to question their own morality in the pursuit of enjoying their own colonial violence, it becomes more difficult. British citizens *did* partake in the entertainment value of re-enacted conflicts through exhibition, yet when holding their own exhibition dealing entirely with their own colonial holdings merely a year previous to the *Wild West*, there was an emphasis on education and trade. Any entertainment came as a result of those two veins rather than from observing racial driven conflict. These gaps only become so strident through the juxtaposition of British reaction to the American West and the depictions thereof.

My work seeks to connect the works of two authors seemingly at odds, and though I do not draw too heavily from much of Catherine Hall's works in this chapter, I do bring forward a tenant of her work with regards to how British self-identification was shaped by racial considerations against the backdrop of the 1867 voting act expanded legislation. Hall is generally accepted as bringing Empire deeply into the realm of British life during this era, whereas Bernard Porter makes the argument that in fact, due to the way that colonial rule functioned, it did not require immense foundation of active and engaged support from those on the ground at home in the general population to secure power to preside over colonial subjects.[168] I should foreground here that I do not totally subscribe to Porter's work. However, his work has allowed

[168] Bernard Porter, "Empire and Society," in *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 18.

me a point from which I could make my own interpretations and frame my thoughts, and thus I bring him into this conversation.

By branching from this school of thought that the Empire did not ground itself at the forefront for self-identification for Britons at home, combined with other scholars' such as Catherine Hall and Sadiah Qureshi's work that argue the importance of race to self-conceptualization at British during this era, that reaction to the *Wild West* illuminates a mid-ground between these scholarly approaches. Obviously, racialization is a key factor here, and with the consumption and perpetuation of racial characteristics and performance that occurred throughout the run of Cody's show we can see clearly how racial hierarchy and thusly identity based in racial difference had grounds to flourish in this multi-leveled performance. What I suggest then, is that British identity was partially developed through consumption of this indigenous/white conflict. Building on the racial attitudes and concerns of the era yet refraining from making direct connections to their own imperial undertakings, Britons can utilize race as it is portrayed in the *Wild West* to validate their own racial beliefs, without delving into on the actual goings-on of British Imperial colonies. Essentially, a somewhat sanitized version of racial hierarchy and the inevitable result of a civilizing mission was delivered to the British public in a way they could connect with and which fell in line with overarching conceptions of race in an era of Empire. In this way, Empire did not do specific work at home, as Porter purports, yet this consumption of what is essentially an imperialist conflict allowed for characteristics thereof to resonate with British audiences. Thus, it walked a fine line between developing a racialized British identity cursorily tied into Empire, yet without the more ethically difficult, violent, and specific details that would complicate self-conception.

We already know that Sadiah Qureshi argues for exhibition aiding in the creation of racial evolutionary theory and I suggest we frame this with Butler's work on performance -- allowing exhibition to contribute to performance of identity, here with race. Catherine Hall also alludes to the complications of race with national identity, with regards to the 1867 legislation act -- that the debates surrounding change to voting legislation allowed for discourse to ground more fully in British society about belonging in nation and Empire -- essentially, despite there being no legal category of 'citizen' at the time, questions around configurations of race and ethnicity (along with other social categories) were heavily in play in considering who should have the right to vote, and who could be included or excluded from the imagined community of nation.[169] Within this discourse, despite the lacking legal framework to define citizen vs. non-citizen, other informal hierarchical orderings were created and reified in popular discourse, in large part residing on perceptions of race during this era and thus, as Hall points out, black Jamaicans were seen as different than white British individuals.[170] It is these informal inclusions and exclusions from societal belonging, contributing to larger narratives of British-ness that I want to draw into my argument alongside some of Porter's points.

I am not arguing that the idea of 'Empire' does no work at all in British societal conception at this point. In fact, work that I draw on from Jeffrey Auerbach's analysis of exhibition throughout decades of British history draw directly on allusions to Britain being the heir to great historical Empires of previous centuries, such as the Egyptian empire or Roman empire.[171] Exhibitions such as the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of the year immediately

[169] Catherine Hall, "The Nation Within and Without,"in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2000, 180.
[170] Catherine Hall, "The Nation Within and Without,"in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2000, 182.
[171] Jeffrey Auerbach, 121.

preceding the American Exhibition in particular were supposed to highlight the role of Britain as an imperial power that could benefit from the riches of its colonial holdings. However, what I find when looking at the difference of that exhibition and tie to empire, and the subsequent British reaction to a foreign Empire's racialized conflict, is that there was a distinct lack of conflict being depicted in the British Empire oriented exhibition when compared to the American Empire oriented one. Thus, while Empire was perhaps being pushed toward public consciousness through earlier exhibitions, it was utilized more as a ploy for justifying the economics of Empire (1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition) and as part of an attempt to construction a unified historical right to global expansion of the Empires of old (Sydenham) rather than to do work at home to get into the specifics of what that inheritance of Empire truly means, conflict wise. Thus, that is where I see Empire not having made it back to the homeland from the colonies wholeheartedly in either the exhibitions of 1886 or 1887. Facets of it do, with increasing attention being paid to racial hierarchy and superiority, and the cultural aspects associated with that, yet the true detailed experience of Empire as it functions on the frontier was not something that translated directly back to British audiences on the home front. There *was* an increasing consciousness of colonial holdings – and we are see that in the increase of travel narratives and anthropological work that occurred at this time. But that is different than a total coverage of imperial conflict, the total nuanced goings-on of Empire and hard to swallow realities of settler colonialism.

What is perhaps closest to being confronted with such realities are depictions of similar violent engagement of white and indigenous groups that the *Wild West* provide. These *were* racialized conflicts, tied directly into an imperial expansion framework, and they allowed for British consumption of racialized narratives of pursuit of civilization, yet *did not* require a direct

comment from British audiences as to how their own conflicts mirror what they are watching. In essence, like with the earlier coverage of North American conflicts, they saw a storybook version of conflict that did not result in any lasting damage (as all audience members understand everyone in the exhibition is acting and in no real danger). It reflected on key racial philosophies of the time and allowed them to reap the benefits of their racial logic to be validated, yet was sanitized in a way that direct reports home from imperial frontier conflicts of their own Empire might not have been.

To the ends that I have highlighted earlier that indicate any shred of condemnation of the United States' government by Britain in the context of Red Cloud's War or the Battle of Little Bighorn, the criticism tends to fall more toward the U.S. government's inability to a.) control their populations from breaking treaty rights with indigenous nations or b.) the reneging of the government on such treaties. Sympathy shown toward indigenous nations was not imbued with genuine British sympathy at the racism directed towards these groups, but rather sympathy emerges more as a bittersweet acknowledgement that despite the resistance put up by these communities. They were in fact doomed in the overarching trend of evolution and civilization to either adapt, as those within Cody's show have done by way of finding new employment and environments, or to become extinct. The British press directly commented on the fact that despite Red Shirt's ferocity in the context of exhibition and the performances he was a part of, outside of that role he has resigned himself to the fate of his people as hierarchically inferior to the white race, and has thusly adapted his life to continue on in a way that allows him to navigate that new system, though there was still an overarching aura of inevitable extinction of his culture imbued in the coverage.[172] This idea of inevitability of the extinction of less civilized races in the

[172] "Opening of the American Exhibition," *London Times,* May 10, 1887, page 10.

evolution toward civilization was something that likewise ties into British self-conception, the way they internalize and perform with the *Wild West*, and the popular racial science of the era. Complementary to that, was also the idea that given the right circumstances, non-white communities could actually adapt and learn from the controlling and hierarchically superior white communities and *could* work within their frameworks. Though all of the indigenous peoples within Cody's show were heavily characterized as Other, they were also overwhelmingly part of the success of the show, and it was due in part to Cody's ability to control them, as well as their adaptability to work within a new framework put forth by a man of that civilized status.

Thus, enjoyment of these depictions worked to multiple ends for the British public. On the one hand, as I have established earlier it validated conceptions that Britain held about racial hierarchy, development, and civilization -- whether that was the reification of an extinction narrative, or the validation of white control over non-white races as an inevitable facet of progress in the goal of exporting civilization. Temporally, this performance landed at a very important moment of British history. With the shifting of some social and cultural boundaries, the growing presence of Britain in the world, and emerging treatises on race, Cody's show allowed space for performance to once more work on multiple levels. On the very simplistic level, this performance was able to resonate well with an audience because it portrays familiar aspects of life with regards to race. Essentially, British people were inundated with narratives dealing with the drawing of racial boundaries and are familiar with the idea of encountering racially different people with the expansion of colonial holdings. However, on a more profound level, performance on behalf of British audiences, lent itself to the actualization of a white British identity that allowed tenants of Empire to validate a racialized conception of self, without

the interference of difficult specifics regarding British colonial violence or moral boundaries. By viewing, in essence, a sanitized version of colonization in exhibition form, that required no actually commentary or specific comparison of British action on the frontier to what was occurring in the show, British audiences at home could actually conceive of a white British identity as inevitable and valid, while avoiding deeper thought into the ethical implications of colonization, as they connected with an external and performative telling of this story rather than a deep, self-reflective, unequivocally and uncomfortably destructive and violent narrative.

Conclusion: The End of an Era?

"The American Exhibition, which has attracted all the town to West Brompton for the last few months, was brought yesterday to an appropriate and dignified close...the Wild West was irresistible. Colonel Cody, much to the amusement of some of his more superfine compatriots, suddenly found himself the hero of the London season. Notwithstanding his daily engagements and his punctual fulfilment of them, he found time to go everywhere, to see everything, and to be seen by all the world…. Civilization itself consents to march onward in the train of Buffalo Bill. Colonel Cody can achieve no greater triumph than this, even if he someday realizes the design attributed to him of running the Wild West Show within the classic precincts of the Colosseum at Rome.... We can easily imagine Wall-street for ourselves; we need to be shown the Cowboys of Colorado. Hence it is no paradox to say that Colonel Cody has done his part in bringing America and England nearer together. The nearer they are brought together the less likely they are to quarrel. Disputes and differences there must occasionally be; but if both parties to a dispute are quite determined not to quarrel over it, it can never become very serious. A serious quarrel between England the United States would be almost worse than a civil war." -- *The London Times*, November 1, 1887.[173]

And thus, so ends the residency of Buffalo Bill's *Wild West* in London as the biggest attraction of the 1887 American Exhibition. Though the perception toward the show and the exhibition was largely positive throughout its historic run, this is by far the most laudatory coverage I have come across regarding it. Perhaps absence makes the heart grow fonder, or in this case, looming absence. As this quote, and hopefully my entire project has demonstrated, Cody's show had a sincere impact on Britain during its run. While this article sees that success as a way forward toward a newly buffed and polished relationship between the two countries, I have endeavored to show the impact as a way to better understand how Britain was performing its identity in this temporal moment.

If we are to believe that identity is created through performance, and that performance operates on different levels (i.e. in this case, the literal performance that Brits are consuming, and

[173] "The American Exhibition, which has attracted." *The London Times*. November 1, 1887, page 9.

then the more nuanced performance that Brits are carrying out by internalizing what they see, aligning or distancing themselves from it, and then speaking about those alignments or distances) then we are left with a historic performance that showcases clearly performance of British identity in juxtaposition to the consumption of American Western life. Class, gender, and race all worked within this performance, holding court in British identity formation in intertwined and impactful ways. Through analyzing British consumption of depictions of 'Western life' in the *Wild West* in context with the social and political climate of the time, we see that this show succeeded so well in part due to the sheer high energy excitement of its performance, but also due to its affirmation of British pillars of identity. By watching a portrayal of idealized class, gender, and racial performances, that despite being distinctly American, and what this article referred to as something foreign the British would need to be shown to understand (as opposed to a conception like the stock markets of Wall street), the actual content of Cody's performances catered to British anxieties of the era in a manner that allows them to both cool anxieties about status quo shifts, and to reify particular idealized tenants of identity.

Of course, this project has sought to cover an extreme amount of ground and could certainly benefit from years more research in any given area. The existing canon on class, gender, and race within the British Empire and this particular era are extremely detailed and vast, yet there has yet to be a work that targets specifically British interest in depictions of the American West, or Cody's residency. Therefore, while I have worked to incorporate tenants of that scholarly canon of Empire into my own analysis of this phenomenon, it is something that could stand to gain from much deeper dives into any of those three categories. Furthermore, though I have mentioned the historic engagements with the West that led to the 1887 moment, that too is an area that could serve to be expanded on -- when *truly* did this interest begin, and

when did it truly end? Furthermore, was the reasoning for this interest the same as it holds within this project, or did fascination with the American West outside the realms of these depictions gain British attention for another reason than the provision of space for creation and performance of a late 1800s British identity?

I have chosen to end my work with the closing of Cody's show, in large part due to the reasonable scope with which I could conduct research over the span of a single year while still active in undergraduate studies. I feel that by covering more specifically the *Wild West*'s residency, building off more cursory yet still substantiated looks into the history of British engagement with the American West provides a useful and succinct look into the importance of the American Frontier to performance of British identity. However, I do have several ideas for why this periodization works, beyond providing an easy start and end date.

The quote that begins this section segues from talking about how Cody's show was the mainstay hero of the Exhibition, into how the United States and Britain need to have a healthy working relationship going forward, and how this experience has allowed grounds for that to occur. I want to bring that transition of depictions of entertaining American Western culture to larger international relations stances into my postulation for this moment of western fascination having an expiration date on it. In an increasingly interconnected global world, Britain is shifting in its international identity. Moving beyond the late 1800s into the twentieth century, globalization increases, relations within Europe become more intense, and the eventual dawning of the first World War is imminent. All-encompassing conflicts such as wars change the ways that countries develop and inhabit their national identities, and Britain is not immune to this. Thus, one manner of understanding why the American West is so important to development and performance of British identity at this moment in 1887 yet shifts out of focus by the beginning of

the twentieth century is due to shifting national identity prompted by extreme conflict. To go along with that, is the assertion by the American Census Bureau in 1890 that the frontier was officially closed. Though historians like Gerald D. Nash argue the actual basis for the claim that 1890 was *the year* that the West became "closed" as opposed to the year previous or after, there is no denying that there was an increasing urbanization occurring in the American West that would trend upward for years to come, and statements like that of the Census Bureau cyclically inspired academics like Frederick Jackson Turner to propagate the narrative of the West as being closed.[174] In a world wherein we have established direct lines of communication between Britain and the United States, and have in the spirit of believing in the quote from the top of this section, witnessed even more intensive communication and cooperation with the United States in the years following the American Exhibition, this is something that would land with British audiences. The loss of the American West, even as an amorphous idea, ushers in a closing to the utilization thereof to conceptualize British identities, as it is eliminated as a viable space wherein that performance can occur. It lives on in writing, and in reenactment, but the physical ability to test one's identity in the context of the American West is now lost.

These are not fully researched conclusions, but rather thoughts that my examination of Britain in the 1887 moment combined with my broader historical engagement have led me to believe are possible avenues for answering the question of: when does the American West stop doing work to affirm British identity? All of this, like with the areas I set forth at the beginning of this section, are all areas that would benefit from future research. What I can say definitively, however, is that engagement with performances of the American West at the 1887 American Exhibition allowed for a performance of British identity to occur simultaneously. Though

[174] Gerald D. Nash, "The Census of 1890 and the Closing of the Frontier," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 71, no. 3, (July 1980): 100.

conceptions of the 'Wild West' as an entity are not wholly gone from British conception (and indeed live on through contemporary endeavors such as Laredo, a members-only all-encompassing American Western town a thirty-five minute train ride outside of London), they certainly do not provide the same space for developing and performing a British identity in the same way that the residency of 1887 did.[175]

[175] Linda Rodriguez McRobbie, "Inside Laredo, the Secret, Members-Only, Wild West Town in England," *Atlas Obscura*, April 15, 2016. Web.

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