

BANDWAGON



NOV. DEC. 1970

3 CIRCUSES IN 3 RINGS
2 MENAGERIES IN 2 TENTS
MUSEUM OF LIVING CURIOSITIES
HIPPODROME WITH 1/2 MILE TRACK
MAKING THE UNITED MONSTER SHOWS
NGER'S ROYAL BRITISH MENAGERIE & GRAND INTERNATIONAL ALLIED SHOWS
BARNUM, BAILEY & HUTCHINSON. — SOLE OWNERS. —

O'BRIEN'S GREAT SHOW ON EARTH, & THE GREAT LONDON CIRCUS COMBINED WITH

GIANT RHINOCEROS. WITH TWO INCHES THICK SKIN AND THE TERROR-INSPIRING BEAST CAGED BEHIND MASSIVE IRON BARS!

UNDISPUTED MASTERSHIP OF HIS SPECIES. NEVER

LAST TOUR IN AMERICA. VISIT EUROPE NEXT YEAR.

CIRCUS RHINOS

PART II

BY RICHARD J. REYNOLDS, III

In the first installment of this monograph (Nov.-Dec. 1968 issue), we talked about the five different species of rhinos and attempted to sketch the careers of those which came to America up until the 1860's.

After Dan Rice's trained Indian rhino "Put" drowned in the Mississippi River in 1861, no rhino was brought to this country for seven years, the interruption no doubt due to the Civil War of 1861-1865. Up until then the Great Indian "armored" rhino seems to have been the only species brought to our shores, and during ensuing years armored rhinos continued to be imported for circuses but at an ever decreasing rate. In the 1868-1880 period the first representatives of the African, Sumatran, and perhaps even the Javan species came to America.

Thanks to the letter writing propensity of Hyatt Frost, and to the good luck which has preserved his correspondence, we know that his Van Amburgh Circus received a rhino in Boston on July 4, 1868. This was the first rhino imported after the Civil War. When his circus played Newburyport, Massachusetts, four days after the rhino's arrival, the ads proclaimed that there had just been added to the menagerie, "a living black rhinoceros . . . the first imported for twenty years, and the only one in America." An accompanying drawing or cut depicts a one-horned, Asiatic, armored

rhino. Two years later, in October 1870, this animal came to Fostoria, Ohio with the Van Amburgh show. The same rhino drawing was used for the ads and the description claimed that he was a "black" rhinoceros from Africa with a "single horn" and Voluminous folds of skin." The Fostoria ad was duplicated on page 7 of the first installment. I feel sure this was an Indian and not the true African, two-horned rhino. This is borne out by the fact that in 1872 Mr. Frost wrote another letter describing the first two-horned rhino brought over.

From 1868 to 1870 and again in 1874 the pioneer North Salem, New York showman, George F. Bailey, one of the last of the "Flatfoots" claimed a rhino as a feature of his menagerie. In the meantime, John V. "Pogey" O'Brien got into the rhino business. Despite a reputation for dishonesty in his circus activities, available evidence indicates O'Brien had two rhinos between 1870 and 1878. One started trouping in 1870 and another was acquired in 1871. The latter was definitely an Indian rhino. As pointed out in the previous article the first one may have been an African black rhino although, for the reasons stated therein, I am reluctant to accept as correct the ads and accounts¹ describing O'Brien's 1870 animal as being from Africa. The word "black" was indiscriminately used by 19th century show-

No. 1 Barnum, Bailey, and Hutchinson used this lithograph around 1882. The artist's rendition suggests the rhino was a Great Indian. Pfening Collection.

men in describing their rhinos. Hence, correct identification of species must rest on other proof.

O'Brien definitely obtained an Indian rhino from a special expedition to India in 1869-'70. The story of this animal's capture and its transportation to America is told in a very detailed courier about O'Brien's menagerie for an engagement in Bradford, Pennsylvania. This rare document has been preserved in the collection of Harold Dunn of Sarasota, Florida. According to the Bradford courier, O'Brien's agent, a certain Mr. Scovill, left Liverpool, England on August 16, 1869 bound for India to secure a rhino. He arrived at Calcutta and organized an expedition which went up the Ganges River. The courier then tells a hair raising story of the pursuit and capture of a male rhino and its transportation on a sledge across swampy ground to the Ganges and thence down to Calcutta for the ocean voyage to England. Much of the adventure of this expedition is no doubt exaggerated. In fact if the truth be known, Scovill may have gotten no closer to the Ganges River than a few rounds of tonic at a London pub while negotiating with an animal dealer for the rhino's purchase. That environment would be quite conducive to the weaving of an adventure

No. 2. George F. Bailey, nephew of Hackaliah Bailey who exhibited one of Americas' first elephants, had been in show business nearly all of his 56 years when this herald appeared in 1874. Pfening Collection.

G. F. BAILEY & CO'S
QUADRUPLE
COMBINATION
 Menagerie, Circus, Gymnasium and Caravan.
PEACE PRICES RESTORED:
ONLY 25 CTS
 TO SEE THE ENTIRE EXHIBITION!
 No Half Price. No Reserved Seats.

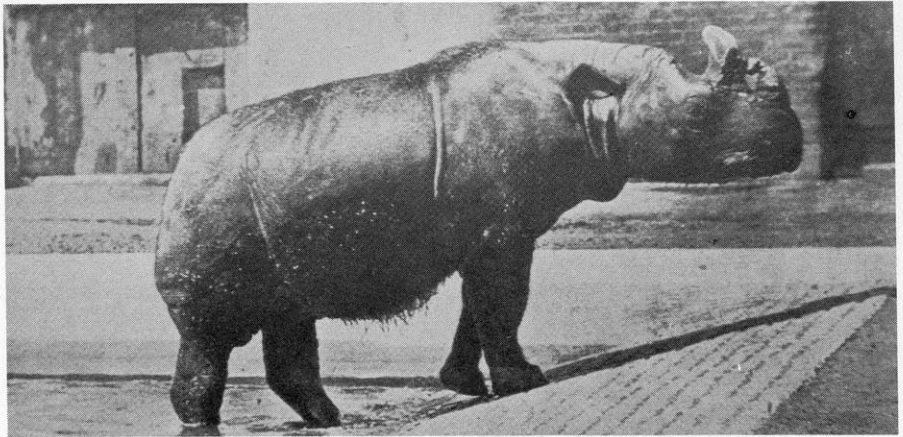
THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE
FEATURES OF THE EXHIBITION!
 THE HEAVIEST LIVING
RHINOCEROS!

yarn. Notwithstanding my skepticism, the description of the rhino's haunt, the method of its capture, and its transportation to Calcutta agree with accounts of the way Indian rhinos were brought out of Assam up until as recently as the 1950s. The story in the Bradford courier goes on to relate that the rhino arrived in Liverpool where Mr. O'Brien was offered 4,000 pounds sterling for it by the Zoological Society of London. Rejecting the offer, O'Brien had the rhino shipped to New York where it arrived on March 1, 1871, the total expedition having cost its proprietor \$21,000 in gold. O'Brien's show wintered in Philadelphia so his Indian rhino was shipped from New York to the city of brotherly love via the Raritan Canal Co.

Records at the Central Park zoo in New York City reveal that Indian rhinos were deposited there on March 16, 1871 and again during January, 1872. These were the first rhinos ever exhibited in an American zoo but the name of the owner(s) is not revealed. I would speculate that these rhinos were owned by circuses and were merely loaned to the zoo. Perhaps O'Brien's brute was the one deposited in 1871?

If O'Brien already had a rhino in 1870 the skeptical reader might ask why he would import another the following year, particularly in view of the alleged offer by the London zoo. Such an offer might be hard to turn down when measured against the risk of losing the animal during the trans-Atlantic voyage to America. The most logical explanation is that O'Brien was planning to put no less than four different circuses on the road in 1871 and needed all the rhinos he could get. And, the *Clipper* for 1871 reported there were two rhinos with different O'Brien circuses that season. During each of the next four years O'Brien had at least two shows on the road so there would have been plenty of opportunity to exhibit two rhinos. One of the 1873 shows was called "John O'Brien's Great World's Fair" with exhibits in six tents, one for the performance and five for the menagerie. A review of this show in the *Clipper*, April 26, 1873 noted the first tent contained nothing but the rhino and the bandwagon.

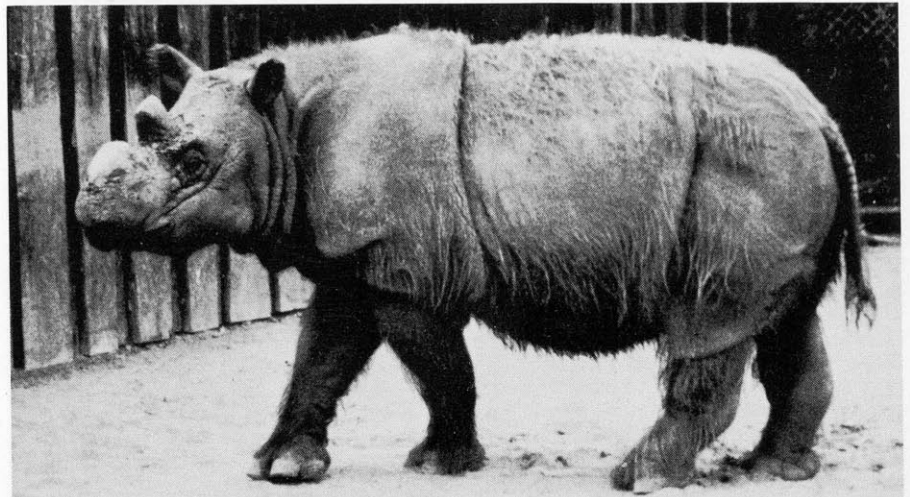
The grim reaper caught one of the rhinos, perhaps the 1870 example, at Bradford, Pennsylvania on July 5, 1875 with an O'Brien circus entitled A. B. Rothchilds & Co. For want of any better factual solution, I will identify the survivor as the animal from Mr. Scovill's Indian expedition. In 1874, Maginley & Co's. Circus and Menagerie, another O'Brien outfit, had a trained rhino. When it appeared at Brunswick, Maine on July 16, 1874, advertisements claimed, "the only rhinoceros ever subdued to perform in the amphitheatre and ridden by a native." An accompany-



No. 3. One of the Sumatran rhinos in the London Zoo before the turn of the century. The first of these curious "hairy" rhinos appears to have come to America in 1872 for either the Barnum, John Robinson, or Adam Forepaugh shows. The author has not found a photo showing a Sumatran rhino in America. Photo from Lothar Schlawe collection, Berlin, Germany out of "Christiansen's Zoologische Albume," Copenhagen, p. 153.

ing illustration or cut depicts a one-horned rhino, thereby indicating the Indian species and perhaps the one brought over in 1871. The historian John Brown, writing in *Bandwagon* (Mar.-Apr. 1962), says the Maginley rhino was the first ridden in the ring. While Dan Rice's "Old Put" was certainly a performing rhino before he drowned in 1861, he did not serve as a mount for a human performer. The late C. G.

No. 4 This is the female Sumatran rhino presently exhibited at the Copenhagen Zoo. She is the lone member of that species in captivity. Only 3 or 4 of these exceedingly rare animals have been exhibited throughout the world during the last 50 years and none in America. Photo by the late Dr. Erna Mohr, Hamburg, Germany.



Sturtevant wrote (*Billboard*, 1925) that the Maginley rhino was brought into the performance and handled with a long pole inserted into a ring in the beast's nose. In 1876 we find the name "Himalaya" as the moniker for a rhino said to appear that season with A. B. Rothchilds & Co., a title which O'Brien had used the year before but which, according to Richard Conover, does not appear to have had any connection with that showman in 1876. Two years later a rhino was advertised by O'Brien's first railroad circus, an organization called Campbell's New York and Philadelphia Zoological & Equestrian Institute. In 1879 that circus was sold to George Batcheller and John B. Doris whereupon O'Brien faded from the rhino scene. A heard for the 1882 edition of Batcheller & Doris claimed a rhino. Admittedly, this is not a very persuasive "proof-of-rhino" reference, but it is the last I have to an animal that might conceivably be the Indian imported by Scovill for O'Brien in 1871.

We must now back up a few years and tackle the perplexing question as to when the first examples of the bona fide African "black" rhino and the Sumatran "hairy" rhino came to our shores. The evidence now at hand suggests that both first made their entry

big railroad show continued east to New York, and Older started south with the rhino but apparently very little else to justify the high sounding title he put on his show, to wit: "P. T. Barnum's Great Traveling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, Hippodrome, Polytechnic Institute, International Zoological Garden, and Sig Sebastian's Royal Italian Circus." Newspapers criticized the show for advertising more than it exhibited. It played Atlanta, Georgia on December 6th and the ads proclaimed "a monster black Rhinoceros". In a review of the circus in *The Atlanta Daily Herald* under the heading, "Barnum's Great Show That Was To Be," we read the following:

"The show has exhibited in Atlanta. We have seen it. The ring performance was very fine . . . but we must confess that the menagerie and the display of wonders as advertised in their bills fell very far short of what we expected to see . . . The black rhinoceros, the royal Bengal tiger, the zebra, the gold-spotted leopard, were non est inventus . . . The circus, as we have stated was in fact — very good — and we sincerely regret our duty as journalists compels us to announce that they have advertised a large number of animals and curiosities that they failed to exhibit. In truth, all who were attracted to this show by the grand display on their posters were deceived."

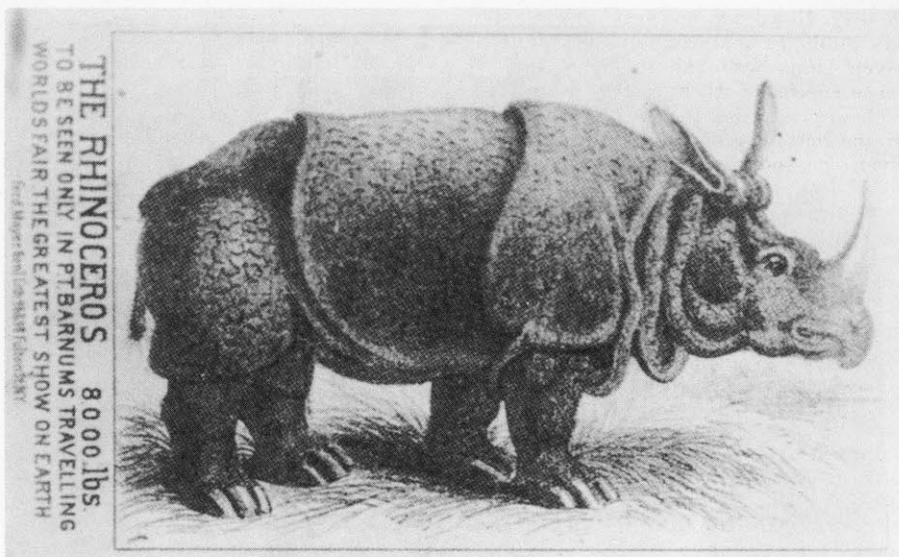
The reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* was not quite so hard on Mr. Older's circus and wrote as follows:

"We had anticipated seeing a very extensive zoological collection of rare animals, while in truth the specimen of rare animals was small. The water cow, sea lions, rhinoceros, sacred ox, and a herd of camels, with the elephant, were the chief attractions of the menagerie."

Thus, one reporter saw the rhino but another says it was not there. Perhaps the *Daily Herald* winter was moved to describe the rhino as "non est inventus" because he did not see it as truly black in color. And in this he would have been correct for none are genuinely black.

Regardless of the ire of the *Daily Herald* reporter, the evidence is convincing that Older's edition of the Barnum Show did in fact have the rhino. After Atlanta, his circus wound its way across Alabama and Mississippi and into Louisiana, going into winter quarters at Algiers in late December. On January 13, 1873 Older purchased from Barnum and Company the show properties that he had been leasing. The price was \$50,000 with the last paragraph of the contract providing as follows:

"P. T. Barnum & Co. shall have the right to take the Rhinoceros at



No. 7. An Indian rhino litho from the Barnum show, possibly during the years 1873-1875. The "Greatest Show on Earth" title was employed at least as

early as December, 1872, when P. A. Older leased Barnum's title and some property for a winter tour in southeastern states. Howard Tibbals collection.

\$7,000 in case the one they now have in New York should die before the start of the summer tour."

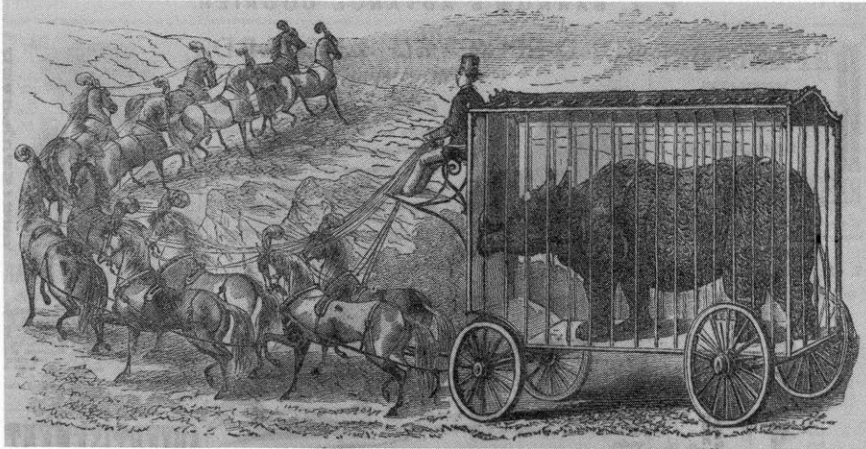
The contract specifically provided that Older could no longer use the Barnum title so his circus set out for the 1873 season under the title "Older & Chandler." A yellow fever epidemic

in Louisiana doomed the show, and it was attached by the Sheriff of Caddo Parish. An appraisal by that official dated September 19, 1873 lists, "One wagon containing rhinoceros appraised at \$6,000." An auction was held in Shreveport, Caddo Parish, and the rhino was purchased by one James Cumpston. He placed an ad in the *Clipper* of March 21, 1874 offering to sell a black Sumatran Rhinoceros and its cage wagon for \$5,000. Just who bought the animal is unknown. But, the significant fact is Cumpston's description of his new asset as a Sumatran rhino. Thus, Barnum may have gotten that first Sumatran in 1872, and my previous writing about an African black rhino with Barnum that year would be wrong.

No. 8. John O'Brien's show had an Indian rhino in 1871. A New York newspaper early that year says John O'Brien has one rhino, the Van Amburgh Circus has one, George F. Bailey has two, and these are the only four with circuses. Another newspaper account says O'Brien had two rhinos for the 1871 season. Pfening Collection.

As we have seen, Barnum's January, 1873 contract with Older stated the famous showman had another rhino in New York, perhaps a survivor from the Hippodrome which had just burned to the ground in December, 1872 with terrible losses for Barnum. Possible injury to the rhino may have caused its owners to question its ability to live for long. This would explain the "retake" clause in the Older contract. In the winter of 1872-73 Barnum purchased another rhino for \$17,000. This beast did not make an entire season. It died in Philadelphia on September 29, 1873 after suffering a fit in which it nearly tore up its cage. There are detailed accounts of this tragedy in the Philadelphia newspapers and, while the species is not stated, descriptions of the immense size and strength of the rhino suggest that it was Indian. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* said the deceased brute was to be replaced immediately by another then in residence at Bar-





num's Bridgeport, Connecticut, winter quarters. This may have been "Pete" the Indian rhino that, two years later, Barnum sold to the Philadelphia zoo. "Pete" was received by that institution on September 3, 1875 and lived there for a quarter of a century until his death on January 3, 1901.

If my count is correct we have described three and perhaps four rhinos for Barnum & Co. between 1872 and 1875. That circus was reorganized at the end of the 1875 season when W. C. Coup withdrew from the picture. This may account for the sale of "Pete" to the Philadelphia zoo. The new management was headed up by a group of the old "Flat-foot" showmen with Barnum's name being the most significant contribution by the Bridgeport impresario. This version of the Barnum show lasted through the 1880 season. According to Richard Conover it claimed a rhino through at least the 1878 season. When the "Flat-foot" association with Barnum ended,

No. 9. A 12 horse hitch pulled Barnum's rhino cage across this 1875 courier. Pfening Collection.

it was replaced by the partnership that was to eclipse all that had gone before — P. T. Barnum and James A. Bailey. But, this is getting too far ahead.

The Cincinnati based showman, John Robinson, was one of the earliest to claim a Sumatran rhino. When he brought his "Old John Robinson's Great Zoological Exposition and World's Fair of Wonders" to Atlanta, Georgia, in November, 1872 his ads made a big to do about the black Sumatran Rhinoceros, and a "rhinoceros" was noted by local newspapermen who reviewed the show. This animal was given a lot of publicity

No. 10. A W. W. Cole courier for 1885. From 1878 until 1886 Cole's circus exhibited a genuine African two-horned rhino, a female named "Bohu". Pfening Collection.

through the 1876 season. It was always advertised as a Sumatran and was said to have been captured on that island in 1869. There is no doubt that "Old John" had a rhino during those years, but there is a serious question whether it was really a Sumatran. Instead of using a picture of an Asiatic two horned rhino, the 1873 and 1876 ads used an excellent drawing of an Indian, armored rhino. And on April 14, 1877 John Robinson deposited a rhino at the Cincinnati zoo which, according to zoo records, was an Indian and not a Sumatran. It either died in the zoo in 1878 or was returned to Robinson that year. Perhaps "Old John" only had the Indian during the 1870's or maybe there were two, a Sumatran later replaced by an Indian.

What may have been a third rhino, an animal again designated by Robinson's ads as a Sumatran, is mentioned in the publicity for the Carlyle, Pennsylvania date in 1880. This may be the "Forty thousand dollar, two horned Rhinoceros, seven feet high, weighing 9,000 pounds . . ." claimed in such exaggerated terms by California ads when the John Robinson show was on the Pacific Coast in 1882. Five years later the aggregation was again in California. This time the enthusiasm of the publicity department had moderated because the ads described the rhino simply as a "double horned rhinoceros." The lack of embellishment may signify a non-existent animal, i. e., one that had died between trips to California. It is wise to be wary of a casual reference in an advertisement when the animal previously received heavy publicity.

In 1889 the Robinson Show got a new rhino. According to *Clipper* a group of animals were received by the circus on June 22nd of that year, among which were an eland, hippo, and "two-horned" rhinoceros, perhaps an African. Although the John Robinson title went out almost every season for the next 41 years (under a variety of different managers and owners), this was the last rhino to troupe under that banner.

We must now cross the sea to London on the cold and rainy evening of December 7, 1872. The site is the Victoria Docks on the River Thames where the steamer *Orchis* has arrived from Singapore carrying among its cargo an adult female Sumatran rhino. About 7:00 o'clock its keeper heard a feeble squeaking voice emanating from the rhino crate. Upon investigating he was surprised to find that the female had given birth to a calf. While the female was bred in the wild, this was the first rhino born in captivity. Mother and baby were removed to the stables of their owner, a certain Mr. Rice who had arranged to ship them to America. Unfortunately the youngster died after some two weeks and the mother, together with the remains of the calf, were shipped across the Atlantic. No

\$10,000 TWO HORNED RHINOCEROS
AN EXCLUSIVE FEATURE POSITIVELY POSSESSED.



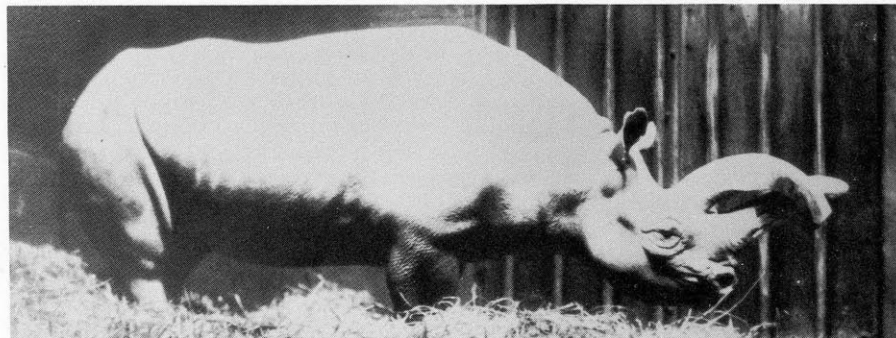
doubt, the destination was an American circus. But, which one. A likely candidate would be the Adam Forepaugh Circus. Dick Conover calls this the largest circus of the 1870's and 1880's (Conover, *The Great Forepaugh Show* — 1959). Forepaugh believed in the drawing power of animals, and his show went in heavily for menagerie attractions and performing beasts. Conover says the idea of measuring the size of a circus by the number of its elephants can be attributed to Forepaugh.

Coinciding with the presumed arrival in America of the Sumatran rhino mother from England, an 1873 insurance appraisal of Forepaugh's circus assets lists, "1 Rhinoceros — \$3,000." And, the 1874 advertisements for Forepaugh's aggregation claimed, "A monster two-horned hairy rhinoceros, as large as an elephant." This beast met a tragic end in upstate New York, a victim of the perils of wagon travel over the crude roads of the day. The 1875 season was the last wagon show tour for Forepaugh. The next year he switched to railroad travel exclusively, but the move came too late for his rhino. October 13, 1875, while the caravan of wagons and teams was en route between Amsterdam and Schenectady, N. Y., the rhino cage fell through a bridge at a place called Phillip's Lock. The rhino's back was broken and it was taken to Hoffman's Ferry. Five days later the *Albany Evening Times* reported that the poor brute was still alive but had lost the use of its hind legs. Doubtlessly, the beast died soon after.

Between this event and the death of Adam Forepaugh in January, 1890, his circus had one or two more rhinos. The 1877 through 1879 editions claimed one that in some ads is described as being "black", in others as weighing three tons, and in still others as weighing 6 tons, the latter two being good examples of the publicity man's heavy foot on the weighing scales. C. P. Fox advises me that Forepaugh also had a rhino with his 1884 show (perhaps a different animal). And, the 1888 parade lineup lists a "big rhino den — drawn by 8 horses." [Forepaugh Whitie, *White Tops* Dec. 1939 — Jan. 1940, p. 6]

We now turn our attention to the man generally conceded as the most brilliant and successful individual showman of all time, James A. Bailey. Born James Anthony McGinnis, he was the dominant personality and cast the greatest influence on the course of circus history from 1880 until his death in 1906. During a meteoric career, he gained control of such major circuses and titles as P. T. Barnum, Adam Forepaugh, Sells Brothers, and Buffalo Bill's Wild West. His achievements included circus tours of Australia, Java, New Zealand, Tasmania, South America, and later, Great Britain and continental Europe.

In 1876 I find the first mention of a rhino with one of Bailey's shows. In October of that year he and his partner James E. Cooper left San Francisco bound for Australia with their show, Cooper, Bailey & Co.'s International Allied Shows. According to Marian Murray [Circus From Rome To Ringling, p. 240] a rhino was among the animals that embarked on that Journey. However, a question as to the authenticity of this reference is raised by the failure of Cooper & Bailey to advertise a rhino. Richard Conover has a number of clippings about the Cooper-Bailey show, beginning with Oshkosh, Wisconsin on August 1, 1876 and ending in mid-January, 1877 after the engagement in Melbourne, Australia. In none of them is a rhino mentioned although the giraffe and hippo are frequently described. Similarly, Chang Reynolds reports that a rhino is not mentioned in ads for the engagement in Los Angeles, just prior to the show's departure for Australia. Surely the clever Bailey would not buy a rhino and fail to advertise it?



No. 11. W. W. Cole's female African rhino as she looked in 1907 near the end of her days in the Central Park Zoo. She was purchased by New York City at the auction of the Cole circus in New Orleans in 1886 and was the first African rhino in an American Zoo. Photo from F. W. Glasier collection at the Ringling Circus Museum, Sarasota, Florida.

Willson Disher, a British circus historian, is credited by the aforesaid Miss Murray⁵ with a story that plainly says Cooper & Bailey had a rhino during the first part of their 1877 Australian tour. On April 9-13 of that year the circus was shipped from Hobart Town, Tasmania to Sydney, New South Wales. Mr. Disher's story says the voyage aboard the *City of Sydney* encountered a violent storm during which the giraffe was killed and the rhino washed overboard. Maybe the show's hippo, and not a rhino, made that unfortunate "splash-down". I have occasionally come across writings which mistake one those pachyderms for the other. In any event the Cooper & Bailey circus would seem to have been rhino-less at the end of the regular 1877 tour that concluded in

June when the show went into winter quarters at Sydney (June would be the start of winter in Australia). If we can rely on Miss Murray's account of the Australian tour, the partners obtained a rhino while "down under."^{5a} But, where would they have gotten it? In those days Australia would have been somewhat remote from the main stream of the wild animal trade. One explanation is that Cooper and Bailey acquired it during their 1877 winter tour of Java. A limited edition of their show left Sydney for that island after the close of the regular 1877 season. It played stands of 7 days at Soerabaya (now Surabaya), 20 days at Semarang, and 30 days at Batavia (now Djakarta). On Thursday, October 4, 1877 it set sail on the return voyage to quarters in Sydney. With a visit of almost two months in Java, there would have been plenty of opportunity to acquire a Javan or Sondaic rhino. That species is nearly extinct today, but it was not so scarce in the days of Cooper & Bailey's expedition. The one the London zoo got in 1874 had been shipped from Batavia, and in his

monograph on the Javan rhino H. J. V. Sody relates a number of 19th century reports about these rhinos being kept in gardens and parks around Batavia and Soerkarta. Of Course, I am merely speculating about Cooper & Bailey's acquiring this particular species, but the opportunity was present, and the prospect is sufficiently exciting to warrant presentation of this rationale.

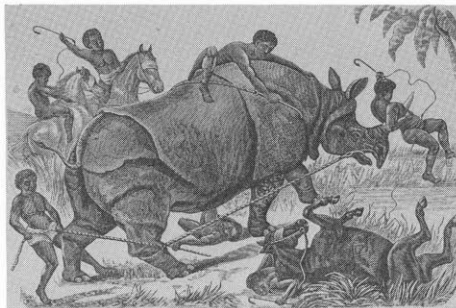
Whatever kind of rhino this was, it too had some rough ocean travel before getting to America. From April 29 to June 24, 1878 the Cooper & Bailey show tossed about on the chartered vessel "Golden Sea" en route from Aukland, New Zealand to Callao, Peru. Marian Murray's aforesaid book relates how the rhino got loose in the hold of the ship during a violent storm. Apparently he was subdued, recaged, and continued the tour of cities along the west coast of South America and around awesome Cape Horn to the final stand at Buenos Aires, Argentina. While truly an international show, Cooper & Bailey's circus was considerably worn out when it finally reached the end of its journey at the port of New York in December, 1878.

The next season, 1879, we find a rhino listed among the Cooper & Bailey menagerie attractions. It died at Ottawa, Kansas on July 30th of that year. Based on the foregoing that animal would appear to be the selfsame one that joined out during the Australian tour.^{5b} I would like to say this was a Javan rhino, but this may never be proved until someone unearths its remains in Franklin County, Kansas.

Ocean travel for rhinos in the late 1870's was particularly hazardous. An interesting story, said to have come from San Francisco, appears in the German zoo periodical *Der Zoologische Garten* for 1879 at page 157. It relates that the ship *Colon* arrived in San Francisco from New York carrying some wild animals for the **Montgomery menagerie** among which was a rhino from Java. The voyage had been quite exciting. Near Cape Hatteras, North Carolina a big wave smashed across the bow of the ship and broke open the rhino cage. The beast got loose on the deck and created havoc. It charged and killed a horse which was being shipped to the President of Peru. Ship Captain Griffin and his men shot it, but the bullets bounced off, and it ran into the cabin of ship's doctor Agnew. It was finally lassoed and subdued by its keeper, Henry Griss.

This account is highly significant but mystifying; significant because it is the only definite account of a Javan rhino in America; mystifying because there was no Montgomery menagerie in San Francisco in 1879. There has never been any zoo type exhibit by that name. The only explanation I can offer is that the name refers to the showman Montgomery Queen. From 1874 until 1877 he used Hayward, California, across the bay from San Francisco as his base of operations. Each year he played a long engagement in San Francisco. After the 1877 opening, his circus headed east, never to return to California. Queen lost interest in the business; his circus got into financial difficulty and was sold at an auction in Louisville, Kentucky. Thus, we see Montgomery Queen had been gone from California for some two years when the reference to Montgomery menagerie" shows up in the German zoo periodical. Perhaps the Javan rhino story, while published in Germany in 1879, was actually describing events that occurred several years earlier when Queen was active in San Francisco. But, this explanation runs afoul of other definitely established facts. In 1877 Montgomery Queen obtained an African rhino that his ads proclaimed to be the first of the tribe ever exhibited on the west coast. That was Queen's last season so it would seem he never had but one rhino, and all the references I have seen say it was an African two-horned in stead of a Javan which has only one horn.

When the Queen circus was sold at



No. 12. Barnum and London's Indian rhino of the early 1880's had a knack for impaling its tormentor upon its horn. This ad is from an 1881 courier. Pfening Collection.

auction on February 21, 1878, "The Sells Bros. of Columbus, Ohio bought the double-horned African rhinoceros for \$3,600," to quote *Clipper*, March 2, 1878. Thus enter the brothers Sells into our rhino chronicle. I believe this was the first rhino owned by those Columbus, Ohio showmen.⁶ As far as I know it is the only one of our subject pachyderms that has escaped on American soil. The *Pittsburgh (Pa.) Leader* for May 1, 1878 recorded those trying moments, thusly:

A RHINOCEROS HUNT

At about eight o'clock this morning, while Sells' Bros. Circus was coming into the city by way of the Panhandle railroad, a collision happened which overturned and broke three of the cages containing wild beasts, occupied respectively by a rhinoceros, a black bear and a cub lion. A large crowd of people had been attracted to the spot, as the train had been standing there some time, and when the cages were overturned, the rhinoceros escaped and started up the track at a rapid

No. 13. The S. H. Barrett circus, a Sells brothers subsidiary used this ad in 1882. The publicity men let their verbosity get the best of them when it came to the rhino. The word "Brobdingnag" was coined by Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels*. Pfening Collection.



pace, accompanied by the now thoroughly excited crowd which was rapidly augmented until it numbered hundreds of men, women, and children. The animal, apparently frightened by the cries and yells of the pursuing throng, rushed frantically up the track some four or five hundred yards. It was closely followed by Kelly, the keeper who succeeded in getting hold of its ears with a hope of capturing it, but finding it impossible to stop the brute in this way, he sprang upon its back and was carried several yards further. Running up to a locomotive, the animal put his horn under the cowcatcher and tore off a piece of one of the iron bars. He then attacked a box car and tore a hole in it. Attempting to run again he slipped and fell on the track, when a noose, which had been prepared, was quickly thrown over his head, and the huge monster was pulled into a box car by the united services of over one hundred men. The bear was chained and did not get away, while the cage containing the lion was only injured in the running gear."

If this was an African rhino as its Montgomery Queen origin suggests, its owners tried to change its spots the next year. Advertisements for engagements in Ohio in April, 1879 described it as follows: "A \$22,000 2-horned Black Hairy Rhinoceros, the only one ever imported . . . a tremendous brute, and both horns are well developed" (Springfield, Ohio, April 22nd); and "A \$22,000 DOUBLE-HORNED MONSTER RHINOCEROS, THE FIRST AND ONLY ONE EVER IMPORTED . . . the quixotic double-horned Rhinoceros that attempted a duel with a locomotive at Pittsburgh . . ." (Urbana, Ohio, April 24th). The Sells rhino picture from 1879 to 1885 is clouded by constant and heavy advertisement of the Asiatic two-horned rhino and by the emergence of a subsidiary show, S. H. Barrett, which also claimed a rhino during the last three years of that period. I would question the Sells' ownership of two rhinos at the same time until better proof is uncovered. That there was only one rhino is suggested by Jake Posey. In his autobiography, *Last of the 40-Horse Drivers* (p. 21), he tells of an amusing incident that happened while he was wintering with the Sells show at its Columbus, Ohio quarters in 1882-83, to wit:

"My sleeping quarters were over the rhinoceros, which was housed in a pen 10 by 10 feet. I took some discarded seat planks and laid them over the pen, found an old bed ticking, and filled it with straw. That, with my blankets, made a very comfortable bed. I had picked that spot on account of the heat

in the building. One night the plank broke and I went down into the pen with the rhino. It was frightened as badly as I was, and I regained my feet and got out of the pen before the rhino knew what had happened."

I have not found any references to this rhino after the 1885 season. That year Sells Bros. Circus claimed a "two horned rhino" at Elgin, Illinois while out on the west coast their subsidiary, S. H. Barrett's New United Railroad Show, Triple Circus, World Menagerie, and Grand Racing Carnival, was claiming a "five toed Summatarian" (sic) rhinoceros. As I say, I think one of these shows had an imaginary animal.

On this note of uncertainty we leave the brothers Sells and repair to the lot of William Washington Cole's Circus in 1878. We find the proprietor has just imported a female African black rhino from Hamburg, Germany. Unlike many of the pachyderms discussed herein, this one's species and circus career is well documented in the *New York Times* for December 15, 1886 at page 8. This animal, whose circus name was "Bohu" spent eight seasons with W. W. Cole's circus, including a tour of Australia and New Zealand in 1880-81, the Cole Show being the second American Circus to set sail for the South Pacific. Cole's circus was sold at auction in New Orleans, Louisiana at the end of the 1886 season, and "Bohu" was purchased by the City of New York for \$4,200.00. She arrived at the Central Park Zoo on December 14, 1886, the first African black rhino to reside in an American zoo. In Central Park she was known as "Smiles", and the late William Mann wrote that she was a vicious animal.⁷ Her meanness must have been a good tonic because "Smiles" was a long lived animal. She was still at the zoo in 1907. That is the date F. W. Glasier took the photograph of her which is reproduced here. This is my last reference to her; and she had then been in captivity for 29 years. She must have died soon thereafter. Even so, "Smiles" nee "Bohu" appears to have been the longest lived of any of the rhinos that have trouped the tanbark trail.

In the *Times'* story about "Bohu's" arrival at Central Park it is stated that the Barnum Circus had the only other African rhino in the country at that time. P. T. Barnum and James A. Bailey joined forces late in 1880 and, together with James L. Hutchinson, organized the circus that later would become world famous under the title 'Barnum & Bailey's Greatest Show on Earth.' However, for the 1881 through 1887 seasons it officially did business under the banner "P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth and The Great London Circus and Sanger's Royal British Menagerie" — Barnum and London for short. The 1881 edition claimed a giant

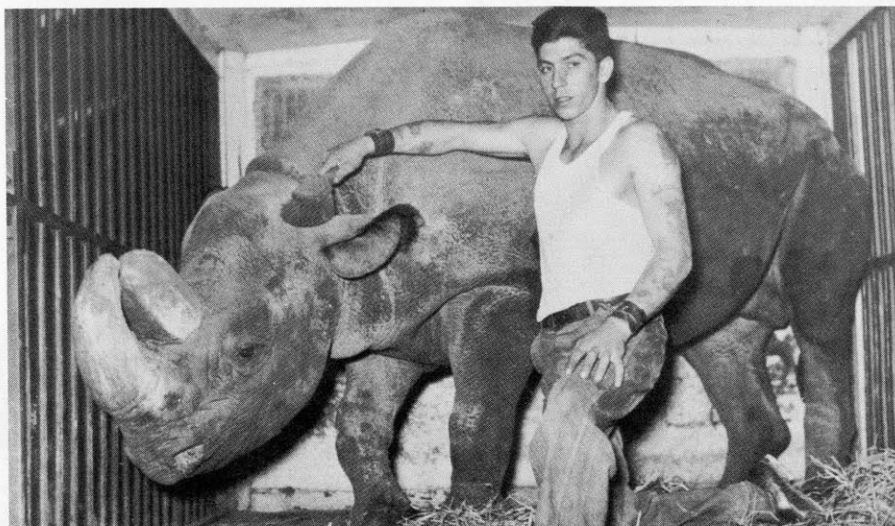
SOLID AS THE ETERNAL HILLS!
ADAM FOREPAUGH'S
 LARGEST AND GREATEST
SHOW OF EARTH
 IMMENSE QUARTETTE OF MENAGERIES, COLOSSAL COMBINED
 MUSEUMS, TREMENDOUS AND NOVEL ELEVATED STAGE,
SUPERB 4-RING CIRCUS
 AND

CLASSIC ROMAN HIPPODROME
 FROM THE 8-FOOT HIGH FIGHT DWARF TO THE
25 TRAINED ELEPHANTS
 MIGHTY, MAJESTIC BULLFIGHT

No. 14. Adam Forepaugh claimed two rhinos in this 1887 ad. Pfening Collection.

rhinoceros weighing six tons with folds of skin two inches thick. Ads and lithographs pictured him as a huge and terrifying Indian rhino, trampling through would be captors and impaling the most unfortunate of the lot upon his horn. In 1883-1886 Barnum and London carried two rhinos at one time, in the

No. 15. African black, two-horned rhino and keeper. In 1872 Hyatt Frost's Van Amburgh circus obtained a rhino that was probably the first of this species seen in America. This excellent photo, provided by Tom Scaperlanda of San Antonio, Texas, is unidentified as to circus or year. It was almost surely taken after 1930. A good bet might be Ringling-Barnum around 1935. Tom Scaperlanda collection.



same menagerie. Advertisements for the stand at Guelph, Ontario on July 10, 1883 mention them, one said to be a "two horned" animal. The 1886 route book says the occupant of cage no 57 was an African rhinoceros while a double-horned rhino traveled in no. 73. The "double-horned" beast must have been another African rhino or a Sumatran which also has two horns. My notes do not reveal how long either of them trouped with the Greatest Show on Earth.

I do not have anything on Barnum & Bailey rhinos for the next ten years, a period which saw the death of Barnum in 1891 and the ascendancy of James Bailey to sole ownership of the Greatest Show on Earth. Then, in February, 1895 a female Sumatran rhino of the *lasiotis* subspecies, the so-called hairy-eared rhino, gave birth to a calf in Calcutta, India. This was the third rhino born in captivity all to the Sumatran species. The first was aboard the steamer *Orchis* as related previously. The second took place at the Alipore zoo in Calcutta on January 30, 1889, and of the three this second calf appears to have been the only one bred in captivity. Be these facts as they are, the youngster born in 1895, together with its mother, were shipped to the dealer Carl Hagenbeck in Hamburg. Dr. Hans Kuhn of Heidelberg advises me that Noack published a drawing and description of them in *Der Zoologische Garten* in 1896 in which it is stated that mother and calf were sold to Barnum & Bailey for 25,000 marks. With such a large price and so rare an attraction, one would expect to find a lot of contemporary American publicity about these rhinos. Not so, I have been unable to find another reference to them.⁸ This makes me wonder if they survived the voyage to our shores.

After the close of the 1897 season, James Bailey took his circus to Europe for a five year tour. The menagerie was loaded aboard the S. S. *Massachusetts* of the American Transport Lines and



on the evening of November 12, 1897 sailed for Great Britain, arriving at the Royal Albert dock, on November 25th. I am not certain if the circus had a rhino at this time. However, when the show reached Holland during the 1901 season it was apparently exhibiting a young Indian rhino. In the *Book of Wonders with Barnum and Bailey's Greatest Show On Earth*, published in the Dutch language in 1901, at page 37, reference is made to a young Indian rhino with the comment that these animals do well in menageries but are commonly evil tempered and not many can cope with them.⁹

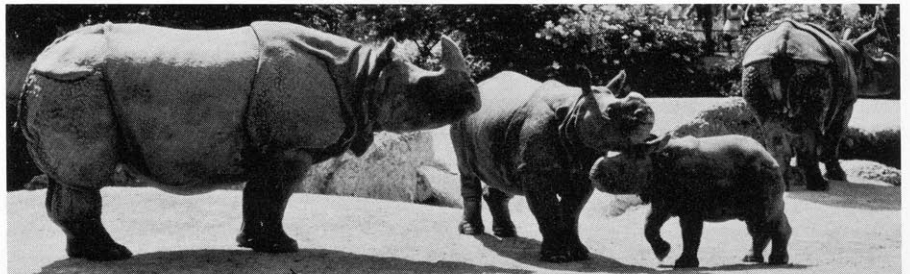
Leaving Barnum & Bailey in Europe, we come back to American in the year 1879 and find the Janesville, Wisconsin showman Burr Robbins listing "One Rhinoceros" among the animals exhibited in his menagerie [*White Tops*, Jan.-Feb. 1963, p. 6]. This or a replacement animal is mentioned in Robbins' ads for 1884, 1885, and 1887. They variously described the beast as a "Giant Rhinoceros," "Black Rhino," and "Sumatran Rhino". Determination of its true species awaits further research.

Moving along, our story again crosses the path cut by James Bailey. The January, 1890 funeral procession for old

No. 16. An unusual photo (c 1962) showing a female Indian rhino and her calf in the snow at Basel, Switzerland Zoo. Photo by Paul Steinemann courtesy of Basel Zoological Garden.

Adam Forepaugh had hardly returned his grieving widow to her home when Bailey's agent Cooper came calling with a proposal to acquire that famous title and all show properties from her late husband's estate. The net result was a March, 1890 sale to Messrs. Cooper, Bailey, plus an aging and reluctant Barnum, with the ambitious Bailey acquiring sole ownership following the deaths of Barnum in 1891 and Cooper in 1892. The Great Adam Forepaugh

No. 17. A rhino treasure at the Basel Zoo (1968). These four animals are worth at least \$100,000 on today's market. The Swiss Zoo is world famous for its suc-



Show, under Bailey's guiding hand, continued to troupe in all its former grandeur during the 1890-1893 seasons. And, it carried a Sumatran rhino. Thanks to the then unfortunate economic panic of 1892-1893 we can be certain about the species of this rhino. Because of the bad times, the Forepaugh show did poorly in '93 and master Bailey decided upon a drastic reduction in its size. Hence, when the circus closed that year, most of its menagerie was loaned to the National zoo in Washington, D. C. Zoo records show that a female Sumatran rhino was deposited by the Forepaugh Circus on November 7, 1893.

While the rhino visited in Washington in '94 and '95, the Sells Brothers of Columbus, Ohio were taking a licking at the box office from a combination of bad times and competition from the young and aggressive Ringling Brothers of Baraboo. The Sells turned to Bailey for help, and help he did — right into the ultimate control of their circus. In return for an interest in their show, Bailey agreed to let the Sells use the Forepaugh name plus some of its property, including the Sumatran rhino then residing in Washington. Thus, on March 24, 1896 the rhino left the comfort of the zoo destined for Columbus, Ohio and cage wagon no. 49 in the menagerie of Adam Forepaugh and Sells Brothers, America's Greatest Shows Consolidated. This was a big menagerie with no less than 32 cages [Pfening, *BAND-WAGON*, Jan.-Feb. 1964, p. 8]. Conditions were sufficiently crowded that our rhino had to share cage no. 49 with an American deer. This was a 15, 2/3 foot long wagon of drop frame construction. No doubt, the deer occupied a small compartment over the front wheels with the rhino in the roomier lower compartment in the rear. Since the Sumatran rhino is a much smaller animal than any of the other species this was probably as comfortable an arrangement as most circus rhinos have enjoyed. Nevertheless, I have not found any other instance where a rhino shared a railroad show type cage wagon with another kind of animal. When Forepaugh—Sells played Anderson, S. C. on November 18, 1896, the ads mentioned a rhino, and this is my last reference to it. I will speculate that this Sumatran rhino died before 1900. It was certainly gone by

cess in breeding Indian rhinos. Ten calves have been born there since 1956. Photo by Paul Steinemann courtesy of Basel Zoological Garden.

1905 because it is not listed in a detailed inventory of animals and other circus property prepared on January 10th of that year for purposes of selling the entire Forepaugh — Sells show.

In Bob Parkinson's extensive circus ad collection is one for the Walter L. Main Circus at Elroy, Wisconsin on June 24, 1892 which claims a rhino among the menagerie attractions. But, I am not yet ready to accept this as proof of the fact. Mr. Main's circus was small enough that a rhino would certainly be a stellar attraction. Yet, it is not mentioned in either Chindahl's historical sketch of that show [White Tops, Nov.-Dec. 1956] or Louis E. Cooke's biography of Walter L. Main [Bandwagon, May-Aug. 1967] Also casting doubt on the reliability of the 1892 ad is the omission of any reference to a rhino in the accounts of the Main train wreck in 1893 and in the detailed route books for 1894 and 1895. We must not forget that in 1897 Mr. Main's flamboyant advertising parlayed a docile and sleepy-eyed common water buffalo into "The Bovalapus, Fearful, Frightful, Awful, Wonderful, Blood-Sweating, Two Horned, Cloven-Hoofed, Lives On Land, Lives In The Sea." Such a productive pen could easily slip a rhino into the 1892 ads.

At this juncture, we encounter the Ringling Brothers of Baraboo, Wisconsin, whose organization was destined to eclipse all of circusdom in numbers of rhinos and every other facet of the business. But, from the evidence at hand, I cannot say for sure that they exhibited one of our subject pachyderms before the turn of the century. Their 1891 route book says one Joe McDonald was the driver of a six horse hitch on the "rhino den", but a list of their menagerie animals and cages for '91 or '92 does not mention such a beast. The route book for 1894 mentions a "thick-skinned rhinoceros", and the 1895 edition says a rhino was in cage no. 24. Advertising couriers for '95 claim a "Monster Bi-Horned Nas-Horn", accompanied by an inconsistent drawing of a one-horned armored rhino. In the Clipper for June 27, 1896 (P. 262) under "Ringling Notes" it is said that the show expects to receive a rhinoceros in the latter part of August. Could this be a clue that the brothers had not previously exhibited such an animal? Later issues of the 1896 Clipper did not say whether the anticipated rhino actually joined out.

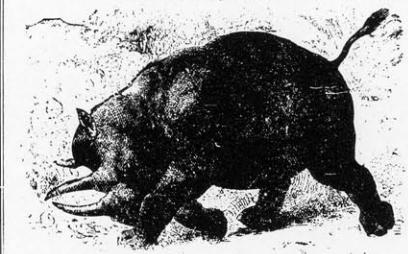
Your writer's reluctance to accept the aforesaid evidence as proof of rhino ownership by the Ringlings may be inconsistent with his authentication of other rhinos discussed herein, sometimes on the basis of more tenuous references than those for the Baraboo brothers. But, I feel like applying a stronger test in the case of the Ringlings. So much has been written and

NOT HERE TO-DAY!

THE GREAT
**Adam Forepaugh
And Sells Brothers'**
2 BIG SHOWS COMBINED

Is double the size and has ten times the BIGGEST MENAGERIE of any Show that will be here this season.

**NO Living
Rhinoceros**



WITH THE SHOW HERE TO-DAY. 4-Haw & Sells Brothers' United Shows exhibit the only ONE.

No. 19. Forepaugh-Sells used this November 1896 herald urging the local populace to ignore the circus then in town and to wait to see their show which exhibited the only rhino. They actually had a rare Sumatran. Pfening Collection.

said about every facet of their circuses that I would expect the bona fide presence of a rhino in the 1890s to be more persuasively recorded than is the case. Noted Ringling authority Sverre O. Braathen of Madison, Wisconsin does not believe those brothers had a rhino before 1902. His opinion is entitled to great weight for not only does he have many of their original records in his collection, but he has also reviewed all the Baraboo (Sauk County) newspaper articles pertaining to the Ringling show. He says the first rhino mentioned is the one that arrived in December, 1902.

During the preceding pages, covering the period from 1865 to 1900, we have encountered a minimum of about 20 and a maximum of some 38 rhinos. No doubt sales or trades between shows, unknown to me, have caused some duplication. Nevertheless, the evidence is convincing that the majority of all the rhinos that have ever trouped were exhibited during the 35 years covered, with the 15 year period from 1870 to 1885 being that when the beasts were most common.

In the next installment we look at the circus rhinos since 1900.

1. Clipper, June 18, 1870 and advertisement in DuQuoin, Iowa August 16, 1870.
2. Posey, Jake, Last of the 40-Horse Drivers, Vantage Press (1959), pp. 16-17.

3. There is a chance the Hyatt Frost rhino could have been a Sumatran. That species first showed up in Europe in 1872, the Sumatran also has two horns, the word "black" was used for both, and Frost did not say his rhino was from Africa. Other evidence, however, suggests either John Robinson or Barnum got the first Sumatran. Therefore, until someone definite turns up in favor of the Sumatran origin for Hyatt Frost's rhino, I will continue to say he got the first genuine African black rhino.
4. In my article about African black rhinos in captivity in International Zoo Yearbook, Vol. IV, 1962, London, at page 112, I say this was an African rhino. The same statement is made in the first installment of this rhino history (Bandwagon), Nov. - Dec. 1968, p. 8). On checking my source material about this 1872 Barnum animal I find it merely states "black rhino". The African identification is an unfortunate presumption on my part. As we shall see, it appears to have been a Sumatran.
5. Murray, Marian, Circus! From Rome To Ringling, Appleton - Century - Crofts, New York (1956) pp. 240-241.
- 5a. Circus! Rome To Ringling. On pages 240-241 Miss Murray quotes Disher about the one that washed overboard in 1877. Later on page 241 she mentions a rhino getting loose during the return voyage from Australia in 1878. If this is correct, the second animal would have to be a new rhino obtained during the stay in Australia.
- 5b. It is entirely possible that the 1879 rhino was purchased in America after the circus returned from its international journey. I do not believe it could have come from the Howes Great London Circus that Bailey purchased and merged with his show for the 1879 season. A detailed list of the animals with Howes Great London in 1877 does not list a rhino and Richard Conover does not believe it added one before Bailey took over.
6. An advertisement for Sells Bros. at Ft. Scott, Kansas on April 28, 1877 mentions a rhino but with no corroborative evidence, I am reluctant to accept the ad as proof of the fact.
7. Mann, Wm. M. Wild Animals In and Out of the Zoo, Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution (1930) pp. 209-210.
8. Dr. Kuhn's data is repeated by Bernhard Grzimek in "Die gegenwartige Zahl der Nashorner auf der Erde (Teil 2)", Sauge-tierkundliche Mitteilungen, Band VIII, Heft 1/2, July 1, 1960. The same story, up to the alleged sale to Barnum & Bailey, also appears on p. 102 of C.A.W. Guggisberg's S.O.S. Rhino, Andre Deutsch Ltd., London, 1966.
9. From H. J. V Sody "Das Javanische Nas-horn", Zeitschrift fur Sauge-tierkunde (1959) pp. 195 and 239
10. Chang Reynolds, "The Bovalapus Brigade" Bandwagon, Nov. - Dec., 1963.

CIRCUS BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS GIVING

"THE STORY OF MR. CIRCUS", Chas. T. Hunt, Sr. as told to John Cloutman. Its the story simply told of the success and failure, heartbreaks and laughter, thrills and routine of the Hunt Brothers Circus from 1892 to publication year 1954. Its the memorable things that happened during 63 years travels of one of the best known and most loved circus in the country. A new 352 page, small print, 16 picture copy is available at the 1954 published price . . . \$3.50 post-paid.

Send Stamp for Listing of 1/4-Inch Scale Circus Wagons and Draft Horses, Circus Books, Circus Recordings and Miscellaneous Items.

A MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ONE AND ALL AND MAY YOUR NEW YEAR BE THE BEST EVER.

BETTY SCHMID
485 Sleepy Hollow Road
Pittsburgh, Penna. 15228