"The Greatest Showman on the Face of the Earth": Buffalo Bill and His Tour of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, 1906

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Popište cestu Buffalo Billa a jeho Show po Evropě v letech 1902-1906.

Zmapujte cestu Buffalo Billa po Rakousko-Uhersku v roce 1906.

Zjistěte, která města na Moravě a ve Slezsku navštívil Buffalo Bill se svojí Show Divokého západu v srpnu 1906.

Z nasbíraných materiálů zjistěte, zda byla Show Divokého západu na Moravě a ve Slezsku úspěšná, proč ano a proč ne.

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ABSTRAKT

Tato práce zkoumá působení Williama Frederika Codyho, známého jako Buffalo Billa, a jeho show divokého západu na území evropských států mezi lety 1902 až 1906, a jeho působení v Rakousko-Uherském císařství, zejména jeho působení na území České Republiky v roce 1906. Práce se zabývá životem Buffalo Billa a jeho přínosem pro propagaci Amerického Západu mimo Spojené Státy Americké. Práce se dále zabývá pohledem Evropanů na americký západ a chápání Indianských příslušníků. Práce dokazuje, že show Buffalo Billa byla v českých zemích úspěšná, i přes negativní kritiku způsobenou etnickými rozdíly v českých zemích a používáním německého jazyka místo českého.

Klíčová slova: William Frederick Cody, Buffalo Bill, show divokého západu, Indiáni, americký západ, nejodvážnější jezdci světa, Rakousko-Uhersko, české země

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the tour of William Frederick Cody, alias Buffalo Bill, and his Wild West Show across Europe between 1902 and 1906, and especially its visit to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, particularly the Czech lands, in 1906. It focuses on the life of Buffalo Bill and his contribution to the promotion of American West outside of the United States of America, as well as on Europeans' perceptions of the American West and Indians. This thesis proves that despite the criticisms that arose from ethnic differences in the Czech lands, as well as the show's use of German instead of Czech, the show was successful in the Czech lands.

Keywords: Buffalo Bill, Wild West Show, Indian, Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Czech lands, Congress of Rough Riders of the World

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INTRODUCTION

"The show brought vividly back the breezy wild life of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, and stirred me like a war-song."

Mark Twain, 1884¹

In September 1884, after seeing Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Mark Twain wrote a letter to William F. Cody, in which he wrote: "It is often said on the other side of the water that none of the exhibitions which we send to England are purely and distinctively American. If you will take the Wild West show over there, you can remove that reproach."²

Mark Twain, who described the American West as adventurous stories, regarded Cody's show as a trustworthy performance which portrays the American West accurately and without any deceptions. Cody himself greatly contributed to the perception of the American West and American identity, mainly by bringing his Wild West Show to Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries along with the taking advantage of mass population's progress. Europeans' perceptions of the American West and Indians, thanks in part to the literature of James Fenimore Cooper, Thomas Mayne Reid, Gustave Aimard and Karl May, mostly differentiated in many ways from the Americans' perceptions. Europeans regarded Indians not as evils but as noble savages intimately connected with nature, while Cody portrayed Indians as hazards for whites.

This thesis examines Cody's life and work as well as the origins and contributions of the Wild West Show, which helped to determine the nineteenth century American West. The main part of the thesis will focus on Europeans' perceptions of Cody's show and Indians compared to their acquired knowledge from literary works, concentrating on Cody's tour of the Austria-Hungarian Empire in 1906. Finally, the thesis will scrutinized the visit of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and its success in the area of the Czech lands, particularly its stay in Český Těšín, Ostrava, Opava, Přerov, Brno and Jihlava, based on the analysis of historical documents and newspapers. Ultimately, the thesis will prove that despite different Europeans' perceptions of Indians and American identity in Europe, the show was successful in Europe, as well as in the Czech lands even the show was negatively criticised for Cody's use of German and his disrespect for Czechs.

¹ Louis S. Warren, Buffalo Bill's America, (New York: Random House, 2007): 294.

² Ibid., 294-295.

1. A BIOGRAPHY OF COL. WILLIAM FREDERICK CODY

His real name was William Frederick Cody, but almost the whole world knows him as Buffalo Bill, the buffalo-hunter, scout, Civil War soldier and showman. Cody was born on 26 February 1846 on an Iowa farm and died on 10 January 1917 near Denver at age 71.³ Cody's worldwide fame did not stem only from his career as an entertainer, but also from his earlier activities. As a child and frontiersman he experienced remarkable adventures. When he was just 9, his family moved to Kansas, where his father, a free-soiler, voted to make Kansas a free state before becoming a victim of "Bloody Kansas" violence. He also instilled a sense of racial tolerance in his son. Cody would later serve in an integrated cavalry regiment and employ people of all different races and ethnicities in his Wild West Show, later known as "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders of the World."

1.1 Cody's Formative Years

Buffalo Bill was well respected and one of the most famous American icons at the end of the nineteenth century. He was not only respected among whites but also among Indians. He was considered an important person in the formation of the West. His personality developed early. In 1854, his family faced firsthand the consequences of the national debate over slavery when Cody's father was stabbed to death by a pro-slavery man.⁵ Although Cody witnessed the murder of his father, he was neither fearful nor cowardly and always spoke his mind. As a result of his father's death, Cody became the man of the house at age eleven.

The same year, in order to provide for his mother and his sisters, he signed his first work contract as a cattle herder. Through this job, he fell in love with the plains, but his

³ William Frederick Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill (Colonel W. F. Cody)*, (Project Gutenberg, 2004), chap. 1, accessed September 9, 2013, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12740/12740-h/12740-h.htm; Buffalo Bill Historical Centre, "Last Impression," accessed January 1, 2014, http://williamfcody.bbhc.org/theme/impressions/cody-death.

⁴Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill*, chap. 3; Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," In *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. by James R. Grossman, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994), 50-52.

⁵ Helen Cody Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts: The Life Story of Col. William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill"*, chap. 3 (Project Gutenberg, 2007), accessed September 9, 2013, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1248/1 248-h/1248-h.htm.

experiences also taught him about living under "hardships and privations." Walking over one thousand miles across the plains at age twelve was only one of them.

His love for life on the frontier stayed with him throughout his life. Apparently he became so inured to life on the plains that he was not able to live long elsewhere. Although given the opportunity to live in New York, he could not adjust to life in the big city and was glad to leave it when an opportunity arose to become a scout. Only when he returned to the plains did he feel like himself again.⁸

After getting married in St. Louis, he tried to establish his own hotel, but it did not fulfil his expectations and he returned to scouting on the plains. This was one of many business failures. At age fifteen, he failed in his efforts to become a hunter. Later he tried and failed to develop his own town. Cody was not good at managing his own business affairs, as was demonstrated later in his show, for which he needed to employ several managers.⁹

1.2 Cody's relationship with Indians

Cody's opinion about Indians changed over time. He had admired Indians when he met them for the first time. During his first trip over plains, he killed his first Indian in self defense. Earlier he used to play with Sioux Indian children and managed to learn their language. Thanks to the time he spent with them he realized that they are very similar to other children "despite their red skin."

Probably the most remarkable of all of his clashes with Indians was a murder of an Indian chief's son, an act of revenge for General Custer's defeat earlier that year. This clash would be later re-enacted in his Wild West Show. Cody's opinion about Indians was not racist. Later he would note that in his "dealings with Indians they always understand each other," but they did their best "to kill each other" in a war. Even though Cody befriended Indians and admired them for their endurance to fight for their inherited land he still strongly favoured whites. Later he clearly expressed his belief that Indians had the right to protect themselves and their inherited land but that they are not capable of cultivating the land and benefiting from it. As scouts they were ordered "to be continually

⁶ Wetmore, Last of the Great Scouts, chap. 5.

⁷ Cody, An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill, chap.1; Wetmore, Last of the Great Scouts, chap. 5.

⁸ Cody, An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill, chap. 9.

⁹ Ibid., chap. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., chap. 1.

on the warpath against" Indians when they were dangerous, but that probably "no scout ever hated Indians in general." ¹¹

1.3 The Origins of his Nickname

Cody was a skilled horse rider and buffalo-killer. He made use of his skills and started to make a living as a buffalo-hunter providing meat for railroad workers in 1868. At that time he killed about twelve buffaloes a day, or over four thousand buffaloes in all. Hearing of his actions, the railroad workers nicknamed him Buffalo Bill. To preserve his new nickname, which he apparently liked, he later competed at killing buffaloes. Since that time he was and still is widely known as Buffalo Bill. 12

1.4 The Origins of his Career as an Actor and Showman

Cody's first exposure to acting came on his first trip to New York, where he frequented the theatre. Buffalo Bill became the romanticized hero of dime novels written by Ned Buntline, first appearing in 1869. In 1873 he played himself in one of Buntline's plays. Cody was not a born actor and originally felt uncomfortable on the stage, but he was a natural storyteller and therefore popular. He soon established his own theatrical group, the Buffalo Bill Combination, a precursor of his Wild West Show. This theatrical group was founded not only for entertainment purposes but to instruct the public and to show the reality of the American West, including performances by real Indians who acted out their own lives on the plains.¹³

1.5 Buffalo Bill Serves the Government

When the Civil War began, Cody could not enlist as a Union soldier due to a promise he made to his mother. He became a scout for the Federal Government instead. After his mother's death, he would enlist as a private in the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Probably due to his reputation and his experience with scouting he was chosen to deliver military messages between forts. While working as a scout for the government he was once

¹² The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/life/wfc.bio.00001.html.

¹¹ Ibid., chap. 9 chap. 13.

¹³ Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill*, chap. 9; J. Randolph Cox, "Dime Novels," In *American History Through Literature 1870-1920*, ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006) 1: 322; The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/life/wfc.bio.00001.html; Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts*, chap. 12.

ordered to work as a spy, an occupation aptly suited to his acting abilities. Later he would become the "Chief of Scouts" for the Fifth Cavalry.¹⁴

In 1867 he met General Custer for the first time and accompanied him at the general's own request. William used to be a very courageous man and was not afraid of authority, and likely more remarkable is that he loved to pit his strengths with anybody even with General Custer himself. During his life on the plains whenever he had the opportunity to prove his skills he tried to do the best to live up his reputation.¹⁵

Cody had also the possibility to be involved in politics. Without any notice he was nominated and later elected "to represent the twenty-sixth district of Nebraska in the Legislature." At the time he was awarded the "Medal of Honor" and the title Colonel. After a while he resigned from this position and started his career as an actor. Later, in 1876, he would cease to tour with his new show and would participate in the battle of Little Big Horn to take revenge on Indians for General Custer's death. ¹⁷

¹⁴ The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/life/wfc.bio.00001.html; Wetmore, *Last of the Great Scouts*, chap. 10 and 12; Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill*, chap. 2.

¹⁵ Cody, An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill, chap. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., chap. 9

¹⁷ The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/life/wfc.bio.00001.html.

2. BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW

Cody's Wild West Show was not the only one in the late-nineteenth century, but was probably the most well-known. In 1882, he decided to leave the theatrical world and organized an outdoor exhibition. A year later in Omaha, the so-called Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was born. Cody toured with the show until it went bankrupt in 1913.¹⁸

Cody decided to show the world the mythic West. For four years he travelled with his show across the America and gave both the current view and a depiction of the Wild West as it appeared in the past. Later, in 1887, he opened his first international tour in Great Britain where, coinciding with Queen Victoria's Jubilee, he stayed six months. The show in London, which over two million people attended, including Queen Victoria, was generally highly acclaimed. France was the next stop, where he staged his show at the 1889 Paris Exhibition. In 1890, the show travelled widely across Europe, including stops in Spain, Italy, and Russia. It was in 1890 that Cody, in response to reportedly "unfounded criticism of the mistreatment of the Indians" in his show and also because of the presence of Rough Riders in the act, renamed the show "the Wild West Show and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World." Under this name, the show was staged at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. ²¹

According to L.G. Mosses, "Buffalo Bill's grand entertainment helped to shape...the substance of American identity." Cody's intention for the show was not only to entertain people but primarily to enhance their knowledge of the West. He preferred the word "exhibition" to "show" and wished "to convey information about Western life, especially Plains Indian life." And he tried to create an authentic picture of the west he knew. In his show real Indians, cowboys and cowgirls, and even wildlife played significant roles. Later

²¹ History, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show Opens," accessed January 9, 2014, http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/buffalo-bills-wild-west-show-opens;

¹⁸ Paul Fees, "Wild West Show: Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Buffalo Bill Center of the West*, accessed January 9, 2014, http://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/wild-west-shows/.

¹⁹ The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/life/wfc.bio.00001.html.

²⁰ White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 7.

The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/life/wfc .bio.00001.html.

²² L.G. Mosses, review of Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History*, (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), in *Journal of American History* 88, no.3, (2001), 1090-1091, accessed October 2, 2013, http://jah.oxfordjournals.org/content/88/3/1090.2.full.pdf+html.

²³ Katherine White, "Through Their Eyes: Buffalo Bill's Wild West as a Drawing Table for American History," Honors Project, 2005, http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1020&context=h istory_honproj.

Cody would employ many ethnicities including Cossacks, Mexicans, South American gauchos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and many others. Even though, they were not associated with the American west in general, Cody employed them to show a large variety of skilled horse-riders from around the world, who were symbols of masculinity in other countries much like cowboys were masculine symbols of the American west.²⁴

2.1 The Origins of the Wild West Show

To present to the world the "realistic picture of the life in the Far West" through a show was his boyhood dream. "The germ of his Wild West" Show probably originated in his youth when he orchestrated the scene of his first journey on the plains and instructed his siblings to act it out. In 1872, Fort McPherson was visited by Russian's Grand Duke, and Cody, then stationed there, was ordered to prepare for him a realistic taste of the real Wild West, complete with a visit of a Sioux chief and his best hunters. He managed to do it perfectly. In 1874, with the help of a Pawnee chief, he imitated an Indian attack on a group of Englishmen from New York to show them the realistic fear in the Wild West. ²⁶

In 1874 he established the Buffalo Bill Combination, the precursor of the Wild West Show, and toured with the show for the next decade. In 1882, Cody organized a Fourth of July rodeo in Nebraska. The rodeo's success convinced Cody to organize a group of real cowboys and Indians into a Wild West Show and take it on tour.²⁷

2.2 The Wild West Show's Performers

Cody portrayed the West as a "setting of nonstop vigorous competition" performed mainly by Indians. Buffalo Bill's Indians were mainly Oglala Sioux although the show also included Brule, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, differentiated only by the colour of their horses. Cody employed Indians who were willing to travel with him across Europe in exchange for payment. The show was not only educational for the general public, but also

²⁶ Cody, An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill, chap. 8;

²⁴Wetmore, Last of the Great Scouts, chap. 15.

²⁵ Ibid., chap. 6.

²⁷ The William F. Cody Archives, "Long Biography," accessed January 4, 2014, http://codyarchive.org/l ife/wfc.bio.00001.html; Americas' Story, "Buffalo Bill in Show Business," The Library of Congress, accessed January 8, 2014, http://www.americaslibrary.gov/aa/cody/aa_cody_business_3.html; Candy Moulton, "Nebraska: The Old Glory Blowout," American Cowboy, accessed January 8, 2014, http://www.americancowboy.com/travel/trips/nebraska-old-glory-blowout.

²⁸ Richard W. Etulain and Gary Topping, "Frontier," In *American History Through Literature 1870-1920*, ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006) 1: 408.

for Indians themselves. Cody claimed that probably the main reason why Indians decided to be in the show was that they knew and respected each other. In the late nineteenth century, Indians were not considered dangerous. They tried to assimilate and generally accepted their fate as a conquered people. Furthermore, many of them converted to Christianity. But in the show they had to revert to their reportedly uncivilized past.²⁹

Cody's show "presented an account of Indian aggression" and "of Indian killers," while whites were presented as civilized and as victims of Indian aggression. Many of Indians participated in both the real events and the re-enacted events based on the white versions of it. At the end of the show, in most cases Indians were killed and the white supremacy over Indians was visible. The natives were seen as wild animals even though in most cases it was the U.S. Government which had broken treaties and forced removal upon them, leaving aggression as the only tool for protecting themselves from the government's mistreatment.³¹

Many Indians were willing to travel with the show despite the humiliation and mistreatment they suffered at the hands of whites, and despite that in the show, notes Paul Fees, they "had to re-fight the losing war nightly." Yet, they were allowed to keep their traditions and other aspects of their former life through the show. Reportedly, Cody "did not exploit Indians but instead provided [them] employment." Generally they were paid equally to other performers and provided their families and members of their tribes with knowledge of the civilized world. In the late nineteenth century, whites tried to force assimilation upon Indians by establishing schools for Indian children. But Indians in the show were provided a place to "remain free of harassment from missionaries" and hope for "economic and cultural survival."

³² Paul Fees, "Wild West Show: Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Buffalo Bill Center of the West*, accessed January 9, 2014, http://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/wild-west-shows/.

²⁹ Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill*, chap. 9; Irene Lottiny, "When Buffalo Bill Crossed the Ocean: Native American Scenes in Early Twentieth Century European Culture," *European Journal of American Culture* 31, no. 3, (2012): 191-192.

³⁰ White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 27, 35.

³¹ Ibid., 27, 35.

³³ Paul Reddin, "Wild West Show," In *American History Through Literature 1870-1920*, ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006) 3:1197.

³⁴ Paul Fees, "Wild West Show: Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Buffalo Bill Center of the West*, accessed January 9, 2014, http://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/wild-west-shows/; Jason A. Heppler, "Show Indians: Overview," *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, accessed January 21, 2014, http://segonku.unl.edu/~jheppler/showindian/analysis/show-indians/.

Cowboys played a significant role in Cody's Wild West Show from the beginning, but they would become the dominant part of the show mainly during the twentieth century. Earlier in the nineteenth century, cowboys were not considered noblemen of nature and representatives of the American West. Cowboys used to herd cattle over land, and for a while the word "cow-boy" was an insult. But later in the nineteenth century, they became more popular, particularly due to their presence in the Wild West Show. In the Wild West Show, cowboys represented the manliness of a civilized nation which won out over savagery. ³⁵

Nineteenth century America was dominated by men, but by the end of the century the position of woman started to improve. Women were represented in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and mostly "played traditional dramatic roles as 'prairie Madonnas' or as Indian captives." Although their roles in the Wild West Show were often limited, they received equal pay and could be promoted. In this show women broke stereotypes by proving their abilities in shooting and horse-riding. The most popular female performer, Annie Oakley, was known for her natural shooting ability and horse riding, which equalled men in talent. Oakley travelled with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show until 1901 when an injury forced her to retire from the show. 37

2.2.1 The Wild West in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century in America is connected with the conquering of the West. Probably the main reason of "moving West was improvement and opportunity, not injury to others." Although most whites did not mean to harm Indians, the conquest, notes historian Patrician N. Limerick, had a great impact "on both the conqueror and

³⁵ White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 46; Reddin, "Wild West Show," In *American History Through Literature 1870-1920*, ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006) 3:1195; The Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, "A Brief History of William F. 'Buffalo Bill' Cod y," accessed January 11, 2014, http://www.buffalobill.org/History%20Research%20on%20the%20Buffalo% 20Bill%20Museum/index.html; Brent M. Rogers, "Buffalo Bill, Rough Riders, and the Manly Images," accessed January 18, 2014, http://segonku.unl.edu/~brogers/bbww/analysis/manly/wildwest.php.

³⁶ Paul Fees, "Wild West Show: Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Buffalo Bill Center of the West*, accessed January 9, 2014, http://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/wild-west-shows/.

³⁷ Paul Fees, "Wild West Show: Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Buffalo Bill Center of the West*, accessed January 9, 2014, http://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/wild-west-shows/; Paul Fees, "Annie Oakley," *Buffalo Bill Center of the West*, accessed January 14, 2014, http://centerofthewest.org/learn/western-essays/annie-oakley/; Julia Simon Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany: A Transnational History," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Nevada, 2012), accessed November 4, 2013,

http://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2635&context=thesesdissertations, 249.

38 Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest* (London: W. W. Norton, 1988), 36.

conquered."³⁹ Whites generally treated Indians unjustly, which resulted in many skirmishes with Indians protecting their lands. The nineteenth century Wild West was many times characterized as the meeting point of the civilized, meaning whites, and the savage, meaning Indians. Although savagery had its charms it was predestined to end due to the increasing civilization that was mostly connected with technology. Even in the Wild West Show, "the most technological feature…always saw white Americans victorious over Indians."⁴⁰

One of the main ideas behind Indian removal was that Indians were not able to cultivate the land and that they were selfishly not allowing whites to improve the land. There was, notes Limerick, a "failure of Indians to understand the white American's idea of property."41 But it was also the failure of ethnocentric whites to understand Indian culture. Although many whites claimed they did not want to harm anyone, they coveted Indians' land and wanted them to move to places "white people would not want anyway."42 The discovery of gold in the West only increased the impetus for removal. The Sioux owned the Black Hills before gold was discovered there in 1874. Whites demanded control of the area, but not all Indians left. Instead, they made a stand, massacring Gen. Custer's forces at the 1876 Battle of Little Big Horn. In 1887, Congress passed the Dawes General Allotment Act. This act worked on the assumption that the division of Indian land into smaller pieces owned by the individual not by the tribe would destroy the savagery inside of Indians and help to civilized them. Even Thomas Jefferson "had believed that individual property and a change to farming would be the key to the civilizing of Indians."43 Later in 1890, the Lakota Sioux were massacred at the Battle of Wounded Knee. Afterwards, notes Rebekah Crowe, many Indians who play-fought against whites in Cody's Wild West Show returned to the Dakotas to fight whites for real."44

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³⁹ Ibid 18

⁴⁰ Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 190; White, "Through Their Eyes," 3-4.

⁴¹ Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 73.

⁴² Ibid., 282.

⁴³ Ibid., 196-197.

⁴⁴ Caren J. Town, "Battle of Little Big Horn," In *American History Through Literature 1870-1920*, ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006) 1: 133; White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," 32; Rebekah Crowe, Review of *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* by Rani-Henrik Andersson *American Nineteenth Century History* 11, no.1, (March, 2010), accessed January 11, 2014, http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy.k.utb.cz/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=7&sid=f61691ec-d500-477a-bdc0-f162c064f74a%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4206.

3. WILD WEST SHOW IN EUROPE FROM 1902 TO 1906

Cody again toured his Wild West Show across Europe between 1902 and 1906. The show performed in Great Britain for almost three years, before spending one year in France. During 1906, Cody and his show toured Italy, Germany, Luxemburg, and several states within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, before finishing at Ghent, Belgium.⁴⁵

Probably the most significant reason of the Wild West Show's success in Europe during its second European tour was the desire of spectators to see Indians "before their extinction."⁴⁶ Indians were popularized in Europe during the nineteenth century mainly through literature. The Indian motif was introduced by American authors James Fenimore Cooper, who described Indians as noble savages, and Washington Irving. Also, several European writers, among them German author Karl May, focused on the American West and Indians. In particular, the success of the Wild West Show mainly depended on the authenticity of the portrayal of Indian's lives and the American West, which in Europe was seen as a mythical place. Cody's show was also respected because it portrayed the development of the American West as a process. Probably the biggest weakness of Cody's show lay in the portrayal of Indians as savages, which ran counter to many European portrayals.⁴⁷

Cody's show influenced not only the Europeans' views of Indians but also their views on the importance of promotion. Cody took advantage of Europe's increasingly industrialized society to bring his enormous show to the continent, buttressed by an advance, well-conceived, and highly functional marketing campaign.⁴⁸

3.1 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Great Britain

Cody began his European tour in Great Britain, with a London stay lasting from 6 December 1902 to 13 April 1903. For the next three years, the show promoted the

⁴⁵ Charles Griffin, Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,

<sup>2010), 147-152.

46</sup> Lottiny, "When Buffalo Bill Crossed the Ocean," 190.

47 Lottiny, "When Buffalo Bill Crossed the Ocean," 190; Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany," http://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2635&context=thesesdissertations,

⁴⁸ Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany," 42, 191.

American West with over three hundred performances in over two hundred British cities, "with only one cancellation."⁴⁹

Of all European countries, Great Britain is arguably the most similar to the United States in terms of language and culture. Although Buffalo Bill was not the only one who promoted the American West in Great Britain, he was more popular due to his "personality and charisma." The British were well familiar with Indians, thanks in part to the works of James Fenimore Cooper. Perhaps more important for Britons and their perceptions of Indians were the literary works of Thomas Mayne Reid, whose novels were based on the "dualism between savagery and virtue in Indian culture" and also suggested that "dispossession and racism" could have a dangerous impact on Britain in the future. With this literary background, Cody's show was well perceived, but its success was also connected with the presence of Cody himself, who was "adopted by the British as a manly, colonial figure, who was in effect one of them." ⁵¹

3.2 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in France

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show moved to France in 1905, with its first performance in Paris on 2 April. Cody's show was staged near the Eiffel tower until the 4 June 1905. Cody and his show then toured France for one year until 12 March 1906, before finishing in Nice.⁵²

During the nineteenth century, the French were well familiar with literary works about the American West and Indians. Probably the most famous authors in France were Cooper and French writer Gustave Aimard, who invented stories about the American West, during and after his visit there. The French tended to sympathize with Indians in part due to the "up-to-date information" in the newspaper articles during the nineteenth century in which Indians were described as noble savages who fell victim to white settlers. The stereotype of Indians as warriors was surpassed by the "enthusiasm…and longing for everything the

⁴⁹ Griffin, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*, 137-144; National Fairground Archive, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *University of Sheffield*, accessed January 18, 2014, http://www.nfa.dept.shef.ac.uk/history/shows/wildwest.html.

⁵⁰ National Fairground Archive, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West."

⁵¹ Rohan McWilliam, Review of Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indians*, 1776-1930, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), in *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 9, (2009), accessed January 21, 2014, http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/index.php/19/article/view/513/508.

⁵² Griffin, Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill, 145-149.

⁵³ Diane Camurat, "American Indians in the Great War: Real and Imagined," accessed 18 January, 2014, http://www.karl-may-gesellschaft.de/kmg/sprachen/englisch/seklit/camurat/cmrt4.htm.

West was imagined to offer."54 Even during the promotion of the Wild West Show in France, the press coverage was dominated by the "themes of Indians as noble savages and as...a vanishing race."55 One newspaper article noted that only a few Indians had kept their old warrior traditions and that many were addicted to alcohol. Wanting to see the truth for themselves, the French flocked to the show, which in turn greatly influenced their views. Although some Indian stereotypes were challenged, the Wild West Show perpetuated others and in so doing greatly influenced the French understanding of the American West and Indians.⁵⁶

3.3 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Italy

The Wild West Show toured Italy between March and May, 1906, before visiting the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Although Italy became a nation in 1861, the history of the Italian lands dates back millennia. Italy is considered by many as the historical centre of Europe. Probably for this reason, the Wild West Show was not as successful there as in other parts of Europe, mainly during the first European tour. Before the show's arrival to Italy, to a certain extent the Italians were familiar with the American West and Indians, but not as much the German and the French, who had better access to western literature. Even though Italians had access to the works of Cooper, Aimard, Mayne and even May, they maintained their view of Indians as wild and uncivilized. Italians "did not empathize as much with Indians because they did not identify with them." Mainly, they "treated Indians...with less respect, mocking them and pulling their hair to test its authenticity." Italians also mocked Indians because they wanted to demonstrate and maintain their racial superiority. Contrary to the English and French, Italians were classified as non-whites in the racial hierarchy of the day. In the United States, even though Italians were politically "white enough for naturalization"⁵⁷ and had the right to vote, "socially they represented a problem population at best."58 American "popular understanding of Italians' innate

⁵⁴ Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany," http://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cg i?article=2635&context=thesesdissertations, 156.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 156.

⁵⁶ Diane Camurat, "American Indians in the Great War: Real and Imagined," accessed 18 January,

^{2014,} http://www.karl-may-gesellschaft.de/kmg/sprachen/englisch/seklit/camurat/cmrt4.htm.

57 Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of* Race. (London: Harvard University Press, 1998): 57.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 57.

criminality"⁵⁹ emerged from their perception of Italians as a savage and uncivilized nation. Responding to this degrading stereotype, Italians put Cody's Indians down in an attempt to push themselves up in the racial hierarchy. The Wild West Show was successful in Italy, but the Italians "enjoyed the spectacles much more for its entertainment value then for its ideological message, which had been so crucial for the success of the show in the United States" and in other European countries.⁶⁰

3.4 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Germany

After leaving the Austrian Hungarian Empire in August, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show visited Germany and travelled across the country until mid September. Most performances in Germany were sold out, and many times exceeded the seventeen thousand seat capacity.⁶¹

Buffalo Bill's show was not the first American West-themed show performed in Germany. During the nineteenth century, the Germans witnessed similar shows, but the Wild West Show differentiated in many ways. By the twentieth century, the Germans desired a change from the former shows that focus mainly on the exotic. Nineteenth century literature influenced Germans' opinions about the American West and Indians. The success of the show depended not only on Germans' desire for change but also a desire to see Indians before their extinction. Despite industrialization, Germans considered themselves to be connected to nature, and therefore they partly identified with Indians who were portrayed "as noble savages who lived in harmony with nature" in the nineteenth century literature. They were also curious about Indians' skills. The most popular part of the show for them was the "trick riding."

⁵⁹ Ibid 56

⁶⁰ Jacobson, Whiteness of Different Color, 56-57; Griffin, Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill; Lottiny, "When Buffalo Bill Crossed the Ocean;" Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany," 158-163.

⁶¹ Griffin, Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill, 117

⁶² Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany," 118, 225-226.

4. THE WILD WEST SHOW IN THE AUSTRIAN-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE IN 1906

On 13 May 1906, Cody entered the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in Trieste, Austria and left the Empire on 14 August 1906 after a show in Jihlava, Moravia. During this time, Cody's show covered 5,400 kilometres and visited fifty towns, giving two performances a day in each town. Although the show was performing in one Empire, Buffalo Bill visited many different nations, including today's Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Serbia, Romania, Poland and the Czech Republic. 63

The show was successfully staged in several cities including Vienna, the capital of Austria and Budapest, the capital of Hungary. Residents of Budapest were fascinating by the show's horses, as the city was then "one of the greatest" ⁶⁴ horse markets in Europe, and the horse performances were better received than the rest of the show's programme. The show then toured across Hungary, where it was successful despite the fact that Hungary was "purely an agricultural country," ⁶⁵ and the tour coincided with the busy summer growing season. ⁶⁶

The nineteenth century in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire witnessed great societal changes. The empire was weakening and leaning towards dissolution, culminating in World War I. At the time of Cody's visit, noted Albert Mamatey, there was "really no 'Austrian' or 'Hungarian'...but [different] nations that inhabited certain provinces...of the monarchy." Indeed probably the most dominated group of people was Slavs, who could be divided into two groups, the Austrian Slavs, including Czechs, and the Hungarian Slavs, including Slovaks. These groups were under the domination of the Germans and Hungarians. Although the empire was ruled by one monarch, the languages of the nations differed. When Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show entered Hungary, all the posters had to be in Hungarian instead of German, which was used in the Austrian part. 67

The Austrian-Hungarian Empire was comprised of different nations with different histories, cultures, customs, traditions, languages and even religions. This complexity

⁶³ Griffin, Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill, 150-152.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 112.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 113.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 109-113.

⁶⁷ Albert Mamatey, "The Situation in Austria-Hungary," *Journal of Race Development 6*, no. 2 (1915): 203-211, accessed October 4, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29738124; Pyramus, "Buffalo Bill at Budapest," *Billboard*, July 14, 1906, 24, accessed October 1, 2013, http://www.circushistory.org/Pdf/Billboard14Jul1906.pdf.

caused many misunderstandings among outsiders. Cody himself did not clearly recognize the multitude of ethnicities within one country. For the Americans who travelled with the show, it seemed to be a more complicated situation than at home. As Griffin noted "they think they have a racial problem in America, but it is more complicated and acute in Eastern Europe and it is not a matter of color, either."

In the Czech lands, the citizens were under the rule of Germans and the official language was German, but the Czechs preferred to speak Czech. Despite that the percentage of Czechs living in Bohemian in 1900 was 62.7 and in Moravia 71.4, the security of this nation "depended on a foreign policy made in Vienna" and the Czechs "had no influence," although they tried hard to change it.⁶⁹

4.1 Depictions of Indians in the Czech Lands

In the earlier twentieth century, the Czechs and Germans who lived in towns Buffalo Bill visited were probably familiar with the Indians, likely through literature. Most of the authors who wrote about the American West were translated into Czech or German well before the show appeared in Moravia and Silesia. James F. Cooper's work played an important role in the Czech understanding of Indians. In 1906, the newspaper *Moravské Národní Noviny* referred to Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* to help explain Native Americans.⁷⁰

Cooper's tales were not the only favourites. Among all the authors probably the most-read author of Western stories was Karl May, with his fictional heroes Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. Imagination played a significant role in May's stories. He had not yet visited America, so his descriptions of Indians were a figment of his imagination nurtured by reading. Later, he was even accused of deception because of this. Although some of May's Indians were evil, most of them were good. He portrayed Indians as being in harmony with nature and Christianity, and therefore Germans gladly identified with Indians. As Indians had lost their place in the world, likewise the Germans felt uncomfortable in a rapidly

⁶⁸ Mamatey, "The Situation in Austria-Hungary," *Journal of Race Development* 6, no. 2 (October 1915): 203-217 accessed October 4, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29738124; Griffin, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*, 115.

Zdeněk Veselý, "The Security of a Small State: The Historical Experience of the Czech Republic," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 20, no. 4 (2007): 682; Richard Jašš, "Pokus o geografické vymezení německé iredenty v českých zemích na podzim roku 1918 (s důrazem na oblast Moravy, Slezska a východních Čech)," (Ph.D. Diss., Masaryk University, 2007), 13-14.

⁷⁰ Fr. Fiala, "Buffalo-Bill v Přerově," *Moravské Národní Noviny*, August 5, 1906.

changing industrial world. May's opinion of Indians differed from Cody's portrayal of evil Indians, but it was not a hindrance to the success of the show in the Czech lands.⁷¹

Together with Indians, May portrayed another hero of the American West, the cowboy who was in his stories a handsome and much admired horse rider. When Buffalo Bill visited Europe, Indians and cowboys were interlinked, influencing European children to "play Cowboys and Indians for generations to come." The Czechs, Germans and others were given a spectacular show that involved pretend fighting with the "revolver and the repeating rifles." The program of the Wild West Show explained that "without the bullet America would not be a great, free, united, and powerful country."⁷²

Buffalo Bill was first introduced to Czechs in a 1900 dime novel, *Bufalobilka*, as the king of the prairie. Therefore, most Czechs were probably familiar with Buffalo Bill before his show appeared in their midst. In the dime novel, Indians were portrayed negatively, and the white supremacy visible in the novel ran contrary to May's depictions.⁷³

4.2 The Wild West Show in the Czech Lands

The Wild West Show entered the Czech lands on 7 August 1906 in Těšín (Teschen) and left one week later, having performed in Moravská Ostrava (Mähr-Ostrau), Opava (Troppau), Přerov (Prerau), Brno (Brünn) and Jihlava (Iglau). In each of these towns two performances a day were given, one in the afternoon and one in the evening, except in Brno were the show stayed for two days.⁷⁴

The success of Cody's show particularly lay in the perception of Indians by the Czechs and Germans living in Moravia and Silesia, many of whom had read about Indian life in May's book. In the early twentieth century, the Czech lands were not united. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia contained so-called language islands, e.g. in Jihlava, German dominated over Czechs. As a result of these language islands, the culture, language, and population differed from other towns Buffalo Bill visited during his tour. Jihlava and Opava were Czech towns with predominantly ethnic German populations. Ostrava was

⁷¹ Diane Camurat, "American Indians in the Great War: Real and Imagined," accessed January18, 2014, http://www.karl-may-gesellschaft.de/kmg/sprachen/englisch/seklit/camurat/cmrt4.htm; Jan Berwid-Buquoy, "Karel May: notorický zloděj a pohádkář Divokého západu," *Reflex*, accessed February 2, 2014, http://www.reflex.cz/clanek/zpravy/45759/karel-may-notoricky-zlodej-a-pohadkar-divokeho-zapadu.html; University of Chicago Press, "Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922," accessed October 7, 2013, http://press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/732428.html.

⁷² University of Chicago Press, "Buffalo Bill in Bologna."

⁷³ Miroslav Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill: četba našich pradědů," *Western World*, (2005).

⁷⁴ Griffin, Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill, 151-153.

mostly inhabited by Czechs but probably still influenced by Germans. The biggest percentage of Czechs was in Přerov, where Cody and his show confronted a language barrier. In Brno, the percentage of Czechs and Germans was equal.⁷⁵

German had been the official language of the Czech lands since the Thirty Years War, which ended in 1648. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, the dual threads of romanticism and national revival had caused many Czechs to reject German in favour of their native tongue. At the time of Buffalo Bill's visit, certain towns, Czech or German, had embraced certain ethnic identities.⁷⁶

4.2.1 The Organization Process

In each town, the show progressed the same. Before the show's train arrived, the show's manager made all the necessary arrangements, such as the procuring of the location, usually the local military exercising ground, which could hold the 430-square-foot arena. The manager was responsible for the advertisements in the local newspapers, for the placement of posters in the streets, for the ticket sales, and for the ordering of food for the human and animal performers. In one day, show employees typically consumed eight hundred kilograms of meat, four hundred litres of milk, three hundred kilograms of potatoes, and other foods.⁷⁷

Early in the morning the first train of eighteen carriages with horses and workmen arrived to the town, followed by the second train of sixteen carriages with the rough riders, and lastly by a train carrying Indians, cowboys, and Buffalo Bill himself. The process of unloading was skilfully and efficiently carried out. Once done, the group of performers lead by Buffalo Bill walked through the town to the military exercise grounds. The parade of the Indians, wild horses, soldiers of different nations, blacks, and cowboys proceeded deliberately slowly so as to locals to the upcoming performances.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Mark Cornwall, "The Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border, 1880-1940," *English Historical Review 109*, no.433 (1994): 915, accessed October 4, 2013. http://www.jstor.org/stable/574538.

⁷⁶ Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), introduction, accessed January 24, 2014, http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i7392.pdf; Richard Jašš, "Pokus o geografické vymezení německé iredenty v českých zemích na podzim roku 1918 (s důrazem na oblast Moravy, Slezska a východních Čech)," (Ph.D. Diss., Masaryk University, 2007), 21.

⁷⁷ Miroslav Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill & Co. v Rakousku-Uhersku," Western World, (February, 2005).

⁷⁸ Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill & Co. v Rakousku-Uhersku;" Karel Pollcar, "Buffalo Bills do Moravské Ostravy," *Ostravský deník*, August 4, 1906.

The tickets could be bought in advance, usually in a bookshop. The prices of tickets were quite high in comparison with the average daily wage (four crowns) of a workman at the beginning of the twentieth century. The prices of tickets differentiated according to the seat location, ranging from two to eight crowns.⁷⁹

The advertisements and posters in town announced the arrival of three special trains, five hundred horses, and nine hundred people, including one hundred Indians. It was promised that the performance would be held in any weather, and the evening performances were lighted. The show consisted of twenty-two separate acts. Ticket-holders witnessed various Indian attacks, a presentation of the Pony Express, the shooting and horse-riding of cowgirls and lassoers, Japan Samurais, and a re-enactment of the massacre of General Custer's forces at the Battle of Little Big Horn. ⁸⁰

4.2.2 Buffalo Bill in Těšín

Těšín was the first town in the Czech lands to be visited by Buffalo Bill and his show. At that time, Těšín was inhabited by Czechs, Poles, and Germans, but the show was staged in the predominantly Czech part of town.

Concerning the arrival of the show to the town, it was first announced in the local newspapers on 28 July, along with the promotion of the show to the public (see appendix III). Before its arrival, the local newspapers presented Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show as a show not only entertaining but also as an instructional tool for portraying the thrilling adventurous life of the American West. The newspapers also emphasized the importance of the West in the further progress of the American nation, and announced the arrival of Buffalo Bill himself, who was presented as a skilful frontiersman. Regarding the show, it was depicted as a big operation, with a seat capacity of over twelve thousand, much larger than any European show. 81

Critiques of the show's arrival were both positive and negative. In particular, in *Dziennik Cieszyńsky*, the show was depicted as a good American entertainment, thanks in part to paid newspaper articles about the show's previous successes. Yet, the show was not

⁷⁹ Ptejte se knihovny, "Zlatka," accessed February 2, 2014, http://www.ptejteseknihovny.cz/uloziste/aba 001/2012/zlatka; Karel Pollcar, "Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show," *Ostravský deník*, August 3, 1906.

⁸⁰ Karel Pollcar, "Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show," *Ostravský deník*, August 3, 1906; Miroslav Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill v Přerově," *Nové Přerovsko*, December 21, 1990;

⁸¹ J. Polak, "Buffalo Bill," *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, July 28, 1906, accessed February 9, 2014, http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=16642&from=publication.

as remarkable as everyone was expecting. *Dziennik Cieszyńsky* later noted that it was a normal show in an overcrowded arena with a large number of horses, and lots of noise, but little else. Buffalo Bill was praised for his ability to make large amounts of money, thanks in large part to extraordinarily high ticket prices. Buffalo Bill quickly earned the nickname Golden Will.⁸²

Considering the public opinions about the show, the responses to it were full of contradictions. In an article published one day after the show's departure, the show was praised for the diversity of its performers as well as the presence of wild horses. This article also criticised the behaviour of the Indians, but praised the other ethnic groups for acting admirably. Contrary to show's description before its arrival, it was later portrayed as a mere deception and a mere advertisement. Moreover the article claimed that the black performers were actually whites in blackface.⁸³

On 9 August, *Dziennik Cieszyńsky* claimed that the success of the show partly lay in its organization. This article focused on the preciseness during unloading, as well as on well-organized kitchen work. The citizens of Těšín appreciated that Buffalo Bill bought all the necessary food, including meat and flour, in local shops, thereby contributing to the local economy. The newspapers also praised the good working conditions and high remuneration of workers, both of which were well above average. Despite such positive reports, the overall opinion of the show was generally unfavourable, despite both shows being sell-outs. The show's advance marketing campaign created exceedingly high expectations that could not be met.⁸⁴

4.2.3 Buffalo Bill in Moravská Ostrava

The next town visited by Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was Moravská Ostrava, where the show arrived on 8 August in the morning. Having received a request from the show's organizers, a month before the arrival, the municipality successfully fulfilled all the show's requirements. Concerning the request, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show procured a location

⁸² Władysław Zabawski, "Buffalo Bill," *Dziennik Cieszyński*, August 7, 1906, accessed February 8, 201 4, http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=16744&from=publication; Josef Smýkal, "Buffalo Bill," *Noviny Těšínské*, August 11, 1906, accessed November 4, 2013, http://camea.svkos.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=81454

⁸³ J. Polak, "Buffalo Bill," *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, August 8, 1906, accessed February 9, 2014, http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=16642&from=publication.

w.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=16642&from=publication.

84 Wladyslaw Zabawski, "Buffalo Bill," *Dziennik Cieszyński*, August 9, 1906, accessed February 8, 201
4, http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=16744&from=publication.

for its arena, which was close to the nearest bus station. They also required the permission of the local railway to leave their trains at the station. Buffalo Bill was required to pay 876 crowns for the provided services, including the hiring of thirty policemen, six firemen, and a man to take care of hydrants (see appendix III). 85

As in Těšín, the citizens of Moravská Ostrava were long aware of the show's arrival. The first advertisement appeared in both the Czech newspaper (see appendix IV) and German newspaper, in which the advertisement was richer in content. Regarding the German advertisement, Buffalo Bill was aware of Germans' views of Indians. He, therefore included a picture of an Indian in the German advertisement, contrary to the Czech one, which only mentioned the presence of Indians in the show (see Appendix V). The newspapers drew people's attention to the show by describing its uniqueness and stating that it was in Europe for the last time. They also portrayed Buffalo Bill as a warrior who became famous in the U.S. Civil War. The press also appreciated the show's precise unloading and reloading, which was as remarkable as the show itself. The Czech newspaper criticised the use of German and Polish during the show's promotion, which made the Czech citizens of Moravská Ostrava quite angry, because as the article noted, without the Czech audience the show would hardly be sold out. It was later found out that Buffalo Bill wanted to be unbiased and was misled by an unknown person who informed Buffalo Bill and his manager that Moravská Ostrava was mainly occupied by Germans, and therefore the promotion should be mainly in German. Despite this misunderstanding, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show had great acclaim, the audience was enthusiastic about the riders and shooters and also about the Cossack cavalry which was, in their minds, the most impressive part of the performance. Overall, Cody's show was successful in Moravská Ostrava.86

⁸⁵ "A Letter from the Show's Administrator to Municipality of Moravská Ostrava," fond Archiv města Moravské Ostravy, Nová registratura, kart. č. 647, inv. č. 704, signature XIV/197; "A Letter from Municipality of Moravská Ostrava to the Show's Administrator in Wien," fond Archiv města Moravské Ostravy, Nová registratura, kart. č. 647, inv. č. 704, signature XIV/197.

⁸⁶ František Tůma, "Ve Středu," *Ostravan*, August 5, 1906; Pavlík Sychra V. Bol. "Buffalo Bill do Moravské Ostravy," *Ostravský kraj*, August 1, 1906; František Tůma, "Cirkus Buffalo Bill," *Ostravan*, July 29, 1906; Karel Pollcar, "Buffalo-Bill," *Ostravský deník*, August 9, 1906.

4.2.4 Buffalo Bill in Opava

Opava was the third Moravian town visited by Buffalo Bill and his show. Regarding the location of Opava in the early twentieth century, it was located near the German border, therefore the newspapers were in German, as well as in Czech.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show arrived in Opava on 9 August. As in the other towns, Buffalo Bill supported the show's promotion through the press. The advertisement announced that the show would be staged on the military exercise ground in the town park (see appendix VI). Referring to the advertisement, the citizens of Opava had the possibility to buy tickets in advance in the local bookstore. Before the show's arrival, the press informed about the show as being successful in previously visited towns, and mainly put emphasis on the show's earnings which were high. Because of the lack of the historical documents it is hard to say whether the show in Opava was successful or not.⁸⁷

4.2.5 Buffalo Bill in Přerov

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show arrived in Přerov on 10 August 1906 in the morning, at one of the most modern train stations in Moravia. From there the parade moved through the town to the military exercise ground. As in other towns, the citizens of Přerov watched the parade with admiration in great numbers. At nine o'clock, tickets were sold in the Michálek's bookshop.⁸⁸

Even though the tickets were quite expensive for the locals, they were aware of the worthwhile occasion. Regarding the promotion of Cody's show, it was first advertised on 29 July in *Moravské Národní Noviny*, so the citizens of Přerov and its suburbs were well informed in advance and therefore they could save some extra money for it. On 5 August 1906, an article was published in *Moravské Národní Noviny* giving a detailed description of the show. Buffalo Bill promoted his show not only in newspapers but also by using street posters around town, which were predominantly written in Czech (see appendix VII). As far as the situation in Přerov is concerned, this town was almost exclusively inhabited by Czechs, and therefore Czech posters were used. The show's promotion also put emphasis on the uniqueness of the show that would never return. Furthermore, the same

⁸⁷ Václav Hans, "Buffalo Bill," *Opavský Týdeník*, August 4, 1906, accessed October 21, 2013, http://camea.svkos.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=79660.

⁸⁸ Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill v Přerově;" Jan Ledinský, "Divoký Západ," *Hlasy z Pobečví*, August 10, 1906.

article from 5 August informed the public that Cody's show was more theatre than circus, because it was replaying true historical events and presenting the Indian race as a dying one.⁸⁹

In Přerov, the reactions to the show were different. It is hard to say if the show was successful or not. The performance itself could be seen as a success, based on the article published on 18 August 1906 in *Hlasy z Pobečví*, which made a remark about the uniqueness of the show. Despite the fact that this American show differed from the citizens' expectations, it managed to make an impression on the public. Concerning the show's performers, Indians were not the only ones who were admired by the public, but also the others, namely the Rough Riders and the Russian Cossacks. Some were disappointed with the Indians, because they differed from how they were depicted in popular literature.⁹⁰

On the other hand, the success of the show can be doubted. During his stay in Přerov, Buffalo Bill almost caused an ethnic conflict. Based on the evidence the show manager and Buffalo Bill himself were aware of the origins of Přerov as a Czech town in a Czech region, because if he were not well informed, he would not have cooperated with Czech newspapers and businesses. In an article from 12 August in *Moravská Orlice*, the impresario was criticised for speaking in German. Of course the Czech spectators were upset with it, due to the fact that they were deceived by the deceptive advertisements, which were now merely seen as a means to make money and not to satisfy the audience. One of the problems was that at the time of Cody's visit, the Czechs had strong nationalist feelings. During the performance, Buffalo Bill was asked by a Czech representative to speak in Czech or to hire an interpreter, but Buffalo Bill did nothing more, except objecting that the government in Austria was German too and therefore he had the right to speak in German. The important question is whether Buffalo Bill was aware of the language barrier and deliberately provoked the Czech people or if it was just a lack of knowledge about the current ethnic situation in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. ⁹¹

To design a plan for the Austrian-Hungarian tour must have been difficult, mainly because of the problems to understand the differences throughout the empire. Buffalo

⁸⁹ Josef Morhaut, "Buffalo Billa a Čeština," *Moravská Orlice*, August 12, 1906, accessed October 10, 2 013, http://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=318822; Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill v Přerově."

Jan Ledinský, "Buffalo Bill," *Hlasy z Pobečví*, August 18, 1906.
 Josef Morhaut, "Buffalo Billa a Čeština," *Moravská Orlice*, August 12, 1906, accessed October 10, 2
 http://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=318822.

Bill's Wild West Show had its permanent office in Vienna, where the tour was planned. The pervasiveness of German in that city was probably the main reason why the show gave German-language performances in Přerov, even though Přerov was a Czech-speaking town.92

Although the citizens of Přerov were upset, the show still positively influenced the town. Buffalo Bill's arrival enabled local businesses to earn some extra money. 93

4.2.6 Buffalo Bill in Brno

Brno was the only town where Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show stayed for two days. Before the show's arrival, four performances were planned, but after a negotiation with the local railway, only three performances were given. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show arrived in Brno on 11 August in the morning and left to Jihlava on 12 August after the afternoon performance.94

In comparison with Přerov, Brno was five times larger with a population of over one hundred thousand. Regarding the inhabitants of Brno, they were two-thirds ethnic German. Czechs were a sizeable minority. However, the military exercise ground was situated outside of Brno, in Královo Pole [King's Field], where Czechs predominated. Most likely Buffalo Bill was aware of the diversity of Brno, and taking into account the possible misunderstanding in Přerov, the Brno advertisements were both in Czech and in German, but the German language was preferred to Czech. Consequently, Buffalo Bill arrived in Brno with a bad reputation that he gained due to his thoughtless behaviour toward the Czechs. Unfortunately for him, the citizens of Brno were well informed thanks to Moravská Orlice and Lidové Noviny. In addition, a complaint also appeared in local newspapers about a black man who had jeered at a Czech. Furthermore Buffalo Bill had to face accusations of mistreatment of horses, which was made by the local animal protection organization and noted in the newspapers.⁹⁵

⁹² Miroslav Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill se loučí: Good bye, česká kotlino!" Western World, (September,

<sup>2005).

&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> "Žádost Jana Sprušila a Antonína Kupčíka o povolení výčepu piva a vína dne 10. srpna 1906." Fond Okresní úřad Přerov, nezpracovaný fond, kart. č. Z.15111.

⁹⁴ Josef Morhaut, "Změna programu cirku Buffalo Bill," *Moravská Orlice*, August 11, 1906, accessed October 10, 2013, http://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=318820.

⁹⁵ Miroslav Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill, Brno a živá kronika," *Brněnský Večerník*, (September, 1990); Josef Morhaut, "Buffalo Billa a Čeština," Moravská Orlice, August 14, 1906, accessed October 10, 2013. http://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=318822.

Speaking about the promotion, the first advertisement of the show appeared on 7 August in *Moravská Orlice* (see appendix VIII). And two days later an article was published, which informed about the show's arrival to the town and stated that the show differed from classic circuses of that time, because the show focuses not only on the entertainment of public, but rather on the portraying of Indians as a dying race. In addition, this article ensured the public that all performances would be of the same quality and length, with the only difference being that the evening performance would be illuminated. Besides that, the paper *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien* compared Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show to another American company called Barnum and Bailey, which staged its show in Brno five years prior. Nevertheless, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was described as more instructional and objective than the Barnum and Bailey show.⁹⁶

In 1986, Miroslav Čvančara, a Czech historian, interviewed Mr. František Pevný, probably the last living witness of Cody's show in Brno. In 1906, Pevný was 13 and saw the show. He said the parade through the town was well-ordered even despite an enormous number of foreigners. Pevný noted that this parade was so fascinating that people did not hesitate to buy a ticket at any price. Pevný added that he later saw similar gunfights in World War I.

Despite different reactions of the local press, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was successful, as noticed an article in *Moravská Orlice* from 14 August, which described the show as a varied, wild and chaotic performance. Despite these negatives, and possibly because of them, the show attracted an audience. Moreover the German newspaper considered the show better than books about Wild West and called the show a great success. The show was critiqued both positively and negatively. *Lidové Noviny* linked Cody's show with Barnum and Bailey's, stating that both were out to make money. The citizens of Brno were excited about the show, but many of them did not get a chance to see it due to a lack of tickets.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Josef Morhaut, "K příchodu cirku Buffalo Billa do Brna," *Moravská Orlice*, August 9, 1906 accessed October 10, 2013, http://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=318818.

⁹⁷ Čvančara, "Buffalo Bill, Brno a živá kronika;" Josef Morhaut "Buffalo Bill," *Moravská Orlice*, Augu st 14, 1906, accessed October 10, 2013, http://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=&id=318822; Bohuslav Štěchovcký, "Buffalo Bill v Brně," *Lidové Noviny*, August 12, 1906, accessed February 7, 2014, htt p://noviny.vkol.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=0&id=13897.

4.2.7 Buffalo Bill in Jihlava

Before leaving the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Buffalo Bill visited Jihlava on 13 August 1906. Concerning the high percentage of Germans living in Jihlava, the perception of the show was one of the best of Cody's tour. Jihlava was one of the biggest language islands in the Czech lands. Contrary to other Czech towns, Germans predominated and influenced even the small number of Czechs in Jihlava. Apparently, this situation was convenient for Buffalo Bill himself, because as a result he did not have to be afraid of any other nationalist or ethnic conflict.⁹⁸

When Buffalo Bill arrived in Jihlava, his show was accompanied by the police, who controlled the process of unloading along with the show's parade, on request of the railway (see appendix IX). Concerning the promotion of the show, it was promoted similarly as in other towns. Advertisements appeared in *Jihlavské Listy* (see appendix IX) and *Mährischer Grenzbote*. As a result of the performance, the newspapers depicted the show as an original one that would never appear in the town again, and which was even better than Barnum and Bailey's visit in 1901. The citizens of Jihlava were informed that the show would present the Rough Riders of the World and would portray the life of the first whites in the American West together with the positive changes which they brought to the West. Therefore, the audience was looking forward to the show 's arrival. Concerning the show's organization, the number of performers in the parade attracted the citizens of Jihlava to see the performance. Both shows were sold out. The reaction to the show was positive. The public was enthusiastic about the Rough Riders, whose riding skills captivated them. The citizens of Jihlava were also impressed by the show's ethnographic diversity, and therefore the show was successful in Jihlava.⁹⁹

After leaving Jihlava, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show continued its tour, and took a one-day rest in Liberec on 14 August 1906. Despite the efforts of the municipality of Liberec, Buffalo Bill refused to perform there, citing future obligations. The local newspaper in Liberec provided information about the show and its future plans. Even though there was no performance Liberec, the show was described positively. To sum up Cody's tour across the Czech Lands, it was perceived both positively and negatively.

⁹⁸ Mark Cornwall, "The Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border, 1880-1940," *English Historical Review 109*, no.433 (September, 1994): 915, accessed October 4, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/574538.

⁹⁹ Miroslav Čvančara "Buffalo Bill v Jihlavě" *Jihlavské Listy* 1, (December 28, 1990): 4.

Buffalo Bill partly contributed to the new perceptions of the West and Indians in the Czech lands. Despite Cody's portrayal of Indians, which differed from the Czechs' perceptions of Indians based mostly on May's stories, the show was successful in terms of its organization and uniqueness.¹⁰⁰

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¹⁰⁰ Vilhelm Zeitner, "Buffalo Bill in Zittau." *Reichenberger Zeitung*, August 17, 1906, accessed September 4, 2013. http://kramerius.nkp.cz/kramerius/PShowIssue.do?it=&id=940125;

CONCLUSION

"It was because of my great interest in the West, and my belief that its development would be assisted by the interest I could awaken in others, that I decided to bring the West to the East through the medium of the Wild West Show."

Buffalo Bill¹⁰¹

William Frederick Cody, known as Buffalo Bill worldwide, was a great showman who dedicated his life to living in the West, conquering it, and later, propagating its memory. His experience as a scout contributed to the establishment of his authentic shows, first the Buffalo Bill Combination and then The Wild West Show and the Congress of Rough Riders of the World. In such shows, he involved Indians and cowboys, which ensured the show's popularity, not only in America but also in Europe, which he toured twice.

Cody's second European tour was between 1902 and 1906. In the seven nations visited during this tour, Cody received both positive and negative critiques of his portrayal of Indians and life in the Wild West. Despite these critiques, which were largely based on different Europeans' perceptions of Indians, Cody's show was seen as a unique and purely American show. Critiques of his portrayal of Indians aside, Cody failed by not recognizing the language differences across Europe, in particular the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In an age of emerging nationalism, Cody did not seem to understand the importance of speaking Czech in Czech towns. His use of German, the official language of the Empire, alienated a portion of his audience. Although his show was still popular in Moravia, it might have been more successful if he had acknowledged the region's language, customs and traditions and adjusted his show accordingly. In the Czech lands, Cody avoided Bohemia altogether. In planning the tour of Austria-Hungary, he chose to focus more on German and Hungarian audiences, which ensured him recognition from royalty and won him favour with German audiences throughout the empire. Among predominantly ethnic German audiences, Cody deliberately appealed their identification with Indians and by using Indians in his promotion. Contrary to Moravia and Silesia, Czechs dominated in Bohemia and their graving for the Czech identity revival was stronger. As a result, Cody deliberately avoided Bohemia, because during his life, Cody's personality changed from a frontiersman to a man who cared more about show's earnings and public recognition.

¹⁰¹ Cody, An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill, chap. 8.

Although he would made good earnings in Bohemia, he would hardly achieve Czechs' recognition, because he was only able to think about Czechs and Germans as being one nation with one official language, culture and traditions, and under one government.

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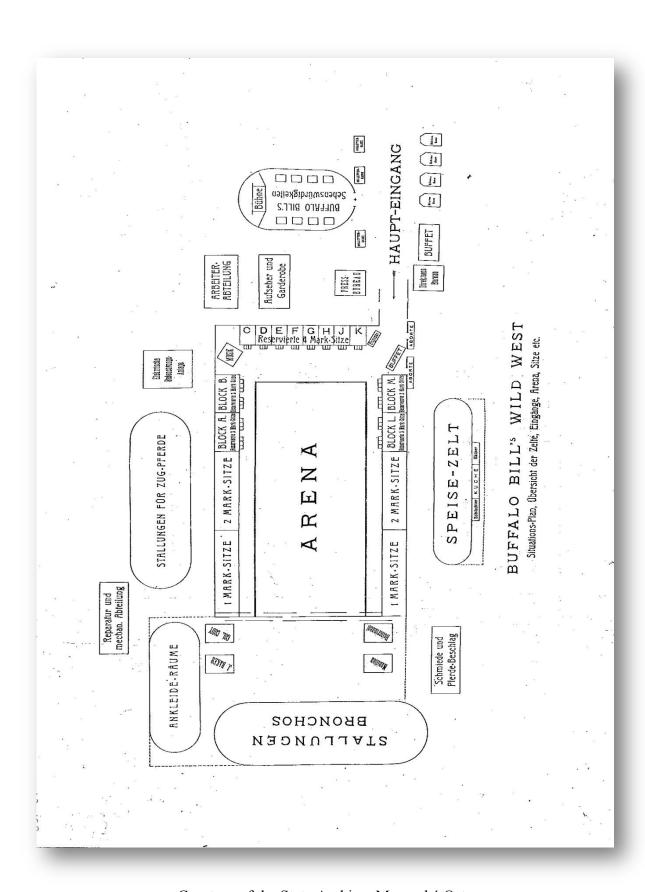
APPENDICES

PΧ

PΙ	Arena of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show
P II	A Letter from the Municipality of Moravská Ostrava to the Show administrator in Wien
P III	Polish Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Těšín
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P VI	Czech Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Opava
P VII	Czech Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show Přerov
P VIII	Czech Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Brno
P IX	Request of the Railway for Policemen's control during the arrival and leaving of the show

Czech Advertisement of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in Jihlava

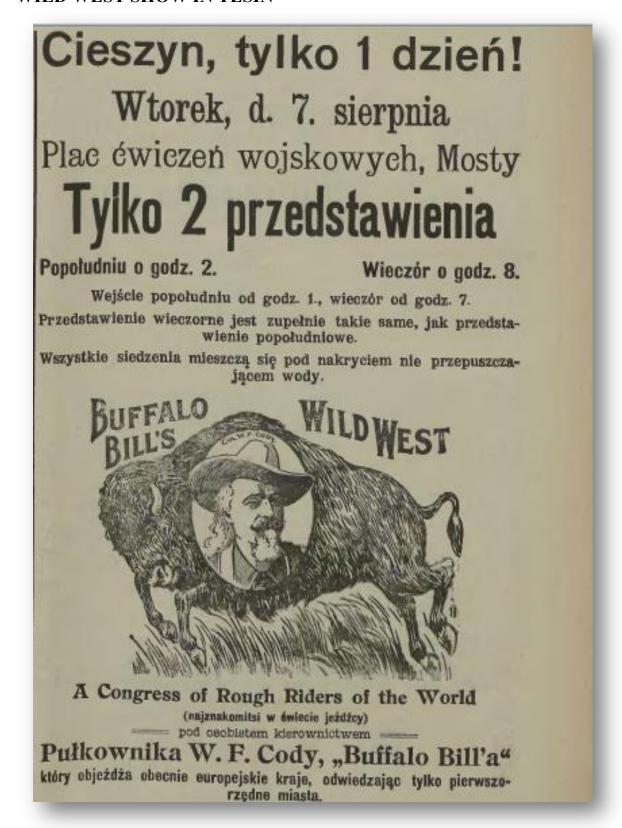
APPENDIX P I: ARENA OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW



APPENDIX P II: A LETTER FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF MORAVSKÁ OSTRAVA TO THE SHOW ADMINISTRATOR IN WIEN

February services	O pliko v tanažnio idvokoma, jedni v protišto podživom u mankovom protito no Seolika karade višio o 18 delikoma
	2. Zahl 12.842
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
	An die geehrte
	Zirkus-Unternehmung » Buffalo Bill »
	in white
	<u>W</u> IEN.
for instance	In Erledigung Thres Ansuchens vom 6. Juni 1.J.
	15 사이를 생존하는 경우 15 가입니다. 10 12 전 12 개인 전 12 개인
	wird Ihnen zur Veranstaltung von Vorstellungen mit Ih-
	rem Unternehmen in Mahrisch - Ostrau zu Beginn des Mo-
	nates August 1906 die Bewilligung unter nachstehender
	Bedingung Perteilt:
	(선생님) [1986년 12] 2016년 1일 전하는 문화가 하다고 있다면 말했다. 그 일요다 사라 보다고 있다면 한다. 그리고 있다고 있다.
	1./ Sie bezahlen für 30 Mann Sicherheitspolizei, wel-
	che zur Erhaltung der Ruhe und Ordnung beigestellt wer-
	den müssen a 6 Kronen K: 180
	2./ für 6 Feuerwehrleute a 6 Kronen K: 36
	S. / für einen Mann) zur Bedienung des Hy-
£	박사이를 하는 것은 것이 아이스 마음이 살아가는 말이 있었다. 그는 사람들이 되었다면 하는 사람들이 되었다면 하는 사람들이 되었다면 하는데
	dranten K: 10
	4./ für das Wasser K: 50
	und 5./ für den Armenfond K: 600
	Zusammen K: 876
	welcher Betrag tagsvorher vor den Vorstellungen hier-
	amts zu erlegen ist
	S T A D T V O R S T A F D
	Mahr Strau, am 18. Juni 1906.
	Den Bürgermeister:
	Masones
The second secon	

APPENDIX P III: POLISH ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN TĚŠÍN

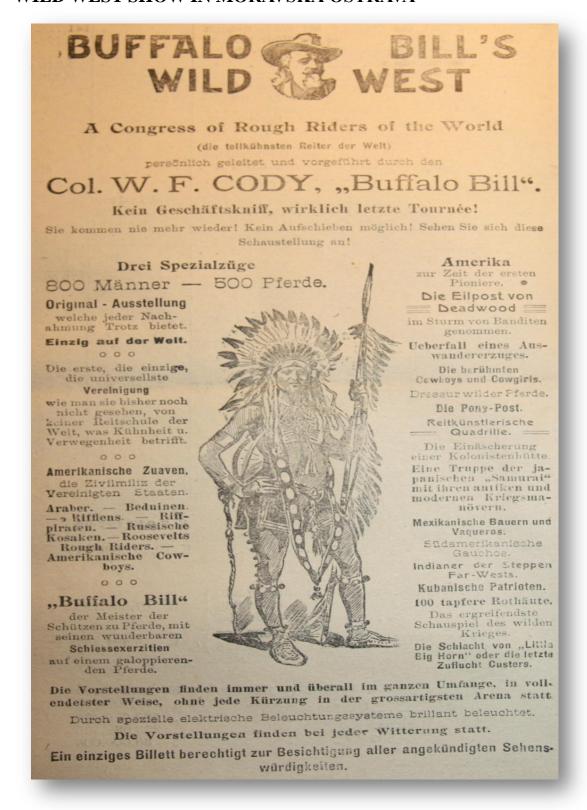


APPENDIX P IV: CZECH ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN MORAVSKÁ OSTRAVA



Courtesy of the State Archive, Moravská Ostrava, published in *Ostravský Deník* by Karel Pollcar

APPENDIX P V: GERMAN ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN MORAVSKÁ OSTRAVA



Courtesy of the State Archive, Moravská Ostrava, published in *Ostrauer Zeitung* by Vilhelm Zeitner

APPENDIX P VI: CZECH ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN OPAVA

V Opavě pouze den

ve čtvrtek **9. srpna**

na cvičišti v městském parku.

Jen 2 představení

odpol. o 2. hod. večer o 8. hod.

Ystup odpol. od 1 hod., večer od 7 hod.

Večerut předslavent je znovna totěž jako ods polední. Všecka sedadla jsou pod nepromokavou střednou:



Billin Zildi

A Congress of Rough Riders of the World (nejodyaznejši ježdci svěla)

osobne řízení a predvádění od slavačko

Col. W. F. CODYHO, "Buffalo Bill^{(c} na jeho modvolntelně poslední cestě. — Jeho představení na rozloučenou.

Nepřijdau nikdy víci Neopomeňte postední přiležitosti, abyste je vidšili - -3 zvláštní vlaky. — 500 köni. — 800 lidi. Program provádí se denně beze zkrácení v celku.

Deanë 2 představení; za každého počasí. Jediná podívaná světa, která se nedá napodobiti. Jediná svého druhů.

Všecek vznešený svět uznal ji veřejně za vysoce původní a skyostnou.

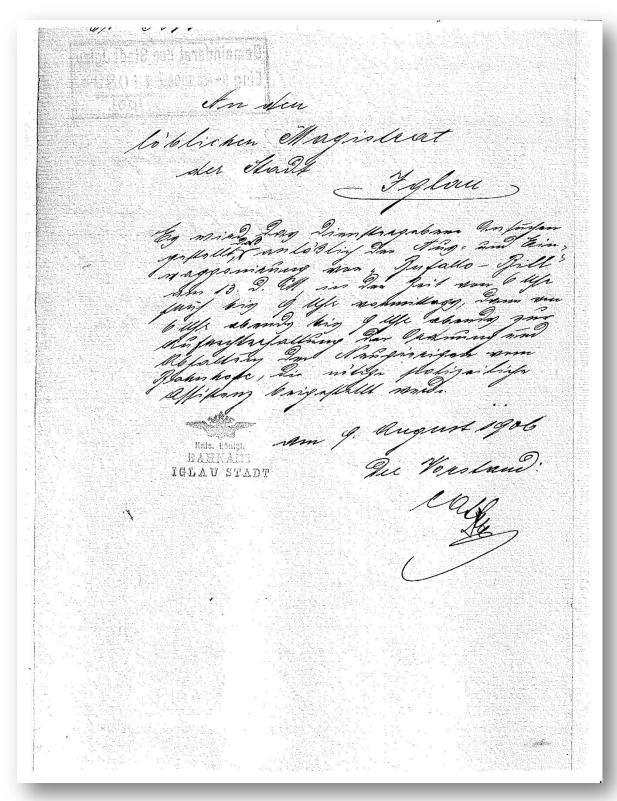
APPENDIX P VII: CZECH ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN PŘEROV



APPENDIX P VIII: CZECH ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN BRNO

Y Brně jen 2 dny. V sobotu a v neděli, 11., 12. srpna. Vojenské ovičiště. Congress of (nejsmělejší jezdoi světa) za osobního fízení velitele na koni, bajočna jistota v miřaní na koni v trysku. 100 Indiánů ze Severní Ameriky. Bitva u "LITTLE BIG-HORN" nebo poslední odpor Custerův. Al pěkně mebo prěji v V sobołu Zpreds Odpoledne o 2 hod. Večer o 8 hod. V neděli jen jedno představení o 2. hod. odpoledne. Otevfeni pokladny: Odpol. o 1 h. Voč. o 7 Cony mist BUFFALO BILLA: Preni misto 2 K. číslované sedadlo 4 K. vyhražené sedadlo 5 K. sedadlo v loži 8 K. lože (6 míst) K 48--Děti do 10 roků platí poloviční ceny. Předpredej sedadel po 5 — a 8 — K od 9 bod. dopoledne pouze v sobotu 11. srpna u Isidora Weinera, Ferdinandova ulice č. 26. Přerově 10. srpna. -- V Jihlavě 13. srpna.

APPENDIX P IX: REQUEST OF THE RAILWAY FOR POLICEMEN'S CONTROL DURING THE ARRIVAL AND THE LEAVING OF THE SHOW



APPENDIX P X: CZECH ADVERTISEMENT OF BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW IN JIHLAVA

V Jihlavě

V pondělí 13. srpna. Vojenské cvičiště.

W. F. CODYHO "BUFFALO BILL"

DIVOKÝ ZÁPAD

A Congress of Rough Riders of the World Vojíní na koni, praví centaurové.

Mikdy vice neg lau!

3 zvláštní vlaky. 500 komi.

800 asab.

Romantická dobrodružství z dob pio-· nýrů amerických.

— 100 rudokožců. ——

vojenské drama: »BITVA U LITTLE BIG HORM.» Poslední odpor Kusterův.

Skupina japonských "Samurajců"

Všechna sedadla jsou nepromokavou střechou kryta. Velká aréna jest u večer vlastním elektrickým systémem skyostně ozářena.