

The Long Journey of White Fox

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Article Summary: In 1874 three Pawnee men from Nebraska became the first Native Americans to tour Scandinavia, performing native dances for the public. One of the three, White Fox, died in Sweden, where a scientist claimed his body and had his head and torso taxidermied and mounted. The author follows the story from the arrival in the United States of the Swedish entrepreneurs who organized the tour to the return of White Fox’s remains to the Pawnee Nation in 1996.

Cataloging Information:

Names: White Fox, Red Fox (name later changed to John Box), White Eagle, Frank North, George Bird Grinnell, Paul Eliasson, Robert Kassman, Julius Meyer, William F (“Buffalo Bill”) Cody, Gustav von Düben, Roger Echo-Hawk, Gunnar Grant

Place Names: Massacre Canyon and Omaha, Nebraska; Pawnee, Oklahoma

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Photographs / Images: White Fox c. 1874; Pawnee men with unidentified white man; Petalesharo (Man Chief) c. 1870 [image based on two William H Jackson photos]; Red Fox, White Fox and White Eagle c. 1874; Paul Eliasson in the early 1870s; cover of a Swedish edition of a Buffalo Bill dime novel, published in Stockholm, 1907; Young Chief, one of Buffalo Bill’s Pawnee actors, c. 1890; White Fox’s shirt, leggings, moccasins and necklace; White Horse, Pawnee scout, c. 1870 [Jackson photo]; Sahlgrenska hospital in Gothenburg at the time of White Fox’s death; emigrant steamer *Rollo* departing Gothenburg; Gustaf von Düben; Professor’s Board at the Karolinska Institute around 1870; White Fox’s headstone, North Indian Cemetery, Pawnee, Oklahoma, 2012; meeting in the Old House, March 19, 2010, to discuss White Fox’s remains; advertisement for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West featuring White Eagle, 1885; Buffalo Bill with some of his Pawnee and Sioux performers c. 1890





THE LONG JOURNEY OF WHITE FOX

BY DAN JIBRÉUS

Three unusual visitors arrived in Sweden in the summer of 1874. They were Pawnee Indians who had come to perform their native dances and customs for the public. Accompanying them were two Swedish American circus directors or impresarios. While in Sweden, one of the three Pawnees, White Fox, contracted an illness and died. Rather than allowing his two friends to bury him, a Swedish scientist laid claim to White Fox's remains and dismembered the corpse, taking the skin off the head and torso and placing it on a plaster cast for public display at an exhibition. Not until the 1990s did Sweden return White Fox's skin to the Pawnee nation.

Earlier researchers who wrote about White Fox emphasized the disposition of his remains. This is

an important story to tell and I will do so here as well. But my main purpose is to paint a portrait, as far as possible, of the living man. White Fox (and his traveling Pawnee companions) were part of several important processes. His story was part of the greater tragedy of the Pawnee people and of the Indian wars on the American western plains; he was part of a pioneer group of entertainers, and can be considered one of the first Native American explorers of Northern Europe. I will also try to throw some light on the reasons why White Fox and his companions embarked on such an adventurous undertaking, and to examine the lives of the two Swedes in order to give a fuller picture of the context.

In the 1870s native North Americans were a great curiosity for the people of Scandinavia. Although

White Fox circa 1874. Photo courtesy of Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum

many Swedes were aware of the ongoing struggle on the American frontier through newspaper reports and letters from emigrant relatives, most still held a very romantic idea of “Indians.” This view was formed mainly by fiction, especially through the works of American novelist James Fenimore Cooper, whose stories of forest-dwelling eastern peoples created a prevailing image that did not change until the late 1800s when it was replaced with the image of war bonnet-wearing peoples of the plains. Throughout the Pawnees’ stay, European newspapers often compared them to the Indians in Cooper’s novels.¹

Swedish audiences were curious about the unfamiliar “other.” Painter George Catlin had exhibited Iowas and Ojibwas in Europe as early as the 1840s. In a similar way Saami people from the north of Sweden and Norway had been exhibited throughout Europe and by the 1870s the number of touring Saami had risen substantially.² There was a widespread sense of wonder, not necessarily in a good way, when faced with “strange” things, and European audiences not only wanted to see trapeze artists, trick-riders, bearded ladies, and so on, but also people from distant lands. They also genuinely wished to understand and place the peoples of earth in a larger context. Educated Europeans and Euroamericans felt this was an opportunity

to see representatives of vanishing peoples before they were obliterated by the “inevitable” triumph of European civilization. They considered White Fox, Red Fox, and White Eagle as “Indians” first and as Pawnees second.

The Men

In 1874 the four bands of the Pawnees (Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkahahki and Skidi [Skiri]) lived in semipermanent earthlodge villages in present-day Nebraska. Here they cultivated corn, beans, and squash. They complemented this subsistence economy with two great buffalo hunts, one in the summer and one in the winter. On these hunts the horse was indispensable. The horse was among the most valued possessions to the Pawnees, as it was to all the Plains peoples, and a man’s wealth was measured by how many horses he owned. Successful horse-stealing raids elevated a man’s rank.³

The Pawnees were in a state of war with most of their nomadic neighbors, especially the Sioux, the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the north and west, and the Kiowa and Comanche in the south. The Pawnees were fairly numerous and powerful until the 1830s, when diseases introduced by Euroamericans, such as smallpox and cholera, began to reduce their numbers severely, making them more

Pawnee men with unidentified white man. Though the photo is labeled “Major North,” the name is crossed out and the image does not match known photos of Frank North.
Photo courtesy of Cowan’s Auctions, Cincinnati, OH. (All photos are from the author’s collection unless otherwise noted.)



vulnerable to enemy attacks.⁴ With enemy pressure increasing, the situation for the tribe became more and more critical in the 1860s and 1870s.⁵

Making matters worse, pressure also increased from American authorities, military, and settlers. In 1859 the Pawnees accepted a small reservation, but the influx of Euroamerican settlers seemed never-ending. The settlers stole timber on reservation land, forcing the Pawnees to leave behind guards during the semiannual buffalo hunts. Dishonest Indian agents enriched themselves at Pawnee expense. Under President Grant's peace policy these corrupt agents were replaced by honest Quaker agents who, sadly, had no understanding of Pawnee culture and traditions. Quaker agents considered traditional practices barbaric and evil, and treated the Pawnees under their care as "children."⁶

In response to harassment by their enemies, many Pawnees enlisted in Maj. Frank North's "Pawnee Battalion" in the 1860s. Military service provided an opportunity to get back at their old enemies and also to preserve the warrior tradition. The Pawnee Scouts served honorably in 1865, 1867-70, and finally in 1876-77. White Fox, Red Fox, and White Eagle were among those who enlisted.⁷ Although military service allowed the Pawnees to earn a badly needed income as well as an opportunity to march against their enemies, pressure from Quaker agents caused the U.S. Army to discontinue the Pawnee Battalion in 1870.⁸

As a result of overhunting by American intruders, diminishing buffalo herds made Pawnee hunts increasingly difficult and also more dangerous because of Sioux competition. To avoid hunger and poverty, the Pawnees asked their agent's permission to go on these hunts. The agents denied their requests in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872 until it became obvious that the Pawnees would starve unless they could hunt.⁹ A government official accompanied them during the last hunts, and in 1872, in what would turn out to be the last successful hunt, George Bird Grinnell, accompanied by Luther North, came along as a guest.¹⁰

On the winter hunt that year they lost a hundred horses to the Sioux, but this blow was light compared to what happened on the summer hunt near the Republican River in 1873. Led by Sky Chief and as usual accompanied by an official (in this case an inexperienced young man named John W. Williamson), the hunting party of 700, half of which consisted of women and children, was attacked by a war party of about 1,000 Sioux. As many as 150 Pawnees were killed in a place since known as



Massacre Canyon. Destitute, the survivors returned to the reservation.¹¹

The Pawnees had long been under pressure from the U.S. authorities to leave their reservation so that it could be opened to settlers. An area in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) had been set aside for them; the people moved there in three shifts in 1873, 1874, and 1875.¹²

Petalesharo (Man Chief) circa 1870. The unknown artist has used two photographs taken by William Jackson as models. One of the originals depicts the chief standing in front of a wooden house; the other is a view of a Pawnee village.

Left to right: Red Fox, White Fox, and White Eagle circa 1874. Photo courtesy of Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum



These were called “the scary years” in Pawnee traditions recorded by historian Martha Royce Blaine.¹³ It is hardly surprising that people sought new ways of survival. In 1874 three men opted to try their chances elsewhere.

Contemporary reports described White Fox as the son of a chief, or even as a chief himself. The four bands of the Pawnee Nation traditionally had four chiefs each, one hereditary and three chosen among prominent men, making a total of sixteen chiefs. Besides these there was a head chief of all the four bands until the last of them, the respected Petalesharo (Man Chief) was killed in 1874.¹⁴ White Fox may indeed have been a chief or chief’s son.¹⁵ This seems to be supported by the two posed pictures that exist of him. According to newspaper advertisements in Gothenburg, interested spectators could buy cabinet cards of the Pawnees at 50 öre each.¹⁶ One is a portrait of White Fox seated in a chair with tassels; the other depicts all three Pawnees with White Fox seated in the middle, flanked by Red Fox standing to the left and White Eagle to the right. This arrangement may indicate that White Fox was indeed the highest ranking person in the group, which is confirmed by the exceptional war shirt he is wearing.¹⁷

At the same time as the Pawnees were struggling in their new reservation in Oklahoma, many

Swedes were leaving their homelands to seek a better future in the United States. Although most Swedes know that Scandinavians mainly settled in Minnesota in the nineteenth century, there are spots all over the U.S. which were settled from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and a large number of Scandinavians settled in Nebraska and northern Kansas.¹⁸ This was the setting in which we find the two Swedish impresarios who brought White Fox, Red Fox, and White Eagle to Scandinavia.

In 1872 a man named Sidney Barnett was denied permission to transport Pawnees to perform in Canada. The Indian agent believed that glorification of the old “barbaric” ways would slow progress towards civilization. This argument kept popping up from agents and other concerned citizens, sometimes with success, for years to come.¹⁹ For the same reason no Pawnee Scout companies were mustered from 1871 to 1875.

In 1874, however, two Swedish entrepreneurs managed to get permission—or perhaps they acted as if they did—to go abroad with White Fox, Red Fox, and White Eagle to perform for audiences. As this happened during the removal of the Pawnees to Indian Territory, the group may well have slipped away unnoticed.

One of the two enterprising men accompanying the ensemble was Paul Eliasson (b. 1839) from Scania (Skåne) in the southernmost part of Sweden. A family tradition maintains that he brought Indians to Sweden in the 1870s and toured with them. Kjell Torkelsson, who is a great-grandchild of Paul, says that all the twenty cousins knew about his Indian adventure (that the participants were Pawnees had been forgotten). Many of Paul’s descendants became evangelical Christians who believed that his “irresponsible” behavior had to be kept secret. Everything possible was done to erase the memory of it. Still, this remarkable story filtered down and has caused much speculation. Why the secrecy? Nils Jönsson, the father of another cousin, Monica Fransson, made a tape recording in which a daughter of Paul relates the circumstances of the tour. Sadly, the tape was destroyed in a fire.²⁰ Ingvar Olsson has made the greatest effort to find out what really happened. In a March 2007 email to the Hagströmer Library, he writes that Paul went to America in 1868 and “called himself Circus Director and had brought Indians with him from America, first they had been in Copenhagen and performed as a small circus company and after that probably in Sweden and then finishing in Norway . . . from there he had sent his Indians home and he had returned home

[to Scania] himself totally destitute in 1876.”²¹ This clearly refers to the Pawnee tour though it differs in some details from contemporary sources.

Meanwhile, Paul’s wife, Johanna Nilsson (b. 1841), apparently a very competent woman, took good care of the farm in Sweden. She started a new country store and got the business going so well that she could take care of herself and the three children. She placed advertisements in Swedish American newspapers trying unsuccessfully to find her husband. She was absolved from the marriage in September 1873. The next year, however, Paul turned up in Sweden as part of the Pawnee tour. But he would not return to Scania until 1876, after the economic failure of the enterprise.²²

According to the *Nerikes Allehanda* newspaper of November 20, 1874, the other Swedish impresario was called Kassman and originally hailed from the town of Arboga (in Västmanland, Sweden).²³

Robert Kassman was born in 1839, and by 1854 was a fifteen-year-old shop hand to the wealthy leather merchant F. H. Klint in Stockholm. By 1862 Kassman had gone into business for himself and advanced to “manufacturer.” However, following bankruptcy in 1865 he was jailed until he could settle his debts. We don’t know how he did so, but after this he returned to the vicinity of Arboga to lick his wounds. Here he decided to try his luck across the ocean. Church records show only a short note after August 1867: “residing in America.”²⁴

Kassman met Salvine Torgersen, a Norwegian immigrant, in St. Paul, Minnesota; they married November 12, 1870. A sister to Salvine, Lena or Lene, married another Swede, called Anders Berg (b. 1845), in Omaha, Nebraska.²⁵

Publisher Rikard Arvidsson, who has recently visited archives in Nebraska, has traced Robert Kassman and Paul Eliasson to Omaha. The city directory lists Kassman as working for the insurance firm S.A. Taylor & Co. He would have been an asset in procuring customers in the large Scandinavian minority. Three blocks from the company’s office, at 164 Farnam Street, was the Flag Saloon, owned by a Dane called Rasmussen. Here Paul Eliasson found employment as bartender. Across the street, at 163 Farnam Street, was a store called Julius Meyer’s Indian Wigwam.²⁶

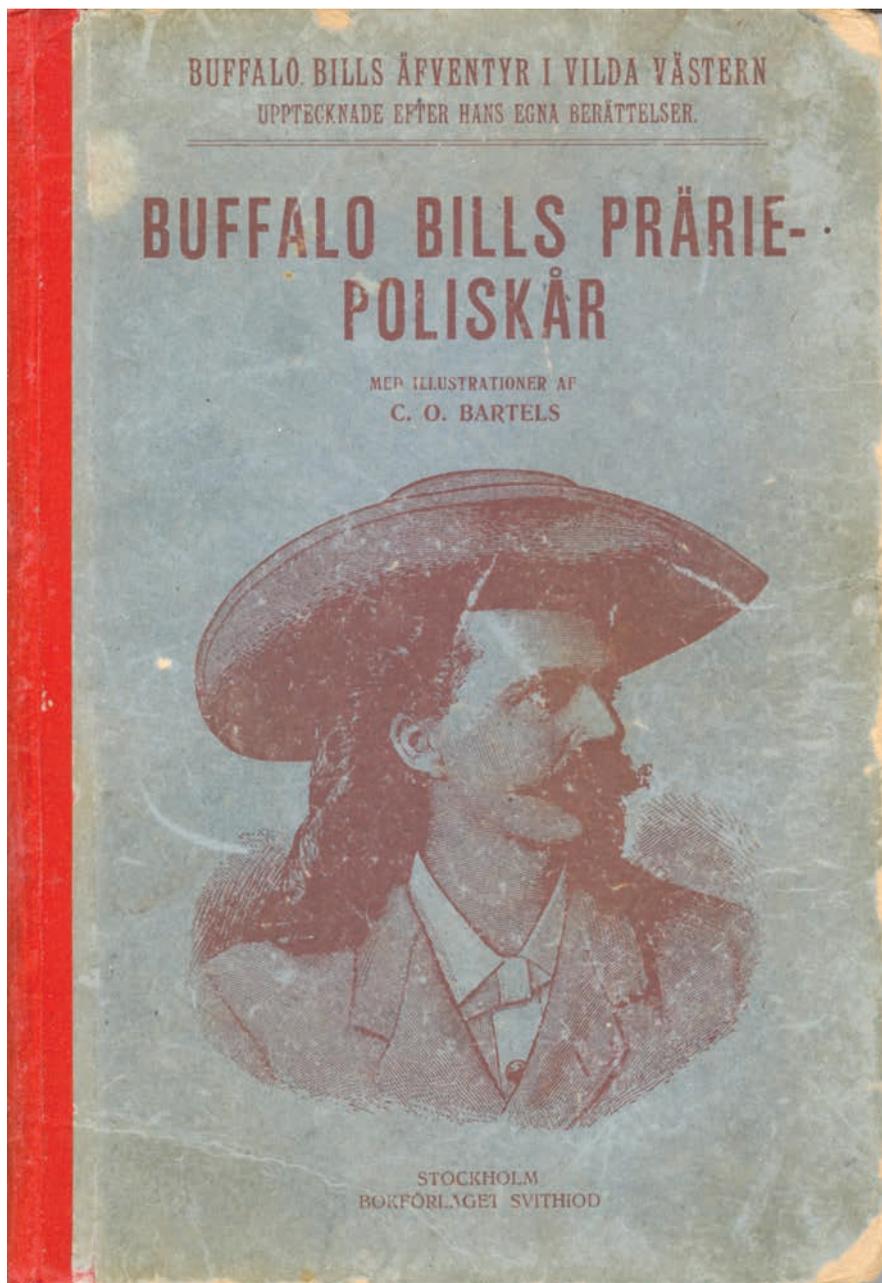
Julius Meyer was a young but prominent citizen. Among the Pawnees he was known for his honesty. He titled himself an Indian interpreter and sold crafts that he had traded from visiting Pawnees and others. His shop was the focal point for members of all tribes when visiting Omaha.²⁷ This was a



Paul Eliasson in the early 1870s. Cabinet card courtesy of Ingvar Olsson

good place for White Fox and his companions to earn some badly needed cash. And another opportunity presented itself: the *Omaha Bee* reports from a well attended masquerade in Turner Hall in February 1873: “The opening dance was performed by a troupe of seven genuine Pawnee Indians, introduced by Julius Meyer. They created a great deal of interest, and their performance was one of the best entertainments of the evening.”²⁸ This is surely the start of what a year later would become the Scandinavian Pawnee tour.

The earlier experience of two Pawnee scouts may hint at what the performances of White Fox and company were like. In 1870 two men known as The Duelist and The Best One of All were detailed to provide protection for Professor O. C. Marsh, the famous fossil hunter, on one of his first expeditions. Along for the trip were Frank North, George Bird Grinnell, and for a short while a guide named William F. Cody. Grinnell describes how the two Pawnees danced and sang for their own amusement and to entertain the party at night: “They were



A Swedish edition of one of the countless Buffalo Bill dime novels, published by Bokförlaget Svithiod in Stockholm, 1907.

jolly fellows, both of them, and they would sing and dance for us frequently. There were not enough to have a war dance, but La-hoor-a-sac [The Best One of All] gave us the buffalo dance one night while Tucky-tee-lous [The Duelist] sang.”²⁹

William F. Cody, aka “Buffalo Bill,” is known partly from his not entirely truthful 1879 autobiography which has been reprinted in many versions and translations, and partly from hack writers such as Ned Buntline, who wrote dozens of tall tales about his life, which were translated into many languages, including Swedish. What is true or not has been discussed since the 1870s. But above all Cody

is known for his Wild West show. To the people of the eastern United States, the sparsely settled western frontier was as far removed and exotic as it was to northern Europeans.

Cody began his career as a showman in Chicago in 1872. For ten years he toured the U.S. with a few other well-known characters such as Texas Jack Omohundro and Wild Bill Hickok, giving stage interpretations of life on the frontier.³⁰ In 1878 Cody hired his first group of Pawnees. Under the headline “The Indian Actors,” the *Washington Post* reported: “The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, having found that the Pawnees with the Buffalo Bill combination are off their reservation without permission, issued an order that they should return immediately. When this fact became known to the Indians they executed a terrific war dance, held an excited pow-pow, and finally concluded not to go.” Buffalo Bill stepped in and managed to get permissions for the actors to stay on the show. “The dusky chiefs of the forest sang ‘O-be-joyful!’ and will indulge in deeds of daring and blood-curdling horror upon the stage, instead of living on Government rations at their agency.”³¹

With the 1883 opening of Cody’s outdoor show, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, he incorporated dozens of Native American actors as well as American scouts and cowboys. At first all of the Indian performers were Pawnees, and many were former Pawnee Scouts, but later mainly Sioux were recruited.³² Louis S. Warren says in his *Buffalo Bill’s America* that the show “could not have functioned had it not become the destination for dozens of Pawnee Indians and subsequently for hundreds of Lakota Sioux.”³³ Although Native Americans had participated in expositions and other events in which aspects of their cultures had been displayed, Buffalo Bill’s show provided a much wider audience. The show toured the U.S. for decades and visited Europe on several occasions.

The Tour

The three Pawnees who traveled to Europe in 1874 were pioneers of a sort. They were the first Pawnee Americans to display aspects of their traditional culture to audiences in Europe. As scouts they had staged war dances for various visitors. With the advent of traveling Wild West shows other Pawnees would continue this practice. There was no dishonor in working as a “show Indian.” Many famous men, such as Kicking Bear, Short Bull, American Horse, and Black Elk, worked as show Indians for one or more seasons. Sitting Bull accompanied Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in 1885.³⁴ The three Pawnees and

the two Swedes had a business relationship based on mutual dependency and respect.³⁵

Show life was not easy. Some days shows were given at two different places, as at the beginning of the tour in Manchester, and other days two shows were given at the same place. In Kristiania, Norway, for instance, the first show was from noon till 2 o'clock and the second was from 4 until as late as 10 at night. As the tour progressed working hours were 6-11, 5-9 or 6-10 p.m. most days.

White Fox and his companions arrived in England by May 1874. English newspapers provide the first trace of the group in Europe. In Manchester a series of advertisements for their performances appeared in the *Manchester Evening News* and the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* between May 20 and May 30. The three Pawnees performed traditional songs and dances and also showed their skill with bow and arrow. They seem to have been busy right from the start because they performed in the Royal Pomona Palace and Gardens in the afternoon and in "The Oxford" in Oxford Street at night.

The advertisements appeared nearly every day and the content varied only slightly. The following appeared in the *Manchester Courier*, May 25, 1874:

ROYAL POMONA PALACE AND GARDENS . . .
On Wednesday and remainder of the week,
THE PAWNEE INDIANS, White Eagle, Red Fox,
and White Fox will appear, from Nebraska,
Western America, and at each levee will
illustrate their WAR DANCE and other Customs.
(These are the first Red Men who have ever
crossed the Atlantic.) . . .³⁶

A feature article in the *Manchester Courier* describes the Pomona Gardens as beautiful gardens and "pleasure grounds" with nice walks and meadows, a dancing palace, and an exhibition hall. An International Horse Show was held there a week before the Pawnee performances. In addition to the house band, the Palace Band, that week the Hulme Reed Band also played, providing "plenty of scope for Terpsichorean enjoyment." The article announced that the three Pawnees would perform four days that week. The reporter had obviously not seen the Pawnees on stage because he simply reused the information from the original advertisements without adding any new detail. Although this editor did not repeat the mistake that the Pawnees were the first "Red Men to cross the sea," he nevertheless stressed that they "will give an entertainment that is quite novel on this side of the Atlantic."³⁷



Young Chief, one of Buffalo Bill's Pawnee actors, striking a dramatic pose, circa 1890. Courtesy of Stockholms Etnografiska Museum, 0719.031a

Starting with White Fox and his compatriots, press portrayals of show Indians constantly referred to their presumed savagery, and discussed whether or not they were genuine Indians. Advertisements lured audiences by emphasizing wildness and authenticity. One ad said that Christopher Columbus Andrews, the American minister resident in Stockholm, had issued a certificate of authenticity for the Pawnees.³⁸ In light of this it may be helpful to consider an affair described in the *Kalmar* in September 1886. The article, signed by a certain "H:d." reads:

Three savages, who have been said to be genuine Indians, have been shown during the celebrations in Halmstad by a Hannoverian with his 'lady'. These shows have, however, given the police reason to interfere on a couple of occasions. The first times the savages were shown they were fed live rabbits. This atrocity the police thought it best to forbid. Later it has turned out, that the three 'Indians' consist of a Swedish and an English sailor, and also a Negro, the latter having served on a ship as well.³⁹



These three fakes apparently corresponded more with public expectations than did the group of Bella Coolas who were shown in Hamburg in 1885-86. Because they didn't dress like the peoples of the plains, German spectators thought they were false and their performances were failures.⁴⁰

To establish authenticity, the press paid careful attention to the Pawnees' appearance, both their physical appearance and their native forms of dress. White Fox's buckskin war shirt had plenty of quill and beadwork as well as many painted pictures and symbols, notably calumets and horse tracks, plus two stylized quillwork bear paw decorations, one on a strip at the front and the other on the corresponding strip at the back.

Reporters also noted the prominence of the fringes made from scalp locks. After a successful battle it was common for the victors to split any taken scalps into smaller pieces to decorate their clothing. Substitutes made of horse hair were sometimes used as well.⁴¹ The upper part of the shirt was painted blue, representing the sky, and the lower

part was yellow, representing rock. Almost every embellishment had symbolic meaning and carried stories of the exploits of the shirt's owner. White Fox must have been an outstanding warrior. According to Pawnee custom he would have had to obtain all the raw materials himself (including the scalp locks), whereupon he would have gone to a specialist to have the shirt made. This usually took ten to twelve days, and the artisan's wife normally did the bead and quillwork. All this was costly.⁴² Moreover, not everyone was allowed to wear such a shirt. Among the Pawnees, Sioux, Cheyenne, and others, "shirt wearers" were among the most important men in society. The requirements of courage and moral righteousness meant that few such shirts were made.⁴³

White Fox also wore large clusters of ball-and-cone earrings in both ears and had a large necklace made from brownish bugle beads. His buckskin leggings, which do not seem to be typically Pawnee in style, are decorated with seed beads in floral patterns, as are his moccasins.



White Fox's shirt, leggings, moccasins, and necklace. Photos courtesy of Världskulturmuseerna.

On the other hand, floral decorative patterns were becoming popular across the western plains in the mid-1870s.⁴⁴ White Fox may have worn a European-style shirt beneath the war shirt. In both the preserved pictures a white collar seems to be showing at his neck.

The group photograph also shows Red Fox and White Eagle dressed in their finery. These were surely the same clothes they wore when performing. Red Fox sports a comparatively simple fringed buckskin shirt and leggings with large side flaps. Like White Fox he wears clusters of ball-and-cone earrings. He has a long necklace, made from fairly large round beads, with a large pendant. His moccasins (and White Eagle's) seem to be of Pawnee manufacture. He carries a long-stemmed calumet and a fur-clad pipe bag.

White Eagle's shirt is more elaborately decorated and of a darker hue than those of his companions (and his fringed leggings seem to be darker still). The somewhat blurred image makes the details hard to discern, but he may be carrying a fringed

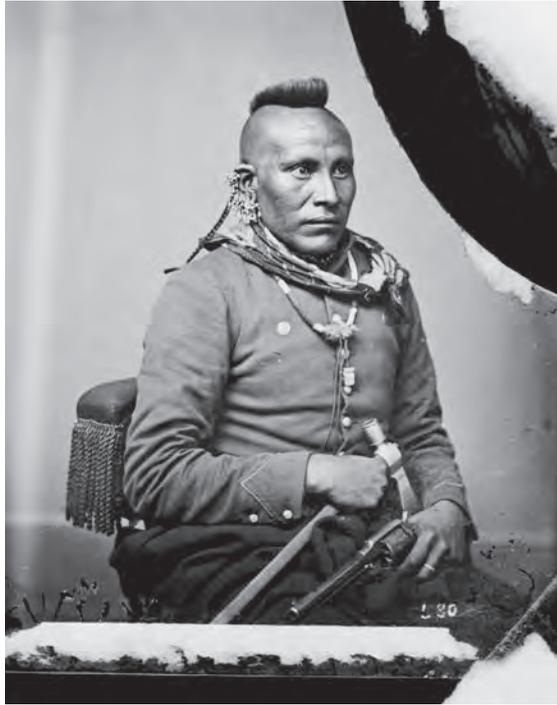
pipe bag and a fringed quiver. His bow and arrow goes well with the descriptions naming him as the most skilled archer of the three.

A distinctive Pawnee haircut was to wear the hair in a roach starting at the forehead and going back across the head to the nape of the neck where the scalp lock was allowed to grow long and hang down the back. The sides of the head were shaved.⁴⁵ In contrast, all three men in the pictures wore their hair full but not really long. This may suggest that the old hairstyle was starting to be replaced with the very long hair sported by their nomadic neighbors, as shown by other photographs of Pawnee men from the second half of the nineteenth century, but there was great scope for personal variation. White Fox and Red Fox are wearing a single eagle feather each.

Copenhagen, Denmark

Denmark was the next stop. Only a few papers advertised popular entertainment events, mostly at the Tivoli Gardens. This amusement park

White Horse, Pawnee Scout, circa 1870. Photo by William H. Jackson, courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution



overshadowed its competitors and was already internationally famous. Even today a trip there is almost obligatory when visiting Copenhagen. The Pawnees, however, provided some competition. The *Kjøbenhavns Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger* (“Adresseavisen”) of June 16, 1874, contained the following advertisement:

Sommerlyst’s Exhibition Hall. From Sunday June 14th, 5 PM, 3 Pawnee-Indians from the State of Nebraska, West-Northamerica, are shown, the Indian Chief White Fox, 22 years, White Eagle, 23 years, Red Fox, 27 years, newly arrived from England, where they for a time have been seen in the larger cities and everywhere have given cause for general amazement. They are the first to have crossed the Ocean.⁴⁶

An article in the Swedish daily newspaper *Kalmar* titled “Letter from Copenhagen,” dated June 18, 1874, described condescendingly how the three Pawnees (here called Red Wolf, White Wolf, and White Eagle) performed at Sommerlyst. After complaining about the awfulness of the Pawnee songs, the writer says, “When you hear their songs and see their war dances, you by necessity have to withdraw out of scalping reach, especially since one of the ‘wolves’ in his girdle carries several remnants of Sioux Indian scalps, the most implacable enemies of the Pawnees.”⁴⁷

Malmö, Sweden

Under the headline “Strangers from Far Away,” the same newspaper reported on August 14 that the Pawnees were performing at Davidshall, across the strait in Malmö, Sweden. Davidshall was a popular tavern among common people, and had a less-than-spotless reputation. The Pawnees were reportedly “under the egis of two Swedish Americans on a tour of Europe.” The article mentioned White Fox (Ke-wuck-oo-tah-kah), supposedly the son of a chief, and “Grey” Eagle (Atta-kah-stah-kah), and said they carried papers showing that in 1868 they had served in a division of the United States Army as voluntary “spies” (scouts) against the Sioux. White Fox was described as twenty-eight years old, powerfully built, and “a good-looking example of his people.” White Eagle was taller and even more powerfully built. All three men understood English and White Fox spoke it fairly fluently. The unnamed Red Fox was ill (“he is said to be suffering from fistula”) and did not participate in the performance. He was present on stage, however, “with true Indian stoicism enduring his pain.”

The reporter was impressed with White Eagle’s marksmanship: “with a certain amount of nonchalance he handles his bow and shoots the sharp arrow into the bulls-eye of the small target that has been put up in the meeting room, often with such force that the iron pierces the board.” Although White Fox and White Eagle appeared cheerful and lively, the reporter also remarked that the independent-minded Pawnees would not put up with any bullying from their managers, who had to be prudent in their contact with them. The article also announced that the group would leave for Norway on Saturday, August 15, to perform at Klingenberg in Kristiania (Oslo).⁴⁸

Kristiania (present-day Oslo), Norway

Klingenberg aspired to be Kristiania’s answer to the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen. This centrally located fairground had several stages, taverns, and ballrooms, some decorated with colored lights. It was popular both with well-off and common people, though “respectable” citizens complained that the city’s prostitutes were found there at night.

The major Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* printed several advertisements between August 15 and September 12 for the shows of White Fox, Red Fox, and White Eagle. First they performed in the Klingenberg Main Hall; later they moved

The Sahlgrenska hospital in Gothenburg at the time of White Fox's death.



Det nu varande
Allmänna och Sahlgrenska Sjukhuset.

to the larger Klingenberg Riding Arena. After a gap, the advertising resumed on October 31 and ceased for good on November 7 with the announcement of a “Big Farewell Show” the following day. A few of the earliest advertisements print the names of the trio both in Pawnee and English, although the names for White Fox and White Eagle were mixed up: “Lat-wee-Lat-His (white Fox), Son of the Chief of the Tribe, 28 years old, Kee-wuck-OO-Kah-lah (white Eagle), 31 years, Kee-wuck-OO-Pah (red Fox), 37 years.”⁴⁹

The only editorial material from the performances in Kristiania is a piece in *Aftenposten* of August 26, 1874. This is an almost verbatim translation of the article mentioned above describing a performance in Malmö.

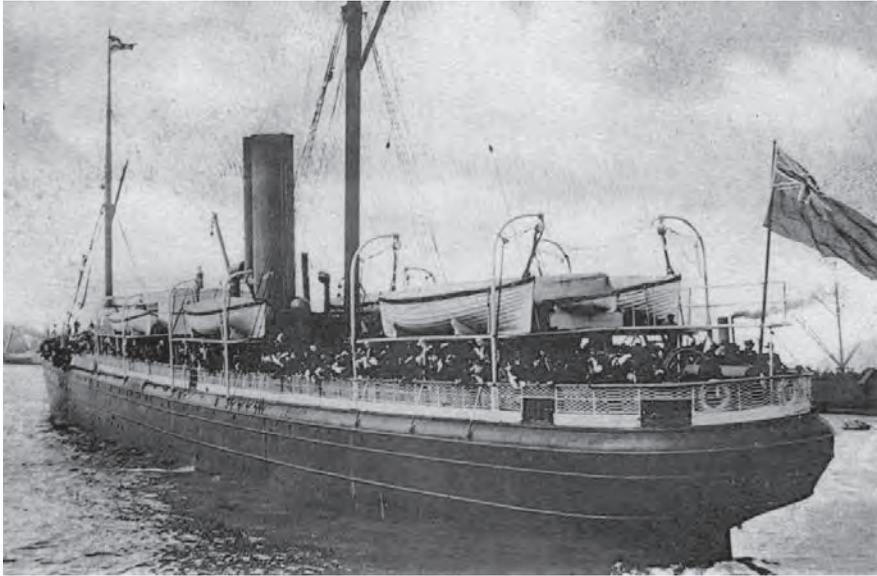
The group seems to have drawn a large audience in Kristiania because they moved to a larger venue shortly after arrival and stayed in the city longer than in any other place during the tour. Their popularity is also shown by a number of “Great Indian Balls” held that summer. These were public dances with an American Indian theme.

At some of these occasions “the 3 Indians from Nebraska” were present to add extra flavor. One can only surmise what such an event looked like.

The very last advertisement in the *Aftenposten* announced a “Great Farewell Performance . . . at which the Indian, who for a long time has been lying ill, will be present.”⁵⁰ Was that Red Fox suffering from his “fistula,” or had a more tragic process started?

Örebro, Sweden

The company next turns up in Örebro, Sweden. From November 17 to 22 they performed at Björkegren’s hotel. A journalist from the *Nerikes Allehanda* wrote on November 20 that the Pawnees had come “from the primeval forests of America” to perform before curious Europeans. “They are dressed in the festive dress of their tribe and look quite handsome with their bead adorned clothing, their head feathers and their girdles embellished with scalps.” The article mentioned only White Fox by name and, unusually, only in the Pawnee form: “Kee-wuch-oo-kah-tah.”⁵¹



The emigrant steamer *Rollo* departing Gothenburg; early twentieth century postcard.

Stockholm, Sweden

On November 27 the company arrived in the Swedish capital of Stockholm, where they performed first in the lower salon of Mosebacke, and later in Hotell Hamburg in Old Town. A *Dagens Nyheter* reporter thought they were

well worth watching closely as representatives of a people that attract more than usual interest, not least because they within a not too distant future, probably will be gone from the earth. The Indians are, as is well known, in this remark meeting the same fate as our Lapps: to be pushed away by civilization. As far as we know Indians have never before visited Sweden, and are thus a real rarity that a couple of in America living countrymen of ours has given the interested public an opportunity to see. The most handsome of the three men carries the proud name *White Eagle*.⁵²

The group stayed in the city for a month, but in spite of this enthusiastic review they do not seem to have met with the same success in Stockholm as in Kristiania—on the contrary they soon had to move to a smaller venue.

Norrköping, Sweden

The Pawnees gave only two shows in Hotell Svea in Norrköping on December 29 and 30. The advertisements emphasized that the visit would be short. A review in the *Norrköpings Tidningar* of December 31 stated that the Pawnees “were in truth worth to behold and that there can be no doubt that they were the real kind.”⁵³ Following

this short visit, the company proceeded to the nearby city of Linköping.

Linköping, Sweden

Two articles in the *Östgöta Correspondenten*, dated January 2 and 5, 1875, described one of the performances in Arbetareföreningen’s [The Worker’s Union’s] premises. The first article sensationalized the fact that these really were “true” Indians who did not hesitate to resort to violence:

Rather special, but in no way pleasant, was their song and dance, and in archery the chief showed much skill. That they are genuine Indians is beyond doubt and was further confirmed by an incident that could have made the whole show end in disaster. Only two of the Indians performed since the third was ill, and they got tired of the whole spectacle and wanted to leave. When this was denied them they attacked their leader with arrows and knife and looked as if they wanted to kill him. However, he used a six-shooter to protect himself, and by threatening them with this he harnessed their wildness. He had to send for hand-cuffs and with the aid of the revolver he detained them and took them to their temporary home. That the terror of the audience was great need not be said.

A second article clarified the trouble:

Regarding the incident that is said to have taken place on New Year’s Day, after the Ö.C. correspondent had left the scene, which was reported by persons who said they had been present, it was highly exaggerated, since neither revolver nor hand-cuffs had been used, and the impresario had not been threatened with a knife, but bow and arrow had actually been used. The case was, as a matter of fact, that the Indians had come into disagreement with each other, resulting in that one of them wanted to leave and was further angered when he was hindered from doing so. The appearance ended, however, and a sleigh was sent for, but when no such was forthcoming, they had to walk home accompanied by the showman, the caretaker at the Worker’s Union and a police constable, the latter’s help called upon, as it is said, to hold a crowd of too intrusive onlookers at bay.⁵⁴

From this account it is clear that there were tensions in the group. This was hardly surprising as

they had been on the road together and wearing on each other for several months now. Furthermore, White Fox was in poor health at this time.

Gothenburg, Sweden

According to an advertisement in the *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* of January 7, 1875, the trio would perform daily from January 6 until further notice at Haglund's annex (formerly Blom's hotel) in Gothenburg (Göteborg).⁵⁵ Historian/newspaperman Claes Krantz described the hotel as it existed in 1875. It had "Tivoli-like entertainment" that included the equivalent of modern-day "freak-shows" such as "giant ladies and dwarfs . . . tightrope walkers and acrobats." It was a shady establishment where "nymphs of the street used the ballroom as hunting ground, and it was not uncommon that the drunken ballroom heroes had a go at each other in the small hours of the morning."⁵⁶

The revenue must have been small because the Pawnees felt compelled to perform even though one of them was ill. In Linköping, Red Fox and White Eagle actually tried to force White Fox to remain on stage in spite of his poor condition.

In the *Norra Hallands Tidning* "G.H.T." reported what happened next in Gothenburg:

On arrival from Linköping one of the strangers from far away turned out to be suffering from an illness, which caused him to be taken to the Sahlgrenska Hospital, where he perished. The deceased—called Kee-wuch-oo-ta-kaa or in Swedish 'Hvita räfven' [White Fox]—had been a chief of his tribe and is considered to be about 28 years of age. The two remaining men are said to demand that they be allowed to bury their deceased comrade according to the strange customs of their tribe, but any decision has not as yet been made about this or in what way he in due course will be buried. According to what is said, the medico-scientific authorities in Stockholm have inquired if they may acquire the body of the unusual stranger.⁵⁷

A brief note in the Sahlgrenska Hospital ascertains that White Fox had been afflicted by tuberculosis and died on January 10, 1875.⁵⁸

On March 6, 1875, the *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* published a list of gifts to the Gothenburg Museum that included White Fox's belongings. James Jamesson Dickson, one of the richest men in Sweden at the time and a well-known donor, had given "an attire, consisting of a



Gustaf von Düben.
Courtesy of the
Hagströmer Library

shirt and leggings made from buckskin with pearl stitchery, attached tufts of hair, etc., worn by the in Gothenburg deceased Indian of the Pawnee tribe Kee-wuch-oo-ta-kaa or White Fox."⁵⁹ Dickson had a strong interest in ethnography, especially Asian, and he contributed some forty Asian objects to the 1878-79 General Ethnographical Exhibition ("Allmänna etnografiska utställningen") in Stockholm.⁶⁰

An entry in a handwritten list of the holdings of the Gothenburg Museum by museum curator Gustaf Brusewitz confirms that the clothing of White Fox: ". . . was bought by and then donated by the late mill owner James Jamesson Dickson; and with the gifts came two photographic cards . . ." Dickson in all likelihood bought the clothing for the sole purpose of having it preserved for posterity in a suitable museum. It is unclear who he bought it from. It may well have been from Red Fox and White Eagle as they were closest to White Fox and the Swedish authorities could lay no legal claim to the clothes. The two surviving Pawnees may have needed the money since the tour seems to have been an economic failure. Edward Dickson, treasurer at the Sahlgrenska hospital and cousin of James Dickson, may have served as an intermediary in the transaction.⁶¹



The Professor's Board at the Karolinska Institute around 1870. Standing from the left: Sten Stenberg, Gustaf von Düben. Sitting: Hjalmar August Abelin, Carl-Gustav Santesson, Per-Henrik Malmsten. Courtesy of the Hagströmer Library, Stockholm

After White Fox's death, Red Fox and White Eagle made a few more appearances. The last of these was on January 21. Because there were only two of them left, the entrance fee was lowered by half. Then they prepared to return to America. On January 24, Red Fox and White Eagle embarked on the emigrant steamer *Rollo* bound for Hull, England. The note in the passenger list reads "Destination Nebraska." From Hull they traveled to Liverpool where they embarked on the ship *Italy*, which in three weeks' time took them to New York.⁶²

The Disturbing Story of White Fox's Remains

After White Fox died in Gothenburg, Swedish authorities ignored the wish of his fellows to provide for a proper burial. At this time, Swedish law

made it possible for scientists to claim for research purposes the bodies of criminals or people with no known relations. Consequently, the corpse was sent by train to the Karolinska Institute (one of the pre-eminent medical universities in the world) in Stockholm for analysis by Professor of Anatomy Gustaf von Düben. Today, von Düben's handwritten notes are preserved in the Hagströmer Medico Historical Library.

With characteristic scientific detachment, von Düben described the exterior appearance of the body and states that it is utterly emaciated from intestinal tuberculosis. White Fox was at the time of his death a shadow of the vigorous young man described just a few months earlier. Two photographs of White Fox's body, preserved in the Hagströmer Library, show how gaunt he had become. The photographs also show a cut in the neck from the chin towards the collar bone, perhaps done in preparation for embalming.⁶³

Gustaf von Düben was interested in ethnography and is today remembered mostly for his work with the Saami people of Northern Sweden. His comprehensive book *Om Lappland och lapparne* (On Lapland and the Lapps), printed in 1873, is a classic work of ethnography. Von Düben did some research on the Pawnees, and his industrious notes from different sources are also preserved in the Hagströmer Library, as is a letter from the above-mentioned American Minister Resident C. C. Andrews, showing that von Düben had been making inquiries of him concerning the Pawnee people. Von Düben had access to *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-1857) by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft in the library, but from the documents one can see that he also took notes from Thomas L. McKenney's and James Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (1838-1844). First and foremost he refers to *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (1844) by George Catlin.⁶⁴

Physical anthropology was a fairly new and exciting field of research at this time. Unfortunately the work included practices that many people today consider unsavory, such as craniology, which involved measuring people's skulls and drawing conclusions from the results. Von Düben was part of this, and one of his close predecessors as Inspector (head) of the Karolinska Institute was Anders Retzius, a pioneer in the field.⁶⁵

Nineteenth-century scientists considered collecting skulls for scientific purposes a necessary

activity. Some resorted to grave robbery to collect specimens.⁶⁶ In the 1860s U.S. Army Surgeon B. E. Fryer removed the skulls of six recently murdered Pawnees and made them part of the Army Medical Museum collection. Modern-day Pawnees considered this grave desecration a serious offense and demanded the return of the skulls. The crania were repatriated in 2009 and given a decent burial by the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma.⁶⁷ Similar cases led Pawnee attorney Walter Echo-Hawk of the Native American Rights Fund to lead a crusade against the scientific appropriation of Native American human remains and cultural patrimony, which resulted in the adoption of the landmark Native American Graves and Repatriation legislation in 1990.⁶⁸

What happened to White Fox's remains went beyond even the common practices of the time. Von Düben had two plaster casts made of White Fox's torso and head, and had one of these covered with White Fox's own skin, with the earrings still in place.⁶⁹ Casts were also made of the hands and feet.⁷⁰ Two surviving reports from sessions of the Anthropological Society are relevant to the case. One pertains to an invitation from von Düben to the members of the Society "to view the corpse of the Indian 'White Fox,' recently deceased in Gothenburg, at the Karolinska Institute on Tuesday January 19th, 1-2 pm." The other, dated March 13, 1875, reported: "Mr von Düben showed cast and preparation of the Pawnee-Indian who last January was obtained for the Institute's collections, and described his bodily features, emphasizing the characteristics which generally are typical of the Indians of North America in these respects."⁷¹

The General Ethnographical Exhibition (Allmänna etnografiska utställningen) 1878-79 in Stockholm, arranged by Hjalmar Stolpe, showed large collections from all the continents of the world. White Fox's torso was prominently displayed in the North American section. An overview photograph of the South American section shows a part of the North American on the left hand, which includes the only known contemporary picture of the "bust." The head of White Fox has hair, probably his own. Stolpe's Special Catalogue of the exhibition contents states of item 80:1171: "The dress of the in 1875 in Gothenburg deceased *Pawnee* Indian *Keevuchotakaa*, or White Fox, consisting of coat, leggings, moccasins, and necklace of glass beads; (compare n:o 32:2 and 3, torso reproductions in plaster of the same Indian, one of which is covered with his own hide)."⁷² The macabre exhibit is said to have been shown in Gothenburg as well, before it was forgotten.⁷³



White Fox's headstone, North Indian Cemetery, Pawnee, Oklahoma. Photo by Rikard Arvidsson, 2012

Back in Indian Territory, meanwhile, Pawnees would have been shocked and outraged to hear what had happened to White Fox's remains. Acts of desecration were inflicted only on hated enemies; White Fox had done nothing to warrant such treatment. A proper Pawnee burial was of course, as everywhere else, a matter of utmost respect. The deceased was dressed in his finest clothes and with the appropriate rituals was buried with the head towards the east.⁷⁴

The Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum was re-inaugurated on June 19, 1994, and the first large exhibition was *Indianer—trådar till Amerikas forntid* (Indians—Threads to America's Prehistory).⁷⁵ White Fox's war shirt, leggings, moccasins, and necklace were shown and the director of the exhibition, Katarina Moro, contacted the Karolinska Institute trying to trace other remains. Because a fire had destroyed half of the Institute's anatomical collections in 1892, museum officials at first thought that the remains of White Fox had been incinerated as well. As it turned out, the skin-covered bust was standing in a depot beneath the Anatomical Department, reportedly making everybody who had to pass it uneasy. The significance of the object had been forgotten until then.⁷⁶ When Katarina Moro, hosted by Professor Gunnar Grant, visited the

Meeting in the Old House, March 19, 2010. From the left: Lars Helin, Gunnar Grant, Geoffrey Metz, Olof Ljungström, Jan Storå, Eva-Maria Olsson-Barton and Lewis Nisbet-Ballantine.

Photo by Lars Helin



Karolinska Institute a photographer who was present took a sneak picture of the “bust.” This picture, looking like a still from a horror movie, appeared in the *Dagens Nyheter*, a national newspaper, and the nationwide tabloid *Expressen*.⁷⁷

The Karolinska Institute notified the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm which, in turn, contacted Roger Echo-Hawk as spokesman for the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma. The Pawnees demanded that the remains of White Fox be returned to his people; authorities in Sweden immediately granted their approval.⁷⁸ It took a year and a half to implement the decision because of the usual bureaucratic red tape. Included in the paperwork was a certificate (requested by American authorities) from microbiologists of the Karolinska Institute stating that the skin was not contagious. When all this was finished Gunnar Grant knocked the plaster cast to pieces and removed the hide. A worthy wooden container the size of a briefcase was procured by Professor Sten Grillner. The skin was then carefully wrapped in red velvet, placed in the box, and handed over to representatives of the Pawnee Nation in 1996 in a traditional pipe ceremony.⁷⁹

At long last back in America, White Fox’s remains were laid to rest with military honors in the Repatriation Section of the North Indian Cemetery, Pawnee, Oklahoma. Two Skidi singers, Tom Knife

Chief and Steve Knife Chief, in the words of Roger Echo-Hawk “honored him with a song that is sung every year during the Pawnee Memorial Day Dance: the Pawnee Scout Honor Song. If you ever hear this song at this dance, it is slow and somber and beautifully moving in a mysterious way. Everyone listens quietly.”⁸⁰

A white marble headstone of the kind used in veterans’ cemeteries was placed on the grave. The text on the stone reads “Ke Wuck Oo Tah Kah, White Fox, Pawnee Scouts, Indian Wars, 1846-1875.”

This is not the end of the story, however. In 2007 and again in 2009 Pawnee representatives demanded a search for further remains of White Fox’s body. Supported by the Swedish government, Gunnar Grant, Lars Helin, and Olof Ljungström of the Karolinska Institute, and Jan Storå of the Department of Archaeology at Stockholm University, as well as Geoffrey Metz of the Department of Egyptology at Uppsala University made a thorough investigation.⁸¹ In March 2010, they met with Eva-Maria Barton-Olsson and Lewis Nisbet-Ballantine, who were acting as spokespeople for the Pawnee Nation. The group met in the Gammelgården (“The Old House”) at the Karolinska Institute and concluded that everything humanly possible had been made to find any further traces of the body of White Fox. The missing skeletal remains must

have been buried somewhere in the Stockholm area in the late nineteenth century, probably in an unmarked grave.⁸² In the open space between the two time-honored red-painted eighteenth century wooden houses, the participants smoked a traditional long-shafted chanupa to seal the unity in the matter. A few passers-by raised their eyebrows in wonder at the sight.⁸³ In 2010 Jan Storå presented the final results, and with this White Fox was finally laid to rest.

Returning Home

After the end of the Pawnee tour in 1875 Paul Eliasson returned broke and ashamed but Johanna took her “runaway” husband back. They remarried and had two more children. In due course Paul became a prosperous furniture maker; this was the basis for a furniture industry that lasted almost a hundred years in the Hågnarp area. Paul died in 1897 and Johanna in 1912.

All the couple’s children except one daughter left for the U.S., where they anglicized their name to Ellickson. A couple of their descendants settled in Omaha, Nebraska. The remaining daughter, Nilla Paulsson, kept the story of Paul’s exploits alive, although somewhat reluctantly.⁸⁴

At the end of the Pawnee tour Robert and Salvine Kassman took up residence in Stockholm. Robert kept on starting businesses and seems to have been in full swing in 1875 dealing in wine, tobacco, preserves, anchovies, and other imported merchandise. In July 1878 the firm “Robert Kassman & Co.” declared bankruptcy, but by 1882 Kassman was back in the same line of business. He kept it going the rest of his life at several different locations.⁸⁵

Kassman died of intestinal tuberculosis on November 3, 1910, the same disease that killed White Fox thirty-five years earlier.⁸⁶ Tuberculosis was at that time the most common cause of death besides old age, but this type of TB was not the most common. Professor emeritus Gunnar Grant at the Karolinska Institute says that it is possible that the disease can rest latent for a long time and flourish when the body is for some reason weakened.⁸⁷ It is possible that White Fox and Robert Kassman died from the same infection.

The Kassmans had no children and only some of Robert’s many cousins were present at the estate inventory. Robert Kassman died indebted.⁸⁸

Reconstructing the stories of Red Fox and White Eagle is not easy, because the Pawnees at the time occasionally changed their names (sometimes more than once) in the course of

their lives, usually in connection with some important event.⁸⁹ The probability that the two men described in the following paragraphs are identical with the travelers to Scandinavia is, however, heightened by the fact that they turned out to be brothers; others who have dealt with this problem have made the same identification.⁹⁰

Red Fox and White Eagle returned to the United States in 1875. By November of that same year almost all Pawnees had moved to Indian Territory. Sadly, the Pawnees arrived in a terrible condition. Almost everybody suffered from illnesses such as influenza and fevers. Deaths occurred daily. The Pawnees were left to the honest but entirely misdirected good will of the Indian agent and his assistants. The Pawnee people were forced to live in government-issued canvas tents while they waited for wooden cottages to be built. They were not allowed to hunt. When their old enemies started stealing the few horses that were left the agent would not permit the warriors to pursue the perpetrators to recover what was lost. Such behavior was not in line with the pacifist ideology of the Quakers. Idleness, starvation, and despair were the order of the day. Then something happened that made the Pawnees regain their self-respect for a while.⁹¹

The Sioux were the worst enemies and tormentors of the Pawnees. But there is another side to it. The Sioux and their allies forcefully defended their own rights against American encroachment. It had been fairly easy for the American government to control the Pawnees and oust them from their land—after all they were allies. One might think that the Pawnees should have been better rewarded for this.

The resistance of the Sioux and Cheyenne culminated in the Battles of the Rosebud and Little Bighorn in June 1876, both of which were serious setbacks for the U.S. Army.⁹² The army realized that it needed help to hasten the inevitable victory. Orders were issued to mobilize the Pawnee Scouts, and Frank North was chosen to recruit one hundred men. But when he and his brother Luther arrived in Indian Territory they were shocked by the Pawnees’ deplorable state. Many more than one hundred men vied for a place in the company. Several had chills and fevers. When North tried to send the worst cases away many refused to go, and when the troop left to board the train they were followed by a crowd of desperate men hoping that some of the recruits would die and leave vacancies to be filled.⁹³ Among those who got a place was Red Fox.



Advertisement for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West featuring White Eagle, 1885.



William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody with some of his performers around 1890. The Pawnees are standing to Cody's right and the Sioux to his left. Left to right: Knife Chief, Eagle Chief, Brave Chief, Young Chief, Cody, American Horse, Rocky Bear, Flies Above, and Long Wolf. Courtesy Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden, Colorado

The Pawnee Scouts played an important part in the tracking down and defeat of the Cheyenne Chief Dull Knife's village in 1876. This turned out to be the scouts' last mission; the company was disbanded and now nothing remained but trying to come to grips with the new life in Indian Territory.⁹⁴

Hunger was ever-present on the new reservation and the Pawnees were prevented from farming in their traditional communal way. Although their annuity belonged to them by law, in every individual case the Pawnees had to have a written permit, which the trader could cash, before they could buy anything. Using the money to buy hunting weapons (there still was some small game left on the reservation) was out of the question. When the food allowance was distributed the quality was often bad: moldy bacon, small flour rations, and so on. The people had to sell their clothing and blankets for cash. Starvation and disease continued to reduce their population, from 820 in 1893 to fewer than 700 by the turn of the century.⁹⁵

To survive many Pawnees tried to get some kind of wage labor, such as by leaving the reservation for a time to perform in shows. Options were limited on the reservation but Red Fox managed to get a job as teamster. At this time the schoolteacher, Helen P. Clarke, started to give people European names and Red Fox was hereafter known as John Box (his pronunciation of "Fox" is said to have been so bad that it was misheard as "Box").⁹⁶

White Eagle has left fewer traces even though he was one of the leading chiefs at the turn of the last century. A few newspapers include advertisements for performances by Buffalo Bill's Wild West in the Athletic Park in Washington, D.C., on June 22 to 24, 1885. Besides Buffalo Bill the main attraction was Sitting Bull, followed closely by "White Eagle and Fifty-two Pawnee and Wichita Braves."⁹⁷ There is a sad notice in the *Hickman (Kentucky) Courier* concerning the same man, identified as the chief and interpreter that was with Buffalo Bill. He was fined \$20 after having been found drunk

and disheveled in a gutter in Louisville with an empty whisky bottle by his side.⁹⁸

Possibly this was the same White Eagle who accompanied White Fox in 1874-75, and who at that time understood spoken English, and who thus might have served as a valuable intermediary for Buffalo Bill. But this connection is speculative.

Later, a picture of White Eagle as a respected traditionalist emerges. Many folktales were recorded thanks to him, several being published by George A. Dorsey in *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). These tales are important for our understanding of Pawnee beliefs of old.⁹⁹ White Eagle died in 1923 and John Box passed away in 1925, both as respected leaders.

Conclusion

I have tried to show that White Fox and his Pawnee companions were part of diverse processes. (Likewise, Paul Eliasson and Robert Kassman were also a part of a larger context as examples of the varied fates of immigrants.) As Pawnee Scouts they were actively involved in the Indian Wars; of less political consequence but still important was their role as paid entertainers. They were Native American pioneers in Europe in this respect. Shows of varying size toured the United States and Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; of these we can discern two branches: shows like Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Circus Leonard, and Circus Madigan, which emphasized spectacular events in the arena, and the so-called "people caravans" or "live exhibits" that toured Europe and North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The stated intent of these live exhibits was educational, to give an authentic, ethnographic view of foreign cultures.¹⁰⁰

These two branches intertwined and often there isn't meaningful distinction between them. Watching the exhibitions was a way for onlookers to define themselves in comparison to the people on view. Usually this meant that the public thought of themselves as civilized and the objects of their interest as more or less primitive, i.e., belonging to an earlier stage in human evolution. The public demanded authenticity and demonstrated genuine interest in other cultures. Ultimately, both the shows and the exhibitions needed to sell tickets. To do this the advertisements stressed spectacular things like exotic dress, wildness, and so on, but first and foremost emphasized genuineness.¹⁰¹

Finally there is the tragic story of the body of White Fox. What Gustaf von Düben did is unfathomable. Even if we try to avoid imposing

present-day values, it is impossible to look at the matter without disgust. However, by now everything has been done to redress these wrongs and give White Fox his proper place in history. 🍷

NOTES

This paper could not have been written without the unselfish support of several people, but first and foremost Rikard Arvidsson, Mark van de Logt, Evi Gustavson-Kadaka and Tony Sandin.

¹ Beissel 1978, 11-12, 43-67; *Nerikes Allehanda*, Nov. 20, 1874: "they . . . don't have much likeness with the heroes of Cooper's romances"; *Kalmar*, Dec. 10 1885: ". . . a real pleasure to see the redskins, these the favorite children of 'the Great Spirit,' of whom one has so often and eagerly read in Cooper's tales." etc., etc.

² Halpin 1973, XII; Mulvey 1999, 253-75; Broberg 1981, 124.

³ Weltfish 1977 and in several other places. On the importance of horses and horse capture see for instance Blaine 1990, 49ff. and Dunlay 1987, 122.

⁴ *Handbook of American Indians* 1910, 216. In Hyde 1974 there is much information in Appendix E, 364-67, *Tables of Population*.

⁵ Dunlay 1987, 148f.

⁶ Blaine 1990, 200ff.

⁷ Mark van de Logt, email to author, 2012.

⁸ Van de Logt, 2010. Accounts are also given in several other works such as Bruce 1932, Danker 1998, Grinnell 1984, Dunlay 1987, North 1961, etc.

⁹ Blaine 1990, 84ff.

¹⁰ Vivid descriptions of the hunt can be found in Grinnell 1972, 61ff. and North 1961, 170ff.

¹¹ Hyde 1974, 312ff.; Riley 1998, 88-109; Williamson 1922. In the Swedish newspaper *Kalmar* a fairly detailed account of the massacre was published on May 21, 1890. It was taken from the Swedish American paper *Svenska Tribunen*. Also Rolf Johnson recounts the events in his diary Oct. 26, 1877, 56f.

¹² Blaine 1990, 214ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁴ Williamson 1922; Grinnell 1990, 396.

¹⁵ Roger Echo-Hawk identifies them as Skidi in his 2010 work, page 129, as well as in other places.

¹⁶ *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* Jan. 19, 21, 1875. Gustaf Bruswitz refers to copies of these photographs in his below-mentioned list of the collections in the Gothenburg Museum in 1892; Bruswitz 1891, n:o 1171:b.

¹⁷ This shirt can still be seen in the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum when it isn't on tour, which seems to be a lot of the time. It has been a part of the exhibition (*O)mänskligt* ([In]human) for a few years now. This exhibition is a form of redemption for some shadier parts of the history of science in which Swedish scholars participated. <http://www.levandehistoria.se/node/2932>

¹⁸ In *History of the Scandinavians* . . . 1893 figures are shown from the United States Census of 1890; here you can see the distribution of citizens born in the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) at the time. Nebraska is number five with 46,341 persons (1,058,910 total).

¹⁹ Rosa 2005, 14-25; Van de Logt 2010, 171-72.

²⁰ Kjell Torkelsson, telephone conversation with author, Dec. 4, 2012; Monica Fransson, telephone conversation with author, Dec. 19, 2012.

Trained as an archeologist and ethnologist, Dan Jibréus curates the rare book collection at the Hagströmer Medico-Historical Library at the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm, Sweden.

A book-length, Swedish-language version of this article, White Fox' Laanga Resa, was published by Hagströmer Library and Fri Tanke in 2013.

- ²¹ Ingvar Olsson, email to author, Mar. 8, 2007.
- ²² Ibid . . .
- ²³ *Nerikes Allehanda*, Nov. 20, 1874.
- ²⁴ Arboga stadsförsamling födelse- och dopböcker, Sveriges befolkning 1880, 1890, 1900, Stockholms mantalslängder 1800-1875, Konkursmål i Stockholms rådhusrätt, Emibas 2005.
- ²⁵ "Minnesota Marriages 1849-1950," Mason 1916, 245 (Anders Berg anglicized Andrew Burg).
- ²⁶ Rikard Arvidsson, emails to author, May 13, 15, 2013; U.S. Bureau of the Census.
- ²⁷ Koffman 2012, 168.
- ²⁸ *Omaha Daily Bee*, Feb. 27, 1873.
- ²⁹ Grinnell 1972, 35f.
- ³⁰ Moses 1996, 18.
- ³¹ *The Washington Post*, Sept. 24, 1878.
- ³² Moses 1996, 21ff.
- ³³ Warren 2006, XIV.
- ³⁴ Ibid., 254-55; Moses 1996, 23, 27ff. In *Blekingeposten*, Oct. 10, 1885, it is reported that a syndicate of "rich gentlemen" in St. Paul had hired Sitting Bull to "exhibit" him in the larger cities of the United States and Europe. According to the article he drew a hard bargain and was going to be paid handsomely. He already made quite a bit of money by selling signed photographs of himself and now his nephew One Bull was going to go with him on the tour to sell all sorts of Sioux handicrafts. Buffalo Bill is not mentioned.
- ³⁵ There are many examples of formal agreements about economic recompense between impresarios and performers; see for example Andreassen and Henningsen 2011, 120ff. and 131f.; Sell and Weybright 1972, 178; Jacobsen and Woldt 1887, XXXVI, 120ff. Jacobsen brought Bella Coolas on behalf of the German Zoo director, Carl Hagenbeck, to Hamburg in 1885-1886.
- ³⁶ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, May 25, 1874.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ In *Politiken*, Dec. 10, 1885 (quoted in Andersen 2009, 62) it is said that the American Minister Resident ("Gesandt") in Denmark had had to issue a Certificate of Authenticity for the Sioux performing at the time.
- ³⁹ *Kalma*, Sept. 29, 1886; *Faluposten*, Oct. 2, 1886.
- ⁴⁰ Andreassen and Henningsen 2011, 233.
- ⁴¹ Van de Logt 2010, 217.
- ⁴² *Weltfish* 1977, 375f.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 375; Horse Capture 2001, 44; Hyde 1967, 207.
- ⁴⁴ Ewers 1945, 41.
- ⁴⁵ *Weltfish* 1977, 407.
- ⁴⁶ *Kjøbenhavns Adressecomptoirs Efterretninger*, June 16, 1874.
- ⁴⁷ *Kalmar*, June 21, 1874.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., Aug. 14, 1874.
- ⁴⁹ Note that in the report from the performance in Malmö (later copied by *Aftenposten*; see below) the name "Atta-kah-stah-kah" is stated to be the Pawnee form of White Eagle. Thus, we now have four names for three individuals in what is supposed to be the Skidi dialect of the Pawnee language. That a fourth Pawnee had been part of the company is out of the question. So what does this mean? Roger Echo-Hawk, who is familiar with the dialect in question, states that three of the names, though distorted, are quite recognizable. The fourth, Lat-wee-Lat-His, appears to be meaningless. If there is an exact meaning of the word it remains a mystery. Roger Echo-Hawk, email to author Sept. 19, 2012.
- ⁵⁰ *Aftenposten*, Aug. 15-Sept. 12.; Oct. 31-Nov. 7, 1874.
- ⁵¹ *Nerikes Allehanda*, Nov. 720, 1874.
- ⁵² *Dagens Nyheter*, Nov. 27-Dec. 19, 1874.
- ⁵³ *Norrköpings Tidning*, Dec. 2831, 1874.
- ⁵⁴ Östgöta Correspondenten, Dec. 31, 1874-Jan. 5, 1875.
- ⁵⁵ *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, Jan. 7, 1875, etc. Haglund's annex would eventually become one of the fancier hotels in Gothenburg, renamed Grand Hôtel Haglund. It was demolished in 1972.
- ⁵⁶ Krantz 1954, 20, 26; Vårt Göteborg; http://www.vartgoteborg.se/prod/sk/vargotnu.nsf/1/gamla_goteborg.hotellplatsen?OpenDocument A quote is given but I have been unable to find the source: "The American Ambassador in Stockholm has issued a Certificate of Authenticity, and that they really are true Indians is confirmed by their appearance, it is said."
- ⁵⁷ *Norra Hallands Tidning*, Jan. 20, 1875.
- ⁵⁸ Archives from the Sahlgrenska Hospital.
- ⁵⁹ *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, Mar. 6, 1875.
- ⁶⁰ Stolpe 1878, 80-81.
- ⁶¹ Brusewitz 1891, n:o 1171:a; "Edward Dickson," Wikipedia; http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Dickson
- ⁶² "All Gothenburg, Sweden, Passenger Lists, 1869-1951," http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=GothenburgEmigrationrank=1new=1so=3MSAV=0msT=1pcat=IMG_BOOKSgss=ms_r_dbgsfn=whitemsey=1875gskw=rollodbOnly=_F00037251_F0003725_xuidh=000
- ⁶³ Tomas Jansson, personal communication to author, June 2012.
- ⁶⁴ Hagströmerbiblioteket MS 174 A.
- ⁶⁵ Retzius was a contemporary of another pioneer in craniology: Samuel G. Morton. The Hagströmer Library owns Retzius's copy of Morton's *Crania Americana* (1839) that includes a personal inscription to Retzius by Morton dated Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1845.
- ⁶⁶ Bieber 1989, 66, quotes a letter from a collector (addressed to S. G. Morton) where he complains that the Indians object when he wants to take the heads of their recently dead relatives. However, the collector ends the letter in a positive note—an epidemic is raging and they die so fast that there soon won't be any left to guard the graves . . .
- ⁶⁷ Van de Logt 2010, 115.
- ⁶⁸ Roger Echo-Hawk and Walter Echo-Hawk 1994, 38, 74.
- ⁶⁹ Stolpe 1878, 21, n:o 32:2-3.
- ⁷⁰ Hagströmerbiblioteket MS 174 A.
- ⁷¹ Antropologiska sällskapets förhandlingar, Sammankomst, Jan. 16, Mar. 13, 1875, in *Tidskrift för antropologi och kulturhistoria* 1873-1877, 10, 11, 15, 16.
- ⁷² Stolpe 1878, 53.
- ⁷³ Johansson 2002 referring to an exhibition catalogue from Gothenburg – this would be "Vägledning genom Vanadisutställningen i Valand 1887" (Guide through the Vanadisexhibition in Valand) by Hjalmar Stolpe.
- ⁷⁴ Echo-Hawk 1992, 77-99.
- ⁷⁵ Hultman 1994; Rudberg 1994.
- ⁷⁶ Grillner 1996; Johansson 2002; Gunnar Grant, personal communication to author, September 2011.
- ⁷⁷ Bojs 1994; Hägerlund 1994; Gunnar Grant to Sten Grillner 1994; Gunnar Grant, personal communication to author, April 2012.

- ⁷⁸ Echo-Hawk 2010, 130.
- ⁷⁹ Grillner 1996; Gunnar Grant, notes from telephone communication with Thomas Adlercreutz of Riksantikvarieämbetet July 4, 1994; Gunnar Grant, personal communication to author, September 2011.
- ⁸⁰ Echo-Hawk 2010, 130.
- ⁸¹ Ullberg 2009; Storå 2010, 4.
- ⁸² Gunnar Grant, personal communication to author, September 2011; Storå 2010, 5.
- ⁸³ Lars Helin and Olof Ljungström, personal communication to author, March 2012.
- ⁸⁴ Olsson 2007.
- ⁸⁵ Rotemansarkivet 1876-1925, Stockholms adresskalender 1885-1891, 1907.
- ⁸⁶ Serafimerlasarettets patientliggare kirurgiska kliniken 1910.
- ⁸⁷ Gunnar Grant, personal communication to author, October 2012.
- ⁸⁸ Södra Roslags domsaga, bouppteckningar 1910.
- ⁸⁹ Dorsey and Murie 1940, 92-93; Bruce 1932, 20; Blaine 1998, 9, 12.
- ⁹⁰ Echo-Hawk 2010, 129.
- ⁹¹ Van de Logt 2010, 186ff.; Dunlay 1987, 160ff.; Blaine 1990, 200ff.
- ⁹² The literature about the Great Sioux War is very extensive; about the Battle of Little Bighorn only, hundreds of books have been written.
- ⁹³ North 1961, 197-98.
- ⁹⁴ Van de Logt 2010, 207-17.
- ⁹⁵ Blaine 1998, 16-27, 49.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., 14, 24.
- ⁹⁷ *The National Republican*, June 20, 1885.
- ⁹⁸ *The Hickman Courier* (Hickman, KY), May 8, 1885.
- ⁹⁹ George Dorsey, 1906.
- ¹⁰⁰ Andreassen and Henningsen 2011, 209ff.
- ¹⁰¹ Interestingly posters for a vocal group performing in Boston and Chicago in 1888-1889 reads in part “. . . young Swedish girls, dressed in the picturesque costume of their native provinces . . . they bring before you the wildness and grandeur . . .” a.s.o. Nordiska Museets Arkiv, T. Andrée’s porträttsamling G. 1896.

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Rikard Arvidsson
Monika Fransson
Gunnar Grant
Sten Grillner
Lars Helin
Tomas Jansson
Gertie Johansson
Olof Ljungström
Geoffrey Metz
Ingvar Olsson
Tony Sandin
Kjell Torkelsson

Correspondence with:

Rikard Arvidsson
Roger Echo-Hawk
Mark van de Logt
Ingvar Olsson