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SOUNDS OF THE FRONTIER: MUSIC IN BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST

BY

MICHAEL LEE MASTERSON

B. S., Ball State University, Muncie, In., 1972
M. M., Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ., 1977

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in American Studies

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 1990

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For Pam, Melina, and Anthony

Acknowledgements

Research performed and methods established for this dissertation help fulfill a desire of mine: to analyze and connect music and people's belief patterns in order to both complement my traditional university music study and enlighten my music teaching. By composing this historically based interpretive dissertation using elements of traditional music study and cultural value oriented elements of American Studies, I establish a larger context for music enhancing both musical and cultural understanding. Becoming more knowledgeable and articulate about how music connects with the way people live their lives remains my goal, and its achievement continues with the work performed in this study of music in Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

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This study describes, analyzes, and interprets music accompanying the varied acts in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show at the end of the nineteenth century. Wild West performances included reenactments of frontier battles, ethnic demonstrations, shooting acts, and the Rough Riders of the World. Specific music analyzed includes instrumental music from the main arena played by the Cowboy Band, Native-American music performed as part of the exhibition's "Phases of Indian Life," and popular music of the day including parlor songs and "coon songs" enacted by the Concert Company performers. This study connects musical elements to social meanings and cultural values, discovering how music illuminates the cultural interactions between European-American, African-American, and Native-American cultures as they slowly synthesize into an American culture.

Chapter one metaphorically connects specific musical elements and styles to evocative meanings, social meanings, and cultural values. The following chapter establishes a cultural context for the Wild West and its music, tracing expressive components in the show to themes resonant in American culture: themes involving wilderness, civilization, and the controlled garden. Then, from primary source materials and the previously analyzed context, the study develops descriptions, analyses, and interpretations of the musical performers, their lives in the show, and music performed.

Findings reveal a dominant, progressive European-American influenced culture controlling the musical parameters and therefore, through cultural metaphor, the lives of the "darker" cultures represented in the show. Cultural dichotomies between the "civilized" music of the Cowboy Band and the "wild" music of the Native-Americans appear, as do cultural interactions and some cultural syntheses of European-American and African-American musics. Because the Wild West toured these late nineteenth century culturally interactive and dichotomous American musics, the sounds of the frontier, representing American culture and its values, were extended to the world.

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Preface

Buffalo Bill headquartered his Wild West at the 1887 American Exhibition in London. Featuring a diorama of the newly sculpted Statue of Liberty with a theme capturing the spirit of America at the end of the nineteenth century--"Liberty Enlightening the World!" (Cody 1887)--the exhibition created a fair-like atmosphere. Photographs reveal shopping mall characteristics of Europeans walking, observing, examining, and finding desirable an American lifestyle of modern science and consumer goods. One English journalist reported: "Americans . . . men of our own blood . . . tempered and sharpened by more stimulating conditions . . . have achieved in raising a wonderful fabric of modern civilization" (Cody 1902, 719). Buffalo Bill simulates these "stimulating conditions" in his Wild West, a collection of arena events accompanied by conventional American music of the day. By analyzing this show music and other music traveling with the Wild West company, threads in the culture's fabric are illumined to discover a sense of

the values "Liberty" revealed to the world.

Like the panorama art of the middle nineteenth century with its immense canvases unrolling to musical accompaniment, revealing such scenes in American history as battle recreations, natural splendor, or political events, the Wild West demonstrated aspects of western life and recreated various episodes in the history of the American West. Show manager, John M. Burke writes for the 1887 program: the Wild West "illustrates life as it is witnessed on the plains: the Indian encampment; the cowboys and vaqueros; the manner of robbing mail coaches, feats of agility, horsemanship, marksmanship, archery; and the kindred scenes and events that are characteristic of the (frontier) border." Though accompanied by music, lighting effects, dramatic props, and a narrator, the Wild West was not "the nature of a 'circus' but at once new startling and instructive" (Burke 1887). Buffalo Bill's exhibition represented the "exotic" wildness and "stimulating conditions" of the West, but always with a clear message: Americans were controlling the wild conditions and advancing civilization. The 1886 program for the show asserts: the "pictures of western life are . . . so true to nature and life as it really is with those smoothing the

way for millions to follow" (Burke 1886). With historical insight, Sarah Blackstone, in her 1986 study, Buckskin, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, analyzes the "panoramic exhibition" to find, what my particular study on music corroborates, the real messages of this "slice of nineteenth century American life are patriotism, expansionism, and conquering of wild territory" (Blackstone 107).

The exhibition, not a "show" or "circus," but a spectacle illustrating history (Russell 1970, 6), confirmed many European views of America. According to Hugh Honour, "A European thinks he knows what he will find in America." These thoughts, cultural projections and distortions, involve paradise and brutish wilderness, beasts and noble savages, and classical innocence and primitive life. Perceived as a "dusky" continent with its racial mix, and a "promised land" with its notions of individual freedom and unlimited space, America also becomes a land of despair with dispossessed Indians and Blacks alienated from the rest of society (152-219).

Buffalo Bill brings these paradoxical American images to Europe and all of America with his Wild West. Considered a genuine hero, a Knight of the Plains, a leader and fighter though also gentle,

Buffalo Bill honors a chivalric code by bringing respect and sympathy to the Native-American (enemy) culture. Bringing together races and nations--with his Congress of Rough Riders of the World--into a huge, artistic, business, entertainment spectacle working on the principle of E Pluribus Unum (out of the many, one), Cody displays in the Wild West a developing, "dusky" American culture--a "darker shade of pale" according to English musicologist Wilfrid Mellers (1985, 219-229). But also a culture assuming international leadership as its "liberty enlightens the world."

Both adapting to the dramatic spectacle and shaping the unfolding, entertaining events, music served the Wild West as music served such other nineteenth century entertainments as circuses, minstrel shows, or vaudeville acts. It accompanied and paced the staged action. From an inspection of the documents, books, programs, photographs, and other items from this era, it became clear that music, particularly the Cowboy Band directed by William Sweeney, provided timing and excitement for the show.

Paradoxically, repertoire or the quality of playing by the band received little mention. Also paradoxically, the Side Show musicians and Concert Company singers and orchestra--a group of jugglers,

vaudevillians, minstrel singers, comedians, band members, and other performers traveling with the main event--performed for the morning parades and their own shows before and after the afternoon and evening Wild West exhibitions, but were rarely recognized in the main programs. Also, little information remains concerning the music and dancing of the Native-Americans, though they performed major roles in the main arena event. However, analysis of these three musical aspects of the show, the Cowboy Band and its dominant place in the main arena, the Side Show band and the Concert Company with its repertoire of conventional popular music of the era, and the music of the Native-Americans traveling with the show as representatives of the wild frontier, reveals American values portrayed by Buffalo Bill in the Wild West expressive event and held by most Americans at the end of the nineteenth century.

Music occurs as culturally organized sound patterns. To analyze and understand its impact on a society or its ability to represent the values of a culture, a method for relating the aesthetic and evocative sound and design elements of music to social and cultural meanings must be established. To accomplish that task, in chapter one I connect the analysis of design elements in

musical performance commonly studied by musicologists or music theorists to evocative feelings, social impacts, and culturally symbolic values usually investigated by scholars in the social sciences or humanities. Chapter two examines the Wild West culturally expressive event as a whole, finding larger historical themes symbolic in the performance and connecting this specific performance exhibition to American culture in general. Resonating throughout American life, the value-filled themes discovered in the Wild West include ideas of "progress," "conquering" of wilderness, developing an American "civilization," establishing a controlled "garden" way of life, balancing demands of civilization and nature, and controlling American cultural and racial interactions.

After establishing this interpretive framework, the study describes the many musics, musicians, and their roles in the Wild West show, analyzes music's connections to historical themes, and interpretes or decodes the layers of aesthetic, evocative, and cultural meanings intrinsic to the musical sounds. Chapter three features the hard working Cowboy Band. Beginning with a symbolic examination of the cowboy in general, the analysis quickly turns to the music and "a day in the life" of the Cowboy Band. Allowing for

many digressions to consider such topics as uniforms, repertoire, incidents, instruments, other concerts, popular music, racial interactions in music, tuning systems, pay schedules, musical ads, "coon songs," marches, and parlor songs, among others, this format illumines a day at the Wild West and connects Cowboy Band music to the themes of civilization, wilderness, and the garden.

Featured in chapter four, the performers and songs of "dusky" music in the Wild West Annex side show and aftershow Concert Company expose the Wild West's connection to popular music of the day, including songs with elements revealing popular music's synthesizing of European-American and African-American influences. Vaudeville acts, minstrel singing, comedy sketches, snake charmers, female impersonators, and song-and-dance teams, all performed outside of the main show, but nevertheless reveal American values carried by the Wild West to America and Europe. The chapter concludes with extended analyses of songs from "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Songster," a book sold on the Wild West grounds containing many popular songs of the "Gay 90's."

Chapter five examines the musical and symbolic importance of the representatives of the wilderness, the Native-Americans.

Performing in the main exhibition, their singing and dancing style provide "exotic" appeal to the show with frontier sounds antithetical to the "civilized" sounds of the bands and the popular songs. Instead, the Native-American "rasp" asserts an indigenous independence.

The total panorama of the Wild West musical experience reinforces the conquering, confident values of an expansionist, extroverted America "enlightening the world" with her successes. Heroic music provided by the Cowboy Band strengthens these themes, but also musically represented are the dispossessed and alienated people paying a high price for American nineteenth century progress. Through the exaggerated confidence of the marches, the caricatured racial attitudes of the popular songs, and the daily "defeats" of the Native-Americans in battle and song, Wild West music reveals a brassy America full of progressive energy, confident in its ability to assimilate various ethnic groups, pursue democratic ideals, and project a heroic future. The impact of "conquering" on the "conquered" remains excluded from the expressive scenario. In Wild West reality, all Americans, including those from dissonant cultures, play a role contributing to the common, progressive good. Considered idealistic by most Americans at the end of the

nineteenth century, this romantic Wild West image conceals a darker side: "liberty . . . enlightening the world" offers illuminations creating shadows.

Connecting Music to Wild West Culture

This examination of the music accompanying Buffalo Bill's Wild West, never called a Wild West "show" by its creators, describes music's use in the performance, types and styles of music played, and people making the music. It analyzes specific primary source musical compositions for their musical content, metaphorically connecting musical sounds to possible social, cultural, and evocative meanings. After placing the Wild West in a real and symbolic context, the investigation interprets cultural values inherent in the ritual presentation, revealing attitudes existing in late nineteenth century America and shedding light on contemporary American belief structures. Beginning in the 1880's, Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West developed and spread throughout the world a new image for America in general and the West in particular, but the specific show music, an integral part of the exhibition's performance during its thirty years of touring America and Europe, has received little attention.

The idea for an outdoor arena event demonstrating western

frontier skills and events "was in the air" during the early 1880's (Russell 1960, 292), but Buffalo Bill developed the first successful exhibition. Melding authentic knowledge of the frontier and "show business" sense garnered from a decade of touring frontier melodramas with the "Buffalo Bill Combination," a group of actors and entertainers, Cody created the "Old Glory Blow Out" for an 1882 Fourth of July celebration in North Platte, Nebraska (William F. Cody's place of residence). Featuring cowboy skills, feats of horsemanship, shooting demonstrations, buffalo hunting, and other acts further developed in later shows, it became a prototype for the Wild West show Cody opened in Omaha the next year (Russell 1960, 290).

Consistent with traditions of outdoor show events like circuses or with dramas such as those produced by Cody's Combination Company, music accompanied the action (Nieuwenhuyse 50). "Formerly of the Fifth Infantry, United States Regulars" army band (Rough Rider 6), William Sweeney, a cornet player from North Platte, formed a band to provide drama and pacing for the event (Yost 124). Sweeney became director of the "Famous Cowboy Band" and stayed with Col. Cody until Cody, late in his career, disbanded his

own show in 1913 to join forces with others (Yost 384). In addition to the band and its music for the main event, other music traveling with the Wild West company included songs from the "Side Show" and "Concert Company", and Native-American music and dances. By describing, analyzing, and interpreting the show music heard in this culturally influential setting, I develop a richer sense of the "times" and the prevailing values of Americans as the twentieth century began.

Not duplicating previous historical studies, though they provide needed contextual material, this examination focuses on the musical, expressive aspects of the Wild West. In her 1986 monograph, Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Sarah Blackstone offers a history of the Wild West itself filled with details, dates, activities and people, concluding with a chapter on "messages and meanings"--key elements in this study. Blackstone's semiotic, interpretive analysis examines the Wild West as a communication event involving performers, audiences, societal contexts, and the sharing of values through cultural codes unconsciously experienced and shared by the performers and audience alike. Communicated to an audience by

verbal and non-verbal actions affecting all the senses, Blackstone asserts:

The show used visual, auditory, olfactory, and even tactile channels to get its messages across to the audience. For instance, during 'The Attack on the Deadwood Stage' an audience member saw gunsmoke, smelled gunpowder, heard gunfire, was aware of the spectators nearest to him, as well as those across the arena from him, and a few audience members even experienced the tactile sensation of actually riding in the stage. (104)

Breaking this experience into nine different "elements" or subcodes of the total message code, she calls them the forces "at work in any given act of the Wild West." One element listed as important to the overall effectiveness of a performance is "the music played during the act" (105). However, since Blackstone avoids analyzing any music herself, my interpretive study, using primary and secondary source materials, fills in gaps of information about particular music used in the exhibition, musical pacing of the acts, music's evocative impact on the audience's emotional reactions, social roles modeled by the musicians and the music in the show, and cultural values revealed by the musical choices.

Musical examinations often study and analyze such aesthetic design structures as melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, texture, and

form (Wold 1982, xiii). They may also explore a composer's life or other historical contextual material, but rarely make analytical connections between musical sounds and attitudes of the audience whose collective beliefs inspired the music's creation. Perhaps music, so much a part of the way we live, but considered a "specialty" field because of its composition and performance by "talented" musicians, becomes like "magic" to the non-musician, leaving scholars not specially trained in music timid in their search for ways to make connections between the musically expressive world and the social world, or between musical art forms and ideological "unities in the American imagination" (Marcus xii).

Finding the communicative bridge between music and the implicit values of a culture involves musicians, musicologists, anthropologists, American Studies scholars, and other social scientists in a relatively recent struggle (Levy). David McAllester describes the problems of music and culture study in his classic ethnomusicological study of Navajo music:

Of all the arts, perhaps music has seemed the hardest to study as social behavior. Aside from the accompanying poetry in the song texts, the actual substance of music appears forbiddingly abstract . . . few musicologists . . . have been interested in cultural applications . . . and the feeling that one must have a

'talent' to study music has seen a general abdication from this field by social scientists, even to the extent that the most elementary questions about attitudes towards music have often remained unasked. (3)

Although declining in recent years with the advent of music journalism, an increased musical awareness by social scientists, an increase in studies better recognizing the importance of music in culture, a redefining of ethnomusicology as "the study of music in culture" (Merriam 1964, 6), and a clearer understanding by musicologists of music's role in cultural context, this "general abdication" still applies. English musicologist and American music specialist Wilfrid Mellers recognizes the problem and commiserates because, "writing words about music is a hazardous occupation" (1985, 231). Music's expressive impact involves hearing rather than writing because people respond to its aural, evocative nature more than to its technical aspects uncovered by a journalist or scholar. Words often help rational understanding and provide cultural and expressive insights, but Aaron Copland points out: "You can't develop a better appreciation of the art merely by reading a book about it" (15).

Unfortunately for us in the late twentieth century, recordings

of music from Wild West shows do not exist, so we cannot listen directly.¹ Consequently, to achieve a perspective on Wild West music it becomes necessary to analyze and write about it, explore recordings or performances by similar ensembles from that time period, or examine modern recreations of classic pieces--as we do with Mozart. Though viewed as a separate art form in the habits of Western Civilization, anthropological studies of other cultures such as, How Musical Is Man, a study of the Venda tribe in Africa by John Blacking, or, Urban Blues, an examination of American blues music and people by Charles Keil, remind us that music, part of a cultural fabric or web, interconnects with and reacts to social structures, political forms, economic conditions, racial mixes, historical developments, other art forms, technological developments, geography, rural and urban environments, and other contextual items generated from a culture's underlying belief structures. Though Mellers and Copland remain correct, one must hear music to fully

¹ After four days of research at the Library of Congress where my primary goal was to find a recording of Wild West bands, and after talking with experts in early recordings of Edison, Berliner, and others, it must be noted that no recordings were found and no one knew of any ever being made. Many recordings existed of professional bands, vaudeville singers, and even Native-American singing, but none were attributed to Wild West performers.

comprehend it, writing about music helps us understand its complex connections to its social and cultural context.

Growing recognition of the connections between cultural values and music by present-day music scholars and social scientists has led to conclusions that all music, including art music of Western Civilization, has a social context and therefore social meaning as well. Ethnomusicologist, John Blacking, summarizes:

(musical) forms are produced by human minds whose working habits are . . . a synthesis of given, universal systems of operation and acquired cultural patterns of expression. Since these patterns are always acquired through and in the context of social relationships and their associated emotions, the decisive style-forming factor in any attempt to express feelings in music must be its social content. (73)

Western Civilization's art music, with its focus on harmonic structures, formal developments, notation, and composers (literate controllers of the art's creation), exposes a context of industrialism and of European "post-Renaissance humanism and individualism, and it has the characteristic virtues and limitations of that viewpoint" (Small 9). America, with its mix of Europeans, Africans, Asians, Native-Americans, Latin Americans, and others, along with its recent frontier experiences, differs in belief patterns from those of Europe, providing a different way of life (one definition of culture)

and varying styles of music shaped by these differing influences-- styles appearing in the music of the Wild West.

In his 1954 research with the Flathead Indians, anthropologist Allan Merriam finds: "All people, in no matter what culture, must be able to place their music firmly in the context of the totality of their beliefs, experiences, and activities for without such ties music cannot exist" (91). Accordingly, analyzing musically expressive art forms, inspired by the collective beliefs of a culture, reveals or provides insight into the culture's belief structures. Analyzing expressive musical structures from the context of Buffalo Bill's Wild West provides the focus of this study, revealing insights into musical elements, music's evocative nature, value structures of people, and connections of Wild West ideas to historical themes. Necessarily ranging away from a specific Wild West focus to provide analytical, contextual background, the presentation concluding this chapter--my method of analyzing music for multiple meanings--gleans material from musicology, anthropology, ethnomusicology, sociology, music education, philosophy, and popular culture.

That music provides insight into the underlying assumptions of a culture seemed obvious to Sigmund Spaeth writing in 1934 about

American popular song: "The popular song has become a most revealing index to American life in general. It sums up the ethics, the habits, the slang, the intimate character of every generation, and it will tell as much to future students of current civilization as any histories, biographies, or newspapers of the time" (v,vi). His assertion strengthens the possibility and scope of this study, but contains no explanation of a method or way of examining the music in a contextual manner, except for the implication of lyric analysis. This method, often used by those skilled in textual examinations, ignores the sounds of the music, the total evocative and expressive impact.

Music, an art form of sound, lacks the visual references other arts possess and given the propensity of Western derived cultures for visual orientation (McLuhan), is not as easily analyzed as texts or visual images. Trained to recognize visual colors at an early age, children are rarely, if ever, trained to recognize the "color" of a major or minor chord even though these common chords are heard often in music from nursery rhymes to rock to classics. Even without as many visual references (most musicians do read music from a visual score so visual aspects of music are prevalent), music still

artistically organizes life's experiences "in accord with other generally known and habitually utilized processes of thought."

(Ferguson 17)

But because of the lack of visual referents many scholars agree music can provide a clearer base for analyzing implicit attitudes of a culture. Christopher Small tells us why and provides the analytical tool of metaphor to use for a total musical, contextual analysis:

Of all the arts, music, probably because of its almost complete lack of explicit verbal or representational content, most clearly reveals the basic assumptions of a culture. . . . every human being is conditioned . . . by the assumptions of the culture in which he lives . . . our arts can be seen from one point of view as metaphors for the attitudes and assumptions of our culture. (7-9)

Asserting the potential clarity of musical, contextual analysis, Small recognizes the need for developing musical and cultural metaphoric analytical skills. Communicating the complicated factors involved in contextual analysis, Charles Keil finds the dilemma in music itself because of "its paradoxical position as a culture's quintessential medium of expression, at once highly formalized, abstract, and systematic yet conversely capable of incorporating powerful and primordial emotions . . . music often represents the

ultimate distillation of people's total experience" (203). Together, Small and Keil provide ways of examining music in a contextual manner. A total analysis must consider formal abstract musical information, music's emotional evocative sense, possible social meanings, and cultural values. To achieve this analytical goal the investigation must include systematic examination of music's formal structures for its metaphoric insights.

Musical analysis, as commonly practiced by musicians or musicologists, concentrates primarily on musical meanings using musical language understood by other musicians; a situation developing musical specialists for the sake of the art, but rarely reaching the general audience with information about music and its role in peoples' lives. Joseph Kerman, an American musicologist influential in educating students and professionals in the field, writes in 1985:

in academic practice, and in broad general usage, musicology has come to have a . . . constricted meaning. It has come to mean the study of the history of Western music in the high-art tradition. . . . Musicology is perceived as dealing essentially with the factual, the documentary, the verifiable, the analyzable, the positivistic. Musicologists are respected for the facts they know about music. They are not admired for their insight into music as aesthetic experience. (11,12)

This constriction benefits those who work in such formal musical fields as theory, history, and performance because the musical knowledge gained leads to deep insights into musical patterns, design structures, and performance techniques. Charles Seeger, "the guiding spirit of American ethnomusicology," stressed again and again that speech-knowledge of music (a more superficial knowledge) differs from music-knowledge of it (Kerman 158). Unlike social scientists, music specialists know music's formal and expressive characteristics, but to provide a more contextual understanding they need means to relate that knowledge to peoples' lives. Metaphoric concepts provide ways of translating formal and factual information about music into analyses rich with social meanings or implications, interpretations of values, insights into expressivity and predictions for future cultural directions.

A metaphor, usually considered a figure of speech, suggests an analogy or likeness between two objects or ideas. Buffalo Bill helped "tame" the American West, metaphorically revealing a "wild" West in need of control; use of the word "settle" in place of "tame" changes the meaning of the sentence and therefore the image of the West--a "Settling of the West" exhibition lacks charismatic appeal. As recent

developments in semiotic analysis demonstrate, figures of speech carry implications beyond the printed page. Sarah Blackstone constructed her analysis of meanings in the Wild West presentation from current scholarship in anthropology, American Studies, and popular culture, all of which "read" aspects of culture besides language as "texts." Analysis of figures of speech, really a decoding process finding the underlying meanings or images created by particular choices of words--like the decoding of the Buffalo Bill "taming" the West image--reveals values or ideas developed by attitudes felt in the collective culture.

Examinations of other aspects of culture, using the decoding analysis of text as a model, also provide revelations. For example, visual images contain codes exposing messages: Cody usually rode a white horse--symbolizing goodness, strength, and leadership. In this case the "text" decoded communicates without written or spoken components. Becoming a metaphor or symbol for certain kinds of courageous values in American culture, the white horse (an object), used in place of a spoken idea (strength and leadership), suggests a likeness or analogy. Though the "logic by which (metaphoric) symbols are connected" depends on asserted similarity from cultural

conventions often wholly arbitrary, Edmund Leach argues: since all kinds of human actions convey information, each "mode of communication is a 'transformation' of every other "--therefore metaphoric or analogous in nature (14-16).

Marshall McLuhan defines metaphor as a "medium translating" experience from one mode into another, and uses money as an example: labor translates into dollars. For music in the Wild West an example includes personal and collective notions of patriotism translated into the organized sounds of a military march--a style composed by Wild West Cowboy Band leader William Sweeney and played by the Cowboy Band. "The essence of metaphor is understanding one thing in terms of another," according to Lakoff and Johnson (5); thus, as discussed above, metaphorical concepts transcend written or spoken words.

Defined as culturally patterned sound (Kebede 3), music helps people feel, act out, communicate, or express their emotional, personal, and social lives. Actions or emotions in one realm of life (love, work, play) express themselves through a medium of structured sound (songs, symphonies, marches). Living or working in "harmony" with others is a social expression of a concept heard and

evoked in sound. A metaphorical approach to understanding music ascribes power to music because, as Blacking characterizes, it becomes defined as an art form inspired by, interacting with, and shaping the total fabric of a culture (31). Though still studied for its own merits as musicologists tend to do, music and its study also carry metaphorical implications for the social world where people actually live.

The following broadly-structured analytical method, studying musical structures for their formal, evocative, and cultural insights, focuses on musical examples from the Wild West of course, but also on blues forms, American musical successors to turn-of-the century styles. Blues style shaped such twentieth century musical styles as jazz, country, and rock--styles dominating popular audiences' attention for decades. But blues roots return to the same nineteenth century time frame as the Wild West, to such musical idioms as marches, "coon songs," vaudeville acts, and minstrel singing--styles found in the Wild West. Developing in the context of an American society with powerful tensions between European-American and African-American cultures, blues music tensions, analogically resulting from attempts to synthesize differing musical systems,

appear as blue notes, chord progression adjustments, rhythmic differences, timbre changes, and other musical design patterns (Jones 26). An examination of Wild West music, music reflecting the American popular mainstream, uncovers these blues design structures of musical and cultural tension. Therefore the analytical methodology introduced in this section of the study focuses on musical examples from both white and black sources, establishing means of analyzing specific Wild West musical material in later chapters. Nineteenth century tensions between white and Native-American cultures also receive consideration because they too reflect themselves in musical analysis and play a significant role in the Wild West exhibition.

Any formal analysis of music involves the musical elements of melody, harmony, rhythm, form, timbre, and texture (Wold 1982, xiii). How these musical materials interact defines an interpretive musical style with evocative and emotional characteristics. **Melody**, the first in an extended examination of the individual musical elements, can be understood as the musical line of a piece of music, the tune, the horizontally designed curve containing successions of one note following another creating a complete idea or whole

pattern. Melodic tones move higher and lower in pitch, forward in time, and in long or short durations (Machlis 7). Examples of melodies abound in the Wild West whether in the band performances, the side show songs, or in the Native-American music. For three hundred years, 1600 to 1900, a time frame often called the "Common Practice" era, melodies based on major and minor scales dominated European-based music, influencing much of the music European immigrants brought to America. Using one tone as a "central point to which the remaining tones are related in varying degrees of importance" (Benward 40), the major-minor scale patterns reveal a hierarchical musical system analogically related to the Industrial Age (developing in the same time frame) with its social class hierarchies and people metaphorically referred to as "cogs in the machine."

However, African-derived music, also prevalent in America and particularly heard in Cody's side show with its minstrel and "coon" songs, uses a pentatonic scale as its horizontal organizing pattern. In Whose Music: The Sociology of Musical Languages, the authors, summarizing wide-ranging social and musical research (appendix 1), discover a widespread occurrence of pentatonic scale-based

melodies in "pre-literate" societies. Rather than being centered and hierarchical in nature, pentatonic melodies create a decentered music with each note having similar importance in the structure-- metaphorically implying a more equal, community social orientation than the hierarchical, individualistic patterns of tonal music and its corresponding social metaphors. This pentatonic scale, along with the African characteristic of bending pitches in performance, provides a contrast with European melodic styles and scales. Often using a third type of scale organization brought from European folk and art cultures of the Renaissance, American colonists performed modal music, also containing de-centered qualities.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the long-time intermixing of these three musical systems in America resulted in a new synthetic music, the blues, containing characteristics of all the old systems. Present in songs from the Wild West, blue notes-- pitches lowering the notes of a major scale at the third, the seventh, and often the fifth degree, making the new American modal scale resemble a "pre-literate" pentatonic scale--create melodic cross relations or tensions with the underlying major harmony derived from European sources, tensions resulting from combining centered

and decentered musical systems. As an example, a C-blues, at the third degree of a scale or melody, contains both an e-flat and an e-natural (Shepherd et al, 166-171). This blues tension, present in Wild West music over a century ago, remains popular in American music, metaphorically revealing a culture still dealing with tense relationships in the social world as well. Mellers maintains:

The alienation of the blues--the basic conflict between black and white sources--is epitomized in the phenomenon of 'blue' notes . . . In the European fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this device was known as a false (cross) relation. Blue notes in Afro-American jazz are a technique exactly comparable (to the clash between the old Medieval world and the new world of the Renaissance), likewise springing from a clash between two views of the world. (117, 118)

Racial tension in the society at large, as well as tension between cultural differences involving centered-hierarchical individualistic patterns and de-centered community patterns, manifest themselves as tension between differing cultural melodic sources in the music, blue notes, demonstrating music's ability to reveal/reflect a society's social characteristics.

What perspective is to art, **harmony** is to music. It provides a sense of depth and space as it develops the vertical aspect of music where notes are heard simultaneously, one on top of another in

chords. Providing support and richness for melodies moving horizontally above or across the chords, harmony accompanies the singing of a melody or tune (Machlis 11). During the common practice era, harmonies, built by stacking two or three thirds on top of major or minor scale degrees to create triads or seventh chords, moved horizontally with melodies in relationships called progressions to create dissonances (feelings of tension or unrest) and consonances (a sense of relaxation or rest). This structural system, labeled tonality, and like major and minor scales built around one central controlling tone, also functions in a hierarchy of importance. In analysis, Roman numerals signify hierarchical function with the common progression beginning with I (tonic), moving to IV (subdominant), creating tension with a move to the V (dominant), and resolving the tension with a return to the I (tonic) (Benward 40).

"Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Descriptive March & Two-Step," by David Hawthorne, likely played by the Cowboy Band in 1908, uses only these three chords as it provides spirited accompaniment to Cowboys and Indians pursuing each other in the Wild West arena. The most distinctive musical element developed by Western Civilization, the presence of harmony in music signals the influence of European

cultures. American settlers used available chords from tonality most often in hymn singing, but early Americans, removed from the aristocratic musical world of Europe, as they did with melodies, often relied on the older, more familiar modal system, developing different techniques for handling harmonies--techniques perhaps more fitting of amateurs early in the process of developing a country. Mellers informs us:

In the latter half of the eighteenth century enthusiastic New England amateurs produced in abundance hymns, metrical psalms, anthems and 'fuguing' tunes for use both in church and home. . . . The half-intuitive composers, thinking modally, like folk-singers, did not know how to achieve highly civilized equilibrium . . . yet their rawness was also their authenticity. Their "mistakes" in harmony and part-writing could be at times inspired . . . For the first time we thus hear, in their music, the accent of a New World. (1964, 7)

The music of early America used the harmonic language of Europe, but in a "less-civilized", more archaic, "folk-like" manner during colonial and post-colonial times--times influential in the African-American culture also.

As southern slaves converted to Christianity they learned the hymnic harmonies and adjusted them in the acculturation process to a form comfortable for their own use. These harmonies, using mostly tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords, created spirituals,

minstrel songs, "coon songs"-- as evidenced by music found in the Wild West side show--and eventually the blues. But, as with music of the white colonists, the functions (I, IV, V) did not always correspond to the European, hierarchical manner of chord progressions. Actually the most used blues "progression" reverses the order of chords to make it I, V, IV, I. As with melody the American interaction with conflicting cultures created differences with the European harmonic way. As I will demonstrate in analysis of Wild West music including marches, popular songs, and "coon songs", the tensions between the different cultures affect the music to help it become more American in ways Mellers suggested earlier in his comment about harmonic "mistakes" and blue notes.

Rhythm, "the controlled movement of music through time" (Machlis 15), regulates the timing of music often with a pulse or beat, and then with complications or subtleties involving subdivisions of the pulse. Dancing, tapping a foot, nodding, clapping hands all provide overt physical responses to rhythmic components of music. Playing in parades through towns the Wild West visited, the Cowboy Band "drummed" up interest and enthusiasm for the show. By encouraging people to respond physically to the music through

cheering, clapping, dancing or marching along the parade route, they increased audience attendance at the main show.

Rhythmic generalizations for European-based music involve strong and weak beat patterns, tempo adjustments, and notational subdivisions of the pulse. During the common practice era rhythm, commonly organized in meters of two, three, and four, provided strong beats on beat one of a measure like | **one**-two | **one**-two | , or | **one**-two-three | **one**-two-three | ; in a four-beat measure the pattern becomes | **one**-two-three-four | **one**-two-three-four | . Marches often use the two and four patterns while waltzes and scherzos use the three beat grouping.

Tempo concepts also changed over the course of the common practice era from steady pulses in constant meters with much rhythmic activity during the Baroque time (1600-1750), to more free, changing tempos (rubato) in the Romantic age (nineteenth century) (Benward 158). In all periods rhythmic complications between the beats (the subdivisions) developed from notational, visual habits. Notation of music, a Western development, involves the making of "eye-music" as well as "ear-music." Composers wrote their music with notation in mind so the limitations of accurate

rhythmic notation limited their rhythmic inventiveness as well. Containing tonal, hierarchical structures mirroring the European social structure, vertical harmonic developments and horizontal melodies, also easier to "see" and notate, received more compositional attention than did rhythm. Rhythmic developments also reflected European social developments because regularly spaced, measured, and timed bar-lines, appeared in written music during the late Renaissance, the same historical time frame in which clocks developed to regulate societal pacing (Macey 17-19).

This musical "invention" of timed measures represented in an art form the Western belief of "measuring" time; subdivisions of rhythm within measures correspond to the measurement of subdivisions of time--like hours, minutes, and seconds. Shepherd summarizes the use of rhythm in the system of tonality: "the rhythmic structure of tonality helps to maintain industrial man's intense and constant awareness both of the passage of time, and of his own consciousness" (106). In a western, linear historical sense, the listener clearly knows where he or she is in relation to the beginning and end of the music. Like Western Civilization in general, music "progressed" through space (harmony) and time (rhythm) in a

measured, linear (melody) fashion in relationships of tension and resolution (cause and effect) (Sachs 1953, 268)--much as settlers and scouts progressed through the West, encountering problems (geography and people), but attempting resolutions like those enacted in the Wild West where the scouts and cowboys always won.

Again, as with melody and harmony, African-influenced rhythm contains different characteristics. Generalizing much research, Shepherd concludes African music seeks, through rhythmic and melodic repetition, a hypnotic state or some other realm of consciousness or unconsciousness outside of western-oriented linear time (78). Third-stream musician and jazz scholar, Gunther Schuller, summarizes important differences between African and European ways of approaching music and life, differences also found in the music and life philosophy of Native Americans (Highwater 5):

African native music and early American jazz both originate in a total vision of life, in which music, unlike the 'art music' of Europe, is not a separate, autonomous social domain. African music . . . is conditioned by the same stimuli that animate not only African philosophy and religion, but the entire social structure. . . . It is not surprising that the word 'art' does not even exist in African languages. Nor does the African divide art into separate categories. Folklore, music, dance, sculpture, and painting operate as a total generic unit, serving not only religion but all phases of daily life, encompassing birth, death, work, and play. (4-5)

Music in this context, not considered a separate art form as in a Western setting, but a spiritual, celebratory, even routine part of life, builds its rhythmic structures through additive, repetitive processes in an oral rather than written tradition. Performers, usually members of the community rather than musical specialists, practice and memorize their particular rhythm, both adding to and "clashing" in a unique way with the others--confirming both a sense of community and a sense of individuality. Small describes a setting this way:

Moreover, the master drummer, to whose beat all other musicians must conform, may be continually changing his patterns. The only element holding the performance together is the beat, which is identical for all the lines; around this one constant factor are built complex and fascinating rhythmic structures which most Europeans can scarcely comprehend, much less perform. (54)

Rhythm is to African cultures what harmony is to the European--its highest musical development or achievement. Through repetition, with subtle variations, African music creates an effect of timelessness or circular time even though the music is heard as time passes in the Western sense. Small summarizes anthropological research: "The repetitions of African music have a function in time which is the reverse of our own music--to dissolve the past and the

future into one eternal present, in which the passing of time is no longer noticed. . . . They seek the trance-like experience of complete participation in music and dance" (55). Again the disparate African and European musics reveal disparate value systems as well. The analysis of rhythm, musical time, discloses reasons for cultural misunderstandings between the continents and the cultures present in America. Such differing views of the world and ways of understanding seem to preclude any mutual agreement or even tolerance, as evidenced in the Wild West by the treatment of Native-American music as "exotica" from a conquered culture. However, some forms of cultural agreements do occur as synthetic musical forms, like the "coon songs" evident in the music of the Wild West, developing as a result of interactions between European-American and African-American cultures.

Contributing these new "coon" song rhythms to American musical developments at the turn of the century, the Wild West provided a forum where multiple styles of music mixed in performances heard by mass audiences. The Cowboy Band with its martial rhythms, popular songs, and light classics played for the main show. Meanwhile, minstrel singers, both black and white,

performed in the accompanying Side Show and Concert Company, singing in a "polymetered relationship between voice and accompaniment" (Lomax 1977) so-called "coon songs,"--an oft-used name, despite its present derogatory connotations--a popular 1890's style of syncopated singing using lyrics cruelly stereotyping black culture and its people (Southern 311). Also in the arena and the campgrounds, Native-American performers sung "war dances" in the role of "savages" conquered by the heroic forces of the American cowboys and soldiers--the new civilization. With these Wild West sounds heard and observed by millions of people in America and Europe from 1883 to 1913, the Wild West influenced the shaping and disseminating of the rhythms of a distinctively American musical culture.

The fourth element of music analyzed for musical characteristics, social meanings, and cultural values, **timbre** (pronounced tam-br), involves particular sounds used in the creation of music. Benward calls it "the tone quality or color of a sound" (5). Copland states, timbre "is analogous to color in painting," defining it further as "that quality of sound produced by a particular medium of musical tone production." He continues his definition with an

explanation and an example:

(tone color) is a formal definition of something which is perfectly familiar to everyone. Just as most mortals know the difference between white and green, so the recognition of differences in tone color is an innate sense with which most of us are born. It is difficult to imagine a person so tone-blind that he cannot tell a bass voice from a soprano, or, to put it instrumentally, a tuba from a cello. It is not a question of knowing the names of the voices or instruments but simply of recognizing the difference in their tone quality. (56)

As the painter chooses colors from a palette, mixing them to create interesting stimuli for the eye, composers mix the colors of instruments and voices in rhythms, harmonies, and melodies to create stimuli for the ear. A cornet sounds different than a clarinet, creating different evocative moods or emotional meanings.

Consistent with previous analyses of melody, harmony, and rhythm, different cultures use timbres reflecting their own particular characteristic cultural patterns. For example, industrial societies from the nineteenth century used instruments (mediums of musical tone production as Copland described them earlier) built from metal or wood or both, with fine craftsmanship and meticulous precision using the most modern tools and technology--like valved brass trumpets and cornets or the modern piano. Folk cultures or Native-American cultures used hand-carved wood and hand-painted

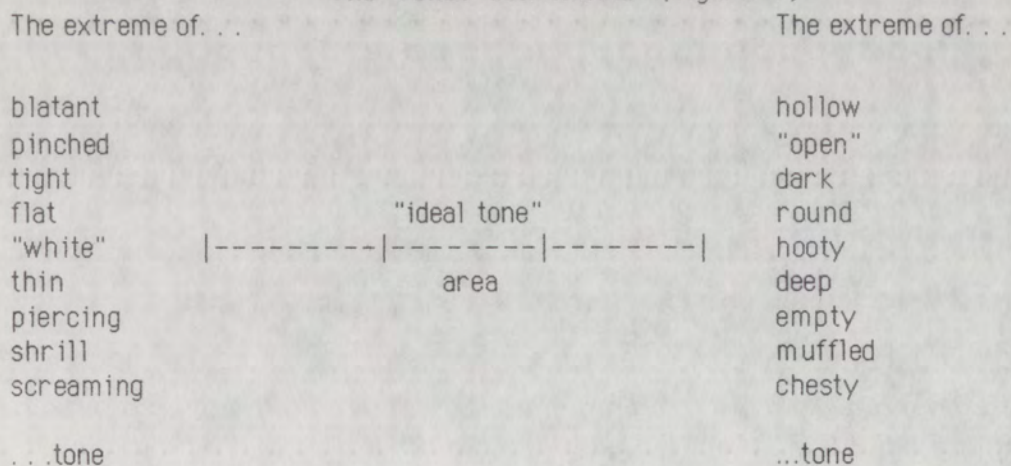
decorations for their dulcimers or flutes revealing the production technology available in their culture. By playing modern "tools of the trade," cornets, clarinets, trombones, and tubas, in a masterful, professional manner, the Cowboy Bandsmen metaphorically represent what other craftsmen, farmers, or merchants do (or least desire to do) with their tools and technology--master them to create something beautiful or useful. Music, in yet another way, symbolizes a culture's condition; it demonstrates how a culture handles or desires to handle technological developments.

Examining the characteristic sounds or tone colors constituting a culture's version of "good" tone quality reveals musical assumptions and social meanings. For example, European vocal timbres changed through the centuries from a nasal quality prevalent in the Renaissance, to the "purity and brilliance" of *bel canto* in the Baroque era, to the dramatic, vibrato colored, and loud voice (to sing over an orchestra) of the Romantic period (Apel 776). Characteristic concepts remain however. European-influenced sound production whether vocal or instrumental strives to achieve a technically proficient, refined tone, a tone "free and easy," with blended registration from high to low, with flexibility of range, and

precise intonation. "Proper" singing requires teaching to learn (the science of singing), modified enunciations to ensure uniformity of vowels and consonants, and is "beautiful" (Miller 32). Small calls it a "trained" voice (or instrument), observing that the uniform training removes it from vernacular speech, the pattern more characteristic of African or folk cultures (50).

Voice instructor, Royal Stanton, recognizing the many sounds a can voice make (including timbres often heard in popular idioms), has another criteria for beauty: "You speak, yell, whisper, scream, moan, shout, cry--even sing. When you are singing the problem becomes, 'How many sounds can your voice *control*?' Singing depends on control--the management of vocal sound in ways that will convey your meaning" (13).

The Tonal Continuum (figure 1)



In this "Tonal Continuum," placing the "ideal" tone in a descriptive context, Stanton clearly shows how "beautiful" European-influenced singing fits between the more forceful, colorful extremes (14).

European vocal styles value a controlled mid-point between extremes of vocal color, but African and Native-American styles generally use many available vocal colors from the extremes of vernacular speech to create dramatic sounds. Christopher Small describes the possibilities:

The (African) voice is never trained in the western sense to produce sounds remote from those of speech; the vocal music of Africa bears a very intimate relationship to speech . . . and their technique is devoted to as faithful a rendition as possible of heightened speech. They use a dazzling variety of types of singing, depending on the dramatic situation required: head tones, chest tones, grunts, whispers, whistles, amazingly realistic imitations of bird, animal and other natural sounds, ululations and yodels; all are part of their repertory of sounds. Unlike western singers, Africans deliberately cultivate strong differences between the various registers of the voice, even emphasizing the breaks between them, from a growl to a falsetto, even almost a scream, as well as using with virtuosity the various harmonic and non-harmonic sounds of which the human voice is capable. (51)

This timbral dichotomy between European and African or Native-American sources displays itself in the Wild West. Refined by years of practice and formal training, the Cowboy Band plays with a "learned" tone quality while the Concert performers and Native-

American singers and dancers perform learned styles, but with timbral concepts conditioned by cultural backgrounds to include extreme sounds or "shouting" characteristics foreign to ears more "refinely" conditioned, whether American or European. Because these musical timbral differences signal a presence of cultural distinctiveness not yet "controlled" by the precepts of Western Civilization, the Wild West exhibition brought not only the "rugged" American West to audiences but an aural slice of the "rugged" American acculturation process as well.

Benward defines the fifth musical element, **texture**: "Texture is a broad musical term that refers to the way the melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic materials of a composition are woven together" (87). Once again a musical term contains artistic connotations. Weaving implies a fabric or strands of fiber blended together in patterns of varying densities, colors, or materials. Machlis states that "such comparisons are not as unreasonable as may at first appear, since the melodic lines may be thought of as so many threads that make up the musical fabric" (295). Analyzed symbolically, the many voices or lines represent people combining to create the fabric of culture. Descriptive words for texture involve

the sense of touch. Examples include smooth, rough, soft, silky, scratchy, ragged, rich, dense, fine, thin, thick, or other such feeling-oriented descriptors. Artistic metaphors convey meaning but musicologists and theorists use more musically descriptive, scientific terms: monophonic, polyphonic, homophonic, and, frequently used by ethnomusicologists, heterophonic.

Simply stated, monophonic, a "single-voice texture," involves a melody heard without accompanying harmonies or countermelodies. Gregorian chant, usually sung in unison by many monks with modified enunciations and a refined pitch sense so developed the many men singing sound as one reverent voice, represents a familiar example from Medieval western culture. Monophonic singing metaphorically reveals cultures concerned with blending and unifying individuals into integrated communities. Often accompanied by percussion instruments, monophonic music endures throughout the world particularly in Native-American (music heard daily in the Wild West) and African-American cultures (also heard in the Wild West in interaction with European sources) (Shepherd 77).

Polyphonic music combines two or more melodic lines moving independently. Developing a many-voiced texture with a linear mode

of organizational structure, harmony occurs only as horizontal lines interact melodically and rhythmically in "points against points," creating vertical sounds (Machlis 296). Sometimes called counter melody or counterpoint, this textural feature dominated Western music of the Renaissance. Consideration of vertical sounds intersecting due to the simultaneous linear flow of the polyphonic melodies eventually led to the common practice harmonic structure of tonality. Polyphony, with its multiple independent voices, culturally symbolizes individuals or individual communities maintaining a sense of independence as they interact with others in imitation, variation, and contrast, weaving complex textures and structures. Ragtime music played by the Cowboy Band often features interacting melodic lines asserting independent, simultaneous ideas.

Developed during the Baroque era and considered "the most common texture in Western music," homophonic texture "is made up of a melody and an accompaniment that typically provides rhythmic and harmonic support" (Benward 169). Musical examples include singers performing a melody, perhaps a minstrel, parlor, or vaudeville song, while the pianist plays a chordal progression and rhythmic accompaniment in support of the tune. Another example of

homophonic texture, "The Star Spangled Banner," played by the Cowboy Band to begin the Wild West performance, involves a melody performed by the trumpets while other instruments provide harmonic and rhythmic support using occasional, brief counter-melodies in the woodwinds and low brass to contrast with the main tune. These examples symbolize a social system valuing controlling leadership (the melodic idea), but needing both human and technological support to be effective (harmony and controlled timbre). Machlis describes homophonic texture with clear understanding of the cultural values expressed:

In the third type of texture a single voice takes over the melodic interest while the accompanying voices surrender their individuality and become blocks of harmony, the chords that support, color, and enhance the principal part. Here we have a single-melody-with-chords or homophonic texture. . . . Homophonic texture, then, is based on harmony, just as polyphonic texture is based on counterpoint. (296)

As Machlis states, homophonic texture values a controlling voice with accompanying, supporting roles played by what were once polyphonic independent voices. Horizontal threads of melody (and culture), supported by vertical fibers of harmony (296), imply a culture of controlling individual voices (leaders) needing the support of massed voices (people in society) to help shape directions

undertaken. Individual melodies (leaders) appear but most voices (society) must submit to the controlling pressures of melodic (leader) direction and harmonic progressions (societal progress). Viewed metaphorically, former characteristics of community spirit or identity (monophony or polyphony) dissolve into mass consonance or dissonance with controlling ideas (homophony). Homophonic texture musically reflects Industrial Age changes in social structures including hierarchical leadership patterns such as those between controllers and workers.

Often encountered in "pre-literate" cultures from ninth-century Europe to Oceania to Africa to Native-Americans in the Wild West, heterophonic texture also appears in American folk cultures. Music historian Donald Grout describes an early form of polyphony in the ninth-century as being heterophonic, "that is, performing the same melody simultaneously in ornamented and unornamented form (77)." Each performer embellishes the melody in personalized ways resulting in pitch variations, tone color differences, tempo adjustments, imprecise harmonies, or what a "refined" musician might consider a "ragged" performance. Willi Apel reminds us Plato thought heterophony was "not suitable for the education of young

people" because the tune of the lyre performer was not the same as that of the poet (383). Heterophony contains aspects of improvisation as the performers "adjust" the melodies, rhythms, harmonies, and timbres as the performance takes place. Mellers describes an American turn-of-the-century heterophony appropriate to this study, particularly the mixing of band music and side show music:

All over the South decrepit military instruments survived among the vestiges of the Civil War. (African-Americans) appropriated the instruments to their own use; and while their street bands imitated the Europeanized military music they had heard, they ragged it rhythmically and treated the tunes in improvisatory folk-heterophony, . . . so the disciplined European-American march is remade in Negroid terms. (283)

Rather than precise, uniform playing like a Sousa Band performance, the street bands, early jazz bands, or minstrel bands played with more personal feel, even if it did not quite match other players' versions of the tune--this heterophony, the sound of the vernacular culture, also involves value expressions. Schuller perceives the value difference between a heterophonic sound and a refined homophonic or polyphonic texture when he defines heterophony as: "A term denoting an even greater harmonic and rhythmic independence of individual parts than in polyphony" (378). Shepherd takes the independence

definition further, defining heterophony as "the simultaneous sounding of two different melodic lines which are not necessarily related to each other harmonically or metrically" (295).

As established in the analytical framework, individual musical elements such as melody metaphorically represent individual people or communities. From Wild West music, melodies performed in heterophonic styles like Native-American music or "coon songs," allow for personal musical independence or liberties to be taken within the communally agreed upon framework, metaphorically representing a culture desiring individuality within the group or community effort--like the African concept of both blending and clashing rhythms during a performance, or New England composers like William Billings creating heterophonic textures with "mistakes" purposely written in, or turn-of-the-century composer, Charles Ives, experimenting with pianos purposely tuned in quarter steps rather than half steps to recreate the out-of-tune heterophonic sounds often heard in American small-town, community band and choir concerts. Ives placed American popular songs or hymns like "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean", or "Nearer My God to Thee", both pieces often played by the Cowboy Band, in his concert music,

signaling the importance of American vernacular music to the culture, and symbolizing the vernacular democratic spirit of the American people. Heterophonic musical texture occurs at all levels of American music-making, revealing an American musical unity.

Classically refined performances, as desired when the Cowboy Band played "light classic" selections, signal the presence of strong hierarchical leadership and the personal training needed to achieve instrumental precision and virtuosity. But the musical desire for these polished performances did not display itself significantly in this country until the mid-nineteenth century with the formation of the New York Philharmonic in 1848. Even then the primary performers, composers, and conductors possessed a European, particularly German background (Sablosky 80). American synthetic culture, creating "coon songs" and hymns among others, valued the independent, vernacular spirit present in heterophony, a texture still existing in popular musical idioms. However, the presence, enjoyment, and valuing of other musical textures as well, such as homophony, in the parlor songs of the Concert Company and popular marches and songs of the Cowboy Band, signal the existence of a complex American culture, a culture seeking expressions of

independence (as in heterophony), but independence also socially acceptable and more controlled (as in homophony)--a total cultural expression Buffalo Bill revealed with the diverse music heard in the Wild West.

Benward calls **form**, the final element analyzed, the "larger shape of the composition" and the "result of the interaction of the structural elements" previously discussed: melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, and texture (88). In terms of form and content, form is the structure in which the content elements interact. Machlis describes form as being musical structure and design, concepts relating music to other design possibilities such as architecture, painting, science, literature, landscaping, home decorating, or organizing the Wild West. Key ingredients to formal developments in any area "present to the mind of the beholder an impression of conscious choice and judicious arrangement" (46). Geist and Nachbar relate musical form to popular formulas for writing novels or similar organizing structures in other fields of effort:

The concept of formula may be applied to any work of popular art in any medium. In popular music, for example, we may study both the music and the song lyrics in terms of formula. In the music itself, formula consists of rhythms, melodies, certain techniques and other elements which are generally familiar to

the audience. . . . The concept of formula implies artistic imitation, and a musical formula is usually a phenomenon which begins with a small group of culture leaders and then spreads quickly throughout the culture through imitation and repetition. (302)

Musical forms, like other idioms, build structures with the concepts of repetition, imitation and contrast. Band marches typically begin with an introduction followed by a repeating first strain, then a contrasting, repeating second strain, a break strain with marked contrast, a key change adding one flat at the contrasting trio section, and ending by repeating the break strain and trio. Using capital letters to represent parts of the formal structure, the generic form of the march appears:

--Intro., A section, B section, break section, C trio, break, C trio.--

Basically a ternary form, A B C, or three part form with brief additions formulaic to march style, this musical formula pattern signals a convention familiar to Americans. Similarly, the formula dime novels about Buffalo Bill, through stories and myths set in the late nineteenth century western United States, confirmed and shaped values eventually presented in the Wild West (Cawelti). Other basic formal structures common to many styles of music include binary forms: two-part forms containing a verse and a chorus. Most hymns,

pop songs, folk music, art songs and other styles from the Wild West use this formal structure involving a statement (A section), and a contrast or at least different, perhaps imitative material (B section).

An earlier statement by Joseph Kerman: "musicologists are respected for the facts they know about music. . . . They are not admired for their insight into music as aesthetic experience" (11-12), brings the next area of my study into focus. For example, the dramatic character mentioned in the African-influenced singing and the Native-American performance, or the moods created by the playing of the Cowboy Band while accompanying acts in the arena, must become part of the overall analysis. An absolutist or formalist analysis of only the musical elements, like a referential analysis of only cultural or societal sign and symbol, gives little consideration to the expressive characteristics of music. Copland explains the problem of the incomplete "absolutist or formalist" analysis:

Composers have a way of shying away from any discussion of music's expressive side. Did not Stravinsky himself proclaim that his music was an "object," a "thing," with a life of its own, and no other meaning than its own purely musical existence? . . . Heaven knows it is difficult enough to say precisely what it is that a piece of music means, to say it definitely, to say it finally so that everyone is satisfied with

your explanation. But that should not lead one to the other extreme of denying to music the right to be "expressive." (19)

A complete examination of music in a total context must include cultural elements, formal parameters, and also expressive insights.

Music educator and philosopher, Bennet Reimer, forcefully extends this synthetic, analytical point of view: "every art work (a western concept) which is at all successful incorporates symbol content into its total expressiveness, so that the symbol enters into the work as another element along with, as in music, the expressiveness of melody, rhythm, etc." (66). Music combines formal elements and culturally analogic symbolic structures into musical styles creating evocative analogs of the "feelingful" life of a conditioned person or group of persons in a culture (Tait 38).

Aesthetician and philosopher, Susanne Langer, lucidly explains the necessity for including "feelingful" language and analysis into musical examination:

The real power of music lies in the fact that it can be "true" to the life of feeling in a way that language cannot; for its significant forms have that *ambivalence* of content which words cannot have. . . . Music is revealing, where words are obscuring, because it can have not only a content, but a transient play of contents. It can articulate feelings without becoming wedded to them. . . . insight is the gift of music; in very naive phrase, a knowledge of "how feelings go." (197,198)

That music contains emotional, evocative, and feelingful aspects rings true no matter the culture creating the music because all cultures contain emotional aspects in their way of life. Small's metaphoric principle of musical analysis applies to a culture's emotional life as well as its value structures. Unfortunately, to metaphorically describe the way musical "feelings go" for analytical purposes, for critical reasons, or for sharing musical or emotional experiences with others, requires written or spoken language. However, the "wordless knowledge" of emotions and experience felt by individuals and groups can be translated into analytical knowledge or discourse by using analogy again--similar to the metaphoric handling of cultural value analysis. With this brief chart Reimer summarizes commonly agreed upon ways musical patterns provide insight into the "ways of living and dying and feeling", and consequently ways of thinking, discussing and writing about music. Any sentence begun in the first column can be completed by any line in the second column (25):

Music:

is expressive of	the quality of experience
is analogous to	the patterns of feeling
has the same patterns as	the depth of existence

gives images of

gives insights into
gives experience of
makes conceivable

the patterns of
consciousness
the realm of affect
subjective reality
the significance of
experience

Since language also "gives insights into" or "images of" the "quality of experiences," or "the patterns of feeling" in life through poetry, prose, a song lyric, or speech, and since, according to Leech, "each mode of communication is a transformation of every other" (16), careful choice of descriptive language can make "writing words about music" a potentially insightful as well as a "hazardous occupation."

Analogies of music to expressive life take into consideration cultural differences. Different cultures create different patterns of music corresponding to different ways of living and different unities of the mind. No matter the particular culture, their music provides analogies to aspects of their way of life, including the expressive one. Leonard Meyer writes:

The grammatical aspect of music varies from culture to culture and from style to style within a culture. What remains constant are not scales, modes, harmonic progressions or formal procedures, but the psychology of human mental processes--the way in which the mind, operating within the context of a culturally established grammar, selects and

organizes and evaluates the musical material presented to it.
(274)

Cultures remain consistent in some respects, they create their particular ways of life through the interaction of many factors including mental processes, place, climate, technology, religions, social conditions, arts and other elements. Created in this cultural context music becomes interactive and, through analogic designs and expressions consistent with the other factors in a way of life, takes its shape from and shapes the culture in which it exists. The corollary is also true, through repeated exposure and listening to the grammar of different musics one gains, through analogy, insight into mental processes, values, and contexts of the culture creating the values and enjoying the music--insight into both the expressive life and structural characteristics of the way of life. ² To summarize, analyzing and understanding Wild West music provides insight into Wild West culture--the focus of this examination.

² The concept of using listening repetition for learning musical styles is discussed in a short fictional account of, The Musical Ascent of Herman Being, by Robert Danzinger which painlessly summarizes both educational and musical research. Another book emphasizing repetition in learning and also analogies between music and bodily experiences like the nervous system or musculature is, Tone Deaf and All Thumbs, by Frank Wilson.

As presented above, specifically examining formal musical structures, interpreting cultural analogs to the musical designs, and recognizing the evocative nature or emotional analogs of music provides a method for analyzing music of the Wild West. But the music, as mentioned previously, exists in a context of horses, gunfire, cowboys, Indians, narration, acting, historical skits, horses and riders dancing, audiences and more. Before I look at specific Wild West music, performers, or musical situations, Buffalo Bill and his Wild West require non-musical contextual investigation.

THE WILD WEST

American poet Carl Sandburg recalls the excitement of the
Wild West exhibition: ³

Buffalo Bill

Boy heart of Johnny Jones--aching to-day?
Aching, and Buffalo Bill in town?
Buffalo Bill and ponies, cowboys, Indians?

Some of us know
All about it, Johnny Jones.

Buffalo Bill is a slanting look of the eyes,
A slanting look under a hat on a horse.
He sits on a horse and a passing look is fixed
On Johnny Jones, you and me, barelegged,
A slanting, passing, careless look under a hat on a
horse.

Go clickety-clack, O pony hoofs along the street.
Come on and slant your eyes again, O Buffalo Bill.
Give us again the ache of our boy hearts.
Fill us again with the red love of prairies, dark nights,
lonely wagons, and the crack-crack of rifles sputtering
flashes into an ambush. (106)

Images of excitement, danger, heroism, and exotic places filled the

³ "Buffalo Bill" from Cornhuskers by Carl Sandburg, copyright 1918 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. and renewed by Carl Sandburg, reprinted by permission of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

dreams of people from America and Europe as Buffalo Bill toured his Wild West from 1883 to 1913, bringing the sense of western "reality" and "romance" to the "tame" places of "civilization." Providing an overview of the Wild West performance, this chapter appraises cultural responses and meanings from both the original era and contemporary times.

Consider the life of "Johnny Jones" living in the "big" cities of Chicago, New York, London, Paris, or in the small towns of the eastern or midwestern United States, dreaming of adventures in the "wild west" of prairies and mountains, where news accounts and dime novels reported Indian Wars, buffalo hunts, railroad development, cowboys, guns, outlaws, and other heroic events, materials, and activities to stir the imagination. When Buffalo Bill, an actual hero of the West with many famous, earned exploits and even greater romanticized "experiences" within the pages of novels and on the boards of the stage, came to town with the people, animals, scenery, weapons, and reenacted stories of the "real" West, he brought events and experiences Johnny remembered for a lifetime. ⁴

⁴ My great-grandmother, Minnie Collins, from Poneto, Indiana, remembered for a lifetime. As a young girl she saw the Wild West in Marion, Indiana, probably in 1896 as the route books disclose a

Don Russell describes the mix of reality and story-telling Cody created for the show's expressive impact:

Cody had a peculiar appreciation of his times as historic . . . He insisted on authenticity of detail in the Wild West, which was never called a show or circus in advertising but rather an exhibition . . . It was historic and it was also folklore and legend. All Indians must ride horses and wear trailing war bonnets. Fenimore Cooper's woodland Indians faded out of dime novels and then motion pictures. The cowboy must wear a ten-gallon hat and decorated chaps . . . The Pony Express, the covered wagon, the Deadwood Stagecoach and calvary to the rescue were realities in Cody's life that he dramatized and glamorized. (1978, xvii)

Mixing adventure, independence, and wild times, Huck Finn searched for this "wild West" dramatic life at the end of Twain's novel: "I reckon I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me and I can't stand it. I been there before" (245).

A columnist for a French tabloid, *Petit National*, captures the essence of the Wild West in this review excerpt, revealing the spirit of "Johnny Jones" in Paris as well:

There is hardly any among us who didn't at the time of his youth palpitate at the recitation of the moving adventures of the American prairie told to us by the Gustave Aymard's and

summer performance there. She particularly mentioned Annie Oakley in her remembrances because Oakley visited a nearby Poneto home quite often (*Journal-Gazette* 13A).

the Fenimore Cooper's. All of us, at the age when one dreams of heroic prowess, have followed the path of war, of the life of exquisite young girls, prisoners of the Sioux, of the Apaches, of the Hurons or of the Blackfeet, admired the stoic grandeur of the Last of the Mohicans at the stake of torture, or participated in the great buffalo hunt across the Far West. The life of the Prairie, the life on horseback, with all the adventure and extraordinary feats it connotes has remained for us filled with an irresistible appeal. (Bloom-Wilson 2)

Both reality and legends of the West impacted societies quickly through the mass media of novels, journals, and newspapers. Even the publisher of Cody's autobiography, written in 1879 before the Wild West shows when a thirty-three year old Cody was still an integral part of prairie events, considered Buffalo Bill's life-narrative "more like romance than reality" (Cody 1879, v). Like Cody's western melodrama presentations, the Wild West blended actual experiences with theatrical productions, creating western folklore and helping "Johnny Jones'" imagination soar.

Specific expressive Wild West events Johnny actually observed varied from year to year as personnel changed, new historical developments offered material for reenactment, other acts such as the "Rough Riders" were instigated, and management changed touring tactics, emphasizing "one-night" stands rather than residence at a semi-permanent site. But the format remained basically the same

from the first "Old Glory Blow-Out" on the Fourth of July, 1882, in Cody's hometown of North Platte, Nebraska, to "The Wild West, Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition" in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 17, 1883 (Sell 135), to the last show in 1916. With some variations, Johnny witnessed an arena performance following a formal structure conceived by Buffalo Bill and business manager Nate Salsbury during the decade beginning in 1872 in which Cody performed western melodramas during the winter season with such other Western heroes as Wild Bill Hickok, Texas Jack Omohundro, Arizona John Burke (Cody's future publicist) and dime novelist Ned Buntline (Sell 100-108). As written by general manager (Arizona) John Burke in 1885 the structure involved:

"illustrating life as it is witnessed on the plains: the Indian encampment; the cowboys and vaqueros; the herds of buffalo and elk; the lassoing of animals; the manner of robbing mail coaches; feats of agility, horsemanship, archery, and the kindred scenes and events that are characteristic of the border. . . . the performance, while in no wise partaking of the nature of a 'circus,' will be at once new, startling, and instructive. (3)

For example, the program from the Chicago exposition of 1893, probably the Wild West's most successful year, contained these performance events:

Overture, "Star-Spangled Banner," Cowboy Band, Wm. Sweeney,
Leader

1- Grand Review

2-Miss Annie Oakley, Celebrated Shot

3-Horse Race

4-Pony Express

5-Illustrating A Prairie Emigrant Train Crossing the
Plains

6-A Group Of Syrian And Arabian Horsemen

7-Cossacks

8-Johnny Baker, Celebrated Young American Marksman

9-A Group Of Mexicans

10-Racing Between Prairie, Spanish, And Indian Girls

11-Cowboy Fun

12-Military Evolutions (featuring four countries'
companies)

13-Capture Of The Deadwood Mail Coach By The
Indians

14-Racing Between Indian Boys On Bareback Horses

15-Life Customs Of The Indians

16-Col. W. F. Cody, ("Buffalo Bill"), Sharpshooting

17-Buffalo Hunt

18-The Battle Of The Big Horn, Custer's Last Charge

19-Salute. Conclusion.

To a public fascinated by the "exotic" nature of the experience (Slotkin 1985, 408), organizer's like Cody, Salsbury, and Burke, presented this "romantic" Wild West as a "real" slice of history, not a mere show or circus entertainment. Programs included discourses concerning the educational and spiritual values of the performances, hoping to encourage and justify audiences' attendance at the Wild West. In their view, the Wild West not only entertained and excited

people, but taught history and American values as well. Salsbury writes in his typically florid style for the program of 1899:

It (the Wild West) is something of which intelligence, morality, and patriotism approve, because it is history not vaudeville; not cheap and ephemeral theatrical mimicry confined within the limits of four walls, but the perpetuation and magnificent material re-introduction of a crowning epoch, of transcendent, electrifying Reality, whose natural stage dwarfs that of Caesar's Coliseum and is illumined by the lamps of heaven. (Intro.)

Upon hearing the Cowboy Band open the exhibition by playing the Star-Spangled Banner, audiences mentally suspended real-time to become involved in a western pageant. Though obviously staged with its music, an orator, scenery, props, and rehearsed events, the effect of real characters from the actual American West recreating scenes both historical and topical allowed Americans living in their new "civilization" to become personally involved (in some manner of image fantasy) in their own country's frontier activities--the acting did not matter. By participating in the Wild West performance, even as members of the audience, individuals psychologically became part of the actual, progressive development of America. People identified with the heroic actions portrayed in the arena, recognizing the simulated violent deeds as representing the actual violence needed

to tame the frontier and aid American progressive development (Reddin 131).

Leo Marx defines progress at this time in American history: "With this word the age expressed a faith in man's capacity to understand and control history which is now difficult to recapture" (181). Like the harmonic progressions in common practice tonality, based on controlled tensions and releases, progress meant establishing human control over societal direction so a consonant resolution could be achieved, no matter the dissonant obstacles encountered. With its heroic expressions resolving all conflicts in favor of the dominant culture of the times, the Wild West reenacted and reaffirmed personal and societal commitments to these progressive American values. Also corroborating these progressive values, the Cowboy Band provided tonal music, using standard, controlled, harmonic chord progressions.

An entertaining mix of story and history, Wild West reality depended on the audiences' faithful combining of progressive belief structures and physical facts as evidenced by print material from the show itself. A publicity brochure from the 1895 season develops a reasoned treatise on the cultural, societal, and personal benefits

of "Education and Amusement--How they go Hand in Hand." A justification for and ascription to the benefits of popular culture, the document gives more reasons for attending the Wild West, also affirming the artistic product of a democratic culture. Themes of education and "proper" kinds of entertainments develop first:

It is undoubtedly true that the amusements of a people are the best index of their character. The proofs of this are at hand in the pages of history, as well as the results of the proper direction of the popular mind to the style of entertainment that combines education with pleasurable relaxation. A great truth was enunciated by the words, "Let me write the songs of a nation and I care not who makes the laws."

By placing Buffalo Bill's Wild West in the contexts of both education and entertainment, the author endows more power to the show's explicit and implicit messages and meanings. Buffalo Bill functions both as a participant in history (an educator), and as a story-teller (showman/shaman) for those who can only participate vicariously. The discourse continues (emphases occur in the original document):

Regarded properly from this point of view, **the Advent of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West** is deserving of much more than passing notice by the most intelligent people and is not to be dismissed or undervalued by those who think it in any sense a trivial affair. The original has necessarily been but fleetingly before the American people, the materials of which it is composed cannot be replaced, they are the last types of

vanishing people and the world to be reached was wide. Christopher Columbus was called a World Finder, but **Col. Cody can with equal propriety be called a World Educator.** His later years in which he has carried the true American the wide world over, instructing both the Indian and the white man, have earned him the respect and praise of all. **His have been practical lessons in American history-- history told by the men who made that history.**

Trying to attract audiences by leaning towards education and reality, creating "an almost moral need" to see the show (Wilson), the tone, a little defensive since by 1895 the real frontier is passing (actually declared closed by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893) (Turner 62), recognizes a waning of the audience fervor encountered during the first decade of shows. As time passes, like Buffalo Bill himself, the exhibition grows older, less topical, and demonstrates values becoming at odds with a changing America now also concerned with the consequences of progress (Reddin 142); hence a marketing plan focusing on the audience's need for education and amusement.

Linking Christianity and society's need for "wholesome diversions" to the Wild West, the brochure's essay further strengthens the viewpoint considering the Wild West a spiritual, value-affirming ritual. Themes sound anthropological:

Popular amusement is a great fact. . . . It is also a great factor in the development of the national character. . . .

If the diversions can be kept healthful, a sound national life will be developed. The ideals of the people are shaped, and their sentiments formed, to a large extent, by popular amusements. . . . Education deserves always to rank as one of the great missionary enterprises. **Now, Amusement, Like Education And Religion, Is A Real Need Of Human Beings.**

Addressing the general human need for amusement and imagination, entertainments created from combining imagination and reality seem interchangeable with the forms and structures of education and religion. Comparing these three needs of life, the author links them together until one really becomes a sign for the other. Religion can divert; amusements can educate; education can moralize; and the Wild West contains all three happening simultaneously. Transcending performance exhibitions, from this viewpoint Wild West recreations of "real" historical events resonate with spiritual overtones and affirm societal shared values. Persuading an audience to believe in the total educational, moral, and entertaining power of the Wild West, and, of course, trying to sell a few tickets, the powerful summation occurs in the language of hyperbole common to the times:

The Most Remarkable Success In The Way Of Popular Entertainment That I Have Ever Witnessed has been achieved along the line which I have just been pointing out. . . .

It is upon the lines referred to that the amusement furnished by the Wild West has been constructed. Not amusement alone, such as the idle laughter excited by the antics of a clown, but amusement which is beneficial and instructive as well as entertaining.

Conceived to rouse the audience, to "give the people what they want," confirming what they already know and believe, in language free of ambiguity endorsing the values of a country "taming" the frontier and bringing civilization and progress to the border country of the West, the essay's final melodrama of words rouse the spirit.

(The Wild West) is the **best and most valuable object lesson** in the history of our common country ever conceived or carried into magnificent, colossal and effective execution by the genius of man. It pictures faithfully, because the actors in this great drama of civilization are **not mimic artists, but are the veritable heroes of the real conflict** waged to proclaim civilization and freedom from Ocean to Ocean, and from Gulf to Gulf. **Truth is stamped upon its every act and illuminates its every illustration.** (BB Program 1895)

Possible notions of community-oriented, peaceful evolutions of a society are disregarded for the more forceful values important to this particular American mind. Values involving deeds of independent heroic men (and occasionally women) taking the necessary actions and using the necessary force to conquer untamed, wilderness areas and the people who inhabit them. Questions about

conquering's impact on the lands or the people being dominated were not considered because the progress of civilization, like the resolution of a dominant to tonic chord in the progressive system of tonality, seemed faithfully inevitable.

Other commentators from the times lent their support to the values of the Wild West in language suggestive of the same blend of reality, imagination, education and spirituality common to the previous program material. Brick Pomeroy's writing on the Wild West appeared in brochures for the shows because it supported the themes Cody and the others were trying to express and sell. Quoted in an 1895 program, Pomeroy asserts:

'The true Western man is free, fearless, generous, and chivalrous.' Of this class, Hon. Wm. F. Cody, Buffalo Bill, is a bright representative. As a part of his rushing career he has brought together material for what he correctly terms a Wild West Exhibition. I should call it a Wild West Reality. The idea is not to take in money . . . (1895)

but to provide history lessons and wholesome diversions. This sincerity of intent, often belayed by the hard sales tactics of "postering" a town to draw as much attention to the show as possible to acquire, of course, as much economic success as possible, tried to avoid the huckster, circus image carried by

traveling shows (Wilson). Hence, the inclusion of many articles in the program attesting to the show's educational, moral quality. Pomeroy continues with a critique of the music from the show, boldly proclaiming the quality of American, democratic entertainments versus those of an effete, aristocratic Europe, mixing expressive acts and reality in his commentary, and acknowledging values considered to be American:

all the pretty operas in the world are like pretty playthings for emasculated children by the side of the setting of reality and the music of the frontier as so faithfully and extensively presented and so cleverly managed by the incomparable representative of western pluck, coolness, bravery, and generosity. . . . He (Buffalo Bill) deserves well for his efforts to please and to instruct in matters important to America and incidents that are passing away never more to return.
(Pomeroy)

In a letter published in Harper's Weekly and later reprinted in many years of programs, American artist, Frederick Remington confirms Pomeroy's sense of the educational value of the Wild West, and forcefully advances the political values he finds represented in the American exhibition:

The Wild West show is an evolution of a great idea. It is a great educator and with its aggregate of wonders from the out-of-the-way-places, it will represent a poetical and harmless protest against the starched linen--those horrible badges of our modern social system, when men are physical lay figures

and mental and moral cog-wheels and wastes of uniformity-- where the great crime is to be individual and the unpardonable sin is to be out of fashion. (Remington)

Like Pomeroy's essay, Remington's polemic letter attacks the social conformity and effete-ness perceived by them as endemic to the Industrial Age in Europe and America. According to Remington, the Wild West expressive exhibition demonstrates and symbolizes the American frontier individuality needed to remedy the ills of a conformist mass society. In the following examination of the acts performed and historical themes evoked to generate such powerful value statements as those by Remington and Pomeroy, I first provide specific descriptions of show events, using as a focus the musical sounds heard as the Wild West unfolded its expressive drama in the arena.

Music served the Wild West as music supported such other nineteenth century entertainments as circuses, melodramas, minstrel shows, ballets, combination shows, or vaudeville acts-- music accompanied the visually staged action. Also true for many of the above-mentioned forms, information about particular music used for a particular action rarely exists. Music paced, animated, and provided appropriate moods for arena acts, but the musical styles,

and performers as well, became background to the visual foreground. Wild West music, particularly music of the Cowboy Band, evoked and heightened audience responses, providing organized "noise" to fill in the "dead spots" between acts. Their music occasionally signaled approaching events, with a bugle call for example, or by playing appropriate tunes like "Garry Owen," the bagpipe melody used by Custer and his troops. But music, extremely important to the timing and energy of the show as Blackstone mentioned in her semiotic analysis, rarely receives mention in the show's published materials. However, "the music would be missed" (Keller) ⁵--like music missing in a film--if for some reason it was not there during the performance.

Enjoying and appreciating the efforts of the musicians, Buffalo Bill wrote enthusiastically about how "appropriate the music from Mr. Sweeney's Cowboy Band" was to the show's scenes of American history (Cody 1902, 752). Cody's knowledge of show music accompaniment likely occurred from previous show business

⁵ Mr. Keller directs the "Westernaires: Youth Mounted Precision Drill Team" from Golden, Colorado, who still present Wild West Shows for special events. He and his wife select their music by trying to fit the moods and meanings of the song to the evocative sense of the performance--like Sweeney did for Buffalo Bill.

encounters on the stage in the decade before the Wild West began. His first encounter transpired in the western melodrama, "The Scouts of the Prairie," with Texas Jack, Ned Buntline, other nefarious characters, and ballet dancer, Giuseppina Morlacchi, starring as the Indian Maid, Dove Eye. According to Craig Nieuwenhuysse, in his dissertation, Six Guns On The Stage, "Scouts," with its extensive, melodramatic use of gunfire, war whoops, prairie landscapes, buffalo, story-telling and other western motifs, developed the expressive prototypes for later forms of western acts like Wild West shows and western movies (diss. abstract). Also analyzing "The Scouts of the Prairie" while pursuing research on the life of M'lle Morlacchi, Barbara Barker discovered music "Dove Eye" danced to and sang in this western melodrama. It appears Cody learned "show business" techniques from one of the era's best known performers.

Morlacchi, a "star" in her own right, connected with Cody and the others in Chicago, 1872. By this time she was thirty-six years old with a full career behind her in America, Italy, England, France, and Portugal, the latter where artist and manager, Don Juan De Pol, recruited her to be the lead dancer for an 1867 melodrama on

Broadway, *The Devil's Auction, or The Golden Branch*. Nineteenth century ballet in America, still an undeveloped art with a most unsophisticated audience, usually involved dancing as part of a larger artistic vehicle such as a play or "combination show" of many diverse acts "combined" together touring the country. Appreciated more for its scanty costumes and use of effects rather than its artistic merit, dance required a larger theatrical context as suggested in this description of, *The Devil's Auction*, Morlacchi's first American performance:

A spectacular melodrama by Arthur Armengol, the play was one of many rising in the wake of *The Black Crook*, It featured haunted dells with multitudes of elves, acrobatic jugglers, subterranean caves with giant reptiles, castles that crumbled, others that burned, a "Grand Evolution Guerriere," and even a quick-change artist who rapidly donned the costumes of nine different nations and performed the national dance of each. (Barker 113)

To this side-show carnival atmosphere, Morlacchi brought the discipline of European training and, though too "slender" for the tastes of the times, she was "sensitive and warm" and "charmed Americans with her quiet grace" (Barker 111).

After this performance folded, Morlacchi, with the assistance of her agent, John Burke (Cody's future publicist), formed her own

"combinations," bringing dance to other towns in America. During December, 1872, in Chicago, Morlacchi found herself with a "deficient ballet troupe," a closed production, and no finances left to leave town (148). Stranded, Morlacchi accepted the role of "Dove Eye" in "Scouts of the Prairie" with Cody et al, opening after just one day of rehearsal on December 16, 1872. Barker describes the reasons for Morlacchi's selection, detailing the dance and music preceding the play:

Once the play was finished and the extras hired, Buntline looked for an actress to play the Indian Maiden in distress. He hired Morlacchi. Her dark beauty, her years of experience on the stage, and her acknowledged gifts as a dancer made her a great addition to the production. Buntline wrote a curtain riser called *Love's Battle*, which featured Morlacchi dancing four solos: an "Entrance Sorita," a "Spanish Bolero," a "Caprice Schottice," and a "Polish Mazurka," In addition, she was enlisted to help the scouts learn their lines. (150)

Thus introduced to the music side of "show business" through "Scouts of the Prairie," Cody learned how music opened shows, provided support for acts, and became background "noise" for dramatic actions on stage. "The scene synopsis" of "Scouts" even showed "several opportunities for dances, among them, Dove Eye's invocation to the Great Spirit in Act II Scene 1." In future productions she also sang, pantomimed, acted, and, of course,

danced, providing more models of show business skills for the inexperienced Cody to observe. Ironically, from Remington's point of view, the European-born and trained, Morlacchi, one of the quality performers of the nineteenth-century, assisted the dramatic education of the American hero, Buffalo Bill, directly affecting the expressive development of the Wild West American exhibition.⁶

With this show background, one year's experience of touring in a Wild West type show with Doc Carver, and the expertise of recently acquired partner and professional manager, Nate Salsbury, Cody began a second year of touring and performing in 1884 with a polished exhibition. The prototype of all the future shows, a copyrighted script from that show remains in the Library of Congress. Reproduced in a small brochure by Arpad and Lincoln, the text briefly describes the acts, contains some explanatory narration, and provides directions cuing music's appearance in the performance. The title itself implies an important role for music in the event (22):

⁶ Morlacchi soon married Texas Jack Omohundro, traveled often with other western melodramas, and remained one of the premier dancers of the times until her death from cancer in 1886 following Jack's death from pneumonia in 1880 (Barker 166).

Buffalo Bill's "Wild West"
Prairie Exhibition, And Rocky Mountain Show
A Dramatic-Equestrian Exposition
Of
Life On The Plains,
With Accompanying Monologue And
Incidental Music
The Whole Invented And Arranged By
W. F. Cody

Requiring a narrator, a script, and music to make the exhibition effective, Sandburg's "Johnny Jones" might aspire to be a musician or an actor as well as a scout or a cowboy after observing the behaviors modeled by the Wild West. Certainly the show begins with music. The band plays a pre-show concert until the orator calls, "Ladies and Gentlemen," receives everyone's attention, gives a few instructions and descriptions of the exhibition to follow and turns the attention back to the musicians: "At the conclusion of the next overture our performance will commence with a grand processional parade of the Wild West." Then scripted instructions:

Overture, grand processional parade of cowboys, Mexicans, and Indians, with incidental music. (Arpad 22)

Adjusting to "fit" the culture or role of the entering groups or individuals, the music changes often:

*Enter a group of Pawnee Indians. Music. Enter Chief. Music.
Enter a Group of Mexican Vaqueros. Music. Enter Chief. Music.
Enter a group of American Cowboys. Music. Enter King of*

Cowboys. Music. Enter Cowboy Sheriff of the Platte. Music. Enter a group of Sioux Indians. Music. Enter Chief. Music.
(Arpad 22)

The orator signals Cody, the band, and others by waving a red flag when the Grand Entry begins (Blackstone 55), but do the riders wait for the music to change before they enter? Does someone signal the band to change? Does Mr. Sweeney conduct, play his cornet, watch for cues, and also cue his musicians? Most likely the riders and the musicians work out the timing in rehearsals so the musicians change music at approximately the same time every performance and the riders cue from the sound changes in the music. Visual signals across an arena would be hard to pick up except for broad signals such as the cue to begin. However cues were accomplished, music paced the opening procession with appropriate style changes signalling visual changes in the arena.

Following the entrance, the orator-narrator introduces Buffalo Bill to the signal of a "bugle call," after which Cody himself presents the first event. In this particular program the Pony Express demonstration occurs next with these instructions:

Music. Enter express rider, changing horses in front of the grandstand, and exit. (Arpad 24)

Then the race between a mounted Indian and one on foot with more "noise:"

Race as described above. Music. (Arpad 24)

Next, the enactment of the death of Yellow Hand in a battle with Buffalo Bill, the taking of the "first scalp for Custer." Again music establishes moods and enhances the excitement:

Duel as described above. Cody supported by cowboys, etc., Yellow Hand by Indians. Music. (Arpad 26)

At this point in the program of 1883, several shooting exhibitions occur back to back, a pacing changed in later years. First, Mr. Seth Clover shoots while the orator describes his efforts so no music is heard. After Clover comes "Master Johnny Baker," Buffalo Bill's young protege, providing trick shooting with orator accompaniment and no music mentioned. The celebrated "Miss Annie Oakley" follows Baker and exhibits more shooting with orator description and noisy gun sounds, perhaps giving the band a well-deserved rest--more likely they still play background music and the script just omits its mention.

Evidence for a script omission occurs in Walter Havighurst's biography of Annie Oakley. Colorfully describing her act, he

explicitly mentions the band's mood setting accompaniment:

She was thirty-three that season, but she looked seventeen. She still had her quick lithe movements, her girlish charm, her fine coloring that needed no makeup. While the band increased tempo she jumped off her pony and ran to the gun-covered table. Guns smoked in her hands and targets shattered in air. She shot on foot, on horseback, from a bicycle; she shot from both shoulders and behind her back. While six glass balls went up she turned a handspring and seized a repeating rifle; the six balls vanished. She caught her pony, leaped to the saddle, and raced away. (168)

"Cowboy Fun" occurs after Annie Oakley with audiences viewing riders picking up hats on the arena floor, riding bucking broncs, and other riding demonstrations. No music instructions occur in the text, but this event seems ideal for background music, adding pacing and mood to the various arena happenings. Not listing music could certainly be another oversight, especially since later band leader and composer, Karl King, composed a march, "Wyoming Days," especially for this act (Russell 1970, 88). Modern shows, including rodeos, often use music in these situations; it seems likely the prototype, the Wild West show, did also.

Featured in the next shooting exhibition, Cody himself shoots glass balls while riding in the arena. Then comes the famous ride in the Deadwood Coach for selected audience members, featuring an

attack by Indians but rescue by Cody and the Cowboys. With war whoops and gunshots the noise might have kept the audiences' aural senses involved since no music is mentioned. But the script reads "music" for the race between Sioux Indians on bareback ponies:

Race as above. Music. (32)

Then another race, but using Mexican thoroughbreds to musical accompaniment with a specific song mentioned this time:

Race as above. Music. "We Won't Come Home till Morning." (36)

More music happens during the Native American pastimes section, but of a different nature:

*War dance by Indians.
Grass dance by Indians.
Scalp dance by Indians and squaws.*

And then burros return to the arena, perhaps to disrupt the Indian dances, while the band plays:

Burros return. Music. "Home Again!" or "We Never Speak as, Etc." (Arpad 36)

The show ends with roping and tying steers, riding a wild elk, an attack on the settler's cabin by Indians but repulsed by Buffalo Bill, his scouts, and cowboys, and finally the grand review and "Adieux" by Cody (Arpad 38). Not occurring in the scripted

instructions, music's written absence here again likely reflects an oversight by the writer of the script since all of the acts above and particularly the review and closing used music in later years to effectively add momentum, pacing and excitement. Taken for granted, just expected to be there in appropriate places, music was often left out of written materials. Sweeney, the band, and the exhibition performers worked out the musical details on their own.

As the script above outlines, though in scanty details not doing justice to the actual performance, "Johnny Jones" received a full sensory experience at the Wild West. He heard the guns firing, the spray of the horses throwing dirt into the stands as they galloped past, the bugle calls, the animals snorting, the voices of the different cultures presented, the oration, the marches and popular songs, the patriotic tunes and more. He sniffed the gunpowder, the animals, the dust kicked up, and food sold at the arena. Johnny touched the horses, perhaps shook Buffalo Bill's hand, or maybe Annie Oakley's, or a band member's. Certainly he visited the Indian encampment, viewing the tepees and families. He surely tasted the dust of the arena as it floated in the air after being stirred up by the horses cavalcading in front of the grandstand. Most assuredly Johnny

witnessed "Buffalo Bill and ponies, cowboys, Indians" and their costumes, their representation of life on the prairie, their acting out of heroic, historic events, the presentation of unusual cultures, and more; all adding together creating images, views, ideas, or other kinds of mental constructs regarding the show's presentation. For the city dweller fantasizing about life on the prairie, the Wild West became a dream world, as Sandburg reminds us with the imagery at the end of his poem: "Fill us again with the red love of prairies, dark nights, lonely wagons, and the crack-crack of rifles sputtering flashes into an ambush." ⁷

But the poem contains contradictions inherent in the show itself. Supposedly "illustrating life as it is witnessed on the plains" (Burke), the event contains the extra trappings of show business. "Johnny Jones" hears the "clickety clack" of "pony hoofs along the street" in a parade far from the grasslands, deserts, and mountains of the West. Johnny's "boy heart aches" to cross the borders of civilization and nature to experience life where they intersect--on

⁷ From "Buffalo Bill" from Cornhuskers by Carl Sandburg, copyright 1918 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. and renewed 1946 by Carl Sandburg, reprinted by permission of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

the frontier where the dramatic struggle to find balance between forces of nature and forces of civilization occurs, where wildness still exists. Music in general received consideration in chapter one. I described scenes and other supporting material from the Wild West to give a sense of its structure and its evocative nature in the first part of this chapter; now I focus on a general examination of the Wild West's symbolic content and its connection to American cultural themes and belief structures, providing a richer context for the music specifically examined in later chapters.

Mixing the reality of people and events with the images of the West and the frontier created through fiction and historical tradition, Cody developed a Wild West performance event acting out the "romantic," mythic American "character" at the turn-of-the century. American frontier scholar, Richard Slotkin, calls the Wild West "a show illustrating American progress by a ritual reenactment of the myth of the frontier" (1981, 37). In his classic study, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology Of The American Frontier, 1600-1860, Slotkin describes the power of mentally-constructed myths on the way people in a culture live both their mental and physical reality:

The mythology of a nation is the intelligible mask of that enigma called the "national character." Through myths the psychology and world view of our cultural ancestors are transmitted to modern descendants, in such a way and with such power that our perception of contemporary reality and our ability to function in the world are directly, often tragically affected. (1973, 3)

Buffalo Bill's Wild West presented a heroic "vision" of an America conquering its problems by asserting its progressive right to achieve consonant resolution on its own terms, no matter the consequences for the people or geography affected. Cody demonstrated the control needed for progress to happen through his own authoritative presence in the show. As the hero he led the scouts, troops, and cowboys to constant victories over the Indians during the battle reenactments.

Analyzing Buffalo Bill's "type" in the American frontier myth, a type shared with other hunter scouts like Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Kit Carson, Slotkin writes of American values, cultural contradictions, and considerations of nature and industrial civilization--themes mentioned by Remington and Pomeroy:

They share a common status as symbolic forerunners of the advancing bourgeois democracy of the United States. Through the myth of the hunter, Americans have symbolically reconciled their contradictory responses to their own social form, their love-hate response to industrial civilization and

its discontents. The hunter speaks for the values and pleasures of a "natural" and "unfettered" precapitalist Eden. Yet he facilitates the spread of "progress" and "civilization," and himself embodies the aggressive go-getter spirit, the willful and dominant temperament, the pragmatic turn-of-mind, and the belief in racial superiority that characterized nineteenth-century culture. (1981, 27)

Even Cody's name symbolically melds the contradictions between nature and civilization. "Buffalo-Bill" represents power in both the "natural" world of the wilderness and the "civilized" world of progress. Demonstrating power and control over the wilderness by advancing civilization during his hunting and scouting days, he also moved easily from one world (prairie wilderness) to the other (eastern American or European civilization), providing a model for an American balance. Cody often earned praise for his ability to handle all kinds of people and situations including those with Native-Americans (symbols of wilderness) and royalty (symbols of civilization) during the tours of the Wild West in Europe (Russell, Sell and Weybright, Cody, others).

Analyzing the Wild West as ritual, as Slotkin suggests, considers the total experience of the exhibition. A multisensory entertaining, storytelling, educating, and physical experience structurally organized in events occurring linearly, one after

another, Wild West acts, together, created combined symbolic messages--like the combining of linear melody and vertical harmony in conjunction with rhythm, timbre, texture, and form to create a total musical experience. Parallels between the Wild West experience, musical performance, the mythic analysis of Slotkin's, and a culturally expressive ritual symbolically "reaffirming crucial social values" (Barrett 137), provide evidence for the metaphoric nature of expressive communication (Leech 16). Leech defines an expressive ritual occurrence:

But what actually *happens* is that the participants in a ritual are sharing communicative experiences through many different sensory channels simultaneously; they are acting out an ordered sequence of metaphoric events within a territorial space which has itself been ordered to provide a metaphoric context for the play acting. Verbal, musical, choreographic, and visual-aesthetic 'dimensions' are all likely to form components of the total message. When we take part in such a ritual we pick up all these messages at the same time and condense them into a single experience (41)

like a Wild West exhibition, a band concert, Native-American ceremonies or other cultural forms. As in an examination of musical elements for multiple meanings, an investigation of the Wild West's arena space, events, costumes, stage movements, music, and other dimensions of the total performance event provides cultural signs

and symbols to analyze for meanings.

Published in 1981 to accompany an exhibit of Wild West memorabilia, Buffalo Bill and the Wild West, contains essays from leading American scholars analyzing the ritual Wild West's symbolic content, furthering knowledge regarding Cody's contribution to American culture. Presenters include Slotkin, art historian Peter Hassrick, Native-American scholar Vine Deloria, western historian Howard Lamar, film curator William Judson, and cultural critic, writer, and professor, Leslie Fielder. All discuss conflicting worlds somehow expressed, synthesized, and communicated in the Wild West event. An opening statement by sponsor George Weissman from Phillip Morris Inc., contains language reinforcing the notion of the Wild West as a cultural ritual expressing the dichotomy between reality and imagination, demonstrating how mythological mental constructs impact ways people live their "real" lives:

His (Cody's) returning presence reminds us that the American frontier was no mere legend. It did exist, with its towering mountain ranges and endless plains, and it helped to forge the American temper. Long after it was officially marked "closed," the frontier remained open in our consciousness: "the bountiful infinite West," that vast nursing ground of our irrepressible individualism, boundless energy, hardy spirit, and unflagging optimism. We need that frontier . . . (even) into space. For where it exists . . . there will always be a Wild West show,

with Buffalo Bill at the head, in the arena of America's shared national imagination. (5)

Demonstrating ideas held in 1981, the enthusiastic writing could have originated from a program of the original show almost a hundred years earlier, providing evidence the frontier experience continues to impact the way Americans view life. No matter where it exists, the American West symbolizes frontier territory with Buffalo Bill representing the heroic force needed to conquer or tame frontier "spaces." In the American imagination the Wild West show, with Cody as leader, ritually celebrates the taming, controlling process, the values of progress.

With accuracy and insight, David Katzive calls the Wild West an "interpenetration of theater and reality" (12). Mythmaking involves expressive acts, whether of story-telling, music making, writing, drama, religion, or combinations of all the above, like the Wild West. For the Wild West the most significant and effective acting occurs when it represents something once "real," like the pony express, or demonstrates something real at the moment like a shooting event. Considering the people, the format, and other elements of the exhibition, Leslie Fiedler recognizes the

"interpenetration of theater and reality," considering "fact and fiction" in the Wild West all but "indistinguishable:"

The confusion between reality and illusion, history and myth was even further confounded by the fact that with the opening of the Wild West show, no one wrote a fictional script; and the reenactments of fact directed by Buffalo Bill himself employed not professional actors but real cowboys, real Indians, real cattle and horses and mules and bison. Consequently when Custer's Last Stand was reenacted in the arena, half of the cast--all Indians, of course--had participated in the original battle. (87)

Peter Hassrick, analyzing art from the nineteenth century, discovers artistic forerunners to Cody performing similar, dramatic syntheses of illusion and reality. In landscape artist Albert Bierstadt's paintings, Hassrick finds a "grand" style of landscape painting akin to "theater" with its "focus" and clarity of "details of foreground and distance," which led to audiences viewing them as high drama (myth), with the "wild" (reality) in his painting really being the subject matter itself--the "wilderness" of the West (23).

Buffalo Bill in the 1880's found himself in a similar situation as Bierstadt in the 1860's and 70's, creating an expressive form with reality as its subject (the wild/wilderness West), but with dramatic theatrical considerations becoming more important to himself and the audiences. Eventually Wild West posters and painted

arena backdrops used images from western landscapes developed by Bierstadt and others as part of the total Wild West experience--visually symbolizing the places where the action originally occurred. In effect Cody copied dramatic/mythic imitations of the original geography; he copied the copies. By using symbolic landscapes originally developed by others, Cody fulfilled the public's images and fantasies in ways familiar to them. Sandburg created the same evocative, symbolic landscape in his poem, "Buffalo Bill," with just a few phrases like "red love of prairies, dark nights, lonely wagons, and the crack-crack of rifles sputtering into an ambush." Seldom seen by most citizens of America or Europe the wilderness West maintained a strong presence in the imagination of the public; a minimum of words or a painted backdrop to an arena event could evoke the "wild" prairie.

Tapping fundamental wellsprings of American culture by using the term "wild," a shortened version of "wilderness," to describe his show, Cody demonstrates knowledge of concepts inherently attractive to his audience. Examining the earliest basis for American culture, Slotkin analyzes the settling/civilizing of wilderness America by European immigrants, finding the colonist's

use of forceful, violent means to achieve "progress" often meant replacing Indians (human symbols of wilderness) with 'civilized' settlers to expand the borders of civilization against a supposed 'savagery'" (1981, 27). Cody reenacted these fundamental American progressive values every time the calvary "won" the battles against the Indians. He also conquered the Native-American culture (wilderness) each time the band played marches or military songs in harmonic, progressive tonality during the acts.

A basic American culture building block, the concept of wilderness, like the Wild West exhibition, combines interactions of physical reality and mental constructs, as recognized by the title of Roderick Nash's classic study, Wilderness and the American Mind. In this work Nash chronicles the idea of wilderness and its impact on the reality of wilderness in America; how it developed, changed, and still changes as American attitudes adjust to changing social, cultural, and technological conditions. As in the Wild West, the changes reveal interacting dichotomous views of wilderness/civilization. Cody's Wild West expresses one primary view of wilderness, the progressive one prevalent since settlers arrived in this country, but it also contains elements of changing

perspectives on wilderness and its relationship to American culture. For example, during later years the show presented Indians as "friends" to white America, symbolically recognizing a real change in American attitudes toward wilderness.

Nash defines the cultural importance of wilderness to Americans: "Wilderness was the basic ingredient of American civilization. From the raw materials of the physical wilderness Americans built a civilization; with the idea or symbol of wilderness they sought to give that civilization identity and meaning" (xi). Intuitively understanding the deep American identification with his exhibition, Cody portrayed actual "wild" situations from the frontier experience, but he also controlled on his own terms the symbolic imagery of the wilderness--landscape, animals, and Native-Americans--thereby fulfilling the progressive viewpoint and audience's controlling desires. Nash describes the attitudes about wilderness Cody exploited:

Ancient biases against the wild are deeply rooted in human psychology and in the human compulsion to understand, order, and transform the environment in the interest of survival, and later, of success. Wilderness was the unknown, the disordered, the uncontrolled. a large portion of the energies of early civilizations was directed at defeating the wilderness in nature and controlling it in human nature. . . . The first white

visitors regarded wilderness as moral and physical wasteland fit only for conquest and fructification in the name of progress, civilization, and Christianity. (xii)

Using weapons that "won" the West (and the country) in a virtuosic manner; riding with great skill the animals that carried the soldiers, settlers, and cowboys who brought civilization to the prairies (and other wild areas); demonstrating schemes for bringing the habits of civilization to the West, such as the pony express or the covered wagons; or enacting battles inevitably won by the white settlers, soldiers, and/or cowboys, Buffalo Bill sounded themes prevalent in America since the "captivity narratives" in the 1600's, through the hunter myth already mentioned by Slotkin, and exemplified by the fictional Leatherstocking and the real Daniel Boone (Slotkin 1973). Wild West programs, particularly in later years, aligned Cody with such historic heroes as George Washington, Boone, Kit Carson, and others, all considered legendary because they led the advancement of American progress by taming the wilderness. In language rich with the values of historically rooted, heroic symbols, the "Illustrated News" from London writes of Cody in 1887:

. . . a remarkable man. He is a perfect horseman, an unerring shot, a man of magnificent presence and physique, ignorant of the meaning of fear or fatigue; his life is a history of

hairbreadth escapes, and deeds of daring, generosity, and self-sacrifice, which compare very favorably with the chivalric actions of romance, and he has been not inappropriately designated the "Bayard of the Plains." (Bloom-Wilson 7)

During this historic time frame an iconic Buffalo Bill represented order, self-control, and heroic behaviors and appearances, while his Wild West ritualized the process of controlling nature's disorder, a civilizing process involving human inventive technology like guns, and heroic actions like those of the cowboys and soldiers. Nash describes the belief patterns in the American "national character" at work on behalf of Cody and his representatives of "civilizing" forces making them symbolic, popular figures:

Civilizing the New World meant enlightening darkness, ordering chaos, and changing evil into good. In the morality play of westward expansion, wilderness was the villain, and the pioneer, as hero, relished its destruction. The transformation of a wilderness into civilization was the reward for his sacrifices, the definition of his achievement, and the source of his pride. He applauded his successes in terms suggestive of the high stakes he attached to the conflict. (25)

However, as in Bierstadt's paintings, the Wild West also celebrated the dramatic, unusual, and often fascinating nature of wilderness and its representatives, demonstrating society's

dichotomous, romantic view of the wilderness as a paradise or "Eden" (25). The "romanticism" of the nineteenth century, interested in the exotic, the "strange, remote, solitary, and mysterious" (Nash 47), or the "legendary, fantastic, idealistic, or imaginary" (Grout 538), saw beauty in the irregular aspects of nature. Nash collects standard romantic responses to the wilderness/civilization dichotomy: "Wilderness was a sanctuary both from the 'turmoil, the anxieties, and the hollowness of society' and from 'the busy haunts of sordid, money-making business' " (60). Even Daniel Boone, like Cody, took "delight" in the wild scenery (63) while making it safe for the settlers. Meanwhile the Native-American, as part of the wilderness romanticizing process, became less an evil symbol as a symbol of "simpler" times. Analyzing written material of the early nineteenth century, Slotkin finds these contrasting Indian characteristics gaining cultural significance along with the "evil" ones still prevalent:

(Author) B.B. Thatcher is all on the side of progress and settlement; but like Filson's Boone he sympathizes with the Indian's love of his land, his patriotism, loyalty, and courage, his stoic temperament, and contentment with the simple life. Thatcher regrets the "prejudices" of white chroniclers who have failed to give the Indian character its due. (1973, 358)

Dichotomous cultural concepts regarding Native-Americans intersect in Cody's life as Cody the Indian fighter assists in the conquering of "enemy" tribes from the mountain and plains areas of the American West, while Cody the knowledgeable scout seeks out Indian leaders for his exhibitions, helping ease tensions between the native and settler cultures, educating both groups in the ways of the other, and exhibiting "positive human values of justice and fairplay" (Deloria 1981, 50). These dichotomous themes also appear in the Wild West expressive event as the Native-Americans represent both the enemy during battle reenactments and admirable horsemen and warriors equal to other Rough Riders during riding acts or races (Deloria 1981, 53). Developing Native-Americans as symbols of a heroic, patriotic, dignified past, chiefs such as Sitting Bull received special treatment in the arena (Sell 147).

One world of the historical dichotomy occurs musically when patriotic songs create the "noise" supporting the defeat of the "enemy" tribes in battle; the other world expresses itself when the Native-Americans demonstrate singing, dancing and other details of particular indigenous lifestyles. Attempting to have it both ways, Cody's total image of the Native-American developed in the

controlled middleground between the images of the "evil" Indian and the romantic one that, for the times, brought more sophistication to American understanding of native peoples (Deloria 1981, 54). But the control remained on Cody's terms, therefore his "humane" idea of educating the American public about Indians actually became a living "fair"-like display mostly stereotyping the Native-American culture as wilderness exotica, demonstrating the strength of the dominant culture's progressive impulse to control rather than understand even when it seeks a middleground.

Buffalo Bill's attempts to find a controlled middleground, an intersection and synthesis of the wilderness versus civilization dichotomy resulting in changes of cultural attitudes and values, further place the Wild West in a larger American historical context. Neither Johnny Jones, "barelegged" in the clothes of urban, civilized America, nor Buffalo Bill, outfitted in nature's leathers for his rugged work on the prairie, wear clothes representing the synthetic middleground between the dichotomous pairs. But, as Slotkin informs, Americans regenerate their culture by crossing such dichotomous boundaries, creating cultural syntheses. Between the contrasting themes of wilderness/civilization prevalent in Western

culture since Greek and biblical times, reenacted historically in a condensed time-frame in a developing America, and ritually represented in the expressive forum of the Wild West, lies a middleground--the ideal of the controlled garden or pastoral, a place where neither "wild" buckskins or "civilized" shorts are worn.

Examining this compromise between the rawness of pure nature and the potential debauchery of urban society, Slotkin defines the garden idea:

The pastoral vision of nature saw the natural world as a garden cultivated and dominated by the mind of man or by a reasonable God. It was a vision of nature as humanized and gentled, symmetrical, orderly, and peaceful--nature as the farmer shapes it, not the wilderness encountered by an exile or outcast. (1973, 203)

Neither violent frontiersmen, whether Indian or Anglo, nor civilized city-dwellers modeled proper societal values, but instead an "intelligent agrarian was the ideal American" (Slotkin 1973, 204).

Analyzing Thoreau's ideas regarding the pastoral ideal in America, Nash discovers the "ideal man occupied . . . a middling position, drawing on both the wild and refined" (92). By organizing and developing rural town sites both early in his career and later with his development of Cody, Wyoming, Cody himself displayed the

pastoral inclination. For several years in the early part of the twentieth century, Wild West programs ran large ads for agricultural settlements in "The Big Horn Basin of Wyoming," hoping to attract settlers to this newly irrigated valley (progress built a large dam on the Shoshone river not far from the Cody, Wyoming townsite) (BBWW various authors 1981, 9). Again Cody provides a model for the ideal American; a real American scouts in the wilderness bringing progress to the country, acts in the cities demonstrating "cultural" interest and understanding, but truly desires to cultivate the land, balancing refinement with nature.

Analyzing the structure of the pastoral desire in America in his classic study, The Machine In The Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America, Leo Marx discovers the cultivated garden ideal, derived from a collective American "imagination," desires to "withdraw from the great world and begin a new life in a fresh, green landscape" (3). Affecting the attitudes of nineteenth century Americans and immigrants alike, the "garden myth" brought settlers westward to the previously considered "great American desert" to find a "new beginning" away from the "artificial" cities and industrial worlds, to control the ruggedness of nature and to create

a decentered, rural world with a "simpler" way of life (Marx 9)--a Jeffersonian ideal.

Supporting this developmental ideal in its reenactments, particularly in "The Attack on the Settler's Cabin," the Wild West exhibition demonstrated the violent, frontier work needed to prepare America for its true goal, an ideal world of agrarian happiness. Audiences recognized this cultural goal of the exhibition's demonstrations of historical events, identified with the need for progress to tame and make the landscape safe for "gardening," and desired to learn "western" skills like riding and roping, skills necessary for the proper lifestyle in the ideal rural environment. A collective nostalgia in both Europe and America existed for this portrayal of the frontier taming process creating as its goal a pastoral world.

Other parts of the country and the world, dealing directly with industrial civilization and its wrenching of the pastoral ideal by having "machines in the garden," had instead transformed "ideal" rural settings into mechanized cities and landscapes. Using a musical metaphor reminiscent of material examined in chapter one, Leo Marx states the impact of machines on the pastoral ideal:

"Mechanization, both literally and metaphorically, means disharmony. It separates the people from the lovely green landscape which has, or ought to have, a primary place in their thought and feeling. Between man and nature it threatens to impose an ugly, depressing, and inhumane community" (216). Like the dissonance of racism, expressed in sound patterns of "blue" notes in American music, the disharmony of machines with the consonant ideal of pastoralism created expressive cultural forms like novels, music, and Wild West shows, demonstrating cultural dissonance and clashing values.

But the Wild West muted the mechanistic dissonance because machines, with the exception of modern firearms, remained conspicuously absent from the Wild West events except as they served the exhibition in mostly controlled, background ways, such as with musical instruments, electric lighting, wind machines, trains for travel, tools for setting up and tearing down, cooking and cleaning and other similar tasks. Not until 1907 to 1913 with a new act, "The Great Train Hold-Up" (Blackstone 43), were machines like a locomotive, so important to the progressive development of the country and the settling of the far West in particular, seen in the

arena--though a young Cody earned his totemic name by killing buffalo to provide food for railroad workers. Older style, nostalgic transportation like stagecoaches and wagons figured prominently in the production, carrying symbolic values related to earlier times in the West's settlement. Affirming a collective nostalgia for pre-industrial times, the coach in particular and the Wild West in general represented attitudes from a pastoral ideal.

Contradictorily, machines from the industrialism of modern nineteenth century society significantly impacted Cody from his early life in Kansas to later years as a showman. The actual winning of the "last" frontier required the tools and means of earlier times like horses, soldiers, scouts, pack trains, and guns, but it also used industrial tools and means like troop transport by train, Gatling guns, telegraph communications, and large scale hunting and ranching to provide food and supplies, all of which relate to large structured, specialized, cog-in-the-machine organizational patterns. Examples abound of Cody's experiences with the new industrial means and organizational structures, the "machines in the garden," available in the late nineteenth century.

Married in St. Louis to Louisa Federici in 1860, he honeymooned

on a river steamboat heading up the Missouri River towards Kansas (Russell 1960, 77). Hired as a scout and hunter for the Kansas Pacific Railway after the Civil War, he killed thousands of Buffalo for food for the workers. Also hired many times as a scout for the U. S. Army, he understood the hierarchical procedures of the military establishment. He lost money on an investment in a new townsite in Kansas because the railroad moved their proposed facilities a short distance down the road so people would buy their sites instead of Cody's, a situation that profited the railroad (Russell 1960, 85). Often traveling by rail to different scouting and acting jobs, Cody went back and forth across the country many times, becoming quite familiar with the best-known and often used symbol of the "machine in the garden"--the locomotive (Marx 14).

Discussing the procedures for set-up, tear-down, and moving the show from town to town on their special Wild West trains, Blackstone describes Cody's knowledge and use of industrial and large-scale organizational structures and patterns. "From 1905 until 1913, the Wild West played mostly one-day stands. A system had to be developed for scheduling, booking, moving, and performing the

show" (38).⁸ Using procedures established by new manager, James Bailey from Barnum and Bailey's Circus, making sure tasks were handled like clockwork (in measured, metrical time, like the marches of the band), hierarchical, specialized job structures developed.

Jobs included advance agents, scheduling staffs, advertising staffs, ticket sellers, ushers, a medical department, railroad departments, blacksmiths, train porters, stockmen, drivers, watchmen, butchers, cooks, bakers, lighting engineers, electricians, program sellers, firemen, tent canvass workers, ammunition attendants, press agents, auditors, performance heads, performers, animal trainers, and more with each specialized section having chiefs or leaders organizing the tasks at each performance (Blackstone, Sell, various route books). While teams of workers set-up the main arena area others worked on the "living and dining quarters and positioning the ticket wagons and props" (Blackstone 40). In all "seven hundred people had to be fed three times a day, and

⁸ Bailey actually became part of the Wild West management in 1895 with the one-night stands appearing immediately as evidenced by the entries in the route book from 1896 and others. Likely Blackstone's 1905 date is a typographical error.

they had to be fed on time if the regimen of set-up, parade, and performance was to be observed" (Blackstone 47). Specially organized teams of workers each performing a specific job as a "cog-in-the-machine" of progress, insured the precise accomplishment of the total Wild West task. "This kind of touring was physically taxing and very expensive, but Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World moved across the United States giving a parade and two performances, day after day for nineteen years" (Blackstone 52).

During a tour of Germany in 1891, "German army officers studied the show's logistics--the continuous-procession of flatcars, the rolling kitchens, the split-second camp-making methods developed by American outdoor shows to make possible their schedule of parade and two shows daily" (Russell 1970, 40). Though from the heroic tradition of Leatherstocking, Daniel Boone, and Kit Carson, Buffalo Bill understood quite well the world of industrialism, its machines, its organizing principles, its financial basis, and of course, its need for amusement.

Because of its organizational grounding in principles from industrial society, Wild West symbols, evoking wilderness,

civilization, and pastorate themes resonant in Western Civilization, also carried meanings in a dissonant industrial world as well. In his massive historical and interpretive study, The Fatal Environment: The Myth Of The Frontier In The Age Of Industrialization, 1800-1890, Slotkin confirms Leo Marx's and Henry Nash Smith's conclusion that industrialism and machines forever change the pastoral ideal (Smith 259). The "reality" of industrial society "outside" the ritual fairs, exhibitions (like the Wild West), and myths extolling the virtues of technological progress and the blending of rural and machinery cultures, "promised industrial progress but . . . also represented new forms of human misery and social danger" (Slotkin 1985, 5).

The machines had made possible new forms of production; but they had also created a new and burgeoning class of factory workers . . . whose conditions of life and work did not at all conform to the canonical expectations of the American dream . . . when small farmers and independent artisans had formed the majority of the 'producing classes.' They were subordinated in their work to the service of the mighty machine and socially subjected to their employers by a wage system that made them dependent. . . . 'wage slavery.' (Slotkin 1985, 5)

Industrialism led to separations of class, hierarchies established often by criteria of economic power, racial characteristics, and cultural differences. Developing antagonism

between workers and managers, these hierarchical separations often led to violence as the "inadequacy of housing, sanitation, and essential social services in the mushrooming American cities added to the sense and reality of impoverishment, to the crime rate, and to discontent" (Slotkin 1985, 301). Attempting to control these working class people--people often with roots in the pre-literate cultures analyzed musically in chapter one--leaders from the upper classes, particularly in the writing of journalists, used rich, long-standing symbolism already understood by the American public. In language evoking the familiar dichotomy of wilderness/civilization, the lower working classes "creating" problems in the cities were compared:

to the Indian, . . . characterized by his savagery, his closeness to nature (the streets of the city this time) and animalism, his lack of sense of private property . . . ; his politics take the form of violence, which is directed to cruel and destructive ends." . . . After the (Civil) war, these three terms--'savage,' 'slave,' and 'pauper,'--would provide the metaphors through which Americans conceived the development of a proletariat: that is, a class of workers without property, and without the prospect of acquiring property. (Slotkin 1985, 301-302)

As a symbol of the American wilderness, the Indian takes on new meanings as the impulse of the culture to view new social phenomena in older modes of understanding reveals itself. In a

reversal of roles the cities, now considered in the language of the day as wild and uncontrolled, inhabited by people lacking in the economic and social progressive values expected by the dominant majority, become frontier, wilderness environments containing lesser humans (blacks and other non-Wasp ethnics) in need of conquering, controlling, and subordinating to the will of a progressive majority desiring an ideal, balanced life between nature and civilization (Slotkin 1985, 302).

In this light the Wild West assumes more complicated meanings. No longer "a myth of the American West that gave expression to some of the cultural ideals of turn-of-the century Americans and so provided an entertaining show" (Blackstone 134), the Wild West becomes an expression of ideas prevalent in the total industrial world. Using symbols from the western frontier, symbols rich with insights into the total fabric of the culture--like the metaphoric representation of African-Americans and other ethnic groups in poverty as urban Indians--the Wild West ritual performance event also reconciles in a nostalgic manner the intrusion of the industrial age into the mythic garden of America. The use of frontier metaphors for value expressions of the entire

culture affirms Slotkin's, Henry Nash Smith's (4), Marx's, Nash's, Frederick Jackson Turner's (38), and Leech's hypothesis regarding the importance of interactive borders as the places where contrasting values meet and synthesize, creating symbols and myths affecting the way people in the "real" world live their lives. Not only is the "West won" when the "Cowboys" defeat the "Indians" in their Wild West battles, but metaphorically the industrialized worlds "understand" how to conquer their "problem" populations as well.

Naturally, popularity followed the Wild West into industrial Europe as well, places dealing with similar problems and a similar ideological heritage yearning for a balanced pastoral ideal. Because the symbols of belief shaded the examination of society's problems, real understanding of cultural difference and potential solutions to industrial society's social problems rarely surfaced. By stereotyping whole portions of the population as "wild Indians," the controlling forces, as demonstrated in the Wild West, considered conquering as the primary way of dealing with problems rather than developing more peaceful modes such as mutual negotiation or attempts at understanding cultural difference. Symbols occurring in the Wild West, though often contradictory in nature, finally reinforced the

survival-of-the-fittest mentality inherent in the conquering syndrome by presenting progress as a violent means of establishing control.

But just as Cody balanced the demands for industrial organization in his mostly frontier presentation to develop a new type of entertainment form, the exhibition itself developed a new heroic symbol, moving the society beyond the wilderness/civilization dichotomy into a mode better understanding the challenges of industrial society. A specific example occurred during the finale of the 1893 Wild West show, "The Battle of the Big Horn, Custer's Last Charge," performed at the Chicago Exposition, a symbolic reenactment of the real, historically resonant event involving the forces of the "savages" in a massacre of the forces of "progress."

In The Fatal Environment, Slotkin uses Custer's life as a metaphor for America's handling of industrialization after the Civil War. Advancing the progressive ideals of the nation after the Civil War by taking land from the Sioux and opening the Black Hills of South Dakota for settlement and gold mining, Custer turned American minds towards both the real and symbolic frontier of the

West rather than towards the less romantic industrial frontier of urban areas:

Custer and the Seventh Cavalry thus brought together images of all that Americans could take pleasure and pride in remembering: . . . each company mounted on horses of a single color, paraded on the banks of the Yellowstone behind the flag and their own wind-whipped guidons ready to conquer a new Frontier. To contemplate Custer was to turn from the tragedy of fraternal strife to the classic quest of the republic's heroic ages, the mission to bring light, law, liberty, Christianity, and commerce to the savage places of the earth. (1985, 8)

During the month of June, 1876, as Custer rode towards the final battle at the Little Big Horn, the American people brought their mythic mental constructs to bear, loading Custer with symbolic weight "to enlarge and sanctify the adventure."

His triumph over the savages of the plains would not only end the Indian wars, it would point a stern lesson to other forces within the Metropolis--disorderly 'tramps,' immigrant laborers, recalcitrant blacks--about the will of the republic to punish its enemies and vindicate its moral and political authority. . . . the prospective confrontation between Custer and Sitting Bull promised one more grand tournament between representatives of the dying past and the progressive future, . . . In that confrontation the pattern of America's hundred year rise to greatness would be recalled and ritually reenacted, and the golden future made secure. (Slotkin 1985, 8-9)

But the forces of wilderness won the battle, a real circumstance changing the symbolic battleground as well. Requiring recognition of the inability of progressive forces to control all aspects of life,

Custer's actual defeat also represented a defeat in the progressive beliefs of the times, what Leo Marx described as "the faith in man's capacity to understand and control history" (181).

Concluding the Wild West, Cody reenacts this violent battle scenario, symbolically representing the ending of one historic era and the opening of another. And in the dramatic license used to enact the "Battle," Cody and the Wild West provide a new heroic symbol, a figure representing cultural synthesis from familiar cultural materials, a hero mixing aspects of the frontier, wilderness, pastoralism, and industrialism, leading the culture into new directions. Cody, an icon representing old style heroes, as suggested earlier by Slotkin, delivers a new icon to the arena and to the world.

Staging for this performance of "Custer's Last Charge" included a cyclorama painting of the valley of the Little Big Horn, the symbolic landscape, hung as a backdrop to the action. Buck Taylor, one of the show's expert marksmen, acted the role of Custer. As the battle unfolded amidst much noise of gunfire, hollering and the Cowboy Band playing Custer's theme, "Garry Owen," the Indians, many of whom had fought the actual battle, completed the ritual killing of the soldiers, the symbolic death of controlled, progressive ideals.

After a moment of silence in which the audience could take in the tableau, Cody would gallop into the arena at the head of his cowboy band, react to the battle scene, and doff his hat in respect for the dead. At this point he would be picked up by a spotlight, the arena lights would be lowered, and a projection of the words "too late!" would be flashed on a screen behind him. (Blackstone 20)

In this brief, theatrical moment "Johnny Jones" observed Cody surveying the symbolic destruction of an old hero and world, paying his respects, and acknowledging his debt to it with a lowering of his hat. In the production techniques Johnny observed a new technological world of electricity and visual projections dramatizing and heightening the evocative response of the audience. Finally, Johnny observed Cody leaving the arena stage with the symbolic representatives of a changing America trailing behind him-- the cowboy band.

The Cowboy Band

Cody's band of cowboys likely left the arena accompanied by music from the Cowboy Band. Did the band reprise Custer's theme, "Garry Owen," or provide music more relevant to the new heroes in the arena--the cowboys? This kind of specific musical information has not been discovered. Much information exists, however, regarding the importance of the Cowboy to American culture. Since the brief span of time, approximately 1867-1887 (Taylor 18), when cowboys drove millions of head of cattle from Texas to railheads in Kansas for shipment back to cities in the East and Midwest, only to be "poorly fed, underpaid, overworked, deprived of sleep, and prone to boredom and loneliness" (Lamar 1977, 268), Americans have developed the Cowboy into a mythic ideal, a symbol, expressing the "essential elements of our world view" (Slotkin 1985, 16). After briefly describing this symbolic, heroic characterization of the Cowboy, widely brought to the general public by the Wild West, this chapter focuses on the Cowboy Band, its daily routine, personnel, music played through the years, and musical analyses using the

methodological materials developed in chapter one and the contextual themes from chapter two, integrating musical sounds, social meanings, and cultural values.

If Buffalo Bill Cody is a symbol of the scout, hunter, and independent frontiersman era exemplified by Boone, Kit Carson, and the fictional Leatherstocking, then the Cowboy, a hired hand, is a symbol of the frontiersman in the modern Industrial Age. When Buffalo Bill rides alone from the arena after the Custer defeat, in front of the band of cowboys, he symbolically acknowledges the end of the "lone hunter," entrepreneur epoch, ushering in an era of working class heroes in a form taking its shape from the pastoral, cultural fabric. The cowboys become "the final embodiment of an ideal that stretches back through the years to Thomas Jefferson (and before). They are the last American agrarians" (Taylor 27).

Even the name, "cowboy," and its adjustments in written appearance through the years demonstrates the evolution of changing pastoral symbols from hunter scout working in the wilderness preparing it for civilization, to heroic worker in the pastoral "garden" of controlled space providing the necessary values and efforts to maintain civilization. A linguistic act of totemic

symbolism occurs as the final form of "cowboy" develops. In early Wild West programs the word appears as two separate words connected by a hyphen, "cow-boy" (Program 1885) as in Cow-Boy Band, with "cow" representing the world of the civilized garden since cattle are domesticated animals as opposed to the wild buffalo giving Buffalo Bill, the wilderness scout, his totem.

Acknowledging the end of the wild frontier, the hero's roots belong to civilized nature because the "cow" totem represents an animal (or a person as in coward) subdued or controlled by people (Webster's 320), often in an agrarian "assembly line." Yet even the tending of civilized cattle requires human efforts of bravery and hard work often in difficult landscapes and weather conditions, continuing the progressive labors begun by the scouts and soldiers of an earlier time.

"Boy," the second linguistic root of cow-boy, often represents a generic, often derogatory, patronizing name implying inferiority ascribed to African-American males or other working class males with little control over their economic lives because they depend on or work for others--like the immigrant workers in urban industries, or cattle drovers. "Boy" also represents a youthful, raw exuberance;

or at the very least it implies an immature person with little power in an "adult" world (Webster's 167). "Boy" certainly assigns no personal name or identity like "Bill," again demonstrating a symbolic difference between the changing eras. Both "Buffalo Bill" and "Cow-Boy" use animal and human descriptive words for identity and definition, but while "Buffalo Bill" connotes individualistic identity and wild power, Cow-Boy represents domesticated power displayed in generic, more communal ways, as in cowboy bands (bands of cowboys)--not unlike the differences between the musical tonality of Europe with its controlling individual tones and the modality of medieval, pre-literate, and "blues" cultures with their sense of functional community.

The hyphen, sometimes a space, between the words "cow" and "boy" implies a loose connection between the two base words or a partial interaction--an incomplete symbol--at a time when the cowboy was still considered a ruffian or a rough rider perhaps, certainly not yet a hero (Taylor 64). But the partial intersection of a symbol of the not-to-tame garden, "cow," and the symbol of the common worker whether on the farms or in the cities, "boy," results in the creation of a new symbol with characteristics in the garden

and in industry. The implications of this potentially new symbol are certainly present in this statement from the 1885 Wild West program:

The Cow Boys

Among the many features of "the Wild West," not the least attractive will be the advent in the East of a band of veritable "cow-boys," a class without whose aid the grazing Pampas of the West would be valueless, and the Eastern necessities of the table, the tan-yard, and the factory would be meagre. These will be the genuine cattle herders of a reputable trade, and not the later misnomers of "the road," who, in assuming an honored title, have tarnished it in the East, while in fact being the cow-boys greatest foe, the thieving, criminal "rustler." (14)

Following this brief introduction of the cowboy, an editorial from the *Wilkes Spirit* further describes the cowboy's characteristics, revealing his symbolic roots (while making fun of another older symbolic and real American), and demonstrating the romanticizing process that developed the cowboy into the legendary symbol of this century (elevating his status of course), possessing an independent spirit often rebelling against authority but following a strict code of ethics:

The Cow-Boy

The cow-boy! How often spoken of, how falsely imagined, how greatly despised (where not known), how little understood. . . . How sneeringly referred to, and how little appreciated,

although his title has been gained by the possession of many of the noblest qualities that form the romantic hero of the poet, novelist, and historian: the plainsman and the scout. . . . As "tall oaks from little acorns grow," the cowboy serves a purpose, and often develops into the most celebrated ranchman, guide, cattle king, Indian fighter, and dashing ranger. . . . Composed of many "to the manner born," but recruited largely from Eastern young men, they were taught at school to admire the deceased little Georgie in exploring adventures, and, though not equaling him in the "cherry-tree goodness," were more disposed to kick against the bulldozing of teachers, parents, and guardians. (14)

In this description of cowboys the rebellious behaviors of small children appear more appropriate to "cow-boys" than more advanced forms of rebellion "cow-men" might employ. In this powerful linguistic symbol, the cow-boy seems destined to immaturity, to never bear the final responsibilities of an adult, settled life, but instead seems fated to constantly move on as did the actual, mostly youthful cowboys of the cattle drives and the Cowboy Band of the Wild West.

Finally, after years of inconsistent usage, the linguistic separation using the hyphen or space became whole, creating a new American word, a sign for the final synthesis of the social and cultural symbol as well. By the mid 1890's the word "cowboy" was complete, with its human representatives achieving heroic status in

the Wild West arena, dime novels, the new movie medium, and other aspects of popular culture. Howard Lamar summarizes the impact of the cowboy iconic ideal, recognizing the contributions of Cody in creating it and bringing it to the public:

The complexity of the cowboy image is such that it is part of the American psyche. It stands for self-confidence, flexibility, a free lifestyle, an occupation; it symbolizes skill, represents a national sport, and serves as a subject for the serious artist, musician, and writer. By both crude and sophisticated means, Buffalo Bill Cody somehow managed to sense and express the ingredients from which America's most enduring and popular myth has been formed. (1981, 67)

Unfortunately, as the myth developed, "the cowboy is always white" instead of "black (cowboy) or brown (vaquero)" like a third of the real cowboys during the two prominent decades of trail driving (Taylor 20)--a mentally constructed change in characterization signaling the authority of the dominant white culture in the myth-making process. In contrast with this racially dangerous myth (Slotkin 1985, 25), Wild West photos reveal predominantly white cowboys, but they also include African-American cowboys, Mexican-American vaqueros, Argentinian gauchos, and others, demonstrating a Wild West crossing of ethnic boundaries, creating interactive patterns important to the acculturation process (Taylor 61). As

discovered in the examination of the Wild West script, the exhibition provided music aurally evoking cultural difference as well. Providing this music, long before the "singing cowboy" appeared in the movies, was the Wild West's Cowboy Band.

From a 1903 program appears a typically melodramatic paragraph detailing band functions, extolling their virtues, and stretching the facts for publicity purposes. This particular piece, taken from the London Times and accompanied by a band photo, surfaced in programs through the 1890's and into the 1900's without change:

A Meritorious Musical Feature

Not the least interesting and popular adjunct of the Wild West entertainment is the music furnished by the famous Cow-Boy Band. This band has always taken a prominent place with the organization, and has received the highest praise from educated musicians as well as the public in all parts of the world. It consists of thirty-six cow-boy musicians each of whom would be considered a soloist on his own instrument, and when combined together under the capable direction of Mr. Wm. Sweeney, their leader, they make noise that compels the admiration of the masses. They give a concert before each performance, and incidental music that is a source of pleasure to all who hear it, and are daily greeted with rounds of applause. This band has been the recipient of commendations from nearly all the musical connoisseurs and leaders and members of the finest bands in Europe, Lieut. Dan Godfrey the leader of the famous Grenadier Guard's Band having presented Mr. Sweeney, after a six month's engagement in the gardens

connected with the Wild West in London, with a solid gold cornet at the same time saying that the thirty-six members of the Cow-Boy band would produce more good music than any band he had ever heard with even double the musicians. For thirty minutes prior to the entertainment this band will give selections of both classical and popular music. (49)

This review provides evidence for the social implications of cowboys, band members, and their work in an industrial world. As they musically support the arena exhibition, the musicians, described as being "soloists on (their) own instrument(s)," possess virtuosic skills on their particular "tools of the trade," symbolizing the skills workers in any field of work need in a society becoming more specialized. Combined under proper leadership these virtuosic skills compound, creating a product the "masses" of public in a modern society enjoy. Characteristics of an industrial society are musically symbolized and modeled. Personal identities, under the guidance of a leader, meld together, creating a group personality or image, producing a product of quality for consumption by or service to the larger society. The Cowboy Band, like the cowboys themselves, hired hands achieving excellence in their occupation, become models for other workers as they contribute to the achievement of society's goals.

Shedding some light on the typical day of the musicians in the band, the program paragraph only begins to reveal their actual work. Much more than concerts and a performance filled up the day during the one-night stand touring years. Gleaned from information in the 1896 route book and other material, a normal day kept the band, other performers, and crews busy from daybreak to after sundown. After an early breakfast the band played for the morning parade, performed to drum up support and interest for the show, so the townspeople could see horses, costumed performers, animals, Indians, Buffalo Bill himself, other cast members, and artifacts of interest. Featuring band music, of course, the parade actually contained smaller bands from the side show and specialty acts as well as the "Famous Cowboy Band." For example, on Wednesday, September 9, 1896, in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, "Johnny Jones" observed a 10:00 a.m. "street cavalcade . . . enlivened by Three Magnificent Bands of Music led by the famed, world-traveled "Buffalo Bill's Cowboy Band" (Newspaper Ad). This "Wild West Pageant" features:

the realism of racial individuality; a mounted march and organized babel of widely differing nationalities and tongues; . . . It includes the Indian as Miles Standish, Penn, Washington,

Boone, Carson, and Custer saw and knew him, and riding with him the very men who played so large a part in blazing, in blood, torture, and deprivation, the pathway for civilization through the last and remotest of his desperately defended hunting grounds. . . . Following the renowned Cowboy Band of thirty-six pieces on horseback come . . . hundreds of aboriginal chiefs and braves . . . glittering arms, imperial equipments, aboriginal weapons, flags, sumptuous trappings, and hundreds of wonderfully broken, beautiful horses ridden by the native kings of fearless equitation. It is history, humanity, heroism on horseback. (BB Courier)

Allowing Cody to lead the way, the order of the parade followed a standard format with bands strategically placed so music could be heard by the audience at all times. When one band moved out of hearing range another moved in (BB Courier).

	Col. W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill)
OUT RIDERS	Wild West Band No. 1, in wagon Sioux Indians. German Garde-Kurassiers of His Majesty, Kaiser Wilhelm II.
J. D. TIPPETTS	Electric Light Engine, No. 1. A Group of Riffian Arabs. Arapahoe Indians Filipino Rough Riders. Russian Cossacks
JOHNNIE BAKER.	Sixteenth English Lancers (Queen's Own) A Squad of Hawaiians. Indian Squaws. Indian Boy Chiefs.
GEORGE	South American Gauchos Famous Cowboy Band, Mounted,

BURCH	Wm. Sweeney, Leader. Col. Teddy B. Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Brule Indians. A Group of Mexicans. Electric Light Engine, No. 2. A Band of Cuban Insurgents. Cheyenne Indians.
JOE ESQUIVELL	Old Deadwood Stage Coach. American Cowboys. Wild West Band, No. 3, on Chariot Tableaux. Sixth U. S. Calvary Detachment Fifth U. S. Artillery, Battery D.

Demonstrating the ethnic diversity and militaristic influence of the Rough Riders section of the exhibition, now carrying equal stature with traditional cowboy and Indian performers, this 1898 parade, as "Johnny Jones" attests, "exerted a powerful and lasting influence on the American imagination" (Nye 193). Russell Nye recognizes its metaphorical importance:

The Wild West parade--a hundred Red Indians on ponies; cowboys, scouts, stage coaches; the U. S. Cavalry, with Sweeney's Cowboy Band riding on matched grey horses--this was a picture indelibly impressed on the memory of millions of Americans who saw it. And at the head of the parade sat the man who personified it all; Buffalo Bill, straight in his stirrups, with flowing white hair, fringed buckskin jacket, and broadbrimmed Stetson held aloft, his big white horse prancing to the music, symbol of a lost era. (193)

After completing the parade and turning their horses over to

the wranglers in charge of stock, band members lunched, likely rehearsed, and prepared themselves for the afternoon performance, usually beginning with a thirty-minute pre-show concert of light classics and popular songs. Contrary to published accounts in the programs and elsewhere, no photographic or roster evidence exists showing a thirty-six member Cowboy Band. From the pictures in the Link Collection at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, displaying the 1887 band in London with Prime Minister Gladstone and others, the band numbered sixteen.

In an 1890 photograph taken in Milano, Italy, the band numbers sixteen with several of the same members, using an instrumentation of five woodwinds, a piccolo/flute, E-flat clarinet, and three B-flat clarinets, three cornets, including Sweeney, two trombones, one baritone, one mellowphone or alto horn, one tuba, and two drummers, one on the snare drum and one on bass. In the program pictures from the 1890's the count reveals twenty to twenty-five members, again with a balance of instrumentation encompassing a wide spectrum of high and low tessituras including upper woodwinds, upper brass, middle brass, low brass, and drums. Listing five cornets, four clarinets, a piccolo, a baritone, three alto horns, three trombones, a

b-flat bass tuba, an e-flat bass tuba, and two drums, the roster from the 1896 Route Book lists a total of twenty-one members in "Buffalo Bill's Famous Cowboy Band" (24). The 1899 Route Book counts twenty-four members, as does the 1900 and 1902 band, with rosters revealing several members returning for another year of touring.

Whether mounted on white or grey horses, posed in a band picture, or with the entire cast, the band members never number thirty-six.

Why the program literature mentions that specific number--a number often repeated by researchers or historians who have read the program paragraph--may exemplify publicity hype, making the band appear larger because of a prevailing "bigger is better" attitude. Perhaps wanting to rival such famous touring bands as Sousa's or Gilmore's, often traveling with fifty or more band members during this same time period (Hazen 21), Cody's publicist padded the numbers.

As Leach suggests, visual dimensions of a ritual performance "likely form components of the total message" (41). Photographs of the band and individual band members show the uniform worn by the band, a visual element to observe and analyze (appendix 2).

According to Howard Lamar, "although cowboy clothing was

distinctive, it was not intended to set the wearer apart but was designed as a practical work uniform especially adapted to the western climate and ranch work" (1977, 270). Active cowboys on the range developed a type of uniform built around a broad-brimmed, often Stetson hat, and leather boots with high tops, a square or slightly rounded toe, and a one to two inch tapered heel. Also part of the working cowboys' uniform were Levi jeans, leather chaps for further leg protection, and a plain, dark shirt, often collarless with a colorful kerchief to protect the neck and nose. Other accessories might include a vest, gloves, and perhaps a silver belt buckle or a watch fob (Lamar 1977, 272).

The Cowboy Band follows this formula perfectly. Containing many posed photographs obviously taken in a studio, therefore providing a higher quality image, the Link collection at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center includes a print of a drummer in the band during the London Exposition stay in 1887. Holding drum sticks, he wears a large, round-brimmed stetson style white hat, a long sleeved, collared, dark shirt (probably cotton) with a yoke in the front and buttons going half way down the shirt so it had to be pulled on, a scarf around the neck tucked into a buttoned opening of

the shirt, a Cowboy Band medallion, dark leather chaps over dark pants, and leather boots--a standard working cowboy outfit tailored slightly to fit the entertainment style needs of the show.

A photo of John Link, a clarinet player in the Cowboy Band whose family donated the collection, demonstrates some of the uniform additions the general public often expected from cowboys. Coming from New York City to play clarinet in the Wild West band, he obviously poses for a picture to send home to family because he complements his band uniform with a gun and holster, holding his right hand behind the gun and his left hand on the gun belt at his waist. A photograph of handle-bar mustached bandleader Sweeney, pictures him wearing the standard uniform, in a backdrop of wooded scenes, but with a checked large bow tie, a watch fob in a shirt pocket, and holding a three-piston valve cornet. Other photos, particularly one of John Link's brother, mellowphone player Andrew Link (the collector of the materials), shows pleats on the shirt front yoke and a hand-tied bowtie (Link Collection).⁹

⁹ In a telephone conversation with Janet Strobel, John Link's granddaughter and Andrew Link's niece, it was noted these Cowboy Band members were not westerners but young musicians from New York probably auditioned in the city before the company left for London in 1887, dispelling the sometimes repeated notion that the

A London newspaper in 1887 commented: "they (the Cowboy Band) 'upset all one's previous ideas about the correct costume of musicians, but they play with spirit' " (Russell 1970, 29). They also visually represented the working-class heroes of America with their truly functional uniforms. Costumes for nineteenth century (often today as well) bands usually involved some variation on a dress military theme with often outlandish options available for "jacket styles . . . as well as matching trousers, capes, overcoats, and caps." Extra decorative items included "epaulets, shoulder knots, embroidered emblems, belts, buttons, and pouches," also "gilt braid, decorative cord, and helmet crests, plumes and spikes" (Hazen 140).

With the Cowboy Band selecting a uniform modeled on an actual working cowboy's outfit of choice rather than some fantastic, gaudy costume, they reinforce a value conveyed by images of cowboys, and metaphorically, Americans in general: hard work matters in life not superficial aspects of style. By dressing alike the band members visually demonstrate the social and cultural need of industrial society for people to blend their abilities together to create excellent products. Unlike Buffalo Bill, dressing quite

band was comprised of former cowboys.

distinctively in leather finery and setting himself apart from the other cast members, the Cowboy Band musicians visually maintain their anonymity while providing support for the performers.

Reviewing many photographs, this authentic Cowboy uniform, with minor variations, remained for all the years of the Wild West. In a 1904 photograph (Russell 29), uniforms appear similar to those from 1887 (Link Collection), as do those worn by the band mounted on horseback playing in a parade (BBWW 6), or those worn in Cody's last year of 1913 (Yost 377).

Appropriately dressed, the band readies itself for performance. Before the main event the stands fill with people. To serve their "amusement needs," and to fulfill the nineteenth century desire for music, bands formed in nearly every small town across America (Hazen 12).¹⁰ For many years the Cowboy Band played a pre-show concert seated in their standard position, in the corner between the reserved seats and grandstand seats on the arena floor across from

¹⁰ The 1887 London Exhibition Program reports that the Cowboy Band "has been organized from those Cowboys who have cultivated a natural talent for music to while away the idle hours of camp life," a description not true as discovered with John and Andrew Link, but instead, a statement placing the Cowboy Band in the context of American community bands rather than the elite professional bands--a more working class contextual image.

the performers main entrance. This concert, like those before circuses, "consisted of a substantial program of crowd-pleasing songs alternated with classical selections by Verdi, Bizet, and Victor Herbert" (Hazen 31). Like most bands during this "golden age," the Cowboy Band "played arrangements of popular songs of the day (frequently featuring a solo cornet), all kinds of dance music from the waltz to the ragtime cakewalk, medleys of opera and operetta tunes, descriptive and novelty pieces, and transcriptions from the standard orchestral literature" (Smart). An ad from Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co.--Von Tilzer composed many famous popular songs of the era, including the famous, "A Bird In A Gilded Cage"--in a 1902 program signals some possible popular selections the band played during the opening concert (3):

THE HITS OF THE COUNTRY

now being played by Buffalo Bill's Cowboy Band,
among them being Harry Von Tilzer's great waltz song
hit,

On a Sunday Afternoon

The most beautiful descriptive ballad written in years,

The Mansion of Aching Hearts,

By Arthur T. Lamb and Harry Von Tilzer

A beautiful home song that will live forever,
I'll Be There, Mary Dear,

By Harry Von Tilzer

A glorious jingling song of the Nile,

My Bamboo Queen, By Harry Von Tilzer
The funniest coon song written, biggest hit in years,
I Just Can't Help Loving That Man,

By Vincent Bryan and Harry Von Tilzer
A beautiful song of the Jungle, a genuine sensation,
Loo-Loo-oo-Loo Loo, or My Dusky Loo.

The great cake-walk and two-step,
Chocolate Drops, By Harry Von Tilzer
All of the Above Songs For Sale By All Music Dealers

PUBLISHED ONLY BY THE

HARRY VON TILZER MUSIC PUBLISHING CO.

42 West 28th St., New York City

CHICAGO OFFICE : 67 CLARKE ST.

Obviously "hit" songs of the country in 1902, some played by the Cowboy Band in their pre-arena show concerts, contained material stereotyping the African-American population as "coons." These songs, derived from earlier nineteenth century minstrel songs, used more syncopation in their melodic and harmonic rhythms signaling the influence of African-American musical styles on the popular music of the entire culture (Shull 5). This popularity symbolizes an interactive cultural pattern between black and white sources because popular arts, by definition, aim to please the "largest common denominator" and "tend to standardize at the median level of majority expectation" (Nye 6). For this "coon song" music to become popular, being played instrumentally by the Cowboy

Band before a Wild West show affirms its popularity, implies an acceptance of African-American sounds and styles by the majority culture.

During the 1890's there developed "a tremendous vogue for syncopated coon songs, from which both black and white song writer's profited" (Southern 311). Coon songs, often "ragged" in a "shouting", improvisatory manner by Black musicians, used stylistic characteristics from ragtime and the blues, both of which developed at the same time, and reflected distinct "black institutions and culture" rather than styles based solely on the language of European art music (Southern 308). By playing these synthetic "coon" songs, the Cowboy Band demonstrated the influence of "conquered" cultures from the "wilderness" (mostly urban wilderness in this case) on dominant American civilization even in an exhibition devoted primarily to the "conquering" process. During this same time period the famous Sousa Band also played music with "rag" elements, traveling, like the Wild West, on tours throughout America and Europe spreading the "lively syncopated music" of an American cultural synthesis (Smart).

However, in these "coon songs" and other popular songs of the

times, control by the dominant culture exerted itself through cultural stereotyping--controlling classifications often made on the basis of race, but also using economic class, religion, and other ways of "mental shorthand, denying the basic anarchy of individuality by offering, in its stead, neatness and order, the comfort of consistency" (Sudhalter 1). Though the hierarchical, controlling values of progress had been upended by Custer's defeat, the "savages" whether Indian, African-American, Irish-American, or others still suffered from the "highly inflammatory," demeaning caricatures delivered by such words, often found in songs, as coon, mick, savage, and others (Sudhalter 1). By performing "coon song" music influenced by the blues and ragtime culture of African-Americans, the Cowboy Band advanced the culturally interactive process of American culture, but simultaneously perpetuated cultural stereotypes keeping complicated knowledge about black culture from being truly understood. Wild West musical analysis reveals the exhibition demonstrating its social topicality as well as its historical significance; when the bands played music of the day, they musically symbolized issues of the times as well, revealing prevailing cultural attitudes.

After the opening pre-show concert, the Cowboy Band played the official, ritual opening of the exhibition--the Star-Spangled Banner. This standard practice occurred many years before 1931, the year the Banner became America's official anthem (Blackstone 54). This Wild West custom of beginning outdoor arena events with the Star-Spangled Banner eventually turned into a musical and patriotic national tradition. Enhancing the themes of the exhibition, this nationalistic anthem inspired by a wartime battle displays values consistent with the violent conquests of America's enemies reenacted by the show.

Finally, at 2:00 or 2:30 the show begins, as outlined in chapter two, with the Cowboy Band "following the tradition of circus bands everywhere, providing accompaniment for the various acts and bridges between acts" (Blackstone 55). In his biography of the great American bandmaster, Karl King, leader of the Sells-Floto Circus Band when Buffalo Bill traveled with the circus in 1914, Thomas Hatton describes the range of activities the leader of a circus band and the band members themselves handle as they provide proper aural support for the arena events (a strenuous playing often called windjamming):

The leader had to "line up the acts," that is, decide what music was to accompany which acts and when. This had to be done in consultation with the performers, most of whom had definite ideas as to what they wanted in the way of music. And they had every right to their opinions, for the wrong music at the wrong time could ruin their best efforts. Yet most of them were not musicians, and thus the conductor had to develop the skill of a diplomat to keep each act happy and still have music that would both please the audience and be possible for his men to play.

Once the show started, the conductor could never relax. The music was constantly changing--a few bars of this, a few bars of something else--as the continuously changing spectacle in the rings (arena) called for different moods and tempos. Merle Evans (famous circus band master who directed the Buffalo Bill-101 Ranch Wild West Show band in 1916, Cody's last year) once figured that an evening show of Ringling Bros. Barnum and Bailey called for over two hundred changes in music during its two hour course And, of course, there was constantly the sudden cutoff and the grand chord as an act finished one trick and headed for another. A circus band musician learned early to keep one eye on the music and the other on the director, and woe to the man who "blooped over" when that baton came down signaling a cutoff. More woe to the leader who missed his cue and deprived a performer of a bow.
(47)

For the Cowboy Band, the Wild West, "not a show or circus" to Burke, Salsbury, or Cody, functioned similarly. So similar were playing characteristics and repertoire, musicians often played one season with a Wild West band and moved to a circus band another year. William Sweeney directed Cody's band for almost thirty years, an unusual length of time for a band leader. As young men two great

twentieth century bandmasters, Karl King and Merle Evans, directed the band for a season or two, a more common length of stay for show/circus directors. Both men left the Wild West as Cody finished his long career, King to Ringling Bros. and later to the Fort Dodge, Iowa, Municipal Band (Hatton 52), and Evans to minstrel show bands, the 101 Ranch Show, and eventually to Ringling Bros. Barnum Bailey Circus, becoming the Maestro of circus bandmasters until his death in 1987 (Plowdon 44).¹¹

Whether Wild West musicians did as much "windjamming" as circus musicians remains unknown, having one arena to play for rather than the three rings of a circus surely made the job easier. However quick musical changes and abrupt starts and stops were part of the grueling process of providing support for the acts. Quality became apparent though. As reported in the Brooklyn Times, the band provided an "obligato" for the performance and demonstrated the abilities of an "above average band" (Blackstone

¹¹ More modern evidence that circus musicians and wild west show musicians performed similar roles comes from such groups as the Windjammers, a society for the preservation of turn-of-the century music, whose newsletter contains articles detailing the musical life of the band musicians and leaders of the day without making significant distinctions between the two types of shows.

55). A better report comes from Europe; J. Jay Watson writing for the London Evening News on July 25, 1887, reviews the musical impact of the Cowboy Band in glowing terms common to writing from this era. In language displaying the "controlled" implications of civilization, he reveals the interest of people from the nineteenth century in band music and suggests its ability to symbolize values of the society:

Buffalo Bill's Cowboy Band

I once heard Peter Cooper remark that few people realize the immense power of sweet music. "What I mean by *sweet* music," said he, "is music which we can understand, and which touches the heart." A few evening's since, while witnessing "Buffalo Bill's Wild West" exhibition in company with several congenial friends, the really beautiful music furnished by the "Cow-Boy" Band and Orchestra vividly called to my mind the words of the noble-hearted philanthropist. Being utterly unprepared for such a musical treat, it was all the more welcome. . . . It is a rare thing to find a musical combination worth listening to. What surprised me most was the perfect balancing of parts, and the pure intonation among the wind as well as the stringed instruments. The violins could be heard sustaining the principal parts, and were never overpowered by the more sonorous instruments. Even the flute and piccolo were blown in most perfect tune, a requisite as rare as it is welcome in every well-trained orchestra. . . . It seems to me that in some respects the *cow-boy* musician of the West is synonymous with the *Bull*, of Norway (a violinist of the times). The latter dropped into Paris unheralded and unknown, but left it with a renown that reached throughout the civilized world, and I will venture to say that the *Cow-boy* Orchestra will leave an impression that many bands of greater

pretensions might well envy, and upon their arrival on the other side of the ocean they will create an enthusiasm equal to that which their merits justly entitle them. (Watson)

Watson celebrates the band's control. Their playing in tune implies a Western Civilization concept of pitch unification. All the musicians must listen intently to each other as they play, modifying their musical pitches to create a perfectly in-tune "harmony" with each other--a sign of western music. These concepts metaphorically reveal a culture desiring a unification of or modifying control of social behaviors as well (to live in controlled harmony), providing musical evidence for the values of progress and civilization. Not valued are the heterophonic sounds of musicians like the Native-Americans or even amateur bands and orchestras, but instead, considered most impressive are virtuosic blended, balanced, and harmonious sounds.

More common to orchestras, string instruments such as the violin also receive mention in this review. An 1886 program, the year before the Wild West appeared in London for the first time, lists Chris Berger as directing an orchestra, never mentioning the role or function of the small group. Clearly, the Cowboy Band performed in London and elsewhere with strings--Andrew Link also

played violin (Strobel)--as well as with the standard woodwinds, brass, and percussion. Strings exemplify European orchestral influences, another musical sign that the Wild West represented more of American culture than just the "wild" frontier West.

In a favorable Wild West feature story detailing the impact of the show on London royalty in particular and society in general, the London columnist for the *New York World*, reported on August 20, 1887: "I must not omit to mention the band, which discoursed excellent music during the afternoon. It is called the 'Cowboy Band,' and is composed of members of that community" (NYW). A story in the London "Umpire" on Sunday, April 1, 1888, details a special presentation by the Cowboy Band to director Sweeney during a performance in a local concert hall. They awarded to Sweeney "a handsomely engraved gold and silver-plated cornet, made and specially designed by the F. Besson & Co., London, England." Containing information about Sweeney, the article reports he was born in 1856 in New York City, joined Buffalo Bill in 1884, and "ranks as one of America's first cornet soloists." The report continues, presenting more accolades from some of America's and England's finest bandmasters. "He (Sweeney) and the Cowboy Band

have been highly complimented by Gilmore and Cappa, the celebrated orchestral and band leaders of America, and also by Lieut. Dan Godfrey and Conductor Crow of London for their artistic execution" (Umpire). Evidence suggests Sweeney and the Cowboy Band not only performed their functional tasks in the arena, but also handled aesthetic and virtuosic demands of the public and their musician peers. Certainly representing American musical conventions of the day, the band also performed in a distinctive manner. Their commendations speak well of their ability to both excel and to adapt to necessary situations.

A program from 1907 salutes these values of adaptability and affirms the band's ability to please an audience. "They are not only adepts in classical and popular music, but can stir an audience with such a spirited rendition of martial airs that it feels like charging a battery" (BB 4). Using a simile from industrial culture, the writer praises the band because it educates the audience with European classical selections, entertains and acknowledges American culture by performing vernacular songs, and rouses the patriotic, progressive spirit by playing marches. By listening to the Cowboy Band perform a person becomes educated, entertained, and uplifted,

an intellectual and emotional combination Americans seem to desire in their music and other entertainments (Nye 6).

Returning to the event in the arena and the educational, entertaining, and uplifting action thrilling audiences in a multisensory experience, Jim Arpy, writing in 1971 for the Davenport-Bettendorf (Iowa) Times, a city near Cody's birthplace of LeClaire, Iowa, sets the stage:

Look now, in the center of the grassy arena . . . Look now at the end of an epoch. Here is a man riding into history. An unseen hand strikes up a march. Hundreds of eyes strain on the entrance. The tension builds. Now the music faster, the crowd breathless. Surely now . . . Now! Now a burst of music, hoofs beating a tattoo on the sun-baked ground. A gray horse streaks into the arena at full gallop. His rider draws the reins, and brings the proud beast up on its haunches. For only a moment horse and rider are motionless, the rider, hand on hip, head back, erect in the saddle. The applause grows, swells against the canvas walls. Here he is, Buffalo Bill, in his last season in show business! Here is the legend, the living folk hero. (Green-Streak Column)

Even in 1971 Buffalo Bill inspires writers to use their creative, evocative ability to handle words. Typically, the response to Cody, even during his waning years of age and financial troubles, contains elements of passion. Merle Evans, the bandmaster during Cody's last season, remembered the fervor with strong feelings of his own:

The Miller Bros. 101 Wild West Show's principal attraction

was old Buffalo Bill. No man ever sat in a saddle with more poise than he did. He was a dignified old gentleman, and when he rode in and swept off his hat before an audience, it was something to see. Baker (Johnny Baker, Cody's foster son) did a shooting act and so did Buffalo Bill. Even in his old age . . . he was a remarkable shot. . . . He was a very likeable old gentleman, very fond of music and he'd often stop me at the door of his tent to talk music. (Plowden 41)

During the last years he probably discussed music composed just two years before by Karl King, who wrote several pieces for the band, including such marches started by Arpy's "unseen hand" as "Wyoming Days," written for the cowboys, "On the Warpath," "Sells-Floto Triumphant," "The Huntress," and "Gallant Zoaves"--music for the amateur, military precision drill teams so prevalent at the turn-of-the century in fairs and outdoor shows (Hatton 51). A concert piece, "The Passing of the Red Man," which King dedicated on the solo cornet part, "To my esteemed friend, Col. Wm. F. Cody, 'Buffalo Bill' " (King), contributed to (maybe began) the rhythmic cliché, often heard later in movies, signaling the approach of "wild" Indians into a "civilized" scene or reenactment: | **one** & two & | **one** & two & | .

King, a young man in his early twenties at the time, also remembered Cody's audience appeal, "All he (Cody) had to do was ride out on that big white horse and tip his hat to the audience, and he'd

get a standing ovation" (Hatton 48).

Cody's particular favorites became the Indian numbers; he often requested them from King and later, Merle Evans (Hatton 51). Clearly European influenced band interpretations and compositions, though using modal (often pre-literate) musical ideas for melodic and harmonic source material, the "Indian numbers" still represent music from the dominant musical culture. "The Passing of the Red Man" actually sounds much like "In a Persian Market: Descriptive Intermezzo," another band piece from the same era, written by Albert W. Ketelbey (Heter). Using ideas from musical Impressionism-- a movement taking many musical influences from "exotic" cultures to capture the "spirit" of a subject "with a tonal fabric that suggests the feeling of the poetic idea" (Wold 1987, 266)-- composers like King created Indian "sounding" pieces as part of a general movement at the turn-of-the century to better use American folk music in the creation of American music. For example, Edward MacDowell composed an "Indian Suite" for the Boston Symphony in 1896 (Davis 115), while Henry F. Gilbert wrote six "Indian Sketches" between 1902 and 1913, and Rubin Goldmark composed "Hiawatha Overture" in 1900, among others using supposedly Native-American

material to self-consciously compose in an American style (Davis 95).

Different types of Wild West acts appeared in later years as the real time of the frontier era and the actual event of the show grew further apart. Portraying more nostalgia than up-to-the-minute "real" events from history, the "Western Boys And Girls In Virginia Reel On Horseback," mixed mid-western pioneer dances with western horsemanship as the riders performed to music from the Cowboy Band. The 1903 program, in references to the Greek Gods, provides dramatic information:

From the Heights of classic Olympus, Terpsichore may well gaze in wild-eyed wonder at a measure wildly new to her engagement list--a lively and most picturesque dance in which gallant cowboys, graceful Western girls and smart bronchos participate. 'Places all!' shouts the leader, and to the music of the Cowboy Band, the air of the lively old-fashioned Virginia Reel, the squares are formed and away go the riders and horses in all the rollicking and intricate figures of that popular dance, the long hair and bright curls of the riders streaming on the breeze, and the alert hoofs of the spirited broncos keeping perfect time to the popular tune, 'After the Ball Is Over,' . . .
(23)

To Charles Harris' most popular song at the turn-of-the century, the dancers on horseback demonstrate their ability to control the animals of the garden, actually giving them human qualities as they

(human and horse) "dance" in rhythm to music from the mainstream culture. Knowing the specific music shows how Sweeney collected ideas from the recent popular culture to present expressive acts supposedly historical in nature.

Knowledge of other material the Cowboy Band played in the arena comes from a variety of sources. Conductor/Director and in later programs, Professor William Sweeney also composed music for the show. Given his job as leader he probably arranged much music as well, but two late copyrighted pieces still exist (appendix 3): "The Two-Bills March Two-Step,"¹² dedicated to Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill, who toured together for a few years at the time of the 1910 copyright, and "Buffalo Bill's Farewell March and Two Step," published in 1911 when the Two Bills traveled together during Cody's "farewell" exhibition (Russell 1970, 86). Only found in piano score form, the instrumental parts likely used by Sweeney and the

¹² A ballroom dance in duple meter, the two-step developed into the fox trot, eventually leading to such variations as the charleston, black bottom and shimmy (Apel 330)--not unlike the musical changes from marches and two-steps, to ragtime and dixieland, to blues and jazz.

band remain missing.¹³ Both pieces contain the excitement and energy needed for Cody's opening entrance, but their actual use in the show remains speculative.

Other composers from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the "Golden Age of Bands" (Hazen xvii), wrote for the band idiom and occasionally included a piece dedicated to Buffalo Bill, the "living legend." David Hawthorne, a familiar composer of the times, wrote "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Descriptive March & Two-Step" in 1908, "respectfully dedicated to Col. Wm. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill)." The piano score copy features a large picture of Cody centered on the cover (appendix 3), an image similar to those found on Wild West programs, with small iconic images of exhibition characters in each corner. The upper left shows the old frontier scout peering across the plains with a caption entitled "guiding and guarding;" the lower left details a mounted cowboy twirling a lasso above his head called "something doing;" the lower right displays an Indian seated on a horse holding a rifle towards the ground titled "watching and

¹³ For a band and a leader to labor for thirty years and to leave such little written/paper evidence of their work seems unlikely, but little appears to still exist. Perhaps a cache of music, arrangements, and other materials lies in an attic somewhere. Obviously no one considered saving the materials at the time of the show's end.

waiting;" and the upper right demonstrates the new rough riders with an Arab horseman riding and shooting in a scene called "powder play." Obviously scenes from the show, they also function as icons representing prevalent types and stereotypes. Stage directions appear in the music above formal sections of the piece.

Evoking images exterior to the musical content, the script seems plausible enough to have been used in the arena. The "introduction" functions as a "call to arms" with the "Indians" called for in section A. Sixteen bars later when section A repeats, with the orchestration moving the melody up an octave for more brilliant timbres, the "Cow Boys" enter. After sixteen more bars, allowing time for the cowboys to ride into the arena and find the Indians, the music moves to a bridge allowing for "a mixup" to occur. This bridge lasts a brief twelve bars at which time the A section returns and the "Indians leave in retreat." Then occurs the "Review after battle" with the music moving to section B, the trio, for thirty-two measures at which time the participants in the act ride in front of the grandstand to acknowledge and receive applause from the audience. The four-bar introduction returns in an "About face," as does section A for the last time, for a "Return of the Triumphant

Cow Boys." The piece concludes with a fanfare style coda using symphonic, "fat" triadic chords and short, accented rhythms, signaling the triumph of the cowboy heroes.

Another composer of the era, William Paris Chambers, published through Carl Fischer Company, "Buffalo Bill's Equestrian March," in 1903. On file in the Library of Congress, this technically difficult 6/8 march follows standard march form of introduction, first strain, second strain, trio, break strain, and trio. It follows the instrumentation so typical of the "Brass Bands" of the times, three cornet parts, three clarinets (even though they are not brass instruments), four alto horn in E-flat parts, three trombone parts, baritone horn, and basses (tuba). Sweeney's use of this march in the show remains unclear, however the march's style certainly matches types of music the band often played.

At the end of the two hour (or longer) exhibition, with the "Salute" completed and the Wild West ended, a "Concert" followed for audience members desiring more amusement. Not involving the Cowboy Band, this type of "Concert" actually meant an "Aftershow," with different performers and musicians entertaining in a program providing a contrast to the main show. These Concerts (receiving

more analysis in a later chapter) resembled "entr'actes" or olios of vaudeville acts (Nye 167), terms used to describe a wide variety of entertainments (Mackin 361). In 1902 the Concert Company included (Route Book):

The Ramseys.....	Refined Comedy Sketch
Nellie Waters.....	Comedienne
Schafer & Young.....	German Musical Artists
C. A. Bonny.....	Imitator
Frank Cloud.....	Monologue

Likely appearing in front of the main grandstand, the performers for this show were accompanied by the Concert Orchestra, Elmer Parlett, Leader (and first violin), with the following members and instrumentation (1902 Route Book):

Ed. Weber.....	2nd Violin
Ernest Williams.....	Viola
Chris Christiansen.....	Bass
Frank Genter.....	Clarinet
Wm. Curtis.....	Cornet
Lon Williams.....	Trombone

Along with the Cowboy Band and the Side Show Band, this group of musicians likely rode one of the bandwagons in the morning parade. This Concert performance cost extra for those choosing to stay because the route book lists eight "Concert Ticket Sellers," collecting money and distributing tickets for the show. The Route

Book from 1900 also lists Concert Company performers Cloud and Kershaw, Irish Comedians, and "Tambourine" McCarty, along with several of the same musicians, so the "gig" paid well enough for the musicians and performers to return for several touring seasons. The 1896 program carries an ad for the Concert: "Best concert ever given with an outdoor show follows the Programme," and for those people taking public transportation: "All excursions wait for the Concert."

As mentioned previously, the music in the show reveals a larger context for the Wild West than frontier reenactments. Involving a broad spectrum of popular American entertainments, music's use in the show demonstrates more reasons for the Wild West's widespread impact on the American public. Not only a display of frontier "reality", the Wild West also showcased "modern" entertainments with their social and cultural implications as well, such as interactions of black and white cultures or upper and lower classes, and changing roles of women. Significantly, Cody took his Wild West across America and Europe to small towns and large cities spreading these musical styles wherever he traveled. In days before movies, radios, or television, the traveling show carried culture to the public. Cody brought to his audiences an American

musical diversity representative of the times; styles like the marches, harkening back to earlier times in the life of the culture (the good old days preparing the "garden"), styles like the coon songs and other popular song idioms handling the new themes of industrial society, and Native-American styles representing a natural America thought to be vanishing.

After all these performances of parade, pre-show concert, exhibition, and aftershow concert, the Wild West day continues. After dinner the performers prepare for the evening show, the real main event. At this time the lights come on and the arena glows with energy and excitement as the new technology transforms a dusty arena into a lighted theater space. Beginning around 7:45 with the downbeat for the pre-show concert, the second performance of the day finally ends three hours later. Then the crews break down the canvas, equipment, tents, animals, and other materials, and pack them on to an equipment train while the performers move on ahead to the next town in a separate personnel train. One night the work crews, so ready to move on to the next town, had the "arena canvas down before the concert was over" (1896 Route Book). By the next morning both trains arrive in a new town, and the Wild West

performance routine starts all over again--a daily schedule followed from April to October.

Occasionally the schedule allowed for other pursuits, especially when the show established residence in location as often happened in the earlier years, particularly at the London Exposition in 1887 or the Chicago Exposition in 1893. Then the Cowboy Band performed concerts at other places than the arena. From concert program information collected by band member Andrew Link in 1887, the Cowboy Band played regularly at the Aston Lower Grounds in London near the American Exhibition area on Sunday evenings in a concert series featuring other musical groups and artists as well. A newspaper ad disclosed: "An Afternoon and Evening Concert, 3:30 till 5:30, and 6:30 till 9:30, will be given each Sunday by the Lower Grounds Military and Orchestral Band, and by the Cowboy Band, at the Aston Lower Grounds" (Link Collection). On Sunday, November 13, 1887, the local orchestra performed, among other pieces, the "Grand March 'Belphegor'," "Elijah," "Pas Redouble," and "Fontana Espagnade" with a solo clarinetist. The Cowboy Band, guests at this concert series, played two selections, "The Silver Trumpets Grand Processional March" by Viviani, and "Selections from the Opera,

'Little Tycoon'," by W. Spencer. These concerts reveal the versatility of the Cowboy Band performers as they stretch their musical abilities to handle programming fare usually called "light classics" by band directors. Bands, famous for performing a diversity of literature in order to please their audiences, provided a mix of education, entertainment, and spiritual uplift the citizens desired.

Famous twentieth century band director, Richard Franco Goldman, writes of John Phillip Sousa's ideas about programming, the model for all band leaders:

he was an excellent showman with a sure understanding of the band's nature as a medium of popular character. His programs featured favorite overtures and concert selections, marches, waltzes, and light opera excerpts. Sousa expressed himself quite definitely on the subject of his programs, taking the position that his function was to give the public what it wanted. (60)

Bands in the nineteenth century American communities followed similar values. Bands, "integral parts of their community, created community spirit among 'a society of divergent interests, backgrounds, traditions and cultures'" (Banner 44). When the Cowboy Band played at Aston Lower grounds, or in the Wild West, it followed band tradition by performing a variety of popular styles of music to appeal to a diverse audience.

On other Sunday evenings the band repertoire included more marches and "light classics" as the Cowboy Band brought an American band tradition to England, a country with its own heritage of quality bands. On November 20, 1887, the Cowboy Band performed "Gilmore's Triumphant March" by T. P. Brooke, and "Operatic Selection--Dorothy" by Cellier. Sunday, November 6, under the direction of "Conductor, Mr. Wm. Sweeney," found the Cowboy Band playing a march, "Color Guard" by T. H. Rollinson, and "Selections from Offenbach's Operas." An advertisement for another concert listed the band playing the march, "Minneapolis Exposition" by T. P. Brooke, and "Selections from the Mikado." Another evening's program revealed the band entertaining with a march, "Rifle Regiment" by J. P. Sousa, and "Recollections of the War: Grand Medley of Old War Songs" by E. Beyer. More selections from another Sunday included "Sound Off" march by Sousa, and "Medley Overture--Ten Minutes with the Minstrels" by G. Bowson (Link Collection).

This compilation of band pieces certainly demonstrates the ensemble's versatility, even in the early Wild West year of 1887, and places it in the mainstream of band tradition, playing diverse literature from many idioms, synthesizing divergent styles into

"band music" where the "rough edges" of popular and folk styles become "smoothed" out. In the last example listed above, the band combines elements of the African-American influenced minstrel music with the European influenced march and light classic music, creating an American synthesis, what Wilfrid Mellers describes as "a darker shade of pale" (1985, 26). Music with middle ground characteristics develops, displaying aspects of both cultures involved in the interactive process. Music played by the Cowboy Band involves the intersection of "civilized," literate, harmonically controlled, technologically advanced, and technically virtuosic, "classic" styles with the improvisatory, oral, modal, "ragged" music of the folk cultures. This interaction produces first and foremost, band music, using the timbres, meters, textures, and instruments of a favorite ensemble of the progressive dominant culture to play in a naive manner, melodies, harmonies, rhythms and forms from the "other" culture.

However, the Cowboy Band creates a musical synthesis palatable to the mainstream culture, another step in the preparation of listeners (society) for future, more profound changes in musical styles occurring in the twentieth century. These interactions of the

new century eventually manifest themselves in complex musical ways familiar to us living in these times, including the raw, powerful, often improvisatory sounds of blues, gospel, country, and rock; the smoother, more subtle timbres, textures, improvisations, and complex harmonies of jazz; and the concert-oriented complicated musical forms of concert bands and orchestras. As the scouts of the prairie prepared the wilderness for settlers, the "brass bands" of the nineteenth century "smoothed the way" for others to follow. However the "smoothing" process allowed "wild voices" to be heard in some manner. Now, at the end of the twentieth century, audiences often hear the music ensembles, including bands, perform with authentic rough edges of the original cultures still intact, allowing the dissonance of the complicated, interactive factors of life in America to be heard, therefore gaining more complicated knowledge about the specific cultures themselves.

Other Wild West musical ensembles also performed occasional concerts. A program from the "Courtfield Musical Society," during their 1887-1888 season, located in the Courtfield Hotel opposite the Earl's Court Station, near the London site of the American Exposition, lists a "Smoking Concert" on Wednesday, October 26,

1887, 8:30 p.m. featuring a selection by the Wild West Cow Boy's String Band. Obviously the normal brass band personnel included a few string players besides Andrew Link, the hornist and violinist. The Link collection contains an invoice for replacement violin strings so performers played enough, whether formally or informally, that the instruments required maintenance (Link Collection).

Additional performances in the London area involved Wild West activities and variations of the show itself. On Saturday, December 17, 1887 at 2:30 in the afternoon occurred "A Depiction of American Pioneer History" at the Manchester, England, Race Track. This Wild West style exhibition featured the band in an Overture, during the three, five-minute intermissions, and within the acts themselves, but no particular pieces receive mention. Another event, the "Buffalo Bill Wild West Out-Door Sports and Ten Mile International Race," occurred at the "Manchester Racecourse on Tuesday Afternoon, May 1st, 1888," with "Musical Selections" by the "Cowboy Band." According to advertisement notes, a similar event also transpired earlier in the year, March 30, 1888 (Link Collection).

Also of interest and demonstrating the appeal of the Cowboy

Band to the people of London, a "Bon Voyage" concert for the "American Cowboy Band" was given by J. Thurgar Norman at the Colherne Hotel, Thursday, Oct. 20, 1887," featuring piano pieces, songs, and violin recital pieces by minor composers of the day, J.T. Norman, R. Thomas, Tournier, and R. Shortreid. The program also contained many sentimental songs of the times, American favorites like the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Auld Lang Syne," and finally the traditional ending, "God Save The Queen" (Link Collection). This program, with its recital pieces and sentimental songs, characterizes the traditional Parlor Song concert so prevalent in the upper and middle classes of mostly urban America (and also England) since the Revolutionary War. "Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans," parlor songs were "written to have and did have an immediate and wide appeal" in middle class America (Tawa 15).

Created for the musical amateur, parlor songs contained easily sung, symmetrical melodies supported by tonic, subdominant, and dominant harmonies (European influenced) in a background-oriented piano accompaniment. Sung with a "natural and unforced" (middle ground) vocal timbre, parlor song performances "brought out the central sentiment of the text, usually the emotion of love, fear, or

pity" (Tawa 10). Composed for the home parlor with no pretensions of being great art, these songs supported the "home circle" and "the 'tens of thousands of people whose wants would not be supplied at all' if only the more complex songs were written" (Tawa 13). Using a mostly negative tone deriding parlor song's superficial values, Gilbert Chase describes the parlor song movement as a "genteel tradition:"

The genteel tradition is characterized by the cult of the fashionable, the worship of the conventional, the emulation of the elegant, the cultivation of the trite and artificial, the indulgence of sentimentality, and the predominance of superficiality. Its musical manifestations are found chiefly in a flood of vocal literature that presumably drew tears or sobs from its original listeners or filled them with chills and thrills in its more dramatic moments. (165)

Besides impacting the emotional life of America, parlor songs, sold in sheet music form containing the melody, lyrics, and usually piano accompaniment, also contributed economically to society through the sale of music and instruments, mostly pianos. They brought a "sweet" culture to America as most of the songs dealt with topics of love, affection, beauty, youth, happiness, and other

mostly sentimental emotions. ¹⁴ In nineteenth century times of hard physical and economic reality, society "preferred that these truths be softened with sentimentality" in their entertainments (Tawa 153). This softening process appears to be another central pattern of the "Gay 90's" era. On the frontier scouts and pioneers "smoothed the way for millions to follow" (Burke 1886), while the Cowboy Band (representing bands in general) smoothed out the rough edges of such musical styles as "coon" songs, minstrel tunes, and Native-American music, to make music more "acceptable," and parlor songs glossed over the harsh realities of existence in a young country with songs of "civilized" sentiment. Asserting control over a "wild" reality took on many manifestations as people sought the middleground of the controlled "garden."

More Wild West components than the Cowboy Band spread American musical culture. Wild West programs themselves contain information providing evidence the show brought many

¹⁴ Tracing the threads of parlor song tradition into the twentieth century is an easy task. Often taking on stylistic characteristics of current musical styles, such as jazz or rock, the sentimental "pop" song continues in every generation. Much material documents this "sweet" tradition including American Popular Song by Alec Wilder.

manifestations of music to America. For years companies advertised the sale of sheet music and pianos--the principal economic elements of the parlor song tradition--in both large and small ads aimed at hometown and national audiences. The 1899 program features a full page ad containing the published piano score of the introduction and part of the first strain of "The Rough Rider March" by Charles Connolly, published by M. Witmark and Sons, and available in "Complete Copies" for 60 cents "At All Music Stores" (35).

Strategically placed on the page after a program essay on "The Rough Rider's Immortal Charge," the ad, part of the national program, advertises the march wherever the show travels. The Cowboy Band likely played "Rough Riders" in the show, therefore introducing new music to the general public, encouraging its purchase, and boosting the earnings of the advertisers.

The "civilized" parlor song tradition also appears in Wild West program material because companies advertising the sale of pianos bought ad space in the lengthy, ten-cent programs sold in the arena. An 1899 program from the New York area contains an ad from "The Cunningham Piano Co., 1105 Chestnut St., plus one from a competing store down the street, "Bellak-New Upright Pianos, \$180, 1129

Chestnut." The same 1899 Wild West program also advertised band concerts at "Willow Grove Park" by "Italy's Greatest Band, 'Banda Rossa' with Concerts every Afternoon and Evening." The 1908 program contained a pitch for the Hardman Piano Company while the 1909 New Jersey oriented program carried ads for the Lauter Piano Co. and Kirk Johnson Piano. 1910 programs featured an ad for Angelus Player-Pianos.

Expecting Wild West ads to feature more traditional "western" items such as horses, tack, clothing, or even band instruments because of their use in the show, the appearance of so many piano ads surprises. Even in a frontier entertainment setting, desire exists for middle-class America's "civilized" instrument of choice. The popularity of the "home" oriented parlor songs and the new "ragtime" piano-oriented music created a huge market for pianos and sheet music, obviously affecting the Wild West as well. Represented by these ads, Nye describes the ideal musical atmosphere of the nineties :

The introduction of mass production methods in piano manufacture made the instrument a fixture in every middle-class home, bringing in the voice-and-piano age of song. Pianos, pump organs, and pianolas . . . were priced within the range of families with moderate means, which meant that

music was a normal daily activity in millions of homes. A piano in the parlor and music lessons for the children were marks of refinement and respectability, the family a center for both musicmaking and listening. (314)

In Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915, Sandra Myres describes some musical frontier experiences, recognizing the importance of music and particularly the piano to the western settlers.

Musical evenings, both formal and informal, were enjoyed throughout the West. Although Bach and Mozart were not particularly popular outside the larger cities like San Francisco and San Antonio, frontier settlers enjoyed music and looked forward to the arrival of a talented musician and musical instruments. Local historians recorded the arrival of the first piano or the first parlor organ with the same enthusiasm as the first school and the first preacher. In fact it is rather surprising how many families managed to take pianos . . . with them to their new Western homes. . . . Those who were unable to bring pianos or organs with them ordered them from the East just as soon as transportation facilities were available . . . (178)

Having piano ads in the Wild West programs made perfect sense. A family-oriented, popular entertainment exhibition from the West should advertise the materials necessary for western family popular pastimes. In addition the symbolic nature of the piano bears metaphoric resemblance to the values of the Wild West. Symbolizing a musical "taming" process, like the Wild West represents a frontier

"taming" attitude, the piano and the Wild West both develop because of belief structures existing in a controlled industrial culture. The following analysis metaphorically connects the tuning system used by pianos, also used by instruments and music of the Cowboy Band, with the civilizing themes of chapter two.

As the most representative musical instrument machine icon of the industrial age, the piano inherently represents philosophical attitudes of the times as well as design structures and materials. Philosophical implications of the piano reside in its system of tuning, actually developed earlier than the eighteenth century time frame of Christofori's invention of the instrument itself (Apel 836). This tuning system, equal temperament tuning, in machine-like fashion scientifically and mathematically divides an octave into twelve equal half-steps (Sullivan xi), represented by the white and black keys on the piano. Other, more "natural" tuning systems, such as Pythagorean, "just," or tuning ideas found in pre-literate modal musics, rarely compromise the mathematically "pure" (natural) intervals of octaves, fifths, or thirds, because the music performed rarely extends the system past the intonation barriers the systems can handle. But temperament systems, like mean-tone or equal,

"deviate from the 'pure' intervals" of the chord-of-nature overtone series because "the deviations are necessary" to accommodate music with more "chromatic tones" (complexity) (Apel 835).

If the music performed uses a limited amount of notes, keys, and harmonies, as in pre-literate music then "natural" tunings will work, but the Western dominance of major, minor scale systems and the resultant harmonic development, key transpositions, and chromaticism, required the mathematically based, "civilized," tuning compromise of keeping only "the octave acoustically correct or pure," establishing an artificially constructed hierarchy. In equal temperament tuning the pure (natural) intervals of fifths and thirds are lost (civilized); however, human ears become conditioned and accept the changes, like people accept social and environmental changes. Apel informs: "The deviation from the pure fifth (2 cents) is too small to be perceived. With the thirds the difference is considerably greater (14 cents), . . . However, the modern ear has become completely accustomed to this 'error' " (836).

Metaphoric dichotomies between nature and civilization become obvious in these tuning systems. The world of "natural" tuning used by Medieval music, Renaissance art music, and also folk

and pre-literate musics, employs primarily melodic instruments or voices like recorders, flutes, or dulcimers. Progressive European civilization, with its high art music from the Baroque and Classic eras, uses tuning systems allowing greater development of the hierarchical melodic and harmonic system of tonality, primarily for keyboard instruments like the piano with its ability to simultaneously realize both melody and harmony. An icon having as its philosophical underpinning the desire to control nature, the piano and its performance characteristics have conditioned the audience's/society's acceptance of this mentally constructed "taming" compromise for almost two hundred years. Piano tuner/scholar, Anita Sullivan acknowledges the conforming, controlling power of the equal temperament tuning system:

it is certain that much livelier distinctions existed from one key to another back when the meantone and irregular temperaments were in common use. After equal temperament came along and imposed the enharmonic compromise upon the accidentals, then the notion of what "key" a piece was composed in became essentially meaningless. (77)

Considering the metaphorical, social implications of this tuning system and Leech's notion that "one thing is a transformation of another," equal temperament tuning symbolically "conquers" and

"controls" nature in ways relating to the conquering and controlling expressed in the Wild West. The natural world of modal tunings, like the wilderness, needs controlling and adjusting to make it fit the needs of the new industrial civilization with its demands for hierarchical social structures, and for individuals to blend/harmonize/unify/conform their talents for the benefit of society. Sullivan describes the tuning process in metaphoric language resonating with societal implications: "The Temperament--middle--Circling and circling, I mold my temperament, urging the unruly into balance. Each interval must blend with the next . . . and back to the beginning" (72).

Tuning language also uses explicit symbols of wilderness. Equal temperaments remove, by the controlled, equal semitone compromise, so-called "wolf" tones, dissonant intervals often present in more "natural" meantone tuning systems. Metaphoric implications of wilderness and conquering occur throughout the following paragraph discussing the merits of various tuning systems:

Perhaps, then it was not so much an abhorrence of 'wolf' intervals in themselves that caused meantone temperament to be replaced by irregular temperaments, and the final victory of

the most regular-irregular temperament of them all (equal temperament)--rather it was that the wolves could not be moved around quickly enough any more. A wolf strategically placed is very, very good; a wolf out of place is horrid. (Sullivan 80)

A general statement relevant to a contemporary wilderness society meeting, a range management conference, a music convention, or the prairie frontier, the language of the final observation clearly makes metaphoric connections between the civilized controlling of "wild" territory inherent in both the piano and the Wild West. Piano advertisements in the Wild West program, or attendance by Cowboy Band members at a salon piano recital in London, provide manifest evidence of the symbolic connection.

In addition to the arena performing, the concertizing, and the salon recitals, circumstances often arose needing music to flavor a ceremony or a social ritual so the Cowboy Band provided the selections. Cody himself writes about the Wild West's need for music during the show's departure for London on the ship Nebraska in 1887: "Our departure was an occasion I shall never forget, for as the ship drew away from the pier such cheers went up as I never before heard, while our Cowboy Band played "The Girl I Left Behind Me" in a manner that suggested more reality than empty sentiment in the

familiar air" (1902, 702). This military tune, often played by Custer's Seventh Cavalry Band (Songs Cavalry), seemed appropriate to the Wild West company traveling to unknown lands and experiences.

As the ship approached port near London, music from an approaching tug emotionally assisted the transition from ship to shore:

As the tug came nearer, strains of "The Star Spangled Banner," rendered by a band on her deck fell upon our ears, and immediately our own Cowboy Band responded with "Yankee Doodle," creating a general tumult on the ship as the word was passed from bow to stern that friends were near. (Cody 1902, 708)

As the crews moved equipment from the ship to the exposition location, the final feeling of being settled required more band music to set the proper tone:

Tents were going up, stoves being erected, tables spread and set in the open air; tepees rapidly erected, and by 6 o'clock a perfect canvas city had sprung up in the heart of West-End London. The halliards of the flag staff raised the starry banner to the breeze, and as the Cowboy Band rendered our national air a storm of shout and cheers went up from the thousands that lined the walls, streets, and housetops of the surrounding neighborhoods this was very gratifying and in answer to these hearty plaudits we gave them "God Save the Queen" and so the Wild West . . . was at home in camp in London. (Cody 1902, 712)

Music best evoked the patriotic feeling of being American in a foreign land, as it also expressed and returned their feeling of acceptance by the citizens of London. Again the band contributes musical services (work) to benefit the whole troupe. Other tunes played by the band and mentioned in John Burke's, Buffalo Bill: From Prairie to Palace: An Authentic History of the Wild West, included a Civil War favorite, "Tenting Tonight On The Old Campground," thought to be Cody's favorite song; patriotic songs like "Dixie," or "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean;" and hymns such as "Nearer My God to Thee," played by the band for Major North's funeral (Yost 350).

The Cowboy Band contributed much to the final performance product of the Wild West, and to the emotional well-being of the cast of hundreds, but like the wages for the cowboys of the plains, the pay was only adequate. The show managers handled room and board for the personnel, a needed benefit for traveling shows, but the pay still lacked substance. From a page of the 1910 band payroll book, the pay listed on April 26 for band leader Sweeney, "Professor Sweeney" in the program, was \$35 a week or five dollars a day. Payday also came on the last day of the month, April 30, making it a short week so the pay was \$26. The pay on May 7, a week from the

previous payday, registered a full \$35 again. According to wage statistics from 1910, an average weekly earning for American employees was \$11 (U. S. Census 164). Even taking into consideration a thirty to thirty-six week season, Sweeney earned a decent wage. Other band members, of course, fared less well. Highest paid band member, Howard Rowell, received \$18 a week, Patrick Malone and Christian Christiansen earned \$16, Jack Goodman and J. Vernie, \$15, W. H. Bowers, Jas Farici, Ed Weber, P. J. Leslie, and Fred Mears, \$14, Frederick Cochran, Jas Polombo, and A. A. Morel, \$13, W. B. Fowler, Fred Parker, B. H. Hornbrook, Chas. Bardunck, J. F. Northuk, Paul Bennett, and Franklin White, \$12, and Tony Heinzman and George Sanborn worked for the American average wage of \$11 a week (Band Payroll). What band members from earlier years earned is not known, but Cody and Salsbury often cleared large sums of money from the show, particularly in the Chicago Exposition year of 1893. Unfortunately, Cody rarely invested the profits wisely, except as he supported the show, and died owing large sums of money (Yost).

This examination of the Cowboy Band finds an ensemble performing tasks and music in the mainstream tradition of nineteenth-century American bands. The Wild West musically

impacted the twentieth century because two later directors of the Cowboy Band, Karl King and Merle Evans, developed into two of the most famous band leaders in American history, King, second only to Sousa as the "March King," and Evans, the "Maestro of Circus Bands." That so little remains of the Cowboy Band's work in the arena implies it was ordinary, good work--the kind people expected and took for granted. Although appreciated and commended, the bandsmen, like hired hands in other fields of endeavor, performed the jobs expected of them. Complementing the show so well, brass band conventions reinforced the values of the Wild West. Since underlying messages of the exhibition include civilizing wild territory, progressing society to the ideal state of the garden, patriotism, industrial and technological achievement, developing social responses to the new cultural interactions of industrialism, and expanding American culture to the world, bands are the ideal musical symbol.

Confirming this assertion, Margaret and Robert Hazen, in a Smithsonian publication, The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands In America, 1800-1920, write: bands "appealed to the emotions of a people struggling to create an orderly society on a

vast and forbidding continent" (11). Demonstrating the "striking" American characteristics that Frederick Jackson Turner asserts develop because of living in and dealing with frontier conditions, bandsmen play with "coarseness and strength" to be heard in large open arenas. Bandsmen also demonstrate "practicality" and "expedience" as they control their enthusiasm, "that restless, nervous energy," and their technologically modern instruments from industrial society to perform with a sense of order and control. "Lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends" (61), they metaphorically represent society's enthusiasm for the progressive development and technological innovations needed to control the rough frontier landscape.

Also representing artistic growth and progress for American communities as people discover the music from other cultures, like the classics from Europe or the songs of the popular culture, bands model democratic social skills as performers learn to blend and harmonize sounds according to musical/societal conventions. In bands citizens artistically control technological tools of society, directing their work effort towards collectively sought goals. Though taking on characteristics of Romanticism, band music of the

nineteenth century, exemplified by the Cowboy Band, evaded high art ideals to remain functional, practical, "inventive, expedient," (like most Americans) (Turner 61), artistically desiring to serve and please the common audience. An artistic measure of society's ability to control nature and harmonize technology and humanity, bands, during this nineteenth century time frame, became a benchmark for the progress of American civilization (Hazen 90).

An examination of musical characteristics from specific musical compositions performed by the Cowboy Band closes this chapter. Using technical musical evidence discussed in chapter one, such as harmonies, melodies, scale patterns, textures, forms, rhythms, and timbres, my analyses connect specific musical elements and their style usage to cultural value implications, and their evocative impact. Some music from this era still exists in published formats, but most remains out-of-print, languishing in libraries or lost. A busy outlet for this style of music does still exist, the Chatfield Brass Band Lending Library in Chatfield, Minnesota, maintains a large collection of turn-of-the century band music, attempting to preserve part of the American heritage. Contemporary concerts celebrating this turn-of-the century

American music confront the musical and social naivete of the time of course, but encounter also its representation of America at a certain time in its history--knowledge necessary to better comprehend the directions music and society might move in the future.

Two extended analyses follow. Examined first, a march composed by bandleader Sweeney himself. By 1910 Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill had combined their forces into one show, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Great Far East," usually called the "Two Bill's Show." Sweeney still directed the Cowboy Band and made musical decisions necessary for the acts. Really emphasizing the exotic by this time twenty-seven years after the first Wild West show, new acts included "a band of genuine Bedouin Arabs," Hawaiian dancing girls and musicians, a Dahomian village, Russian dancers and merry-makers, the Singhalese silver dancers, and "Monsieur. Alfredo Rossi's 'Marvelous Musical Elephants,'" performing with brass instruments attached to their trunks somehow so they played "songs" while carrying orientally-costumed women on their backs who also "chimed in on different tuned instruments" (BB & PB program 6-11). Sweeney composed "Two-Bills March and Two Step"

in 1910, celebrating the combining of the shows (appendix 3).

Using a standard formula march composition, the two-step dancing pattern requires symmetry and regular phrases. In this case the form of the 6/8 march begins in B-flat major with a twelve-bar introduction. Establishing a downward moving, flowing melody in the sixteen measure repeated first strain or A section, the B section accents in marcato style its sixteen repeated measures. Moving in standard practice to the key of the subdominant, E-flat, the trio, contains its own four measure introduction, sounds a thirty-two bar section C, and closes with a repeated sixteen measure D section.

Common ideas to all the sections include melodic shapes typically starting on a high pitch level, moving down by stepwise or triadic movement, reaching the bottom of the phrase after four bars. After the melodic contour rises again in a wave form gently moving higher in pitch for four measures, the first phrase repeats, again moving the pitch and line of the melody down. In the last four measures of the sixteen bar sectional structure, the melodic shape leads upward to the climactic point of the section, after which the entire sectional structure either repeats exactly or moves, by using a measure of repeated notes in a triplet pattern, to the next section of

the form.

This boldly styled, aggressive, confident music complements the "Two Bills" show combining of two American historical exhibitions into one, demonstrating to the world the expansiveness of American progress and an American ability to control and integrate dichotomous cultures (uniting East and West). The "Two Bills" show represented in exhibition form the expansionist, progressive idea of Manifest Destiny (Brown 8). Fundamentally inculcated into the American nineteenth century value system, Manifest Destiny ideology eventually led to the geographical western expansion of the American nation (combining East and West), "demanding" the conquering of lands and people at odds with the dominant culture's "garden" dreams of settling the continent.

In the "Two Bills" march the conquering leaders, Pawnee Bill and Buffalo Bill, cheerfully, vigorously enjoy the music of victory and formal control over lands, animals, and people. With no surprises rhythmically, harmonically, melodically, formally, texturally, or timbrally, the music contains lyrical tunes of playfulness, accents marching on the beat with no "off-beat" syncopations, echoes of bugle calls, the fundamental strength of primary chord progressions,

and the garden-like symmetry of regular phrasing. Played in the boisterous tone colors of a confident, technologically proficient brass band, not challenged by any obstacles contained in the musical lines, the band joyfully celebrates the ease of manufacturing music attractive to their audience. Demonstrating a "Gay 90's" adolescent culture, this music contains little sense of introspection or conflicting emotions concerning musical or societal directions; its a music of clamorous celebration.

Beginning boldly with a trumpet fanfare, supported by an accented B-flat major chord in the ensemble on beat one of the first four measures, the fanfare motive moves up a step to the supertonic chord, C-minor. This unexpected compositional idea evokes an ambiguous notion of contrast between the opening major chord and the following minor chord (symbolizing the difference between the Wild West and the Far East), before the motive continues its upward motion to the dominant seventh chord built on F, and a quick, chromatic (using neighboring and passing tones) rise to a high point in the upper parts. The melody then moves in contrasting motion to the scalewise movement in the lower parts, both of which cadence (come to an end or pause) in measure twelve, setting up the melody

and bass line of section A.

A full band homophonic texture establishes itself as the melody skips lightly downward in the cornet and upper woodwind parts, the bass line moves on roots and fifths of chords in the tuba and bass woodwinds, while the saxes, horns, and trombones fill out the chords and accompanying rhythms needed to support the lead line. "Two Bills" march models a society with members working together in complementary roles to complete commonly agreed upon goals. As usual the solo cornet "upper" part provides melodic leadership with first clarinets and flutes playing in unison or doubling an octave higher to strengthen the pursuit of the expressive goal. Other instruments play, in less-than-subtle primary harmony, either the same rhythms as the leader or rhythms supporting or enhancing the leading melodic movement. Occasional moments of independent motion occur in the lower lines, providing contrast to the motion established in the lead line. Harmonic goals common to this European influenced tonal system become enhanced by both upper and lower melodic shapes as they all cadence (repose/breathe) together at the ends of the symmetrical phrases and sections.

Playing in bright, primary timbres, the Cowboy Band performs

bold melodies in rhythms clearly demarcating the passing of time, using tonal chords common to folk music or parlor songs, unconcerned with the nuance or sophistication of harmonies common to the nineteenth century movements of European Romanticism or Impressionism. "Two Bill's March" requests a trumpet timbre for the opening heroic fanfare, but Sweeney normally led the band from his position as solo cornet, the lead melodic part in brass bands.

During the nineteenth century trumpets usually played solely in orchestras for special heroic, dramatic, often solo moments while cornets played the less specialized, group blending music of bands. Nineteenth-century cornet timbre "shared characteristics of both trumpet and horn" making it "capable of a warm and mellow smoothness" (Piston 264) as well as having the powerful characteristic of the trumpet "to sound with authority" over the full ensemble (Piston 255). Lacking the "noble" (Sachs 1940, 428) or "heroic" quality of the trumpet, the cornet still dominated the leadership role in American bands because of "its superiority over the other brass instruments in ease of performance in music requiring fluent agility and virtuosity" (Piston 264). Exhibiting musical characteristics more common to busily working

"democratic" brass band music than the "noble" brass parts of orchestral music with their trumpets playing only in "special" places, the nineteenth-century cornet also demonstrated a democratic "advantage in blending potential and was more adaptable (than the heroic trumpet) to the great variety of parts found in band scores" (Wagner 126). Therefore, the solo cornet playing of Sweeney, probably switching horns to play the trumpet fanfare in "Two Bill's March," modeled musical and social skills of personal agility and virtuosity on a particular instrument of work. By leading groups of people, blending with other workers, and by adapting to unexpected situations, Sweeney demonstrated in his performance, values evoked by the music, desired by the culture, and important to American people involved in establishing democratic social and political systems.

In the trio section of "Two Bill's March," a contrast to the bright timbre of the trumpet and the homophonic texture led by an upper melody occurs during the thirty-two measure C section. Here the lower instruments play a melodic line, demonstrating the ability of normally chord-filling, rhythmically enhancing, supportive, "foundation" bass instruments of trombone and tuba to also "lead" an

ensemble with their particular timbres. With sound qualities often considered sonorous, resonant, rich, or dark when compared to the tone qualities of upper register instruments (Kleinhammer 36), their melody, so familiar to other march style low brass melodies, contains an anacrusis (pick-up) motive beginning with short notes but moving immediately to a long note held for more than a measure until the anacrusis motive begins again. This two-bar motive allows the low brass to carry the primary melodic line, but when their melody holds the long note, the upper parts, particularly the trumpets, play contrasting military bugle call figures, setting up a brief polyphonic texture, developing both literally and metaphorically, a sense of equality between the voices of the ensemble.

"Two Bill's March" ends with a return to the original texture involving the melody in the trumpet, clarinet, and flute upper voices, but with a difference because section D, the heroic finish, like section C, features a melodic line in a rhythm also using long held notes and short rapid notes in counterpoint to the bass line. The low brass continue their mostly stepwise bass melody lines from the previous section, but instead of providing contrasting bugle type

calls as before, the upper parts perform a full-blown melody, triumphantly joining the low brass in creating a texture of alternating melodic lines. Both melodic voices, symbolically representing Pawnee Bill and Buffalo Bill, contain interest on their own but in combination, like the "Two Bill's" show which the march celebrates, they complement each other, achieving a powerful, triumphant climactic point as the interactive melodic lines end in a chord of accented harmony.

The next examination investigates Karl King's "Passing of the Red Man," a composition dedicated to Cody and often mentioned as one of his favorites (appendix 3). Composed when King directed the Sells-Floto Circus and Wild West Band in Buffalo Bill's last years as a showman, the piece evokes the "natural" Native-American culture with its use of the Aeolian mode, the natural minor scale, and pentatonicism, avoiding the leading tones of tonality and giving the piece an "older, wilder" feel conjuring up images of pre-literate cultures. Combined with rhythms in straight eighth notes hitting accents on one and two in the bass and snare drum parts, | **one & two &** | **one & two &** |, King composes a supposed "Indian" music.

Using a formula begun in outdoor exhibitions at the turn of the

century, later moving to films, later yet to western television shows, still played at sporting events of teams using Indian mascots, and heard when the stereotyped "Indian Brave" enters the arena or appears on the screen, the formulaic rhythmic sound evokes, because of the cultural conditioning process, the presence of Indians whether or not they surface in the action. Not the first to use this "Red Man" formula, other "western" composers, like King, often evoked pre-literate cultures of many types by using modal music and "primitive" rhythms. As suggested earlier, Ketelbey's, "In a Persian Market (Descriptive Intermezzo)," uses similar musical patterns to evoke the pre-literate sounds of the Middle East (Heter). Obviously not authentic Native-American music, "Indian" formula music represents an attempt by the "conquering" culture to evoke controlled images of and a nostalgia for times past in a modal musical language familiar in their own cultural background.

Using a form representative of a mini-overture, "Passing of the Red Man" begins with a ten-measure "andante" introduction, the first four measures evoking a mysterious, fateful sense as the band intones a D half-diminished seventh chord, a chord "outside" the domain of the F natural minor scale common to the remainder of the

piece. Holding a half-note tied to an eighth note, King completes the rest of the 4/4 measure with the three eighth note rhythm pattern made famous by Beethoven in the opening of his Fifth Symphony. Also "grappling with fate" (Grout 526), rhythmically using the motion of three upbeat eighth notes to end on a held note (Beethoven), King's version of this famous motive moves horizontally in a legato style, holding a long half-diminished chord, built on a G root this time, normal in the vocabulary of F minor. These first two bars repeat exactly, establishing the dramatic, solemn atmosphere of the scenario. A measure of rest follows, allowing a thoughtful pause, but the drums roll while the audience meditates, intoning a portent of the "thunder" yet to come. Containing eighth, quarter, and half notes, the melodic modal theme begins slowly in the upper woodwinds and brass while the lower brass and woodwinds fill out the texture with chords on held notes or repeated notes in melodic rhythms. Attempting to shape the expressive impact of the introduction, the dynamic markings move from a solemn "piano" (soft), to an aggressive "forte" (loud), as the opening section establishes a dramatic mood for musically considering the fate of Native-Americans at this time in American history.

Section A initiates the forcefulness of the native culture. As a piece of program, referential music inspired by an external story or extramusical idea "usually indicated in the title" (Apel 696), this section represents, in western ways of course, the power once controlled by the "Red Man," as the low brass and drums speed up the tempo and play in a staccato, forceful manner the characteristic accented eighth note rhythmic pattern portraying an Indian presence. Entering in the third measure, playing a drone octave sound, the upper woodwinds demonstrate another standard way for bands, orchestras, and other ensembles from the literate civilization to musically represent many pre-literate cultures, not just Native-Americans. Evoking pre-literate tuning systems rather than the symmetrical, equally-spaced semitones of the equal-temperament system, the drone gives a folksy bagpipe quality to the texture. Using parallel octaves the drone pitches, approached by using a short grace note "scooping" upwards to the final pitch, avoid tertial harmony, evoking the sense of "ars antiqua," the archaic sound used in Medieval times, avoided in the eighteenth century, but occurring again in the nineteenth century as the Romantic era "rediscovered" folk cultures and modal music.

Not expressing authentic Native-American music, the drone instead evokes pre-literate elements of Western Civilization's own history. The archaic drone of Medieval music and European and American folk cultures substitutes for Native-American authenticity. Confronted on a daily basis with actual sounds of the wilderness performed by native musicians, King, the bandsmen, and Cody still adapted (conquered) those musical ideas, creating a controlled sound using elements of musical style familiar to them and their civilization. "Passing of the Red Man" becomes a musical metaphor for the ethnocentrism of the dominant culture at this time in history.

As the A section continues, the upper cornet parts and the trombones play a modal melody in octaves rather than in tertial harmony, just as the woodwinds earlier avoided the harmony symbolic of western culture. In the key of F-natural minor, the melody only uses a range of a fifth with no leading tones present, giving a pentatonic feel to the melody, also a sign evoking pre-literate musical cultures. This melody continues over one chord, F-minor, for sixteen measures (providing no harmonic "progressive" movement) before both the melody and harmony shift tonal centers

to the minor sub-dominant. Mostly stated in quarter and half notes with clock like accents on the beats, an exception of an eighth note followed by a dotted quarter rhythm occurs in measure four and twelve of the melody, creating an inverted dotted rhythm called a Scotch snap; a rhythm used by many cultures, including pre-literate cultures, European art music cultures, and those involved in the syncopations of jazz (Apel 243).

After the tonal shift, the melody now begins on B-flat instead of F, but the bass line moves from the sub-dominant note to the tonic note every two measures, creating less drone effect and more harmonic motion until bars twenty-five to thirty-two when the harmony shifts to a dominant seventh chord, introducing traditional western harmonies into the piece. Since this harmonic change occurs at the end of the section primarily evoking the "wild," pre-literate spirit, this harmonic entry represents the entrance of the white man into the world of the red man, an entrance expected by the programmatic aspects of the title.

Contributing to the textural aspects of this section, the baritone horn and tenor sax parts add elements of a polyphonic countermelody. In some cases their parts become heterophonic in

nature as they play a melody similar to the drone ideas in the upper woodwinds. But with rhythms in sixteenth note patterns they develop a melodic shape moving rapidly back and forth between two adjacent notes in a low, blustery trill pattern, creating in a "literate" way the heterophonic aspect of sound common to Native-American music--inexact but similar melodies. Changing to polyphony in places, the heterophony eventually becomes an actual countermelody to the main melodic voice. The baritone line, not part of the drone, the low bass, or main melodic aspects of the texture, contributes to all other parts, borrows ideas from them all, and creates a countermelodic line almost improvisatory in nature--like a leader working to blend in, but also providing interesting, powerful ideas inspiring to other supportive voices.

Section B, with its repeated sixteen bars, becomes the representative section of the dominant Anglo culture with its modulation to the relative major key of A-flat and its use of standard tertial harmony in expected primary patterns of progression. Creating more complex harmonies, King stretches the harmonic language to use secondary dominants, the dominant of the sub-mediante chord and the dominant of the primary key dominant

chord, creating melodic chromaticism. Becoming legato, the melody inverts to form a shape upside down from the "Red Man" melodic contour, though it does maintain a similar rhythmic idea using the "scotch snap." Developing an overall contour familiar to the music of western cultures, the melody progresses to a climactic peak, resolving slightly before repeating the section and beginning the progressive drive to a high point one more time--melodically imitating the drive to conquer and control. In this section the baritone part follows the lead of the main melody, harmonizing in intervals of mostly sixths below the trumpet line, bringing its independence under control to provide a harmonic and melodic underpinning. Even the rhythms of the drums change to provide a more march-like feel, with the snare drum playing a recurring pattern involving an eighth note and two sixteenths while the bass drum leaves the accented eighth note pattern to play on the beat.

An obligato woodwind part soars over the top of the total texture. Instead of accenting rhythms as they did in the A section with falling sixteenth note patterns tumbling from the high registers, they now create melodic lines in sixteenth note wave patterns, floating above the other lines similar to the way the

baritone part in section A weaved among the drone and melodic parts. Still sounding in the inverted melody, the "Red Man" theme becomes overwhelmed by the chromatic counter-melodic lines, tertial chromatic harmony, and martial rhythms, representing the civilizing, controlling presence of the progressive western-based society.

Evoked one last time in a ten-measure bridge "Furioso" section, the power of the pre-literate culture asserts itself as the key returns to F-minor and the "Red Man" melody returns, this time led by an octave higher solo cornet part, and followed by most of the band playing the same rhythmic punch as the accented melodic line. As the programmatic story ends with the defeat of the pre-literate culture, the musical form follows the standard theme perfectly. The final two measures of the furioso slow down, the bass line moves in quarter notes down by step from the dominant to the F-minor tonic, the upper parts hold out a note for four counts after playing a two-bar sixteenth note chromatic, melodic run, reminding the listeners of the virtuosity of the "workers" on their "tools" in western societies, until the piece returns to the original 4/4 meter, "Andante" tempo of the beginning.

For ten final measures the resolution of the interaction between "red and white" cultures occurs as the solo cornet intones the "Red Man" theme for four measures before it trails off into held half notes for most of the last six measures while other instruments evoke the sounds of harmony and a key change back to the western key of A-flat major with its leading tones, primary chords, and dominant to tonic resolutions. Civilized tonality wins the musical battle, "conquering" the pre-literate system of aeolian modality. As the baritone and clarinet/flute obligatos sound one more time, the baritone with accented moving lines reinforcing the power of the modal melody, and the clarinets and flutes with arpeggiated chords symbolizing the triumph of the virtuosic workers, the final fate of the "Red Man" occurs with the solo cornet playing a quiet, triadic line in the style of a bugle call, evoking the final conquering power of the U. S Cavalry over the "wildness" of the "Red Man." That the piece ends as it begins, quietly, fading out to a "pianissimo," leaving the audiences contemplating the fate of the Native-Americans rather than celebrating it, recognizes in some manner consequences of the "passing."

Much more music played by the Cowboy Band exists to analyze

and perform (appendix 3), most of it derivative of the march style observed in the "Two Bills March" by Sweeney. As discovered earlier the band played repertoire typical of bands of the day, light classics, popular songs, marches, dance music, overtures, folk music and other music entertaining for the audiences. With the Cowboy Band, as in the Wild West, amusement, education, and spiritual meanings combined in the entertaining performance. Examining the day's work of the band demonstrated the efforts required of them and the whole company to take the value-rich Wild West performance to the people. Examining the music, particularly Sweeney's march and King's program piece, showed how the music's structural elements, symbolic values, and evocative nature complemented the messages and themes of the Wild West itself. Demonstrating the values of hard-working citizens enjoying their work, while blending their personal abilities in anonymous but harmonious fashion to achieve progressive goals of society, the Cowboy Band modeled desired skills in an American industrial society. Musically "smoothing the rough edges," the band exemplified the heroic, progressive, and conquering attitudes of the era.

The Wild West Annex & The Concert Company

Having built a solid professional reputation managing Barnum & Bailey's circus and other arena events, James Bailey became a partner in the Wild West in 1895, bringing his sophisticated organizational skills for handling large outdoor shows to the management team. Using Bailey's ability to put a show on the road through the use of specially designed train cars, the Wild West began twenty years of touring, bringing Buffalo Bill, the Wild West, and its music to the cities of the American country side (Russell 1970, 61).

Besides the touring knowledge gleaned from his circus experience, Bailey also brought specific elements of a circus to the Wild West itself. Despite Burke's constant referral to the Wild West as an exhibition "illustrating life on the plains," it resembled the format of a circus with its arena acts, music, orators, performers, vendors, and animals. Recognizing the similarities, Bailey, in his management role, added a circus feature, the side show, to the main event. Under a separate canvas, near the main entrance, The "Wild West Annex" (appendix 4) began in 1895, Bailey's year of arrival

(BBWW Route Book 1896, 53). In the 1896 main program, likely prepared by Burke, the annex is mentioned but only briefly and without enthusiasm. After the listing of program events, near the bottom of the page appears this announcement in small print: "The management endorses the merit of the Annex at the main entrance." By 1898 the Annex receives no mention in the main program, however the route books do list the Side Show personnel and performers. Obviously the match of Wild West and Side Show seemed uncomfortable to the long-time Cody managers, but the Side Show with its "exotic freaks" became a tradition in the travels of the company until the exhibition's end--a sign revealing that by 1895 audiences were more interested in the "exotic" aspects of the Wild West than the historical, educational facets.

This chapter examines many songs found in "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Songster," an artifact song collection containing many popular songs of the day. Sold at the Side Show or by vendors in other places on the show grounds, the songbook features selections likely performed by some performing ensemble or soloist in the show, whether the Side Show Band, the Side Show Performers, the Concert Company, or, as discovered in chapter three, the Cowboy Band.

Because I introduced the Concert Company in the last chapter, I first define the Side Show, then list the many performers, acts, and musicians involved in both troupes. After these descriptions, a brief examination of women's roles in the exhibition occurs. Using methods and materials introduced in previous chapters, this portion of the study ends with a song analysis of musical structures and lyrics to comprehend their musical, social, and cultural implications. The analysis reveals a high percentage of songs somehow dealing with ethnic, gender, or class stereotyping, betraying a turn-of-the century culture having difficulty handling the interactive problems of people and industrial change.

Because of the Wild West Annex Side Show's circus characteristics, I briefly consider circus history. According to Russell Nye, an early American circus managed by Hachaliah Baily and on the road in 1815, advertised itself as an "educational exhibition" to attract customers and avoid being "frowned upon by the pious" (189). Evidence that Cody and Salsbury were hardly original in their own marketing ideas for the Wild West. But differing from Wild West shows, at least early on in the Wild West format, circus tradition used acts appealing to the oddball, the

prurient, the freakish, and the unsophisticated.

Nye summarizes circus characteristics and the added 'side shows' with their weird and unusual exhibits: "By the 1850's the basic pattern of the circus was fully established--acrobats and aerialists, freaks, animals, spectaculars, horses, and clowns--from which it has never varied" (189). Acts common to circus patterns include such standards as "chariot races with greyhounds in the traces and monkey drivers; performing spitz dogs; a jockey act with dogs riding ponies; monkeys riding goats" (Ballantine 27); trained bears riding bicycles (Ballantine 63); lion tamers (Ballantine 81); camel races (Ballantine 159); and side show features of snake exhibits, chameleon sellers, "Armless-Legless Girl," midgets, a seal boy, fat ladies, monkey girls, sword swallows, dancers, peep shows, and more (Ballantine 185-190). At first Salsbury and Cody avoided this kind of oddball gimmickry for their exhibition, but when Bailey joined the Wild West he allowed the "Annex" side show to appear inside the Wild West grounds.

In addition to the standard circus freak show approach, some Wild West Annex acts developed an aspect more related to a variety show, a vaudevillian approach to their entertainments. However, this

Wild West version of the Side Show still fits the broadly defined patterns of side shows. In his glossary of "show biz" slang, Don Wilmeth defines a side show as "an auxiliary show, usually under canvas, attached to a circus or show of some sort with a carnival. The most common sideshow exhibits freaks or human oddities, although the term includes girlie shows, revues, or any other type of exhibition or entertainment. The first sideshow dates from circa 1904" (241). Though predating 1904, the Wild West Side Show fulfills the definition's characteristics of being attached to another show, under canvas, and including revues and other entertainments. The 1896 route book lists many people and acts featured in the Side Show.

Performers

Mlle. Georgia	Snake Queen
Lady with Horse's Mane	
William T. Sapp	Ossified Man
James Warren	Manager for Sapp
Mlle. La Marr	Mind Reader
Allilabs	Cat Orchestra
Kotura and Kinura	Japanese magician
Harry Walker and Wife	Royal Marionettes
Frank Walters	Blue Man
"Let 'er go Sackett,"	

This two thousand square foot canvas "annex" (BBRB 274)

opened in the morning with a twenty-five cent admission charge (BBRB 138). Labeled "Buffalo Bill's Continuous Show" (BBRB 96), inside the tent audiences viewed some of the acts any time of day, but at certain times the variety show-oriented acts performed with music provided by the Side Show Band featuring L. Sacketto, the leader, and nine more Italian-American musicians, all from Philadelphia according to the 1896 route book. "All sight readers," they played "everything from the hottest kind of ballyhoo music to the finest and most difficult works of some of the Best Masters" (BBRB 53). Sacketto's band performed in the morning parade before accompanying the Annex acts which, in addition to the above acts, also included Lew Hawkins, "a Negro Minstrel who joined the annex on June 1, (1896)" (BBRB 64). Another mid-season hire for the side show, an act called "Schafer and Clark," billed themselves as eccentric German comedians with a twenty minute German Comedy Musical Act, "an up-to-date laughing success and a positive departure from the old stereotyped style of Musical Acts" (BBRB 155).

The ballyhoo aspect of the band's playing became quite important when the Wild West main show crowds began moving

towards the annex. "A bally, ballyhoo, or bally act is simply an attraction used to draw a crowd. . . . Bally is used by sideshows, girlie shows, and the like to give the tip (crowd) an idea of the show to be seen inside (the bally is located immediately outside the structure or tent)" (Wilmeth 15). When playing ballyhoo music Sacketto's band functioned as an attention-getter, a loud attraction drawing people to the annex site so a pitchman or people from the acts themselves could give a spiel luring the "tip" into the tent for the show. Along with the Cowboy Band, the Side Show Band performed a long day of events with the parade, ballyhoo, and vaudeville, minstrel, and variety acts. Having honed their skills in Philadelphia, "the cradle of vaudeville" (Gilbert 15), the band provided special abilities in entertainment accompaniment.

According to the 1896 route book the 1896 band included:

Side Show Band

L. Sacketto	Leader
A. Vitelli	E Clarionet
F. Recchia	B Clarionet
T. Flocco	Solo B Cornet
F. Carrozza	B Cornet
A. Granese	B Baritone
D. Flocco	B Tenor
G. Moccia	E Alto
A. Bevivino	Bass Drum

The upper case letters before the name of the instrument actually represent the musical key of the instrument plus a flat after it; for example the cornet is not a B cornet but a B-flat cornet. The same is true of the alto horn; they are not built in E but in E-flat. And of course a clarinet does not have an "o" in its spelling, nor does it play in the fundamental key of B or E, but instead, B-flat and E-flat. Representing the majority of people in society, the people who prepared the route book understood little of the technical aspects of music.

However, the route books provide anecdotal information regarding the band members and others in the show in ways not requiring technical information but rather writing skills having a sense of drama and humor. Involving music personnel, the following incidents give a sense of what personal and professional conditions existed for those people involved in traveling exhibitions. In such a show as the Wild West with hundreds of personnel, large numbers of horses and other animals, real weapons being fired at rehearsals and performances, and audiences and towns along the way unfamiliar with the "ways of the West," frequent accidents occurred. Show

personnel or audience members were occasionally hit by stray shot, and horses often bolted and injured someone. A fatal accident occurred on August 23, 1896, as bandwagon driver Edward Fletcher, returning the wagon from the morning parade, lost the reins, "and in trying to recover them he fell from the wagon, striking his head on the paved street, fracturing his skull, . . . he never regained consciousness" (BBRB 150).

A tall decorated vehicle, common to circuses as well, the parade bandwagon for the Wild West Side Show Band used an eight-horse team to pull--the wagon must have been a large one requiring a skillful driver--but no matter the horse handling ability of the driver, the response time for stopping a team depends on more than just applying a mechanical brake as on automobiles. On Thursday, July 16, 1896, in Massilon, Ohio, another horrible accident, partially caused by the inability of a horse team to stop suddenly, happened with a bandwagon full of musicians at the beginning of a parade. Language in the route book describes the situation in graphic detail:

The parade was laid out to go under the side of (a railroad) bridge which is depressed several feet to allow the passage of electric street cars. The parade started under the depressed side, but a street car coming up from the opposite direction compelled the parade to go under the other side. The driver of

the eight-horse bandwagon did not notice that the bridge was low, naturally following in the wake of the others, who, being all mounted people, could very easily pass under the bridge. The leaders of the team were under the bridge before the driver noticed that it was too low, but then it was too late for him to check his team. The heavy steel structure scraped the men from their seats like ten-pins (they were probably playing and did not notice the bridge). Screams and cries from the wounded men rent the air, and the wagon appeared on the opposite side of the bridge before the team came to a halt. (BBRB 99)

Six Side Show band members were seriously hurt, one not expected to survive, but later information from the local hospital reported that all "were resting quietly and doing nicely."

Waiting backstage the same day, Tom Oliver (Cossack Tom), the Cossack interpreter, had a shot from Johnnie Baker's act go through the side wall during a performance, striking him once in the eye. More unfortunately, another portion of the same shot load hit him in the left ear. After this mishap the diary from the day read: "in all probability Tom will be seen around camp with a bandage on his head for several days" (BBRB 99). Fortunately for the Concert personnel, they performed after the shooting acts so faced fewer risks than those performers in the arena.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Concert Company provided a show after the main event, a tradition common to

circuses as well. Wilmeth defines this aftershow performance as "a brief show, either several vaudeville acts or a one-act farce, given, for additional money, after the main performance. The tickets were usually sold during intermission before the last act" (61). The 1896 Wild West Concert advertised the Deagan's comedy sketch team which included their own seven piece orchestra; Harry St. Julien, female impersonator; Cloud and Kershaw, from Chicago's Olympic Theater, who billed themselves as "Talkers, Singers, Dancers, Originators, and Composers of everything we do;" The Rielleys, "versatile artists, a laughable act;" E. J. Kershaw, and Shaffer and Clarke, also mentioned in connection with the "Annex" (BBRB 28 53 74).

Functioning as a theater pit orchestra the members of the small Concert Orchestra, Frank Wentworth, William Frank, Edward Weber, Elmer Parlett, George Mitchell, George Merrill, and Fred Essex (BBRB 28) accompanied these vaudevillians singing, dancing, and clowning on stage. Scores of backstage workers and canvas people including ticket sellers, canvasmen, program sellers, orators (bally spielers), door tenders, property men, light men, electricians, bandwagon drivers, salespeople, and food vendors among others, also

contributed to Side Show and Concert productions. This less recognized aspect of the Wild West exhibition required many resources as well (appendix 4).

Obviously successful, the 1899 route book shows a substantial increase in Annex acts to a total of twelve, with the show really taking on circus characteristics, a likely reflection of Bailey's influence and economic reality. Now celebrated are the circus-like odd and prurient acts with the variety vaudeville routines left to the Concert. Also evidence of success, the Side Show now has official managers:

Side-Show

Messrs. Drew & Campbell, Managers.

Performers And Curios

Ashida and Koh	Japanese Magic
Olga	Snake Enchantress
Wm. Baker	Boy Giant
Chemah and Pearl Robinson,	Midgets
J. G. Sheidler	King of Cards
Balbroma	Fire King
Victorina	Sword Swallower
Val Vino	Juggler
Millie Owen	Long-haired Lady
Prince Oskazuma	Kaffir Warrior
Ben Casper	
W. F. Greiner	Venetian Glass Blowers
J. McClellan	Electrograph and
Ben Powell	Mind-readers

But the musical format remains the same. Still all Italian-American, though only three members remain from 1896, the ten-piece band, with the leader's name now listed as Sacketts instead of Sacketto, plays the parade, the ballyhoo, act accompaniment, and some featured music settings for themselves.

Douglas Gilbert describes the performing abilities and skills needed to be a quality "pit" musician, abilities needed by the Side Show Band and the Concert Orchestra whether in an actual theater pit or in the Wild West show:

The orchestras in the best theaters were extraordinarily good. Actors almost never carried their own orchestration except for a specialty. Music for end songs, singles, and fill-ins, was left to the ingenuity of the orchestra. The absence of technique and the hit-or-miss attitude of the actor . . . often taxed the abilities of the musicians. But your typical variety-hall musician could play from memory a vast repertoire of clogs, reels, hornpipes, and jigs, and walkarounds, and could fake a song in any given key. All of them had to be good readers and improvisors. Many of them were not only fine soloists, but well-grounded in harmony, counterpoint, and form. (32)

In this description of the musicians' abilities and behaviors, Gilbert evokes social and cultural values as well. Blending together in group ensembles musical traditions from oral and written cultures, from folk, elite, and popular conventions representing the upper, middle, and working classes, individual musicians develop their improvising

abilities in many styles, communally supporting and serving other peoples efforts through their work. These musicians represent both literally and metaphorically an American culture able to blend together different cultural strains and ethnic groups, creating a unique American synthesis containing characteristics of all the cultures having influence, but commonly serving the vernacular, the democratic middleground. Like Sousa, these musicians, symbolizing the state of the culture as a whole, desire to please their audiences, to entertain and make them happy; they aspire to be functional and practical as well as knowledgeable and virtuosic. These musicians musically develop the cultural and social behaviors needed to shape a pluralistic American culture. Symbolic Americans like the cowboys, they too represent the "hired" labor middleground of the American population.

As with other aspects of life during this time period, the Wild West and its music provide information regarding the patterns of gender roles. The 1900 Concert Company added a woman, Nellie Waters, comedienne, to the show, along with the regulars, "The Ramseys," Comedy Duo; Schafer and Young, Musical Comedy; Cloud and Kershaw, Irish Comedians; and "Tambourine" McCarty (BBRB 15).

Women in the Side Show included such "odd" women role models as Princess Lucy, American Midget; Victorina, Sword-Swallower; and Millie Owens, Long-Haired Lady (BBRB 14). Katherine, Snake Enchantress, was added in 1902 as were Maj. and Mrs. Ray, midgets; while the Concert Company added Schafer and Young, German Musical Artists, but no new women performers (BBRB 15 17). The 1910 route book lists Cowgirls as part of the main event, but finally, very few women traveled with the company as performers or in any other capacity, reinforcing a nineteenth century feminine ideal described by Sandra Myres: women were "to be modest, submissive, educated in the genteel and domestic arts, supportive of her husband's efforts, uncomplaining, a perfect wife and mother, and an example to all. But this example was to be private, never public. Women should be neither seen nor heard outside the sacred confines of the family circle" (6). Women Wild West performers tested the limits of this ideal as did Myres' "westering women" from frontier reality.

The most famous woman in the Wild West exhibition, Annie Oakley, handled a rifle better than any man, but her nicknames became "Little Missy," or "Little Sure Shot" (Sell 147) (Havighurst 35), both diminutive titles expressing male paternalism. Her

feminine appearance even became part of the show's strategy. The announcement of her act from the arena podium emphasized gender attitudes:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The Honorable William F. Cody and Nathan Salsbury present the feature attraction, unique and unparalleled, the foremost woman marksman in the world in an exhibition of skill with the rifle, shotgun, and pistol--the little girl of the Western plains--Annie Oakley! (Havighurst 35)

Using the "little girl" theme, the managers planned a gentle audience introduction to a very loud and noisy show: "Miss Oakley comes on very early in the performance. She starts very gently, shooting with a pistol. Women and children see a harmless woman out there and do not get worried" or frightened by the full charge shooting and the battles later on in the show (Sell 143). Havighurst describes Oakley's shooting act before a large Parisian audience skeptical of an American frontier exhibition:

She ran in on twinkling feet and bowed to the silent stands. She turned to her gun table and shattered glass balls with pistol and rifle. In a staccato cadence she shot the flame off a revolving wheel of candles. There was a rustle in the stands--was it restlessness or interest?--a girl in the huge arena under the wild vista of the Yellowstone, could not be sure. But she could shoot as no one in Paris had ever done before. . . . A cowboy loped in, leading a spotted pony. She leaped astride. She dropped her hat and picked it up at a gallop. . . . She snatched a pistol from the grass and shattered six glass balls

over the rider's head. Twenty thousand Frenchmen . . . saw youth, ardor, and daring in the huge prairie under the painted mountains. They began to understand the Wild West. (137)

Annie Oakley, though never personally venturing west of the Mississippi River until late in her career, represented in her act behaviors and values needed by both men and women in the settling of the wild frontier. Myres describes the actual frontier situation of "westerling women:"

Women were also called upon to help with men's work. The frontier, like the trail, tended to blur sex roles. Everyone was expected 'to lend a hand,' and this often led women to perform tasks ordinarily considered outside their sphere. . . . women worked beside their men to help clear the land, fell trees, construct a shelter, and plant and harvest crops. . . . gallant women . . . shouldered their rifles and joined the men in defense of home and family. (160-161)

Also expected to maintain domestic skills in the frontier West, whether as mundane as laundry (Myres 169), or as "cultural" as poetry, music and art (Myres 178) western women balanced ideal femininity with western needs. Annie Oakley demonstrated this "balance" with her "teas for mothers and children on the small lawn before her reception tent" on the grounds of the Wild West (Havighurst 119), her ability to "darn Mr. Butler's (her manager and husband) hose, every stitch as neat as a pigeon shot from her pet

gun" (Havighurst 194), and her interest and performance in "costume parties, theatricals, readings, and dancing parties" (Havighurst 160).

Oakley represented a western version of the ideal woman. One who could "assist her husband in establishing new homes and help earn the family living without losing their femininity" (Myres 235). Still, controversy existed regarding women's roles. Myres explains: "the *reality* of women's lives changed dramatically as a result of adaptation to frontier conditions (evidenced by Oakley's shooting act) while the public *image* remained relatively static (evidenced by Oakley's receptions and theatricals)" (269).

Eventually Cody provided his own comments on the "Sex Problem" in the 1899 program:

'Do you believe that women should have the same liberty and privileges that men have?' was the leading question put . . . to Colonel Cody. Here is his reply:

Most assuredly I do. I've already said they should be allowed to vote. Why, of course, if a woman is out earning her living she keeps up with what is going on in the world and she knows the best man to vote for. . . . A woman who is capable of financiering for herself is capable of taking care of her morals, and if she wants to take an apartment and live alone where she can do her work more quietly or have things her own way when she comes home from business she has just as much right as a bachelor. . . . Let them do any kind of work that they see fit, and if they do it as well as men give them the same pay. Grant them the same privileges in their home life and club life that men have and we will see them grow and expand into

far more beautiful and womanly creatures than they are already. (27)

Despite these both "progressive-for-the-times" and paternalistic attitudes expressed by Cody, the model provided by the musicians and performers provides a better example of the opportunities afforded women in the workplace at this time in history. Whether musicians or cowboys, the "hired hands" were men and their symbolic impact affected the images of men and women in society as a whole. Rarely observed except as oddities, women served a supportive role to the men, especially in the Concert Company and Side Show. Even female role models like Annie Oakley "needed" the leadership of the primary male authority, Buffalo Bill, to provide work for her to earn a living. Women's roles symbolically modeled in the arena included women's need for strong protective men because during the "Attack On A Settler's Cabin by hostile Indians," two white women are rescued "by Cowboys, under the leadership of Buffalo Bill," (BBWW Program 1887).

"Buffalo Bill's Wild West Songster," a songbook containing singalong material from some of the famous composers and songwriters of the day--a representation of American popular song--

expresses more values found within American culture around 1900, including gender material. Western film-oriented "singing cowboys" developed later in the twentieth century; the songs from this songster represent more than just western regional ideas. Actually the first song in the book, "My Gal Is a High Born Lady," composed in 1896 and one of the most performed songs of the day (Ewen 118), is a "coon" song. In modern terms, this genre obviously, in title and text, derides African-Americans, but nevertheless this popular nineteenth century musical style became known across the country and was disseminated at Wild West shows by selling songbooks and singing and playing "coon" songs during performances, as discussed earlier in the Cowboy Band chapter. Wilmeth defines the racist genre quite clearly:

Coon Song: Popular songs around the turn of the century with racist overtones that helped to perpetuate negative images of Negroes. They combined ragtime rhythms with lyrics that ridiculed Negroes with a new vehemence. When sung in minstrel shows, the performers emphasized grotesque physical caricatures of big-lipped, pop-eyed black people, and added the menacing image of razor-toting, violent black men. (64)

Composed by both black and white musicians for economic reasons (coon songs sold well and made money), "coon songs" did however represent a cultural and musical interaction enlivening the

whole genre of popular song and pulling "popular songs (parlor songs also) in America out of the sentimental doldrums they had wallowed in for so long" (Davis 187). An examination of "coon" songs reveals white and black America interacting, creating a new synthetic music popular to the entire culture, but also exposing, in a dark illumination, an immature music and culture using simplified themes and stereotyped caricatures in its slow movement towards culturally interactive understanding and maturity. Davis describes some of the cultural "benefits" of "coon songs:"

the 'coon songs' were syncopated and employed wording that was more alive--normal conversation, dialect, slang--none of the stilted phrasing of the sentimental ballads (parlor songs). . . the 'coon' songs provided an essential reason why the decade became known as the Gay Nineties. The songs were often simply urbanized versions of the more energetic minstrel tunes, acquiring added verve from their ragtime rhythm. (186)

Some of the least offensive songs of the time still familiar to modern audiences include, "A Hot time In The Old Town Tonight," and "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home."

Ragtime rhythms of the songs contributed to their popularity as the notated syncopations provided new energy to American popular music. Because ragtime still held on to the written notation tradition required by the sheet music industry and community and

professional bands, the songs were played by musically literate white and black populations without needing special improvisatory skills developed by the ballyhoo bands or twentieth century jazz musicians. Marshall Stearns analyzes the blend of European and African sources in this new music from the Gay Nineties:

Ragtime developed a wider and more influential fusion of European and African musical elements than ever before. It began with such a large component of formal European characteristics that (although it absorbed more and more of the African rhythmic complexity during its twenty-year popularity) it was never able to go the rest of the way and incorporate the bittersweet mood of the blues. Ragtime remained cheerful, pianistic in concept (equal-tempered) and predominately European. But just because of this, ragtime spread farther--and thinner-- than any preceding wave of Afro-American music, carrying with it an elementary but basic introduction to new rhythms. (149)

According to Eileen Southern in The Music of Black Americans, by the "end of the nineteenth century the term *ragtime* was being applied to, (1) the coon song; (2) arrangements of coon songs for performance by instrumental groups such as marching bands, dance bands, and other combinations of instruments; (3) dance music and marches with a high level of syncopation; (4) the piano rag (314). Almost any kind of American vernacular syncopated music of the day was considered ragtime.

Therefore, when the Cowboy Band, the Concert Orchestra, or the Side Show Band played their "coon songs," their syncopated marches, or other popular songs of the day they were playing various styles of ragtime; frontier sounds involving interactive compromise between cultures of "civilization" and "wilderness." Interactions of European, African, and Native-American cultures, creating music with elements of Meller's "darker shade of pale," built a unique American music heard in the Wild West exhibition. "Coon songs"/ragtime music combined the parlor song harmonies, sentimentalism, and march rhythms and forms from the equal-tempered European tradition of notated music with lyrics, rhythms, timbres, forms, and melodies from more African-American sources to create this popular musical sensation from the Gay Nineties, introducing to the American population at large the fundamental vernacular musical language of the twentieth century. A language revised, developed, adjusted, improvised, and altered, fulfilling many musical needs of the American culture as the elements matured and came to influence blues, jazz, country, rock, classical and others.

Many of these characteristics occur in "My Gal Is A High Born

Lady," (appendix 4) composed by Barney Fagan, published by M. Witmark & Sons, and contained in "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Songster." This song, performed authentically, requires a "shouting" timbre common to coon songs, "matching" the syncopated rhythms of ragtime (Davis 186). To recall chapter one's discussion of vocal sounds this timbre edges towards the "extreme" of blatant tones, not with the edges rounded off as one would perform parlor songs, but loudly telling the story of the song in tones reminiscent of instrumental sounds by using harder, more raucous (Nettl 232), slightly raspy (Lomax 1968, 73) vocal timbres and less polished, vernacular diction (Hyman Recording). The song begins with an instrumental introduction, allowing the performer/actor/singer time to set the mood for the audience with his visual stage presence and to aurally hear the musical key. In G major the song follows a verse, chorus, standard binary song form; the piece reveals a theatrical bent because the verse text tells a melodic story, allowing the shouter/narrator/singer to use a rubato tempo, speeding up and slowing down for dramatic effect. This kind of "playing" with tempos fits ideas of the Romantic era as a whole and certainly those of the standard parlor song with its characteristic

of singing to the emotion of the text.

Harmonic choices of chords also group this song with standard formats since mostly primary chords of tonic (I), subdominant (IV), and dominant (V) appear with a supertonic (ii) chord twice preceding the dominant chord, demonstrating standard progressions common to European classical and later American jazz music. European patterns predominate since chords resolve and move from I to IV to V to I, standard practice for hymns, marches, art songs, and symphonies. The melody includes the normal notes from a G diatonic scale with two alterations both analyzable as chromatic neighboring tones and not functioning as "blue" notes or other African-influenced ways. With notes derived from the European tradition and performance conventions from show music like vaudeville, the chorus tempo becomes steady with timing patterns creating a slow march rhythm as the expressive singing matter-of-factly, but forcefully, expresses the lyric point of view: "my gal is a high born lady, she's black but not too shady." Following a basic pattern of starting high, the melodic contour immediately falls during every two-bar phrase of the sixteen bar chorus except the third and seventh whose melodic lines move stepwise in a neighboring motion around a single

note before descending.

These melodic contours, though not beginning on the strained high pitches often found in pre-literate cultures, contain characteristics of a "tumbling strain," a melodic style "whereby a vocal phrase starts at a relatively high pitch and then tumbles wildly downward with an effect of uncontrolled libido" (Mellers 1973, 207). This melodic contour follows a pattern rarely heard in Western music, though the operatic aria, "Un Bel Di," by Puccini demonstrates one example of its use in "classical" art music. More typically a European melodic pattern involves a line generally moving in steps or leaps upward towards a goal or high point of the phrase that "usually represents the peak of intensity" (Machlis 9). Often occurring near the end of a phrase or section after which the melodic tendency moves in a slight downward motion to a resolution, this climactic point within the total shape of the melodic line symbolically demonstrates the progressive, linear, attitudes shaping American (and European) culture, manifested by its drive to work, conquer, and progress until a climactic, progressive goal becomes achieved, allowing a brief relaxation to occur until the next progressive drive begins.

Melodically shaped in almost an opposite manner, this particular "coon song's" written notation actually falls an interval of a major sixth in its opening phrase. To complicate the interpretation, in performance the singer would likely fill the space between the notes of the major sixth with a vocal "fall off," eventually sliding into the bottom note creating a "tumbling" sensation as the pitch falls from the high note and scoops into the bottom pitch. Ignoring the intervallic spaces between the semitones of equal-tempered tuning (Sullivan 46), this singing style creates a more seamless swooping effect using pitches considered "in the cracks,"--those notes between the pitches represented by the keys of the piano. Singing styles using a "tumbling strain," or related to the "wail" of indefinite pitch attributed to African-American field hollers and work songs (Nettl 229), bring elements of non-European traditions to this American popular song style, musically manifesting cultural interactions.

Syncopated rhythms, a "displacement" of the accent from the "strong or main beat to . . . the weak beat (producing an effect of excitement or vervosity or both)" (Mellers 1973, 206), occurs often in this "ragtime" style as beat two receives the agogic accent of a

half note while beats one and four have quarter notes or eighth notes. Occurring in four of the eight two-bar phrases of the chorus, these rhythmic syncopations also involve the highest note of the melody, heightening the excitement of the line from which it immediately tumbles to the low note on beat four providing relief from the opening rhythmic and melodic energy. These uncomplicated syncopations occur often in both vernacular and "art" music, revealing a rhythmic song setting accessible to middleground culture.

Also contributing to the evocative excitement of this melodic line, the lyrics contain certain words emphasized by the rhythmic syncopations. Here the minstrel show caricatures of black people reveal themselves. Accented are the words "gal," revealing a gender diminutive; and "black," establishing the racial overtones of the song; "proud," perhaps a paradoxical expression involving actual pride in race and culture for a black audience but sarcasm for a white audience likely considering it a joke that a "black" woman could be "high-born." By using the derisive "coon" as the last word accented by the syncopated melody, Fagan maintains the superiority of the controlling culture, actually working to hinder cultural

interaction and knowledge because the stereotype substitutes for real understanding. Melodically, rhythmically, and lyrically evoking the cultural complexities of American life, this song maintains the dominant view of a diminished stature in society for black men and women (coons), but yet a pride in being black (high-born lady) for African-Americans despite living in a hierarchical culture where blacks often experience life at the lowest levels. Chorus lyrics reveal more of this notion:

My gal is a high born lady, She's black, but not too shady,
Feathered like a peacock just as gay, she is not colored
she was born that way. I'm proud of my black Venus, no
coon can come between us, Long the line they can't
outshine, This high born gal of mine. (BBWW Songster 1)

Lyric themes of pride in culture, African history, family relationships, and color "permeate" this song as do specific terms of caricature revealing the status of the African-American in his homeland. Within this song appear the contradictions and tensions inherent in the forming of a new "dusky" culture. As in the contradictory melodic shapes, the lyrics from the verses produce more thematic evidence:

Thar is gwine to be a festival this evenin',
And a gatherin' of color mighty rare;
Thar'll be noted individuals of prominent distinctiveness,

To permeate the colored atmosphere;
Sunny Africa's Four Hundred's gwine to be thar,
To do honor to my lovely fiancée;
Thar will be a grand ovation of especial ostentation,
When the parson gives the dusky bride away.

Chorus:

When the preacher man propounds the vital question,
"Does ye' take the gal for better or for wuss?,"
I will feel as if my soul had left my body, gone to glory,
And I know my heart will make an awful fuss.
Nigger's eyeballs like a diamond sure to shine;
But I'll bask in honeyed clover when the ceremony's over
And I press the ruby lips of baby mine!

Chorus: (BBWW Songster)

In a performance recreated from old scores by pianist, Dick Hyman, and singer, Danny Barker, for New World Records, the piano becomes an integral part of the total performance musical texture, unlike typical parlor songs of the day emphasizing the lyric foreground and keeping the accompaniment in the background. For "Gal" the piano keeps a steady ragtime syncopated feeling using the melody as a guide for its right hand playing, with bass lines in the left hand outlining broken, arpeggiated chords with strong chord roots played on beats one and three interacting with the melodic syncopations accenting beats two and four.

Occasional counter-melodic ideas occur in the piano part at

introductions and long notes in the melody, maintaining a flowing line and creating brief polyphonic textures between the accompaniment and the melody within a basically homophonic style. These moments evoke a texture of equality with each "voice" having importance and supporting the "work" of the other. Lyrics and melody demand the foreground, but the accompaniment, which could actually stand alone as a piece of ragtime piano music, remains close to the same surface as the melodic lyric implying a cultural value involving less hierarchy and more interaction between cultural elements--not unlike democracy with leaders depending on relationships with the supportive general public to make decisions. Though not polyphonic, implying egalitarian values (Lomax 1968, 161), the two parts of the song's musical texture overlap in ways involving shared responsibilities.

Examining this particular popular song in the manner outlined in chapter one connects the sounds, technical characteristics, and evocative nature of the music to the values of the interactive cultures creating it. Musical evidence demonstrates the control European-influenced aspects of society exercised to continue their dominance of the culture, but the evidence also clearly shows other,

"dusky worlds" present in America and gaining influence. The social significance of the musical textural evidence regarding leadership/partnership roles suggests the new "ragtime" music actually better models interactive democratic behaviors than the older style European-influenced musical models with their strong melodic leaders served by background harmonies. That Buffalo Bill brought this influential, culturally interactive music to the general public certainly gives his show greater cultural resonance than has sometimes been recognized. Not confined to "just" expressing frontier aspects of American history, the Wild West, traveling across America and Europe, sounded overtones with fundamentals deep in the belief, value, and racially interactive structures of the total American culture.

Contrasting in many ways, but also containing culturally interactive elements, a song from the "songster" written by George Schleiffarth with words by M. E. Rourke, "She's the Daughter of Officer Porter," includes more characteristics of a parlor song than a "modern" ragtime piece (appendix 4). Also in G major, in a waltz tempo written with one beat per measure, sentiment and sympathy become the emotions evoked as the predominating binary form song

lyrics tell a story of a widowed police officer whose "charming" daughter "Kitty" brings him lunch everyday by "tripping gaily" up the street through the local neighborhood to the station house.

In a melody based on upward, stepwise scale motion, the four eight bar phrases of the chorus follow the typical pattern of European melodic contour with the lines moving generally upward in waves, reaching a high point on repeated dotted-half notes, giving a sense of rhythmic length and extending the climactic feel. Moving in a slight downward turn at the end of the phrase, resolving the tension, cadencing the chord progression, and allowing the phrases to breathe, the song starts the next phrase down low again. This melodic shape contrasts with the melodic contours found in the tumbling strains of "High Born Lady. One exception occurs in the last phrase which, like "Lady," starts on the high point of the song, the climax note from the previous phrase, but rather than tumbling down in a rush of "libido," the melody moves gracefully downwards in wave patterns from an E in leaps of fifths and upward movements of seconds to finally cadence on the tonic note G, moving through a primary chord progression containing a "blue" note in the melody. This long melodic, mostly downward, movement effectively resolves

the tension from the chromatically approached high point occurring four bars previously.

Melodic contours of the four phrases in the verse, where the "plot" unfolds, follow a basic four bar wave pattern undulating as the melody starts low on the dominant note of the scale, D, rises up by steps and thirds to the third of the scale, B, moves down by thirds to E, and then again waves up and down on different notes but with the same basic shape. Phrase intensity increases as the waves crest higher in pitch as the melody approaches the end of the verse until the high point occurs on the very last note before the chorus.

Harmonized by a dominant seventh chord this D-note, an octave above the original starting pitch, evokes a need for resolution. As the lyric question gets asked, "Who is that maiden sweet?", the melodic contour rises in pitch, as most questions rise in pitch when asked in conversation, setting up the need for the chorus to melodically, harmonically, rhythmically and textually answer the question and resolve the tension. Which it does as the melody shifts down an octave, moves to a declamatory quarter note rhythm in a scalewise motion and lyrically answers, "She is the daughter of Officer Porter, is charming Kitty," with the height of the contour and

the longest rhythms emphasizing "charming."

Normally performed by a soloist with piano accompaniment, the timbre of the instrument remains similar to one used in a performance of "coon songs," but the voice timbre values different colors. Reaching for a more "trained" middleground timbre, not necessarily that of art song performance but one common to the musical theater, the singer emphasizes "sweet" colors, wringing out all the sentiment from lyrics containing such words as "charming, laughing, merry, gay, witty, and delight." With the subject matter referring to policemen, charming daughters, "the pride of the force," and "beau's," the images reveal a neighborhood-oriented white, city culture, requiring appropriate contextual vocal timbres in the singing style. Without a written piano part or a recording to analyze, the examination becomes less specific but generally, textures remain similar to those of parlor songs. Text expression dominates the interactive possibilities between the piano and the singer. Likely supporting the song with "boom-chick-chick" accompaniment patterns common to waltz times, the accompanist often adds simple melodic figures during long tones in the vocal part creating a piano part less able to stand on its own as did the "coon" song

accompaniment.

Rhythmic syncopations occur frequently; syncopations commonly appearing in European influenced music as well as the new synthetic music of ragtime. With accents happening mostly on beat one, predominant rhythms include dotted half notes and straight quarter notes, but in twelve measures of this sixty-four measure song, an agogic accent/syncopation occurs on the weak part of the beat, the second third of the beat (the second quarter note of the measure). This rhythm actually dominates at cadence points, creating brief tensions with the underlying harmony through melodic anticipations until they resolve when the chords change in the accompaniment. By avoiding the plain waltz rhythms of just quarter notes, dotted half notes, or half notes and quarter notes, always emphasizing the normal strong beat of one, Schleiffarth creates a syncopated effect of rhythmic vitality and energy by accenting the second part of the waltz triplet, vital rhythms characteristic of Gay 90's music likely representing the influence of "coon songs" and ragtime.

Representing a European-American style, the implied harmonies contain the primary chords of tonic, subdominant, and

dominant with a minor mediant chord adding occasional variety. But this piece adds elements of chromatic possibilities as well as the more common diatonic progressions. In the fourth phrase the melody moves in two adjacent measures from an E to a G, then an E-flat to a G, creating a chromatic movement to the low note of the phrase, a D. This requires a harmonic change from a C-major subdominant chord, to a C-minor chord (borrowed from the minor key), avoiding the tensions of a cross-relation, a tension not common in popular music until the blues gained more influence. This sudden change in mode from major chord to minor chord provides more involved harmonic interest giving the song a more interesting character. A similar occurrence at the climax of the chorus' melodic contour, as the melody moves upwards by semitones from D to D-sharp to the top note E, heightens the expressive impact. The chromatic melody affects the implied harmonies, creating more harmonic choices and displaying the harmonic knowledge of a composer at least somewhat trained in "classical" harmony studies.

But the most culturally interactive aspect of the piece happens just five measures from the end when the melody moves upwards by step from the tonic G, through A, to hit a lowered third of the scale,

B-flat, on the first (strong) beat of the measure, creating a melodic "blue" note. This unexpected note creates a cross-relation strain with the expected G major underlying harmony normally containing a B-natural, a tension resolved in the next measure when the melody moves to the B-natural common to the key center and occurring previously throughout the piece.

In this mostly sentimental song about a wonderful girl claiming the man she loves the best is her "dad," therefore other men court her in "vain," the sudden blue note tension appearing immediately before the ending, evokes the possibility of a more worldly outlook. Accordingly the final three words, "she's all right," leaves the audience with possibilities for multiple interpretations--perhaps one stretching previous limits. In another possible harmonization of this song the strong tension of the cross-relation softens because the chord changes from G major to G minor at the B-flat, avoiding powerful melodic and harmonic stress but still evoking the testing of normal limits. This harmonic change also fits the style of the song, but no matter the harmonic progression played, the presence of the melodic blue note represents the influence of the African-American blues scale, obviously affecting melodic writing

in the 1890's and helping provide more interest and freshness to the popular song idioms.

A song "stereotyping" the working class begins on page three of the songster, continuing for seven total verses with each one telling a new episode in the life of a not too family-oriented or lawful father. Written by James McAvoy in 1896, "The Blow Almost Killed Father," (appendix 4) provides entertainment and humor at the expense of working class males living in large urban areas. Lyrical episodes involve a son losing a job, another son robbing a bank but not sharing the loot, his sons getting drunk and not sharing with him, being tricked into not drinking at a local "gin mill," a daughter marrying a rich man but the son-in-law not sharing his wealth with the father, an accident with the "wrong end " of a horse, and the loss of a local election, with each disappointing verse ending with the line, "The blow almost killed father."

Creating an image of a lazy, loud, loutish person using other people and the societal system to his advantage, but never working himself or contributing to the good of all, the text describes an urban "savage" in need of civilizing. In C major the form consists of a repeated verse using new lyrics each time through. The sixteen bar

piece repeats seven times creating a circular form while the constantly changing lyrics provide linear movement. A vaudevillian comedy sketch, this piece requires a singer/actor to tell the story and act out slapstick scenes implicit in the lyrics. Becoming more recitation than singing, the story needs exclamations so the melody features a contour of mostly repeated notes in a rhythm based on speech patterns. The first three bars use only one note, G, to present the text and then the melody moves to C for a phrase ending, at which time the phrase repeats exactly but with different lyrics. The next eight bars contain repeated notes, B's, A's, C's, and G's before the sung recitation ends on middle C.

Using only primary chords I, IV, and V7 in a standard progression, the accompaniment provides some harmonic interest while the melody mostly drones on repeated tones. Providing the same textural feel as the "Daughter of Officer Porter," melodically sung lyrics become the foreground to the instrumental background. Even the rhythms are straight ahead with no syncopations. Providing the strongest element of interest for the audience, the singer/actor changes his vocal timbre/tone color as he acts his way through this patter song, setting up the comedy and melodramatically portraying

this stereotyped version of working class life.

Requiring theatrical accompaniment, this song needs a stage, a set, costumes, other actors, stage blocking and movement, maybe even dancing, and a performer rattling off the words, speeding up and slowing down tempos for dramatic effect, with an accompanist staying with him in a rehearsed but seemingly wild performance abandon. Circular forms, as in this song, evoke story-telling ballad songs from many cultures as does the pentatonic melody, signalling a propensity for the interaction of European, American, and African sources. This song contains elements found in all of the above traditions.

Page eleven finds an 1894 copyrighted "coon" song by Dave Reed Jr. entitled, "De Leader of De Company B." (appendix 4) Once again binary form occurs with a thirty-six measure verse telling the story and a sixteen bar chorus creating a singable hook for the audience to easily remember. In a 2/4 march tempo, appropriate because of the song's military setting, the lyrics reveal a man wishing to be a soldier in the army; a girl friend, Liza Jackson, worrying about her man getting shot by a "great big hoo doo ball;" and the ambivalence they both feel knowing the risks of a soldier's

life, but also the pride they feel, "hurrah," when the soldiers march in their uniforms right in step, looking so fine.

In the key of G major this song reveals more complicated surprises than the harmonies of previously examined tunes. Following a down and up wave pattern, the melodic contour uses mostly stepwise motion and leaps of thirds, leading to a high point at the end of each of the fourteen phrases. Only the last phrase winds down to a note in the middle register of the voice. All the other phrases build to a high intensity at their end, resolving in the early part of the next phrase, at which time the new phrase builds to its own climactic point. Evoking military life, the melody follows lines and rhythms common to military bugle calls. With the melodic figures giving the sense of military music, the text reveals a love of the band playing and the troops marching by Liza and her "coon."

Rhythmic motives include such common march rhythms as straight eighth notes, an eighth note and two sixteenths, and four sixteenths followed by two eighths leading to a longer quarter note in the next measure, often to end the phrase. Even rhythmic marching orders are shouted out in the middle of the song as the lyrics evoke soldiers marching in a drill to thrill the spectators. Spoken timbres

appear as the actor calls out, "Right! Face! Forward! March!" The chorus begins in a steady march tempo using a straight quarter note rhythm moving to the four sixteenth, two eighth motive mentioned above, rhythms "begging" to be marched to by a band or a soldier. The chorus lyrics also march:

On parade, Oh golly you should see them march,
Wif uniforms as stiff as starch, and never out ob step you see,
You'll hear dem shoutin' When dey see de dandy coons,
Hip! Hip! Hurrah! For de leader of de company B.

Harmonies of the chorus follow standard practice of the times. Still in G major, primary chords of G, C, and D7 occur often, certainly at phrase endings, the cadence points. But three separate uses of chromatic neighboring tones perk up the ear, providing a leading tone feel that diatonic tones avoid. Revealing the composer's sophisticated harmonic knowledge of secondary dominants and secondary leading tone chords, the last phrase contains a secondary leading tone C-sharp diminished triad resolving to its standard chord, D major. This dominant chord finally resolves to the tonic chord, G major, in the last measure. But a C-sharp does not normally appear in the diatonic key of G. Demonstrating his awareness of modulations and the ability to smoothly introduce chromatic tones

into his song structures, composer Reed uses techniques common to European classical culture since the Baroque Era. Also composing complex pieces at this time in the nineteenth century, Charles Ives actually used more complex harmonic elements than secondary leading tone chords, but popular composers like Reed, though obviously knowledgeable about harmony, kept it simpler, balancing folk idioms and classical study in an attempt to find the right selling combination for the popular culture.

Another demonstration of Reed's common practice harmonic and melodic knowledge occurs in the chorus during the "bridge" section when Liza warns "Mister Coon" about the dangers of the cannonballs likely encountered in battle. Progressing in a G major march style the key suddenly changes to E relative minor, the melodic contour inverts to wave upward instead of down, the chord changes to the dominant, a B minor chord, and Liza, word painting the staccato effect of rifles shooting, exclaims in repeated rhythms: "it'll neber stop a-going till it goes right froo," with the last note "froo" ending on a fermata holding a B note in the melody and an E-minor chord in the accompaniment. This dramatic pause, ending the "worried" section, evokes the possible dangers inherent in military

service, but true to the nature of this period in American history, dangerous thoughts succumb to the pursuit of "hurrahs" for conquering heroes, as the melody starts up again in the march rhythms of the opening phrase evoking the optimistic, progressive spirit Cody celebrated in his show, even lyrically recreating imagery common to both the military and scenes from the Wild West: "But every day when de band did play, and the soldier boys turned out, Miss Liza was there for to yell hurrah, when she heard de Captain shout."

Shouting timbres fit well in this "coon song" as the normal singing style carries a little rasp from the minstrel tradition along with the louder, shouting voice needed to sing over the top of an accompaniment more overt and demanding of attention than those of the sentimental tradition. A march style piece like this might be accompanied by instruments other than the piano including the brass common to the Concert Orchestra or the Side Show Band. Mainly through timbral quality use and difference, the singer/actor demonstrates the song's leadership role in a texture with many others trying to "speak" as well.

In most respects this song demonstrates few overt elements

of African-American musical interactions with its military musical style of marches more related to European influence in America. The melodies, rhythms, harmonies, song form, textures, even the evocative nature develop a sense of mainstream musical ideas. There are no blue notes or syncopations to be found, but two aspects remain to demonstrate interactive cultural creation, the timbre of the voice and the lyrics of the song, both of which have been examined.

As the dominant culture and the African-American dichotomous culture interact, the musical evidence gathered in this study reveal only small changes in artistic styles occurring and becoming acceptable to the overall society. Reflecting a less than accepting attitude on the part of the dominant white culture towards the black culture, the lyrics demean the language and relationships of an African-American man and woman.

Characterizing the man as a "coon" and the woman as "Liza," the song places them as stereotyped, ignorant southern descendants of former slaves more concerned with style, fashion, and appearance than recognizing or being capable of handling the "more demanding" aspects of actual military life. Seen as being good at marching,

music, and "strutting their stuff," they provide no "help" in an actual military setting. This image of the African-American maintains the dominance felt by the controlling culture and poses no threat to their superior position. The dialect in the "coon song" genre, similar to that used by Mark Twain in "Huck Finn," also gives a sense of separateness because it relates to but is not the same as the language spoken by the majority culture. Use of this minstrel language dialect by the majority culture maintains the image of African-Americans as a simple, uneducated, childlike people--the plantation darky--an image allowing the controlling culture to express paternalistic dominance in their dealings with African-Americans rather than with a sense of egalitarian equality recognizing African-Americans as full partners in the shaping of American society (Jones 53) (Baker 132).

However even African-Americans living in the large cities at this time contributed to the stereotypes. Houston Baker analyzes the "coon shows" performed at the turn of the century, finding portrayals of blacks in these shows similar to the images of blacks during the plantation years in the south, but paradoxically, images supported by black audiences anxious to see black performers on

stage:

(coon shows are) theatricals combining 'tawdry music and inane words.' Their audiences are described as 'swaggering, sporty young negroes' who move about as though they were 'owners' of the shows. Kitty is represented in the novel ('The Sport of the Gods') as dropping 'the simple old songs she knew to practice the detestable coon ditties which the stage demanded.' The coon show, therefore, is as emblematic of black modes of perception in the North as the Plantation Tradition is of white understanding in the South. (133)

Nineteenth century attitudes about racial characteristics of blacks whether living in the cities or rural areas were expressed in the "coon songs" and understood by both black and white audiences. "Coon songs" brought the rural tradition of minstrel singing to the larger city and stage but the patterns of images remain the same-- those of the plantation with all the implications of servitude, "wild" humans "tamed" and treated as chattel or commodities, and considered less than human rather than regarded as African-Americans with full citizenship (Baker 193). Evoking the minstrel tradition, performing "coon songs" means "donning the minstrel mask," the false face of a conquered people, by African-American performers to "deliver up carefully modified versions of their essential expressive selves for the entertainment of their Anglo-American oppressors" (Baker 194). After donning this "tamed" mask

for so long, escape from the minstrel role, recognizing an actual identity with personal integrity separate from the entertaining aspect, becomes difficult. The similar caricatured images considered "normal" by both black and white audiences represent an E Pluribus Unum unity imposed on blacks by the controlling culture. Therefore different perspectives occur. Though the images remain the same, to the dominant white culture the "coon songs" represent black culture in a desired, controlled "tamed" world; to the blacks "coon songs" represent necessary, expedient expressions needed to survive the "taming" process. These complicated "sound" expressions were carried to the public by the Wild West, again revealing its total cultural resonance.

One more song from the collection, the last one printed in musical notation, involves a gender theme, harmonic modulations, and more need for a singer/actor to dramatize situations. Copyrighted in 1896, again by M. Witmark & Sons, and "Entered at Stationers' Hall, London, England," (perhaps this songster was sold during one of the Wild West's trips to London) composed by John Bratton with words by Walter Ford, this song changes style from the rhythmic vitality of coon songs to a more harmonically complex

style of vaudeville theatrical singing. The most harmonically complicated of any song examined, the composer begins in the key of F major for an extended introduction using a very simple melody to exposit the wonderful qualities of "Isabelle! A Girl Who Is One Of The Boys" (appendix 4). For sixteen measures the lyrics dreamily float as the melody leaps up and down fifths and sixths in a two eighth note and dotted-eighth sixteenth note speech-derived rhythm pattern, creating a melodic sense of fantasy for this ideal "girl" described in the text: "Songs are sung in every tongue, All about clever girls, old and young, Some are fair, well that's not rare, Beautiful, certainly, all declare."

But the simplistic melody and harmony supporting the fantasy of the opening section change as the lyrics introduce language inconsistent with the first serene scene established: "But there's one who's in for fun," changes the atmosphere. What is meant by fun? Do beautiful and fun make sense together? What kind of girl is this? Meanwhile the melody continues to lull the audience as it maintains the leaping serenity, but the lyrics add other anomalies: "Ready wit, full of it, takes the bun." Now the lyrics mismatch the melody. "Takes the bun," in turn-of-the century slang, means Isabelle drinks

liquor, probably enough to get intoxicated (Wilmeth 37). Then she has "cash to sell." Why would a beautiful, fantasy girl/woman have cash to sell and where did she get it? Supposedly, ideal nineteenth century women take care of families not finances. Now in this song, Isabelle, at least partially drunk with some personal economic means, "cuts a swell" figure, likely dancing in a suggestive manner (Wilmeth 265). Sentimental fantasies no longer seem appropriate so the melody and harmony change, as would the vocal timbre, from the rapturous tones of the beginning to more exclamatory diction and forceful singing using the tone colors required to enunciate and explain the more "modern skills" of this girl/woman.

As the song lyrics initiate new images, changing a girl into a "worldly" woman, the key center modulates up a minor third to A-flat major, not a closely related key at all, musically demonstrating the distance from the "clever, beautiful" girl established in the serene introduction to the woman-- wise in economics, humor, and ways of sophisticated entertainments--created in the melodically, harmonically, and rhythmically active B section and chorus. This woman, Isabelle, represents what others desire: "the girls all dote upon her," and "the boys all go in raptures when they see her smile."

She embodies sophistication and beauty. Like Annie Oakley, she encounters men on their turf, charms them, beats them at their own games, but maintains ties with traditional femininity because all the "girls" imitate "her style." "Isabelle has captured all the town" and the melodies and harmonies reveal her sophistication.

In the new key of A-flat major the melodic notes contain many "accidentals," notes outside the original key but fitting into the new tonal pattern, demonstrating a learned composing skill. Mr. Bratton, the composer, celebrates his ability to use complicated harmonic space at the same time Isabelle reveals her depths of experience. Melodic contours "tumble" down to begin phrases, but unlike more authentic tumbling strains, they rise rapidly back upwards creating V-shaped melodic lines in four straight phrases, combining the tumbling strain of many folk cultures with the climactic contour of European musical phrases. Finally, after moving through primary chord progressions in A-flat, with the addition of another unexpected chord, D-diminished, occurring to harmonize additional chromatic tones in the more complicated melody, the verse ends in a chromatic line moving upwards from G to C, the dominant note in F-major, accomplishing a modulation back to the original key on the

climactic point of the verse, just as Isabelle "captures the town."

However, the final harmonic return to F holds off for three dramatic fermatas and a lyric phrase line while the audience breathlessly waits for the reason for Isabelle's worldliness and acknowledged success with both men and women: "She's a girl who is just one of the boys," with the original key recurring on the lyric "boys." Both rhythm and melody evoke the "womanly" B-section of the verse as the contours achieve a V-shape again, the rhythms syncopate with energy, and a "jolly crowd" enjoys "a jolly time" because the girl knows how to fit right into the men's patterns of fun. Ending with an inversion of the first two notes of the verse, the melody ascends to its highest note on the word, "Isabelle," creating an image of the crowd perhaps toasting a new kind of woman--"to Isabelle."

The second verse musically repeats the same patterns of melody, harmony, rhythm, timbres, and textures. Even the lyrics pretend the song starts over with no knowledge of what has gone on before because it begins with a "girl" that "lovers stand around and adore," but again the images change as the music shifts. Isabelle drives a pair of horses at a "racing pace," tells "good jokes," "sings

as well," and really has fun when she's in a game (gambling), with a bottle at the racetrack--activities the boys like. Obviously seen as an unusual person, the woman/girl, Isabelle, can be "feminine" in the traditional sense, but can also handle the expectations of a "man's" world like the frontier women Myres describes. Her unexpected behaviors, far from the "normal," as the harmonic modulation to a distant key demonstrated, developed when her ways became more womanly/manlike.

Isabelle handles herself economically, a condition Cody cited in his treatise on the "sex problem," and handles situations in life from work to play, "capturing the town." This new role model, never called a woman in the song's lyrics, but a "girl who is one of the boys," also connects with Annie Oakley's life as Oakley always remained "the little girl of the Western plains" (Havighurst 187). Both Isabelle and Annie Oakley represent developing women's attitudes of the late nineteenth century described by Mary P. Ryan:

It was quite obvious long before 1890 that many American women had neither the pretense nor the possibility of conforming to the middle-class model of womanhood. By the turn of the century the ideal of the home-mother itself came under attack as a few free-thinking women demanded practical equality for themselves and for all classes of American women. (195-197)

Like the "coon" songs, this song, describing Isabelle's personal characteristics, expresses interactions with new attitudes in the culture, about gender this time rather than race. However, unlike the "coon songs," the interaction demonstrates a quicker change in the dominant culture's attitudinal patterns. Accorded a status and freedom in her community never considered possible by blacks, the white woman, Isabelle, challenges older cultural patterns and sees more rapid change occurring. Though both femininity in the traditional nineteenth century sense and more modern equal ways of thinking appear in the same song, this paradox of "Isabelle" reveals new belief structures in the culture. Unfortunately for the African-Americans, though new rhythms, melodies, harmonies, textures, timbres, and forms altered the sounds of popular music, the "plantation" stereotypes still prevailed in the texts of the "coon songs."

More than a dozen songs published in lyric form only with no musical notation, remain in the songster. Perhaps the popular tunes needed no melodic guide or were sung in the show so the text was all the audience needed to learn and remember the songs; more likely, the song book functioned as a "teaser" so people would buy the more

extended piano score sheet music from a local music store or publishing house. Irving Sablosky reports: "historically the nineteenth century was the era of the minstrels and the sentimental song . . . and publishers brought out innumerable 'songsters,' often pocket size (like the Buffalo Bill Songster) containing the words and occasionally the music of songs everyone seemed to love" (57).

Whatever the reason for the inclusion of song lyrics, the lyrics themselves contain themes discovered in the previous analyses. This period in history clearly seems a time of change as the culture adjusts to the different kinds of people, whether immigrant or native, interacting in a changing America. Constantly typing or categorizing ethnic groups, women, men, children, government, and more in a superficial attempt to understand them, the songs actually create or at least pass on stereotypes still existing in the twentieth century culture.

More coon song titles include "The First Wench Done Turned White," by Ed. White, typing both women and the African-American while recognizing "the color line" in America. Cultural dichotomous separation expresses itself in John and W. W. West's, "Everything At Reilly's Must Be Done In Irish Style," as the men in an Irish bar toss

a "coon" out the window for playing a "Mobile rag" because "there'll be no coon cake-walking, there'll be no rag-time talking, ev'rybody here this evening must be Irish all the while." Music's ability to symbolize a culture becomes evident as the men "let the bag-pipes be playing, with Irish songs and sayings, Ev'ry thing at Reilly's must be done in Irish style," but they "boot" the "colored waiter" when he plays a "Darktown" song.

The watermelon eating, chicken stealing stereotype of the African-American male appears in "Keep A-Watchin' Dis Coon," by Raymond A. Browne, expressing both a typing and a fear of the black man who is "eb'ry day growin' bigger." The lazy "darky" fishing for catfish becomes the feature in "Down On De Banks Ob De Mississippi Ribber (A Mississippi Cat-Fish Nig)," by Brown and Charles Coleman. Frank Tousey's, "De Hottest Coon in Town," shows up on page thirty looking for a fight with another "coon" for cutting him with a razor. The common usage of these dialect lyrics in songs express the state of the culture's attitudes about African-Americans, and demonstrates a continuation of the slave culture--the relationship of a conquered people to the conquerors. A relationship still causing tension in modern American society, but not as commonly expressed

in song lyrics since cultural interactions with African-American culture begun in the late nineteenth century period led to more involved interaction and resultant understanding through such twentieth century synthetic music as blues, jazz, rock, and country.

Traditional sentimental parlor songs also make more appearances in the songster. Page two finds "A Dear Little Face At The Window," by Charles Miller, singing of a father's feelings as he returns from work to see his little daughter waiting for him. "The Land Of Dreams" by Felix McGlennon in three verses explores the sentimental themes of a dead young soldier mourned by his wife; a "wayward boy" reading a letter about the death of his mother telling him that his "name was the last she spoke;" and a mother who has lost a baby boy to illness, who all see their loved ones again "in the land of dreams." The relationship of a working father and his little girl occurs for the third time in "Hello, Daddy, I Knew That Was Your Car." A streetcar driver covering his route is met by his "little maiden" who gives him a snack, a big kiss, and a reminder to "hurry home" after work. Another moralistic tale of two stories takes place in "Actions Speak Louder Than Words." The first episode finds a man giving a starving old woman his last coin, and the second story

concerns a man returning from an all night drunk when his wife asks, "Tell me are you speechless tight?" The answer to both episodes, as the drunk falls down on the cat, is that "Actions speak louder than words."

More themes of the culture express themselves in song lyrics. "Murphy's Phonograph," a symbol of the technology of the new century, eventually causes his death because he accidentally plays the hated English anthem, "God Save The Queen," in his Irish bar. By actually creating a battleground through the use of music, the composer, John J. Tierney, demonstrates the ability of songs to symbolize a culture's identity. More Irish stereotyping occurs as Tim Nolan swears he can "lick the mick," "Who Threw The Overalls in Mistress Murphey's Chowder," by Waters and Geiffer. Murphy appears in song as often as "Liza," becoming the main character in "The Song Of Jokes," by Merrick Kershaw, featuring life episodes involving fishing, ingenious building schemes, religion, thievery, and the dentist. "The Klondike Song," also by Kershaw, appeals to the American dream image of striking it rich in a far off land, the frontier, and returning home to show off the new found wealth. Here the Germans appear as the lowest of the low, forced to wear

"shamrocks on next St. Patrick's Day." A similar theme occurs in "Rauss Mit Ihm," by Heelan and Von Tilzer, and "sung with big success by Nellie Waters." Featuring an Irishman looking to pass the time in an enjoyable fight, Dolan goes to a German bar, gets beat up by calling the Kaiser a thief, but comes back the next night with a group of Irish buddies for more fun; they finally turn the tables on and beat up (conquer) the Germans.

Analyzing these songs with historical hindsight allows a look at ugly examples of stereotyping by the controlling cultures. Examining the last example, evidence reveals minority cultures also "battling" each other trying to control some "lesser" ethnic group whether African, Irish, or German American during these rapidly changing times at the century's close. Fortunately, by looking back at the culturally interactive problems occurring then, a society can better understand current shadings or layers of interactions.

As recently reported in the New York Times by Jon Pareles in an article titled, "There's a New Sound In Pop Music: Bigotry," many of the same problems of racism, and ethnic and gender stereotyping also exist in 1989. As my study on Wild West music demonstrates, bigotry is hardly new to popular music, surely existing as long as

there has been bigotry in the culture, but such overt lyric statements as the following, quoted from Pareles' article, have been absent from popular music for many years:

'Immigrants and faggots, they make no sense to me, they come to our country, and think they'll do as they please, like start some mini-Iran or spread some (expletive) disease.' He (singer Axl Rose) also savors the word 'niggers' in a verse that continues, 'Get outta my way, don't need to buy none of your gold chains today.'

These song lyrics certainly connect with attitudes prevalent during the time of the Wild West, but "until recently," in the current time period of 1989, "it was not publicly acceptable to say so" (Pareles). Anger displays itself here as the stereotyping and the desire to dominate perceived weaker cultures permeate the attitude of the song. After years of absence, racist attitudes, so overtly expressed in earlier nineteenth century times, have become explicitly stated again in modern song lyrics.

Analyzing the past, as in this study, reveals a history of bigotry, of groups establishing controlling hierarchies over other groups by some form of "conquering." Cultural interactions displayed in the musical performances by the Concert Company and the Side Show reveal the characterizing, the typing, the listing, the

dismissing of people by cultural grouping commonly done by people in American society. Whether by the dominant Anglo-culture or by minorities, people use the power of stereotyping to maintain their influence over others rather than trying to share power by understanding and accepting cultural difference. In 1896 the making of a "darker shaded" American pluralistic culture occurred in slow increments--the same way it occurs a hundred years later.

Native American Music

(To accomplish their goal of "illustrating life as it is witnessed on the plains," the Wild West organizers, led by Cody, Salsbury, and Burke, developed an "ethnographic" component focusing on the way of life of Native-Americans encountered on the prairie. Established on the grounds of the Wild West, visitors walked through the Indian encampments, observing the frontier habits of the "red-skinned predecessors" (Burke 1887). Dancing and singing occurred in these camps as the Native-Americans established their way of life, blending the needs of travel, performance, and traditional cultures.)

Examining the Native-American's role in the Wild West, this chapter describes aspects of the show, analyzes Native-American musical components of the exhibition and program material, and interprets from the evidence discovered in analysis, aesthetic, social, and cultural meanings using themes examined in previous chapters. (In the frontier interaction the Indians were the symbols of the wilderness, and as a conquered people became the antagonists to the cowboys' and scouts' heroic actions. Spreading this view of

"fighting cowboys and Indians" to the world, the Wild West established an image of Native-Americans still prevalent, an image disregarding reality and understanding of cultural difference.)

(This Wild West performance "display" of conquered people, culturally different from their conquerors, as a kind of "trophy," "appears to be a most ancient and emotionally powerful use of people," according to Burton Benedict, citing similar displays by Greeks and Romans ("The powerlessness of the captive enhances the power and prestige of the captor" (45), an effect noticed previously in this study when describing Wild West acts featuring cowboys and Buffalo Bill demonstrating their mastery over Native-Americans.)

(In addition to being "trophies," Benedict also notes, conquered peoples in fairs or exhibitions often become set aside or "displayed in special enclosures with the trappings of their culture or performing indigenous tasks or ceremonies," as in the Indian encampment of the Wild West exhibition. In this setting the Indians, becoming less war trophies and more like "specimens or scientific objects," are viewed as racially and culturally different curiosities, almost a "freak" show masquerading as ethnographic science (Benedict 45).)

Exerting their authority over the conquered people, the conquerors choose where the conquered people live, how they display themselves, even the clothes they wear, or the cultural symbols they may use. This control eventually results in interactive relationships "idealized" by the dominant culture and not relevant to "actually existing ones."¹⁵ Benedict analyzes the process in world's fairs, but the application fits Wild West exhibitions as well, "People saw idealized relations . . . presented in an antiseptic environment, cut off from the real world by walls, gates, and admissions charges" (45). Summarizing the implicit meaning occurring when a conquering people flaunt their conquered foes in an exhibition or show Benedict analyzes:

The display of people is a display of power. It is a symbolic performance demonstrating power relationships, but these relationships are not necessarily real. They may be idealized from the point of view of the exhibitors. They may be highly deceptive and represent a kind of symbolic wishful thinking. Thus the displays of conquered or colonial peoples at world's

¹⁵ This idealizing process also affected the famous Native-American photographs of Edward S. Curtis at the turn-of-the century as he often staged the supposedly realistic images of Indian life. Tampering with the actual way of life, he removed items of modernity like alarm clocks from the photographs, or pictured three Sioux men galloping in full headdress when only one would actually wear chief's feathers. Curtis, like Buffalo Bill, created idealized symbols of Native-Americans. (Martin)

fairs (or Wild West shows) present a kind of spurious unity in which people who differ vastly in cultural tradition and aspirations are made to appear as one. (52)

Nostalgic "wishful thinking" or idealization of the unity of values of the "frontier" people, whether cowboy, Indian, scout, or the African-American represented in the "coon songs," dominated the atmosphere of the Wild West symbol-creating, expressive event.

(Involving romantic notions of "noble savages," wilderness lost, and older more "familiar" frontier values being consumed by civilization, the idealized "unity," an imposed E Pluribus Unum, overlooked the very real differences in cultural beliefs or philosophic approaches to life by the Native-Americans, African-Americans, and the cowboy, scout, or cavalry representatives of the European-influenced American culture.)

(Analyzing the deep differences in the approach to life of white and Indian cultures, Edward T. Hall reminds the reader of real events occurring because of these dichotomous differences: "If the early white settlers in North America couldn't make the Indians conform to the European paradigm, the response was to destroy what could not be controlled and what did not perform in a predictable manner" (49). By displaying the "uncontrolled," wilderness people in the

controlled setting of the Wild West, Cody created a situation of predictability in which the Indians could be reevaluated and idealized since the danger of their "disruption" of the dominant culture was no longer a factor, allowing a "safe" nostalgia for lost frontiers.)

From Munich, Germany, in a foreword to his collection of 1891 Wild West drawings using wilderness and civilization themes analyzed often in this study, (Charles Henckel evokes romantic images of the frontier, writing in the "idealized" language Benedict suggests is a common response to the kinds of symbols created by Wild West or other exhibition experiences:

The following pictures represent typical individuals of the 'Wild West' of the North American Continent and incidents of their life, which presents a strange combination of medieval romance and untrammelled natural impulse destined to be eradicated by the steady onward march of modern civilization. The noble red man, robbed of his native soil, the hardy trapper and cow-boy closely allied to him in their life and habits, will soon exist only in the memory of man, and all the wild romance of the far West will disappear with them. (1)

The large cultural differences between the conquered and conquering peoples appear to be forgotten as the unity of the frontier experience dominates the ideal, symbolic world created by the Wild West. Accepted as the natural order of things, these powerful

images assume Native-Americans willingly chose to be conquered in order to take their "place" in the American societal structure.)

Cody knew the truth, but his show-oriented productions acted out idealizations of the Wild West, like his landscape backdrops symbolized an idealized wilderness. Wearing for the arena events and on parade the culturally evocative clothing and make-up normally reserved for ceremonial occasions and dancing, "show business necessities" (Deloria 1981, 51) changed the images of Native-Americans as they mixed Native-American sacred and secular lives into one image in the minds of the observers and eventually in the habits of the Indians themselves (Horse Capture.)

Though he created the show spreading these images of Native-Americans, Cody himself "appears as a very positive person who earned and held the respect of the Sioux Indians," the primary tribe recruited as performers in the show (Deloria 1981, 51-52). Demonstrating this respect, Sitting Bull became an early recruit for Cody's show. Considered the mastermind behind the Custer Massacre, "a constant symbol of Indian resistance, the continual defender of the Indian culture" others were "determined to eradicate" (Brown 402), Sitting Bull certainly attracted an audience, but recognizing

Sitting Bull's importance to his culture, "Buffalo Bill treated the old man as a distinct and noble personality" (Deloria 1981, 51).

During the 1880's Wild West contemporaries also recognized Cody's experience with the Indians. An article in the Montreal Herald on August 14, 1885, describes an extended dialogue with Nate Salsbury, Buffalo Bill, and Sitting Bull at a meeting of Montreal civic leaders. During the introduction of Cody to the audience, desiring positive public relations of course, Salsbury comments about Buffalo Bill's relationship with Native Americans:

If there is anything about Indians, Buffalo Bill is not the man who don't know it. He probably has had more experience than any man on this continent; he has fought them, he has killed them, he has employed them and paid them, and he knows them like a book; he is therefore able to ensure the public a faithful representation of their customs, their habits of peace and war. (Montreal Herald)

Buffalo Bill responded to this introduction with a speech about white men creating most of the trouble in the interactions between the cultures, a speech better reported in the Toronto Globe a few days later: "In nine cases out of ten when there is trouble between white men and Indians it will be found that the white man is responsible for the dispute through breaking faith with them" (TG 1885). Cody, sincere in his comments, maintains a friendly

relationship with Sitting Bull (Brown 410). As a result, when Sitting Bull's speaks at this Montreal reception, he speaks, through an interpreter, of the differences between the two white countries, of his worries about his people, but not about any problems specifically with Cody:

I am glad to see you here and like the white men I meet in Canada. When I was a boy my grandfather, who had traded with the Canadians, taught me to respect them and said I was to treat them well when I met them and I have tried to do so. The United States people did not treat me well. They tried to take my land and I had to fight to protect my people. The trouble is not over, I am afraid, and I don't know what will become of my poor people. (Montreal Herald)

(Because the Wild West presents Indians in a scenario controlled by the white conquering culture, the real, dichotomous relationship of trouble, difference, and lack of respect between whites and Native-Americans is forgotten as audiences/society form different associations.) Sitting Bull expresses his wishes regarding his tribe, but in a setting and in terms controlled by Cody, Salsbury, and other managers of the show. The show provides an interactive space for cultures to mingle, but as in the relationship between African-Americans and European-Americans, the Native-Americans do not control the interaction.)

For many years "American blacks" had at least been "counted as three-fifths of a person in determining population in the House of Representatives,"--a representation symbolized in American music because black music became slowly integrated into the mainstream popular music, as in the "coon" songs--but as Vine Deloria reminds his readers: "Indians were America's captive people without any defined rights whatsoever" (1969, 7). A lack of representation also symbolized in music because Native-American music remained/remains separate, foreign to the mainstream culture.

While the slowly integrating black culture became "invisible" (explicitly ignored) in the Wild West, despite its presence in the music and on the actual frontier, the separateness of the Indian culture allowed the Wild West exploitation of their "exotic" difference, providing the Native-Americans idealized, romanticized "visibility" to the American public. ¹⁶ When Sitting Bull rode alone into the arena, to hisses and boos eventually changing to cheers, he

¹⁶ Nate Salsbury, Cody's partner, also attempted a large-scale arena exhibition called "Black America," featuring musical acts and reenactments of the history of black culture in America. Including over 400 cast members, orchestras, choirs, replicas of African villages, and plantations, the performance folded after two performances. An audience was not attracted. (Havighurst 189) The Wild West exhibition "exotica" resonated more cultural chords.

developed an image as "the charismatic statesman of an Indian nation and, like Cody's own image, this picture of Sitting Bull became imprinted in the minds of the audience" (Deloria 1981, 51). By also including the Native-American horsemen as equals to Rough Rider contingents from nations around the world, Cody controlled them but "provided a platform for displaying natural ability that transcended racial and political antagonisms" (Deloria 1981, 54). Also attempting to "educate" American audiences, other Native-American leaders traveling with the show, however briefly over the years, included Chief Joseph (New York Journal), Flatiron (New York J & A), "American Horse, the Sioux Chief" (Philadelphia Inquirer), Bear-Who-Looks-Back-Running, Rocky Bear, Iron Tail, and Red Shirt (Salsbury Photo), Kicking Bear, Short Bull, Lone Bull, Plenty Horses, Jack Red Cloud (Deloria 1981, 52), Black Elk (Neihardt 182) and others.

As a young man the now legendary Black Elk traveled with the Wild West to the London Exhibition in 1887, meeting Queen Victoria during a performance, missing a boat transferring the Wild West company to another destination, becoming stranded in Europe for two years performing with other shows until again meeting up with the

"other Pahuska" ¹⁷ in Paris, and finally returning home to Pine Ridge. Black Elk chose to travel with Buffalo Bill to educate himself and attempt some understanding of the dichotomous culture destroying the Sioux way of life:

But late in my twenty-third summer (1886), it seemed there was a little hope (for saving his nation). There came to us some Wasichus (a term for the white man but it did not refer to color because there were black Wasichus also) who wanted a band of Ogalalas for a big show that the other Pahuska had. They told us this show would go across the big water to strange lands, and I thought I ought to go, because I might learn some secret that would help my people somehow. (Neihardt 182)

A hundred Oglala, including Black Elk, joined Pawnees and Omahas to form the Indian performers and encampment people for the Wild West in Chicago, New York, and London among other places. Black Elk tells Niehardt: "We stayed there (New York) and made shows for many Wasichus (in Madison Square Garden) all that winter. I liked the part of the show we made, but not the part the Wasichus made" (Niehardt 184).

During a rough ocean crossing in which both white and Indian performers felt they might not make it to England, Black Elk says he

¹⁷ Buffalo Bill is the other Pahuska (Long Hair) referred to here. Custer was also called Pahuska.

"dressed for death, putting on my best clothes that I wore in the show, then I sang my death song," because he and the others "wanted to die brave" (Neihardt 186). The company eventually arrived in London and gave a performance for the Queen. Black Elk tells of the role of the Indian in the actual Wild West show and the response of "Grandmother England:"

Sometimes we had to shoot in the show, but this time we did not shoot at all. We danced and sang, and I was one of the dancers chosen to do this for the Grandmother, because I was young and limber then and could dance many ways. . . . After we had danced she spoke to us. She said something like this: 'I am sixty-seven years old. All over the world I have seen all kinds of people; but to-day I have seen the best-looking people I know. If you belonged to me, I would not let them take you around in a show like this.' . . . She shook hands with all of us. . . . We gave a big cheer for her, and then the shining wagons came in and she got into one of them and they all went away. (Neihardt 188)

The singing and dancing most concern this study. Music of the Cowboy Band, the Side Show, and the Concert Company revealed aesthetic dimensions, social meanings, and culturally interactive patterns of the conquering culture. An examination of Native-American music in the Wild West reveals the nature of their value systems and the dichotomous differences between the conquering and conquered cultures.

Involving Black Elk, the London Exposition "Programme" from 1887, lists eight of a total of twenty acts as using Indian people: a Pony Race between a Cow-boy, Mexican, and Indians; an Indian Attack on an Emigrant Train; the Attack on the Deadwood Stage; a race "between Sioux Indian Boys on Bareback Indian Ponies; a Genuine Buffalo Hunt by Buffalo Bill and Indians; an Attack on a Settler's Cabin by Hostile Indians; and act fifteen, "**Phases Of Indian Life**. Nomadic Tribe Camps on the Prairie. Attack by Hostile Tribes, followed by Scalp, War, and other Dances" (BBWW 1887).

Saturday afternoon, December 17, 1887, found the Wild West troupe in Manchester, England, acting out "A Depiction of American Pioneer History" in seven episodes with short between act exhibitions, music, and narration, including a different version of "Phases of Indian Life" called the "Primeval Forest." In this dramatic performance the First Episode of "American Pioneer History" involves:

The Primeval Forest of America before its discovery by the white man--Midnight--Wild animals in their native lairs--Dawn--The Indian as he was before the discovery--Sunrise--The friendly dance of two Indian tribes--The Indian courier who tells in the wonderful sign-language of the approach of a hostile tribe--**The Attack--The Battle.** (BBWW APH)

Continuing through the landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers of 'Old England' " to "the saving of the life of Captain John Smith by the Indian Princess Pocahontas," the performance "represents Indian manners, customs, and dances by the different bands of genuine Indian warriors under the command of Red Shirt, who were recently conquered by the United States Government, and by whose permission they are allowed to make this tour" (BBWW DAPH 1887).

After these opening three episodes of American History, the scenes move to the prairie where the depiction of the Indian becomes more violent, less interested in showing ways of living than in portraying the Indian as the enemy to progress and civilization. During the fifth episode, "the Cattle Ranch--The new home in the Wild West," the Indians attack and massacre the settlers trying to establish a civilized garden homestead, fight against the rescuing "heroic forces of civilization," but are finally driven back to their "wild" country. The sixth episode reenacts the "Custer Massacre," while the seventh episode depicts the Indian "Attack on the Deadwood Stage Coach," and the resultant repulsion "by Buffalo Bill, Scouts and Cowboys" (BBWW DAPH 1887). Program evidence characterizes Native-Americans as hostile towards the people of

progress, while Buffalo Bill and his new frontier symbols, the cowboys, represent the forces of progress and superior civilization.

An 1894 program follows a similar plan with the "phases" aspect becoming part of the "Battle of the Little Big Horn" as "this animated tableau represents the meeting, customs of camping, dances, etc., by the Sioux Indians, several of those present having been in the massacre" (BBWW CRR). These presentations all mention the occurrence of dancing in the arena as the Native-Americans present aspects of their culture to the audiences. Accompanied by singing, the audiences receive a multi-sensory experience as they visually observe the costumes, the physical presence, and the dancing movements of the performers, and also hear the drumbeats, the vocal timbres, the textures, the melodies, and the rhythms of the music.

Audiences responded in ways Benedict suggested, idealizing the relationships between Indians and others, freezing the images in time. The New York Sun gushes in 1894: "all the rest of the show is interesting and remarkable . . . the Indian songs and dances, the combats between the scouts, cowboys, and red men . . . including the bugle calls, played by Bugler Connelly who played the calls at

Wounded Knee four years earlier" (NYS), helping history and fiction mix in these controlled Wild West exhibitions. Specific mention of the "war, grass, corn, and scalp dances performed by Pawnee, Wichita, and Sioux Indians" were reported in the Montreal Herald on August 11, 1885, revealing a Canadian populace more knowledgeable about Indian culture than American audiences content with the dances being called "war dances." The Wheeling Register from Wheeling, West Virginia, suggested in 1886: the "War Dances of the Sioux Indians at the Wild West exhibition were blood curdling in their reality" (WR).

(Lack of understanding of cultural difference appeared throughout European-influenced countries however. After attending in the Indian encampment a "curing ceremony" for a boy "suffering from a severe cold," a Canadian reporter from the Toronto Globe provided more detailed analysis and less emotionalism than the West Virginia reporter, but still a lack of awareness when he reported: beside the dancers "dancing in a queer fashion" were "squatted two other Indians each beating a tom-tom and singing weird tones" (Toronto 1885).

Dichotomous values express themselves in dichotomous sounds

and movements, as the words "weird" and "queer" used by European-based cultures in describing Native-American singing and dancing certainly imply. Another example occurred during a Philadelphia stay in 1896; "American Horse, the Sioux Chief" provided a dinner and an "exhibition of the Omaha (war) Dance . . . for the edification of the pale face." One of many press representatives at the feast, the Philadelphia Inquirer reporter describes the scene by writing of the "red and yellow warpaint on the foreheads and cheeks," the "six Indians playing a bass drum, sitting around it in a circle, each beating with a stick covered in red flannel," and "American Horse dancing around the tent followed by twenty of his braves all clad in the same manner" (stripped to the waist with a crown of eagle feathers on his head). The report describes the dance itself: "The dance was more of a hop . . . although in perfect time to the drum beats." In descriptive language again revealing the dichotomous themes of wilderness and civilization, the reporter separates the singing from the dancing, in typical western analytical fashion, characterizing it as "a chorus of unearthly howls coming from the dancers. Expressive, it was said, of contempt for their enemies. The dance ended in a whoop" (Phil. Enq. 1886).

Other journalistic accounts use equally harsh language to depict the Native-American sounds of the frontier. According to "The Morning Journal" from New York City, one Sunday morning the Sioux Hymn Singers sang "Nearer My God To Thee" in their native tongue "but strictly adhering to the time and meter" of the European-influenced church song. Obviously creating a stir, the singing timbre of this song and others accompanied by "a tom-tom," was portrayed as one "that would make a buzz saw shudder" (1886). Unintentionally portraying aspects of the cultural dichotomy between Indian and white belief structures, the reporter separates the music from the dancing in his analysis, failing to recognize the different Native-American value system.

Not considering music as a "separate aesthetic entity" to be analyzed and criticized, but an element of a larger "organic process"--the process of life considered "perfect" the way it exists--Native-Americans are "not inclined to make vast judgments which place some things in a position of superiority to others" because "all things are part of that perfection" (Highwater 5). Jamake Highwater continues his exposition of the differences in musical philosophy between the dichotomous Native-American and European-influenced

cultures:

It is generally thought that American Indian music is functional, that it is used as part of the other, non-musical activities of life. But this is simply the result of an analytical, non-Indian attitude. The Indian, on the other hand, sees his music as indistinct from his dancing and his dancing as indistinct from his worship as indistinct from his living.
(5)

Recognizing the sensitive dilemma and non-Indian approach occurring when analyzing elements of Indian music separately from one another, or by examining singing styles apart from the dance, this study continues to do so to better understand the music from the western analytical viewpoint.

When comparing Native-American vocal timbres to European influenced timbres or singing styles, the newspaper accounts clearly reveal the culturally dichotomous sounds. If the parlor songs illustrate middle timbres of the garden civilization then the "buzz saw" sounds of the Indians exemplify to the Europeans the wilderness extreme--uncontrolled, harsh, dangerous (blood-curdling), and unintelligible to the untrained and uninterested ear. But this high pitched, "raspy" vocal timbre, common to the Sioux and other Plains Indians, and "sung with great tension on the vocal chords" (Nettl 161), represents a cultural sign of self-assertion

(Lomax 1968, 205). Edwin Erickson, writing with Alan Lomax about the social meaning of a raspy timbre, continues to define the term:

Lomax demonstrated that vocal noise, in the sense of any departure from a clear, relaxed tone, is expressive of the individual and his concerns, and that in tightly cohesive societies such noise tends to be damped out in song performance. Rasp, defined loosely as harsh guttural vocalization, appears to have an equally strong association with social diffuseness and personal assertiveness. (Lomax 1968, 205)

From this analytical framework, the Sioux singing timbre metaphorically implies a society built on the values of self-assertion, individual expression, and the need to recognize individual and social difference. These characteristics become evident in Black Elk Speaks, as Neihardt's portrayals of the Oglala tribe in battle, camped, traveling, or in ceremony, demonstrate tolerance for difference whether in battle strategies (people took care of the fighting around them and their small bands of families rather than pursuing centralized plans) (217); individual differences in camp living (115); dealing with the Wasichus (110); or ways of expressing sacred aspects of life (149). Sioux individuals lived in a society that valued decentered hierarchical arrangements, demonstrated by the various tribal leaders leading small bands of tribal members in

different directions (Niehardt 118).

Raspy singing styles symbolize this decentered, self-assertive, individualistic kind of social order. Orchestral styles, choral singing, band playing, and parlor song styling allow for self-assertion/solo performance, but in controlled situations where defined leadership roles, planned in advance to contribute to the expressive needs of a blended, unified, harmonious community, are made by an overall assertive conductor/leader. In comparison, African styles, like the Native-American, often allow for improvisation and raspy timbres by soloists asserting a personal idea, but in America at the-turn-of-the century, middleground European influenced timbres still dominated. The assertive rasp sung by many popular singers of the late twentieth century, representing the growing, assertive, personal independence desired by the populace, also represents the growing influence of authentic African-American cultures (perhaps Native-American as well) on the popular culture--an American sound reflecting values resulting from the interaction of the "darker" and "paler" cultures in America (Mellers 1985, 219).

In Sioux singing styles accompanying a war dance, ¹⁸ the textural characteristics of heterophony combine with the "buzz saw" timbre to create "wild" music. Defined in metaphoric textural terms, heterophony "is the weaving of melodic strands around a central core of a melody" with "all its strands happening simultaneously" (Reck 312). Unlike the narrowly defined European pitch and rhythmic sense of precision and cohesion in which performers must exactly tune and blend their voices/instruments into a unified ensemble, the Native-American war dance songs allow for raspy "assertiveness" and a broad pitch and rhythmic sense allowing for personal difference in melodic expression as well.

The sounds of the frontier created by this combination of heterophonic quality and extreme timbres produce problems of understanding for people from western-influenced cultures

¹⁸ According to George Horse Capture, calling the dance a war dance is descriptive enough. It originally came from the Omaha tribe as a sacred dance often called a grass or crowbelt dance. Other tribes learned it and the songs to go with it including the Sioux. The Wild West actually provided a performance vehicle for spreading the dance to many tribes through touring and hiring many Indians who learned the dance and took it back to their own tribes. Because of the Wild West the dance became a secular dance with many revisions and still exists as the "traditional dance" in current Native-American dance styles.

conditioned to music derived from tuning systems of equal temperament and "controlled" tones. Barbara Tedlock succinctly expresses the problem:

The perception and appreciation of tone is also a problem in that Amerindian traditions allow much more variation in tones, depending on musical, textual, physical, and emotional contexts. Perhaps this is so because of the lack of musical instruments with fixed pitches, which in Western tradition have the effect of standardizing the pitches of the voice. (18)

Exemplified in the variations of tones used in their singing styles, the social diffuseness of Sioux culture literally occurs in sound during the heterophonic group singing. Each vocalist sings the same tune but the individual variations--symbolizing a Plains Indian sense of "personal freedom, self-reliance and a love of individuality" (Reck 314)--combined with the high pitch rasp give it a unique quality of sound; a "buzz saw" to the uninitiated ears of Western listeners, something akin to a musically untrained church congregation singing hymns on Sunday morning (Reck 314), or the imprecise sounds of the town bands Ives often signified in his musical compositions. In all cases the spirit of the singing or playing is more important than the aesthetic sense. And in all cases the expression of an independent powerful spirit takes precedence

over one of "beautiful" blended social unity (Nettl 162) (Forcucci 29) (Highwater 6).

This spirit still exists today in Native-American singing. As footnoted earlier, the Wild West "war dance" occurs at modern tribal dance functions using songs sung in ways similar to those of a hundred years ago. Though tempos increase and more songs become secular, singing styles remain consistent (Horse Capture). Traditional music "is one of the few aspects of Indian life into which the white man has not penetrated, and which he is usually unwilling to take the trouble to imitate" (Nettl 176). Hence, because of this maintenance of traditional singing patterns, an analysis of a Northern Plains song, appropriate to the "traditional" dance style and recorded in this century, sheds light on the frontier sounds heard in the Wild West arena and the resultant evocative notions and values represented.

Although many songs function with the traditional "war" dance--the Wild West helped spread this style to tribes throughout America (Horse Capture)--the song selected comes from a Northern Plains tribe; like Sioux songs, it requires a high, loud voice. This "Eagle Dance" from the Northern Arapaho, recorded in 1975 by the

"Los Angeles Northern Singers," whose membership includes singers from the Sioux, Arickara, Hidatsa, and Northern Arapaho tribes, dates back to the nineteenth century and contains a direct relationship with "war dances" sung in the arena (Heth).

Formally the song contains four verses with four parts to a verse. Each repetition of the verse begins with a solo leader on a short phrase, the ensemble, all using a vocal rasp, joins in a repeat of the leader's phrase creating a call and response heterophonic setting establishing the musical, social, and political willingness of the group to follow the leader, also the willingness of the leader to become one with the group (Reck 462). A longer section of the piece, sung and repeated using both words and vocables (vocal sounds without textual meaning) in a lyric restraint (Highwater 6), creates a mixture of lyrics and syllables, rhythmically and melodically giving motion to the music--not unlike vocalese (composed scat syllables versus improvised syllables) in jazz singing. This overall formal shape of brief AA sections followed by longer BB sections repeats four times.

In a melodic contour pattern common to Plains music the "melody (of the "Eagle Dance") begins high and then gradually

descends (in a tumbling strain feeling) until it suddenly rebounds upwards to a pitch midway in the descending curve and then descends to the final pitch . . . in a lower octave" (Tedlock 10). With the actual range quite wide at a twelfth (the same range as the Star Spangled Banner) the "Eagle Dance," sung in a high tessitura as expected, requires great effort to sing properly. Charlotte Heth reports on the vocal style used by the singers:

They exhibit a great degree of vocal tension (a European culturally influenced concept) and pulsation, a quavering quality that affects both pitch (broad parameters compared to European narrow concepts) and dynamics and accounts for most of the heterophonic relationship of the voices to each other. There are descending glides (filling in the gaps between the semitones of European equal temperament tuning and the spaces between written notes of "literate" singing) at the ends of some phrases.

Rhythmic complications occur as well because the duple rhythms, not metered or felt in the bar lines of written notation and different from the triplet rhythms also heard in some Northern Plains dance songs (Heth), played on a bass drum speed up and slow down in tempo as the song proceeds from verse to verse and within the verse itself. Shifts in rhythmic feel from singing on the beat to singing after the beat in a syncopated manner occur during short sections of the song, providing a lifting sensation to the timing of

the piece, perhaps a musical reference to the "Eagle" soaring above the earth-based timing of the steady drum. Rhythmic control remains in the drums, however, as the dancers move with the time established by the beating, while the singers move ahead or behind the beat. Though the pattern of the song appears to be a circular one as the form continually repeats, the modal melody with its leaps of fourths uses rhythmic rubatos and adjustments to the beats by the singers to provide distinctive characteristics for each verse, expressing the distinctiveness of the leader's, singers'/drummers', and dancers' experiences in their "ritual life process" (Highwater 6).

In all analytical elements--melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, texture, form, evocative natures, and social and cultural metaphors--the Northern Plains Indian song provides a dichotomous contrast to the previously analyzed, mostly European-based, sounds of the Cowboy Band and the Concert Company. African-American music uses some characteristics of heterophony and modality as well as vocal timbres on the "edge" of the "civilized" spectrum, but the musical interaction between African and European sources in America produces acculturated sounds compared to the interaction with the Native-American musical traditions.

As have other composers before and after, Karl King tried, with his "Passing of the Red Man," to find some common ground and create an interactive musical relationship between the cultures, but as understood in the analysis from chapter three, he failed because he used western elements in his music-making instead of developing authentic sounds heard in the Wild West camp. Highwater uses an appropriate military, conquering metaphor to describe the relationship between the music (and the people symbolized by the music) of the Indian and the white or black cultures:

The invasion from the sea was led by men of the military--and the rear was brought up by men of music. Sometimes it seems possible that composers have done a better job of ripping off the Indian than the military. Everyone from Dvorak to John Alden Carpenter has attempted to capture the redman in a musical cage, compounded of notes and bars forged in western Europe. These symphonic thefts have never managed to grasp either the Indian mood or the Indian mentality, and such compositions, intended to honor the 'noble savage,' are usually embarrassing to Indians. (3)

In this paragraph, using metaphorical language, Highwater transforms the actual frontier experience of the Native-Americans encountering white culture into a musical setting, providing more evidence for the appropriate use of music as a metaphor for social, cultural, and evocative meanings.

A brief analysis of his metaphor finds Highwater "playing" with images of Native-Americans in both real and symbolic terms. Actually conquered by the military, Indians were relegated to reservations or Wild West shows containing physical boundaries where non-Indian leaders curtailed their desired activities and displayed them in a "noble" manner. Composers metaphorically "conquered" and "controlled" the music of the Indian by placing an Indian musical "theme" in a western musical context with its boundaries of meters, bar-lines, notation, equal-temperament tunings, modern instruments, harmonies, major and minor scales, unified pitch senses, homophonic textures, and western analytical aesthetic philosophies.

Authentic Indian musical characteristics of pitch slides, heterophony, high raspy timbres, constant drumming, and melody-based singing styles "indistinct" from the always present dancing, disappeared to be replaced by a musically conquered Indian music. These "noble" musical attempts "idealized" and displayed Indian music in modal tones and rhythms taking on characteristics common to the western culture itself, ignoring cultural difference and instead using nostalgic musical language from Western

Civilization's own historic past--like the Wild West consideration of the Indian in sentimental, idealized unity with other plainsmen, the scouts and the cowboys. These "noble" attempts to represent the Indian as part of an interactive America actually delay real understanding and interplay because of the long-lasting influence of the false, supposed "ideal" images.

An example of "capturing" an Indian song in the "cage" of western notation actually occurs in several years of Wild West programs beginning in 1893. Three years after the year the Ghost Dance movement came to the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation, the killing of Sitting Bull, and the Wounded Knee massacre, John Burke included in the Wild West program an extended treatise on "Ghost-Dances In The West: Origin and Development of the Messiah Craze and the Ghost Dance" (BBWWCRR 38-45). Condensed from an article in "Illustrated America," the report describes in detail, using quotations from interviews with specific people, the origins of the Ghost Dance, its participants, its ceremonies, and even notates and translates the words of two songs.

Although a Christian movement in beliefs, the white military and church leaders on the reservation observed the Native-American

appearing and sounding rituals used in its service, and could only recognize dichotomy (Brown 409). The program of the Wild West concurs and calls the Ghost Dance "weird and peculiar, . . . superstitious and spiritlike," and though expressing "the simple truths of Christianity," they were "distorted to conform with Indian mythology" (BBWCRR 1893, 38). Printed in the program are two songs (appendix 5) with the accompanying analysis revealing the dichotomy of sounds felt by the reporter during the actual singing:

The songs are sung without accompaniment of a drum, as is customary in the other dances. All sing in unison, and the notes, although wild and peculiar, being in a minor key, do not lack melody. The words sung in Sioux are: Ina he misunkala ceya omaniniye-e. Ina he kuye. Ate he lo. Ate he lo. As translated by Deputy U. S. Marshall Bartlett, this is: Come here my mother, my younger brother is walking and crying. Come here my mother; here is the father, here is the father. (BBWCRR 42)

Even controlled on paper the songs appear "wild" to the observer. Not using a drum implies a change towards "civilized" ways, but the timbres of the voices, certainly not the captured notes, maintain the raspy singing style of the Sioux with its assertive power and "buzz saw" sound keeping a "wild" dichotomy apparent. African-Americans interacted with western Christianity to create powerful new forms of musical expression, spirituals and gospel, but Native-American

musical timbres and textures, unacceptable to the dominant culture, maintained a cultural dichotomy.

In the Wild West, Native-American frontier sounds provided aural evidence of a cultural dichotomy with the dominant sounds of American and European culture. Music symbolizes a culture's beliefs and values through the medium of sound culturally organized into timbres, textures, melodies, and more, but the organizing principles and sounds of Indian music proved incompatible to the ears of the nineteenth century audiences. Evoking only wildness and weirdness to the European-influenced majority cultures, Native-American music helped preserve separateness and a resultant lack of real understanding or interplay of knowledge. However, this inability of the white culture to assimilate Native-American music increased the music's ability to function as a symbol for the Native-American culture as a whole (Nettl 176). Therefore, in spite of the imposed, "spurious unity" demonstrated in the Wild West exhibition by the costumes, the "exotic displays," and the arena "acts," Native-American music continued/continues to provide aspects of cultural integrity, representing the independent spirit of the Native-American people.

Coda

Extending past the usual form of a musical composition with its themes, motives, developments, and recapitulations, a musical coda pursues an idea further or introduces new material complementing what has previously occurred. Using previously developed themes and ideas, this brief coda "plays" with new material from twentieth century films about Buffalo Bill and the Wild West demonstrating how the sounds of the frontier created at the turn-of-the-century still impact current views of the West.

Providing clearer understanding of music's use in the show, the examination of Wild West music in previous chapters demonstrated how the exhibition's musical characteristics both shaped and reflected social meanings and prevailing values and attitudes of the times. By using contextual musical analysis, I revealed how the dominant culture's "civilized" Wild West music controlled the Native-American and African-American "wilderness" cultures' sensory soundscapes. In that sense the music reflects/symbolizes the reality of the social and geographical situation. Summarizing this

controlling impact cultures from Western Civilization maintain on so-called pre-literate, "exotic" cultures, Ursula K. Le Guinn writes in terms familiar to the established theme of "civilization" desiring life in a controlled "garden:"

We human beings long to get the world under our control and to make other people act just like us. In the last few centuries, some of us--variously described as the White Man, the West, the Colonial Powers, Industrial Civilization, the March of Progress--found out how to do it. . . . No culture that has come in contact with Western industrial culture has been unchanged by it, and most have been assimilated, surviving only as vestigial variations in dress, cooking or ethics. (1)

Wild West progressive control manifested itself in the Indian Encampment where Native-Americans lived in ways "White Man" management desired to display them. Often changing Native-American clothing habits, eating patterns, and ceremonies, the exhibition created in the process an idealized Native-American image the majority culture assimilated on their own terms rather than on Native-American terms. Control was demonstrated musically when the Cowboy Band used the modal musical language of Western Civilization's own pre-literate past to evoke Native-American cultures, ignoring the authentic sounds of the indigenous people. Karl King's, "Passing of the Red Man," reflects the ideals of Western

Romanticism more than it synthesizes any real interaction with authentic Native-American expressive forms or ideas.

Wild West popular songs, with the interactive presence of the African-American culture manifesting itself occasionally in "blue notes," rhythmic syncopations, raspy timbres, and lyrics less dependent on the sentimental middle-ground of standard parlor songs, still dominantly reflect the controlling aspect of European-influenced harmonies, textures, and forms. Though the "coon" songs and minstrel performances of the Cowboy Band and Concert Company reveal the "darker" shade of American culture more apparently, the language of stereotypes in the lyrics maintains the controlling social hierarchy.

Interactive change in the assimilative process occurs slowly as revealed in this analytical study of music. How slowly becomes more evident in this "coda" when I extend musical/cultural analysis to western films dealing with the topic of "Cowboys and Indians" in general, and Buffalo Bill and the Wild West in particular. Almost thirty years after Cody's death, a 1944 movie entitled "Buffalo Bill," starring Joel McRae as Cody, uses the same musical ideas the Wild West exhibition established in 1884. But instead of a Cowboy Band

providing pacing accompaniment and heightening the emotional and evocative impact of the visual action unfolding on the screen, an orchestra provides a musical score with ideas based on nineteenth century European romantic idioms. Typical of film scores of the thirties and forties, sentimental string music provides mood changes as the action cuts from scene to scene.

Opening with a sculptured visual image of a slumping Plains Indian on horseback, the music evokes danger as the harmonies provide dissonance, the melodies contribute falling shapes, and the rhythms use the cliched drum beat Karl King developed thirty years earlier. As the screen image pans to Buffalo Bill, the music assumes a heroic melody using wide intervals of fourths and fifths, evoking the "wide open spaces of the prairie landscape," a musical practice Copland established in his earlier 1930's western documentary film scores. By using an orchestra for accompaniment, the film follows the Wild West tradition of accompanying shows with sounds from mostly European-influenced sources. These opening musical lines reveal the controlled, idealized patterns of interactive relationships between White and Native Americans that eventually occur in the loosely organized and historically deficient plot. When Indians

appear on the screen audiences hear a modal melody playing the scotch snap rhythm used by King in the "Passing Of The Red Man," with an underlying rhythm pulsing in the accented duple, "Indian" rhythm. But when Cody appears the music returns to the angular, "heroic," open theme of the prairie. Battle scenes accompanied by martial music and bugle calls played by the brass of the orchestra, evoke frontier sounds similar to those played by the conquering Cowboy Band in the Wild West.

Thematically, this film directly descends from Wild West expressive traditions. Though it portrays Buffalo Bill as sympathetic to the plight of the Cheyenne tribe, the film contains industrialists and soldiers taking Cheyenne land, killing the buffalo, discussing ways of purging the "savages" from the land to make way for civilization, and music revealing no understanding at all of Native-American customs or musical practices. Character stereotypes appear on the screen. These include the Indian "prince," Yellow Hand, turning savage so Cody must kill him in a heroic battle; and Yellow Hand's sister, the "noble savage," educated by the whites, teaching the local white children, and sneaking into the house of Cody's wife, trying on clothes to "see if she is beautiful in a white girl's way"

(Buffalo Bill). Other stereotypes appearing in the film include effete, civilized Easterners damaging the Westerner Cody's reputation when he assertively stands up for the Indians by blaming the white man for their problems; and the dangers of industrial life because Cody's small son dies of diphtheria, a disease of civilization, ironically occurring when he moves back East with his mother to escape the dangers of the "wild West."

This film views Native-Americans as Cody himself romanticized and idealized them in his Wild West, as part of the unity of people from the frontier, but always in the proper hierarchical role of conquered survivors and conquering heroes. Dissonant cultural difference occurs, but resolves in the progressive ways of the dominant culture towards the middle ground of the controlled garden, not disordered wilderness or effete civilization. As an exemplar, Buffalo Bill heroically stands up against civilization for the Indians, but he also gallantly kills Yellow Hand to protect his agrarian way of life on the ranch. Supporting this courageous behavior of Buffalo Bill, the film music displays its valiant theme played by instruments of progressive civilization, but using a melodic contour and harmonic texture evoking a landscape of

ordered space. William Judson, film historian, describes this "peculiar and disjointed film," as being "short on facts" and "effective in its hero worship" (80); a conclusion revealed by the stereotyping and sentimentality in the music as well.

By 1976, thirty-two years later, social attitudes demonstrating a real understanding of the Native-American culture become more obvious both visually on the film screen and audibly in the musical soundtrack. Actually, Robert Altman's "Buffalo Bill and the Indians, or Sitting Bull's History Lesson," an adaptation of Arthur Kopit's play, "The Indians," is "a merciless debunking of the western myth," the idealization established by the nineteenth century "dime novels and Wild West Shows" (Karp 76). Both Karp and Judson agree: "Altman is obviously concerned with rectifying the grossly inaccurate popular notions of the history of the American Indians, and the role of whites in their genocide--in particular the role of mythic heroes like Buffalo Bill" (Judson 83).

By focusing so strongly on the debunking aspect, Altman's white characters, including Cody, Salsbury, Buntline, Burke, and others, become such caricatures in the cartoon-like plotline, "we soon lose interest in their antics" (Karp 80). This flawed but "most

interesting of the Buffalo Bill films" (Judson 83) because of its contrary point of view, finally fails because it "stereotypes both Indians and whites, which greatly reduces its impact" (Karp 80). In this film the romanticized "noble savage" wins, and the former wilderness "hero" loses face, symbolizing at least some change in modern societal perspective towards Native-Americans. But finally, because of its idealizing, the movie itself "contributes nothing to clarifying their (Native-American) history" (Judson 83). Significantly however, in this film the real historical interest occurs in its choice and use of music.

Even the film's opening scene portraying a Wild West rehearsal of the "Attack on the Settler's Cabin" with its Indian attack and cowboy rescue, finds the act accompanied by authentic Wild West sounds of band music. Playing in an appropriate nineteenth century style, originally composed music for the film, the film's Cowboy Band, dressed in proper attire and led by Sweeney, perform as they did in the authentic Wild West; they accompany and pace acts, perform at ceremonies, and in general provide the right evocative sound for the proper expressive moment in the show. Rather than an orchestral score providing mood punctuations as in the "Buffalo Bill"

movie, the sounds of the Cowboy Band provide music for both the film score and the Wild West portrayal rehearsed and enacted in the plot of the film.

As the band plays at the beginning of the film and the camera sweeps over mountainous, wild landscape and the "settlers' cabin," audiences remain unsure for a long period of time whether they are observing a film portrayal of real frontier events accompanied by a historically correct musical score, or a film portrayal of Wild West acting at a rehearsal or performance. The same music accompanies both the "real" film plotline and the Wild West reenactments being rehearsed and performed by the cast. Altman plays with the dichotomous theme of image and reality just as the original Wild West played with it in creating a historically based depiction of life "on the plains" with actors, actual participants, narrators, music, and electric lights.

Other themes established and analyzed in this study become manifest in Altman's film as well. European-influenced music so representative of Western Civilization takes on human form in the characterizations of the three female opera singers who, as part of the plot, become "paramours" to Cody. As these women sing their full

voice operatic German and Italian arias in the Wild West camp, particularly in Cody's bedroom, their voices of "civilization" seem ludicrously out-of-place. Though attracted to them and their civilized ways, around these operatic women Cody loses his ability to function as a frontier scout or heroic leader. Behaving in a cartoonish manner, he shoots at a singer's canary loose in his bedroom, and gets so drunk he cannot make it to bed himself let alone consummate any relationship. In this case the musically symbolic representatives of "effete" Western Civilization weaken the lives of even heroic figures.

The hardest workers in the show, the film *Cowboy Band* also follows patterns discovered in Wild West analyses. Toiling in anonymity but constantly providing needed services to the other company members, they symbolize the work/progress ethic, providing much energy and motion but little depth or emotional insight.

Finally, as suggested in the title and critical comments by Judson and Karp, the film's sense of emotional depth and philosophical/spiritual insight becomes established by the Native-American music. Taking liberty with historical facts, the film's

story line finds Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull at odds concerning Sitting Bull's performance in the exhibition. Just as Sitting Bull wins/conquers Buffalo Bill in the battle of wills regarding his place in the show, Native-American music provides sounds of power in the arena and in camp ceremonies. 1976 film audiences hear authentic Native-American music sung in appropriate styles rather than an idealized western imitation of "Indian" music heard in the previously analyzed 1944 film. Now drums are beat with proper padded sticks and songs are sung with the right timbres and textures.

Developed from actual historical facts, a significant scene occurs when Sitting Bull enters the arena alone to jeers and boos for the "killer of Custer," but after riding once around the arena in an upright, stately, impassive posture the Native-American drums sound, the crowd quiets, the Native-American "buzz saw" sounding song begins with a dignity and integrity not present in western imitations. As the crowd begins to cheer the old man (and the values he represents), Sitting Bull rides from the arena, establishing himself as the spiritual leader of the camp. Authentic Native-American music, providing actual sounds of the frontier, created the proper evocative atmosphere for the audience to feel and vent their

emotions.

As in Buffalo Bill's original Wild West, Altman's debunking film used music in significant roles both literally and metaphorically. Recognizing the symbolic power of music, Altman reverses the wilderness/civilization dichotomy; now Native-American music conquers the European-influenced musics of the band and the singers, symbolically affirming the superiority of Native-American values and belief structures. By 1976 interactions of Native-American culture with mainstream culture manifested themselves in expressive art forms like this film which, though romanticizing the Native-Americans, finally demonstrates some understanding by the dominant culture of Native-American cultural difference and integrity.

Though racism is "another prominent motif" (Karp 81) in Altman's film, as blacks are segregated from others and referred to as "coloreds," African-American music rarely appears. But another film from the early 1970's, "Little Big Man," provides an example of how cultural interactions create unique symbolic images. Based on a Thomas Berger novel Vine Deloria feels "gives a good idea of Indian attitudes towards life" (16), "Little Big Man," by Arthur Penn,

"helped to demystify the traditional cowboys and Indians model" (Judson 83).

Participating in major nineteenth century American West historical events either as a white man living with Indians, or as a white man living in a white culture, Jack Crab, the protagonist, is musically represented in the film by an acoustically played African-American blues motif. In this case the black blues (not even a recognized form during the actual nineteenth century historical setting) represents a nineteenth century white/red man. This synthetic character, "Little Big Man," created through multisensory film, story, and musical images, metaphorically reveals a maturing twentieth century American culture better able to handle racial interactions than the culture of a hundred years earlier.

As Jack Crab encounters dilemmas of life in both the dominant culture of civilization and the wilderness culture of the Native-American, he also encounters themes of American culture analyzed in this study: racial and cultural interactions, wilderness and civilization, community and individualism, the controlled garden ideal, heroic behaviors, and conquered and conquering cultures. An American synthetic character like Jack Crab--in constant change

from one occupation to another, from one culture to another, and from one personality to another--requires a synthetic music to aurally represent his presence on the screen. The blues, the most synthetic American music, becomes a logical choice.

As discovered earlier, cultural synthesis also played a role in the original Wild West exhibition. By touring and performing music of the times, the Wild West disseminated changing American musical forms to the country whether band music with its syncopated rhythms from ragtime, popular songs with the rhythmic, melodic, and lyric freshness derived from "coon songs," or Native-American songs and dances. Because music represents the cultural interactions and values of the time, analyzing it provides a better understanding of the people, their way of life, and what they believe. This examination of Wild West music discovered an immature nineteenth century American culture steeped in racism and the pursuit of progress no matter the cost to human representatives of cultures impeding that progress or in some way viewed as inferior.

However, though dominated by music of the white middle and upper classes, nineteenth century American Wild West sounds of the frontier also contained budding elements of new, interactive

musical styles better representing the values of an America seeking more democratic cultural syntheses--elements developing and still maturing at the end of the twentieth century.

Appendix 1

A fundamental focus of this study connects musical sounds to societal meanings and values through analogy. European tonal music interacts in America with African and other pre-literate music to create new musical forms such as minstrel songs, ragtime, blues, jazz, and others--true synthetic American music revealing synthetic values as well. From the study by Shepherd and others in "Whose Music," this summary of musical characteristics and their societal analogs compares the world of European civilization from 1600 to 1900, a time the Wild West helped bring to a close, with music from pre-literate sources. Ending with characteristics of American music, the synthetic quality of American musical and social culture reveals itself.

European Culture

Societal Characteristics

visual orientation
rational

machine oriented

Tonal Music Characteristics

musical notation
complex forms, phrase
structures
use of keyboard-mechanical
division of octave into
twelve equal half-steps,
development of machine
instruments

repeatability of print materials	major-minor keys and transposition
control of nature	equal tempered tuning "trained timbres"
concern with linear time	bar lines-precise time measurements
centralized organization	composer control, hierarchical scale and harmonic structure, homophonic texture
workers as cogs in a machine	performers controlled by conductors and composers
progress-oriented	chord progressions in functional harmony, I IV V I
worker alienation	vernacular music trivialized

Compare the above qualities with the contrasting "other world" involving pre-literate cultures of which Native-American and African cultures are a part. A similar list is prepared to demonstrate the contrast.

Pre-literate Cultures

<u>Societal Characteristics</u>	<u>Musical Characteristics</u>
decentered	anonymous composers, group compositions, pentatonic scales
immediacy of time	steady pulses, complex rhythms, not metered, less precise subdivisions
sense of community	functional music, group performances, rituals, polyphonic textures,
individual integral to community	heterophonic performing

balance of senses
oral organizational structures

oral music tradition
repeated rhythms,
traditional songs

After decades, even centuries of interaction in America, the dichotomies synthesize characteristics to create an American culture, signs of which include blues and blues-related music with these social and musical characteristics.

American Culture

Societal Characteristics

literate, vernacular-oriented

centralized authorities

independent spirit

multi-sensory

local community sense

Musical Characteristics

tonal harmony, pentatonic, modal, and major-minor scales in popular and folk idioms

composers, music production industry, homophony, blues harmonic form

blues melodic and rhythmic forms, improvisations, multi-timbral, heterophony, harmonies unresolved

oral and literate traditions, vernacular drama

rhythmic complexity, functional use, regional traditions

As observed in the charts, American democracy, uniquely blending dichotomous cultures along with dichotomous governmental

principles demanding both centralization and individuality, creates unique musical art forms representing the people and their attitudes - the national character.

BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST

—AND—

CONGRESS OF ROUGH RIDERS OF THE WORLD.



GREATER NEW YORK, 1894.

STAFF OF "BUFFALO BILL'S" WILD WEST COMPANY.

COL. W. F. CODY ("Buffalo Bill"),	PRESIDENT.	NATE SALSURY,	VICE-PRESIDENT AND MANAGER.
JOHN M. BURKE,	- - - - -	LEW PARKER,	- - - - - GENERAL MANAGER.
ALBERT E. SHEIBLE,	- - Business Representative.	WILLIAM LANGAN,	- - - - - Contracting Agent.
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JULE KEEN,	- - - - -		- - - - - Treasurer.

FLESS & RIDGE PRINTING CO., FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.



COL. W. F. CODY.

BUFFALO BILL'S Wild West

...AND...



NATE SALSURY.

CONGRESS OF ROUGH RIDERS OF THE WORLD.

Programme

- OVERTURE, "Star Spangled Banner," - COW-BOY BAND, WM. SWEENEY, Leader.
- 1—GRAND REVIEW, introducing the ROUGH RIDERS OF THE WORLD. Indians, Cow-boys, Mexicans, Cossacks, Gauchos, Arabs, Scouts, Guides, American Negroes and detachments of fully equipped Regular Soldiers of the Armies of America, England, France, Germany and Russia.
 - 2—MISS ANNIE OAKLEY, Celebrated Shot, who will illustrate her dexterity in the use of fire-arms.
 - 3—HORSE RACE, between a Cow-boy, a Cossack, a Mexican, an Arab, a Gaucho and an Indian, on Spanish-Mexican, Broncho, Russian, Indian and Arabian horses.
 - 4—PONY EXPRESS. A former Pony Post Rider will show how the letters and telegrams of the Republic were distributed across the immense Continent previous to the building of railways and the telegraph.
 - 5—ILLUSTRATING A PRAIRIE EMIGRANT TRAIN CROSSING THE PLAINS. It is attacked by marauding Indians, who are in turn repulsed by "Buffalo Bill" and a number of Scouts and Cow-boys.
 - 6—A GROUP OF RIFFIAN ARABIAN HORSEMEN will illustrate their style of horsemanship, together with native sports and pastimes.
 - 7—JOHNNIE BAKER, Celebrated Young American Marksman.
 - 8—COSSACKS, of the Caucasus of Russia, in feats of horsemanship, native dances, etc.
 - 9—A GROUP OF MEXICANS from Old Mexico will illustrate the use of the Lasso, and perform various feats of horsemanship.
 - 10—HURDLE RACE, between Primitive Riders mounted on Western Broncho Ponies that never jumped a hurdle until three days before the opening of the present exhibition.
 - 11—COW-BOY FUN. Picking objects from the ground, lassoing wild horses, riding the buckers, etc.



Programme

CONTINUED.

- 12—MILITARY MUSICAL DRILL** by a detachment from the Seventh United States Cavalry from Fort Riley; detachment from the Fifth Royal Irish Lancers; detachment from French Dragoons of Republic Francaise; detachment from Garde Cuirassiers of His Majesty Kaiser Wilhelm II.
- 13—ATTACK ON THE DEADWOOD MAIL COACH BY INDIANS.** Repulse of the Indians and rescue of the stage, passengers and mail by "Buffalo Bill" and his attendant Cow-boys.
N.B.—This is the identical old Deadwood Coach, called the Mail Coach, which is famous on account of having carried the great number of people who lost their lives on the road between Deadwood and Cheyenne 18 years ago. Now the most famed vehicle extant.
- 14—RACING BETWEEN INDIAN BOYS ON BAREBACK HORSES.**
- 15—BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN.** Historical picture of Custer's Last Charge. Meeting and consolidation of hostile Sioux on the Little Big Horn under Sitting Bull to give battle to the United States Army then congregating under Generals Terry, Crook, Miles, Custer, Carr, Merritt, Gibbon, Forsythe, Henry, Mills, Whistler, Otis, Reno, Benteen and others. Assembling in larger numbers than before known in Indian history, they with strategic cunning ambushed the gallant Custer and his command of 328 of the Seventh Cavalry on the 25th day of June, 1876, and remorselessly annihilated the entire command. This animated tableau represents the meeting, customs of camping, dances, etc., by the Sioux Indians, several of those present having been in the massacre; and the military are represented by members of the Seventh United States Cavalry, several of whom participated in the battle of Wounded Knee, 1890, between this famous regiment and the same Sioux. The horse ridden by the personator of General Custer was the favorite war horse of the late Chief, Sitting Bull.
- 16—SOUTH AMERICAN GAUCHOS** (First appearance in the United States). Riding, throwing the bolas, etc. These primitive horsemen are of Indian and Spanish descent from the interior plateaus and pampas of the Argentine.
- 17—COL. W. F. CODY** ("Buffalo Bill,") in his unique feats of sharpshooting at full speed.
- 18—BUFFALO HUNT**, as it was in the Far West of North America—"Buffalo Bill" and Indians. The last of the only known Native Herd.
- 19—ATTACK ON SETTLERS' CABINS** and rescue by "Buffalo Bill" and a band of Cow-boys Scouts and Frontiersmen.
- 20—SALUTE.**

CONCLUSION.



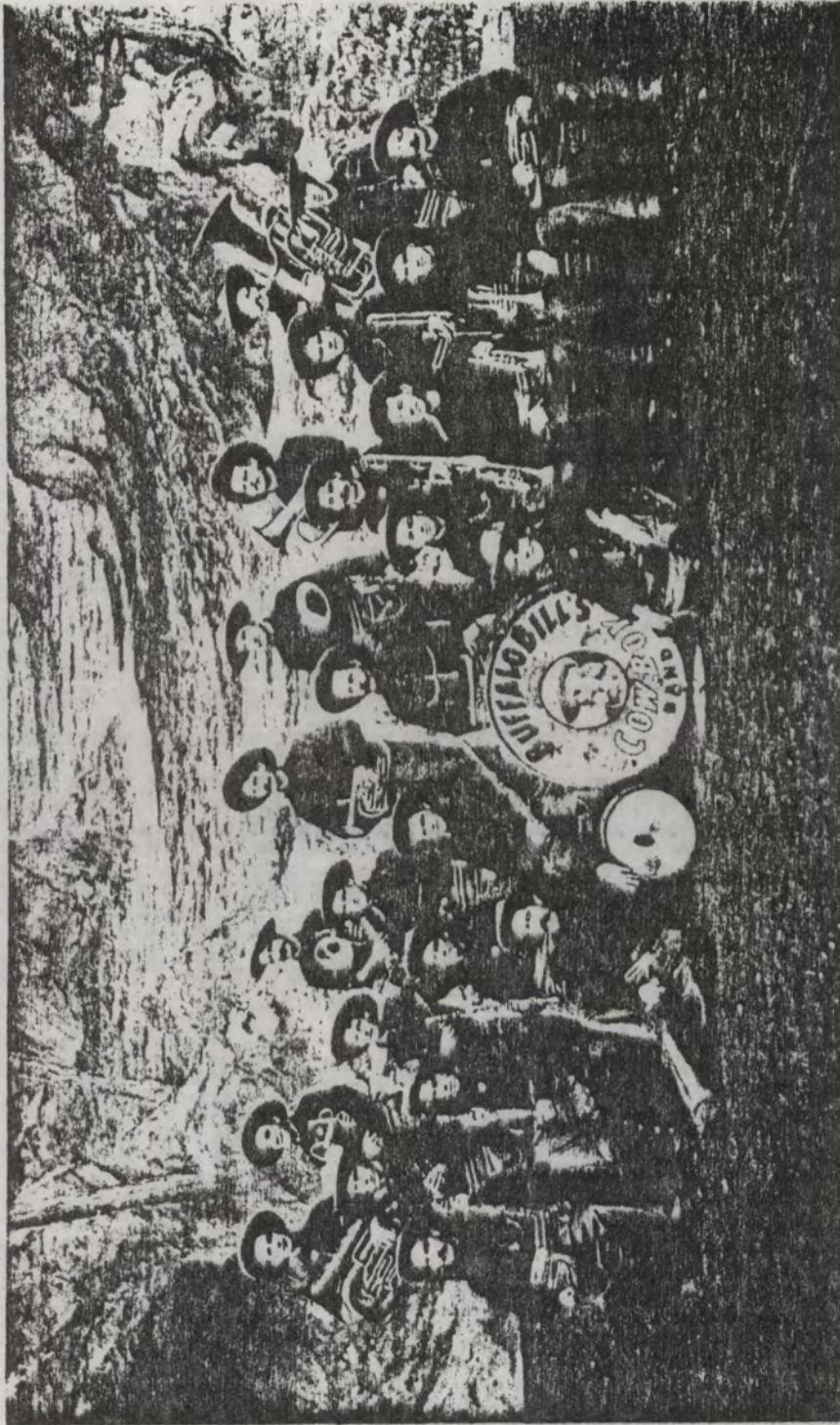
Annie Oakley—Little Sure Shot—
as she appeared in her first season with the Wild West.



FAMOUS COWBOY BAND.

Cowboy Band Photograph

. 1896 Wild West Route Book



Cowboy Band ca. 1904

Russell's, The Wild West, p. 29

Buffalo Bill's Cowboy Band, William Sweeney, conductor, 1887-1913.
A London newspaper in 1887 commented that they "upset all one's previous ideas about the correct costume of musicians, but they play with spirit."
They wore gray shirts, slouched hats, and moccasins, rode matched horses on parade, and played a half-hour concert of classical music preceding the performance. This photograph was taken during the third tour of England, about 1904.
Photograph by James E. Hunt, Nottingham; Courtesy of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Museum, Lookout Mountain, Colorado.



John Link

1887 Cowboy Band Photographs from the Link Collection

Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.



WM. SWEENEY.
Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

William Sweeney, Cowboy Band Leader



Andrew Link

POPULAR EDITION

The Two Bills

MARCH TWO STEP BY WM SWEENEY

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO
COL. W.F. CODY & MAJ. G.W. LITTLE
(FAMOUS FRONTIERSMEN)



The Two Bills

March and Two Step

by WM. SWEENEY

The musical score is arranged in five systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system is labeled 'Trumpet' and begins with a dynamic marking of *ff*. The second system is labeled 'Band' and includes a *mf* marking. The third and fourth systems continue the instrumental parts. The fifth system features a first ending (marked '1.') and a second ending (marked '2.').

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4

f marc

This system contains the first two staves of music. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music begins with a dynamic marking of *f marc*. The upper staff features a melodic line with accents and slurs, while the lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

This system contains the next two staves of music, continuing the composition from the previous system. The notation and dynamics remain consistent with the first system.

This system contains the third and fourth staves of music. It includes first and second endings, indicated by the numbers '1' and '2' above the staff lines.

TRIO

mf

This system contains the fifth and sixth staves of music, labeled as the 'TRIO' section. The dynamic marking is *mf*. The notation continues with melodic and harmonic development.

This system contains the seventh and eighth staves of music, showing further melodic and harmonic progression.

This system contains the final two staves of music on the page, concluding the piece.

The image shows a page of musical notation for piano, consisting of six systems of two staves each. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of two flats, and various musical symbols such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings like *sf*. The piece concludes with a first and second ending bracket and a final chord marked with *sf* and a fermata.

The Two Bills 3

Buffalo Bill's Farewell.

MARCH and TWO-STEP.

By WILLIAM SWEENEY.

Con brio.

The first system of music consists of two staves. The treble staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, starting with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The bass staff is mostly empty, with a few notes in the first measure.

The second system continues the piece. The treble staff features a series of chords and melodic lines, with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic marking. The bass staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The system concludes with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic marking.

The third system shows further development of the melody and accompaniment. The treble staff has a more active melodic line, while the bass staff continues with a steady accompaniment.

The fourth system continues the musical progression. The treble staff features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, and the bass staff maintains a consistent accompaniment.

The fifth system concludes the piece. It includes two endings: a first ending (marked '1.') and a second ending (marked '2.'). The first ending leads back to an earlier part of the piece, while the second ending provides a final resolution.

3

f *marc.*

1. 2. *pp*

ff marc.

First system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef. The treble clef contains a complex, fast-moving melodic line with many beamed notes. The bass clef contains a rhythmic accompaniment with vertical strokes (accents) above the notes.

Second system of musical notation. The treble clef continues the melodic line. The bass clef features a dynamic marking *ff marc.* (fortissimo marcato) above the notes, indicating a strong, accented sound.

Third system of musical notation. The treble clef has a dynamic marking *ff* (fortissimo) at the end of the system. The bass clef continues with rhythmic accompaniment.

Fourth system of musical notation. The treble clef features a series of chords with a dynamic marking *ff* (fortissimo) above them. The bass clef continues with rhythmic accompaniment.

Fifth system of musical notation. The treble clef has a long, sweeping melodic line with a dynamic marking *ff* (fortissimo) above it. The bass clef continues with rhythmic accompaniment.

Sixth system of musical notation. The treble clef features a first ending (1.) and a second ending (2.) marked with first and second endings. The bass clef continues with rhythmic accompaniment. A dynamic marking *ff* (fortissimo) is present at the end of the system.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO COL. W. F. CODY (Buffalo Bill)

"BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST"

Descriptive March & Two Step



"GUIDING AND GUARDING"



"POWDER PLAY"



"SOMETHING DOING"



"WATCHING & WAITING"

by **DAVID H. HAWTHORNE**

Composer of "LUCILLE" song, "THE AFFINITY MAN" song, "THE GOLDEN PHEASANT" march

Published by the
HAWTHORNE MUSIC CO.
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

"Buffalo Bills Wild West"

Descriptive March.

Con spirito. (Call to arms.)

DAVID H. HAWTHORNE.

(The Indians.)

(The Cow Boys.)

ff

The musical score is written for piano and violin. It consists of five systems of music. The first system is marked with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The piano part features a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the violin part has a more melodic line with slurs and accents. The second system continues the piano accompaniment with a *ff* dynamic marking. The third system shows the piano part with a steady eighth-note pattern. The fourth system is marked "(The Cow Boys.)" and features a more active violin line with many slurs and accents. The fifth system concludes the piece with a final flourish in both parts, also marked *ff*.

Copyright MCMVIII by David H. Hawthorne.

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, some with accents. The lower staff is in bass clef and features a steady eighth-note accompaniment. There are several dynamic markings, including accents and a *ff* marking.

Allegretto (A Mixup.)

The second system continues the piece. The upper staff has a more melodic line with some grace notes, while the lower staff maintains the eighth-note accompaniment. The tempo is marked as *Allegretto*.

The third system shows a change in the upper staff's melody, with more complex rhythmic patterns. The lower staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. There are several accents and dynamic markings throughout.

(Indians in retreat.)

The fourth system is marked *a tempo*. The upper staff features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, and the lower staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. The tempo is slower than the previous sections.

The fifth system continues the *a tempo* section. The upper staff has a melodic line with some rests, and the lower staff maintains the accompaniment. There are several dynamic markings, including accents and a *ff* marking.

The sixth system concludes the piece. The upper staff has a final melodic phrase, and the lower staff ends with the eighth-note accompaniment. There are several accents and dynamic markings.

(Review after battle.)

TRIO.

The musical score consists of six systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system is labeled 'TRIO.' and includes the instruction '(Review after battle.)'. The music is written in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, rests, and dynamic markings such as accents (>) and slurs. The second system begins with a melodic line in the treble staff. The third system continues the piece with similar rhythmic patterns. The fourth system features a more complex melodic line in the treble staff. The fifth system shows a change in the bass line. The sixth system is marked with '(About Face.)' and includes a key signature change to two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a time signature change to 3/4. The piece concludes with a final chord in the bass staff.

Buffalo Bills Wild West. 4

(Return of the triumphant Cow Boys.)

The musical score consists of six systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The second system includes a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic marking. The fourth system is marked *Brillante*. The score features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are numerous accents and slurs throughout the piece. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the sixth system.

Buffalo Bills Wild West. 4

Solo Bb Cornet.

C. Fischer's Edition.
American Star
Journal.

BUFFALO BILL'S
"Equestrian March"

W. P. Chambers.

742.

The musical score is written for Solo Bb Cornet and Trio. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has three staves for the Solo Bb Cornet, and the second system has three staves for the Trio. The music is in 2/4 time and features various dynamics such as *ff*, *mp*, *pp*, *f*, *ff*, and *p*. There are also markings for *cresc.* and *Solo.* The score includes first and second endings and concludes with a double bar line and repeat sign.

Copyright 1903 by Carl Fischer New York.

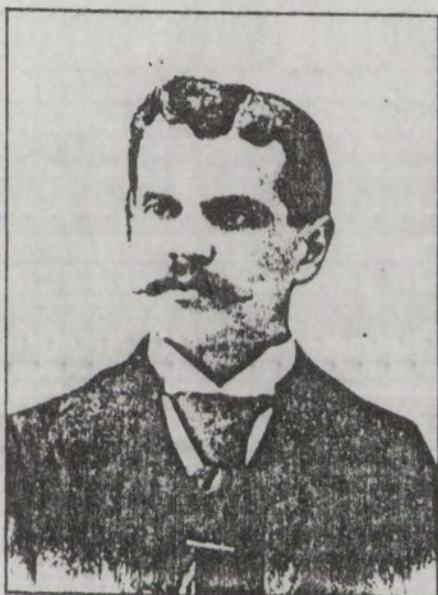
D. S. al

"Buffalo Bill's Equestrian March" by William Paris Chambers



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F. Recchia, B-flat Clarinet.
T. Flocco, Solo, B-flat Cornet.
F. Carrozza, B-flat Cornet.
A. Granese, B-flat Baritone.
D. Flocco, B flat Tenor.
G. Moccia, E-flat Alto.
A. Bevivino, Bass Drum.
D. Barbieri, Snare Drum.

ADDRESS, 759 SOUTH 8TH STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

53

Louis Sacketto, Side Show Bandmaster

. 1896 Wild West Route Book



..THE..

DEAGONS

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Sketch Team.

One of the Principal
Features with the Buf-
falo Bill Concert, season
1896.



Not a Tiresome Moment to the Audience! With Every Second Goes a Laugh!

PERMANENT ADDRESS, NEW YORK CLIPPER.

51

Cloud and Kershaw of the Annex and Concert Company

. 1896 Wild West Route Book



With Buffalo Bill's Wild West
Season of 1896.



CLOUD AND KERSHAW

TWO IRISH . . .

TALKERS,
SINGERS
and DANCERS.

We just Talk, Sing and Dance, the
audience does the rest, that's all.

ORIGINATORS and COMPOSERS
OF EVERYTHING WE DO.



PERMANENT ADDRESS, OLYMPIC THEATRE, CHICAGO, ILL.

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Cloud and Kershaw of the Annex and Concert Company

1896 Wild West Route Book



HARRY ST. JULIAN.

HARRY ST. JULIAN

Female
Impersonator .

SECOND SEASON WITH BUFFALO BILL'S
ANNEX.



PERMANENT ADDRESS,
NEW YORK CLIPPER, N. Y. CITY.

M

Harry St. Julian, female impersonator from the Annex

. 1896 Wild West Route Book



The Reilleys, Versatile Artists from the Concert Company

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Season of 1896 * Permanent Address,
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... WITH ...

Buffalo Bill's Wild West.

.....
Schafer & Clark
.....

THE —
ECCENTRIC GERMAN
MUSICAL COMEDIANS

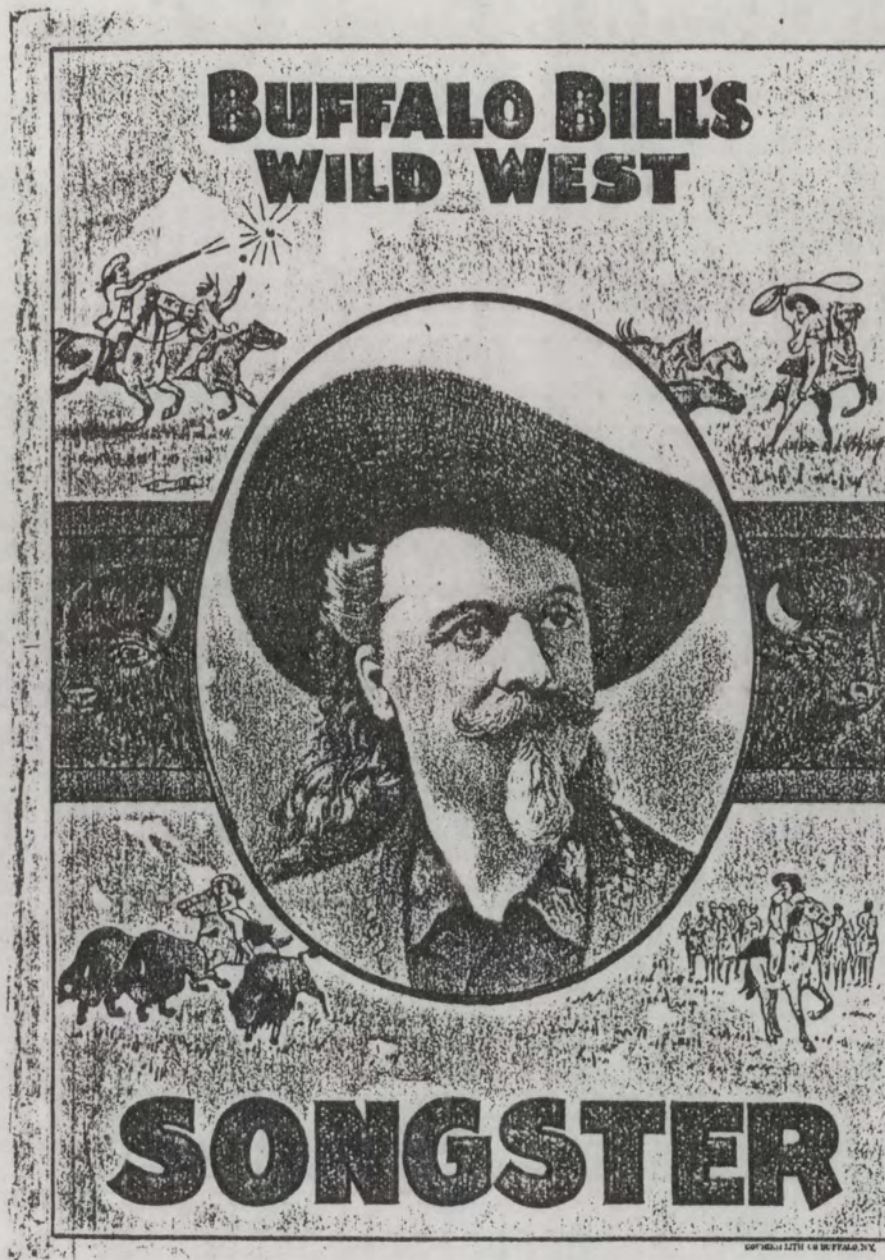
IN A TWENTY-MINUTE GERMAN COMEDY
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AN UP-TO-DATE Laughing Success and
a positive departure from the old stereo-
typed style of Musical [Acts,

165

Schafer and Clark, German Musical Comedians, Concert Company

. 1896 Wild West Route Book



Cover of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Songster

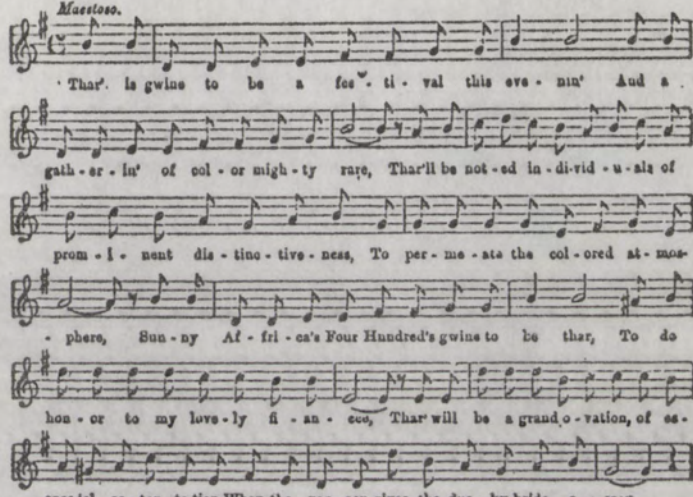
WILD WEST SONG BOOK.

My Gal is a High Born Lady.

Arr. by GUSTAVE LUDERS.

Words and Music by BARNEY FAGAN.

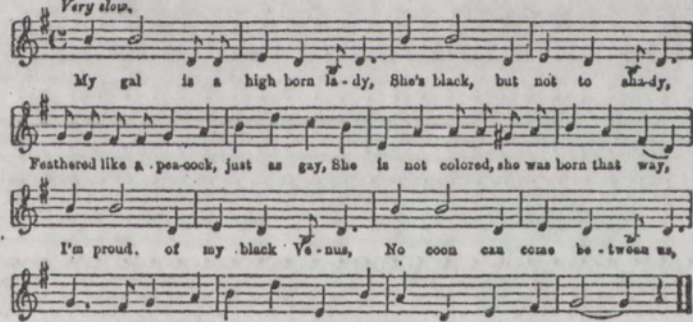
Maestoso.



Thar' is gwine to be a fes-ti-val this eve-nin' And a
gath-er-in' of col-or migh-ty rare, Thar'll be not-ed in-di-vid-u-als of
prom-i-nent dis-tinc-tive-ness, To per-me-ate the col-ored at-mos-
-phere, Sun-ny Af-ri-ca's Four Hundred's gwine to be thar, To do
hon-or to my love-ly fi-an-ces, Thar will be a grand-o-ration, of es-
spe-cial ca-ten-tation, When the par-son gives the dus-ky bride a - way.

CHORUS.

Very slow.



My gal is a high born la-dy, She's black, but not to sha-dy,
Feathered like a pea-cock, just as gay, She is not colored, she was born that way,
I'm proud, of my black Ve-nus, No coon can come be-tween us,
'Long the line they can't out-shine, This high born gal of mine!

Copyright, 1906, by M. WITMARK & SONS.
Entered at Stationers' Hall, London, England.

Complete Copies 40 cts. For Sale at all Music Stores.

My Gal is a High Born Lady by Barney Fagan

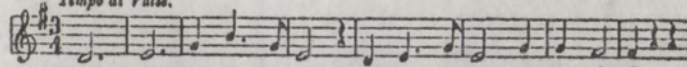
Wild West Songster

She's the Daughter of Officer Porter.

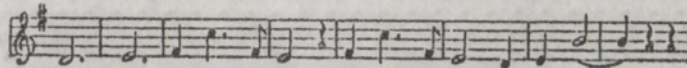
Words by M. E. BOURKE

Music by GEO. SCHLEIFFARTH.

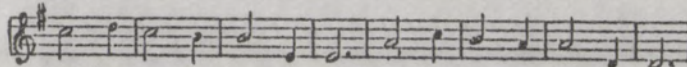
Tempo di Valse.



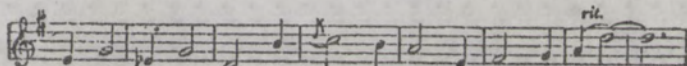
P'lice - man Por - ter on beat, Peo - ple ob - serve him dai - ly,



Cross - ing o - ver the street, With some one trip - ping gal - ly,

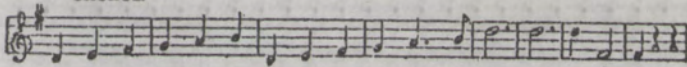


Some have seen him ev - 'ry day Some but once have passed that way,

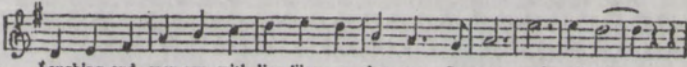


Yet their glan - ces seem to say, Who is that maid - en sweet? . . .

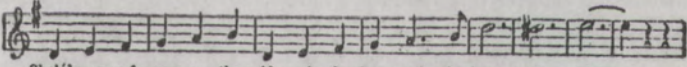
CHORUS.



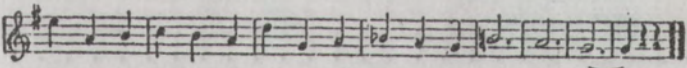
She is the daughter of of - f - cer Por - ter, Is charm - ing Kit - ty,



Laughing and mer - ry, with lips like a cher - ry, So gay, and wit - ty,



She's known of course as the pride of the force, and the boys de - light,



She is the daughter of of - f - cer Por - ter, and she's all right!

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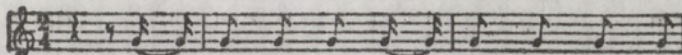
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She's the Daughter of Officer Porter by Schleiffarth and Rourke

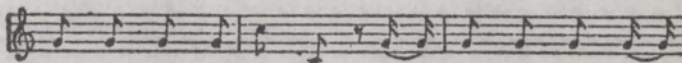
Wild West Songster

The Blow Almost Killed Father.

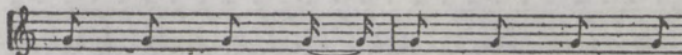
Written by James McAVOY.



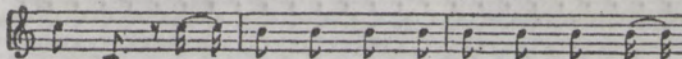
1. When a boy while sweep - ing out a bank; I
2. My old - er broth - er got the job, The



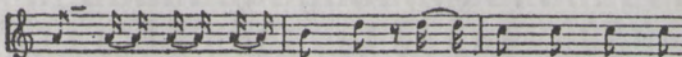
found ten thou - sand dol - lars, Says I, now if I
fly - est and the con - nest, They left ten thou - sand



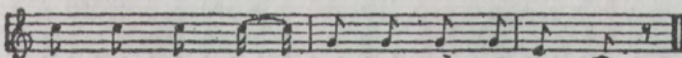
keep this stuff, There's fif - teen years to
dol - lars loose, To see if he was



fol - low, I gave it back and lost my job, The
hon - est, The bank - ers have - n't caught him yet, My



bank - ers hired an - oth - er, And be - cause I did - n't
an - gel broth - er Ar - thur, He skipped and did - n't



keep the dough, The blow al - most killed fa - ther.
div - vie up, And the blow al - most killed fa - ther.

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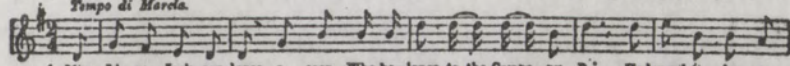
The Blow Almost Killed Father by James McAvoy

Wild West Songster

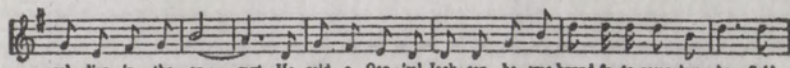
DE LEADER OF DE COMPANY B.

By DAVE REED, Jr.

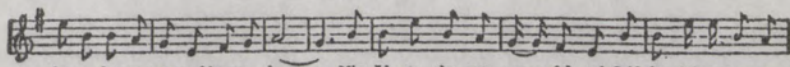
Tempo di Marcia.



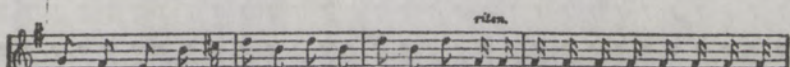
1. Miss Li - sa Jack-son loves a eoon, Who be - longs to the Compa - ny B. He longed fo ba a



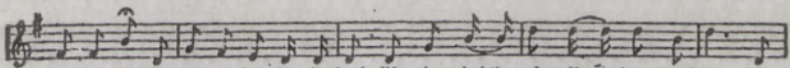
sol - dier in the ar - my! He said a Gen - 'ral Jack-son he was bound fo to some day be, Said



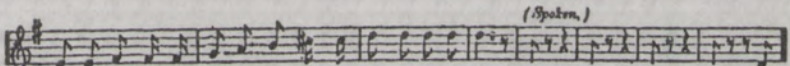
he, a shot or two would say - er. harm me, Miss Li - sa she was power - ful - mad, Said she, "Mister eoon, you



make' me sad, If a great big hoo doo ball hits you, It'll nab - er stop a - go - teg till it

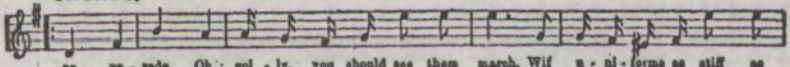


gone right froo, But ev - ery day when de band did play, And the sol - dier boys turned out, Miss

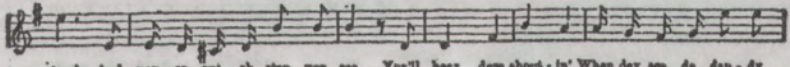


Lise was there for to yell hur - rah, When she heard de Captain shout: Right! Faps! Forward March! When

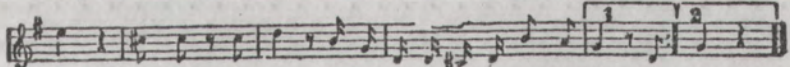
CHORUS,



on pa - rade, Oh, gol - ly, you should see them march, Wil a - ni - forms as still as



starch, And nev - er out - ob stop you see, You'll hear dem about - in' When dey see de dan - dy



eoon, Hip, hip! hur - rah, For de led - er of de Company B. When B.

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De Leader Of De Company B by Dave Reed Jr.

Wild West Songster

ISABELLE!

A Girl Who is One of the Boys.

Words by WALTER H. FORD.

Music by JOHN W. BRATTON.

Allegro moderato.

Songs are sung in ev-'ry tongue, All a-bout clever girls, old and young,
Some are fair, well that's not rare, Beauti-ful, cor-tain-ly, all de-clare,
But there's one, who's in for fun, Ready wit, full of it, takes the bun,
Cash to sell, she cuts a swell; Beauti-ful Is-a-belle. The boys all go in
raptures when they see her smile, The girls all dote up-on her, and they
im-i-tate her style, Her sis-ter Hen-ri-et-ta won a
great re-nown, But Is-a-belle has captured all the town.

CHORUS.

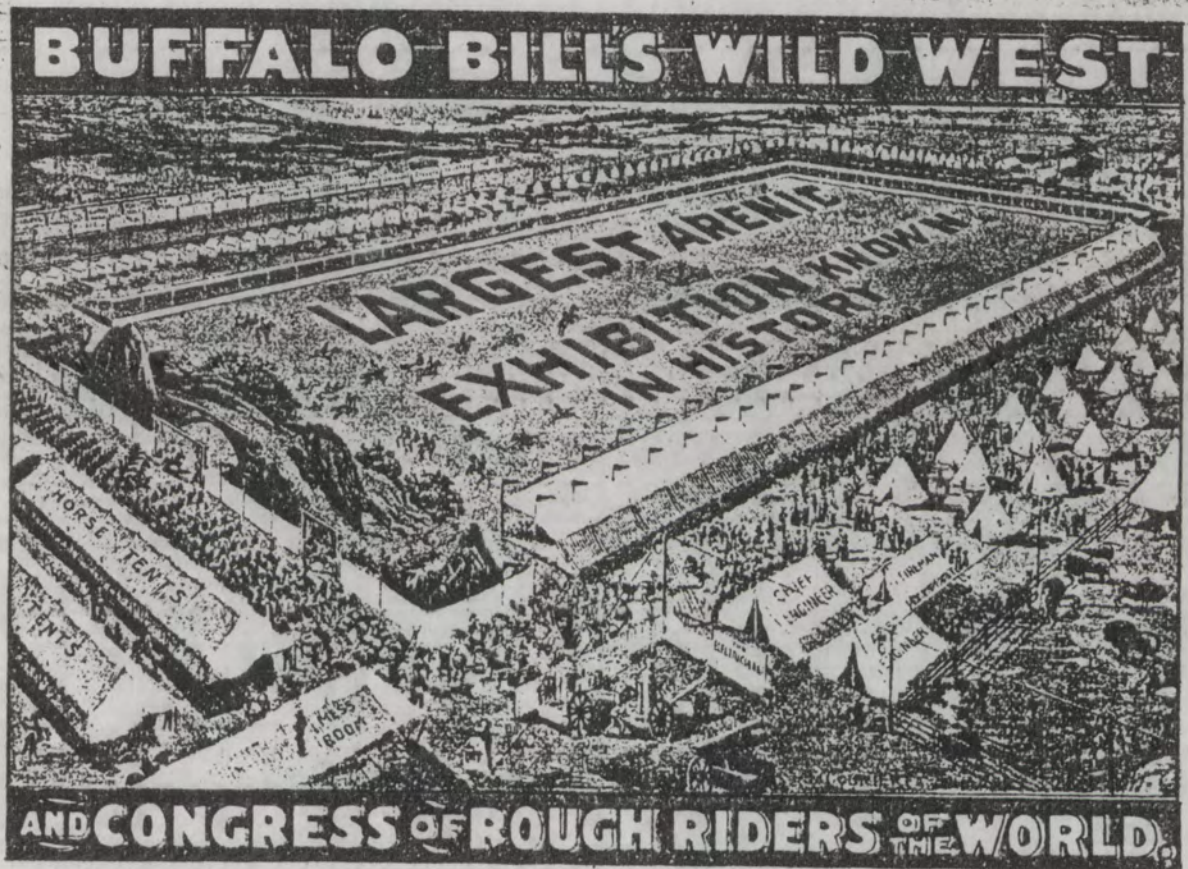
For she's a girl who is just one of the boys, Is Is-a-belle,
She is a belle! A jol-ly time, with a jol-ly crowd en-
-joys, For she's a girl who is one of the boys, Is-a-belle.

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Isabelle by John W. Bratton

Wild West Songster



Wild West Songster Back Cover



INDIAN CHIEFS.

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BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST ROUTE BOOK SEASON OF 1896.

Indians.

Chiefs.

Rocky Bear.
Black Fox,
Kills in Winter,
Flat Iron, Medicine Man.

Braves.

Brown Ears Horse,
Bushy-Top Pine,
Charging in Winter,
Comes Back,
Eagle Bull,
Full Stomach,
Good Elk,
High Wolf,
High Bear,
Kills Small,
Kills Across,
Long Bull,
Loud Voiced Hawk,
Little Bull,

Brave,
Bone,
Bluffing Bear,
Comes Last,
Feather in his Head,
Flying Horse,
Good Soldier,
High Eagle,
Hawk Wing,
Kills without Fear,
Little Soldier,
Lone Elk,
Looks and Kills,
No Braid,



Plucks the Porcupine,
Red Bull,
Red Elk,
Strikes Three Times,
Stabber,
Shot in Pieces,
Two Bulls,
Two Bonnets,
White Bull,
Yellow Horse,

Pines,
Red Feather,
Red Star,
Sitting Holy,
Sounding Sides,
Tales,
Twins,
Two Dogs,
White Wolf,
Young Wolf Ears.

Squaws.

Red Dog Woman,
Walks at Night,
Stella Fast Under.

Looks Back,
Sallie Red Star.

Papoose.

Little Bear Ring.

Watchman Indian Camp.

Patsey Flinn.

All under the supervision of ALEX. MERRIVAL, Interpreter. He is the only Indian that ever wore a wooden leg that was made in New York City. It was manufactured by C. A. Frees & Co.

THE GRAPHIC

AN ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

No. 910.—VOL. XXXV.
Registered as a Newspaper

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1887

TWO EXTRA SUPPLEMENTS [PRICE SIXPENCE
By Post Sixpence Halfpenny]



View of the Camp taken from
alongside of the path of Frank Taylor
The King of the Country
Scaffolding of frame of wood on distance to the right
The tent on right of drawing is Angela's tent
Red-shirts (the Sioux chief) The tent on right of drawing is Angela's tent
By Frank Taylor's pen



Native-American Dance and Village Illustrations

The Graphic, May 7, 1887

GHOST-DANCES IN THE WEST.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MESSIAH CRAZE AND THE GHOST-DANCE.

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION.—There have often happened, in the history of the human race, incidents that were regarded at the time as most trivial, but have later developed into such important and serious questions as to engage the minds of many learned men in their solution.

That there is some special reason for the series of frenzied dances and incantations which have been continued from time to time in remote portions of the Sioux reservations, no one will deny. It is scarcely probable that a people who own horses and cattle would suddenly, without the slightest warning, return almost to a man to the execution of a dance which is so weird and peculiar, so superstitious and spirit-like, as to rival the far-famed Sun Dance.

This special reason is found in the simple truths of Christianity as taught by a missionary in Utah, but which were distorted to conform with Indian mythology. It was when the medicine men and politicians in the nation began to enlarge upon the wrongs suffered at

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the hands of the whites, the scarcity of food, the presence of the military, that its general aspect was changed from a sacred rite to a warlike demonstration.

When the Ghost or Messiah Dance was first given on Pine Ridge Reservation by the Sioux who had been in Utah on a visit to the Ute Indians, there were many on-lookers. These became interested as the dance proceeded, for such was its influence upon a beholder that he felt an irresistible desire to join the circle.

While the priests are employed in their prayers, the squaws make a good-sized sweat-house. Poles are stuck in the ground and the tops bent together and securely tied. These saplings are strong enough to bear the weight of several hundred pounds. Over the frame work are heaped blankets and robes to such a thickness that no smoke or steam can pass from the interior. A fire is started in a hole in the ground several feet from the small entrance to the sweat-lodge, and twenty or thirty good-sized stones are placed therein to be heated. When these rocks have become sufficiently hot, the young men who are to partake of the bath, strip with the exception of the breech clout, and crawl through the door. They seat themselves in a circle, with their feet toward the center and their backs against the sides of the lodge. The attendant shoves some of the hot stones inside, and the young men pour water from a hide bucket upon the little stone heap. Steam and vapor arise, completely filling the inclosure. The attendant has meanwhile covered the opening so that no air from the outside may penetrate. As the vapor condenses, the attendant thrusts more stones within, and thus the operation is continued as long as the youths can stand the confinement. The pipe is also smoked during the sweat. When the young men issue from their bath the perspiration is fairly streaming from every pore. If it is not cold weather they plunge into a pool in the creek near by, but if it be chilly they wrap blankets about their bodies.

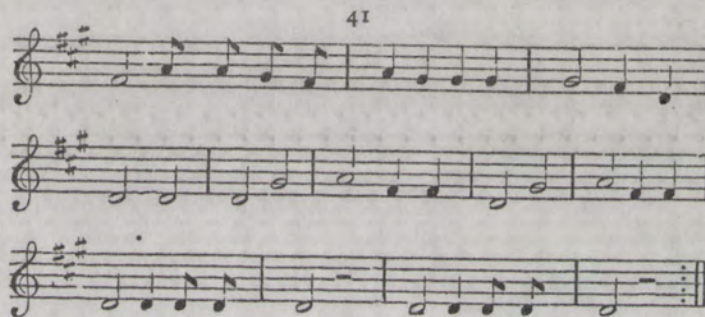


Wild West Program 1894

Several sweat-houses are erected in order to prepare the young men for the dance. When a good number of young men, say fifty or sixty, have thus prepared themselves, the high priest and his assistants come forward. The high priest wears eagle feathers in his hair, and a short skirt reaches from his waist nearly to his knees. The assistants are dressed in a similar manner, but wear no ornaments other than the eagle feathers. The dancers wear no ornaments whatever and enter the circle without their blankets, many of them wearing their ordinary clothes.

In their other dances, the Omaha, the Old Woman, the Sun, and War Dances, feathers and bangles, weapons, herbs or painted and plaited grasses, porcupine quills, horses' tails and bits of furskins, necklaces, bells, silver disks, etc., are worn in great profusion.

Ghost-dance songs are sung without accompaniment of a drum, as is customary in the other dances. All sing in unison, and the notes, although wild and peculiar, being in a minor key, do not lack melody. The following two songs are sung by them during the dance.



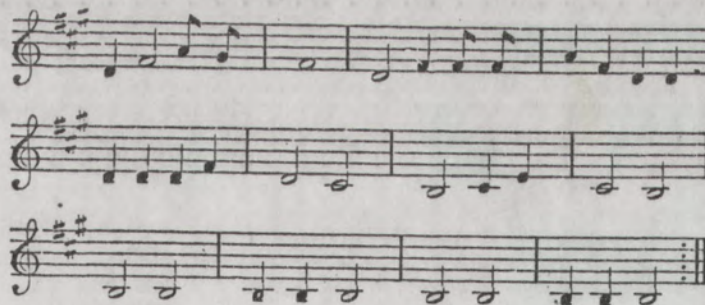
The words sung in Sioux are :

"Ina he kuye misunkala ceya omaniye-e. Ina he kuye. Ate he lo. Ate he lo."

As translated by Deputy U. S. Marshal Bartlett, this is :

"Come here my mother ; my younger brother is walking and crying. Come here my mother ; here is the father, here is the father."

Here are the notes of another song :



To this strain are used the words :

"Ate he ye lo, canupawan ci ci ca hu pi ca yani pi kta lo. Ate he ye lo. Ate he ye lo."

Which in English are :

"This the father said, he brings the pipe* for you, and you will live. This the father said, this the father said."

Philanthropists, while meaning well, from a lack of knowledge of the nature of an Indian treat him in such a sympathetic manner—often selecting the most worthless and lazy Indians to bestow their favors upon—that he becomes puffed up with his own importance. Egotism leads to insolence, and insolence gets him into serious trouble with the agency employees and Westerners in general. The churches are all doing a good work, and it is not my purpose to say much against them, but they should work in unison, not against each other. The Indian cannot understand how so many beliefs could spring from one good book, and, naturally suspicious, when he hears one missionary speak disparagingly of the salvation afforded by a rival church, concludes the whole set are humbugs.

When the commission visited the agency in the summer of 1889, for the purpose of securing signatures to the treaty whereby the Sioux relinquished claim to several million acres of their land, a number of promises were made by the commissioners which were never kept. Not so with the Indians themselves. As they sat about their tepee fires and discussed the affairs of their nation, they often wondered why the increase in rations did not come, why the presents were so long delayed.

An Indian never forgets a promise.

Can it be wondered, then, that the Sioux lost what little remaining faith they had in the whites?

*The use of the pipe is ceremonial and holy.



"JOHNNY BURKE NO NECK."
Found on the Battle Field of Wounded
Knee after the annihilation of
Big Foot's Band.

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As they brooded over their wrongs, the scarcity of rations, and miserable treatment, imagine with what joy they hailed the coming of Him who was to save and rescue them. How they hoped and prayed, only to be deluded and again cast into the depths of despair! Even this last boon and comfort was refused by their conquerors; for no sooner had the news of the coming Saviour reached Washington when orders were issued to suppress the worship of any Indian who should dare to pray to his God after the dictates of his own conscience—or at least to stop the Ghost Dances.

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