

Lucky to be Left Out of the Fair

Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show at the 1893 Columbian Exposition

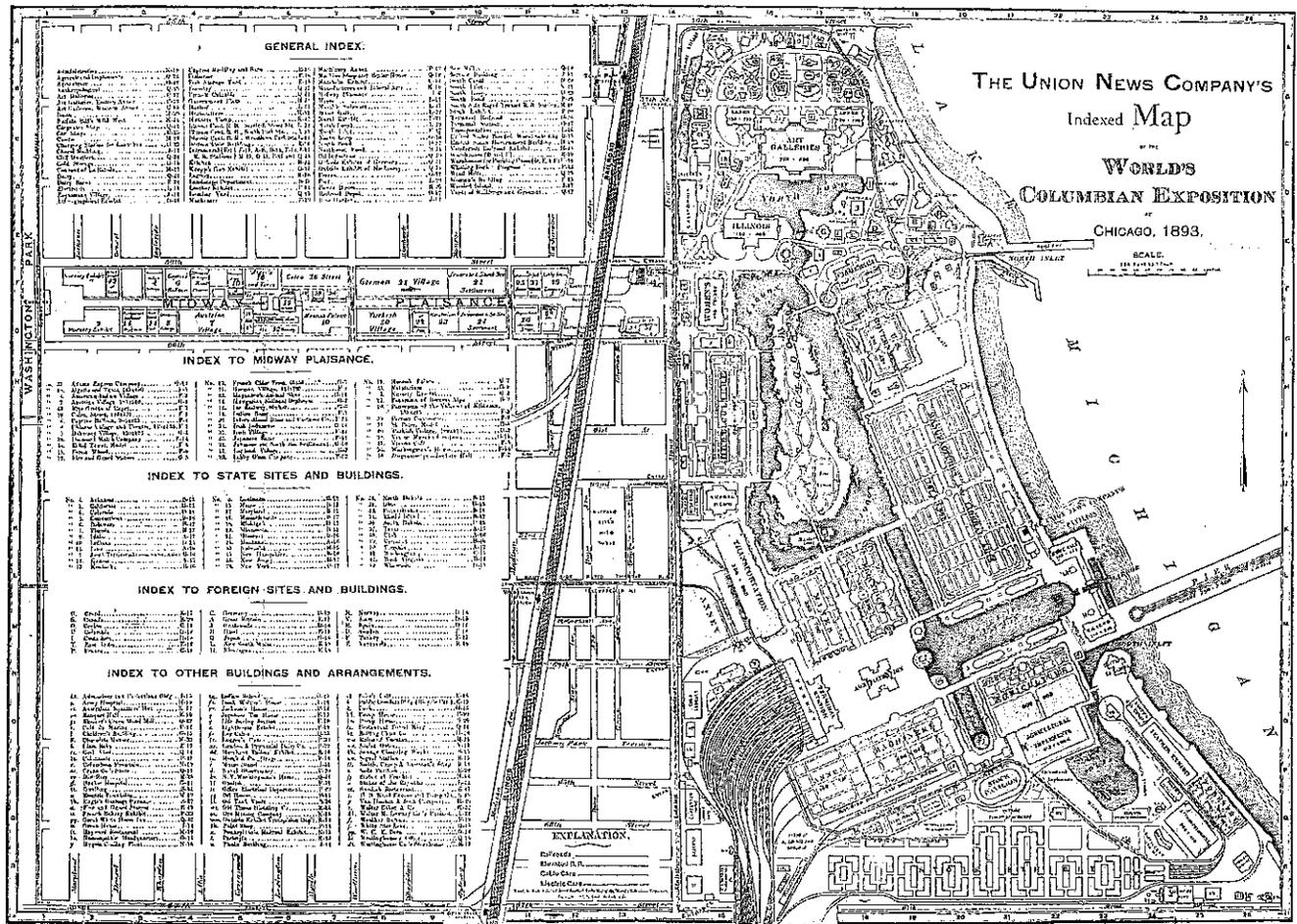
Robert Serb

In the spring of 1893 a majestic collection of buildings and exhibits opened on the South Side of Chicago. Known officially as the 1893 Columbian Exposition and World's Fair—but colloquially referred to as “The White City” because of the neoclassical appearance of the main buildings—the exposition had 27 million paying visitors during its 6 months of operation.¹ The U.S. population in 1890 was just under 63 million, so even if many of them were foreigners a sizable portion of the American population still attended the fair.² Fairgoers were able to see an enormous array of art, architecture, sculpture, and machinery; commercial products; firearms; agricultural products; models of trains, ships, and other transportation methods; and a vast assortment of manufactured goods in the main area of the World's Fair. If they ventured along the Midway Plaisance, a sideshow area off the fair proper, they could—for an additional fee—observe scenes from Turkey, Cairo, Ireland, Germany, Java, and West Africa; they could also ride a camel, a captive balloon, or the first Ferris wheel. Within the fair's 400 buildings more than 65,000 exhibits were on display, yet one of the most iconic spectacles of the preceding decade, William Cody's “Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World,” was excluded from the fair.³ To see it fairgoers had to cross the street and pay a separate 50-cent admission—and between April and October nearly 6 million did so, particularly on Sundays when the World's Fair itself was frequently closed.⁴

Why was Buffalo Bill left out of the 1893 World's Fair? Most historians believe that Cody applied to be part of the fair and was rejected; several accounts maintain that he forcefully protested against that rejection but lost his appeals. The most common justification

offered for Cody's rejection was that Buffalo Bill's Wild West was too vulgar to blend well with the high-class environment of the fair proper. Nellie Snyder Yost suggests that the canvas tents and “camp-style living quarters” of the Wild West would have clashed with the faux marble columns and sculpture of the White City, conveniently ignoring the teepees raised in the Indian village and bark and leaf huts of the Javanese and Dahomey exhibits.⁵ Robert Carter suggested that the Wild West, which included a grandstand capable of seating 18,000 to 22,000 spectators, simply would not fit within the fairgrounds.⁶ Bobbie Bridger believed that Cody's presentation of Indians as hostiles who attacked peaceful white settlers and stagecoaches would have clashed with the ethnological exhibits being planned by Professor Putnam, who “depicted [Indians] as a meek and submissive people” and that Putnam excluded examples of natives that did not support his ideas, so kept Buffalo Bill's Wild West out of the fair.⁷

However, rather than arguing against his exclusion Cody probably breathed a sigh of relief at being left out. It was really a blessing in disguise for Cody that his show was excluded, since that gave him considerable freedom of action as well as greatly increased his profit margin. Whether officially included within the Columbian Exposition or not, Buffalo Bill's Wild West enjoyed every possible benefit of being part of the World's Fair. Being located right across the street meant many of the millions of fairgoers would wander into Cody's Show. Cody and his performers were frequently invited by fair officials to parade through the fairgrounds, thereby providing additional entertainment for fairgoers and incidentally drumming up interest in the Wild West Show.⁸ Newspaper articles



Indexed map of the 1893 Columbian Exposition, showing the location of Buffalo Bill's Wild West in relation to the fair's exhibits, 1882. Rand, McNally & Co., public domain.

reporting on "World's Fair News" routinely mentioned happenings at the Wild West Show as well as the fair proper.⁹ As far as the press and most of the visitors were concerned Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the Columbian Exposition and World's Fair were closely aligned. Yet because Buffalo Bill's Wild West was technically not part of the fair, Cody had benefits not available to exhibits that were officially within the fair and therefore required to abide by the fair's rules and regulations.

The first World's Fair was the London Exposition of 1851, which was successful and noteworthy enough to spawn a rash of imitators.¹⁰ Initially a means to showcase commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing products world's fairs increasingly became a method for showcasing ideas and innovations as well. They also became a mechanism through which the latest cultural ideas could be disseminated amongst the

populace; such fairs became what Robert Rydell calls the "world's universities" although he admitted that the manner in which "scientific ideas about evolution, race, and culture were disseminated from academic circles to the level of popular consumption" was not well understood.¹¹ Although they were rarely financially successful, world's fairs were useful because they "propagated the ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate and intellectual leaders" and, according to Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, they became a way for the elite who arranged such fairs to "organize society from a particular class perspective" and ensure the "spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group."¹² In an age of increasing jingoism world's fairs were also a mechanism for international competition in manufacturing, commerce, art,

and culture; young nations such as Germany and Italy, or those recently developed and industrialized such as Japan and Russia, eagerly took part in world's fairs.¹³

In 1890 Congress voted to award the 1893 World's Fair and Columbian Exposition to Chicago, and the fight over where the coveted exposition would be held—New York or Chicago—was concluded.¹⁴ But immediately new battles began about the exact location of the exposition and what kind of exhibits should be included. Suggestions initially included holding events at a multitude of sites, then possibly at dual sites on the South Side and in downtown Chicago, before matters were settled by choosing Jackson Park on Chicago's South Side.¹⁵ Once the site was selected proposals were made regarding the buildings; one architect suggested a 3,000 foot tower to surpass the Eiffel Tower built for the Paris Exposition of 1889; another suggested housing the entire World's Fair in a single edifice a mile in circumference.¹⁶ Eventually Daniel Burnham settled on a theme featuring classical styles for the fair; architects were required to submit proposals that had to conform to the general theme of a classical design for the main buildings, although buildings sponsored by individual states and foreign nations frequently displayed their own preferred styles such as Norway's Stavekirke, Japan's Ho-O-den temple, and Spain's replica of the La Rabida monastery.¹⁷ However, the primary edifices of the fair, those in the "Court of Honor," were modeled after the temples of ancient Greece and Rome, with appropriate columns, porticos, and statues.¹⁸ Once the main architectural theme had been selected proposals were solicited for the individual buildings, and work then began on the guidelines for the actual exhibits. It seems likely that the choice of a classical theme featuring columns of white marble and statuary—even if the faux marble was actually a mixture of plaster and straw—already placed some limitations on the types of exhibits that would be accepted at the fair.

There can be no doubt that the designers and builders of the 1893 World's Fair intended to amaze. "According to Daniel Burnham, the Exposition's Director of Works and the man most responsible for the Fair's construction, the project involved erecting some four-hundred buildings (one of which was larger than the Great Pyramid at Giza), laying five-hundred thousand square feet of brick paving,

seventy miles of sewer plumbing, and 415 miles of electrical wiring. The Arts and Manufactures Building alone required over seventeen million feet of lumber."¹⁹ The "Court of Honor" included buildings dedicated to machinery, mining, agriculture, electricity, transportation and manufacturing, and liberal arts.²⁰ The Manufactures and Liberal Arts building was the largest edifice in the world at the time and featured exhibits of manufactured products including soap, perfumes, wrought iron, jewelry, miniature sculptures, sewing machines, furniture, clothing and textiles, rugs, porcelain and pottery, shoes, musical instruments, glassware, and every other conceivable product.²¹ It was both a showcase of available goods and an education on their manufacture.²²

The fair's commissioners asked G. Brown Goode, a highly regarded scientist and museum administrator, to draft a classification system for all proposed exhibits; presumably exhibits that couldn't fit into one of Goode's classifications would not be considered.²³ Goode opined that, "The exhibition of the future will be an exhibition of ideas rather than of objects, and nothing will be deemed worthy of admission to its halls which has not some living, inspiring thought behind it, and which is not capable of teaching some valuable lesson."²⁴ Following Goode's lead most of the fair administrators displayed a keen desire to make all of the exhibits educational and "scientific"; at this time the western world's "Epistemological frame of reference was shifting from religion to science," a shift generally attributed to Darwin's theory of evolution.²⁵ From the initial stages it was determined that the fair must heavily emphasize education and culture, rather than solely being a mercantile display or an entertainment venue.

To this end the 1893 World's Fair's exhibits were more carefully vetted than had been the case for the United States' previous fair, the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, one of whose buildings had been sponsored by the union of undertakers and which featured a display of caskets.²⁶ Proposals deemed either too vulgar or too mercenary were dismissed out of hand, such as that by a cosmetics manufacturer to exhibit "a wrinkled hag with one-half of her features made sleek and smooth" by their products.²⁷ With applications running to three times the available floor space fair officials "could afford to be selective."²⁸

This popularity was likely due to the unwillingness of some nations to participate in the previous World's Fair, the 1889 Paris Exposition, which celebrated the centennial of the storming of the Bastille. In the 1890s many monarchies were still extant and Britain, Germany, Austria, and Russia were presumably reluctant to go to extreme lengths of effort and expense to celebrate an event that led to the beheading of Louis XVI; conversely, Columbus' discovery of the Americas was something everyone could wholeheartedly support.²⁹

Although a Council of Administration was created to review and approve all proposed exhibits, in practice the heads of the various departments determined which exhibits they would include.³⁰ The contemporary guidebooks list displays such as a tree made of walnuts, a palace of corn, and several sculptures made of citrus fruits that were re-created weekly when new shipments arrived from California and Florida.³¹ The displays included machinery for agriculture, transportation, and production (three buildings-worth just in those categories), a variety of wood products in the forestry building, all types of marine life in the fisheries building, and art of every kind from plastic to textiles to painting in the art palace. The fair boasted a large number of statues; they were showcased in the manufactures building, in the forestry building (carved from wood), in the mining building (made of silver, and hence applicable to mining), in the agricultural building (made out of fruit and nuts), and a large number of sculptures in the arts palace as well as many more scattered about the grounds and walkways of the fair.³² The typical fairgoer would have been overloaded with statues, which may have led to a bit of a shock when some of them actually began to move and speak. They would do so because "Following the example of colonial villages established at the 1889 Paris Exhibition, living ethnological displays of Native Americans and other nonwhite people were introduced en masse at the Chicago fair and appeared at subsequent exhibitions as well. . . . Although these villages degraded and exploited the people on display, anthropologists generally testified to the ethnological value of the exhibits."³³ Despite the racist overtones of the exhibits and the fact that many were completely artificial—the anthropological staff had to teach some of the Indians how to construct houses that resembled those used by their

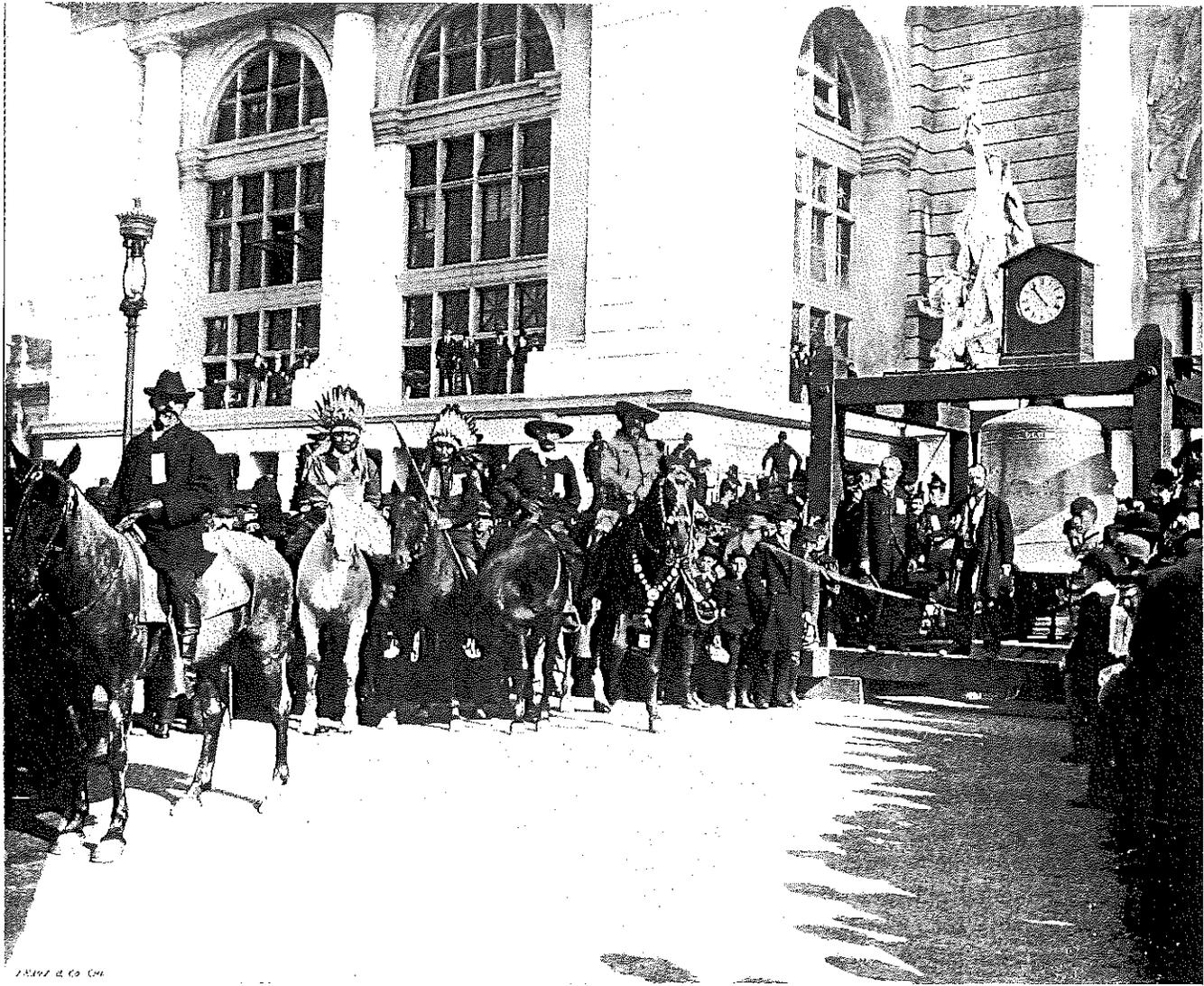
ancestors at the time of Columbus—the ethnological displays won praise from scientists including Otis Mason, Franz Boas, John Wesley Powell, and James Mooney.³⁴ Although many of these scientists would later be criticized for their openly racist theories they believed there was some scientific basis for their racist views, rather than merely resting their racism on obscure passages in scripture.³⁵

The man chosen to head Department M, which included the ethnography exhibits (what would today be called anthropology) was Harvard professor and museum curator Frederic Ward Putnam. He publicly declared his firm intention that "no cheap entertainment be permitted to clutter the magnificence of the White City."³⁶ Instead, Putnam selected many exhibits from the Smithsonian and other institutions that displayed all manner of Indian and native crafts and modes of living, and sent assistants all over the world to seek out and solicit appropriate artifacts and exhibits.³⁷

Department M grew to encompass a number of different buildings and locations, including the Indian village on the south pond, an Eskimo village, and a replica of a Viking ship.³⁸ There were artifacts from the Yucatan, Tierra del Fuego, British Columbia, ancient Greece and Egypt, a Peruvian mummy, and the handiwork of Australian aborigines.³⁹ As far as the living exhibits went Putnam's plan was to "illustrate the Indian in his primitive condition" although Putnam himself struggled to "prevent the living Indian exhibit from becoming a "wild west show," something that "many seemed to expect."⁴⁰ A Concordance of Indian nations wrote to the fair and requested assurance that:

in the name of the Nations of the Indian Territory; of the Dakotah Indian Nation; of the Six Indian Nations of New York; and of the Latin-Indian Nations of the North and South . . . that in the reunion of the Nations of the earth at the World's Columbian Exposition, the perpetuation of any Wild West show at the expense of the dignity and interest of the Indian Nations will, by you, be neither encouraged nor countenanced.⁴¹

Putnam reportedly assured them that, despite many who desired a Wild West show, he "did not intend that any such display would be permitted under the



Buffalo Bill and Indian performers on the grounds of the 1893 Columbian Exposition, dedication of South Dakota Building. J. Manz & Co., public domain.

auspices of Department M.⁴² That assurance has been accepted as one of the primary reasons why Buffalo Bill's Wild West was not included within the Columbian Exposition.

Putnam was also in charge of the exhibits along the Midway Plaisance, a block-wide strip extending westward for a mile from the fair proper; it was originally a corridor connecting Jackson Park, where the fair took place, and Washington Park.⁴³ (Incidentally, Washington Park was available as a site for World's Fair exhibits, which refutes the notion that Buffalo Bill's Wild West was excluded solely because the fair lacked the space for it.⁴⁴) The Midway exhibits fell under Putnam's auspices largely because no other department could conveniently fit them into its catalog.⁴⁵ Camel

rides and belly dancers could, by a stretch of the imagination, be considered part of an ethnology exhibit; it would be a much greater stretch to consider such performances part of the mining, transportation, machinery, or art departments. Most commentators assume that Buffalo Bill's Wild West, had it been included in the World's Fair, would have been included in Putnam's Department M—which meant, since Putnam opposed any "cheap entertainment" or "wild west" shows, that Cody would not be welcome.

As late as spring 1892 "no firm plans had been made for the exhibits to be located on the Midway [which] suggests the ambivalence felt by many exposition backers . . ." to including a sideshow of entertainment exhibits.⁴⁶ This lack of planning for the

Midway was despite a published account as early as June 1891 announcing that "Col. Alexander Mason of Cairo arrived to plan the streets of Egypt exhibit at World's Columbian Expo."⁴⁷ A follow-up article stated that, "though the space for the representation of Cairo streets has not been absolutely granted . . ." it "seemed certain" that the fair's directors would agree to the exhibit and grant it 50,000 feet of space.⁴⁸

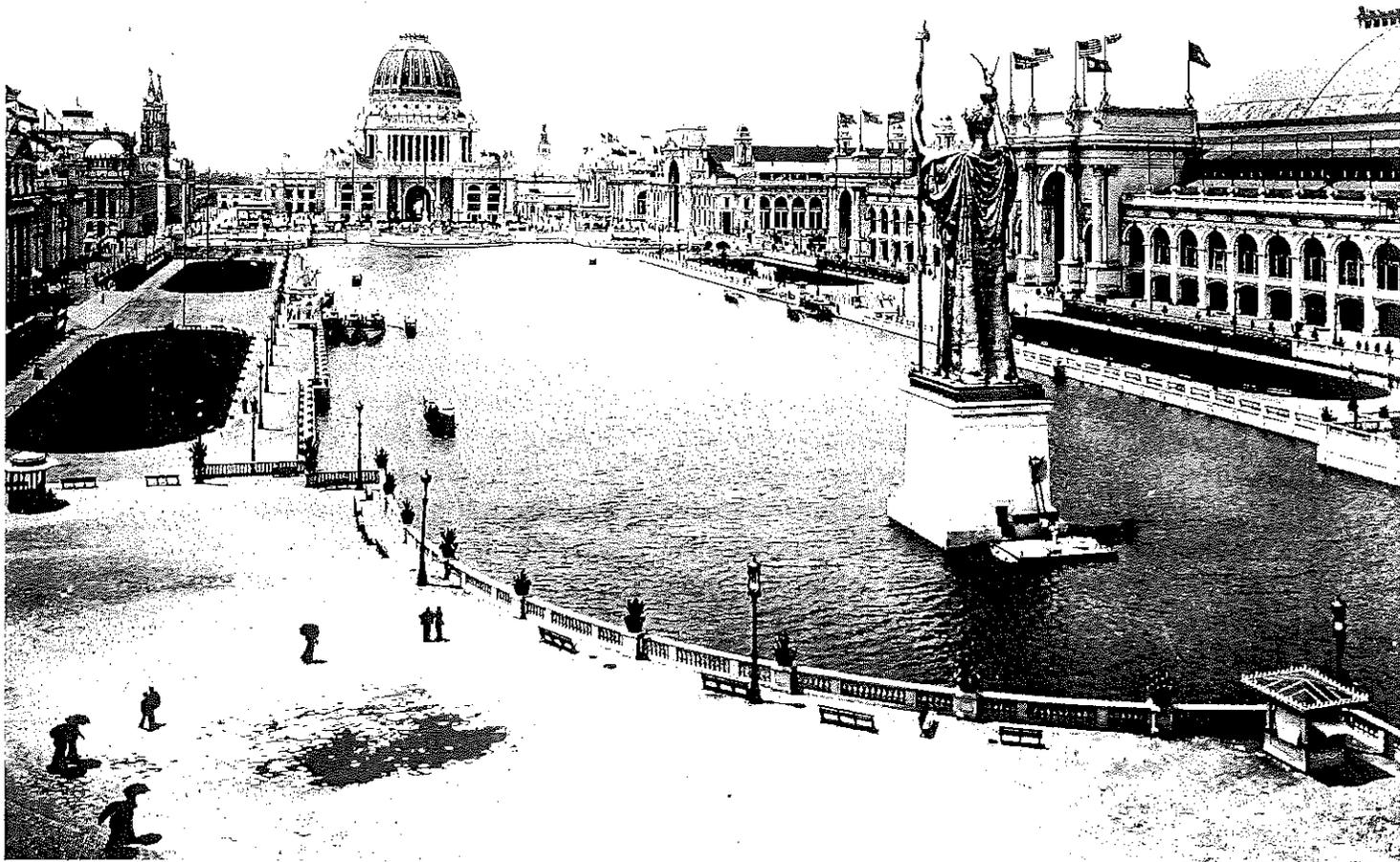
Some of the fair's backers, most likely those with a large financial interest in the success of the fair, were aware of the value of including entertainment venues to attract the public and satisfy paying customers. There were two reasons for setting up the sideshow along the Midway: "money and the belief that most Midway attractions had some ethnological and historic significance."⁴⁹ This last was a sop to the scientists and scholars; if it could be considered educational, it must be a valid exhibit. Putnam himself was heard to remark that although the belly dance exhibit, which proved to be extremely controversial, was "strange . . . the waltz would seem equally strange to these dusky women of Egypt" and he "justified the exhibit as being authentic and professional and not an intended show of debasement."⁵⁰

The Midway exhibits were run by a young man named Sol Bloom, who apparently was more interested in entertaining the crowds than educating them. This future department store manager, real estate developer, and politician, "openly stated that he found a Bedouin sword swallower on a higher plane than one demonstrated by a group of earnest Swiss peasants."⁵¹ Bloom unerringly choose the displays which were the strangest and most exotic, and therefore promised to bring in the most money, regardless of educational value. Bloom's work with Putnam was described as an "alliance between entertainment and anthropology" since Bloom was able to convince Putnam that "instruction and entertainment could complement one another."⁵² However, many typical carnival attractions were apparently excluded; several newspaper articles mention the "sideshows" which were described as "candy butchers, souvenir vendors and others," including con men and fortune tellers, spread along Stony Island Avenue outside the actual fairgrounds.⁵³ These types of exhibits were kept out of the Midway and the World's Fair, presumably because they were insufficiently educational.

Despite the absence of the fortune tellers and con men the Midway included a wide variety of exhibits and entertainments, from the streets of Cairo to the Ferris wheel to an imitation gold mine, which charged an extra fee for attendance; the main exhibits of the fair were included in the general admission.⁵⁴ Putnam intended the Midway to be a sort of catalog of world cultures; the end closest to the main fairgrounds hosted the Irish castle and German beer garden, and as the visitors moved along they encountered cultures which Putnam would consider progressively less advanced. However, although the Midway was "originally designated to be the ethnology section of the fair with an educative purpose" it rapidly developed into "an entertainment arena directed by Sol Bloom."⁵⁵ Critics began to complain that, "it appeared the Midway had strayed far from its ethnological origins."⁵⁶ The Rand McNally guidebook for the fair suggested that visitors only go to the Midway, "after having seen the edifices of modern civilization in the White City."⁵⁷ It should be noted that Bloom's Midway exhibits brought in a profit of 1.25 million dollars in six months, despite being closed on Sundays; the single most financially successful attraction was the Ferris wheel, which netted over \$700,000.⁵⁸

Among the Midway's Laplanders, Eskimos, Javanese, Dahomey, Moroccan, Egyptian, and Turkish denizens there were few exhibits that could be described as American; these included only the Ferris wheel, a replica gold mine, and a few contestants in the World's Congress of Beauties pageant. The Midway was a place where fairgoers went to see far-away places and exotic lands without the bother and expense of actual travel. It is quite likely that another reason Buffalo Bill's Wild West was excluded from the World's Fair was because Cody's show was not really exotic enough to fit in with the camel riders and belly dancers.

Buffalo Bill, born William F. Cody, had enjoyed some notoriety since 1869, when Ned Buntline published *Buffalo Bill, the King of Border Men*, the first of four novels about the Army Scout and buffalo hunter.⁵⁹ In the 1870s Cody parlayed that notoriety into a stage career and crowds flocked to see his performances due to his reputation as an Indian fighter at a time when the Indian wars were still raging, both on the Western plains and in American newspapers.⁶⁰ By



View of the Court of Honor and Great Basin at the 1893 Columbian Exposition. C. D. Arnold and H. D. Higinbotham, public domain.

the early 1880s Cody, teamed with business partner Nate Salsbury, had created an outdoor pageant featuring riding and shooting acts, including actual Indians, which brought crowds swarming to his shows.⁶¹ In doing so he formed the precursor to both the rodeo and the wild west show, spawning a number of imitators; between 1882 and 1920 there were more than 80 different “wild west shows” touring the nation.⁶² Cody’s show “blended the excitement and surprise of the circus with demonstrations of Western skills and the narrative of Western melodramas to create the phenomenon of the Wild West Show”; he was wise to what customers wanted, presenting Indian raids on stagecoaches and wagon trains as well as a lady sharpshooter named Annie Oakley.⁶³ Cody continued to capitalize on, and publicize, his Indian-fighting status; in 1876 he left his theatre company in the middle of the season because General George Crook personally requested his services during the campaign that led to the Battle of Little Bighorn.⁶⁴ Cody departed

that campaign in August, saying “There being but little prospect of any more fighting, I determined to . . . have a new drama written for me, based on the Sioux War.”⁶⁵ He once again left his Wild West show in 1890 to return to the plains at the request of General Nelson Miles, during the Ghost Dance phenomenon that preceded the Wounded Knee massacre; at this time Cody assured the press, which still described him as an “Indian fighter,” that he would “settle the redskins.”⁶⁶

The earliest version of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West was a series of cowboy acts and shooting exhibitions, but in the winter of 1885–1886 Cody and Salsbury rented Madison Square Garden and developed what they billed as “the Drama of Civilization.”⁶⁷ This featured a number of elaborate sets and showcased a series of skits and performances including Indian scenes, the coming of European settlers, settlers crossing the prairie, and an imitation cyclone and forest fire.⁶⁸ Of course, there was an Indian attack; this was William Cody’s show and he had garnered fame from his

reputation as an Indian fighter, yet the "Drama of Civilization" would have met with Putnam's approval, displaying as it did the development of civilization along racially hierarchical lines.⁶⁹ However, the elaborate machinery and backdrops required by the "Drama of Civilization" could not be easily reproduced in an outdoor pageant, and the overhead costs became prohibitive.⁷⁰ Historical lessons were not what the crowds really wanted, though they were impressed by the imitation cyclone and prairie fire; they wanted the suspense and excitement of the simulated Indian attacks and shooting exhibitions.⁷¹ During his 30-year career Cody's show encompassed 86 different acts, most of them involving either Indians or military themes.⁷²

Several commentators have remarked on Cody's strong desire for "authenticity."⁷³ His program from 1893 insists that all the trappings and gear were "authentic" and "genuine" down to the Deadwood Stage, "the most famous vehicle extant" as well as noting that the wagons in the wagon train exhibit "are the same as used thirty-five years ago."⁷⁴ Cody always recruited actual Indians, particularly famous ones such as Sitting Bull and Rain in the Face; after the Spanish-American War he included several acts celebrating that conflict using Spanish-American war veterans.⁷⁵ However, despite Cody's vaunted passion for authenticity much of the show was fabricated for melodramatic purposes. According to the 1893 program Cody's show included three different acts featuring "marauding" Indian attacks, two of which were "repulsed by Buffalo Bill with Scouts and Cowboys;" there was only one act featuring "Life customs of the Indians."⁷⁶ His program also claimed to present the Battle of Little Big Horn, "showing with Historical Accuracy the scene of Custer's Last Charge" although there were two different versions of that portrayal; despite his "passion for authenticity" Cody was clearly accustomed to altering the facts to accommodate the audience's expectations.⁷⁷ Researchers have determined a number of occasions in his programs and autobiography in which Cody stretched or embellished the truth; including appropriating some events of Wild Bill Hickok's life as his own, maintaining that he was closely associated with George Custer when there is no evidence that the two were more than passing acquaintances, and claiming to have been present at some events when he was demonstrably elsewhere.⁷⁸

Despite these inaccuracies Buffalo Bill's Wild West was immensely popular; from 1883 until 1916 Buffalo Bill's Wild West was "one of the nation's largest, most popular and most successful performative ventures . . . [it] provided a simplified, patriotic, and believable national epic that blended history and mythology and legitimized the view of Manifest Destiny that sanctioned the use of force."⁷⁹ During this period the American West came to represent America itself; and since Buffalo Bill's Wild West was the original Wild West show and "the single best example of the American West most people would see it came to represent America."⁸⁰ As the 1893 Columbian Exposition was preparing to open, Cody and company had just returned from a multiyear tour of Europe, where they had performed for vast crowds and been a featured act at both the 1887 American Exposition in London and at the 1889 Paris World's Fair.⁸¹ Judging by the published articles everyone expected that Buffalo Bill's Wild West would play a prominent role at the 1893 Columbian Exposition and World's Fair.⁸² So if everyone expected Buffalo Bill's Wild West to be included in the 1893 World's Fair, why was it excluded?

It is evident that Cody expected to be included in the Columbian Exposition; he said in a public interview in October 1892 that he planned to retire from show business after the Chicago Exposition.⁸³ Cody's opinion was solicited on several occasions during the planning stages of the World's Fair, and he warned the fair directors at an open meeting of the World's Fair Commission that "it was necessary for the management to have something besides a scientific and artistic display. They must cater to the amusement-loving public."⁸⁴ Yet apparently the fair directors did not heed Cody's advice and determined that the fair must emphasize education rather than entertainment.

I have not been able to find any primary-source documents discussing Cody's omission from the fair, but the secondary sources are indicative. Walsh states that "The management of the World's Fair would not have the Wild West inside the gates. It was too undignified." while Russell says that "The Wild West was ruled off the Exposition grounds, but Salsbury with forethought had leased a lot between Sixty-second and Sixty-third streets near the entrance."⁸⁵ Leonard and Cody indicate that Nate Salsbury "tried to secure a concession

for the Wild West at the World's Columbian Exposition. . . . Turned down by the Exposition officials, he leased fifteen acres of ground directly opposite the Fair entrance and set to work. . . ."⁸⁶ (Julia Cody was William Cody's sister and plainly recalls that he was "turned down" by the World's Fair officials.)⁸⁷ Croft-Cooke relates that "Since the [Buffalo Bill] show was not allowed inside the Columbian Exposition, it pitched opposite the main entrance and stole the business. . . ."⁸⁸ Carter reports that, "Nate Salsbury had gone ahead to arrange with the exposition officials Wild West accommodations on the fairgrounds; he was denied space in the park, probably because Buffalo Bill's show did not fit in the midway, nor was it in harmony with the classical motif of the pavilions. Salsbury then leased a fifteen acre-tract between Sixty-second and sixty-third streets, directly opposite the entrance to the fairgrounds. . . ."⁸⁹ Burke adds that in the fall of 1892 Cody was preparing his show to be "a leading attraction at the Columbian Exposition and World's Fair in Chicago" but that Chicago had:

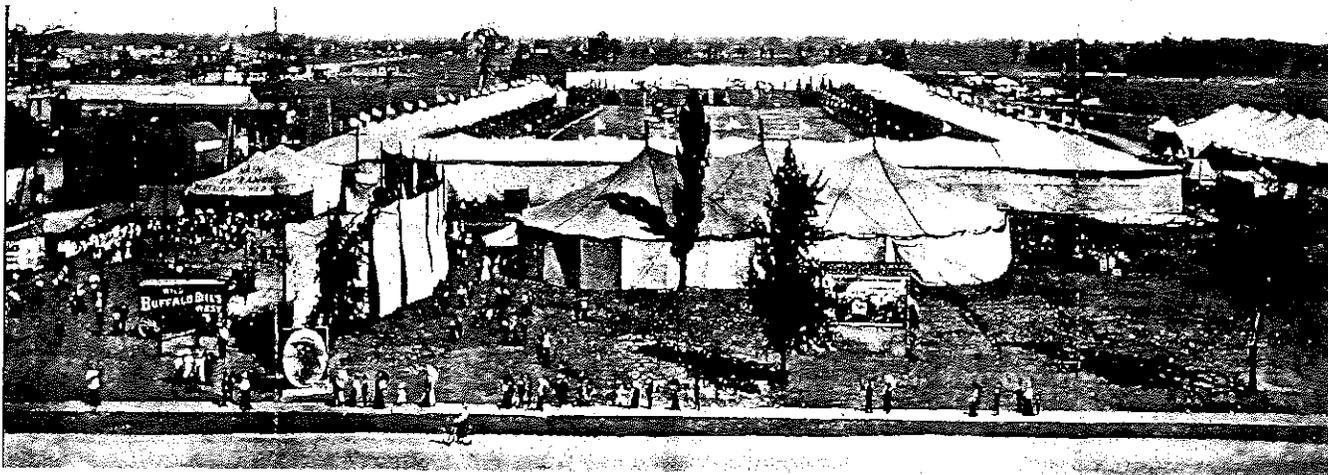
. . . grown snobbish . . . the exposition on the lake-front was a grandiose conception [and] in such a cultural ambience, exposition officials explained to Cody and Salsbury, there wouldn't be space for the Wild West Show, despite John Burke's vociferous claims that it was a segment of living history and as educational as an evening spent with the Encyclopedia Britannica. So the show was shunted off to a fourteen acre lot just across from the main entrance of the exposition with an arena, a grandstand seating 18,000 and room for the camp.⁹⁰

There is clearly consensus that Cody and Salsbury intended to be part of the World's Fair and applied to be a part of it, but were turned down by World's Fair officials.⁹¹ Among contemporary accounts the earliest mention of Cody not taking part in the World's Fair was a *Chicago Tribune* article dated December 11, 1892, entitled "Site Found for Buffalo Bill's Show" which indicated that Cody had "decided" to occupy vacant land on Sixty-Third Street immediately across Stony Island Avenue from one of the World's Fair's main entrances.⁹² The timing is indicative; the opening ceremonies, at which Cody was an honored guest, took place in October 1892, yet according to

Putnam's own notes the final placement of exhibits was still being arranged as late as March 1893; there was even a contract approved for an additional ethnography building as late as February 1893.⁹³ If Cody announced his intention to locate across the street from the fair several months before the exhibits were finalized, and when they were still arranging for building construction, then he had already abandoned his appeals to be included within the fair—which is not surprising, given that throughout their career Cody and Salsbury showed considerable business acumen. There was no real reason for Cody to want to be included in the World's Fair—and a number of reasons why they would wish to opt out.

The primary benefit of being officially part of the World's Fair was access to the 27 million paying fairgoers. Yet the throngs who came to see the World's Fair were already available to Cody, since he pitched his tents right across the street. From May through July the fair administrators even steered customers directly to Cody's show by closing the fair on Sundays; many visitors who were in Chicago specifically to see the World's Fair took advantage of the opportunity to attend Buffalo Bill's Wild West on Sundays. Yet Cody performed to sellout crowds twice a day even when the World's Fair was open; there was rarely an empty seat at Buffalo Bill's Wild West.⁹⁴

A secondary benefit of being an official part of the fair was the publicity generated by the fair and the newspaper and magazine coverage of it. Yet Cody already had access to the fair's public relations, as well as the services of his own talented publicist, John Burke. The World's Fair featured many events intended to entertain the fairgoers, including orchestral and choral performances; parades; dramatic spectacles; as well as themed days devoted to particular states, foreign countries, or ethnic groups. Cody and company frequently took part in those performances; they were invited to make weekly parades through the fairgrounds and many of Cody's performers were included in pageants and tableaux organized by fair officials.⁹⁵ Events and happenings at Cody's shows, and the guests and celebrities who attended, were regularly reported in the newspaper columns highlighting "World's Fair News" as though Cody's show were part of the fair.⁹⁶ Buffalo Bill's Wild West was so closely associated with the World's Fair that Cody



The arena for Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Germany, ca. 1891. *Courtesy Buffalo Bill Center of the West.*

was the only civilian seated on the grandstand during the opening ceremonies, amid a sea of government and military officials, fair administrators, and foreign dignitaries.⁹⁷ Cody also used illustrations of Christopher Columbus on his stationery and banners, and telegrams sent to Cody were addressed to him at the "World's Fair Grounds" and were properly delivered.⁹⁸

Conversely, if Buffalo Bill's Wild West was officially included within the World's Fair there would have been a long list of drawbacks, beginning with Cody having to share his proceeds with the fair. Most of the Midway exhibits, such as the Ferris wheel, were required to contribute 25 percent of their proceeds to the fair's coffers, so it seems probable that Cody would have been required to do so as well.⁹⁹ Second, the World's Fair was initially closed on Sundays, although by July the fair, except for the Midway, would be open 7 days a week.¹⁰⁰ Cody and company performed twice daily for 186 days straight; had they officially been part of the fair they would have been required to close on Sundays at least for the first 3 months, and possibly for the entire season.¹⁰¹ Third, the Wellington Catering company had an exclusive contract to provide all "refreshments" to concessions within the World's Fair, including food, drink, and even cigars.¹⁰² Had Cody been part of the fair he would have had to purchase his popcorn, candy, ice cream, soda, and other sundries from Wellington at comparatively inflated prices.

Last, as an independent agent Cody was free to do as he pleased without regard to the dictates of the fair's directors, and he proved quick to capitalize

on such opportunities. When World's Fair officials refused Mayor Carter Harrison's request to offer free admission to the city's indigent children Cody leapt at the chance to offer a "waif's day" with free performances and candy for 15,000 poor children, which generated a great deal of good will for Cody and was generally acknowledged as the "public relations coup of the season."¹⁰³ Cody was similarly able to sponsor the 1,000 mile cowboy race from Chadron, Nebraska, to the fair's gates.¹⁰⁴ Aside from having to forfeit a quarter of his proceeds had Cody officially been part of the World's Fair there would presumably have been significant red tape and restrictions placed both on his show and other activities.

Such consummate businessmen as Cody and Salisbury would have realized the disadvantages of subjecting themselves to the rules and regulations of the World's Fair. If nothing else, it's difficult to imagine them willingly surrendering a quarter of their proceeds for the nebulous benefit of being an "Official" World's Fair attraction. Despite the widespread conviction that Cody applied to be in the World's Fair and was rejected, one can't help but wonder if Cody really attempted to get into the fair. Had not Putnam emphatically insisted that he wanted no "Wild West Show" or cheap entertainment as part of the World's Fair there would be little evidence that the fair's administrators were actually against Cody's inclusion. Given his penchant for tall tales and bending the facts to suit his own needs it seems more likely that Cody invented, or at least exaggerated, the fair's rejection of his very popular show for being "too

vulgar" to be included. The fact that he rented space across the street months before the fair's exhibit list was finalized, and when contracts for buildings were still being let, indicates that Cody did not contest his exclusion very vigorously.

The budget for the World's Fair was approximately \$28 million, and most estimates of the fair's profits hover at about \$500,000.¹⁰⁵ Due to the immense costs associated with the undertaking the fair was in financial distress right up until the last few weeks; it's likely the fair officials decided in July to open the gates on Sundays primarily to boost ticket sales. It was with a great deal of fanfare that the fair's directors redeemed the fair's outstanding bond debt on October 9, which was "Chicago Day" when over 760,000 fairgoers passed through the gates.¹⁰⁶ Up until that banner day—just three weeks prior to the fair's closing—it was still questionable whether the fair would manage to break even. Meanwhile, the Wild West recorded a profit of a million dollars between April and October.¹⁰⁷ Buffalo Bill Cody was, indeed, very lucky to be left out of the fair.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Badger, Reid. *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979.
- Blackstone, Sarah J. *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- . *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected letters of William F. Cody, 1879–1917*. New York, NY: Praeger, 1988.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair; an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*. New York, NY: Bounty Books, 1894.
- Bridger, Bobbie. *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002.
- Buel, James William. *The Magic City* (part of the series *Popular Culture in America 1800–1925*) 1894; reprinted, New York, NY: Arno Press, 1974 (reprint of original 1894 publication).
- Burg, David F. *Chicago's White City of 1893*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1976.
- Burke, John. *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin*. New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973.
- Cameron, William. *The World's Fair, Being a Pictorial History of the Columbian Exposition*. Grand Rapids, MI: P. D. Farrell & Co., 1894.
- Carter, Robert A. *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man behind the Legend*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 2000.
- Cassell, Frank A. "Welcoming the World: Illinois' Role in the World's Columbian Exposition," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 79:4 (Winter, 1986): 230–244.
- Cody, William F., and Nate Salsbury. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*. Chicago, IL: Blakely Printing Co., 1893. (No author is given for this program, but the back cover indicates it is copyrighted by Cody and Salsbury.)
- Croft-Cooke, Rupert, and W. S. Meadmore. *Buffalo Bill: The Legend, the Man of Action, the Showman*. London, England: Sidgwick & Jackson Limited, 1952.
- Curti, Merle. "America at the World Fairs, 1851–1893," *The American Historical Review*, 55:4 (July 1950): 833–856.
- Dexter, Ralph W. "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," *American Scientist*, 54:3 (1966): 315–332.
- Domish, Mona. "A 'civilized' commerce: gender, 'race,' and empire at the 1893 Chicago Exposition," *Cultural Geographies*, 2002:9, 181–201.
- Dybwad, G. L., and Joy V. Bliss. *Chicago Day at the World's Columbian Exposition: Illustrated with Candid Photographs*. Albuquerque, NM: The Books Stop Here Press, 1997.
- Evans, Arthur Pratt. "Exposition Architecture 1893 versus 1933," *Parnassus*, 5:4 (May 1933) 17–22.
- Expo: Magic of the White City: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*. Narrated by Gene Wilder. Inecom Entertainment, 2005. Digital Video Disc.
- Fojas, Camilla. "American Cosmopolis: The World's Columbian Exposition and Chicago across the Americas," *Comparative Literature Studies*, 42:2 (2005): 264–287.
- Friesen, Steve. *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010.
- Hoelscher, Steven. "America the Exotic," *American Quarterly*, 52:1 (March 2000): 168–178.

- Johnson, Carolyn Schiller. "Public Anthropology 'at the Fair': 1893 Origins, 21st-Century Opportunities," *American Anthropologist*, 113:4 (December 2011) 644–646.
- Laing, Christine, and Norman Bolotin. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: The World's Columbian Exposition*. Preservation Press, Washington, DC, 1992.
- Lederer, Francis L. "Competition for the World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago Campaign," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 65:4 (Winter 1972): 382–394.
- Leonard, Elizabeth Jane, and Julia Cody Goodman. *Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West*. New York, NY: Library Publishers, 1955.
- Marling, Karal Ann. "Writing History with Artifacts: Columbus at the 1893 Chicago Fair," *The Public Historian*, 14:4 (Autumn 1992): 13–30.
- Miller, Donald L. *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster paperbacks, 1996.
- Ogata, Amy F. "Viewing Souvenirs: Peepshows and the International Expositions," *Journal of Design History*, 15:2 (2002): 69–82.
- Rebhorn, Mathew. *Pioneer Performances: Staging the Frontier*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Rinehart, Melissa. "To Hell with the Wigs! Native American Representation and Resistance at the World's Columbian Exposition," *The American Indian Quarterly*, 36:4 (Fall 2012): 403–442.
- Russell, Don. *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.
- Rydell, Robert. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Rydell, Robert, and Rob Kroes. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Sagala, Sandra K. *Buffalo Bill on Stage*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Sandweiss, Eric. "Around the World in a Day: International Participation in the World's Columbian Exposition," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 84:1 (Spring 1991): 2–14.
- Silkenat, David. "Workers in the White City: Working Class Culture at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*, 104: 4 (Winter 2011): 266–300.
- United States Census Bureau, 1890 Fast Facts. http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1890_fast_facts.html.
- Walsh, Richard J., in collaboration with Milton S. Salsbury. *The Making of Buffalo Bill: A Study in Heroics*. New York, NY: A. L. Burt Company, 1928.
- Warren, Louis S., *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*. Alfred E. Knopf, New York, 2005.
- Welch, Christina. "Savagery on show: The popular visual representation of Native American peoples and their lifeways at the World's Fairs (1851–1904) and in Buffalo Bill's Wild West (1884–1904)," *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 9:4 (Nov 2011): 337–352.
- White, Richard. "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill" Internet article, <http://www.studythepast.com/his378/turnerandbuffalobill.pdf>, accessed 2/5/14.
- Williams, Zeynap Gerdan. "Triumph of Commercialism: The Commodification of the Middle Eastern Exotica at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," Master's Thesis. Ankara, Turkey: Bilkent University, 2008. Internet Article, <http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0003663.pdf> (accessed 2/5/14).
- Yost, Nellie Snyder. *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures and Fortunes*. Chicago, IL: Swallow Press, 1979.

NOTES

1. Robert Rydell. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 40.
2. United States Census Bureau, 1890 Fast Facts. (Over 10 million visitors, nearly a fifth of the U.S. population at that time, attended the Centennial Exhibition and World's Fair in Philadelphia in 1876—see Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* [Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984], 10.)

3. Reid Badger. *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), 33. For the number of fair buildings, see Daniel Burnham, "Final Report of the Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: np, 1894)," 1:86, 92–94; 6:3–4; referenced by David Silkenat, "Workers in the White City: Working Class Culture at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*, 104: 4 (Winter 2011): 268.
4. Richard J. Walsh, in collaboration with Milton S. Salsbury. *The Making of Buffalo Bill: A Study in Heroics* (New York, NY: A. L. Burt Company, 1928), 300. See also Melissa Rinehart. "To Hell with the Wigs! Native American Representation and Resistance at the World's Columbian Exposition," *The American Indian Quarterly*, 36:4 (Fall 2012), 422.
5. Nellie Snyder Yost. *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures and Fortunes* (Chicago, IL: Swallow Press, 1979), 236. Also William Cameron's *The World's Fair, Being a Pictorial History of the Columbian Exposition* (Grand Rapids, MI: P. D. Farrell & Co., 1894).
6. Robert A. Carter. *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man behind the Legend* (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 368. The seating capacity of Cody's arena is debatable; sources mention either 18,000 or 22,000 seats. An 18,000 seat arena was described in "The Wild West Still Crowded" (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 4, 1893, 26) while 22,000 seats were listed in "Will Show Wild Life" (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 14, 1893, 2). ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
7. Bobbie Bridger. *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 402–403.
8. "World's Fair Notes," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 16, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. For a description of Cody and his performers being part of an official parade at the World's Fair see G. L. Dybwad and Joy V. Bliss. *Chicago Day at the World's Columbian Exposition: Illustrated with Candid Photographs* (Albuquerque, NM: The Books Stop Here Press, 1997), 24, 58–59.
9. See "World's Columbian Exposition News," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1893, 1. Also "World's Columbian Exposition News," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 25, 1893, 1. Also "World's Fair Notes," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 16, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
10. Badger, *The Great American Fair*, 3–6. Also Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair; an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893* (New York, NY: Bounty Books, 1894), 11.
11. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 5.
12. For the lack of financial success at most World's Fairs see Bancroft, *The Book of The Fair*, 17. Quote on World's Fairs being used to propagate ideas from Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 3. For Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony see Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 4–5.
13. Badger, *The Great American Fair*, 4–5. Also Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 62.
14. Francis L. Lederer. "Competition for the World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago Campaign," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 65:4 (Winter 1972), 393.
15. "Retain the Dual Site," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sep. 10, 1890, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
16. "Towers for the Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1890, 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Also Bancroft, *The Book of The Fair*, 50. Also David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), 78–80.
17. For Burnham's classical theme see Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 76–8; also Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 65–68. For state and foreign buildings using their own national styles see Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 212–215.
18. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, xi. Also Bancroft, *The Book of The Fair*, 57–61, 68.

19. Daniel Burnham, "Final Report of the Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: np, 1894)," 1:86, 92–94; 6:3–4, referenced by David Silkenat, "Workers in the White City: Working Class Culture at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*, 104: 4 (Winter 2011): 268.
20. Bancroft, *The Book of The Fair*, 57–61.
21. Silkenat, "Workers in the White City," 268. Also Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 132. Also William Cameron, *The World's Fair, Being a Pictorial History of The Columbian Exposition* (Grand Rapids, MI: P. D. Farrell & Co., 1894) 371–372. Also Bancroft, *The Book of The Fair*, 136–152.
22. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 201–202.
23. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 43–45.
24. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 45.
25. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 5, 46.
26. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 13.
27. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 50.
28. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 50, 63.
29. Badger, *The Great American Fair*, 46–47.
30. Rinehart, "To Hell with Wigs!" 410, Note 24.
31. *Expo: Magic of the White City: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*. Narrated by Gene Wilder (Inecom Entertainment, 2005. Digital Video Disc.); and Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 347–364, 396.
32. Badger, *The Great American Fair*, 103. Also Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, which makes frequent references to statues and their sculptors.
33. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 7.
34. Rinehart, "To Hell with Wigs!" 408. Also Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 55.
35. Despite his enthusiasm for, and occasional championing of, the individual Indians in the exhibits Frederick Ward Putnam made his views on racial hierarchy very plain; in one newspaper interview he described the Carib Indians as "the lowest of the races of people that met Columbus on our shores," and then added a few words about "a family of Tierra del Fuegians, lowest of all in the scale of humanity." See Ralph W. Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," *American Scientist* 54:3 (1966): 320–321.
36. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 62.
37. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 43.
38. Cameron, *The World's Fair*, 330–332.
39. Cameron, *The World's Fair*, 332–333.
40. Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," 324–327. Putnam's definition of "exhibits" was quite broad and got him embroiled in a dispute with the Canadian Pacific Railroad after the World's Fair ended. The railroad had agreed to return "exhibits" free of charge but balked at returning the Indians to their homes in British Columbia without payment. Putnam insisted in a letter on November 18, 1893, that "they [the Indians] were exhibits in every sense of the term." See Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," 328.
41. Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," 325.
42. Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," 325.
43. Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster paperbacks, 1996) 281, 288–290. Also Cameron's *The World's Fair*, 154–155. Also Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, 83.
44. Apparently, the only use made of Washington Park by the World's Fair was for the opening ceremonies in October 1892, when a military encampment was established in Washington Park and as many as half a million people viewed a parade by 15,000 troops. See "At the Big Review," the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 22, 1892, 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Also Cameron, *The World's Fair*, 193.
45. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 40.
46. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 62.
47. "Like Streets of Cairo," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 24, 1891, 8. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
48. "Cairo's Quaint Streets," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 25, 1891, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
49. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 62.
50. "Want Midway Dances Stopped," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 4, 1893, 1. ProQuest

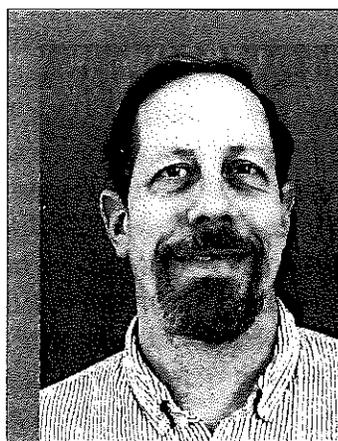
- Historical Newspapers. For Putnam's views on the belly dancers see Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," 325.
51. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 62.
 52. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 63.
 53. "Hurt the Side Show," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 29, 1893, 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
 54. Dybwad, *Chicago Day at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 13.
 55. Williams, "Triumph of Commercialism," 11.
 56. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 61.
 57. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 62.
 58. Rinehart, "To Hell with Wigs!" 411. Also Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 68–69. For the profits from the Ferris wheel see *Expo: Magic of the White City*, DVD.
 59. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody: The Man behind the Legend*, 147–153.
 60. Sandra K. Sagala. *Buffalo Bill on Stage* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 54.
 61. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 248–251.
 62. Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1986), 8.
 63. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 8.
 64. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 197.
 65. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 210.
 66. "Left the Site Behind," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1890, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
 67. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 298–301.
 68. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 298–301.
 69. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 18–20.
 70. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 298–301.
 71. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 27, 53–54.
 72. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 53–54. Also Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 110–111.
 73. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 247. Also Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 71. Also Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 116.
 74. William F. Cody and Nate Salisbury. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World* (Chicago, IL: Blakely Printing Co., 1893), 2.
 75. Steve Friesen, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010), 56. Also Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 71.
 76. Cody, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, 2.
 77. Cody, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, 2. Also Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 20–21, 69–70.
 78. Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York, NY: Alfred E. Knopf, 2005). Warren lists many instances of Cody embellishing or inventing his biographical tales, from his claims of service as a Pony Express rider in 1859 to claims of serving as a Union spy and scout with Wild Bill Hickock in the Civil War to claims of being a close associate of George Armstrong Custer.
 79. Paul Reddin, *Wild West Shows* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 61 [note 9]; quoted by Mathew Rebhorn, *Pioneer Performances: Staging the Frontier* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.
 80. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 29–31, 36.
 81. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 36. Also Friesen, *Buffalo Bill: Scout, Showman, Visionary*, 73. Also Don Russell's *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 374.
 82. Cody's advice was sought by the organizing committee during the initial planning stages of the fair in 1890, see "Left the Site Behind," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1890, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. In one interview just prior to the World's Fair opening ceremonies Cody publicly stated that he intended to retire after appearing in the 1893 World's Fair, see "To Go Out of the Show Business," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 9, 1892, 26. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Numerous articles made it clear that it was generally assumed that Cody's show would be part of the 1893 World's Fair.
 83. "To Go Out of the Show Business," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 9, 1892, 26. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

84. "Left the Site Behind," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1890, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
85. Walsh, *The Making of Buffalo Bill*, 299. Also Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, 374.
86. Elizabeth Jane Leonard, and Julia Cody Goodman, *Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West* (New York, NY: Library Publishers, 1955), 262.
87. Leonard and Cody, *Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West*, 262.
88. Rupert Croft-Cooke, and W. S. Meadmore. *Buffalo Bill: The Legend, the Man of Action, the Showman* (London, England: Sidgwick & Jackson Limited, 1952), 199.
89. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 368.
90. John Burke, *Buffalo Bill: The Noblest Whiteskin* (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), 218–219.
91. It is possible that fair officials may have been leery of including Buffalo Bill's Wild West within the World's Fair's grounds due to safety concerns. Cody's arena was typically surrounded on three sides by a grandstand; the fourth was canvas curtains and painted backdrops behind which performers and animals were usually preparing for the next act. Because they were surrounded by people on four sides the sharpshooters habitually used birdshot, rather than bullets, in their acts. This led to at least one snide comment in the press, when the *Chicago Daily Tribune* pointed out that Cody "broke numerous clay pigeons with so-called rifle bullets, but it was a peculiar coincidence that . . . pellets of bird shot came rattling down like hail. . . ." ("Buffalo Bill's Show Opens," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr. 27, 1893, 2. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.) Throughout the World's Fair there were displays of ordinance and ammunition; the manufacturer's building included selections of the latest rifles, the Krupp building included a massive cannon capable of firing a 1500-pound shell, there was an imitation battleship made of concrete—but none of those guns were actually fired as part of the exhibition. Cody's performers fired hundreds of shots in twice-daily performances, and it may be that fair officials were being overly cautious, not wanting to include Buffalo Bill's Wild West within the fairgrounds because of all the ammunition being expended, whether shot or bullet. For a description of Cody's grounds, see Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 61. For the rifle and ordnance exhibit in the manufactures building, see Cameron, *The World's Fair*, 442–445. For the firearm exhibits within the U.S. Government Building see Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 104–109. For a description of the Krupp gun, see Cameron, *The World's Fair*, 484–486; and Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 178. For the Battleship Illinois exhibit, see Cameron, *The World's Fair*, 577, 788.
92. Dybwad and Bliss, *Chicago Day at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 14. Also Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets and Business*, 26. Also Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 368. I was unable to determine how much Cody and Salsbury paid to rent their 16-acre space, although I considered it was of some importance. It is indicative of the inflated prices during the World's Fair that in September 1892 Major Randall of the U.S. Army publicly complained to the newspapers that "real estate sharks" were demanding as much as \$100,000 for six months' rent for 60 acres of land, leading him to conclude that the military required Washington Park for its encampment. (See "To Quarter Troops," the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sep. 29, 1892, 9. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.)
93. Dexter, "Putnam's Problems Popularizing Anthropology," 323–324.
94. Rebhorn, Matthew. *Pioneer Performances: Staging the Frontier* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.
95. "World's Fair Notes," *Chicago Daily Tribune* June 16, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Also Dybwad and Bliss. *Chicago Day at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 24, 58–59. In addition to Chicago Day at the Fair, Cody and Company performed as part of the official parade for Manhattan Day at the fair, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1893, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
96. Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 368.
97. Miller, *City of the Century*, 490.

98. "World's Columbian Exposition News," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1893, 1. Also "World's Columbian Exposition News," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 25, 1893, 1. Also "World's Fair Notes," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 16, 1893, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Also Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 368; also Walsh, *The Making of Buffalo Bill*, 300. A telegram sent to Cody, including his address at the "World's Fair Grounds," was reprinted in the *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1893, 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
99. Miller, *City of the Century*, 496–497. For the profits from the Ferris wheel see *Expo: Magic of the White City* DVD; also Christine Laing and Norman Bolotin. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: The World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992), 21, 135, 155–156. For the Wellington Catering Company's requirements to disperse 25 percent of its proceeds as the World's Fair official refreshment concession, see Christina Laing and Norman Bolotin. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, 82–83. Rydell states that proceeds from the Midway made \$1.25 million for the fair's coffers, despite being closed on Sundays; see Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 62.
100. Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 68–69.
101. Walsh, *The Making of Buffalo Bill*, 300.
102. Laing and Bolotin. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: The World's Columbian Exposition*, 82–83.
103. "Waifs take a bath," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 26, 1893, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
104. "Cowboys Race to the Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 7, 1893, 2. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
105. Most sources estimate a half-million dollars in profits for the entire World's Fair, and

indicate that it was one of the few World's Fairs that made a profit. The Encyclopedia Britannica lists a profit of \$446,000 for the 1893 Columbian Exposition (<http://www.britannica.com/event/Worlds-Columbian-Exposition>, accessed on August 21, 2015). It was difficult to assess the profits from the fair partly because both income and outlays continued for many months afterward, when both expenses and proceeds from salvage activities surrounding the fair buildings were still being invoiced and paid.

106. Dybwad and Bliss, *Chicago Day at the Fair*, 21–22, 41–42.
107. Burke, *Buffalo Bill, the Noblest Whiteskin*, 223. Also Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, 375. Also Carter, *Buffalo Bill Cody*, 376. Numerous sources indicate that Cody and Salsbury made a larger profit than the World's Fair as a whole; although specific references to the profits the fair generated were sketchy they ranged from \$446,000 to "nearly" a million. However, Dybwad and Bliss indicated that the fair's commissioners paid off the last of the fair's bond debt, with significant ceremony, at the Chicago Day at the Fair, on October 9, 1893, just three weeks before the fair closed. I consider it unlikely that the fair generated a million dollars in profits in its final three weeks, although it is likely that salvaging some of the fair's buildings and materials added to that total.



ROBERT SERB earned his masters in literature from DePaul University and his bachelors degree in English and philosophy from Loyola University of Chicago. He has taught English and writing at Oakton Community College for 25 years. He is also an avid reader and researcher of history, and at his wife's urging recently returned to school to earn a masters in history from Northeastern Illinois University. Robert lives in the Chicagoland area with his wife, Diana, their three children, and a menagerie of pets. An abbreviated version of this essay was presented at the 2015 Conference on Illinois History.