

University of Richmond

UR Scholarship Repository

Honors Theses

Student Research

4-2000

Bronze sons of the forest on display : images of American Indians at the 1898 Transmississippi and International Exposition

Josh Clough
University of Richmond

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Clough, Josh, "Bronze sons of the forest on display : images of American Indians at the 1898 Transmississippi and International Exposition" (2000). *Honors Theses*. 353.
<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses/353>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshipprepository@richmond.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND LIBRARIES



3 3082 00869 7699

His
C10

UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND

**BRONZE SONS OF THE FOREST ON DISPLAY: IMAGES OF AMERICAN
INDIANS AT THE 1898 TRANSMISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL
EXPOSITION**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS**

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

JOSH CLOUGH

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

APRIL 2000

Abstract

This study examines a large Indian encampment that was made part of an exposition held in Omaha, Nebraska in 1898. Relying almost exclusively on primary sources such as the two major newspapers in Omaha at the time, the *World-Herald* and the *Bee*, I attempt to uncover the diverse images cast by Indian delegates during their three month stay at the fair. As well, I investigate reasons why Omaha seemed the perfect site to hold the Indian Congress and what incentives the natives had for attending. The long-term significance of the gathering, I conclude, lay mostly in the forum it created for the exchange of ideas between so many different tribes. And, at a time when traditional dances and dress were under fire from the federal government's assimilationist campaign, the congress created an environment in which Indians could wear traditional clothing and dance without fear of reprisal.

Introduction

In the January 1899 issue of the *American Anthropologist*, James Mooney decried the Indian encampment at Omaha as being just another wild west show that revealed nothing about native industries or their daily lives. The few recent examinations of the Indian Congress, namely Rydell's *All the World's A Fair* and Bigart and Woodcock's article on the exposition side with Mooney and argue that the natives became spectacles for the sole purpose of lining the pockets of white fair organizers. By submitting to program of regular sham battles and dances, they hardened the image of all Native Americans as primitive savages in Anglo minds.

I concede that the images of Indians at the fair for the most part coincided with Victorian stereotypes of the "dusky children of nature." But I refuse to believe that the delegates did not enjoying performing traditional dances with members of twenty or more other tribes or engaging in mock battles before thousands of spectators. Furthermore, while at the fair Indians received ample supplies of food, water, and clothing and even earned money by selling native crafts and for participating in the sham battles. Rather than being naïve pawns in

the hands of unscrupulous Anglo exposition officials, the natives molded the encampment into something truly their own. While escaping often miserable reservation conditions at home, the delegates received official sanction to participate in dances that had long since been banned by the federal government and live like traditional Indians for a little while longer.

Transmissippi Exposition collections at the Omaha Public Library, the Douglas County Historical Society, and the Nebraska Historical Society proved rich sources of background information for the paper and I am sincerely grateful to the many staff members at the above locations who assisted me in my research. A special thanks goes out as well to the entire personnel staff at the Oklahoma Historical Society who introduced me to sources on my topic I never knew existed.

No other Exposition had adequately displayed the resources and products of the Western States and Territories, nor had the arts, industries and civilization of this vast region found fitting illustration in the Expositions of recent years. It remained for the Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898 to give to the world the first true measure of progress attained.¹

In many ways the fair held in Omaha, Nebraska at the close of the nineteenth century was typical of those that preceded it and those which would follow in the twentieth century. It had magnificent buildings filled with exhibits from national, state, and local governments and businesses; beautifully landscaped grounds; and an entertainment filled Midway section where visitors could find refreshment stands and dancing girls, wild animal shows and foreign peoples of all description. Its five-month duration (June 1-October 31) was typical of expositions of the age and its total attendance of approximately 2.6 million visitors was more than respectable for its time. After all, scarcely more than a million people inhabited the entire state at the time, about 150,000 of them living in the city of Omaha. So why should this fair merit any special attention at all? The answer can be found on a four-acre tract of land that sat in the northwest corner of the exposition grounds. For on this site over five hundred American Indians from more than twenty tribes were brought together to form a "grand ethnological exhibit."

Taking up residence at the fairgrounds for varying lengths of time beginning in late July, tribes performed dances, competed in athletic contests, and later engaged in mock battles with one another. Most lived in traditional housing types that were either shipped via train to Omaha or constructed of materials on site. Visitors flocked to the Indian Congress (as the encampment

was properly known) from its official opening day, August 4, until its close on October 31, to watch the various performances or simply to observe Indians going about their daily lives. From the perceived laziness of Indian men to the bizarre culinary habits they practiced, no aspect of camp life seemed too mundane for local reporters to comment on. And, however ethnocentric and racist these reporters were, the thoroughness with which they covered the great encampment cannot be disputed. The Victorian appetite to learn as much as possible about the "conquered race" seemed insatiable, and the press satisfied the craving almost daily with stories on all aspects of camp life.

Perhaps as fascinating as the Indian Congress itself was the depiction in general of Indians at the fair. While one could mingle with *actual* natives on the encampment grounds, *images* of Indians at the exposition could also be found in abundance. The Smithsonian Institution, the War Department, and several states each displayed Native American articles in their exhibition spaces and the Indian school exhibit inside the government building showed natives' slow but steady progress toward civilization via the American education system. Arguably the most unique structure at the expo, the Pottowottamie Wigwam, paid homage to the original inhabitants of the region while serving as exhibit space for Pottowottamie County, Iowa. Like a consolation prize to a worthy adversary, the 40-foot high wooden tipi offered fairgoers a glimpse of the rapidly disappearing abode of a once powerful people tamed by Anglo-Saxon cultural superiority.

Wild west shows furnished exposition visitors with yet another image of Native Americans. The Mattox Wild West Show gave daily performances in an

open-air arena on the Midway and was a permanent feature of the fair. In addition, the world famous Buffalo Bill Cody show came to town for a brief two-day stopover in late August, drawing thousands of spectators to each day's performance. Both shows employed a number of reservation Indians to add realism to their programs. They would surround and attack stagecoaches, capture helpless prairie settlers, or simply sing and dance. By performing in these shows Indians helped perpetuate the myth of the untamed savage, and were earning money while also preserving important cultural traditions. Through the wild west "loophole," Native Americans could escape often miserable reservation conditions and be Indian without the government pressuring them to adopt Anglo ways.

The real and romantic images of the American Indian that coexisted at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition is the focus of this study. While it is true fairgoers seemed to prefer the latter image, their fascination with the Indian delegates themselves, their living habits, and their customs was obvious. Certainly some fairgoers left the encampment disappointed at not seeing a "red man" straight from the pages of a Fenimore Cooper novel, but most accepted the fact that this heroic figure did not exist. They took advantage of the rare opportunity to stroll around an enormously diverse Indian village, watch papooses being attended by their mothers, and even meet and talk with some of the inhabitants. Perhaps some whites realized for the first time just how different one tribe of Indians could be from another and why one government policy, ever morphing, toward all Indians continued to fail miserably. And for a few at least, the similarities

between the two races as fellow human beings was recognized and commented upon, though this was the exception rather than the rule. In this study I also hope to determine what, if any, long-term significance the Indian Congress had and discuss the ways in which it benefited the natives who attended. First, however, the impetus behind the great encampment and the process of turning the initial idea into reality requires some analysis.

WHY HERE, WHY NOW?

Reasons for a living museum of American Indians at the exposition varied. Most felt the Indian Congress would give whites one last opportunity to observe the primitive lifestyle of Indians before it disappeared beneath the inevitable tide of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The federal government, which appropriated \$40,000 to make the encampment possible, obviously accepted the "vanishing race" theory, as a letter from the Office of Indian Affairs to its various agencies attests. In it, Commissioner of Indian Affairs W.A. Jones requests the help of his Indian agents in securing delegates for the proposed gathering and offers justification for it:

. . . The Indian tribes are rapidly passing away, or modifying their original habits and industries, by adopting those of civilization; . . . [but] there are yet many tribes . . . whose quaint habits and mode of life, which have remained practically unchanged since the days of Columbus, are little known to the majority of our own people.²

Exposition visitors and the press eagerly embraced the idea that Indians were fast becoming extinct and often spoke of the Indian Congress as if it were the final act in a play whose tragic end the white man had all but assured. At no cost fairgoers could see "a pageant, a comedy, and a tragedy" all in one at the Indian encampment. But sadly the dramatic production's finale would arrive all

too soon, and Indians, in one reporter's opinion, simply had to accept their fate—albeit begrudgingly: "'Caesar, we who are about to die salute you!' cried the gladiators. Silently the Indian race says the same words to the American who has destroyed him."³

Another writer urged people not to miss the chance to visit the congress because whereas expositions and their exhibits would always be around, Indians would not. His observation of the Indian encampment prompted the sort of doomsday response usually reserved for endangered animal species: "To watch those dark skinned but very human people, and think that natural law is working sure extermination upon them, is a curious sensation."⁴

Ideological reasons for incorporating an Indian encampment into the exposition existed as well—after all, in scarcely fifty years Omaha had progressed markedly. F.F. Mackay, an actor attending a convention in Omaha during the fair, had last been in town in 1855 and marveled at the city's maturation:

[Back] then Omaha had less than five hundred people. . . . I have not been here since, and, of course, see nothing that I recognize save the [Missouri] river. . . . I can hardly realize that a town so large, so magnificent has grown up here in my lifetime.⁵

After visiting Omaha in 1898 for the first time in over thirty years, another gentleman felt somewhat like Rip Van Winkle. "I stand as it were in a strange place, for all the landmarks have disappeared as though a magic wand had been waived over all."⁶ Although residents of Nebraska and other states west of the Mississippi knew they had grown up, they needed to prove their legitimacy to Easterners and demonstrate that the West was indeed won. Placing a large

encampment of Indians amidst the splendor of classical exposition buildings would offer an extreme contrast few fairgoers could ignore.

With primitive Indians living alongside the marvels of gilded age technology, natives became measuring sticks against which whites could reinforce their racial/cultural superiority. Thus, the Omaha Exposition signaled for many the triumph of Anglo-Saxon pioneers over both the aborigines and the forces of nature. Contemporary writers covering the fair described the civilizing of the West—symbolically represented by the spectacular beauty of the TMIE (Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition)—in alternately Darwinian and religious terms.

The Congress of American Indians, according to Sac and Fox Agent Horace Rebok, constituted “one of the most befitting and timely conceptions of the Exposition” in this “the territory of the scenes of his hostile activity.” “On these Western plains,” he confidently concluded, “he has fought his last battle in the contest with a superior race for the survival of the fittest.”⁸

Writing for *McClure's Magazine*, William Allen White saw the hand of a higher power in the transformation of the land once ruled by Indian tribes:

At the very least the miracle of this Omaha Exposition, rising in what but yesterday seemed one of the earth's waste places, should strengthen the faith of Anglo-Saxons in the potency of their race and its institutions, even as the apostles of Christ were filled with faith, seeing the sign and wonders of old.⁸

Rebok and White, like most Americans at the time, attributed the blooming of the Great American Desert and the subjugation of the Indians to the inherent superiority of the white race.

Undoubtedly the Indian Congress, made up of more than five hundred "savages," was intended to make the show of the civilized man more significant.⁹ But another motive existed for their presence at the fair: to salute their contributions, however minor, to the development of the West. What exactly had American Indians bestowed upon the land? Names of many rivers, cities, and states for one. All bore the mark of the aborigine's "meaningless and unmusical nomenclature," and proved that "there must have been some good in the red man for so much to live after him."¹⁰

Certainly the landscape now bore signposts of progress such as railroad tracks and factories, but the *character* of Western land would always be Indian. In Omaha and in the West there seemed to be "a largeness and a savage freedom" that forever endowed natives with "a natural right to ownership of the soil."¹¹ Of course the right to own land and actual land ownership represented two distinctly different concepts, the effects of which Indians on reservations knew all too well.

Exposition managers felt Indians needed recognition as well for their starring role in the conflicts that shaped the "new West." After all, without their presence, the story of the civilization of the Trans-Mississippi region would not have been nearly as impressive—or as colorful. The great Indian encampment at Omaha, then, would "be a kind of first inventory of stock on hand in the Louisiana Purchase." And it was poetic justice that "the red man, who furnished so much of the recent history of the Mississippi states," would "have a place in the invoice-book."¹²

Ideological factors aside, the financial benefits of the encampment could not be disputed. Not only would a display of live Indians attract people from nearby states, but also pull coveted Eastern visitors to the exposition. After all, the natives who had once roamed the forests of the present-day Eastern states had "long since passed into history, romance, and song" and even many Westerners knew little about Indian life.¹³ Since most people "had never seen Indians in their semi-savage state" an Indian Congress would undoubtedly be "a great drawing feature that would bring many" to Omaha.¹⁴ The hunches of exposition organizers as to their popularity proved correct. Fairgoers proclaimed it a must-see feature and attendance at dance and especially sham battle performances remained strong throughout the congress's three-month duration.

CHOOSING DELEGATES

As alluded to earlier, part of the appeal of having several hundred Indians in Omaha was that they had been so recently tamed. The Wounded Knee Massacre, after all, had taken place only six and half years prior to the exposition and reports of hostile Indians on the warpath still dotted newspapers across the West. *McClure's Magazine* reporter William Allen White observed that, in Omaha and the West:

So lately did the Indian leave that the people of the new West still cherish traditions of the fighting days. Hundreds of well-dressed business men hurry through tile corridors in Omaha . . . who in the decade of the seventies operated the business end of a rifle against the aborigines.¹⁵

Planners of the Indian Congress were not numb to the fact that visitors wanted to see "genuine" Indians and, fortunately, many still populated reservations across the United States. An excerpt from a letter of instruction sent

to Indian agents recruiting natives for the fair spells out exactly what characteristics a genuine Indian possessed:

The Indians chosen to attend must be full bloods, and should be good types of their respective tribes, consisting preferably of leading men or chiefs and their families Only Indians of good morals and habits should be selected, and most important of all they should be strictly temperate. They should bring native dress if possible¹⁶

The letter also stated that transportation to and from the exposition for the Indians as well as their living expenses during the fair would be covered by the federal government.

Published reports as to the type of Indians that came to Omaha for the fair vary greatly. Some claimed that many Native Americans in attendance had adopted white clothing and living habits long ago, but retained enough of their former ways to "drop back into the primitive mode of life during the congress."¹⁷ Others argued that most of the delegates represented "the old-time Indian" who had managed to evade the government's civilization machinery. Tribes the government had subdued with the greatest amount of bloodshed, they continued, were the ones featured most prominently.

A certain amount of truth existed in both arguments, but the former probably captures the essence of the camp make-up more accurately than the latter. Part of the reason lay in the conflicting desires of the government to present both traditional Indians and tribal leaders. While many notable chiefs and lesser officials did indeed come to Omaha, they could hardly be described as a renegade bunch who fiercely resisted any contact with whites. Most spoke at least a little English and had dealt with whites on numerous occasions. That

said, many tribal leaders and common delegates alike still dressed in more or less traditional clothing, lived in traditional forms of housing, and spoke their native language.

Unquestionably the most popular Indian at the fair with visitors was Geronimo, but dozens of other prominent leaders bolstered the ranks of the congress. Chief Tawaconi Jim (Wichita), Chief Whiteman (Kiowa-Apache), and Chief Naichi (Chiracahua Apache) all attended, as did White Swan (Crow) who had survived the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. Santa Clara Pueblo Governor Diego Naranjo and former governor Jose de Jesus Naranjo came as well, the latter carrying a silver headed ebony cane given to the tribe by Abraham Lincoln in 1863. The cane, a gift to then governor Santa Clara, had been passed down by leaders of the tribe ever since.

From the encampment's opening on August 4th, between 400-550 American Indians could be found on the grounds at any given time, representing 20-30 tribes. While the Omaha and Winnebago tribes lived on reservations scarcely 60 miles north of the city of Omaha, other delegates endured train rides of 8 hours or more in the summer heat to get to the fair. Still, if the party of Indians from Oklahoma is any indication, the trips were not wholly unenjoyable.

More than a hundred Indians boarded a train in Chickasha, Oklahoma on September 13th for Omaha. The Wichita tribe had brought along a drum, and as the train rattled northward they began singing traditional dance songs. Soon other tribes joined in until "the chorus went up from a hundred Indian throats."¹⁸ Upon sighting the Arkansas River near the Oklahoma-Kansas border (a river

significant to the Wichita who had once lived in the area), Tawaconi Jim cupped his hands to his mouth and emitted a series of yells, which were echoed enthusiastically by the remaining Indians in the car. Still going strong well into Kansas, the loudness of the impromptu Indian band prompted the Indians' Bureau of American Ethnology escort James Mooney to comment, ". . . we pulled into Wichita with a burst of noise that must have made the citizens believe for a moment that the Indians had broken out again in good earnest."¹⁹

AT THE EXPOSITION

Upon arrival in Omaha, the Indian delegates were taken by wagons from the train station to the encampment grounds. Located on the periphery of the exposition complex, the four-acre tract of land had wooded areas, grassy meadows, and a dirt arena for the dances and sham battles. A high board fence enclosed the campground, which was bordered on the south and west by streets, on the north and east by various exhibits and buildings. While exhibitors surrounding the Indian Congress appreciated the number of visitors the red men attracted to the "out of the way" northwest corner of the fairgrounds, one wonders if the natives who had to live there enjoyed the location as much. After all, on a breezy summer afternoon, the smells wafting into the campground from the livestock and poultry exhibits next door would have been anything but pleasant.

Water for drinking, bathing, and laundering was piped into the Indian village via an underground plumbing system installed prior to the natives' arrival. Kept full of running water from the city system, two 18' x 30' tanks, each two-feet deep, were placed on opposite ends of the camp for clothes washing.²⁰ A three-

foot deep pool measuring 25' x 30,' with cement sides and bottom served as the communal bathtub for the children, while adults bathed in larger, deeper pools enclosed in bath houses.²¹ Delegates were furnished filtered water to drink in addition to receiving weekly allowances of coffee and tea.

Food distribution at the congress mirrored the way rations were doled out at the Indians' home agencies. Each head of family received a card with their name and the number of dependents with them on it. Once every five days family heads walked to the storehouse on the north end of the campground, presented their identification cards, and received their allotted rations. The following staples made up the delegates' diet while at the exposition: beef, bread, beans, hominy, dried fruit, potatoes, rice, and onions. One reporter noted that these were usually tossed into a single kettle and allowed to boil until reaching a gruel-like consistency, then served. The American Indian, he explained, was "not a graduate of any cooking school," though he could fashion a meal "as palatable to an Indian as though it had been cooked in the most fashionable French restaurant in the land."²²

THE EVERYDAY IMAGE OF INDIANS

From morning until nightfall, visitors to the TMIE were permitted to stroll around the "reservation within the exposition grounds" free of charge. Each tribe occupied a designated area on the grounds upon which they erected their native housing type; to aid fairgoers in distinguishing between the camps, a banner with the name of each tribe was placed in front of their particular living area. Forms of abode varied widely, from the painted tipis of the Kiowa to the rounded wigwams

of the Sac and Fox made of mats of woven rushes. The Chippewa from Wisconsin constructed bark covered lodges, while the Apache prisoners from Ft. Sill dwelled in regulation United States Army tents while at the exposition.

Although fairgoers found the tipis and wigwams mildly interesting, the dwellings of the Wichita and the Pueblo Indians proved magnets for attention. Besides being unique structures, the Wichita grass lodge and Pueblo adobe house each took about a week to build, thus allowing visitors ample time to comment on every aspect of their construction. Impressions of the tribes, based on their perceived industriousness, reflected the values held by most Americans at the turn of the century.

Working from sunup to sundown while other Indian delegates were "loitering about their tents," the Pueblos made and dried over 2,000 mud bricks which they used to construct a 16' x 20' foot house with walls 18" thick.²³ For their efforts, the Pueblos were labeled the best and hardest workers at the congress. Said one observer, "These Indians are small, but this does not decrease their capacity to put in full time."²⁴

Resembling a large haystack with a diameter of twenty-five feet, the abode of the Wichita was "like no other in the collection."²⁵ Still, because only *Wichita women* constructed the grass house while their male counterparts gave directions, the latter were characterized as lazy and aloof. A reporter for the *Bee* summarized the perceived gender roles of Indians thusly:

The women do most of the work, the men, excepting the Pueblos, regarding manual labor as a somewhat degrading. . . . [T]he woman is up with the sun and prepares the breakfast for her liege lord. Then she chops the wood for the day and brings the water. . . . The Indian man may not be lazy, but as a rule he has not learned to work.²⁶

Newspaper articles about the guided tours the Indians received at local meat packing plants seemed to reinforce the image of them as a still savage race and also emphasized the superiority of Anglo technology. On the killing floor, the Indians watched entranced as men dealt fatal blows to cattle, death thrusts to hogs suspended by their hind legs. "The smell of blood," commented one observer, "aroused the red man's old love of battle. The rest of the packing house operations afforded not the least attraction . . . [they were] fascinated only by the knife sticking and the blows that kill."²⁷ The Victorian imagination obviously enjoyed the idea of uncivilized men traipsing through the uncivilized jungle of an Omaha slaughterhouse.

On a separate excursion, Josh, a sub-chief of the San Carlos Apache tribe, had his eyes opened to the efficiency of modern packing plants. One of the swiftest butchers on his reservation in Arizona, he bragged to the others in the tour group that he was "going to show the white man how to skin a beef."²⁸ However, Josh quickly backed down from his earlier boasts after seeing a live steer become a carcass in less than sixty seconds: "All the bravado left him, and he meekly stood by and watched the flashing knives of the butchers as they quickly removed the hide from a wriggling carcass."²⁹ Upon completing their visit, the Indians unanimously agreed that the Anglo was the better slaughterer and cattle dresser.³⁰ Left to assess the processing of hogs at the packing house, Geronimo felt that there was little danger of the white people running out of lard anytime soon.³¹

Perhaps no single episode during the congress managed to more strongly posit the barbaric image of the Indian in fairgoers' minds than the dog feast. Held three weeks after the opening of the encampment, it made front page news in local papers and must have horrified more than a few exposition visitors no less scores of gilded age readers. A *Bee* reporter's write-up of the event, though, conveyed more a sense of perverse, macabre glee than horror.

Failing to locate a suitable dog to eat on the exposition grounds, the natives ventured into the surrounding neighborhoods, where they were driven off by homeowners.³² Eventually, a large black dog was selected from the city pound and taken to the Indian village. There, the canine marked for the slaughter was tied to a tree and moments later an Indian "drew his knife across the animal's jugular."³³ Placed in a large kettle suspended over a fire, the carcass simmered and boiled all afternoon filling the air for blocks around with the aroma of cooking dog. The natives used sticks to rotate the cooking beast, and when they turned it over, "a leg, nose, or tail would pop up to the surface." The newsman concluded that: "While the dog feast is not such a pleasant thing to witness, it is instructive and interesting to the whites, who stayed to the finish . . . [and] an event that will stand along with that of the white man's barbecue."³⁴

As visitor's eyes were being opened to the darker side of native culture (which they loved), Indians at the fair had theirs opened to the world of modern medicine. At first reluctant to visit the Anglo doctors at the exposition hospital or imbibe their medications, delegates soon became enamored with both due to their propensity to cure ailments of all description: "The ailing aborigines have

had a taste of medical civilization, and they now promise to run the orientals a tight race in the demand for the attention of the doctors." Like small children, the Indians turned even the most minor ailments into grounds for hospital visits.³⁵

One particularly humorous incident at the fair aptly illustrates the perceived childlike behavior of the Indian as well as the effectiveness of the white man's medicine. Having acquired a watermelon from a caterer on the Midway, Rain-in-the-Face (Sioux), hauled his prize back to camp and proceeded to "eat great chunks of the juicy fruit" as his "red brothers" looked on enviously.³⁶ After finishing the entire melon, he left the rinds for his disgusted audience to glare at as he smiled and rubbed his belly. Rain-in-the-Face did not laugh long, however, as an onlooker so eloquently related:

[T]he watermelon soon commenced . . . its killing work, and in less than half an hour Rain-in-the-Face had developed the best case of cholera morbus that has appeared upon the exposition grounds. An effort was made to induce him to go to the hospital, but he protested, declaring between shoots of pain that after having tried the fruit of the white man, he did not care to take any of the medicine.³⁷

When he could endure the agony no longer, the Sioux brave finally broke down and took a pain killer. The medicine quickly achieved the desired results; jerked from the grasp of the grim reaper, he now felt good as new.³⁸

Episodes which demonstrated the naivete of white visitors to the Indian encampment, while undoubtedly numerous, rarely appeared in the press—for obvious reasons. When they did make their way into the papers, though, more often than not they poked fun at the way whites tended to assume all delegates spoke no English, had never left the reservation, and had never been exposed to modern technology.

A woman from Boston visiting the congress discovered just how civilized some of the "blanket Indians" at the fair actually were. After watching an Indian sham battle, she approached one of the Sioux participants and spoke to him "in that choice language that all good Indians are supposed to understand" "Heap much fight. . . . Heap great show," she said as the Indian stared at her without saying a word.³⁹ Then, with a smile, the noble Sioux replied, "Yes, this is indeed a great exposition, and we flatter ourselves that our portion of the entertainment is by no means the least attraction here. May I ask who it is that I have the honor of addressing?" The dumbfounded woman blushed and hurried away.⁴⁰ Apparently she had been speaking with a proud graduate of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania.

Natives at the fair also had a human side, visitors discovered, and the accounts of two women who spent a day among the Indians certainly attest to this. Rich in detail and personal insight, they painted vastly different portraits of the Native American delegates than the aforementioned packing house and dog feast stories. The first vignette, penned by Alice French, began with a brief description of how eagerly Indians embraced what the great fair had to offer: "They are fond of candy and soda water, and it is rather a shock to see them puffing on cigarettes with intense enjoyment."⁴¹ Later she cast an intimate glance toward an Indian family attending one of the many evening dance performances:

A warrior sat near me holding his baby boy and talking at intervals to his wife. . . . He might have been an American father, for anything in his intonation and gestures. His wife laughed over something he said, just as her paleface sister [might have]. . . .⁴²

While admitting her observations of them had been somewhat cursory, French believed the Indians at Omaha to be quiet and friendly, possessing a "politeness of their own."⁴³

In the other narrative, Omahan Fay Fuller described her experiences at the exposition after spending an entire day disguised as an Indian brave. Wearing a buckskin shirt and leggings, moccasins, a feather war bonnet, and a blanket, she joined a group of Indians strolling about the fairgrounds and even toured the packing houses with them. Although her face was covered with reddish-brown paint to hide her pale skin, Mrs. Fuller's blue eyes proved a dead giveaway to her true identity. Assuming the name Chief Look-Up-In-The-Clouds, "the only blue-eyed, fullblood Sioux ever born," she learned much about the politeness of the delegates as well as their keen sense of humor.

The day began with a walk down the Midway, at which time the leader of the group, "Rattlesnake" Pete Liddiard, introduced the new "chief" to the Indians. Fuller turned to look at her aboriginal companions, and noted their reaction to seeing her for the first time:

How they laughed and shook their heads and pointed to those blue eyes. . . . The merry squaws shook their loose, fat sides with laughter and the tallest brave stepped forth and welcomed me with a formal 'How!' All the Indians echoed him and then the ceremony of introduction ended.⁴⁴

In the afternoon, the natives rode the trolley to the South Omaha packing plants and were surrounded by a throng of street boys as soon as they stepped off the car. Mrs. Fuller knew she was in trouble when she spotted a "bright little urchin" eyeing her suspiciously. After following her for three blocks, the boy saw a bootblack he knew and pointed out the imposter to his friend, saying, "I bet you

\$1, Jimmie, that's no more an Indian than me."⁴⁵ Jimmie's response went unrecorded, but several people following in the Indians' wake speculated that Chief Looks-Up-In-The-Clouds was merely a half breed.

The Indians' politeness toward their female guest did not go unnoticed. It struck Fuller as being one area in which whites could learn from the Indians, and she felt touched by the deference paid her by the "half barbaric warriors."⁴⁶ One example of this kindness occurred during the trip to the packing houses. Big Brave, noticing that Fuller was sweltering beneath her buckskin outfit and blanket, attempted to cool her using his eagle feather fan. Although the gentle breeze did little to ease her discomfort, she appreciated the courteous gesture. She also felt grateful for the dinner invitation extended to her by the Crow Creek Sioux. Rating the meal of coffee, bread, and meat and rice stew "good," she did not even mind the absence of utensils.⁴⁷

After returning the various articles of clothing to their owners and scrubbing the face paint off, Fuller recalled how much her perceptions of the Indians had changed in the span of a single day and how easily she had slipped into the role of an Indian chief:

How quickly even a civilized person adapts himself to existing conditions. At first I hesitated about mingling with these people, repulsed by the uncleanness of their surroundings. Before the afternoon wore away I felt quite at home living on their bedding, eating their food, and in reality living their lives. . . I was at times almost unconscious that I was not one of the Indians, so near the surface flowed that current of barbaric blood which to this day permeates the veins of civilized man.⁴⁸

Both French and Fuller considered their day spent with the Indians as being one of the most memorable experiences of their lives. The delegates' politeness and good natured behavior dispelled myths each woman held about

Indians in general and made them realize Native Americans and whites were not so very different after all. One wonders why other fairgoers saw only a backward, barbaric race of people in the same village that Fuller and French felt so at home in. The simple answer is that most visitors went to the congress expecting to see savages, and the image they came away with dovetailed with their expectations. If they had spent time with the delegates and kept an open mind about the things they saw, who knows how many racial stereotypes could have been obliterated. Regardless of its ability to alter racial/cultural biases, I believe French's opinion of the Indian encampment remains accurate: "It cannot . . . work anything but good for red men and white to have an opportunity of meeting under new conditions."⁴⁹

FAKE FIGHTS AND REAL DANCES

The commingling of the real and the romantic images of Native Americans at the TMIE was never more evident than during the parades, sham battles, and dances involving the delegates. Nearly everyday, one or more of these activities took place, allowing whites to see the aborigines behaving as they imagined they did 365 days a year: singing, dancing, and fighting. And, as much as the white audiences relished the performances, the native participants enjoyed them as well. And why not? Compared to the mundane lives most led on their respective reservations, dressing up in traditional clothing, engaging in mimic battles against opposing forces, and dancing for hours on end made for very attractive alternatives.

Thursday, August 4, Indian Day at the exposition, began with the delegates parading around the fairgrounds and through the downtown streets of Omaha. Crowds began lining the parade route early in the morning to catch a glimpse of aboriginal life that could not be acquired "in years of ethnological research."⁵⁰ Final attendance figures for Indian Day (13,000) placed it second behind July 4th as the largest drawing day of the fair up to that point. Here, for the pleasure of the throng of white visitors, possibly for the last time, was a pageant of red men "just as nature produced them."⁵¹

The roughly four hundred Indians who took part in the parade produced some of the most memorable images seen in Omaha in years. A squad of exposition police officers headed the procession, followed by Indian agents and interpreters on horseback. Behind them marched the Flandreau Indian band led by a drum major "of startling ferocity and an enormous head-dress that very nearly trailed on the ground."⁵² Next came several detachments of Indians on foot, each of which carried a banner bearing the name of their tribe. By keeping the different tribes separated in such a manner, spectators were afforded a brief opportunity to contrast the physical characteristics of each group.⁵³ Based on the following descriptions of these natives' attire, one assumes the physical appraisal process was conducted easily enough: "They were dressed in apparel that was gaudy in the extreme, but in many instances the quantity was scarce and bare skin was more apparent."⁵⁴

The 150 Indians on horseback who shored up the procession proved to be the highlight of the parade. Wearing war costumes, their faces and bodies

painted in all the colors of the rainbow, and carrying rifles, tomahawks, and bows and arrows, they embodied the bloodthirsty savage the crowds so desired. Both the Brule Sioux and the Cheyenne received high marks for their imposing presence. Described as "a majestic lot, big and powerful, but stolid and low-browed," the Sioux, in their halcyon days, were as "bloodthirsty, treacherous, and cruel" a people as could be found on the plains. The "tall, graceful, lithe" Cheyenne represented "splendid specimens of the old time native warriors" once the "terrors of the plains."⁵⁵ Perhaps most astonishing to the white onlookers were the scalps that dangled from many of the mounted braves' belts or were carried in hand. Several of the noble red men, according to one reporter, "held aloft and waved with great satisfaction great bunches of flesh, to which was attached hair, not human flesh and hair, but flesh and hair from a beef that had been slaughtered during the morning hours."⁵⁶ Judging from these scalp toting antics, that the Indians enjoyed the parade as much as the thousands of whites lining the streets seems likely. And though other, smaller parades would follow, the first and grandest helped cement in visitors' minds the image of the colorful, statuesque Indian of lore.

Sham battles staged inside the encampment area beginning August 10 attracted huge audiences anxious to see Indian fighting and torturing techniques. While a handful of people condemned the battles (they detracted from the serious ethnological exhibit of the Indian village), most enthusiastically embraced the performances—including the Native American participants themselves. The well choreographed engagements took place just west of the apiary building and,

as the crowds grew with each performance, additional seats were added to the grandstand. Spectators paid ten cents to watch the mock battles and of this admission money, Indian heads of family received a small percentage. More than any other image, that of the Indian as a born warrior prone to bloody, gruesome attacks upon his enemies proved most appealing to Victorian fairgoers who came in droves to see the natives fight.

Normally, between 400-600 Indians divided into opposing factions and spent several days rehearsing with each other prior to a given performance. Occurring two to three times a week from mid-September to late October, the shows followed a general plan that evolved over time. The sham battles began with members of each "team" presenting themselves before the seated audience in the grandstand to polite applause. Whenever Geronimo rode up, however, the crowd would burst into a standing ovation as he doffed his cap in acknowledgment. One observer believed the gleam in the great warrior's eyes came not from appreciation for his many admirers, but from his natural shrewdness—the only thing that kept him from "scalping the gaping men and women before him."⁵⁷

Next, the forces divided, one removing to the east portion of the battlefield, one to the west. The program then called for a combined party led by the Sioux to raid a rival camp headed by the Blackfeet and capture a prisoner. Tied to a stake with brush piled about his feet, the Blackfeet victim looked on helplessly as his captors danced and taunted him. Just when the Sioux delegation was about to light the tinder, however, the Blackfeet swarmed into the camp and plucked

their companion from the jaws of death. In the fight, the Blackfeet captured several Sioux and now prepared for a stake burning of their own.⁵⁸ Before the new prisoners could be torched, though, the Sioux, now with reinforcements, returned to rescue their tribesmen. A pitched battle ensued, in which men were killed and scalped and the bodies of the dead warriors were mutilated by the women of the respective tribes.⁵⁹ The gruesome show now over, dirty and sweaty participants congregated in masse before the stands to thunderous applause from the more than 10,000 spectators. Supper typically followed the performance, and dances concluded the day's activities.

Given the physical nature of the sham battles and the large number of Indians involved, it is amazing that only a few serious injuries occurred during the skirmishes. One involved a Wichita Indian by the name of Little Horn who, after exhausting his supply of blank cartridges, fell down and became a dead warrior. Unfortunately, riders charging back and forth nearby failed to notice the corpse and before Little Horn could get out of the way, he had been stepped on by several horses. Taken to the exposition hospital, he was treated for cuts and bruises in a dozen places and released.⁶⁰

Turning Eagle, a Rosebud Sioux, must have felt like the unluckiest man alive after falling victim to two accidents in a single day. During morning rehearsal for an afternoon performance, he got too close to another Indian firing his gun and had a patch of skin the size of a saucer burned off his belly by the hot powder.⁶¹ Later that day at the actual engagement, he was riding down an Arapaho (also on horseback), and just as he was about to club the brave with his

gun, the Arapaho turned and fired his rifle into his adversary's face. The muzzle of the gun was not more than three feet from Turning Eagle's head, and the burning powder from the cartridge inflicted a severe wound, tearing off a large piece of skin from one of his cheeks.⁶²

Of the numerous mock battles staged, three in particular merit special attention. The first, which took place on August 10, marked the opening night for Indian sham battles and proved so popular that they were made a regular feature. The most intriguing aspect of this inaugural engagement that set it apart from those that followed was the fact that it was originally scheduled to be fought between a white fraternal organization called the Improved Order of Red Men and selected delegates from the Indian Congress. Founded in Baltimore in the mid 1830s, the IORM proclaimed itself the oldest indigenous fraternal benefit society in the United States. Certainly one of the strangest, its chapters assumed the names of Indian tribes (i.e. Mohawk #5) and dressed in buckskin outfits similar to those worn by real Indians. They had decided to hold their annual lodge meeting at the exposition and figured a mimic affray with the native campers would be fun for participants and spectators alike.

A serious wrench was thrown in the works when the Red Men chapters from Tennessee failed to arrive in Omaha the morning of the 10th as scheduled. Since these individuals were supposed to have made up the bulk of the IORM's force, an immediate change of plans was necessary. The public had been informed that a mock battle would take place at 6:30 that evening; somehow,

front of the grandstand to prove their manliness before thousands of probably not displeased onlookers.

Hits-Them-All took the initiative by aiming his gun at Crow Ears's stomach and firing; Crow Ears returned the compliment by pointing his rifle at his opponents stomach and pulling the trigger.⁶⁵ What happened next compares favorably to a present day WWF match:

At this point both of the Indians threw their guns aside and grappled, each trying to throw the other. They writhed and tossed for a brief period and, breaking away, squared off for a fight. Crow Ears reached out with his right hand and landed heavily on Hits-Them-All's neck, who countered and gave Crow Ears a severe punch below the belt. The bout was growing interesting, but right at this time friends interfered and took the two men away to their respective teepees.⁶⁶

No mention was made of the crowd's reaction to this unexpected visual treat, but they no doubt enjoyed watching two heroic bronze warriors display the violent tendencies expected of their race.

The sham battle held on October 12 was significant not only because it drew more people than any other single performance (in excess of 15,000), but also due to the fact President William McKinley was in the stands. The chief executive had come to Omaha to be the master of ceremonies for Peace Jubilee Day, an exposition holiday of sorts created to celebrate the recent U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War. His presence at the TMIE helped push attendance levels to an unprecedented one-day high of 100,000—and he was not the only dignitary to watch the Indians perform.

General Nelson A. Miles, riding a surge of popularity after vanquishing the Spaniards in short order, also attended. Fittingly, he was also one of the greatest Indian fighters in U.S. history and had helped capture the great Geronimo years

before.⁶⁷ In an interview that appeared in the *Bee*, Miles remarked that the Indian Congress served as a perfect example of the astounding changes that had been wrought in the west during his lifetime. After all, when last in the plains states, he had been called in to subdue hostile red men; now he found them performing dances and battles in a controlled environment for white fairgoers.⁶⁸

With 500 American Indians entertaining the "Great Father" (the President) in a sea of Anglo humanity, the contrast between a dying nation and a blossoming one was plainly visible:

President McKinley received [at the exposition] the homage of a hundred thousand representatives of a race that stands at the pinnacle of the greatest civilization of the world's history [the Anglo race] and of a nation . . . just commencing to play its great part upon the stage of the universe [the Indians].⁶⁹

Still, for a people on the verge of extinction, the natives were able to wage a spectacular sham battle that engrossed the President from start to finish. When the smoke had cleared, the participants assembled before the presidential stand and requested the honor of meeting the chief executive personally. McKinley quickly agreed and made his way down from the grandstand. With hat in hand, he walked down the line of Indians, bowing to each as Captain Mercer introduced him. A reporter noted that a majority of the delegates courteously removed their headgear and "grinned as the President bowed to them, from Geronimo to the toddler hardly able to waddle."⁷⁰ A dramatic scene to be sure, it marked the first time that a U.S. president had met with so many different tribal representatives at a single gathering.

Certainly some of the most enduring images of Native Americans at the fair were gleaned from these staged battles: tenacious fighters, ruthless

torturers, gaudily dressed savages. But weren't the mock engagements just outdoor theater productions on a grand scale whose actors happened to be Indians? Not according to careful observers of these performances who believed the native thespians enjoyed their roles just a little too much. One felt their enthusiasm in the skirmishes indicated that they "had not become so glazed over with civilization" as to forget that "at one time an Indian's bravery, agility, and endurance meant more to him than his beauty or wit."⁷¹

Another spectator wondered if he was the only one watching the battles who noticed a lack of "vaudeville inertia" in the Indians' performance:

They do their turn every day, but why should they be so eager about it? Why should they enjoy it so? . . . They dash up to the audience of palefaces with a vim and a blood curdling eagerness, with yells and grins that causes (sic) many a man to fondle his scalp reassuringly. Dressed in feathers and red blankets . . . armed with knives and guns, [they] sweep up to the grandstand filled with open-mouthed and unarmed whites in altogether too realistic a fashion.⁷²

He concluded that the repetitions of the mock battles hadn't quelled the participant's enthusiasm to take part in them because the hereditary instinct of the red man to fight was "hard to kill."⁷³

The various dances performed by Indians during their stay in Omaha offered fairgoers perhaps the most realistic image of natives at the exposition. Nearly every afternoon and evening, one could find men and women of all ages and even young children dancing around a huge fire inside the Indian campground. At times, 200 or more participants would indulge in a war dance or one of the eight other types of dances performed during the fair: corn, crow, horn, fire, scalp, grass, friendly, and ghost. Despite the frequency of the

exhibitions, they routinely drew large crowds; in fact, a ring 150 feet in diameter had to be roped off after just a few performances to prevent whites from pushing too close to the dancers. With no time restrictions in place, some performances ran as long as four hours. Normal running time, though, was closer to two hours, after which the dancers were usually exhausted and the white viewers had tossed their last pennies into the hat passed around for the benefit of the performers.

Though ostensibly for the enjoyment of the natives' "white brothers," the traditional dances held special meaning for those who participated in them. Dancing, according to one Indian at the fair, was simply a part of being Indian: "It is natural for an Indian to dance. They all like it. They all like music and are good musicians."⁷⁴ An integral component of Indian culture from time immemorial, the dances held a sacredness few spectators comprehended. With only vague notions of their importance, then, the largely Anglo audience found other aspects of the performances to comment upon. Some of their remarks are truly memorable.

Unquestionably the clothing or lack thereof worn by native dancers received the most attention, followed closely by their decorated bodies, unearthly yells, and fantastic dance steps. Having little else but yellow paint on his body and green circles on his cheeks, one warrior preparing for a war dance resembled "one of the Creatures from Alice in Wonderland;" another, with his "bare torso and fringed leggins of skins," painted body, and eagle plumage in his hair "might have stepped out of one of Cooper's novels."⁷⁵

Before a crow dance by the Wichita and Cheyenne tribes, fairgoers admired the fine physiques of the young men about to perform. This was made easier by the fact that each wore only a string around his waist "from which were suspended two fancy cloth aprons about a foot square each, one in front and the other behind."⁷⁶ A writer for the *World-Herald* speculated that the braves spent hours figuring out how to wear the least amount of raiment possible so as to show off their decorated bodies.

The sounds emanating from the dancers earned their share of comments as well. The two most vivid descriptions, in my view, occurred during war dances just a few days apart. In the earlier performance, one old brave reportedly uttered sounds "that bore a close resemblance to the dying groans of a cat."⁷⁷ In the later show, Crow Dog, a Ponca, leaped into the dance ring and let out a whoop "that tore a three cornered hole in the night." The sound proved so unnerving that a number of small children in the audience were nearly driven to hysterics.⁷⁸

Dancers, with their energetic movements resembled (to whites) at various times young fawns, kernels of corn on a griddle, whirling darwishes, and chickens hopping with frozen feet. Sometimes these analyses got downright personal as a *Bee* writer's assessment of Mrs. Knows-No-Fear's dancing indicates: "Although quite fleshy . . . [she] danced as lightly as though she was made of feathers, notwithstanding the fact that she tips the scales at 205 pounds."⁷⁹ Whether this reporter lived to see another native dance performance is purely speculative.

Of all the activities engaged in at the fair, the dances were arguably the most significant to the Indians themselves. After all, most of these traditional ceremonials had been banned on the reservations by 1898 due to the federal government's policy of forced assimilation. Agents at reservations nationwide were ordered to snuff out—by force if necessary—native dancing because it impeded Indians' progression toward becoming civilized U.S. citizens. How the government reconciled spending \$40,000 to help bring the Indians to Omaha while simultaneously condemning traditional dances and the intermingling of tribes remains a mystery. Naturally, the chance to indulge in these forbidden dances as a sanctioned part of the Indian Congress proved attractive to them: "The opportunity . . . is . . . eagerly seized upon by the Indians and the amount of satisfaction depicted on even the expressionless faces of the old men is interesting to behold."⁸⁰

The move to allow the dances to be held at the exposition had its share of opponents. Some felt the Americanizing process begun on the reservation would be counteracted by permitting such activities in Omaha. But Indian experts managed to assuage these doubts by reminding skeptics that natives would be surrounded by civilizing influences galore at the fair. It was, after all, a celebration of the greatness of Anglo civilizations west of the Mississippi:

[T]he demoralizing influence will not be as great as is claimed by those who are urging that they [the dances] be abandoned. . . . [T]he civilizing effect, even upon the old Indians at the exposition will more than offset any evil effects which might otherwise follow these dances.⁸¹

While whites were busy proclaiming the Indian Congress as the last gathering of the bronzed sons of the forests and plains before they were

gathered to the happy hunting grounds, the delegates themselves were enjoying the opportunity to eat well, socialize with Indians from other tribes, and participate in mock battles and traditional dances.⁸² In addition, they earned money by selling craft items to visitors and received numerous gifts in return—so many in fact that a majority of families purchased two large trunks at the fair's conclusion to hold all the souvenirs they had accumulated. The Indian Congress's resident celebrity Geronimo capitalized on his fame by selling autographs and pictures of himself to eager fairgoers; treated like a king at the exposition, he felt no desire to return home to Oklahoma and the seclusion of the Fort Sill reservation.

Dismal reservation conditions probably made the decision to come to Omaha an easy one for most tribes. The Kiowa and Comanche from Oklahoma in particular had little incentive to remain at home. Even as they were enjoying regular, ample meals at the congress, their reservation counterparts were forced to plunder cattle from white settlers simply to avoid starvation. Apparently when government rations failed to materialize, the Indians took matters into their own hands.

Critics may argue that Native Americans became little more than a sideshow attraction at the fair, but for the most part they stipulated where and when they wanted to perform. If it was too hot or too cold, raining or snowing, the Indians simply called the activity off. And most delighted in giving whites the image of Indians they yearned for—that of the noble savage.

Admittedly, many of the educational goals of the congress became obscured by the clouds of smoke rising from the many sham battles, but the gathering together of so many different tribes was far from being an empty endeavor. This meeting gave delegates the opportunity to assess the similar challenges and tragedies they had faced and would have to face in the future. A number of people who visited the Indian encampment were struck by how well the delegates got along with one another, given the fact that over 25 tribes inhabited the grounds and some were known to be traditional enemies. In fact, prior to the congress some tribal headmen expressed doubts as to the viability of the venture because of these age-old feuds. Once on the grounds, though, the Indians melded into a single community that proved greater than their past differences; the time was right for reconciliation and pantribal solidarity to begin.

Perhaps this constitutes the most significant achievement of the congress: that it brought together groups of natives as different from each other as American were from Russians and gave them a forum in which to exchange ideas and learn about each other in a nonthreatening environment. Chiefs and headmen in attendance made a concerted effort to usher in an era of good will between the various tribes and speeches they delivered at Omaha invariably praised the cohesion evidenced by their fellow delegates. The formal process of sealing friendships between tribes, as recorded by a writer for the *Scientific American*, revealed the importance attached to the occasion: "When the Sioux Indians pay a call to the Arapahoes, the visitors dress with great care and march singing to the Arapahoe village. The Arapahoes meet them with a song of

welcome, and a formal handshaking follows with an exchange of gifts, and peace is declared between the two tribes."⁸³

Though smothered generously with Victorian exaggeration, Horace Rebok's thoughts pertaining to the great encampment expressed its inherent good and provide a fitting conclusion to this study (he was head of the Sac and Fox agency in Tama, Iowa at the time):

In this assemblage were gathered the descendents of warring tribes who had transmitted from generation to generation the animosities engendered through hundreds of years of fierce conflict for the dominion of the plains; and here these animosities were brought from the four corners of the continent and buried in one grave, sprinkled over with the ashes of peace from the calumet.⁸⁴

Notes

- ¹ F.A. Rinehart, "Expositions are Flash Light Photographs Illustrating the World's Progress." Source and date of article unknown.
- ² John A. Wakefield, *A History of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition* (Omaha: Omaha Public Library, 1992) 629.
- ³ *Omaha Daily Bee* (Date unknown).
- ⁴ *Nebraska City Conservative*, 29 September 1898, p.5.
- ⁵ *Omaha World-Herald*, 18 July 1898, p.2 c.5.
- ⁶ *Omaha World-Herald*, 13 August 1898, p.4 c.6.
- ⁷ Horace M. Rebok. *The Last of the Mus-Qua-Kies and the Indian Congress 1898* (Dayton: W.B. Funk, 1900) 58.
- ⁸ White, William Allen White, "An Appreciation of the West." *McClure's Magazine* 11 (October 1898): 576.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ Rebok, *The Last of the Mus-Qua-Kies*, 54.
- ¹⁴ James B Haynes, *History of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition of 1898* (The Committee on History, 1910) 629.
- ¹⁵ White, "An Appreciation of the West," 578.
- ¹⁶ Wakefield, *History of the TMIE*, 630.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ James Mooney, "Quivira and the Wichitas." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 99 (1899): 134.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 6 August 1898, p.5 c.4-7.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 21 September 1898, p.7 c.4-6.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 24 September 1898, p.1 c.1.

²⁴ *The Nebraska City Conservative*, 29 September 1898, p. 5-6.

²⁵ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 12 October 1898, p.4 c.1-2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 September 1898, p.17 c.4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 22 August 1898, p.5 c.5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 September 1898, p.3 c.6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1898, p.1 c.1-2.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Omaha World-Herald (Evening)*, 15 August 1898, p.6 c.3.

³⁵ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 8 August 1898, p5 c.1-2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Omaha World-Herald*, 15 October 1898, p.4 c.4-5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 21 August 1898, p.15 c.2-3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 4 September 1898, p.17 c.4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *The Cosmopolitan*, October 1893, 613.

⁴⁹ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 5 August 1898, p.1 c.1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 August 1898, p.5 c.1,2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5 August 1898, p.4 c.3-5.

-
- ⁵² *Omaha World-Herald (Evening)*, 5 August 1898, p.3 c.5-6.
- ⁵³ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 5 August 1898, p.5 c.1-2.
- ⁵⁴ *Omaha World-Herald (Morning)*, 5 August 1898, p.4 c.6-7.
- ⁵⁵ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 5 August 1898, p.5 c.1-2.
- ⁵⁶ *Lincoln Courier*. 15 October 1898, p.2 c.1
- ⁵⁷ Haynes. *History of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition*, 230.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 15 October 1898, p.2 c.2.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 September 1898, p.4 c.4.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 11 August 1898, p.5 c.1-4.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 7 October 1898, p.5 c.3-6.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ Haynes, *History of the TMIE*, 232.
- ⁶⁷ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 13 October 1898, p.2 c.6.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 October 1898, p.1,5 c.2,5-6.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 September 1898, p.5 c.3-5.
- ⁷¹ *Lincoln Courier*, 15 October 1898, p.2 c.1.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 16 September 1898, p.1 c.2.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1898, p.15, c.2,3.
- ⁷⁵ *Omaha World-Herald (Evening)*, 20 September 1898, p.6 c.1.
- ⁷⁶ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 8 September 1898, p.4 c.4.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4 September 1898, p.4 c.4-5.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1898, p.1 c.1-2.
- ⁷⁹ *Omaha World-Herald (Evening)*, 7 September 1898, p.8 c.1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Omaha Daily Bee (Morning)*, 16 August 1898, p.8 c.3.

⁸² *Scientific American*, 15 October 1898, 249.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Rebok, *The Last of the Mus-Qua-Kies*, 60.

Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources

Articles/Books

French, Alice. "The Trans-Mississippi Exposition." *Cosmopolitan Magazine* 25 (1898): 608.

"Glimpses of Indian Life at the Omaha Exposition." *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 18 (1898): 436-43.

Haynes, James B. *History of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition of 1898*. The Committee on History, 1910.

"Indian Congress Affairs," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, 27 May 1898, p. 1, c. 6.

Lanier, Henry Wysham. "The Great Fair at Omaha." *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 1 (18 July 1898): 53-59.

Mooney, James. "Quivira and the Wichitas." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 99 (1899): 126-135.

Mooney, James. "The Indian Congress at Omaha." *American Anthropologist* 1 (January 1899): 126-149.

"The Great Exposition at Omaha." *Century Magazine* 60 (1898): 518-519.

"The Omaha Exposition and the Indian Congress." *Scientific American* 79 (1898): 248-249.

"The Trans-Mississippians and Their Fair at Omaha." *The Century* 56 (1898): 847-849.

Wakefield, John A. *A History of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition*. Omaha: Omaha Public Library, 1992.

White, William Allen. "An Appreciation of the West." *McClure's Magazine* 11 (October 1898): 575-80.

Newspapers

Council Bluffs Daily Nonpareil: July-October, 1898.

Lincoln Courier: August-October, 1898.

Nebraska City Conservative: September 29, 1898.

Omaha Daily Bee: September 1897-November 1898.

Omaha World-Herald: September 1897-November 1898.

Secondary Sources

Berkhofer, Jr. Robert F. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Bigart Robert and Clarence Woodcock. "The Rhinehart Photographs: A Portfolio." *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* (Autumn 1979): 24-37.

Bigart, Robert and Clarence Woodcock. "The Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition and the Flathead Delegation." *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* 29 (Autumn 1979): 14-23.

Debo, Angie. *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

Hinsley, Curtis M. *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

Moses, L.G. *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Moses, L.G. *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Rydell, Robert. *All The World's a Fair*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.