The “Greatest Frontier Days’ Celebration Ever Attempted”: Shaping Civic and Regional Identity in the Calgary Stampede

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Contents

Abstract

The Calgary Stampede, presently marketed as "The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth," has been the subject of scholarly attention from various disciplines ranging from veterinary medicine to sociology and history. This study examines several aspects of the event, with the aim of examining the ways in which the Stampede has been presented to the public, and especially the ways in which that presentation has been adapted to fit changing cultural norms and responses to public scrutiny. Furthermore, this study examines how the Stampede has shaped civic and regional identities. This study looks thematically at the representation of Indigenous peoples, masculinity, and non-human animals in the event. It further examines how the Stampede organization has shaped the event's marketing around history, tradition, and spectacle. This study uses historical records examined through frameworks such as Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, Guy Debord's theory of the spectacle, and Mary Louise Pratt's notion of contact zones to explain the event's continued popularity. The result is a series of thematically organized chapters which illustrate the ways in which the seemingly static aspects of the Stampede are adjusted to suit ever-changing cultural expectations and norms while maintaining an air of historicity that links the event to its origins. The competing goals of rooting the event in the province's past and keeping it relevant to contemporary audiences necessitate a continuous renegotiation of the attractions, marketing, and aesthetics of the Stampede, along with a simultaneous focus on historical moments from its past.

Appendix A: Acronyms used throughout

Acronym	Meaning
CCA	City of Calgary Archives
CESA	Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Archives
CESF	Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Fonds[1]
DIA	Department of Indian Affairs
ERC	Elbow River Camp
GMA	Glenbow Museum and Archives
GWF	Guy Weadick Fonds
U of C DC	University of Calgary Digital Collection

[1] The CESA and CESF refer to mostly the same collections of documents, the bulk of the CESF was moved from the Glenbow museum to the University of Calgary during the course of my research. The CESA is the new name for the collection, though it is used throughout only in the context of the digitized version of the collection found in the University of Calgary's digital collection.

Appendix B: Index of Images

Preface

Growing up in a small town in rural northern Alberta, I can recall hearing about the Calgary Stampede from a young age, though only in the context that the nearest local rodeo and fair, the Grande Prairie Stompede (sic), was home to a Calgary Stampede champion. Kelly Sutherland, a 12-time Calgary Stampede Chuckwagon champion, is somewhat of a local legend, with a sign on the north end of Grande Prairie welcoming visitors to the home of Kelly Sutherland and listing the years of his world and Stampede chuckwagon wins. The Sutherland family are also prominent figures throughout the region, Kirk, Kelly's brother, is a well-known but less successful chuckwagon driver. Kirk and his wife were my mother's landlords in Clairmont, Alberta from 1993 until she moved in early 2012. My first direct experience with the Calgary Stampede would not come until I was 17 years old. My partner at the time had invited me to travel to Calgary with her and her mother for a Bon Jovi concert which was to take place at the Saddledome during the Stampede.

Figure 1: A jacket embroidered with branding for the Sutherland Inn[1]

Having frequented the midway portion of the Grande Prairie Stompede growing up, I assumed this would be a similar situation, only with more rides and more people. To some extent, that was what I experienced, only on a much larger scale than I had anticipated. The thing

[1] Jacket embroidered with branding for the Sutherland Inn, N.D., *Better Off Duds*, https://betteroffduds.ca/products/kellys-bar-jacket, Accessed 13 February 2022

that struck me the most was that when we decided to ride on The Zipper, which was easily the most popular (and thrilling) ride available at the Grande Prairie event, the other rides drew so much more attention that we only stood in line for a few minutes, as opposed to the hour or more we were used to waiting for the same ride at home. On our first day at the Calgary Stampede we managed to ride a few rides and try some midway games before attending the sold-out Bon Jovi concert. I'm not certain how many more days we stayed after the first one, but I remember leaving thinking there was still so much more to experience and that we could have stayed even longer.

When I moved to Calgary for university four years later, I heard about all the exciting parties and other shenanigans that came with being a twenty-something at the Stampede. I learned from friends who grew up in Southern Alberta about how big of a deal the Stampede was to them, whether as fans of the rodeo, fans of parties, or just fans of carnival rides. It was not until my last summer living in Calgary before moving away for grad school that I started to learn about the cultural aspects of the Stampede, such as the Elbow River Camp (then known as the Indian Village) discussed in this study. Less than a full year later, I had made the decision to pursue my Ph.D. while studying the Stampede, which has culminated in this dissertation.

Introduction

An annual event for over a century, the Calgary Stampede has gone from an obscure one-off event to a world-famous celebration of Western Canada. With the sole exception of the 2020 Stampede, which was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the event has been a staple of summers in the prairie city every year since 1923. The Stampede has carried on uninterrupted through World War II, multiple recessions, and a disastrous flood, along with numerous other obstacles. The Calgary Stampede website describes the event in this way: "Much more than a ten-day long celebration with midway rides and bucking broncos, the Calgary Stampede is a gathering place that hosts, educates, and entertains visitors from around the world."[1] While the organizers of the event have a vested interest in positioning the event as something much more grandiose and important than the reality, this simple description actually understates some aspects of what the Stampede is. In reality, the Stampede's impact and influence spans not just the entire city but throughout Southern Alberta and beyond. As this study shows, the significance of the Stampede for different participants, stakeholders, and guests has changed significantly over the event's history. Its importance in the early decades of its existence is substantially different from its importance in the present.

In over a century of changes and constant evolution, the Stampede organization has continually relied on several popular narratives and tropes to bolster the event's appeal. The primary theme of the event is the popular idea of the North American west. Although the settlement of the Canadian west was different from that of the United States in several significant ways, the Stampede has always blended the American frontier narrative with the local history of

[1] "About Us" *Calgary Stampede*, calgarystampede.com/Stampede/about Accessed 13 May 2021.

Southern Alberta and the regional history of the Canadian west.[2] Alongside the more prominent theme of the west, the marketing for the Stampede has focused on the authenticity of the event, promising visitors the chance to view 'real' Indigenous people and 'real' cowboy sports which pose a 'real' risk to both human and animal competitors. In the early Stampedes this authenticity was proven by contrast to Wild West shows and vaudeville acts of the era, while later Stampedes use the event's own history to prove its authenticity. This study examines these themes and the ways in which the cultural context of the Stampede has shaped the event and the ways it is sold to the public.

The Stampede has shaped and been shaped by civic and regional identities, in effect the event has reflected the values, culture, and identities of the hegemonic culture in which it exists and has also played a significant role in shaping those ideas. The multifaceted civic and regional identities at hand are perhaps best represented by the duality of Calgary and of Southern Alberta being known for their importance to the oil and gas sector while maintaining ties, real and symbolic to the ranching and farming sectors. Calgary's nickname of Cowtown, which comes from its position as a hub for the region's cattle industry, but also invokes various associated

[2] The notion of the frontier, often more readily used in the context of the United States, is a contentious one among western historians. However, in popular fiction and popular narratives about the settlement of the North American west, the term is often used to describe the settlement process from a European perspective. This perspective posits that the European settlers brought civilization to the west as they homesteaded and developed towns and cities in what had been unsettled lands. In much of the popular fiction of western settlement, the frontier is imagined as an antagonist to the settler protagonists, one comprised of both inhospitable environments and of Indigenous peoples who stood in opposition to civilization. This notion of settling the west as a conflict with nature and the land's inhabitants underpins much of the popular understanding of the settlement process. In the case of the Stampede, the celebration of early settlers seems to have been a celebration of those individuals who overcame these obstacles and led the way for the region's agricultural and industrial development. For more on the notion of the frontier and its utilization by historians see: Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner and Charles E. Rankin eds. *Trails: Toward a New Western History*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1991.

ideas of cowboy culture, country western music, and of course the Stampede, is seemingly at odds with the modern, urban culture in which many of its citizens live and work. The ways in which the Stampede has influenced those identities, as well as how it has been shaped by changing cultural norms, are the primary focus of this study. As the first chapter of this study explains, the dual ideas of invented traditions and the consumer culture valuation of spectacle, and the masterful manipulation of those values, have kept the Stampede culturally relevant even as the hegemonic culture has undergone significant changes. This study aims to answer several questions about both the Stampede specifically, and the construction of cultural values and identities more broadly. The first question this study addresses is how has the event been sold to the public? To the same end, I address the question of what does the Stampede, and the way it is marketed, tell us about the formation of civic and regional identities? More broadly, what does the event tell us about the cultural context in which it takes place? The Stampede, as an event, as an organization, and as a space for the celebration and reproduction of culture, has played a crucial role in the formation of civic and regional identities. The brand and aesthetic of the Stampede and its continued celebration of settler heritage alongside changing modern attractions has created an identity for the city and for the region which is both explicitly and implicitly tied to popular notions of the settlement of the Canadian west and to ranching, farming, and rodeo.

Since the first iteration of the Stampede in 1912 it has been a combination of a rodeo, a midway, a celebration of settler history and Indigenous cultures, and various forms of stage entertainment. Following its merger with the Calgary Industrial Exhibition in 1923 it has also included industrial and agricultural exhibitions along with a seemingly ever-growing list of entertainment options for attendees. Where the Industrial Exhibition's primary audience was ranching and farming families, the organizers of the Stampede have always aimed to appeal to

the mainstream culture in the region and throughout the continent. The combination of the two events brought the mass market appeal of rodeo, historic pageantry, and other entertainment to the more pragmatic appeal of the industrial exhibition. The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede was an immediate success by any measure and, as this study shows, it has evolved and grown substantially over the subsequent decades.

Due to the significant changes in both scope and scale of the event since its inception, it is not easily defined. For ten days each July, the Stampede is home to a rodeo, fair, exhibition, and music festival, though outside of the boundaries of the park in which it takes place those same ten days feature a city-wide celebration. In its current form, the event is a large-scale fair, one of the most prestigious professional rodeos in North America, and a major tourist draw for the city of Calgary.[3] Since the inaugural Stampede, the event has been part of the city's, and later the province's tourism promotions, a trend which continues in the present.[4] Many of the oil and gas companies and other corporations with headquarters in the city use the Stampede as an opportunity to wine and dine prospective partners and employees, and many of those same companies have annual Stampede parties in a similar vein to their December holiday parties.[5]

In addition to the event proper, Stampede week features themed events and tourist-oriented amusements throughout much of the city. These events range from Stampede organized promotional efforts, such as square-dancing lessons on Stephen Avenue to bars and restaurants

[3] The prestige of the Stampede rodeo is due to a combination of the scope and scale of the event, its substantial prizes, its fame within the world of rodeo, and the high skill floor of the competitions due to its formatting as an invitational rodeo. To qualify for an invitation to compete, Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA) and Canadian Professional Rodeo Association (CPRA) athletes must be top competitors in their respective rodeo circuits.
[4] See the examination of the marketing of the Stampede in the following chapter.
[5] Kyle Bakx, "Sky-high oil prices fueling the return of Calgary Stampede parties in a big way," *CBC News*, 17 June 2022.

hosting live music (typically country-western artists) to capitalize on the popularity of the Stampede. In some respects, the Stampede is a city-wide event. At least, the impacts of the event are seen throughout the city, with transit seeing high volumes of passengers, businesses decorating in an old west theme, and many Calgarians booking their summer vacations around the Stampede (whether to attend the Stampede or to flee the city). As discussed in Chapter 1, these city-wide efforts have been part of promoting the Stampede since its (relatively) humble beginnings but have expanded significantly over time. At present the Calgary Stampede is a key part of the city's tourism strategies, its economy, and its identity. The immediate impact of the Stampede and its continued growth are explored in depth in this study, but the successful first Stampede bears some discussion here.

The history of the Stampede begins with American rodeo performer and trick roper Guy Weadick organizing the 1912 version of the event with the support of the City of Calgary and industry financiers. However, the traditions and cultural touchstones which brought crowds to the inaugural Stampede did not begin in 1912. Rather, the roots of the event lie in the dime novels which captured the imaginations of youths across North America with tales of western gunslingers, and with Wild West shows which capitalized on that fascination to entertain crowds and bring in considerable profits.[6] Furthermore, aspects of these events originated in popular anxieties about the rapidly changing industrial world, and in a collective nostalgia that made cowboy and settler narratives popular. While the Stampede has come a long way from its early promises of a historical pageant celebrating settlers and the so-called frontier, much of the

[6] Krunoslav Medak and Biljana Oklopcic, "The Image of the Frontiersman in Dime-Novel Westerns: Jesse James and Buffalo Bill." *Interactions: Ege Journal of British and American Studies*, 27 no. 1-2 (2018): 89-100.

continued appeal of the event is rooted in a romanticized history of rugged individual cowboys and rough and tumble settler families.[7]

Rather than a story of the self-proclaimed "Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth," the story of the Calgary Stampede is one of colonial and imperial narratives used to sell that show to revelers from around the world. It is also a history which at times mirrors, and at other times contrasts with the values of the society in which the event takes place. From the inaugural Stampede in which Guy Weadick convinced Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) Indian agents to allow the First Nations participants to hold pow-wows and other cultural ceremonies, which were outlawed at the time, to recent efforts to appease animal rights activists, the organizers of the Calgary Stampede have worked within the confines of social norms at times and challenged those expectations at others.[8]

The following chapters outline, respectively, the marketing of the event to the Canadian and American public; the ways in which Indigenous participants have been represented in the event; the ways in which masculinity has been represented in the Stampede; and non-human (animal) participants in the Stampede and the animal rights activism surrounding that topic. This study is broad in scope but each of these aspects of the Stampede is crucial both to how the event itself is perceived by the public, and to how the event reflects hegemonic cultural values. As will

[7] Daniel Worden, "Masculinity for the Million: Gender in Dime Novel Westerns." *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory*, 63 no.3 (2007): 35-60.
[8] A note on terminology: Throughout this study I primarily use the term First Nations when discussing Indigenous people and their involvement in the Stampede. This is the preferred terminology to refer collectively to Indigenous groups in Canada exclusive of Inuit and Metis. Most of the Indigenous involvement in the Stampede is of Treaty Seven First Nations, so this term is used to collectively refer to those groups and their representation. The term Indian is used at various points when referring to historical names or documents or when quoting directly from certain sources. Where relevant and known the specific nations are indicated by their preferred names, unless citing historical sources which use other names to reference them.

become apparent throughout this study, the organizers of the Stampede have retained the event's cultural relevance and popularity by adapting to changing societal values while still maintaining a perception of historical authenticity.[9] This is done in myriad ways over the history of the event, with the most recent efforts aimed at rooting the Stampede in its own history through expanded museum displays and historical photographs throughout the park.[10]

Historical Context

This study covers a century of Stampede history, with an emphasis on how the event impacted civic and regional identities and how the organization adapted the event as broader cultural norms and values shifted. The 20th century in Calgary, in Alberta, and in Canada as a whole was a century of rapid urbanization and economic and technological development. The same can be said of the development, expansion, and social and cultural advances of the Calgary Stampede under the guidance of its leadership and with the cooperation of all levels of government. Though its present form is unmistakably distinct from any other event of its kind, the Calgary Stampede did not begin its century-plus long run in the form of "The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth" that it is branded as today.

Although the Calgary Stampede is unique in its size and scope, it was founded and developed in a culture in which seemingly every community in the region had some form of

[9] While this is examined throughout the study, the event's roots in the celebration of settlement, agriculture, and the history thereof are still present to some degree. The history being celebrated has shifted over time from the history of the settlement and development of the region, to the history of the event itself. In this way the organizers have created a clear throughline from the past to the present, even as they have diminished the focus on historical pageantry and western heritage as the event has increased in scope and scale. Put simply, the celebration of the event's history implies a link to western history more broadly.

[10] "Calgary Stampede history to be featured in new $44M centre, open year-round," *CBC News*, 29 May 2024.

rodeo or agricultural fair as an annual tradition. Mary-Ellen Kelm identifies at least 26 distinct communities in Alberta that had or still have regular rodeos, not accounting for rodeos held on reservations, and at least 30 such communities in British Columbia.[11] Ranch rodeos as well as many of the sports which became part of the professional rodeo circuit in later decades can be traced back long before the inaugural Calgary Stampede. Kelm identifies Ray Knight's 1902 challenge to nearby ranchers to enter their horses in a bucking competition as the origin of the Raymond, Alberta rodeo, for example.[12]

Rather than its current form as an annual, city-wide and world-famous event, the Stampede began as a one-off event held within the facilities that housed the annual Calgary Industrial Exhibition. The Industrial Exhibition is noteworthy as it provides some further context for the Stampede proper. Calgary's exhibition was part of a then decades-long trend of such exhibitions throughout the Canadian west, a trend which carries back even further in the United States and Europe (and throughout the Western world with World's Fairs). As Mary-Ellen Kelm explains, governments at the municipal and provincial levels encouraged and supported such exhibitions for several reasons, including promoting settlement and attracting investors, as well as educating farmers and settlers on advancements in technologies and techniques which might improve their lives and livelihoods. [13]

As the settler colonial project came to fruition in Alberta, driven by government efforts to establish strong territorial claims in the west, the recent settler history of the prairies became romanticized and mythologized, with events such as the Stampede linking that history to the

[11] Mary-Ellen Kelm, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011). Map 3, Map 4, 20-22.
[12] Ibid. 26.
[13] Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Riding into Place: Contact Zones, Rodeo, and Hybridity in the Canadian West 1900-1970," *Journal of the CHA*, 18 no.1 (2007): 107-132.

fictionalized "wild" west narratives of the American southwest. While the settlement of the Canadian west differed from the same process south of the 49th parallel, the popular fiction based in the American west proved influential and popular in Canada as well.[14] These popular works of fiction led to the very type of mythmaking that this study argues has been instrumental in forming civic and regional identities, though on a much larger scale.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Calgary had grown from an isolated fort and trading post along the Elbow and Bow rivers to a rapidly expanding urban center and the hub of economic activity for Southern Alberta. The demographic makeup of Calgary had shifted in the years following the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, which only helped to fuel the notion that the Alberta in which the Old Timers had made their fortunes was no more.[15] Immigrants from Europe and the United States came to the Canadian prairies seeking fortunes of their own, spurred on by rail access and the offering of cheap land from the Dominion government. Some of the responsibility for encouraging settlement in the region also fell to the rail companies themselves. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company issued guides for settlers which included information about inexpensive land available through the company alongside details about the free lands available under the government's Homestead Act.[16] The resulting

[14] Brian W. Dippie, "One West, One Myth: Transborder Continuity in Western Art," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 33, no.4 (2003): 509.
[15] The term "old timers" was used to refer to some of the families and individuals in the region who could trace their roots to the settlement era. It is not an exact or precise term, but in the case of The Stampede it refers to well-known families from the first few generations of white settlers.
[16] The Canadian Pacific Railway Company. *Settlers' guide, 1908, to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta (Macleod, Alta., Morley, Alta., and east)*. Canadiana: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.66312/

growth was such that by 1912 Calgary faced an increased demand for housing, as population growth was, at times, outpacing the development of new real estate.[17]

Despite Calgary's population boom over the preceding decades, the Calgary Industrial Exhibition saw decreased attendance throughout the 1910s and early 1920s. In 1922, exhibition president E.L. Richardson asked Guy Weadick to merge his Stampede format with the faltering exhibition, creating the annual Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. In so doing, the Industrial Exhibition was able to draw larger crowds than before, and Weadick was able to find a permanent home for his Stampede that he had brought to Calgary eleven years prior.[18] The following decades would see Weadick's term as Stampede manager come to an end, as well as the economic turmoil of the Great Depression and Canada's entry into World War II. However, the Stampede would carry on uninterrupted throughout these changes.

During the year immediately following the end of World War II, Albertans saw what would come to be a watershed moment in the history of the province, and by extension the country. There had been attempts to extract natural gas and oil from the nearby Turner Valley region since 1914, though no significant progress had been made. The technological limitations of the era and difficulties with extraction meant that the Turner Valley oilfields had not met the lofty expectations of the speculators. However, in 1946 a seismic survey indicated potential oil reserves in Leduc, about 300km North of Calgary. On 13 February 1947, the drilling of the first well in the Leduc oilfield was completed in front of a crowd of approximately 500 spectators, ranging from local farmers to government officials.[19] The discovery of oil at Leduc would begin

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[17] "Calgary," *From East to West*, 20 July 1912, Board of Commissioners Fonds, Box 36, 191, CCA.
[18] *Calgary Exhibition Annual Report, 1923*, N.D., CESA, U of C DC. 5.
[19] Wallis Snowdon, "Leduc No. 1: Seven decades ago, a single oil well changed Alberta history." *CBC News*, 13 February 2017.

Alberta's transition from a growing economy producing much of Canada's crude oil, to a global power in oil extraction and crude oil production. This marked the endpoint for the transition from open plains ranching to an industrial economy. Although cattle ranching, canola farming, and various other agrarian industries remain important both culturally and economically in the province, oil has become a driving force in economic investment in and immigration to Alberta.

As Alberta continued to expand its economic reliance on the oil and gas industry, Calgary slowly became a business hub for petroleum producers. Over time this had a significant impact on the Stampede, as the reputation of the event made it a destination for oil executives to bring their guests, as well as a brand which companies wanted to attach their name to. At present this is most visible with the numerous sponsorships from these companies, as well as annual events such as the chuckwagon canvas auction in which sponsors bid to have their company livery on specific chuckwagons. This tradition began in 1979, and the 2020 iteration of the auction raised over $3 million for the chuckwagon drivers and for Stampede safety initiatives.[20] In short, while the Stampede has maintained its agriculture and ranching ties, the province's oil economy has helped to fund the event and its expansion.

Calgary's continued growth throughout the 1970s helped the city win its bid to host the 1988 winter Olympics, an event which brought increased attention to both the city and the Stampede. The Stampede Corral along with the newly constructed Saddledome, both on the Stampede grounds, hosted various Olympic events. The Saddledome was opened in 1983 to be used as both and Olympic arena and the home arena for the city's NHL team. The two arenas hosted various figure skating events, ice dancing, and hockey games over the course of the

[20] CBC News, "Stampede reduces number of chuckwagons in each race, ends tarp auction," *CBC News Calgary*, 25 September 2020.

Olympics, with the ice hockey finals hosted in the Saddledome. The construction of this new arena had additional benefits to the planning of the Stampede, as it provided a large concert venue during the Stampede, as well as an iconic landmark that could easily be spotted from many viewpoints in the city.

Having carried on the Stampede's plans for expansion, even throughout the Boom-Bust cycle of the oil-dependent province's economy, and particularly the oil glut of the 1980s, the final decade of the 20th century began with optimism. While the petroleum industry would not reach another sustained boom until 2003, the province's economy was largely recovered from the previous decade. By 1990, many of the staples of the present-day Stampede were well-established. The pancake breakfasts, for example, a longstanding tradition, had become increasingly widespread, with local businesses and even the local branch of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) hosting breakfasts. In 1990, the Stampede organization released plans for further expansion over the following decade, and though their "Horizon 2000" proposal required more financial backing than the organization was able to muster in the short term, it marked the beginning of a ten-year project to turn the park into a year-round attraction.[21]

The remainder of the decade would see incremental changes to the Stampede grounds as various land purchases and other deals were negotiated. Despite economic uncertainty in the slumping oil sector the Stampede continued to expand in scope and in scale throughout the 1990s. By the end of the century, the event was averaging just over one million total guests per year, and in 2000 attendance totaled 1.2 million. The city would also expand its support of the Stampede as it continued to expand in popularity among tourists. A *Calgary Herald*

[21] Dr. Bob Church and Don Jacques, "President's and General Manager's Report," *Calgary Exhibition & Stampede Annual Report*, 1990 U of C DC, CESF, 2.

retrospective of the 2000s notes that the first Stampede of the new millennium marked the first time Calgary Transit offered 24-hour service to accommodate the crowds. The same article also lists several efforts by the Stampede to continue to broaden its appeal, such as offering a wider variety of musical acts and more young-adult programming. By creating a council of 18- to 34-year-old individuals with the express purpose of bringing in more guests in that age range, the Stampede was able to increase the attendance of that demographic from 5 to 18 percent of the event's guests.[22] The Stampede would continue to grow and evolve in largely incremental ways throughout the 2000s. The 2008 global recession and resulting oil crash impacted the province significantly, but as had been the case in other times of economic hardship the Stampede still posted impressive attendance numbers. The event's cumulative total for 10-day attendance reached 1,236,351 people, a decrease of around 1% from the previous year.[23]

The Stampede, for all the organizer's attempts to maintain an image of a timeless event, has been shaped significantly by its historical context, and has become inextricably linked to the culture, identity and history of the city. The organization's ability to maintain a brand identity linked to ranching and farming, while simultaneously appealing to contemporary audiences who do neither, is a key part of its continued cultural relevance and seemingly ceaseless growth. The first century of the Stampede's history mirrors that century of the city and the province's histories at times and stands apart at others. While Alberta's economy has borne the brunt of a boom-bust cycle following the transition to oil and gas in the mid-20th century, the Stampede has been largely isolated from the same fate. However, as outlined in the preceding pages and

[22] Deborah Tetley, "Calgary Stampede: The New Millennium – Building Toward a Brighter Future," *Calgary Herald*, 11 July 2016.
[23] CBC News, "Stampede Marketing Pays off with Strong Attendance Numbers," *CBC News*, 14 July 2008.

examined in more depth throughout this study, the cultural and social changes, locally, regionally, and nationally, over the same period have played a significant role in shaping the Stampede.

Literature Review

This study builds on a vast historiography relevant to the above aspects of representation and identity construction. The fields of historical study which are most directly relevant here are cultural history, particularly the history of consumer culture and marketing, Indigenous Studies, the study of gender and sexuality, and the history of human and animal interactions. This study draws upon existing scholarship in those fields to analyze the cultural impacts of the Calgary Stampede. By examining these fields with respect to the Calgary Stampede, this study positions the event as a cornerstone of civic and regional identities. Furthermore, I expand upon the existing scholarship by showing how the adaptability of the aesthetics and values of the Stampede have created a sustained cultural relevance, allowing an event that has undergone dramatic change throughout its history to maintain an image of being an homage to the past while appealing to modern audiences.

Along with those fields, this study builds upon scholarship which specifically examines the Stampede. The most comprehensive and arguably most impactful of the existing works on the Stampede is the edited volume *Icon, Brand, Myth* which consists of thirteen articles examining various aspects of the Stampede.[24] This collection informs a significant portion of this study and contains works examining the Stampede from various perspectives. Those most

[24] Max Foran, ed. *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008).

relevant to this study are Donald Wetherell's examination of the Stampede as a set of invented traditions, Hugh Dempsey's article examining Indigenous involvement in the Stampede, and Max Foran's article which unpacks the relationship between the city of Calgary and the Calgary Stampede organization.

Wetherell's article examines the ways in which the rituals and traditions of the Stampede were constructed, arguing broadly that their construction was intentional rather than organic, using Hobsbawm's notion of invented traditions.[25] The author uses examples such as the annual public pancake breakfasts, which originated with a single incident and have become a tradition for various businesses, to illustrate this point. Wetherell's specific focus on these sorts of traditions precludes a more holistic approach to understanding what those traditions mean outside of the context of the Stampede. My work in this study addresses the construction of civic and regional identities through such traditions.

Dempsey's work follows the historian's other works on Indigenous peoples in the prairie provinces. This article positions the participation of Indigenous groups in the Stampede as a continuation of comparable participation in other fairs and outlines several major incidents and events that occurred in the Indian Village in the first half of the twentieth century. [26] Dempsey's work here is particularly helpful in understanding the resistance that organizers faced from various agents within the Department of Indian affairs. This article is rather light on analysis and heavy on description of the specific events Dempsey examines, and so does not assess the relationship between the Indigenous participants in the event and the Stampede organization in

[25] Donald Wetherell, "Making Tradition: The Calgary Stampede, 1912-1939," in *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*, 21-45.
[26] Hugh Dempsey, "The Indians and the Stampede," in *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*, 47-72.

any depth. The relevant section of this study uses the work of Dempsey and others to analyze the ways in which Indigenous people are represented in the Stampede and its promotional materials.

Max Foran has two articles in the book, but the one most relevant to this study is "More Than Partners: The Calgary Stampede and the City of Calgary."[27] This article provides a counterpoint to both scholars and popular perceptions of the Stampede as a controlling force in municipal decision-making that is at once omnipresent and wholly unaccountable to the citizenry. Foran gives an overview of the ways in which the city and the Stampede have worked together in the interests of both parties, as well as the ways in which the relationship stands out in contrast to other organizations and similar events throughout the country. He further explains the ways in which the city's close alignment with the Stampede, and the flexibility, financial aid, and promotional efforts it has provided have helped the Stampede to become part of the identity of Calgary. This article provides an important foundation for understanding the unique relationship between the municipal government and the Stampede organization.

Though it falls outside the realm of scholarly research, James H. Gray's book, *A Brand of Its Own* is also important to the study of the Stampede.[28] Prior to the publication of the above edited volume, Gray's work was the largest work on the subject in terms of the scope of the study. The book was published as a popular history text and lacks footnotes and citations, but it has been influential in the writing of numerous scholarly works since its publication. This text presents a mostly straightforward account of the history of the Stampede, and its value to

[27] Max Foran, "More than Partners: The Calgary Stampede and the City of Calgary," in *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*, 147-174.
[28] James H. Gray, *A Brand of Its Own: The 100 Year History of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede* (Regina: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985).

scholars comes largely from Gray's work compiling information about important events in the Stampede's history, providing a timeline of notable events.

In examining representations of Indigenous people, I rely on Michael Omi and Howard Winant's racial formation theory which posits that race is socially constructed, and racial categories are defined and negotiated based on socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors.[29] This theory informs my understanding of the racialization of Indigenous people. Omi and Winant's theory underpins much of the research into the broader implications of racial groups and hierarchies in the history of the Americas, and marks a significant shift in the ways in which scholars have understood race. This foundational text, though its primary focus is on the United States, is useful in understanding settler perceptions of Indigenous people within a settler-colonial and Eurocentric society.

Though it has not been formally published, Susan L. Joudrey's work on the relationship between the Indigenous participants in the Stampede and the Stampede organization in her doctoral dissertation is another important piece of scholarship on the Stampede. "Hidden Authority, Public Display" examines representations of Indigenous peoples in the Stampede from the inaugural Stampede through 1970.[30] Much of Joudrey's research materials on this topic overlap my own, though our conclusions differ significantly. Joudrey's argument about Indigenous involvement in the Stampede is that it serves as a point of contrast for the progress of the development of the Canadian west, and that it doubled as a way for government to manage the ways in which Indigenous people were seen by the public. At the risk of being overly

[29] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 3rd Edition. (New York: Routledge, 2015).
[30] Susan L. Joudrey, "Hidden Authority, Public Display: Representations of First Nations Peoples at the Calgary Stampede, 1912-1970," PhD Diss. (Carleton University, 2013).

reductive, this argument ignores the use of the Stampede as a site of resistance, and of cultural transmission, by the Indigenous participants. The study also ignores or downplays the collaborative nature of the relationship between the families participating in the Indian Village and the organizers of the Stampede, beginning with Guy Weadick and continuing to the present in which the Indian Events Committee and the representatives of the Indian Village/Elbow River Camp (ERC) plan and execute that portion of the Stampede. While there is no homogenous or monolithic agreement among Alberta's First Nations peoples about the value of the Stampede, the relevant chapter of this study examines some of the opinions of those involved in the event and offers some insight into the relationship between ERC families and the organization. The consensus on that subject seems to be that the ERC provides a venue for First Nations people to interact with and share (some aspects of) their cultures with other Indigenous people, settlers, and visitors from around the world. Historically, it has also provided an opportunity to practice certain cultural rituals, such as Pow-Wow dancing, which were, at various times, outlawed under federal Indian Act legislation. Additionally, the decision by the Stoney Nakoda Nation to boycott the Stampede in 1950 is indicative of the ways in which the relationship between the organizers and the ERC families was dependent on mutual goodwill and was not unconditional. Further, this specific incident shows the influence and importance of the Indigenous participants to the Stampede organizers, as the grievances were remedied in time for the 1951 Stampede.[31]

There are several other works which examine the history of the Stampede or aspects of the Stampede alongside comparable events. There does not seem to be a scholarly consensus about the Stampede as a whole, with most studies focusing on specific aspects of the event. The chapters of this study are organized in a similar fashion, examining various aspects of the

[31] This is discussed in some depth in the Indigenous Representation chapter of this study.

Stampede but with a holistic view of the event in mind. However, some of these works merit discussion for their contributions to both this study and to the broader historiographies in which they are situated. Not all of these works are directly relevant to the scope of this study, though many provide important foundational information which informs my understanding of the history and context of the event beyond the focus of this study.

Along with their place in the growing milieu of Stampede scholarship, the above works by Joudrey and Dempsey, along with other works used throughout this study, fall under the umbrella of Indigenous Studies scholarship. For the purposes of this study, I have primarily focused on scholarship which examines the representation of Indigenous peoples in settler society. Scholarship which examines representation of Indigenous peoples in a Canadian context is especially important in understanding the assumptions and ideas which underpin settler Canadian encounters with Indigenous people. To this end, Daniel Francis's *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* serves as a useful piece of the historiography. Francis examines the mythologized and stereotyped depictions of Indigenous people in Canadian culture, including within the Stampede. This text provides both a strong background to understanding the general ideas which informed settler views of Indigenous people and more specific background information on the inclusion of Indigenous people in the early Stampedes. Additionally, Francis provides analysis of the conflict between the Stampede organizers' desire to include Indigenous people and practices in the event, and the Department of Indian Affairs' efforts to limit Indigenous cultural practices.[32]

[32] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992).

In a similar vein, Philip Deloria's *Playing Indian* illustrates a clear contrast between the bigoted views of settler society regarding Indigenous peoples and the romanticization and exaltation of Indigenous cultures and cultural artefacts in the popular consciousness. This idea continues to be popular in Indigenous Studies, with numerous prominent works building upon this idea.[33] Deloria's work is important here as he is among the earlier scholars who examine the exoticization of, and fascination with, Indigenous cultures by settler peoples in a hegemonic culture which has ranged from actively hostile to passively indifferent in its treatment of Indigenous peoples. [34] While not all of Deloria's work is directly relevant here, the broader idea of settler fascination with Indigenous cultures goes some way toward explaining the popular appeal of the Elbow River Camp in the Calgary Stampede.

A significant portion of the historiography focuses on the tropes which surround depictions of Indigenous people, such as the noble savage, the ecological Indian, the disappearing Indian, and Indigenous people as a foil to the white man's attempts at progress. There are a number of ways of reading these depictions, but one that is particularly illustrative is Kasson's examination of the fictional character Tarzan, in which the author argues that Tarzan embodies all the elements white readers found desirable about Indigenous people, but in a non-Indigenous body.[35] Writ large, the tropes used to depict Indigenous people fall into this category of positive ideas about people whom settler society has oppressed or into the category of antagonists to the settlement and development of the Americas. Indian Villages and other forms

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[33] See for example: S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing In Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Falungi A. Sheth, *Toward A Political Philosophy of Race* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009).
[34] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[35] John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002).

of Indigenous cultural tourism tend to fall primarily into the former, while many works of fiction, especially many popular western genre films and books, fall into the latter. These tropes and stereotypes are important to understand in examining the Calgary Stampede, as representations of Indigenous peoples and cultures tend to be a mixture of reality and tourist expectations.

Many of the existing works which address Indigenous representation are written by non-Indigenous scholars, which can be problematic at times due to a lack of depth of knowledge. I have made efforts to correct for this in my own research by consulting various works written by Indigenous scholars about representation, as well as through informal discussions with interpreters and teepee owners at the Calgary Stampede. The latter have not been cited in this study, due to concerns over ethics and the informal nature of these discussions, but they have played a role in shaping my own perception of this subject. The growing body of historical scholarship written by Indigenous people on the matter of Indigenous representation also plays a crucial role in understanding the impacts of various forms of representation.

Works such as the edited collections *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representations* and *American Indians and the Mass Media* examine representation directly throughout.[36] Of the works contained in these texts, none directly address the Stampede or comparable events, but works such as Victoria E. Sanchez's "Buying into Racism" help to contextualize popular representations of Indigenous people, in this case in product mascots and

[36]Ute Lischke and David T. McNab, eds., *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representations* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005); Meta G. Carstarphen and John P. Sanchez, eds. *American Indians and the Mass Media* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).

logos, within the popular imagination.[37] Sanchez builds on other works addressing the use of Indigenous people, cultures, and imagery, in marketing consumer goods. While many of the examples used here are specific to the United States, the author's argument that the reduction of Indigenous people to symbols can reinforce and reproduce stereotypes and prejudices is more widely applicable. Specifically, this understanding can be used to assess whether certain representations are harmful and reductive, and what the impacts of those representations might be. Similarly, works such as Philip Bellfy's "Permission and Possession" which examines the ways in which the ownership of Indigenous imagery is often taken out of the hands of those being represented, illustrate how widespread these (mis)representations are. Bellfy's work uses examples ranging from sports mascots to abstracted representations of Indigenous people such as feathers and totem poles to illustrate the harm done to Indigenous identities by the settler fascination with such symbolism.[38]

Scholarship which builds upon the early works on this topic continues to expand upon similar conclusions. However, over the last two decades scholarship examining settler-Indigenous relations tends to incorporate Indigenous perspectives to a greater degree, whether it is written by Indigenous scholars, or relies more heavily on Indigenous source material.[39] The increased prominence of Indigenous scholars, writers, and activists over the last several decades

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[37] Victoria E. Sanchez, "Buying into Racism: American Indian Product Icons in the American Marketplace," in *American Indians and the Mass Media*, 153-168.
[38] Philip Bellfy, "Permission and Possession: The Identity Tightrope," in *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representations*, 29-44.
[39] See for example: Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith, *People of the Lakes: Stories of our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders/Googwandak Nakhwach'ànjòo Van Tat Gwich'in* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2010) which uses the oral traditions of the Van Tat Gwich'in people and oral histories of recent events as evidence in relaying the history of their homelands pre and post contact.

have also brought Indigenous perspectives to audiences outside of the ivory towers of academia. Thomas King's *The Inconvenient Indian* is a standout example of this, recounting the historical narrative of Indigenous peoples in North America after European contact, from an Indigenous perspective.[40] The works of King and other writers and activists have brought Indigenous worldviews to a more mainstream audience, in turn increasing both public and scholarly appetites for such works.[41] Additionally, contemporary scholarship can more readily draw on sources such as news interviews with Indigenous people or the work of Indigenous scholars, as these have become more common and widespread. The historiography of Indigenous studies has therefore increasingly incorporated Indigenous views and scholars in the field have embraced the use of oral traditions as historical source materials.

Another important aspect of the settler-Indigenous relationship is one which originates in the field of borderland studies but has been adopted and adapted by Indigenous studies scholars. Mary Louise Pratt's influential work examining borderlands as areas of cross-cultural contact and cultural transmission has seen increasing relevance within studies that examine settler-Indigenous interactions. While the Stampede and comparable events do not constitute geographical borderlands, the cross-cultural contact which occurs in such spaces mirrors that discussed by Pratt, though in a more temporally-constrained manner. In essence, these events constitute a borderland between cultures in much the same way that a more traditional territorial boundary creates a borderland between cultures on each side of the divide. There is a growing field of works that study this phenomenon in various specific sites of cultural tourism, the most

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[40] Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2012).
[41] See also: *Reel Injun*, directed by Neil Diamond (Montreal: Rezolution Pictures, 2009); *Qallunaat! Why White People are Funny*, directed by Mark Sandiford (Charlottetown: Beachwalker Films Inc., 2006).

directly applicable here is Jon Clapperton's examination of the Banff Indian Days.[42] Clapperton argues that the Banff Indian Days celebration allowed First Nations participants a level of agency and control over their own representation that was uncommon at the time. The voluntary participation in the event, much like the ERC at the Calgary Stampede, meant that although there were financial incentives to take part in the celebration those groups who did so would have some control over the form their participation took. Further, the close contact with settler people and the centrality of the First Nations members in the event allowed societal and social barriers to be challenged and crossed. Clapperton uses the example of First Nations men bringing settler women from their audiences into the performance to illustrate this point. While this is a situationally specific example, it reinforces a broader point about such sites of cross-cultural contact, and Clapperton links the event directly to such contact within the Elbow River Camp.

There are scholarly works that indicate a more coercive or exploitative relationship in similar events, though most of these works examine American and European contexts. With Indian Villages popular at large state fairs and at World's Fairs, it is unlikely that they would have been homogenously collaborative. Additionally, if accounting for earlier Indian Villages and events such as Wild West shows, the different historical contexts, or cultural contexts depending on the location, would have impacted the relationship between the Indigenous participants and non-Indigenous spectators. Melissa Rinehart examines instances of Indigenous participation in these sorts of colonial events in which the organizers have gone to some lengths to make them appear more primitive.[43] Joudrey points to similar efforts in the early Stampedes.

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[42] Jonathan Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations: Conservation, Colonialism and Spectacle at the Banff Indian Days," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no.3 (2013): 349-379.
[43] Melissa Rinehart, "To Hell with the Wigs!: Native American Representation and Resistance at the World's Columbian Exposition," *American Indian Quarterly* 36, no.4 (2012): 403-442.

Numerous other works which examine similar instances of event organizers attempting to match Indigenous peoples' representation to settler peoples' anachronistic expectations draw similar conclusions. While such efforts are seemingly less common in the Calgary event, the Stampede is not immune to such criticisms either. However, the agency of participants and the cultural importance of some aspects of this representation mean that a great deal of nuance is necessary in critiquing these events.

Leslie J. Miller and Siegrid Deutschlander co-authored two studies relating to cultural tourism in Alberta, both of which use discourse analysis approaches to examine the ways in which Indigenous groups in the province use contact with tourists to contest and resist the hegemonic narratives surrounding Indigenous people. First, they examine the Blackfoot culture and their assertion of technological superiority in traditional practices arguing that this challenges the colonial narrative of Indigenous societies as technologically inferior.[44] The second article uses a similar approach to examine the negotiation of primitivist views between tourists at Indigenous cultural sites, and the interpreters at those sites. They argue that First Nations groups use the primitivist discourse as a political tool - a tool of resistance.[45] In both articles the authors position these settler-Indigenous contact zones, as sites of political and cultural resistance on the part of the Indigenous interpreters. This is similar to Clapperton's article and provides a useful framework for understanding voluntary participation in events such as the Stampede.

[44] Siegrid Deutschlander and Leslie J. Miller, "A Discursive Analysis of Cultural Resistance: Indigenous Constructions of Blackfoot Superiority," *Tourism Culture & Communication* 5, no.1 (2004): 45-58.
[45] Siegrid Deutschlander and Leslie J. Miller, "Politicizing Aboriginal Cultural Tourism: The Discourse of Primitivism in the Tourist Encounter," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 40, no.1 (2008): 27-44.

While the above works provide a strong foundation for understanding Indigenous history and Indigenous representation, there is a significant body of non-scholarly literature written by Indigenous activists, artists, and authors, which also contributes to these understandings. Peer-reviewed and scholarly works are comparatively limited and works that fall outside the bounds of academia play an important role in understanding the perspectives present outside of the hegemonic culture. Works such as *Surviving Canada: Indigenous People Celebrate 150 Years of Betrayal*, an edited volume with contributions from various Indigenous writers, though not peer-reviewed can provide additional Indigenous perspectives on the settler state.[46] Earlier published works such as Duke Redbird's *We Are Métis*, which details the author's views on the creation of, and settler resistance to, the Métis identity, provide further perspectives on the meanings of identity and representation.[47] These works and other non-scholarly Indigenous-written works such as the *Kainai News* and *First Nations Drum* newspapers which are cited in this study provide a greater breadth of Indigenous perspectives than is available solely from scholarly works.

Another important aspect of this study is the examination of the changing representations of masculinity within the Stampede. The current scholarly consensus is that masculinity is culturally constructed, malleable, and often intertwined with understandings of race and class. Foundational works such as Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* outline the ways in which ideas of gender (and by extension masculinity) are determined by socio-economic and cultural contexts.[48]

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[46] Myra Tait and Kiera Ladner, eds. *Surviving Canada: Indigenous Peoples Celebrate 150 Years of Betrayal* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2017).
[47] Duke Redbird, *We Are Métis: A Métis View of the Development of a Native Canadian People* (Willowdale: Ontario Metis & Non Status Indian Association, 1980).
[48] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

The core idea which forms the foundation for my assessment of this topic is the culturally determined nature of masculinity. This notion of gender and especially gender roles as culturally determined is used to explain the changing representations of masculinity within the Stampede. Butler's work remains as an essential text for scholarly discussions of gender, but later works have furthered the examination to a more intersectional approach, understanding that gender and how it is performed varies across ethnic and social groupings. A prominent example of this, in the Canadian context, Mary Louise Adams argues in *The Trouble with Normal* that the postwar era created rigidly defined heterosexual roles for Canadian youth, with the extent to which those youths were expected to adhere to those roles varying by class and race.[49] She explains that young men were expected to outwardly express their heterosexuality as a matter of masculinity, where young (especially white, middle and upper class) women were expected to do the opposite. The codification of gender roles and performance in the postwar era is an important aspect of the examination of masculinity as it is represented and depicted in the Stampede.

Further works in this field have argued that the seemingly rigid ideas of masculinity common in much of the western world have changed significantly over time. These works present evidence of what constitutes a masculine figure or masculine action changing to suit shifting cultural norms. Chris Dummitt, for example, argues that the postwar era in Canada reconfigured masculinity due to the significant social changes brought by the war and by women entering the workforce *en masse*, leading to the development of new expressions of masculinity

[49] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

such as risk-taking.[50] These works are important for understanding the ways in which masculinity is negotiated, represented, and expressed in the Calgary Stampede.

The unfixed and context-dependent nature of masculinity means that there is no singular accepted form of masculinity, even though the white/settler culture tends to see hegemonic masculinity as fixed and innate. The idea of 'masculinity in crisis', or fears of a loss of masculinity, has been an ongoing part of the social discourse, from the fear that the closure of the frontier would soften the character of the American people to present concerns about the lack of manual labour skills among young men, these concerns are rooted in the previous generation's ideas of masculinity as if that idea were itself static. Mary-Ellen Kelm's work on masculinity within the rodeo at the Stampede is one of the only such works specific to the Stampede. This article details the construction of a specific form of masculinity among the rodeo athletes at the Stampede that developed with the professionalization of the sport.[51] This article is limited in scope, looking at the Stampede up until 1932, and focusing explicitly on rodeo athletes. However, the masculinities Kelm details are an important aspect of the representation of masculinity in this era, and are formative for the masculinities that would follow, as separate and distinct from the rough-and-tumble cowboy imagery of popular culture. Kelm's later work *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* expands on the rodeo cowboy as a masculine archetype, arguing that these men stood in as embodiments of the idealized past, with the vigor and fierce independence from which the comforts of civilized life had removed settler men.[52] This idea of a return, even if only in spirit, to an idealized version of the settlement era was common at the

[50] Chris Dummitt, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).
[51] Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Manly Contests: Rodeo Masculinities at the Calgary Stampede," *The Canadian Historical Review* 90, no.4 (2009): 711-751.
[52] Mary-Ellen Kelm. *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Victoria: UBC Press, 2012).

time, and numerous other scholars including Kasson, cited above, articulate similar desires underpinning popular notions of masculinity throughout the early 20th century.

Numerous scholars have addressed the intersection of ideas of ethnicity and ideas of masculinity, including those writing specifically about the Stampede. Susan L. Joudrey's article examines the ideas of First Nations masculinity in print materials for the event.[53] Joudrey explains that the masculinities presented in these materials are constructed by "white colonizers" to fit into settler ideas of Indigenous men as "strong warriors who possessed mastery over their environment."[54] Other scholars have examined the ways in which the common ideas of race and ethnicity and their intersection with masculinity could be subverted by individual achievement. Robert Kossuth examines cowboys John Ware and Tom Three Persons, a black settler, and a Kainai Nation member, respectively, and their lived experiences as non-White ranchers and rodeo athletes. Kossuth outlines the difference between the lived experiences of these men and the idealized images of them that came with their personal achievements, and in the case of Tom Three Persons, specifically with winning at the inaugural Stampede and the fame that came with his success.[55] Kossuth argues that due to his success in the Stampede and his further achievements as a rodeo athlete that followed, Three Persons was able to transcend the narrow settler views of what Indigenous men could be, in effect transforming him into an honorary white man in terms of the respect and the masculine ideal his public image embodied. Similar celebrations of individual achievement which effectively ignore race and racial biases can be

[53] Susan L. Joudrey, "What a Man: Portrayals of Masculinity and Race in Calgary Stampede Ephemera," *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 16, no.1 (2016): 28-39.
[54] Ibid. 28.
[55] Robert Kossuth, "Busting Broncos and Breaking New Ground: Reassessing the Legacies of Canadian Cowboys John Ware and Tom Three Persons," *Great Plains Quarterly* 38, no.1 (2018): 53-75.

seen elsewhere in the Western World at various points in time. A more codified version of this can be seen in colonial Latin America, as examined by Ann Twinam in *Purchasing Whiteness* whereby well-off and respected mixed-race individuals could petition for a decree which would grant them the benefits and social status of Spanish descendants.[56] These examples of individual men who were able to overcome the limitations placed upon them by racial hierarchies are important for understanding the ways in which the relationship between ethnicity and masculinity is constructed. In the case of the rodeo athletes within the Stampede, those participating in the competitive rodeo events are also positioned to cross those boundaries if they can win their chosen sport, and so the masculinity constructed around the rodeo cowboys in the Stampede is a white male masculinity, though not one that excludes non-white participation. This study examines the representations of masculinity in the Stampede beyond the rodeo cowboy, examining the changing masculine archetypes on display throughout the history of the event.

A major aspect of this study and of the cultural context of the Stampede is the capitalist society in which it exists. Advertisements and various other forms of marketing have become so ubiquitous in our daily lives that at times they can simply be ignored as background noise. This present situation is relatively recent, but with roots in the early 20th century. The marketing of public events like the Stampede is an important part of understanding not just the event being sold to the public, but also the cultural context in which it exists. In Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle*, he posits that within our capitalist system reality is no longer directly experienced, but is instead mediated through images and representations. This spectacle is then commodified,

[56] Ann Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).

in turn placing the construction of identity of an individual, as well as their sense of reality, within their patterns of consumption. Debord argues that this idea of spectacle is a development of the post-World War II capitalist society, made possible through the expansion of mass media and the increasing dominance of consumer culture.[57] This idea is a helpful lens through which to view the Stampede in the latter half of the 20th century as the event expanded in scope and scale.

While much of the advertising we see in our lives is now more targeted and individually curated based on internet activity, advertisements often reflect some aspect of the culture(s) to which the product is being marketed. That is, advertisers attempt to appeal to a certain demographic and their contemporary sensibilities to sell their products and services. As Stuart Ewen examines in *Captains of Consciousness*, this can take the form of appealing to individuals' needs and wants, or it can take the form of creating a market niche for a product. Ewen's work outlines various examples of the latter, such as efforts to sell more bedsheets and similar goods by providing a greater variety of colors and designs and making it fashionable to change linens with the seasons. While this example is not directly applicable to the subject of this study, it indicates broader efforts to encourage conspicuous consumption, which can also be seen in much of the marketing surrounding the Stampede, and which further intersects with the understandings of masculinity the event presents.[58]

The transition from a culture in which there was often a clear delineation between commodity items and luxury goods, to a consumer culture in which a market was created for conspicuous consumption of many former commodity goods happened in earnest over the early

[57] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith (France: Buchet Chastel, 1967; New York: Zone Books, 2021).
[58] Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976).

20th century. While Stuart Ewen addresses this in a primarily American context, Donica Belisle's *Retail Nation* examines the development of Canada's consumer culture in the context of department stores.[59] These and other works argue that consumer culture was intentionally created and an individual's ability to purchase consumer goods became linked to social status. There is a direct link between consumer culture and the above discussed changing ideas of masculinity, as the sign of masculinity shifted from providing for his family to, with the growth of the middle class, having the purchasing power for his family to have luxury goods or trendy products. Many Stampede advertisements, and advertisements within Stampede programs, draw these same links between conspicuous consumption and status or values.

The final chapter of this study examines the impacts and response to animal rights and animal welfare campaigns surrounding the Stampede. This chapter examines the roles of non-human animals within the Stampede and builds upon works on the topic of human-animal interaction as well as cultural history in examining the ways in which animal involvement in the event has changed over time. Though many believe it to be a recent trend, and groups such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) have certainly rose to prominence over the last few decades, animal rights activism first received mainstream attention in the western world in the Progressive Era. However, within the western world, philosophers dating back to John Locke have argued that humans have a duty to themselves to avoid unnecessary cruelty toward animals, as such acts were seen to be harmful to one's own mind.[60] More recognizable efforts to advocate for animal welfare for the animal's sake began in the 18th century, with the work of philosophers such as

[59]Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).
[60] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1693).

Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Young, in which both authors argue that because animals are sentient, can suffer, and experience pain, humans have a moral duty to treat them with kindness and compassion.[61]

Beginning in 1824 with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) in London, and later the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) founded in New York in 1866, formal organizations championed laws against animal cruelty, often alongside laws aimed at protecting children as well. Perhaps the one piece of literature most directly responsible for the Progressive Era popularization of animal rights work was Jack London's *Michael, Brother of Jerry*, the foreword of which recounts the author's firsthand experience seeing the cruel methods used in training circus animals.[62] Numerous scholars have pointed to London's work, as well as the subsequent formation of the Jack London Club as having helped to popularize the efforts of humane societies.[63] A number of these societies existed for decades prior to the publication of London's book, but the popular appeal of the author's work and the changing values of the progressive era helped to bring animal rights discourse into popular consciousness.

Animal welfare is not limited to the activist work of humane societies, nor to the groups they work with. The study of veterinary medicine is also crucial to ensuring animal welfare. In this study I briefly examine the work that the University of Calgary's school of veterinary medicine has done in cooperation with the Stampede organization, though animal medicine is

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[61] Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1780) and Thomas Young, *An Essay on Humanity to Animals* (London: T. Cadell, 1798).
[62] Jack London, *Michael, Brother of Jerry* (London: Mills & Boon, 1917).
[63] Diane L. Beers, *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States* (Athens, OH.: Ohio University Press, 2006): 105-107.

beyond the scope of this study. However, the role of such work in aiding animal rights and welfare causes (even if indirectly) is important, as advances in the human understanding of animal behaviors and physiology have been used to inform activist stances of what constitutes humane treatment. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the growing popular understanding of the treatment of livestock that has led to the recent, much more widespread concern among non-activists about the treatment of animals before they are harvested for food, as seen in the increased popularity of free-range eggs and organically raised livestock.[64]

The scholarship which directly addresses the impacts of animal rights and animal welfare campaigns on the Stampede is limited but works which address the animal welfare movement more broadly help to inform this study. Janet M. Davis' *The Gospel of Kindness* examines the birth of the animal welfare movement in the United States, which she places at the 1866 founding of the ASPCA. Davis examines the social and cultural impacts of this reformed approach to human-animal relationships and argues that the creation of the ASPCA in America also served as a catalyst for similar organizations abroad. More importantly, Davis also argues that kindness to animals became "tied to questions of national belonging, pluralism, and civilization" in the minds of Americans.[65] This work along with the Diane L. Beers' text cited above provide a strong base for understanding the history of animal welfare efforts in the United States, which influenced Canada as well, and for understanding the cultural development of ideas of what constitutes proper treatment and care for animals.

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[64] "Packaged Facts: With Demand for Cage-Free and Organic, the Egg Remains Incredibly Edible and Popular." *PR Newswire,* 2015.
[65] Janet M. Davis, *The Gospel of Kindness: Animal Welfare and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 210.

Works which address the Canadian animal welfare movement are important here as well. The animal welfare movement developed regionally in Canada. Darcy Ingram maps this development along the formation of Canada, arguing that animal welfare governance was one of the civil society frameworks which were key to the formation of the state.[66] J. Keri Cronon examines the visual culture of early animal welfare efforts, with the author linking the shared images, slides, and other materials, with the movements in Canada, the United States, and Britain.[67] These and other works make clear that while the Canadian animal welfare movement did not develop in lockstep with the American version or the British version, they all developed in similar fashions, beginning in earnest during the latter half of the 19th century, and with common goals and shared information.

In addition to the history of animal rights and animal welfare activism, the growing field of animal history provides important insights into non-human animals as historical actors. Susan Nance's work on rodeo animals rejects the idea that livestock in rodeos are willing participants, centering the experience of steers, bulls, and bucking horses in the history of rodeo. The author also situates the changing relationship between humans and livestock animals in the context of the European settlement of the North American west. Nance's work provides an important perspective for understanding the non-human participants in the Stampede rodeo.[68]

This thesis is a significant contribution to several areas of historical research. Most directly, this thesis is one of a small handful of works of this scope and scale which examine the Calgary Stampede. Within that historiography, this work takes a much more holistic approach to

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[66] Darcy Ingram, "National aspirations, governance networks and the development of Canada's animal welfare movement," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no.1 (2017): 91-113.
[67] J. Keri Cronon, "'Can't You Talk?' Voice and Visual Culture in Early Animal Welfare Campaigns," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 9, no.3 (2011): 203-223.
[68] Susan Nance, *Rodeo: An Animal History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020).

understanding the event than existing works, connecting the various themes in how the event has been marketed to one another. In examining the key ideas and values which Stampede organizers work to project and how those values have changed over time, this study illustrates the central role that the event has played in constructing popular perception of Calgary, First Nations people in Alberta, and western Canada more broadly. Additionally, this study shows the ways in which the Stampede has constructed the identities of Calgarians, often tied to rural southern Albertan identities, allowing the event to maintain a sense of authenticity for tourists and locals alike. In turn, this study illustrates the Stampede's central importance to the culture and sense of identity of Calgary, rooting that identity in an both real and imagined shared history even as the city strives to be a progressive and forward-looking modern metropolis. The conclusion of this study is that the Stampede, more than any other identifiable factor, is responsible for informing civic and regional identities, and the organization has adapted to broader cultural shifts to maintain the event's cultural impact.

The first chapter of this study outlines the marketing of the Stampede, addressing themes of the marketing materials and the ways in which that marketing has changed since the 1912 event. This chapter breaks the marketing materials and promotional efforts of the Stampede organizers into two categories which help to understand both the continued relevant and the cultural impact of the annual celebration. I begin by building upon Donald Wetherell's use of the idea of "Invented Traditions" within the event to examine the ways in which the traditions and recurring aspects of the event and its promotion have been constructed and have helped to integrate the Stampede into the civic and regional identities in Calgary. I then examine the ways in which the spectacle of the event has been used to retain a cultural relevance even as the history Guy Weadick originally intended to celebrate faded from living memory. This section examines

the use of the grandeur of the event and of the burgeoning celebrity fascination in North America to outline the ways in which the Stampede shifted from a celebration of the history of the region to a celebration of the history of the event itself.

The next chapter of this study examines the representation of Indigenous people and cultures within the Stampede, both within marketing materials and within local media that addresses Indigenous involvement in the Indian Village. This chapter examines the popular appeal of Indigenous people and cultures among the settler population at various points in time, and contrasts the relationship between the Stampede organization and Indigenous participants with the relationship between Indigenous and settler populations in Canada more broadly. This chapter also examines the dynamic of the relationship between organizers and Indigenous participants in order to understand the continued involvement of Indigenous families in the event even in times of tension and political conflict with various levels of government.

The third chapter examines representations of masculinity within the Stampede, primarily focusing on marketing the event with additional consideration given to aspects of execution of the event outside of the rodeo. The changing nature of hegemonic masculinity over the course of the 20th century provided ample opportunity for similar change in the Stampede, and I outline these changes here. The bulk of this chapter examines the postwar shift in ideas of masculinity, and the way those changes were integrated into the Stampede.

The final chapter of this study focuses on the roles played by animal rights and animal welfare campaigns in shaping the event and how it has marketed the rodeo. By examining discourse around the non-human participation in the Stampede I outline the ways in which the event has responded and adapted to public concerns about the safety of animals in the rodeo. This includes material changes to the rodeo events meant to reduce animal and rider injuries,

efforts to involve science and education in monitoring and improving animal welfare, and promotional efforts addressing concerns of cruelty to animals directly. This aspect of the event's marketing is perhaps the most directly relevant to illustrating the ways in which adaptations to the Stampede have helped it to remain popular and culturally relevant over a century of cultural change.

Chapter 1: Celebrating "The Last Best West" with "The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth": Marketing the Stampede as Tradition and Spectacle

"Last year the theme of our centennial was: 'We are greatest together.' A year later this motto could not be more true. We are greatest together. We will be hosting the greatest outdoor show on earth, come hell or high water." – Bob Thompson[1]

Throughout its first 101 years the Stampede changed significantly in scope, scale, and presentation. From a one-off event sold to the public on the strength of popular nostalgia and settlement narratives, to its current form as the so-called "Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth" the Calgary Stampede has become a deeply engrained part of the city's and its citizens' identities. The above quote, from former Stampede manager Bob Thompson, was issued as part of a press release following the flooding of the Bow River in 2013, which damaged large swathes of Southern Alberta, including the Stampede park. Thompson's statement illustrates the language used when discussing the Stampede and its importance to Calgary over the past few decades, by both the organization and supporters of the event. Presently, the Stampede organization's marketing targets multiple countries, including the United States, Germany, and China. These efforts have included a trip to China in 2012 in which Stampede mascot Harry the Horse visited the Great Wall, along with Stampede princesses taking promotional trips to Germany and other countries.[2] In recent years the organization has sold the Stampede to the North American public on the strength of its reputation, with marketing focused on the grand scale of the event and the

[1] "Stampede to go on 'Come Hell or High Water'" *CBC News*, 24 June 2013.
[2] Danielle Gariepy, "Calgary Stampede Royalty Represents in Germany!!," *Calgary Stampede* Blog, 13 March, 2012, https://www.calgarystampede.com/blog/2012/03/13/calgary-stampede-royalty-represents-in-germany/ and "Chapter Four: The Next Hundred Years, 2012 – Present," *Calgary Stampede – Heritage – History* https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/history/next-hundred-years

promise of excitement deserving of the Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth tagline. While these promotional efforts absolutely dwarf those of the early Stampedes, consistent themes run throughout the marketing of the event from its founding in 1912 through to the present; progress, western heritage, authenticity (both in the rodeo competition and in the people participating in the Stampede), and history, first of the region and later of the Stampede itself. The changes to the marketing of the Stampede within those themes reflect the culture in which the event exists, and in turn have played a key role in the creation and renegotiation of Calgary's civic identity. Furthermore, the Stampede organization has successfully maintained both cultural relevance and strong ties to the event's colonial origins.

The marketing of the Stampede has not always been as far-reaching as it is at present, but partnerships with both small businesses and larger corporations have been crucial to marketing efforts and to the execution of the Stampede since its creation. The souvenir program for the inaugural Stampede features advertisements for sixteen local businesses, Dominion Bank, a clothier in Ontario and a fence manufacturer in Winnipeg.[3] The event itself was financed in large part by local industrialists George Lane, A.E. Cross, Patrick Burns, and Archibald J. McLean, each of whom had made significant fortunes in cattle ranching alongside other pursuits.[4] Later Stampedes heavily feature advertising and sponsorships from national and multinational corporations. On the Calgary Stampede's official website for 2018, the top tier of corporate sponsors ranges from the locally owned Lammle's Western Wear to GMC, Budweiser, and McDonald's.[5] Conversely, the lower tier of sponsors includes WestJet, Safeway/Sobeys, and

[3] "Souvenir Programme," *Calgary Stampede*, 1912, U of C DC, CESF.
[4] Notably, Cross owned the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company and Burns owned a large meatpacking plant. "Souvenir Programme," 1912, U of C DC, CESF. 19, 26, 47, 54.
[5] "Sponsorship," *Calgary Stampede*, https://www.calgarystampede.com/sponsorship. Accessed 1 September 2018.

various beverage companies such as Monster Energy and Palm Bay. These sponsors and partners provide prizes for lotteries and giveaways, free products at the Stampede, financing for events, and advertising around the province. What is often termed organic, or word-of-mouth advertising has also played a key role in marketing the event. However, it is the ways in which these marketing efforts are linked to changing social norms (and more broadly, the types of representation examined throughout this study) that concern us here.

As outlined in the introduction to this study, the Calgary Stampede's first century was marked by rapid social and cultural change, in Canada and in the western world more generally. In Calgary, this meant broad shifts from ranching to agrarian, then to increasingly urban lifestyles, with economic changes brought on by the mid-century discovery of oil reserves in the province and by the city's later shift to a business center for many oil producers. These changes occurred alongside, and at times influenced, changes in ideas about the province's history, the family unit, gender norms, and various other changes to the social fabric of life in the region. The bulk of this chapter examines the ways in which the Stampede organization has capitalized on both the heritage of Alberta and the ever-changing social landscape to garner attention and attract attendees. These efforts take various forms through promotional materials such as press releases and souvenir programs, as well as free publicity through media reports and interviews. The sources used in this chapter range from official promotional items for the Stampede to local and national newspapers, tourism films, and other multimedia materials. These sources vary widely in their messaging and intent, from those reporting factually on changes and challenges faced by the event, to those explicitly intended to bring tourists to Calgary during the Stampede, to opinion pieces critical of the rodeo, though all are intended for a public audience. Given the wide range of opinions and viewpoints represented by these outside sources, it is impossible to give

equal consideration to all of them, and the examples discussed in the following pages are meant to indicate the ways in which the marketing of the Stampede has influenced narratives about the event and about the city of Calgary, and how that marketing has been influenced in turn by changing cultural and economic situations.

The Calgary Stampede, like World's Fairs and Industrial Exhibitions throughout the Western World, celebrates progress. Whether the progress celebrated is the success of the colonial project, technological innovation, or any number of other ways that the hegemonic culture has defined it, the notion of progress almost always assumes a natural and net-positive direction for humanity to advance. As discussed briefly in the next chapter of this study, much of the notion of progress throughout Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was rooted in distancing society from the early settlement and colonization of the continent and furthering the agrarian development, urbanization, and industrialization of the country. Put simply, in Canada progress meant settlement and development, and a significant measure of that progress was the work of assimilating Indigenous peoples and cultures while industrializing the economy.[6] Though these ideas of progress changed somewhat over the period of this study, for those in charge of selling the Calgary Stampede to the public, the notion of progress remained a potent theme. While the Stampede stands apart from (and at times in opposition to) many of the Canadian government's pushes for progress, the marketing team for the event has used these widespread and recognizable ideas to promote it.

[6] Dean Neu and Richard Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide: Canada's Bureaucratic Assault on Aboriginal People* (Black Point, NS: Fernwood, 2003), 52. Cited in Paulette Regan. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 38.

This chapter examines notions of historicity, authenticity, and the celebration of progress which make up the core of the marketing for the event. These ideas are examined through two theoretical lenses which offer distinct explanations for the effectiveness of the marketing themes of the event; invented tradition and spectacle.[7] There is significant overlap between the themes of the Stampede, as well as between the critical theories used to examine them, so some cross-discussion of the themes is necessary. Donald Wetherell asserts that many aspects of the event are invented traditions, utilizing Eric Hobsbawm's terminology.[8] This idea underpins much of this chapter, as it is a useful theory for understanding the evolution in the ways in which the Stampede was marketed over time, and particularly for understanding the emphasis on history in said marketing. However, the Stampede organization, which functions as a non-profit and non-governmental entity, differs from many of the more common invented traditions in several significant ways which merit examination through the lens of spectacle.

The event can be seen as playing some part in the colonial project, though this and the following chapter examine the ways in which that role is negotiated. The Stampede's alignment

[7] In Guy Debord's original articulation of "spectacle" the entirety of the marketing of the event could be examined through such a lens. However, it is useful to understand the other aspects of the event in the context of invented traditions as well. Where the Stampede organization is a non-profit which is separate from the government, many aspects of its marketing and development can be understood as contributing to reinforcing its own mythology, rather than strictly colonial or nation-building narratives. However, where the event exists in an explicitly colonial setting, and in a liberal democratic nation, there is significant overlap between the values and goals of the state and those of the event's organizers and marketing team. Put simply, I believe it would be overly cynical to view the entirety of the Calgary Stampede's marketing through the lens of spectacle, but it would be naïve to ignore the ways in which Debord's theory can explain the event and its promotional efforts. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith (France: Buchet Chastel, 1967; New York: Zone Books, 2021)

[8] Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader: Histories, Heritage and Museums,"* edited by David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London and New York: Routledge and The Open University, 1999), 61-86. cited in Donald Wetherell, "Making Tradition," 22.

with celebrating anniversaries and narratives that are colonial or imperial in nature throughout the history of the event is somewhat complex when viewed through a skeptical and analytical lens. While the event has always given space to, and often promoted Indigenous people and voices, the organizers have also leveraged inherently colonial milestones and narratives in promoting it. However, such marketing themes are not as straightforward as the aims of the system and policies which they celebrate. While the colonial and imperial projects in Canada were dependent upon the submission of, and presumed eventual assimilation of Canada's First Nations people, the Stampede provided a very public stage for those same people. The event is not wholly unique in this, as preceding and concurrent events such as the Banff Indian Days, discussed in the following chapter of this study, also provided a platform for Indigenous people. However, the Stampede's longevity has allowed for more celebration of both the colonial establishment and the First Nations people living under it.

While it would be easy to argue that the Stampede's organizers were either allies to First Nations people, or they were simply exploiting popular settler fascination, arguments scholars have made about Indigenous participation in the event, these perspectives present a false binary. From what is known about Guy Weadick's personal views, he seems to have been intent on both providing funds and a venue for First Nations people to express some aspects of their culture, as well as helping the Stampede garner attention and ticket buyers through said popular fascination.[9] The same seems to be broadly true about the event and its organizers since Weadick's departure, and this reciprocal relationship goes some way to explaining the seeming disconnect between celebrating First Nations people and cultures and celebrating the system

[9] Weadick's letters to the Department of Indian Affairs, as well as his positive reputation among the First Nations participants in the event illustrate this point and are discussed in the relevant chapter.

which attempted to eliminate them. This binary also ignores both the aberrations which have occurred throughout the relationship between the organizers and the First Nations participants, and the agency of said participants in deciding how and whether to take part in the Stampede.[10]

Given the scope of the marketing efforts for the Stampede and this study, the examples in this chapter represent the marketing trends for a given era. The breadth of this study means that many of the one-off departures from the trend, such as those to mark historical milestones, are not examined in depth here. However, I consider the ways in which these outliers fit into the greater goals of the Stampede's marketing, and the ways in which they can be understood to be part of the identity-building of the city of Calgary and of the Stampede.

This chapter is organized to center the traditions of the event, examining the origins of significant repeating aspects of marketing the event, along with the ways in which the organizers have adapted those traditions to maintain their cultural relevance. As Donald Wetherell articulates, many of the mainstays of the event, and of its marketing, are deliberately developed in order to build a specific narrative and atmosphere. This has been an ongoing process since the earliest promotions for the inaugural Stampede and continues into the present. While the early advertising and marketing campaigns for the Stampede pale in comparison to present efforts, Guy Weadick had a clearly defined image he wished to cultivate for the 1912 event. The theme which Weadick and the Big Four relied on most heavily to sell the Stampede to attendees was that of an historical pageant and celebration, which would align with other frontier days and historical pageants throughout North America.[11]

[10] This is examined in greater depth in the following chapter of this study.
[11] Perhaps the best-known example of this is the Cheyenne Frontier Days in Cheyenne, Wyoming, which began in 1897.

Weadick conceptualized The Stampede as Calgary's own version of what was a popular form of entertainment and celebration at the time. Many of the smaller towns in the region had their own annual historical celebrations, such as the Raymond Stampede in Raymond, Alberta, which began a decade prior to the Calgary Stampede.[12] Where Weadick's concept would differ from many of these events was in the inclusion of the cowboy sports now called rodeo, and in the scope and scale of the event.[13] Rather than a celebration of Calgary, the Stampede was a celebration of the settler heritage of the region more broadly. In print advertisements Weadick emphasized the authenticity of the historical aspects of the event, promising attendees "[s]trictly an educational feature from start to finish" alongside the prize lists for the various cowboy sports. The same advertisement promised "Not the old stereotype "Wild West" exhibition, but a startling, striking, vivid reproduction" of the region's history from pre-settlement to the present showing the "advancement of the country."[14]

The historical pageant and frontier theme is visible in different forms over the period of this study, from the original aims of celebrating the recent history of the region, to various years celebrating national and regional anniversaries, to the more recent trend of marketing the event based on its own history. When Guy Weadick pitched his idea for the Stampede to potential investors he focused on the idea of celebrating the history of the region in a way that was more in line with reality than what popular entertainment such as Wild West shows had to offer.[15] However, even with an eye toward historical authenticity, the event still fell within the bounds of

[12] CBC News, "After 121 years Raymond Stampede holds final rodeo in historic location." 2 July, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/raymond-stampede-rodeo-1.6895019
[13] While some of these events, such as the Raymond Stampede, did include cowboy sports, many local celebrations in the region focused more on the settler heritage and history of the town.
[14] Advertisement, *The Calgary Eye Opener*, 18 May 1912, 3.
[15] Joan Dixon and Tracey Read, *Celebrating the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede: The Story of the Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth* (Canmore, Alberta: Altitude Publishing, 2005): 25.

settlement narratives of the time, romanticizing the period of settlement and lauding the progress of the colonial project.

While advertisements and marketing campaigns for the 1912 Stampede were minimal in comparison to those in the present, Weadick had a clear plan in place for how he wished to present the event to potential revelers. In a promotional brochure explaining the Stampede, titled "What is it?" the ideas Weadick and company intended to project on the event are laid out in a few short paragraphs. This brochure seems designed to inform both potential business partners and potential visitors of the event, as it begins by stating that the promotor's aims of the Stampede are to bring increased publicity to Calgary and to the Canadian Northwest more generally and to honour the visit of the newly appointed Governor General to the city. Additionally, the brochure notes the desire for strong competition and the prize money intended to bring competitors from across the continent, with the motto "A Square Deal to Everyone" intended to inform readers that the show would not be predetermined as wild west shows often were. Perhaps most notably, for the purposes of drawing in large numbers of paying customers, the document also details various aspects of the history of the Canadian West which would be celebrated and displayed at the Stampede, including the coming of the Hudson's Bay Company and the fur trade, the building of the railroad, and the advent of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police.[16]

In conjunction with this historical appeal, Weadick also promoted the Stampede as an authentic experience. He pitched the event as a real sporting competition and as one with roots in the necessary skills of ranch hands and cowboys. This framing placed the Stampede in stark

[16] "What is it?" 1912, Pamphlet, GWF M1287/3, GMA.

contrast to the trick riding and roping contests and in which he had made his own name.[17] While popular entertainments of the era, such as vaudeville acts and trick roping would still make appearances as sideshows at the Stampede, Weadick's primary selling point was the purported authenticity of the event. While the claims of authenticity were bolstered by the inclusion of First Nations people in the "Indian Village" and Old-Timers in the opening parade, neither of these aspects were wholly unique to the Calgary Stampede, as both followed in the traditions of comparable events, from World's Fairs to local rodeos and frontier days. In effect, where the inaugural Stampede differentiated itself from similar celebrations in the region was the grand scale of the event. Weadick sought competitors from across the continent and had the financial backing to offer large prizes, this in addition to the cooperation of local businesses and the municipal government meant that the 1912 Stampede received significant attention outside of the promotions the organizers had paid for and took on a scope beyond the fairgrounds. From the outset, the Stampede was sold to the public as a celebration of the region's pioneer days and as an authentic offering of both cowboy sports and history.[18]

Along with informational pamphlets to promote the event, the organizers of the 1912 Stampede also worked with other towns and cities in Alberta to generate additional publicity. For example, a brief article in the August 31 edition of the *Edmonton Bulletin* mentions that the Edmonton Industrial Commissioner and the Citizens League had booked a booth at the Stampede to provide tourists with information about their city.[19] Similar stories from small town newspapers indicate that Guy Weadick and his associates had managed to drum up enough

[17] Max Foran, "A Lapse in Historical Memory: Guy Weadick and the Calgary Stampede," *American Review of Canadian Studies,* 39 no. 3 (2009): 254.
[18] "What is it?" 1912, Pamphlet, GWF M1287/3, GMA.
[19] "Publicity Booth at Stampede," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 August 1912, 14.

interest in the event to garner news coverage of many aspects of the Stampede. An article from the August 22 *Bassano News* tells of Col. Warren from Bassano's plan to compete in the Calgary Stampede. The article emphasizes local pride, stating that the horse team the colonel will take to Calgary is from the area and that he was "offered the best there was in the countryside when it was known he was going to take part in the Stampede."[20] These promotional efforts are in line with other efforts to bring Canadians and Americans to the west, first for settlement, and later for tourism. Additionally, these examples highlight what would become a trend in future Stampedes, as the event provided a platform for the promotion of industry and tourism outside of Calgary as well.

The milestones featured in the historical pageant of the 1912 Stampede seem to have been chosen by organizers to present a celebratory narrative, albeit one which provides an incomplete picture of the settlement and colonization of the region. The use of these key moments served a dual purpose for Weadick's event promotion, that is, linking the Stampede to the collective memory of Canada's development and celebrating the settler ideals which shaped the historical narrative. In other words, the choice of specific historical milestones and actors aligned with the expectations and values of settler society. The historical pageant and its settler-centric narrative, as well as historical re-enactments, and even the Indian Village, were tried and true methods of bringing in an audience by the time planning for the Stampede was underway. Though Weadick's event would soon eclipse similar events in Canada in both scope and fame, it was not unique in its execution or the ways in which it was sold to the public. World's Fairs and

[20] "Col. Warren on way to Stampede," *Bassano News*, 22 August 1912, 1.

other large-scale exhibitions and even smaller local and regional fairs used similar tactics and often blended entertainment with curated historical information.[21]

In the prairie provinces summer fairs, agriculture shows, and other comparable events were proven attractions, with many of these celebrating the settlement of the region, often aiming to attract investment into further development. As Mary-Ellen Kelm explains, the different levels of government in the prairie provinces and British Columbia encouraged these exhibitions and other attractions for multiple reasons. Most relevant to this study though, was the push for these events to help with the nation-building project by shaping the settlement narrative.[22] Though this narrative continues to change and be reformed even in the present, many of these early exhibitions, fairs, and stampedes, were intended to further the notion of progress and to encourage further development in the west as a result.

The 1912 Stampede was a standalone event, separate and distinct from the Calgary Industrial Exhibition. In contrast to the exhibition, Weadick and company focused promotional efforts largely on the history of the region and the success of the settler project, rather than the agricultural economy of the region. In addition, VIPs from across the Dominion were invited to attend. Along with these widely known figures, families who had been early settlers in the region, known colloquially as "old-timers," were invited and featured as prominent guests. In what would become an early precursor to a lasting trend of inviting recognizable names to be honored guests, the inaugural Stampede was scheduled to align with a visit to Calgary by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. Various political and military figures from across Canada were

[21] Elsbeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society During the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
[22] Mary-Ellen Kelm, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 23-24.

also invited to attend. This blending of prominent political figures with the historical pageantry of the Indian Village and the old-timers in the parade served to both attract a wider audience and to further reinforce the ties between the Stampede and settler colonialist (and imperialist) narratives. [23]

The inclusion of royalty in the Stampede began in 1912 but it would become a recurring theme in future iterations of the event as well. in 1912 Canada's confederation was still in living memory for some of the old-timers in the region, having taken place only 45 years prior. And so, the inclusion of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in the event, beyond aligning with the Duke's duties as the governor general, was also touted in news coverage and advertisements, included alongside the cowboy sports and historical pageant as a featured attraction of the Stampede. One news article noted that, for what the author believed would be the first time in history, a member of the royal family would be attending a "cowboy style" breakfast as a part of his appearance at the event.[24] While the inclusion of the Governor General in a major public event was and remains a common practice, Weadick drew a direct connection between the Stampede and the colonial government and imperial project with his promotion of their visit as a Stampede attraction. This is only one of the ways in which the organizers of the Stampede linked the event to the ideas underpinning Canadian society, but it is one of the more explicit. Such events often foregrounded colonialism through more implicit means such as contrasting Indigenous cultures with the hegemonic settler culture.[25] In the inaugural Stampede, primarily a celebration of the settler history of the region, this colonial link was expressed through the

[23] The Stampede at Calgary Alberta, 1912, GWF, M1287/1, GMA.
[24] "Calgary Prepares for Greatest Stampede," *Edmonton Bulletin* 29 August 1912, 1.
[25] Paige Raibmon, "Theatres of Contact: The Kwakwaka'wakw Meet Colonialism in British Columbia and the Chicago World's Fair," *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, no.2 (2000): 157-190.

inclusion and celebration of these prominent figures alongside "Old Timers" and others who served as symbolic representations of colonial progress.

Along with the emphasis on Canadian and European history, the 1912 Stampede was promoted with direct comparisons to other well-known events. In the souvenir program for the 1912 event, a feature titled "Origin of 'The Stampede" informed readers of Guy Weadick and H.C. McMullen's inspirations for the Stampede, specifically naming "'Frontier Days' at Cheyenne, 'Roping at El Paso,' 'The Rodeo' at Los Angeles, and 'The Round-Up' at Pendleton." The article explained that the Calgary event, like those others, was to be "a worthy tribute" to those who settled the West.[26] In naming these culturally significant precursors to the Stampede, the author aligned the event with both the tradition and the history of such events. The Cheyenne Frontier Days, for example, had been an annual event in this namesake Wyoming town since 1897 and had become a major cultural event by the time of the first Calgary Stampede.[27]

Here Hobsbawm's notion of invented tradition is helpful to contextualize the inaugural Stampede and similar events at the time. By marketing these events as illustrative of the history of the region, the promoters were harkening back to the past as it fit the popular narrative of the day and strengthening both that narrative and the claims of authenticity for the event. Rather than simply presenting that history though, these events included 'invented traditions'. Many of the traditions that exist in later Stampedes would be created in later years but the tradition of parade participants dressing in cowboy apparel, which would later extend to Stampede employees, volunteers, and guests, began in 1912.[28] While Hobsbawm's theory applies more directly to later

[26] "The Origin of 'The Stampede'" in *The Stampede at Calgary Alberta 1912*, Program, GMA, GWF, M1287/F1, 3.
[27] "Cheyenne Frontier Days," Pro Rodeo Hall of Fame: Inductees, https://www.prorodeohalloffame.com/inductees/rodeo-committees/cheyenne-frontier-days/
[28] Marcell. "Pendleton Band, The Stampede, Calgary Alta," 1912, U of C DC, CESA, CU136707

Stampedes, the invented tradition applies to the Stampede in the context of similar events which preceded it and served similar ends. Weadick's event, like other "frontier days" celebrations, positioned the celebration of regional settlement history as an important part of the city's identity. Put simply, the Stampede, unique as it was in scope and scale, began as a continuation of the fairs and exhibitions common throughout the former colonies.

Guy Weadick attempted to turn the 1912 Stampede into a recurring event, but neither his financiers nor the city of Calgary shared this vision. At a reported meeting with the "Big Four" in April of the following year, the financiers of the inaugural Stampede informed Weadick that, likely due to minimal profits, they were not interested in financing further iterations of the event.[29] For his part though, Guy Weadick had promoted the idea of a follow-up the next year even before the 1912 Stampede took place. The final page of the promotional program features a full-page plea for readers to consider whether the Stampede should be an annual event. The copy also states "If you like our show, tell your friends. If you don't, – tell us." This page is illustrative of Guy Weadick's desire to turn the Stampede into an annual event, and to enlist word-of-mouth advertising to help promote it. In the following years Weadick would take his event format and promotions talents to Winnipeg for the 1913 Winnipeg Stampede, and then to New York in 1916.[30] However, the very public push for the event outlines Weadick's *modus operandi* with promoting the event, one which would last for his tenure as Stampede manager.[31]

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[29] Fred Kennedy. *Calgary Stampede: The Authentic Story of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede "The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth" 1912-1964* (Vancouver: West Vancouver Enterprises, 1965), 22.
[30] Ibid. 23.
[31] Advertisement in *The Stampede at Calgary Alberta 1912*, Program, GMA, GWF, M1287/F1, 64.

When Weadick returned to Calgary for the 1919 Victory Stampede, he organized an event which was split between the "frontier" history pageant of the previous Calgary Stampede and a celebration of a successful war effort. Print advertisements for the event listed "Six Big Days. All Different." with each day having a theme, Victory Day, Rancher's Day, Citizen Day, American Day, Canadian Day, and Champion Day, respectively. [32] This plan of varying daily themes aligned with other celebrations in this period and was a precursor to later thematic celebrations within the Stampede. Other ads positioned the event as a "Big victory celebration and world's championship frontier contest" and featured much of the same wild west imagery which had been part of the previous Stampede's promotional materials.[33]

Celebrating the end of the war went well beyond a simple theme for the event and its marketing. The profits from the 1919 Stampede were donated to the Great War Veterans Association, the YMCA, and the Salvation Army.[34] While the Stampede has operated as a non-profit organization in the years since its annualization, meaning that all profits are re-invested in the organization, the Victory Stampede made very public the idea of donating profits to related causes, whereas in recent years, many in the city believe that the organization is a for-profit business venture.[35] The specific emphasis on the donation of funds is worth noting here, as victory celebrations across the country had similar aims, and aligning the Stampede with other victory celebrations may have been the key to its success. Guy Weadick himself had concerns about the event's appeal so soon after the war, which he reiterated alongside his final report to

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[32] Advertisement, *Blairmore Enterprise,* 21 August 1919, 8.
[33] Advertisement, *Blairmore Enterprise*, 24 July 1919, 4.
[34] "Introduction," in *Official Programme, Calgary Stampede 1919*, Program, GMA, M2160/29-4, 7.
[35] Max Foran, "More Than Partners: The Calgary Stampede and the City of Calgary," in *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede* ed. Max Foran (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008): 152.

the Stampede Committee stating that the event should have been delayed by a year to allow for reconstruction efforts after the war. Weadick wrote that he informed his business partners of these concerns prior to organizing the event and argued that "events since that time have confirmed" his concerns, pointing to issues such as the war committee denying a request for reduced train fares for Stampede travelers, and a lack of financial input from government and industry. In the same letter Mr. Weadick outlined the need for the full moral support and total involvement of local business, municipal government, and the citizenry.[36] While local press hailed the Victory Stampede as a success, the concern expressed by Mr. Weadick was that Calgarians were not as enthralled with the event as were visitors from surrounding communities, an enthusiasm he believed to be a prerequisite for a successful Stampede.[37] The 1919 Stampede further engrained the event and its organizers into the culture of the city, but it was not until it became an annual event that Calgary's identity and the Stampede would become inextricably linked.

Weadick's vision of a historical pageant celebrating the region's history, combined with cowboy sports competition, remained intact to varying degrees through the Stampede's history. When Weadick married his Stampede format to the Calgary Industrial Exhibition in 1923, he not only annualized his event in a permanent home, but also joined it to a longstanding and important exhibition. While the Stampedes prior to joining the Calgary Industrial Exhibition had sold large numbers of tickets and attracted guests from across the continent, the long-running exhibition had seen years of declining attendance and narrowing profit margins. Ernie "E.L." Richardson, then manager of the exhibition, had attempted to mirror some of the success of the

[36] Guy Weadick, "Letter to George Lane," 12 September 1919 GMA, GWF, M1287/F2.
[37] Ibid.

Stampede, bringing in different forms of entertainment in hopes of broadening the event's appeal. However, by 1923 Richardson and the rest of the Exhibition's board of directors had come to realize that their event simply did not have long-term sustainability or the popular appeal to reverse their fortunes. In a relationship that would benefit both the Stampede and the exhibition, attendees to the historical pageant and rodeo would now visit the exhibitions and vice versa. Weadick's early focus on the historical pageant in marketing, as well as selling the cowboy sports aspect to a much wider audience set a tone for what guests could expect from the Calgary Stampede brand. As discussed in the following chapter, Indigenous participation in both the historical and the sporting aspects of the Stampede also played a crucial role in establishing the brand and visitor expectations. Weadick and Richardson worked alongside their respective teams to debut the first annual Calgary Exhibition and Stampede on the 37th anniversary of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition.[38]

Weadick's strategy for the 1923 edition of the Stampede followed the same formula of involving Calgary's citizens and businesses in promoting the event. As he had done with the earlier Stampedes, Weadick worked with local businesses and city officials to plan, market, and execute an event which would stretch well beyond the boundaries of the park. Where the 1912 and 1919 Stampedes had been primarily focused on entertainment and on celebrating the recent history of the region, the combined Exhibition and Stampede brought the two events together as one big spectacle. In conjunction with the City of Calgary, a contest was held encouraging local businesses, especially along Eighth Avenue, to join the efforts of boosting the Stampede and decorating their storefronts in the style of the pioneer era.[39] Recognizing the opportunity that the

[38] *Annual Report*, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1929, U of C DC, CESF. 9-10.
[39] "Western Street Display," in *Souvenir Program 1923,* 55.

large influx of tourists from across the province, and throughout the continent represented, many of those businesses not only decorated their storefronts but also held special promotions and advertised directly to Stampede visitors in local and more remote newspapers. One Hudson's Bay Company advertisement in *The Calgary Daily Herald* featured a full page listing items that would be on sale, while also imploring readers to "Come Have a Taste" of the buffalo being barbecued at the Stampede.[40] The following week some local businesses used comparable tactics, such as H.R. Chauncey Jewelers, offering "Stampede 'Specials' in Fine Jewelry," and proclaiming that anyone coming to Calgary from elsewhere in the province "can save the cost of [their] trip in these 'Stampede Specials.'"[41] Similar advertisements in the local newspapers of smaller locales indicate that this was not unique to Calgary, but a seemingly trusted marketing tactic, with a local clothing store in Raymond, Alberta advertising that "Stampede Week is Dress-Up Week" alongside an image of a cowboy being thrown from a bucking horse.[42] The push to brand Calgary in an old west façade highlights the continued use of popular nostalgia, and marks the beginning of what would quickly become a new invented tradition, as subsequent years would see the dressing up of the city and its occupants continue. Recent years have seen the continued dressing up of employees of many local businesses and the City of Calgary, whether in full cowboy costumes or simply jeans and a cowboy hat. Though similar decoration and theming had taken place in the previous Stampedes, these efforts were on a much larger scale and participation throughout the downtown area would quickly become the norm.

Along with increased participation in public and private sectors in Calgary, Weadick and the other board members took a renewed approach to marketing the Exhibition and the

[40] Advertisement, *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 3 July 1923, 18.
[41] Advertisement, *The Calgary Daily Herald,* 9 July 1923, 10.
[42] Advertisement, *Raymond Recorder*, 23 July 1926, 1.

Stampede, and one which closely linked the event to the region's development. Promotions for 1923 focused on four main attractions: The Stampede itself, the Exhibition, a buffalo barbecue, and the opening of the Banff-Windermere highway. The buffalo barbecue coincided with a wildlife management scheme which involved the slaughter of many bison due to a surplus of the animals at the Wainwright Buffalo National Park.[43] Attendees were treated to sandwiches of buffalo meat, cooked over an open fire, and served by board members and the directors of the Exhibition. The official program for the event explains that Charles Stewart, the Minister of the Interior had provided five bison to the Stampede to help celebrate the opening of the Banff-Windermere Highway.[44] This collaboration between the Exhibition and Stampede and the federal government integrated the event into broader efforts to foster both tourism and settlement in the region.

The decision to serve buffalo meat to attendees was both practical and symbolic. From a practical standpoint, their size meant that each animal would provide a large amount of meat, and the ongoing management scheme meant the animals were readily available. More importantly though, the plains bison had long stood as a symbol of both the untamed west and of the settlement process. As various scholars have noted the bison served practical purposes as a major food source for plains Indigenous people, as well as for arriving settlers. However, bison came to embody the same sort of wildness that Frederick Jackson Turner and numerous other scholars and writers would nostalgically lament as the settlement of the North American west came to an end. As John Levi Barnard explains, the bison retains its symbolic importance today, standing in

[43] John Sandlos, "Where the Scientists Roam: Ecology, Management and Bison in Northern Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no.2 (2002): 98-99.
[44] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Programme*, 1923, GMA, CESF 2160/29-5, 15.

as a more environmentally conscious and sustainable alternative to the cattle industry, as well as being a symbol of the North American West and (officially, the national mammal) of the United States.[45] The direct connection between the corporeal form of the bison and the symbolic idea of it meant that the consumption of the animal took on the same symbolic significance as the animal itself.[46] It is in this context of the interrelated ideas of settlement, of conquest over nature, of nostalgia for the pre-settlement West, and of the bison's symbolic role in each, that the 1923 Stampede advertised the buffalo barbecue. While the one-off nature of the barbecue makes it distinct from other early Stampede marketing ploys which would become staples of the event, it is the symbolic relationship between settlers and settlement and the bison which ties the seemingly straightforward event of feeding people some meat to the broader historical themes of the Stampede.

The buffalo barbecue was at the forefront of much of the messaging for the 1923 Stampede, and local newspapers relayed the excitement around the event as well. However, the cross-promotion of Alberta's natural attractions was also omnipresent in advertisements and official brochures and pamphlets for the Stampede. Perhaps due to the natural fit of promoting scenic attractions using images, many of the brochures and flyers for the 1923 Stampede featured collages of images of the nearby Rocky Mountains. One such document, a fold-out flyer labeled as a "preliminary announcement" for the Stampede featured 19 photographs of rodeo events along with 10 photographs of various scenes from open prairies to Mount Assiniboine.[47] These photos accompany descriptions of the Stampede, as well as invitations for tourists to visit the

[45] John Levi Barnard, "The Bison and the Cow: Food, Empire, Extinction," *American Quarterly*, 72 no.2 (2020): 377-378.
[46] Ibid. 380-381.
[47] *Preliminary Announcement: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1923*, GMA, CESF, M2160/30.

Rockies during their trip through the province. This served the practical purpose of providing additional incentives to travel to the region during the Stampede, as well as a loftier purpose of further engraining the link between the history (in this case natural history) of Alberta, and the Stampede. This sort of cross-promotion of events and attractions is common in selling tourists on the region, and it has since become a recurring theme of some Stampede promotional materials.

The buffalo barbecue was the first notable use of food to attract visitors to the Stampede, but the marketing of the event through food became a recurring theme which continues into the present. Similar efforts can be seen in the present with the adoption of outlandish fairground food offerings which mirror those seen in state and local fairs in the United States. Foods ranging from deep fried butter to alligator pizza and other novelty foods have become a prominent feature of the event. Like the buffalo barbecue, the unusual fairground delicacies have often garnered press outside of the official promotional efforts of the event, which has served as an extension of the marketing for the Stampede.[48] Furthermore, in both examples those curious to try the food on offer would have to pay the admission fee for the Stampede, which created another potential driver of ticket sales. Another longstanding use of food as an attraction, the livestock shows in which various animals raised for their meat are judged and prizes awarded, originated in the Calgary Industrial Exhibition and continued following the merger and into the present.[49] These events served the dual purposes of maintaining the Exhibition's ties to ranching and farming by allowing livestock producers to show off their prized animals for potential

[48] While similar stories can be seen in local news each year, the tradition of intentionally strange or novel midway foods at the Stampede dates back to the late 2000s. Dianne Finstad. "Where's The Beef? At the Stampede of Course," *CBC News*, 09 July 2008.
[49] "Agriculture and Livestock Events," *Calgary Stampede*, https://ag.calgarystampede.com/events/competitions/ag-livestock-events Accessed 18 September 2024

monetary awards, and serving as entertainment for attendees, with admission to the shows included with entrance to the park.

Another food-based tradition which began in 1923 was the pancake breakfast, which is now synonymous with the Stampede. This tradition is a public meal in which pancakes, and other breakfast foods, are served to attendees. According to local lore, this began when rancher and chuckwagon driver Jack Morton set up in downtown Calgary and had his camp cook make pancakes for passersby.[50] What began as a seemingly impromptu treat for passersby has since become an annual tradition, with various corporate and government entities hosting their own breakfasts throughout the city during the Stampede. In this custom, which could very well have been a one-time event were it not for savvy promotional efforts, the organizers received the civic engagement that Weadick had emphasized following the Victory Stampede. Furthermore, the public and private groups which host these events illustrate the diversity of the stakeholders in the Stampede specifically and its value to the region more broadly. While many Stampede sponsors have hosted their own pancake breakfasts as an extension of their support for the event, corporations unaffiliated with the Stampede, as well as the premier's office, have also hosted recurring pancake breakfasts. Although many breakfast hosts do not have a direct financial interest in promoting the Stampede, hosting such an event allows them to connect their brand or their public image to the festivities and to the positive connotations of the pancake breakfast tradition.

Along with these annual traditions, numerous years have seen food highlighted as either an included perk of Stampede attendance or as a link to the region's broader history. In 1973, Indian Village organizers opened a booth to sell bannock to village residents and Stampede

[50] "Pancake Breakfast History at Stampede," *660 News*, 14 June 2012.

attendees.[51] Various souvenir programs in the following years mention the bannock booths as one of the reasons to visit the Indian Village.[52] In a throwback to the 1923 buffalo barbecue the 1982 Stampede featured a themed barbecue with free food for attendees, billed as "Gourmet Dining – Trail Style" in marketing materials. The barbecue was part of that year's Stampede theme of "Salute to the Cowboy," and the writeup on the barbecue promises an authentic cowboy meal, stating that "volunteers have managed to remove a lot of the dust and grit from the cowboys' standard bill of fare, but that is all they have removed." The description further promises a campfire, logs to sit on, and "the camaraderie of the plains" to suit the theme.[53] In each case, the food is marketed as an attraction that ties the Stampede to the past, offering a tangible way for guests to experience a part of history by consuming traditional foods. This link between food and marketing the event began with the 1923 buffalo barbecue but continued in varied forms throughout the 20th and into the 21st century.

Along with the attractions of the Stampede, the 1923 iteration also built upon the groundwork of nearly four decades of annual industrial exhibitions in the city. Despite the significant changes to the format of the event following the merger, the Calgary Industrial Exhibition remained an important portion of the event and its marketing. Though arguably the least eye-catching and exciting attraction for the public, it was still an important way for knowledge of new agricultural technologies and techniques to be disseminated throughout the province. This and comparable exhibitions played an important role in the agricultural and industrial development of the prairies, with the mechanization of agriculture and other significant

[51] Gillian Lindgren. "Traditional Indian Bread Served at Stampede Park," *The Calgary Herald*, 13 July 1973, 39.
[52] *Souvenir Program*, 1981, U of C DC, CESA, 35.
[53] *Souvenir Program*, 1982, U of C DC, CESA, 8.

technological advancements accelerating the economic development of the Canadian West. The importance of the exhibition is reflected in both the literature for the event and in the advertisements within the official program. The souvenir program features ads for consumer goods and retail stores alongside postings for the United Grain Growers and Western Steel Products, "the largest manufacturers of sheet steel materials and farm specialties" in the region.[54] These examples show that the companies purchasing ad space in the program believed their target audience would be likely attendees to the Stampede and Exhibition, while their placement alongside ads for consumer goods also shows the broader appeal of the event as Weadick's Stampede format joined the Exhibition.

The merged Stampede and Exhibition was an immediate success, drawing a record 137,838 total attendees over 6 days in 1923, compared with 97,732 total guests over 7 days the year prior. (Figure The increased admissions and grandstand tickets brought in an additional $35,152.86 in revenue year over year, an increase of nearly ninety percent.[55] On the heels of the well-received event, and in the lead up to the 1924 Exhibition and Stampede, Guy Weadick delivered an impassioned speech to the Calgary Board of Trade. He touted the authenticity and suitability of the city as a permanent home for his event, and implored the board members to cooperate in the effort to "make the 1925 Stampede the best ever."[56] Similar appeals would be made to the general public in the following weeks, with Weadick attributing the success of the previous year's event to "the fact that the Calgary people got behind it and created the interest and local atmosphere that is absolutely essential for the success of the big undertaking." Weadick

[54] *Souvenir Programme*, 1923, 24, 26. U of C DC, CESA.
[55] *Annual Report*, 1924, U of C DC, CESA, 9.
[56] "Calgary has Setting for Cowboy Sports Million Bucks Couldn't Buy," *The Calgary Albertan* 10 May 1924, 1.

continued, “Cowboy shows are held all over […], but nowhere in the world is there a place that has the natural advantages […] as Calgary has.”[57] This notion that the entire city must work together to ensure the Stampede’s success can be seen from various parties in the weeks leading up to the 1924 iteration of the event. On 4 July, *The Albertan* featured a story about how the acting Mayor Harry Ross was “setting an example to citizens” by wearing a cowboy hat in public the week before the Stampede. Mr. Ross specifically mentions Guy Weadick and how the Stampede manager “expects every Calgarian to do his duty” during the following week. The brief article closes by assuring readers that Mayor Webster will be back in the city in time for the Stampede and by praising the acting mayor for “demonstrating that he also is public spirited and possessed of real western enthusiasm.”[58]

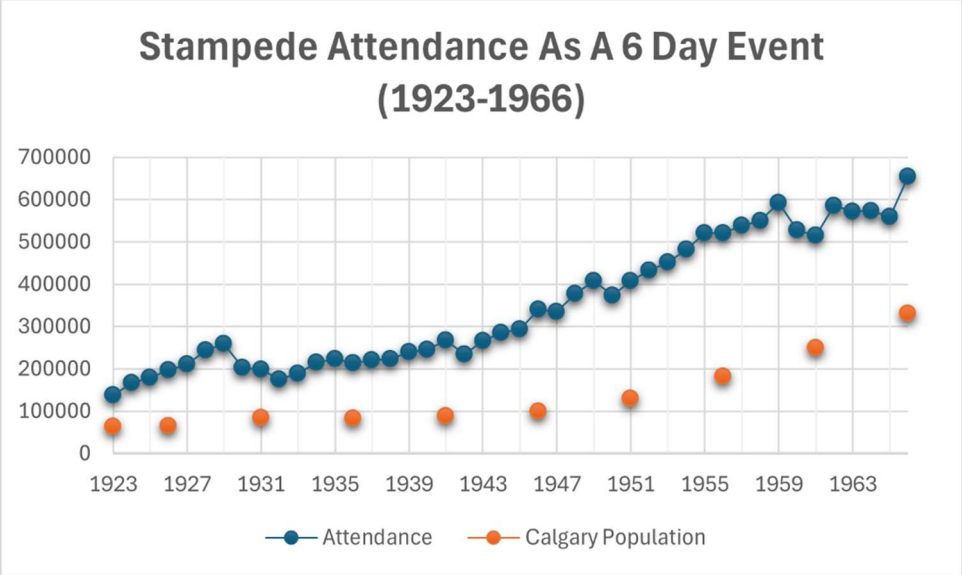

Figure 2 Stampede attendance and Calgary’s population 1923-1966

[57] “Stampede Needs Co-Operation of All of Calgary,” *The Calgary Albertan* 28 May 1924, 1.
[58] “Stampede Atmosphere Begins to be Felt and Seen at the City Hall,” *The Calgary Albertan* 4 July 1924, 1.

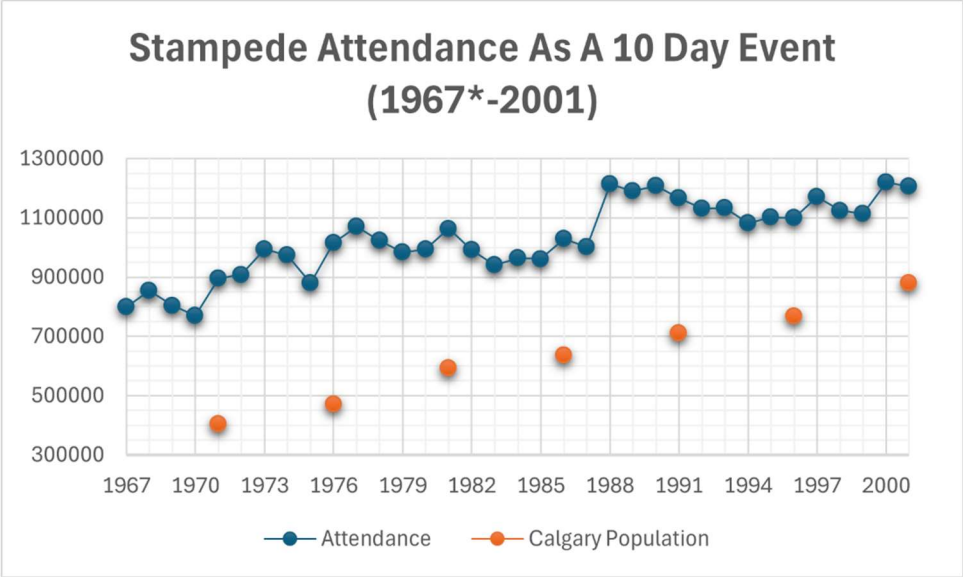

Figure 3 Stampede attendance and Calgary's population 1967-2001 (NB: The 1967 Stampede was a nine-day event, the Stampede has been a ten-day event since 1968.) [59]

The language in both Weadick's speech and the article itself indicate an ongoing effort to capitalize on the western setting, and the popular ideas surrounding the west, in shaping public perception of the Stampede and of Calgary more broadly. The praise for the people of Calgary further indicates the importance of widespread public participation in the marketing of the Stampede and links the efforts of Calgarians with the building of the event and its reputation. While such civic engagement is key to many comparable events, the century of volunteerism that followed Weadick's call to action is remarkable in understanding the cultural importance of the Stampede. Additionally, the invented tradition of the Stampede was increasingly apparent in the push for such public enthusiasm in this era, as the language used by Weadick and others aimed to make the Stampede a point of individual and collective local pride and, by extension, a focal point of civic identity. These early efforts of Stampede organizers, receptive Calgarians, and

[59] All data for attendance comes from the Stampede annual reports, courtesy of the University of Calgary Digital Collections. Data for Calgary's population courtesy of the government of Canada census archives.

local stakeholders established many of the traditions of the Stampede which would eventually serve as seemingly organic marketing for the event.

In 1925, with the Exhibition and Stampede steadily increasing in popularity, Guy Weadick hatched another plan to extend the reach of the Stampede and broaden its appeal at the same time.[60] Seeing an opportunity for the event to reach a larger international audience, Weadick reached out to film star Hoot Gibson and suggested that the actor base his next film on the Calgary Stampede.[61] This would serve the purpose of promoting both the film and the event to the respective audiences of each. At the time, Hoot Gibson was well-known for his leading roles in silent Western genre films. He was also a longtime friend of Weadick and had travelled with Weadick to Calgary in 1908 to help sell the idea of the initial Stampede.[62] After reaching an agreement with Gibson to base his film around the Calgary Stampede and to shoot portions of the film on location at the event, on a nearby ranch, and throughout the city, Weadick began to promote the coming of the film star as an additional attraction for that year's Stampede. Articles in both major local newspapers, *The Calgary Daily Herald* and *The Calgary Albertan* told readers of the upcoming production, highlighting Gibson's presence in that year's Stampede.

The Calgary Daily Herald announced the coming of "Hoot Gibson and company of fifty" to the city for the Stampede.[63] The article notes that the purpose of the visit was "to film a special story that has been written around the coming Jubilee and Stampede" and that the film would

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[60] "138,950 Attend Fair During Week, Breaking All Records; Vandemeer Champion Rider," *The Albertan* 16 July 1923, 1. and "Calgary Stampede Attendance Increase over '24 is 11,389; 25,617 at Exhibition Saturday," *The Albertan*, 13 July 1925, 1.
[61] Dominique Brégent-Heald, *Northern Getaway: Film, Tourism and the Canadian Vacation* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), 86-88.
[62] Louis B. Hobson, "Lights, Cowboys, Action! The Hollywood Connection*," Calgary Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, 1996, 31, CESF M2160/ 29-32 GMA.
[63] "Hoot Gibson and Company of Fifty Arriving June 10," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 June 1925.

include “a prologue going back to 50 years ago, showing Calgary as it then was” before turning to the present day. The production was to include the use of six cameras “simultaneously film[ing] the big show daily, covering every angle of the arena and race track.” A later article in *The Calgary Albertan* further explained the plans for filming, with scenes to be filmed at TS Ranch, south of Calgary near High River prior to the Stampede.[64]

The frequency with which the Hoot Gibson film production was mentioned in local newspapers both in the lead-up to the Stampede and throughout the week of the event signifies the popular fascination with American cinema and also illustrates the degree to which spectacle had become engrained in society by this time. While the editorial staff of the relevant newspapers would have likely had some stake in the success of the Stampede due to increased ad space sales as local businesses attempted to advertise to the incoming tourists, the common thread between the two papers of publicizing and promoting Hoot Gibson’s arrival points to some popular interest in the star’s visit. The significant press coverage of Gibson’s arrival and time in the city is indicative not only of the broader appeal of celebrity and popular culture at the time but also of Weadick’s (and, more generally, the Stampede organization’s) willingness and savviness to leverage that appeal in promoting the event.

While Hoot Gibson’s appearance at the Stampede was one of the first times that the organization used a non-political celebrity to draw crowds and that the event would, in turn, serve as a promotional platform, it was certainly not the last. The following decades would see a seemingly ever-expanding number of stars of screen and stage honoured as VIPs for the event. These guests were given positions such as the honorary Rodeo Marshall title and hired to perform or appear at events during the Stampede. In convincing his friend to base a feature film

[64] “Nature of Film Scenes a Secret until Gibson Picture Completed,” *The Albertan*, 19 June 1925.

around the Calgary Stampede, Guy Weadick started a trend of bringing recognizable celebrities to the event in order to garner more publicity, which continues into the present. As what could colloquially be termed celebrity worship became a consistent feature of the hegemonic culture, including famous guests in Stampede proceedings and promotional materials became an increasingly powerful marketing tool.

Numerous famous figures, whether entertainers, athletes, or elected officials, would be featured as honoured guests of the Stampede organization following Hoot Gibson's appearance in 1925.[65] In nearly every case, the chosen guests had a public image or persona which reinforced the family-oriented and western themes of the Stampede itself or aligned with the broader hegemonic culture. It should be noted that not all honoured guests were celebrities, as some had more symbolic importance to the event or to the culture in which it exists. Put simply, some guests were not famous but were important for their contributions or due to the groups to which they belonged and what those groups represented. The most obvious example of this was the wartime selection of armed forces members as honorary parade marshals.

Historian Max Foran argues that the decade from 1955 to 1965 was when the Stampede shifted from a "Canadian frontier experience" to Hollywood's version of the Wild West, owing to the Stampede organization increasing the frequency and importance of celebrity guests and performers and the increased popularity of television westerns.[66] This use of celebrities to promote the event and draw in attendees aligns directly with the idea of spectacle, given that

[65] The Stampede's website has a full list of the parade marshals, some of whom are discussed in the following paragraph, but the varied roles that celebrities have taken in the event make this difficult to sum up without a more exhaustive list. For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that most iterations of the event leverage the popularity of famous figures in some aspect of marketing.

[66] Max Foran, "The Stampede in Historical Context," in *Icon, Brand, Myth*: 8.

seeing famous individuals or acts in person is given an inherent value due to the commodification of experiences. However, in a more cynical reading of the culture of celebrities and popular culture, these figures represent the human embodiment of what capitalism and consumer culture have to offer and are exalted for that reason. Whatever the values and psychology underlying the public's desire to witness celebrities, whether as performers or simply as guests in the ceremonies of the event, the outcome was an apparent renewal of excitement around the Stampede, as well as an increase in free press coverage, as had been seen with Hoot Gibson's involvement decades prior.

At the turn of the decade, the Stampede's marketing efforts began to feature these celebrity guests prominently. In 1960, the poster for the Stampede highlighted, alongside the longstanding attractions such as the rodeo and midway, the appearance and performance of Roy Rogers and Dale Evans at the Stampede Corral.[67] This marked the beginning of a marketing trend, as the following year's poster highlighted Rex Allen, and the 1962 poster again featured the likes of Rogers and Evans, this time alongside Hannah Barbera cartoon mascots Huckleberry Hound and Yogi Bear.[68] The prominent placement of featured celebrity entertainers and guests would remain part of the poster design through 1965, with 1963, 1964, and 1965 featuring the Three Stooges, Bobby Curtola, and Rex Allen, respectively, alongside other performers and features. Along with celebrity performances and their prominence on promotional posters, numerous well-known actors and entertainers were also featured in honorary, non-performing positions during this period. For example, in 1963, rodeo star turned actor Slim Pickens was named the Stampede's guest of honour. That year's souvenir program describes Pickens as "one-

[67] *Calgary Stampede 1960*, Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters.
[68] *Calgary Stampede 1961*, Poster and *Calgary Stampede 1962*, Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters.

time Rodeo bronc rider and bull fighter and now a motion-picture and television star," and "popular with Rodeo fans all over the world."[69] The use of celebrities to draw visitors in, as well as to garner free press, is hardly unique to the Stampede and, by this time, was a tried-and-true marketing tactic. This same strategy remains in use, though in a slightly different form as promotional posters since 1965 have not featured celebrities and have instead primarily highlighted rodeo imagery or images related to the western theme of the Stampede. However, celebrities, whether local or more widely known, are regularly featured as VIPs for the event and especially for the opening parade.

The inclusion of celebrities in the event, ranging from performances by musicians to simply participating in opening ceremonies, was cemented as a Stampede tradition in the 1960s. By the mid-1990s, the inclusion of celebrities in marketing the Stampede had reached its zenith. The worldwide fame of the event, combined with the burgeoning film industry in the province, meant that organizers could reliably draw on star power in their marketing efforts. The 1996 Stampede souvenir program featured, alongside segments saluting the volunteers who make the event possible and examining the Stampede Ranch from which all the rodeo animals come, an article highlighting the event's Tinseltown ties. This segment, "Lights, Cowboys, Action! The Hollywood Connection," examined both the direct connection between the Stampede and filmmaking such as the 1925 Hoot Gibson film, and the use of celebrity guests as Parade Marshalls and other honorary, high-profile positions to broaden the event's appeal. This article features photos of celebrities ranging from Hoot Gibson to Leslie Nielsen and from Slim Pickens and Roy Rogers to Brad Pitt, all of whom attended the Stampede in some capacity, whether as

[69] "1963 Guest of Honor," in *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Souvenir Program 1963*, CESF, M9162/F59 GMA.

official guests or as hired entertainment for the attendees.[70] While the inclusion of notable figures in the Stampede began with the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the event's promotion via popular celebrities began in earnest in 1925 with Hoot Gibson and continues into the present.

Although celebrity guests, a distinctly modern phenomenon, have been present throughout most of the Stampede's history, the event has also maintained an eye toward the original historical pageantry Weadick proposed. In 1932, the Stampede Board of Directors relieved Weadick of his position as Stampede Manager following contentious disagreements throughout the event and a drunken tirade by Weadick on the closing night of the Stampede.[71] E.L. Richardson remained in his role as the Exhibition Manager, and he shared much of Weadick's vision of the Stampede as a celebration of history. However, from 1931 onward, the marketing of the event shifted significantly. This is most visible in the change to the official posters from an illustrated cowboy on a bucking bronco, chosen by Weadick in 1923, to scenes from both the Stampede's history and the country's history more broadly. Images such as the chuckwagon race, RCMP officers and First Nations chiefs, and cowboys inside the Indian Village became the theme for official posters. Save for a few exceptions, the remaining years of the decade took on a more-or-less homogenous approach to marketing the event, with minor changes based on featured acts or milestone years such as Canada's Diamond Jubilee in 1935, and the British Dominion Year in 1939. The former features an image of two mounted police receiving a decorated blanket from James Starlight, labelled as "minor chief […] Sarcee Indian, RCMP scout" on the poster. (Figure 4) The latter features the arena directors, a former rodeo

[70] Louis B. Hobson, "Lights, Cowboys, Action!" in *Souvenir Program, Calgary Stampede, 1996*, U of C, DC, 31,33,67.
[71] Max Foran, "A Lapse in Historical Memory: Guy Weadick and the Calgary Stampede," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 39, no.3 (2009): 259-260.

queen, and a First Nations woman in front of a wooden structure with Union Jack bunting hanging from its entrance, which was themed around the visit of the king and queen. (Figure 5)

Figure 4: Official Promotional Poster For the 1935 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede[72]

[72] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1935*, Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/collections/

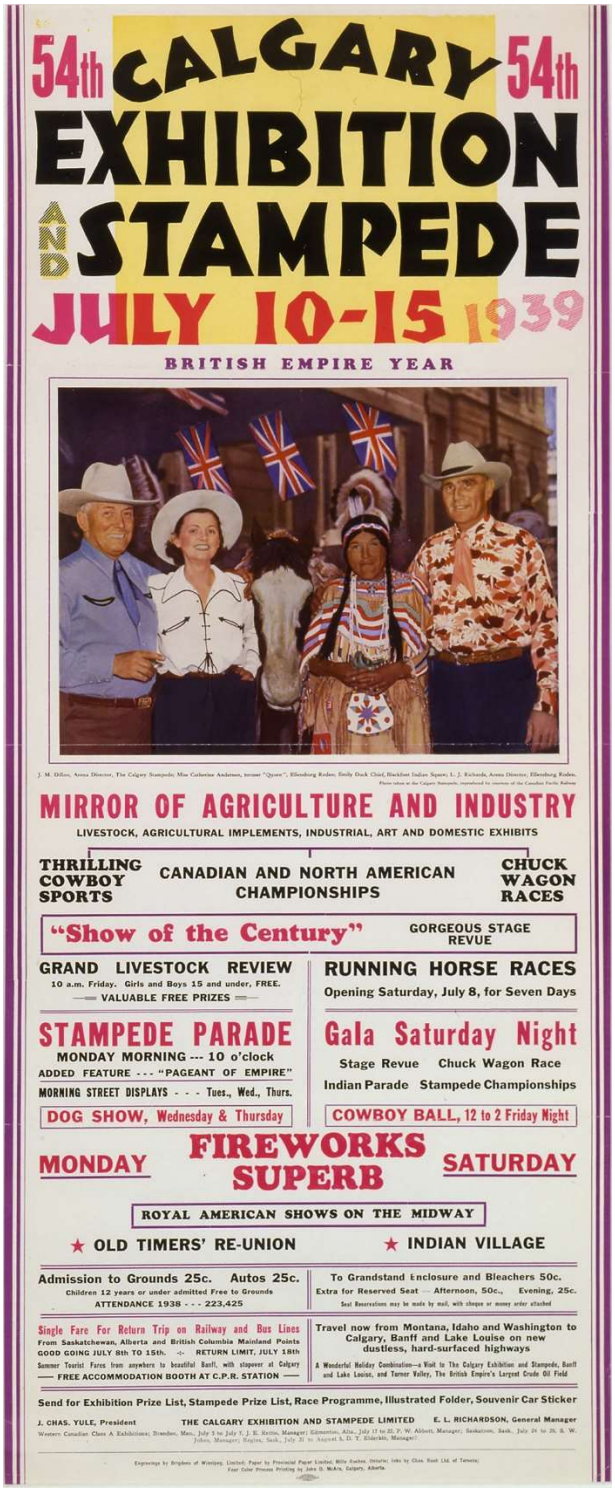

Figure 5:Official Promotional Poster for the 1939 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede[73]

[73] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Poster 1939,* Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/collections/

By celebrating Canada's colonial history and settler narratives of the region's development, the marketing team for the Stampede linked the invented traditions of the event to the traditions of Canada and Great Britain. Much of the historical focus of the Stampede took the form of advertisements and decorations celebrating a given milestone, themed grandstand shows, and articles within written materials for the relevant years. While the souvenir programs for the event would include relevant information about the rodeo sports, the exhibition, and the entertainment available to guests, they would also feature articles relevant to the theme of that year's Stampede. While working to incorporate colonial milestones into the Stampede, these souvenir programs also frequently featured short histories of the event itself, which in turn worked to establish the traditions of the Stampede on their own merit outside of external anniversaries and milestones. For example, an article in the 1925 souvenir program, simply titled "A Brief History of Calgary," tells readers of the arrival of the first white men to what would become Calgary, the founding of Fort Brisebois (later renamed Fort Calgary) and numerous other events in the city's history up to the founding of an oil refinery in the region a few years prior.[74] While not explicit in connecting the Stampede to the city's history, this and similar articles in the souvenir programs illustrate the importance of the historical aspect of the Stampede.

The turn of the decade marked E.L. Richardson's final year as manager of the Exhibition and Stampede and, by extension, the departure of the remaining voice who shared Guy Weadick's vision of an event which celebrated the region's history and heritage. Richardson and

[74] Ernest Walter, "A Brief History of Calgary," in *Souvenir Program, Calgary Stampede, 1925*, GMA, CESF, M2160/29-6, 9, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27.

Weadick had co-managed the Exhibition and Stampede from the 1919 Victory Stampede to Weadick's firing in 1932, and Richardson had managed the Calgary Industrial Exhibition before that. It was fitting then that Richardson's departure from the management team would come on the heels of a Stampede billed as "Bigger and Better than ever," as the event became more integrated into tourism promotion.[75] As tourist destinations in the Rocky Mountains, such as Banff and Jasper, became more readily accessible to tourists thanks to the paving of motorways, marketing of the Stampede expanded to include mentions of other southern Alberta attractions as well. Though various years had featured images of the Rockies or mention of the Banff-Windermere Highway, promotional materials for the 1940 Stampede highlighted the opening of the Banff-Jasper Highway and the Big Bend Highway, further linking Western Canadian tourism more broadly with the Calgary Stampede. The inverse is also seen in press releases promoting travel to the region. One of which, published throughout various local newspapers, promotes the Columbia Icefields to visitors to the Rocky Mountains and closes with a brief mention of the Calgary Stampede, "Canada's greatest wild west show," alongside the Banff Indian Days and other summer events in the region.[76] A similar press release promoting summer vacations in Banff also mentions the Calgary Stampede as the beginning of that summer's special events.[77] This cross-promotion of regional attractions occurred in large part because of cooperation between the relevant governing bodies, as well as groups such as the Calgary-Banff-Lake Louise tourist association, which worked within Calgary to promote travel to Banff, highlighting the

[75] "Calgary Stampede Bigger and Better Than Ever," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 7 June 1940, 4.
[76] "Beautiful Columbia Icefield Highway New Thrill for Visitors to Rockies," *The Champion Chronicle*, 23 May 1940, 1.
[77] "Happy Mountain Holidays at Banff," *Bassano Recorder*, 23 May 1940, 3.

resorts and natural attractions.[78] From the early years of the event management realized the potential of the symbiotic relationship between the Stampede and the growing tourism industry. Fred Johnson and E.L. Richardson emphasized this connection in their 1926 annual report, stating:

> The continual improvement in the motor highways through the Canadian Rockies and the world famous recreation attractions of Banff, Lake Louise, the Windermere Valley, Emerald Lake and the Yoho have been stressed by us on every possible occasion in our publicity matter, and we may reasonably assume that our efforts are helping to some extent at least in making these beauty spots more widely known. The tourist traffic is assuming larger proportions each year, and, during the next few years, will develop to very large proportions. Calgary is most fortunately located at the gateway to this new industry, and every citizen who co-operates with us in our efforts to foster this important asset cannot help but receive direct or indirect returns.[79]

Throughout the preceding decade the Stampede organizers had implemented incremental changes in both the event's execution and how it was marketed. Noteworthy occurrences, such as the visit of Queen Elizabeth and King George VI, were commemorated in promotional materials in the years that followed, but the promotional materials continued to focus on the rodeo and the exhibition. The traditions of the Stampede and its reputation among attendees were well established, and the marketing and promotions settled into a comfortable niche. At the same time, the event continued to increase attendance numbers. The Calgary Stampede had come to be one of the premier summer events in Canada, and broader tourism efforts, such as those encouraging tourism in the Rocky Mountains, frequently listed the Stampede as an additional attraction in the region.

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[78] R.C. Scace, "Banff Townsite: An Historical-Geographical View of Urban Development in a Canadian National Park," in *Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on its Evolution in Canada*, eds. Geoffrey Wall and John S. Marsh (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982): 215.
[79] Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report, 1926, U of C DC, CESF, 7.

As WWII began overseas, priorities in Canada shifted toward supporting the war effort, and numerous small-town Stampedes and summer festivals were either downsized or put on hold. The Calgary Stampede, however, continued as an annual event at the prompting of all levels of government. Additionally, while news articles and advertisements for various businesses took on a patriotic tone, encouraging Canadians to do their part, the bulk of the marketing efforts for the Stampede remained focused on the event itself and on the province's industries. However, the organizers were not removed from contemporary issues. A press wire circulated in Alberta newspapers a few days before the 1941 Stampede informed visitors that "to emphasize the importance of Canada's industrial production in the national war effort," the Canadian branch of the Ford Motor Company would be exhibiting several of its "war machines" as the Calgary and Edmonton exhibitions.[80] The following year, alongside the usual attractions, the poster for the event promoted "an all-star attraction dedicated to national defense and public morale," including the involvement of Army, Navy and Air Force members within the opening parade, as well as exhibits "portraying the amazing transformation of Canadian activity and production to wartime conditions."[81] These exhibitions were partly born out of convenience as the Stampede's central location in the city, and the large facilities on the grounds made the space ideal for the Canadian Armed Forces to train and store equipment in the area. Even as wartime austerity measures and transport restrictions changed the execution of the event (for example, limiting the attractions brought by rail from the United States) the marketing for the Stampede continued along the course set by earlier efforts.

[80] "Ford War Machines to be on Display," *The Bassano Recorder*, 10 July 1941, 3.
[81] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1942*, Poster, Calgary Stampede Heritage.

During the war the marketing of the Calgary Stampede as one of the features of the Canadian West became more fully ingrained in the broader promotion of tourism, especially within Canada. Wartime financial woes led to increased promotion of tourism to destinations within the country, as well as increased promotion of the country's attractions within the United States. The government directed these promotional efforts for a multitude of reasons such as boosting public morale and bringing tourist dollars in from the United States.[82] In the case of the Stampede, a radio segment promoting the event highlighted the attendance of military personnel stationed around the province and also argued in favour of the wartime Stampedes as a holiday and a diversion.[83] While the event was still promoted on its own merits, the inclusion of the Canadian military within the event provided an intrinsic promotional boost, turning a visit to the Stampede into a patriotic act. The celebration of the military in the Stampede continues in a smaller capacity in the present, with armoured vehicles and soldiers staged near one of the entrances to the park as a photo opportunity for attendees.

Even as the war raged on in Europe and the effects of wartime on the economy wore on the average Calgarian, the management of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede continued to innovate in marketing the event. In the mid-1940s, Jack Dillon, then the arena director for the Stampede, hosted a radio show in the weeks leading up to the Stampede. The use of mass media, in addition to the printed promotional programs and pamphlets, had been part of the event's marketing since 1912, with press releases and newspaper interviews playing a key role in promoting the Stampede. In adding radio segments to the promotional efforts, the organizers were able to address aspects of the event in more depth and in a longer form than a brief

[82] Michael Dawson, "A 'Civilizing' Industry: Leo Dolan, Canadian Tourism Promotion and the Celebration of Mass Culture," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 41, no.4 (2011): 440.
[83] Jack Dillon, "Broadcast No.1," 25 June 1945, Script, GMA, CESF, M2160/34.

newspaper article. Along with the greater detail Dillon could provide, the segments also served as a platform for his guests to show their personalities and endear themselves to the show's audience. Each of Dillon's segments would provide information on one element of the Calgary Stampede, with topics ranging from addressing the reasons for the event to continue in wartime to profiles of and interviews with famous cowboys.[84] What is striking about these radio segments is not merely that they exist; radio as an advertising medium is far from unusual, but rather, the vernacular used in most of these shows, which is illustrative of the increased influence of American ideas of the west on the Calgary event. Most notably, Dillon would begin many of these broadcasts with the greeting "howdy folks" and would close each with "*adios amigos*." The content of the broadcasts would otherwise be a mix of contemporary and more dated phrases.[85] Much of the slang used by Jack Dillon in these broadcasts would not be out of place in a western genre film but would not have been commonplace among Calgarians. In this way, the segments also built the narrative (or the invented traditions) of the Calgary Stampede as an authentic portrayal of the west, even if not the Canadian west.

Additionally, Jack Dillon's show served as a platform for addressing concerns the public had expressed with the Stampede and, as seen in the Indigenous Representation chapter, for the organization to address issues with public conduct at the Stampede. The former, though, is particularly enlightening regarding the marketing of the event during the war. In a 1945 broadcast, Dillon addresses the question that nobody had openly asked but the Stampede organization felt the need to answer, explaining why, during times of crisis, such frivolities as a six-day rodeo and carnival were still carried out. Dillon prefaced his explanation with the

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[84] Jack Dillon, "Broadcast No.1," 25 June 1945, Script, CESF, M2160/34 GMA, and Jack Dillon and Dick Cosgrave, Interview, n.d., Script, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.
[85] Ibid.

statement that "while we have never heard a word of criticism from anyone," there was a feeling that some "may have entertained the thought that entertainment or frivolity had no place during the war years."[86] He then went on to explain that both the provincial and federal governments advised the Board of Directors that the Stampede and other such events ought to continue during the war wherever finances permitted "as it afforded a holiday for the people in Western Canada particularly and would help divert their minds, at least for the time being, from more serious thoughts."[87] In essence, the relevant governments saw these so-called frivolities as a morale booster, though not one that public funds could help finance in wartime.

The same year saw projections from then manager Charles Yule that, based on advance ticket sales to the rodeo events, the Stampede would break previous attendance records despite the ongoing war. The event also promised a stronger emphasis on agricultural and industrial development and the exhibition side of the Stampede than had been the case in recent years.[88] This push to break attendance records was a success; the marketing of the Stampede as both part of the war effort and as a government-approved morale boost for the public assuaged any concerns about the morality of attending during wartime and garnered the desired attention.[89] The event's total revenue was over $300,000 and the cost to run that year's Stampede was just shy of $200,000, which led to promises from the Stampede board to invest in more junior shows for boys and girls as well as to explore the possibility of creating programs similar to the 4H clubs that were common in the United States.[90] By successfully promoting the Stampede and

[86] Jack Dillon, "Broadcast No. 1," 25 June 1945, Script, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.
[87] Ibid.
[88] "Stampede Will Break Records," *Western Farm Leader*, 6 July 1945, 15.
[89] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1945, U of C DC, CESA, 2.
[90] "Calgary Exhibition Shows Good Surplus," *The Farm and Ranch Review*, 1 December 1945, 16.

aligning it with the war effort, the organizers were able to both provide a much-needed respite from the tolls of war on the home front and to further engrain the event into the cultural fabric of the city.

The inclusion of broader tourism efforts in marketing the Stampede would continue in the postwar era as the marketing of the Canadian West as part of the appeal of the Stampede, and vice versa, continued in earnest. The 1946 poster, for example, includes a photograph of Mt. Eisenhower (now known as Castle Mountain), as well as text and a photo advertising the Banff Indian Days celebration.[91] The following year's poster includes photographs of various other natural and man-made attractions in the southern part of the province, text listing the highlights of the Stampede, and photos of steer wrestling and a chuckwagon race.[92] However, by 1948 the event's marketing returned to focusing primarily on the spectacle of the Stampede itself and regional tourism was relegated to occasional features in souvenir programs.

In the immediate postwar era, Canada collectively saw a push for a return to normalcy. This took on various forms, including the construction of rigid ideas of masculinity discussed elsewhere in this study.[93] For the Stampede's organizers, though, a return to normal meant a return to the spectacular displays and celebratory tone of the pre-war era. The marketing of the Stampede in this period continued along similar lines to what had worked during the war years, focusing on the spectacle of the event but with an added emphasis on the expansion of the attractions on offer. As had been the case in the early years of the Stampede, constant improvement over the previous year's offerings became a running theme.

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[91] *Calgary Stampede 1946*, Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters.
[92] *Calgary Stampede 1947*, Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters.
[93] Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*.

The immediate postwar return to marketing the Stampede as a feature attraction of western Canada was accompanied by greater emphasis on both the rodeo and its prizes, and the increased scope of the midway and fairground attractions. By the end of the postwar era, the Calgary Stampede was firmly embedded in the city's cultural landscape, and it was known throughout the continent as a destination event. Owing in no small part to the sporting and spectacle aspects of the Stampede, this renown created somewhat of a compounding effect. As the Stampede became more widely known, the event itself, rather than the history of the region, became the focal point of marketing materials.[94] By extension, this led to further marketing of the invented traditions of the Stampede, with patrons again encouraged to dress in western wear and the event being promoted based on its own reputation.[95]

A notable departure from the Wild West and cowboy-centric marketing came with the 1966 addition of what would become known as Flare Square to the fairgrounds. This new attraction was themed around the province's increasingly dominant oil industry, with exhibits and events that served as advertising for the industry as a whole and was organized by the Canadian Petroleum Exhibition.[96] The centerpiece of this exhibit was a fully functional drilling rig, standing over 40 meters tall and topped with a flare stack which constantly burned throughout the life of the derrick.[97] The oil show helped the 1966 Stampede break the attendance record set the previous year and also ushered in a decade of varying shows and attractions in this

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[94] This change is exemplified in the 1955 Stampede poster, the first to adopt the "Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth" tagline, where previous posters had foregrounded the rodeo alongside taglines such as "Perpetuating Calgary's Pioneer Days" *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1950, 1955* Poster, Calgary Stampede Heritage.
[95] "Make this Town a Cowtown," *The Calgary Herald* 29 June 1948. 9.
[96] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1967, 6. U of C, DC.
[97] A flare stack, a.k.a. a gas flare, is a device used to burn off unwanted byproducts of oil and natural gas extraction.

portion of the park. From 1966 to 1976 the eponymous flare stood at the end of a roadway through the park, beckoning visitors to the square. Though the Stampede had always celebrated the province's industries, with its roots in cattle ranching and agriculture apparent in everything from the rodeo to the exhibition, and even the livestock shows and auctions, the tonal shift to promoting the oil and gas industry is particularly striking. While perhaps not at-odds with ideas of the west, as even the American Southwest is rich with oil, the Flare Square represents a step toward a modernization of the Stampede, and an acknowledgement of the change that had been taking place in the province since 1946.

As the new oil industry-themed attraction created a link between the Stampede and contemporary (and future) industry, the organizers also began to provide space for programming that would target audiences looking to the province's future rather than its past. The year 1966 marked the first of 15 years in which the Stampede marketing took a thematic, non-Western approach to promoting and executing the event. In addition to the Flare Square's programming and the ongoing petroleum exhibits that made up its static components, the 1966 Grandstand show was themed as a salute to the petroleum industry. It boasted "something for everyone" with "16 different variety acts" and a climactic fireworks display.[98] The 1966 Stampede was and remains the only substantial incorporation of the oil industry into the Stampede. With the notable exception of the flare stack, which remained in operation for a decade, the Stampede organization has not returned to highlighting the province's major economic driver in the years since. In 1967, the Flare Square naming appeared in the souvenir program, replacing "oil exhibits" on the included map.[99] Seemingly keen to have the petroleum industry associated with

[98] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Souvenir Program*, 1966, U of C DC, CESA, 52-53.
[99] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Souvenir Program*, 1967, U of C DC, CESA, 4.

the positive brand of the Stampede, the Canadian Petroleum Exhibition donated the flare stack to the organization.[100] That same year, the Stampede expanded from a 6 to a 9-day schedule, spanning from the opening Thursday through the following Saturday instead of Monday-Saturday as had been the case since the 1930s. According to the statement to the shareholders in that year's annual report, one purpose of extending the event was to "thin out the crowds." In this regard, the extension of the event was a success, with the average number of daily visitors having decreased from previous years. However, according to the same report, the added expense of extending the event meant that the extra days cost more money than they brought in additional revenue. [101]

In addition to these long-term changes to the event, 1967 also marked Canada's centennial, an occasion celebrated at the Stampede as other anniversaries and milestones before it. This included the use of familiar marketing imagery, with the poster for the year featuring the symbolic imagery of an Indigenous chief, a Mountie, and a cowboy in front of a teepee in the Indian Village.[102] As with previous uses of this imagery, this photograph serves to both root the event in the history of the region and of Canada and to juxtapose these contemporary individuals with the history they represent. Along with the historical significance of these symbols, this imagery once again aligned the event with the colonial project, though in a way which highlighted the importance of Indigenous people alongside the RCMP imagery's inherent colonial ties.

The year 1972 marked the Diamond Jubilee of the Calgary Stampede, and promotional materials for that year promoted the history of the Stampede as a major reason to visit. Both the

[100] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1967, U of C DC, CESA, 6.
[101] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1967, U of C DC, CESA, 9.
[102] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1967*, Poster, Calgary Stampede Heritage.

visitor's guide and the souvenir program for the event discuss the history of the Stampede, from Guy Weadick's initial idea to that year's expansive offerings, while the poster for the year features a photograph of the 1912 Stampede opening parade.[103] By this point, the invented traditions of the Stampede were well-established, and the celebration of those traditions was used again as a basis for marketing the event. As the organization had done a decade prior, they centered a milestone, the 60th anniversary of the inaugural Stampede, in theming and marketing that year's event. This continuing use of the history of the Stampede itself as a reason to attend aligns well with the self-imposed title of "The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth," as in both cases, the feature being sold to tourists is seeing a historic event. The marketing of the event's history as a reason to attend continues into the present, most recently with the organization opening a year-round showcase of Stampede history two blocks northeast of the park's northern entrance in the Spring of 2024.[104] This form of celebration combines the invented traditions of the Stampede with the spectacle of experiencing this world-famous event.

The following year marked another historic milestone that the marketing team for the Stampede chose to highlight in the event: the 100th anniversary of the founding of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP). The NWMP would later become the RCMP, and the figure of a "Mountie" as a historical stand-in for the state and the province's history had been a recurring theme through various years of the Stampede's posters and other marketing materials. The 1973 marketing materials differ from the earlier images of RCMP officers interacting with Indigenous people or sharing space with both cowboys and Indigenous people. The cover of that year's souvenir program and the official poster featured a single image of Mounties on horseback with

[103] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1972*, Poster, Calgary Stampede Heritage.
[104] Doug Vaessen. "Calgary Stampede Celebrates 100 Years with Grand Opening of Sam Centre," *Global News*, 15 May 2024.

their parade flags in hand, with the former being an altered version of the latter, a photo of several officers riding in the Stampede rodeo arena.[105] This "salute to the 100th anniversary of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police" theme extended beyond the primary promotional images for that year's event, and the contents of the souvenir program provide a glimpse of the symbolic importance of this anniversary.[106]

The inside page of the cover of this program features, as had become the norm in previous years, a full-page colour advertisement for the Bank of Montreal, then (and presently) one of the major sponsors of the Stampede. This advertisement follows the event's theme, with large red text reading "May You Always Get Your Man" and the shadow cast by the text taking the form of a Mountie on horseback.[107] The text references the longstanding unofficial slogan that states the RCMP "always get their man," implying that they are tireless in the pursuit of justice. That the theme of the event and this marquee advertisement in primary promotional literature for it both highlight one of the most readily identifiable symbols of Canada and the mythology surrounding the RCMP is not coincidental.[108] Taken as part of the whole Stampede oeuvre, alongside themes such as the British Dominion Year, Calgary's Centennial, and other important colonial celebrations, the "Salute to the RCMP" theme is yet another piece in celebrating the national narratives of Canadian settlement, and thereby linking the event to those narratives.

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[105] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede 1973*, Poster, Calgary Stampede Heritage.
[106] *Calgary Stampede Souvenir Program*, 1973, U of C DC, CESA, Cover.
[107] Ibid. 1.
[108] As discussed in the Indigenous Representation chapter, the colonial tone of the Stampede, and especially its presentation of "Mounties" at various points throughout its history is a sort of whitewashing of the relations between the RCMP and First Nations peoples.

The chosen motif for the 1975 Stampede was a celebration of Calgary's centennial, an anniversary with a clear and direct lineage to the colonial project in Canada. A century prior, in 1875, the North West Mounted Police had established Fort Brisebois (renamed Fort Calgary the following year) at the confluence of the Elbow and Bow rivers. The purpose of establishing Fort Calgary, along with numerous other forts throughout Canada, was to establish relations with the First Nations in the region and to crack down on illegal whisky traders entering the region from the United States. Additionally, such forts were built to establish Canadian sovereignty and clear the way for the construction of the railway, a key part of settling the west. The celebration of this milestone, at least within the marketing materials for the Stampede, is decidedly toned down in contrast to other significant anniversaries. Save for a brief mention in the introduction to the souvenir program, a few celebratory events in the park, and the grandstand show theme of "One Hundred Years of Entertainment," the only discussion of the anniversary in the marketing materials comes in the form of advertisements. Sponsors such as Safeway, Bank of Montreal, and Greyhound Buses, whose ads in previous years had sometimes matched the Stampede's theme, all discuss progress and the development of the city over the past century, implicitly colonial themes but not directly linked to the RCMP.[109]

The Century Calgary celebrations are another example of a direct connection between the Calgary Stampede and the nation-building narratives within Canada in the second half of the century. The notion of progress, here meaning settlement and industrial development, could also be framed as a celebration of the colonial project within Canada. In framing the colonization of the province and the development of Calgary and its surrounding areas as progress, whether intentional or not, the Century Calgary celebration helped to perpetuate the narrative of a land

[109] *Souvenir Program*, 1973.

untouched and belonging to no one prior to European settlement. This notion implies a lack of use and a lack of development of the land and its resources prior to European arrival, which in turn paints settlement and development of the region as making use of otherwise empty lands, an idea popular throughout much of the 19th and 20th century.[110]

These narratives were not directly furthered by the marketing of that year's Stampede, and as with all previous years, the Indian Village and its First Nations participants were prominently featured in both the marketing materials and the event itself. Some scholars, such as Susan Joudrey**,** have pointed to this type of contrast between honouring Indigenous peoples and celebrating colonial projects as indicative of an exploitative relationship.[111] As discussed in the next chapter of this study, First Nations activists have also raised issue with the sort of cultural tourism seen in the Elbow River Camp. However, where some of the early Stampede promotional materials discussed First Nations peoples as if they were relics of a bygone era, the prominence of First Nations imagery in the event by this time and the continued importance of the Elbow River Camp paint a different picture.

In further contrast to those colonial narratives, two years later, the theme selected for the Stampede was "A Salute to the Indian." As discussed in the following chapter of this study, this theme involved significantly increased Indigenous presence within the Stampede and its marketing materials. While some scholars have argued that the relationship between the First Nations of Southern Alberta and the Stampede organization has, at times, been exploitative, the 1977 Stampede showed another side of that relationship, one not always obvious to the public.

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[110] Robert J. Miller, Jacinta Ruru, Larissa Behrendt and Tracey Lindberg, eds. *Discovering Indigenous Lands: The Doctrine of Discovery in the English Colonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[111] Susan L. Joudrey, "Hidden Authority, Public Display: Representations of First Nations Peoples at the Calgary Stampede, 1912-1970," (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 2013).

As that year's event is covered in depth in the Indigenous Representation chapter of this study, what follows is only a brief overview of the marketing materials (especially the poster and souvenir program) and how the narratives of those items fit into the bigger picture of Stampede marketing.

Both the poster and the program share the same image of First Nations men performing a pow-wow dance in full ceremonial dress, a photograph was taken at a previous Stampede, and share the same typography, which replaces the letter E with arrowheads and letter A with teepees in the Calgary Stampede name. (Figure 6) While the typography may verge on stereotyping those people the event was saluting, the photograph of two men performing a culturally important dance, even in the context of the Stampede, is nearly the opposite. That is, while there is arguably an element of tokenism in the way the typography and imagery are themed, the photo depicts an element of First Nations cultures, which is important to the participants and has continued to be a central element of how the ERC participants have chosen to present themselves to Stampede attendees.

Along with the prominent Indigenous imagery, the events of the 1977 Stampede also served to highlight First Nations people, their past, and their present. Far from the historicizing of extant people that some of the earlier Stampedes had been (perhaps inadvertently) guilty of, the 1977 Stampede sold visitors on the continuation of First Nations cultures and the capitalist development and success of Treaty 7 nations in recent years. The Kinsmen Center, for example, featured displays from each of the five Treaty 7 nations, highlighting aspects of the respective nation's past or present as chosen by committees of members of that nation, ranging from the Siksika Nation's depiction of the Sundance Ceremony to the Kainai Nation's exhibit highlighting

Kainai Industries' home building prowess.[112] Each of these exhibits, along with numerous other events related to the year's theme, is featured in the souvenir program, which has long served as a guide for visitors looking to get the most out of their time at the Stampede.

[112] "Tribute to Indian People," in *Souvenir Program, Calgary Stampede,* 1977, U of C, DC, CESF, 29.

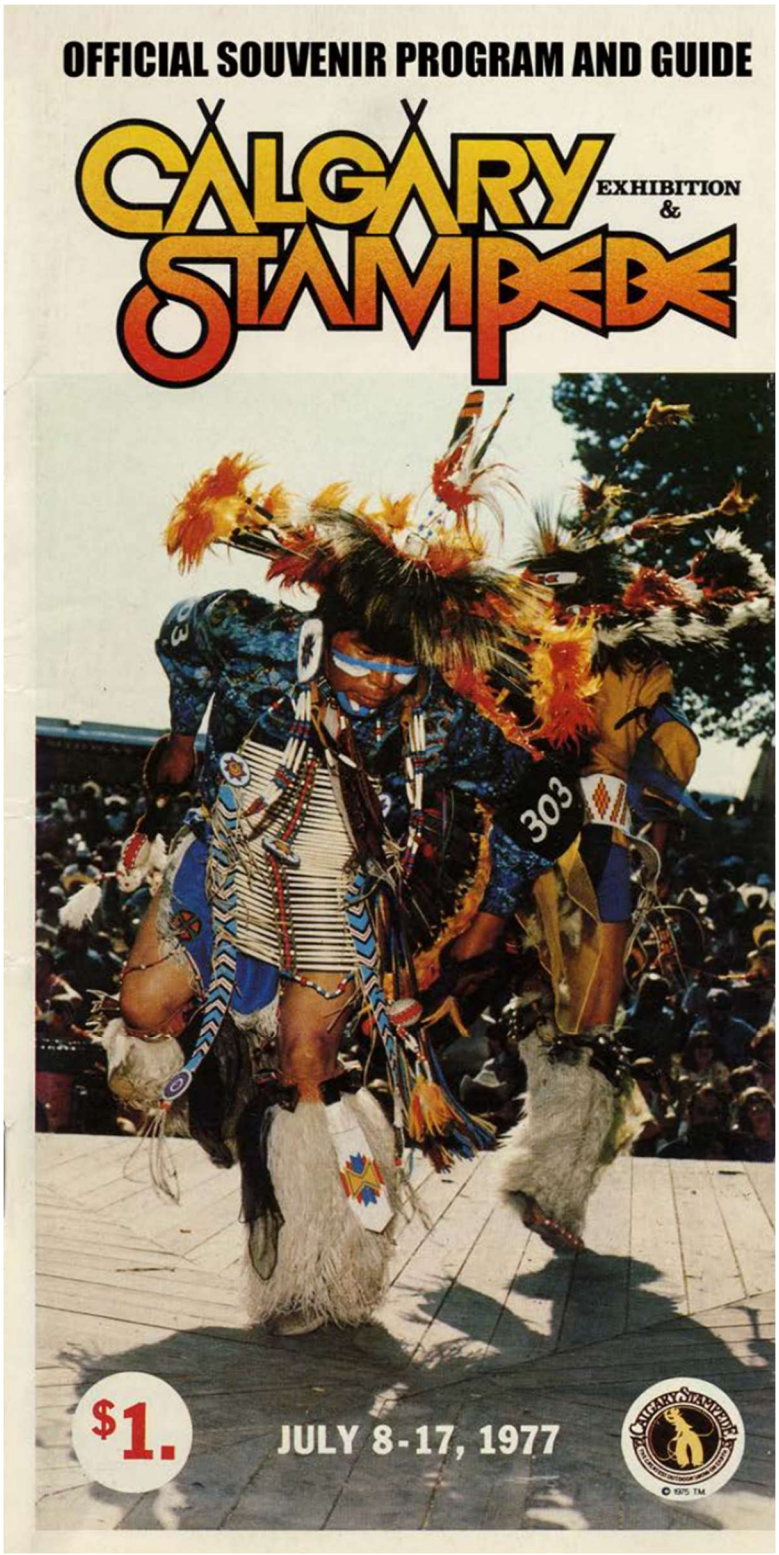

Figure 6:Souvenir Program, 1977[113]

[113] *Souvenir Program, Calgary Stampede,* 1977, U of C DC, CESF, Cover.

The drastic shift in marketing from the Century Calgary theme and other inherently (if not explicitly) colonial themes to the "Salute to the Indian" theme shows that while the Stampede itself has played a role in building regional, provincial, and national identities, it has also adapted its marketing and focus to suit the goals of the event's organizers and participants over time. As Mary-Ellen Kelm argues, the Stampede was a site for the development of new ideas of masculinity surrounding rodeo cowboys.[114] A similar development also occurred with the identity of the Stampede itself, as the marketing and promotion of the event has been adapted to suit the needs of a given year or era. This ongoing adaptation has kept the Stampede relevant to a broad audience and, by extension, to the identity of Calgary. Further, the simultaneous celebration of past and present has kept the event grounded in the region's history as the organizers have included ever-increasing attractions unrelated to its ranching and rodeo roots. The remaining years of the decade further illustrate this point, as the 1978 theme was "Salute to the Commonwealth," with all the inbuilt colonial narratives such a theme would entail, and the 1979 theme was "Solar Salute," which included government-backed displays of new and upcoming solar technologies.[115] The former continues along the lines of the earlier themes of the decade, while the latter falls outside the existing paradigm of promoting the province's current industries through the exhibition.

The following decade witnessed the continuation of these same milestone-marking themes as well as the celebration of the Stampede's history. 1980 marked the 75th anniversary of the province, and the Stampede was themed accordingly. There would only be two more themed

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[114] Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Manly Contests: Rodeo Masculinities at the Calgary Stampede," *Canadian Historical Review* 90 No.4, (2009): 711-751.
[115] *Souvenir Program, Calgary Stampede,* 1978, and *Souvenir Program, Calgary Stampede,* 1979 U of C DC, CESA.

Stampedes outside of important anniversaries in this era. The chosen theme in 1981 was "Youth in Action," and was the first among the annual themes to be presented throughout the park rather than in a handful of locations. The attractions were largely youth-oriented and seemed intended to draw in an audience that, with few exceptions, was previously absent from marketing efforts. Far from just presenting programming that would align with the trends of the day (though such programming was present, with yo-yo lessons as a standout example), many of the offerings targeted at teenage attendees stuck to the event's branding and the broader ideas of the Stampede. Along with this effort to attract new demographics, the organizers also furthered their efforts to celebrate the Stampede's history with the opening of the "Weadickville" attraction. Named for the event's founder, the space consists of buildings styled to look like an old-west town and was the site of entertainment such as staged bank robberies, an homage to western genre fiction and the Wild West shows from which Weadick had once sought to distance his Stampede.[116]

The following Stampede marked the 15th and final year of the annual theming of the event, with the previously discussed theme of "Salute to the Cowboy" informing advertising and programming. Like with the Youth in Action theme, this was a more immersive theme than in previous years, with a variety of on-theme offerings throughout the Stampede grounds over the duration of the event. Along with the aforementioned barbecue, on-theme events included a Christian worship service led by the Cowboys Christian Athletic Association, displays of classic and rodeo sport chuckwagons, and a simulated "posse hunt" activity for children.[117] Of the decade and a half of themed Stampedes, the 1982 iteration most closely aligns with the idea of

[116] *Souvenir Program*, 1981, U of C DC, CESA, 7, 37.
[117] *Souvenir Program*, 1982, U of C DC, CESA, 8-9.

invented traditions, with the free barbecue harkening back to one of the earliest Stampedes, and the cowboy imagery blending Canadian ranching and rodeo imagery with popular culture ideas of cowboys.

Following the end of the yearly themed Stampedes, marketing efforts took on a more consistent form, though the celebration of important anniversaries would continue, marketing became more focused on the rodeo as a selling point. Beginning in 1983, the Stampede organization collectively promoted its rodeo events as "The Half Million Dollar Rodeo." As the phrase implies, the total prize money for the rodeo events totaled approximately half a million dollars, and this became a focal point for marketing. With the promotion of the total prize money, the Stampede marketing team again hearkened back to the marketing efforts of the early Stampedes under the guidance of Guy Weadick. Where Weadick had used the prize money on offer to attract competitors and aid his claims of authentic competition, the adoption of the half-million dollar rodeo nickname served an additional purpose of highlighting the Stampede rodeo's importance. By 1983, the Calgary Stampede was already a premier event on the rodeo circuit, but the half-million dollar total prize pot was, at the time, the richest in the sport.[118] Advertising the rodeo as such not only ensured top competitors would enter the Stampede, but it also increased the appeal of the rodeo for spectators, with the implied high stakes of each event. The "Half Million Dollar Rodeo" tagline was prominently featured in both the Stampede souvenir programs and the newly added rodeo programs from 1983 to 1993.[119] The rodeo was still referred to as such in souvenir programs through the 1996 Stampede, and the following year the prize pool for the rodeo was increased.[120]

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[118] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1983, U of C DC, 4.
[119] *Half Million Dollar Rodeo Souvenir Program*, 1993, U of C DC.
[120] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1997, U of C DC, 2.

While the Stampede has been marketed in myriad ways over its more than a century of being, there are clear goals within that marketing that have remained largely unchanged. While the obvious primary goal of marketing the event is to draw attendees and, by extension, bring in more money, the ways in which that marketing has positioned the Stampede allude to secondary and tertiary goals. The most significant impact that the invented traditions of the Stampede and its marketing have had has been the establishment of the event as part of the city's civic identity and southern Alberta's regional identity. This effect is unmistakably the result of concerted efforts to expand the event, its traditions, and its meanings beyond the boundaries of Stampede Park. While these efforts have, at times, been at odds with the federal government's efforts, as is discussed in depth in the chapter of this study, which examines Indigenous representation in the event, they have also reinforced national narratives and identities. The other major impact of the event's marketing has been the commodification of the spectacle of the Stampede, in which much of the marketing has shifted from offering a historical pageant and supposed authentic encounters to offering an experience centered on grandiosity and celebrity. In these instances, the event has been commodified as an experience for its own sake and often as an experience alongside the traditions that give it value.

The marketing of the Stampede shapes expectations and, in doing so, creates and shapes the identities which are constructed within the event. The contrived ideas which make up the marketing for the event, whether in print, in civic boosterism, or any of the other forms discussed in the preceding pages, all play some role in shaping what the Stampede means to Calgarians, Albertans, and those from further afield. This is not a phenomenon unique to the Calgary Stampede but rather positions the event amongst State Fairs and other events that achieve similar outcomes through similar or broadly comparable efforts. Put simply, the marketing of the

Calgary Stampede and comparable events shapes public perceptions of the event and, by extension, shapes the role the event plays in local and regional identities.

Chapter 2: "A Real Indian Village": Indigenous Representation in the Stampede

"The Calgary Stampede keeps the Indian culture in this area alive and that's why natives participate in it – because we're very concerned about preserving our ways. If it wasn't for the Stampede, we wouldn't have the things we still do as a people today."
-Bruce Starlight[1]

A cursory examination of the Calgary Stampede in any given year quickly reveals the importance of First Nations peoples to the event. This is apparent from the opening parade to offsite Stampede events and, of course, the most consistent attraction at the Stampede - the Elbow River Camp (ERC). The ERC, formerly known as the Indian Village, has been part of the yearly Stampede since the beginning, and has been a crucial part of maintaining the Stampede's claims of historical roots and authenticity. The above quote from Tsuut'ina elder Bruce Starlight indicates the reciprocal nature of this importance, with some benefit to both the Stampede as an event and to the First Nations families involved in the event. However, Indigenous involvement and representation has not always been (and in fact is not at present) without controversy, detractors, and points of friction between the various interested parties. Despite the sometimes-contentious nature of the relationship between the Stampede organization and First Nations participants, the overall picture of that relationship is one of mutual benefit. The name change from Indian Village to Elbow River Camp (ERC) in 2018 is the most recent public example of the collaborative nature of the event.

[1] Bruce Starlight, quoted in Eva Ferguson, "Stampede Boosts Native Culture," *The Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1989, 74.

In the following pages, I will outline the shifting meanings of the Indian Village/ Elbow River Camp and other aspects of Indigenous representation in the Calgary Stampede.[2] This chapter demonstrates that the Calgary Stampede has and continues to serve as a site of cross-cultural contact while providing a space in which the Indigenous participants often subvert cultural norms and hierarchies. However, this chapter also outlines the ways in which the troubled relationship(s) between settlers and Indigenous groups in Alberta does not cease to exist among the merriment of the ten-day celebration. Furthermore, this chapter highlights how the biases and prejudices of the settler population shaped their interpretation and experience of the Indian Village.

During the first two decades of the Stampede, the ERC served as one of the few Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) approved gathering spaces off-reserve in which Indigenous people could meet and practice aspects of their cultures. While the Stampede provided space for Indigenous cultures to be celebrated at a time when the dominion government was working to erase those cultures, the organization did not break significantly from the whitewashed settlement narratives that underwrote the settler-colonial project. That is, while the ERC and other similar events served as sites of resistance to and negotiation of social and cultural boundaries, the events and their organizers did not explicitly separate these events from the colonial narratives but did allow First Nations participants the space to do so. By contrast, the celebration of colonial and imperial milestones was more closely aligned with the aims of the DIA and the dominion government. Whether out of a belief in the Progressive Era notion of "uplift", to appeal to a broader settler audience, or simply to avoid the wrath of Department of

[2] I primarily use the term Elbow River Camp/ ERC throughout, though with the scope of this study, this name is anachronistic. This is done out of sensitivity to the aforementioned concerns with the Indian Village name.

Indian Affairs officials (or some combination of these factors), the celebration of Indigenous peoples and cultures in the event never crossed into the territory of questioning the dominant colonial narrative.

Prior to examining Indigenous involvement in the Stampede, it is important to understand who the primary Indigenous groups involved in the event are. While some years have featured groups from various regions of North America, the annual participants in the event are families and individuals from Treaty 7 First Nations. From Guy Weadick's first request to a DIA official to allow their participation in the 1912 Stampede, the Siksika, Kainai, Stoney-Nakoda, Piikani, and Tsuut'ina nations have all had some representation in the event, with some notable exceptions discussed in this chapter. These nations are those that have their traditional homes in Treaty 7 lands. Notably, the Métis people of Region 3, which includes Calgary, are not typically included in the event. At times, the ERC and other Indigenous aspects of the Stampede are presented in source materials as a collective, while at other times, individuals, families, or nations are singled out. This collective treatment of varied and complex groups means that many of the changes and notable events discussed in this chapter treat Indigenous people as a monolith rather than as distinct individuals and nations. However, in an event the size and scope of the Calgary Stampede, the same can be said for changes to other aspects of the event as well. The event is planned and organized by various volunteer committees, with changes made in consultation with stakeholders such as the tipi owning families of the ERC. As outlined in several of the examples provided in this chapter, the Indigenous stakeholders have not always seen adequate consultation or communication from organizers, but the execution of the Indigenous portions of the Stampede still relies on collaboration between the event and participants. This collaborative relationship leads to a mixture of historic and modern

representations, as well as changes to suit the evolving culture surrounding the event. The most recent major change to Indigenous representation, done to adapt to changing language in the hegemonic culture, came in 2018 with the Indian Village name change. In an interview with *The First Nations Drum* newspaper, Siksika elder Rosalin Many Guns gives an account of an interaction with a couple visiting from India who visited the Indian Village expecting a celebration of their own culture.[3] While anecdotal, this story illustrates one problem with the former name, as the use of "Indian" to refer to Indigenous people in North America is not common outside of Canada and the United States. While this confusion might not have been commonplace, this was likely not an isolated incident in an event which attracts visitors from around the world. Additionally, the use of "Indian" in this context has fallen out of fashion in popular discourse, popular media, and scholarly work in Canada. By extension, the Elbow River Camp name, changed on the closing day of the 2018 Stampede, exemplifies some of the attempts by the Stampede organization to incorporate Indigenous people and views into the event.

The name change, as far as some commentators were concerned, was long overdue. When asked about the name change, the 2018 Indian Princess Ceiran Starlight cited "confrontation" and a growing need to explain the "Indian Village" name to people. In the same article, Violet Meguinis, whose family has been tipi owners in the camp since the inaugural Stampede, explained that the name change would allow for discussion of more important concerns, such as the ongoing healing from the trauma of residential schools.[4] These statements indicate some concern from members of the public about the continued use of the term Indian to

[3] Hannah Many Guns, "New name announced to Calgary Stampede landmark," *First Nations Drum*, 1 August 2018.
[4] Kelly Cryderman, "Calgary Stampede retires 'Indian Village' name, rebrands Indigenous space Elbow River Camp," *The Globe and Mail*, 15 July 2018.

reference Indigenous peoples in the Stampede. Additionally, as the Calgary Stampede's reputation has grown outside of the Western world, the name had, as the anecdote above from Rosalin Many Guns indicates, become the source of some confusion among tourists. While misconceptions and associations such as these were likely uncommon, these anecdotes highlight the issue with the name; Indian is a name given by settler people to the Indigenous peoples of North America, often attributed to the mistaken belief of Christopher Columbus that he had reached India on landing in America. Since the late 20th century, there has been increasing resistance among Indigenous peoples in North America (and especially in Canada) to the term Indian, both due to the historical inaccuracy of the term and the common negative connotations associated with the colloquial use of the term.

However, not all the First Nations participants in the Elbow River Camp saw the need for a name change, as tipi owner and camp representative Michael Meguinis told *The Star* and other media outlets, "the name hasn't bothered me; it has history," echoing similar statements from other representatives of the ERC.[5] The name change came after many debates and following extensive discussions with the Tipi owners at the camp. However, the diverse viewpoints illustrated here show that even in attempts to change the event to match changing popular attitudes, the Stampede organization is sometimes behind the times or off the mark.

In modernizing the name of the camp, the organization brought some sense of closure to discussions about the Indian Village name but also eschewed tradition in a way that drew some criticism from participants. In changing Indigenous aspects of the Stampede, the organization's decisions have followed extensive consultation with the families who participate in the Elbow

[5] "Teepee Owners and the Calgary Stampede have Renamed Indian Village: It's Now Elbow River Camp," *The Star*, 15 July 2018.

River Camp and have come from the First Nations Events Committee (formerly the Indian Events Committee), made up of volunteers, tipi owners, and members of the Stampede's Board of Directors.[6] Despite this, changes to the Indian Village/ Elbow River Camp do not always represent the wishes of all involved and, in the past, did not always involve adequate consultation with the families in the camp. However, by and large, the relationship between First Nations participants in the Stampede and the Stampede organization itself has been one of mutual respect, even in the face of outside political issues and changing popular attitudes toward First Nations peoples. This relationship has been examined by various scholars in recent decades, and the ever-growing Indigenous Studies historiography provides new perspectives on the ERC.

Several historians and other scholars have written about the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the Calgary Stampede and comparable events. The ERC can be understood as a part of a broader trend of Indian Villages or "Indian Pageants" at World's Fairs and other exhibitions, as well as such standalone events as the Banff Indian Days.[7] Various scholars and activists have posited that such events serve the primary purpose of furthering the settler-colonial project by placing Indigenous peoples and cultures in the role of exhibits in a living museum.[8] Though Indigenous representation in Wild West shows, World's Fairs, and other comparable events often fit into this categorization, not all inherently-colonial depictions of Indigenous people fit this same mould. Even among those Wild West shows and fairs which position settlers and Indigenous peoples as opponents in the colonial project, the agency of the Indigenous participants within these representations requires a more nuanced understanding.

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[6] "2018 Highlights" *Calgary Stampede Report to the Community*. http://admin-corporate.calgarystampede.com/2018report/highlights.html
[7] Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations," 349-379.
[8] See, for example, Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005).

Annual events such as the Banff Indian Days are the most directly comparable to the ERC, though they do not serve as perfect parallels. However, such events show some similarities to the ERC that are worth examining. Banff Indian Days, for example, served as a contact zone for Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures and one in which the First Nations participants were able to exercise a high degree of agency.[9] As discussed later in this chapter, the ERC and the Banff celebration share this element of agency, both in how the relevant cultures are presented to attendees and in the voluntary participation of First Nations individuals and groups in the events.[10] The events also share a similar purpose, with the Stampede serving to promote Calgary and the west and the Banff Indian Days serving as a Canadian Pacific Railway attraction meant to entertain tourists and promote the National Park. The Banff Indian Days and the early iterations of the Stampede existed in very similar contexts, being close to each other geographically and taking place within the same region of control of the Department of Indian Affairs. However, less similar events from the late 1800s and early 1900s can also provide some insight into the ways in which these sorts of events negotiated agency and cultural contact.

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, the Omaha World's Fair in 1898, and the 1904 St. Louis Exposition are all transnational examples of standalone events which can provide further context to the ERC. Given organizer Guy Weadick's position as a United States citizen and a trick-roper in Wild West shows, as well as his familiarity with the variety of "Indian shows" on that side of the border, it is likely that some of these events were directly influential to Weadick's vision for the Stampede. World's Fairs were, perhaps more than any other popular entertainment in the era, expressions of colonial and imperial values and sites of promotion of

[9] Clapperton, "Naturalizing Race Relations," 378.
[10] This voluntary participation is encouraged through monetary compensation but remains voluntary, nonetheless.

the supposed progress of various nations. As Paige Raibmon explains of the Chicago World's Fair, such exhibits used colonized peoples (including North American Indigenous peoples) to contrast the "savage" from the "civilized" and show the ways in which the colonial project was meant to be helping or "uplift[ing]" the colonized.[11] This notion of "uplift" is present within the promotion of the early iterations of the ERC as well and can be understood as a product of popular attitudes during the Progressive Era.

In the same era, the idea of the "vanishing Indian" transformed from the original idea that the Indigenous peoples of North America would become extinct to the notion that their cultures would be eliminated and they would be wholly assimilated into Euro-American culture. The belief was that Indigenous people existed as unique peoples due to their close ties to the natural world and that the people and their cultures would disappear as they became further removed from their roots.[12] While governments in both Canada and the United States were enforcing legislation aimed at the total assimilation of Indigenous peoples and cultures into the Euro-American hegemony, events such as the ERC and Indian Villages at World's Fairs romanticized those same peoples and cultures.

In many ways relying on the same sort of nostalgia for an idyllic frontier that Guy Weadick would later use to sell the Stampede, these exhibits simultaneously displayed cultures that were under assault from colonizing efforts and waxed nostalgic for their eventual disappearance. In some cases, such as the Omaha World's Fair in 1898, the narratives of the exhibit centered on the success of assimilation. However, these exhibits often served a different purpose for the Indigenous people who took part in the displays. As Josh Clough explains, the

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[11] Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 35-36.
[12] J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 229-230.

World's Fair exhibits meant primarily to celebrate colonization unwittingly provided Indigenous participants with a venue in which they could exhibit some of the traditional elements of their cultures which the government was so keen to eliminate. By insisting on the inclusion of Grass dances, in the case of the Omaha fair, the participants could resist the narratives of subservience and assimilation by ensuring and demonstrating the survival of such practices.[13] Given the significant publicity that World's Fairs and events such as the Banff Indian Days celebration were able to garner, the Stampede organizers were certainly aware of, if not influenced by, these public displays of Indigenous people and cultures.

From an outsider's perspective, there seems to be no clear consensus on the intention of including First Nations peoples in the Stampede. Some historians, such as Susan L. Joudrey, argue that the ERC serves mainly as a point of contrast against which to compare the "civilized" world presented in the Industrial Exhibition.[14] Others, such as Hugh Dempsey, have argued that Guy Weadick's aim with involving First Nations in the event was to lend authenticity to the historical depictions of the province.[15] This idea of authenticity merits some explanation here, as it is not the same as historical accuracy, nor is it a static idea. In selling the event to the public, especially in the early iterations of the Stampede, this notion of authenticity can be thought of as a synonym for historicity, where the event's organizers sought to present a historically accurate (from a settler perspective) but still entertaining, glimpse of the province's settlement. However, the authenticity that served as a cornerstone to Weadick's Stampede format was also meant to contrast the Stampede against the more dramatized and often scripted historical depictions of

[13] Josh Clough, "'Vanishing' Indians? Cultural Persistence on Display at the Omaha World's Fair of 1898," *Great Plains Quarterly* 25, no.1 (2005): 67-68.
[14] Joudrey, "Hidden Authority, Public Display."
[15] Hugh Dempsey, "The Indians and the Stampede," in *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*, ed. Max Foran (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008): 47-72.

Wild West shows and other popular entertainment of the era. By presenting Indigenous people alongside elements of their own cultures, as well as real rodeo athletes displaying their abilities, the Stampede drew a clear division between itself and scripted historical re-enactments. While the ERC remains a cardinal attraction at the Stampede, the idea of historical authenticity has long since given way to cultural authenticity.

The idea of cultural authenticity is arguably more straightforward than the shifting goalposts of historical authenticity in the Stampede. Put simply, the organizers and participants of the Elbow River Camp have continually made collaborative decisions as to what elements of the First Nations cultures will be shared with visitors. Rather than presenting a popular culture version of Indigeneity, such as those seen in Western genre films, the participants of the ERC serve as gatekeepers, selecting how and what to share from their respective cultures. Those participants who are sharing elements of their cultures with visitors imbue the events and the education they share with authenticity by presenting elements of the culture they are a part of. In other words, the goal of sharing and educating, along with insider knowledge of said cultures, ensures a degree of cultural authenticity. However, the cultural representations in the ERC, as well as the broader uses of Indigenous imagery in selling the Stampede to the public, are not static and are renegotiated and reconfigured over time. This gradual change provided room for Indigenous people to exercise their agency in an era in which government efforts continually aimed to limit their freedoms. The collaborative relationship between organizers and participants

in Indigenous events shows a level of respect for Indigenous people and cultures on the part of the Stampede organization.[16]

The agency retained by the Indigenous participants in the Stampede has taken various forms over the history of the event. A striking example of this, with parallels in the Banff Indian Days in the same decade, was the 1950 boycott of the Stampede by the Stoney Nakoda Nation, including ERC participants. In that year, the Stampede Board changed the event's admissions policy from allowing any Indigenous people to enter the grounds free of charge to only offering free admission to tipi owners and their families. In response to this change, or possibly to a misunderstanding about the new policy, the Stoney Nakoda elected to boycott that year's Stampede in protest. Contemporary news reported that "in former years all Indians have been admitted free to the grounds […], but this year free admission has been limited to those who live in the Indian village and who take part in such parades and ceremonies as the board may direct." The same newspaper stated that the Stoney had not made their concerns regarding the changes public but that disagreement over the change was likely the reason for the boycott.[17] Different interpretations speculate that the Stoney may have misunderstood the policy change and believed that the Indian Village and parade participants would be forced to pay admission as well.[18] Whatever the reasoning for the boycott, the Stoney chose not to attend the event. Following their decision, the Monday night of the Stampede faced heavy rain and hail, which a reporter for *The*

[16] It is worth noting here that respect for Indigenous individuals, families, and their respective cultures on the part of the Stampede organization needs to be understood in the colonial context. Such respect should be understood as relative to the day-to-day lived experiences of Indigenous groups within Canada over a period of nearly a century of assimilationist efforts from the DIA. In many ways, the Stampede organization has been much more progressive in this respect over much of the event's history. However, at times this respect has still fallen behind what many Indigenous people and Indigenous Rights activists desire.
[17] "Stoney Indian Tribe to Boycott Stampede," *The Albertan*, 8 July 1950, 15.
[18] Gray, *A Brand of Its Own,* 127.

Albertan speculated may have been caused by the Stoney directly. In the Tuesday edition of the paper, a story titled "Rain Curse on Rodeo? Maybe Stoneys Know" posed the question of whether the Stoney were "indulging in the ancient rainmaking practices of North American Indian tribes" and pointed to "recent rainmaking stories" from elsewhere on the continent as potential backing for the theory.[19]

The speculation of one reporter immortalized in print, would be noteworthy on its own given that it seems to be wholly fabricated and based on a broad generalization of all First Nations, but the response to the article highlights the sense of novelty with which many non-Indigenous attendees viewed the Indigenous participants in the Stampede. The contents of the article were reported by local radio news as if the Stoney attempting to summon rain was confirmed to have taken place.[20] The story was reported throughout the remainder of the event and only added to the confusion that the Stoney's last-minute boycott had created for attendees of the planned shows.

The above incident, and the public's willingness to seemingly accept the fantastical tale as fact, illustrates the lack of understanding and the implicit biases which many Stampede attendees held toward the province's First Nations. This is part of a broader tradition or standard among white North Americans to stereotype Indigenous people and to place heavy emphasis on those stereotypical ideas.[21] The rain dance the Stoney were reported to have engaged in was neither a tradition in their culture nor a part of their belief system. The speculative article in *The Albertan* does address this, suggesting that the Stoney had hired a Saskatchewan man who was

[19] "Rain Curse on Rodeo? Maybe Stoneys Know," *The Albertan*, 11 July 1950, 9.
[20] Gray, *A Brand of Its Own*, 128.
[21] Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

attempting to build a rainmaking device and had been in contact with other Indigenous groups for their input.

However, the notion that because some North American tribes have rain dance ceremonies, and the Navajo in Arizona had recently been in the news for their attempts at rainmaking, the Stoney, by extension, would be involved in similar practices is rooted in stereotyping of all Indigenous peoples as basically interchangeable. The plains Indigenous cultures, despite significant differences between them, were often reduced to their common elements and their distinctions eliminated in the settler imagination. Furthermore, due to a combination of factors such as Wild West shows, the setting of western dime novels and, later, western genre films, plains Indigenous peoples became the default depiction of Indigenous-ness in the broader settler culture.[22] Non-Indigenous visitors encountered Indigenous participants in the Stampede within this context of the amalgamation of distinct cultures into a broad stereotype. The events surrounding the Stoney boycott provide an example of the dualistic views Calgarians held of the Indigenous peoples whose "Indian Village" they so thoroughly enjoyed. This event is also a standout example of Indigenous participants in the ERC exercising their agency beyond the boundaries of the Stampede grounds.

The boycott, though unable to achieve its apparent goal of reverting the admissions policy to one allowing all Indigenous visitors into the grounds for free, did bring positive changes to the management of First Nations involvement in the Stampede. In 1951 the Stampede Board doubled the prize money awarded for "Indian events" and shifted the focus of the food provided for ERC participants from efficiency, with a practice of dumping sacks of basic foods

[22] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, (1992; Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2012): 106-107.

at the camp, to a more nutritious diet delivered in a more dignified manner, as hampers or baskets.[23] The increase in prize money was arguably overdue, as annual reports from the preceding decade show an increase in "Indian expenses" of about 70% over the course of a decade and an increase of around 62% from 1950-51.[24] Though the war years and the resultant austerity measures certainly account for some of the slower growth in spending throughout the 1940s, the same period saw other expenses, such as advertising costs and employee wages, more than double.[25]

The broader historical context of the Stampede, especially in its early iterations, provides some insight into the settler-Indigenous relationships in Canada at the time. The early 20th century was a tumultuous time for settler-Indigenous relations, as efforts by Indian Affairs to push forward in their assimilation project were a point of constant friction. However, for those not tasked with carrying out these assimilative efforts, the popular fascination with Indigenous peoples remained a strong component of their nostalgia for the "wild" west. Although not a perfect indicator of historical attitudes, newspaper articles can provide some insight into popular ideas at the time of publishing. An article in the evening edition of the 22 April 1910 edition of *The Edmonton Bulletin* features then Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver explaining the sale of the St. Peter's Reserve in Manitoba. While not directly pertaining to the bands under Treaty 7, this special report provides some insight into public perception of this and other events. The author references the "spirit of progress which animates the government" in praising the sale of

[23] Gray, *A Brand of Its Own*, 128.
[24] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1940, 1948, 1950, 1951, CESA, U of C DC.
[25] The above reports list advertising and printing costs at $9,955.49 in 1940, $14,128 in 1948, and $19,015.97 in 1950. For the same years, employee wages are $11,429.82, $22,484.32 and $26,278.79, respectively. The organization's expenses overall increased over the immediate postwar period, though some of that is due to renovations and facility construction which had been delayed due to wartime measures.

the St. Peter's reserve and notes that no other measure would be satisfactory to the people of the nearby town of Selkirk.[26] A similar situation occurred in central Alberta the year prior and was reported on in the same paper, as the federal government had placed part of the Stoney Plain reserve up for public sale.[27] Land seizures, which have since widely been found by courts to be unjust and outside of the legal terms of the numbered treaties, were frequent in this era and were reported mainly only in terms of the prices paid by buyers or the potential implications for new development.[28]

It was in this context that the ERC, and precursor events such as Indian Villages and Indigenous cultural performances at other fairs and exhibitions took place. For his part, Stampede founder Guy Weadick insisted upon the inclusion of an Indian Village in the event. Additionally, the 1908 Dominion Exhibition in Calgary had included First Nations members in the parade as well as at an encampment at the exhibition grounds, a direct precursor to the Stampede's Indian Village.[29] However, in selling the Stampede format to his financiers, Weadick leaned heavily on the idea of representing an authentic version of the Canadian west.[30] More importantly, he sold the notion of a west that the Big Four had known in their youth; an era in which the First Nations of the region were a much more visible part of life than they had become following the treaty-making process and legislative efforts to relegate them to their

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[26] "The Facts Concerning the St. Peter's Reserve Sale," *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 22 April 1910, 8.
[27] "Good Prices Secured for Indian Lands" *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 23 June 1909, 5.
[28] To date, over 100 land claims have been settled in the province of Alberta, many of which pertain to either inadequate lands provided based on treaty negotiations or reserve lands expropriated or sold after they were allotted. "Reporting Center on Specific Claims," *Government of Canada*. https://services.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/scbri_e/main/reportingcentre/external/externalreporting.aspx
[29] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 96-97.
[30] Susan L. Joudrey, "What a Man: Portrayals of Masculinity and Race in Calgary Stampede Ephemera," *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 16 no.1 (2016): 28-29.

allotted reserves. The notion of authenticity Weadick put forward was seemingly authentic by contrast to the dramatization and exaggeration of Wild West shows and other popular entertainment of the era, and his insistence on the inclusion of settler families alongside First Nations from the region was a key factor.

Weadick's Stampede was sold to the public in a similar manner as it had been sold to his backers. Though the primary focus of promotional efforts was the "cowboy sports" on offer, and particularly the genuine competition as opposed to scripted outcomes of trick riding shows, the event was also put forth as a historical pageant. Promotional materials for the 1912 Stampede explicitly reference a lack of discrimination in allowing entrants to the competitions, with the primary concern for rodeo events being the entry of the highest-skilled competitors possible. One flyer, bearing the title "What Is It?" refers to the Stampede as a "Frontier Days celebration" and states that "what [the promoters] want is a good show," which requires "good contestants" before further elaborating that the best competitor would win each event "irrespective of where he comes from or what his color or nationality may be."[31] This statement of an inclusive celebration carried over to the execution of the event, with competitors entering rodeo events from various backgrounds, whether Euro-Canadian, Indigenous, or American.

The event was also sold to the public on its merits of historical authenticity, with so-called Old Timers and the First Nations participants linking the present to the past. Popular belief in the era was that Indigenous peoples within Canada would be totally assimilated within a few decades, and the ongoing assimilation project of the Department of Indian Affairs furthered that

[31] "What Is It?", Brochure, 1912, GWF, M1287/F7 GMA.

belief. What would become known as the "vanishing Indian" trope created fertile grounds to leverage First Nations involvement in the Stampede into broadly appealing marketing.[32]

While the prominent photos and paintings of Indigenous men and women, which would become a staple in later promotional materials, are mostly absent from the 1912 Stampede poster and souvenir program, the writeup from Rev. John McDougall discussed in the preceding chapter is a notable inclusion, providing significant, if simplified, background on one of the more highly visible aspects of the First Nations cultures represented in the ERC.[33] Newspapers in Southern Alberta made mention of or discussed the merits of Indigenous participation in the event. The local newspaper for Gleichen, Alberta, for example, ran a story on 15 August 1912, which highlighted a visit by Reverend McDougall, detailing his efforts to recruit Siksika Nation members for the event.[34] The article paraphrases some of the reverend's statements on the involvement of First Nations people in the Stampede, with one idea in particular standing in stark contrast to the government's efforts to limit Indigenous cultures:

> He thought that the Indian as well as the whiteman (sic) should be allowed to enjoy himself in the manner that he sees fit. The Indian takes his pleasure in [illegible] returning to the dress and ways of his forefathers, and he saw no harm in his doing so. In fact the whiteman was quite often guilty of returning to the dress and language of his forefathers.[35]

McDougall's comments to the paper directly opposed the notion expressed by various government officials at the time that participation in parades and cultural practices would slow their efforts to "civilize" Indigenous people.

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[32] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 63-65.
[33] Rev. John McDougall, "The Significance of the Use of Ochris and Paint Among the Indians' People," *The Stampede At Calgary Alberta 1912 Souvenir Programme*, GWF, M1287, GMA, 29.
[34] "Blackfoot Indians for Stampede," *Gleichen Call*, 15 August 1912, 1.
[35] Ibid.

While it is impossible to say to what extent the involvement of First Nations individuals in the rodeo and families in the ERC contributed to the success of the inaugural Stampede, the media response to Indigenous participation serves as a window into popular attitudes of the day. An article titled "The Last Big Indian Show," which ran in *The Strathmore Standard* the week prior to the event, speculated that the opening ceremony for the Calgary Stampede would be "the last time that there will be a big full dress Indian parade" and encouraged any readers who had not seen such a spectacle to consider attending.[36] The author's speculation that such events would come to an end was not an uncommon idea at the time. The Dominion government had made it known that they officially viewed frivolities such as taking over a week of vacation to celebrate Indigenous cultures as a barrier to the civilizing efforts of the Indian Act policies. In February of the same year, *The Didsbury Pioneer* ran a brief article titled "Indians Must Cease Rambles," which told readers of legislative efforts to force those Indigenous people still living nomadically in Southern Alberta onto reserves.[37] The earlier attempts to limit Indigenous movement, the so-called Pass System, had restricted those living on reserves from freely leaving but had not fully ended nomadic lifestyles.[38] This article points to the continued efforts of Indian Agents and other officials to limit traditional lifestyles among the First Nations peoples. However, those in charge of marketing the Stampede, the Indian Agents for the Treaty 7 reserves, and many of the newspapers in Alberta seemed confident that the public would appreciate and benefit from Indigenous participation in the event.

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[36] "The Last Big Indian Show," *The Strathmore Standard*, 31 August 1912, 4.
[37] "Indians Must Cease Rambles," *The Didsbury Pioneer*, 28 February 1912, 5.
[38] Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990): 155-159.

The above article from *The Strathmore Standard* uncovers some of the commonly held beliefs about Indigenous peoples in the first half of the twentieth century. The author explains that the Dominion government had been "setting its face resolutely against" the continued participation of Indigenous peoples in parades and other public displays. The author explains that this idea has the support of "most of the thinking section of western people" and would be "for the good of the Indians themselves." The article elaborates that the farming which the government was supplying implements for would be of great economic benefit to the First Nations people, but that parades and events such as the Stampede would only hinder those efforts and prevent effective farming. While the "thinking section of western people" the author refers to would have believed that the Dominion government was doing all that it could to help Indigenous people adjust to life on reserves, the lived realities on the reservations tell a different story.[39]

Popular belief throughout Canada and the United States held that, though there was no longer a "wild" West to tame, the region was ripe for agricultural development. In the Canadian context, the treaty-making process accounted for this notion, parceling former Indigenous lands for Euro-Canadian settlers to homestead and farm. Furthermore, the Dominion government outlined a direct path from developing agricultural lifeways among Indigenous communities to assimilation into settler society. Though it was not known to the broader public at the time, in many cases, the farming implements provided were inadequate, and the supplies of seed for a season often arrived too late for farmers to maximize their harvests. As Helen Buckley explains, the project of turning reserves into profitable farms was hindered by a cascading series of miscalculations along with a poor understanding by the government in the east of the challenges

[39] "The Last Big Indian Show," *The Strathmore Standard*, 31 August 1912, 4.

presented by farming in the prairies. The outcomes were poor crop yields and limited adoption of full-time farming practices on many reserves.[40] Despite the retrospectively obvious failures on the government's behalf in implementing farming on reservations in the prairies, the prevailing notion among officials was that a lack of effort on the part of the First Nations peoples and too many distractions off the reserve were the primary causes of a slow developing agricultural project.

Despite the attitudes of some DIA officials, First Nations families and individuals were permitted to participate in the Stampede. The sole Canadian-born winner in the first Stampede was Tom Three Persons, a Kainai Nation man who won the saddle bronc competition. Three Persons was suggested to Guy Weadick as a potential competitor when the event manager contacted Blood (Kainai) Reserve Indian Agent W.J. Hyde in his quest to find the best possible competitors for the rodeo events.[41] Tom Three Persons merits some discussion here, not only for his notable place in Stampede lore as the first-ever Saddle Bronc champion but as a First Nations man who built a legacy of helping other First Nations people following his win in 1912. Three Persons was able to garner widespread praise because of his win at the Stampede. He would go on to compete in future rodeos, help promote similar events, and even work as the manager of the 1925 Macleod Indian Celebration. Due to his success both in rough stock riding and in his life outside of rodeo as a rancher, Three Persons was able to "transcend the social and economic barriers" imposed upon Indigenous people at the time.[42] Though his accomplishment in 1912

[40] Helen Buckley, *From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).
[41] Robert Kossuth, "Busting Broncos and Breaking New Ground: Reassessing the Legacies of Canadian Cowboys John Ware and Tom Three Persons," *Great Plains Quarterly* 38, no.1 (2018): 68.
[42] Ibid. 71.

cemented his position in the history of the Stampede, Three Persons' legacy also illustrates some of the broader implications of Indigenous involvement in the Stampede.

Though few rodeo participants have achieved the renown of Tom Three Persons, other Indigenous people who participated in either the rodeo itself or the Elbow River Camp were able to realize some of the same benefits. In an era when Indian Agents controlled and monitored money available to First Nations people on reserves, the cash payments of rodeo winnings and the fees paid to ERC participants and competition winners were among the few avenues for Indigenous people in the prairies to make money without oversight from the DIA. In addition to the financial incentive to take part in the Stampede, the ERC also provided visibility of First Nations peoples and cultures. As discussed above, the Stampede was not alone in this, but it quickly became the standout example as the event's popularity and fame grew in the 1920s and beyond. However, the ERC was seen by some as impeding assimilation efforts and taking advantage of the participating families.

In October of 1912, just over a month after the Stampede, J.A. Markle, the inspector of Indian Agencies for the province, released a statement railing against the Calgary Stampede in particular, and what he saw as private enterprises "exploiting [First Nations people] ruthlessly" more generally.[43] The inspector further explained that "it is futile to attempt to raise Indians and lower them at the same time."[44] The concept of "raising" the Indigenous people, with the antithesis being allowing them to practice elements of their traditional cultures, is one aspect of the racial hierarchy on which the Dominion government based Indian Act policies. The Anglo-Saxon belief in cultural and racial superiority is firmly rooted in the notion that European

[43] "Inspector A.J. Markle Assails Indian Parades" *Gleichen Call*, 24 October 1912, 5.
[44] Ibid.

cultures and peoples would bring order and progress to colonized peoples.[45] By the same logic, Markle and his contemporaries believed that allowing the practice of culturally important rituals was allowing the Indigenous people, whom the government was attempting to elevate to an acceptable level of civility, to regress to their supposedly primitive ways. Additionally, Markle's efforts to chastise event organizers for what he saw as efforts to exploit Indigenous people reflect the paternalistic tone and position that the Dominion government took in administering Indian Act policies.

So, while popular media and event attendees lauded the 1912 Stampede as an unqualified success for having drawn large crowds and widespread attention, those government officials who had charged themselves with elevating the status of Indigenous people saw that success as yet another obstacle on the path to assimilation. Markle was not alone in this regard, and in 1914 Indian Affairs amended the Indian Act to restrict participation in fairs and parades to only those individuals given express permission from their Indian Agent. As Hugh Dempsey explains, the result was that smaller fairs and parades after the amendment were almost entirely without First Nations involvement.[46] However, as Guy Weadick saw Indigenous participation in the Stampede as crucial to its success, he refused to allow the amendment to hinder the 1919 Victory Stampede.[47]

While the stated position of the Stampede on Indigenous involvement was in line with the 1914 amendment, Guy Weadick went out of his way to make it clear that, though not officially invited to participate, the event organizers would happily welcome any Indigenous attendees who wished to visit the Stampede. The execution of the event, and even some of the promotional

[45] Philip Buckner, *Canada and the End of Empire* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004): 17.
[46] Dempsey, "Indians and the Stampede," 56-57.
[47] Ibid.

materials for the 1919 Stampede, show the centrality of Indigenous people and imagery to the event and to Weadick's vision. The official souvenir program, for example, includes among photographs of rodeo competitors and event officials a photograph of "Chief Yellow Horse, Chief of the Blackfoot."[48] Chief Yellow Horse was also present at the event and led the opening parade at Guy Weadick's side.[49] Additionally, while the 1919 schedule does not mention the Indian Village, and promotional materials do not list Indian Races as an event, local news reported that the Stampede organizers allotted space for an encampment on the fairgrounds similar to the "Indian Village" seven years prior. Likewise, a story from the front page of *The Calgary Daily Herald* two days before the event began told readers of a large procession of "Indians" making their way to the city for the "festivities they so heartily enjoy."[50] This active resistance and even outright defiance of the government's efforts is the earliest example of the Stampede organizers opposing their prescribed role in the settler colonial project.

A cynical view of Weadick's willingness to oppose the DIA orders would be that the organization believed increased profits would outweigh any penalties incurred. However, the media's complicity in promoting Indigenous involvement in both the Calgary Stampede and other rodeo events points to a more complex reality. For example, the 1915 Vulcan Stampede, in the town of Vulcan, 120 kilometres southeast of Calgary, featured Indian Races among the advertised rodeo events.[51] Similarly, the Wetaskiwin Stampede of 1919 featured an Indian Race event, as well as First Nations competitors in the bucking horse competition and other events.[52]

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[48] *Calgary Stampede Souvenir Programme*, 1919 CESF, M2160/29-4, GMA, 137.
[49] Dempsey, "Indians and the Stampede" 58.
[50] "All is Set for the Victory Stampede's Opening Monday," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 August 1919, 1.
[51] "Vulcan Stampede," *Gleichen Call*, 15 July 1915, 1.
[52] "News of the District: Wetaskiwin," *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 September 1919, 15.

It is unclear from these newspaper excerpts whether officials levied the potential fines laid out in the 1914 amendment against organizers or participants in these and other rodeos. However, if the fines were meant to be a deterrent to First Nations participation in such events, they were not very effective. Instead, event organizers, First Nations athletes and families, and the rodeo-going public elected to exercise their own agency supporting Indigenous involvement in the events against the wishes of the Dominion government. However, in the years following the 1919 Stampede, the Calgary Exhibition did follow the new regulations, despite Indigenous participation being an apparent contributing factor to the success of the 1912 and 1919 Calgary Stampedes.

Following declining attendance numbers and profits from 1920 to 1922 at the Calgary Industrial Exhibition, E.L. Richardson contacted Guy Weadick with the idea of joining the Stampede format with the annual exhibition.[53] This merger would take place for the 1923 iteration of what would become the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. A key aspect of marketing the new event was the continued inclusion of the Indian Village and related events. Print advertisements for the 1923 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede proudly announce the Indigenous involvement in the event. One ad which ran in various newspapers in June of that year claims that the event will be "the greatest entertainment ever offered in Western Canada" and lists numerous events, including "Indian races and [a] grand Indian parade" among the attractions.[54] Similarly, a press-wire promotional article which ran in various newspapers in the region lists various attractions for the coming event, including "Indian cayuses" in the opening parade and log headquarters in Victoria Park for the Southern Alberta Old Timers' Association

[53] *Annual Report of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition*, 1922, CESA, U of C DC, 1.
[54] "Big Western Event," (Ad) *Stony Plain Sun*, 14 June 1923, 2. (This exact advertisement appeared in numerous other publications as well.)

and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Veterans' Association which were to be "surrounded by Red River carts, Indians, teepees and a real Indian village."[55]

Unlike in 1919, Guy Weadick and the rest of the management team used Indigenous people and imagery to promote the event directly. The Official Rules and Prizes list includes "Indian Prizes," such as awards for "Best Dressed Indian (mounted)" and "Best Dressed Squaw (mounted)" during the opening parade. Additionally, prizes such as "best painted and equipped Indian Tipi," which would become staple awards, are listed along with prizes for "Indian race" winners.[56] Furthermore, as part of the promotional effort for the event, tipis were erected on the lawn of the Canadian Pacific Railway station in the heart of the city, and First Nations people posed for photographs with tourists and passersby.[57] During a time in which the DIA was working to further their assimilation project, the Stampede continued to reward performances of Indigeneity despite these performances being at odds with assimilation efforts. Once again, the popular appeal of Indigenous people and cultures, from a settler perspective, was used both to lend authenticity to the event's depiction of the frontier era and to appeal to a sense of novelty for people who had limited or no exposure to Indigenous people and cultures. This popular fascination also added a dimension of wonder for those non-Indigenous attendees whose popular culture and popular narratives had mythologized Indigenous people and cultures for decades.

In keeping with the theme of historical celebration of the settlement of the region, the 1923 Exhibition and Stampede included a re-enactment of the signing of the "Indian treaty of 1876" along with prizes for "best dressed Indian, squaw, Indian child, cowboy, cowgirl, etc." and further prizes for "the oldest Western Canadian white resident present […] oldest white person

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[55] "Rip Snorting Time Promised by Calgarians," *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 June 1923, 10.
[56] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Prize List and Rules*, 1923," CESF, M2160/26 GMA.
[57] Dempsey, "The Indians and the Stampede," 58.

born in Western Canada […] first white lady coming to western Canada present […] and other prizes in keeping with the celebration."[58] This award scheme was seemingly intended to encourage participants to dress in ways that would meet the assumptions and expectations of attendees. As is discussed later in this chapter, efforts by event organizers to have First Nations participants dress in traditional attire were part of an ongoing negotiation of representation in the event.

The following year saw continued Indigenous participation in the Exhibition and Stampede, and the use of First Nations imagery in printed promotional materials for the event. The 1923 and 1924 Exhibition and Stampede events saw a reversal of fortunes for the failing Industrial Exhibition, as attendance numbers rose drastically and immediately. The combination of Weadick's promotional expertise, the cooperation of the city of Calgary, the significant changes to the structure and execution of the event, and the efforts of the various stakeholders in the Exhibition and Stampede resulted in increased attendance and profits that the Industrial Exhibition alone had been unable to achieve.

There is no doubt that First Nations participation in both the parade and the Indian Village was a significant draw for tourists, and the promotional materials for the Stampede have reflected that since those early years. While the inclusion of Indigenous people and facets of their cultures in the event would seem to have been little more than the continuation of a successful formula from the previous Stampedes and other events, the political context of that inclusion is especially noteworthy. However, W.M. Graham, the new Indian commissioner for the prairie provinces took over for James Markle in 1920 and almost immediately renewed attempts to limit

[58] "Suggested Programme for the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede," *I.W.P. Exhibition Co. Minute Book*, N.D., CESF, M2160 BK C151B, GMA, 251.

Indigenous participation in any events which would distract from the goal of agricultural development on the reserves.

While Markle had reluctantly relented to Weadick's requests to have large-scale First Nations involvement in the Stampede, his successor denied such requests in 1923 and 1924. Despite these denials, First Nations involvement continued unabated, as Graham's superiors "counselled the need for patient persuasion."[59] However, in 1925 Graham forbade First Nations participation in the Stampede, having seemingly run out of patience.[60] Despite Graham's enforcement of the 1914 Indian Act amendment, the event continued to grow in attendance and increase in profitability. A leaflet promoting the 1928 Exhibition and Stampede lists each year from 1922-27 as having broken previous attendance records, with an increase of over 40,000 guests from 1922 to 1923 and steady, if more modest, attendance increases in the following years.[61] These attendance numbers indicate continued interest in the event even as Commissioner Graham worked to strictly limit the involvement of First Nations people in events which he did not see as suiting the assimilationist aims of the government.

The 1925 Stampede was the first in which Graham's approach had a marked impact on First Nations involvement. The year's theme was the 50th anniversary of the founding of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP), a theme which relied heavily on Indigenous participation in its portrayal of that history, but the commissioner was resolute in his stance that Indigenous people should not be allowed to partake in such events. Rather than a full coterie of participants

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[59] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 102.
[60] Hugh Dempsey explains in "Indians in the Stampede" that Graham had spent much of his career railing against Indigenous involvement in "native religious ceremonies, dances, and other activities that he believed were a hindrance to progress." (59-60).
[61] "Uninterrupted Record-Breaking Attendance," (Promotional brochure) 1928, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

from each of the Treaty 7 nations, Indigenous participation in the event was drastically reduced from previous years. The marketing materials for the event still depict Indigenous people in traditional dress, and the souvenir program lists the "Indian Events" and their rules.[62] However, the annual report from that year indicates that the Stampede organizers respected the arrangement made with Mr. Graham.[63]

The Calgary Stampede was an obvious target for W.M. Graham, as it had been for his predecessor. The scope of the event and its ever-increasing fame, along with the consistent efforts by Weadick, McDougall, and others to maintain First Nations participation in the event, drew Graham's attention and ire. By the time Graham moved to ban the ERC and other elements of Indigenous involvement in the Stampede, the event was becoming widely known outside of Alberta. Additionally, the Stampede was, in terms of attendance numbers and scale, the largest event of its kind in western Canada. By contrast, events such as the Banff Indian Days and the 1925 Macleod Indian Celebration, which did not achieve the same levels of renown, do not seem to have drawn much attention from Mr. Graham. Though these smaller events and "Indian Villages" at smaller rodeos also stood in direct opposition to the goals of the 1914 Indian Act amendment, they were allowed to take place within Graham's jurisdiction. The newspapers which helped to promote and report on these events make no mention of interference from or limitations imposed by the DIA or the commissioner.

An article promoting the Macleod event lists racing, Stampede events, and an "Indian Village" as coming attractions. The article also lists parade participants ranging from "Indian

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[62] *Souvenir Program*, 1925, U of C DC, CESA.
[63] Fred Johnston and E.L. Richardson, "Annual Report of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition Company, Limited." in *Calgary Exhibition, Jubilee and Stampede Annual Report,* 1925, U of C DC, CESA, 7.

School Children" to "Indian Chiefs in uniform, mounted on horseback" while promising to be "the largest gathering of Indians that has ever been seen on the continent."[64] This is an exceptional, rather than a representative example of such events, though by 1925, Indigenous participation in the rodeo circuit throughout Alberta had become the norm, and the Macleod celebration aimed to be unique in its scope but not in concept. The seemingly narrow focus of W.M. Graham and J.A. Markle on the Calgary Stampede may have been an attempt to make an example out of the most visible of these events. As Indian Affairs and the RCMP had limited capacity to enforce the 1914 amendment, evidence would suggest that the attempts at limiting or even eliminating Indigenous involvement in the Calgary Stampede were meant to reduce the popular appeal of First Nations involvement in similar events.[65]

Whatever the aim of the commissioner in his explicit targeting of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, he did ultimately compromise on the position that there should be no Indigenous people participating in the event. The agreement that the Stampede management reached with Mr. Graham was to have only those individuals who were too old to do agricultural work participate in the event.[66] The result was that First Nations representation in the Calgary Stampede from 1925-1932, when W.M. Graham was commissioner, was primarily comprised of Indigenous elders. As the Exhibition and Stampede transitioned from two standalone celebrations to an annual event and grew in both attendance figures and fame, Weadick insisted that First Nations participants in the parade, Indian Village, and street performances dress in

[64] "Stage is Set for Big Indian Celebrations – Success Assured – Order of Pageant," *Macleod Times*, 25 June 1925, 1.
[65] Nina Reuther, "'As Long as we Dance and Sing we Will Stay Alive.': Indigenous North American Resistance Against Assimilation through Song and Dance," *Comparative American Studies An International Journal*, 18 no. 3 (2021): 403-404.
[66] Dempsey, "Indians and the Stampede," 60.

traditional (often ceremonial) clothing to more convincingly depict their race, fearing that they could be mistaken for being Italian or Greek without their costumes.[67] While Weadick and Richardson both sought to keep the Stampede as authentic as possible, the former saw a need to comply with popular culture ideas of authenticity rather than historical accuracy. By requesting traditional dress in Indian races, Guy Weadick was again opposing the aims of the Indian Act, providing further visibility to (partly fictionalized) symbols of Indigenous cultures, even if such requests were primarily intended to increase the appeal of such events.

Despite Graham's opposition to their involvement, promotional materials for the event prominently displayed First Nations people and other related imagery, with promotional print materials featuring not only descriptions of First Nations participation in past Stampedes but photographs of various First Nations men in full regalia, and of the previous year's parade and Indian Village as well. The 1925 promotional invitation specifically features a photograph of Inspector J.W. Spalding of the RCMP alongside Chief Joe Calfchild of the Blackfoot (Siksika), an image which would be re-used over multiple years to promote the involvement of both groups in subsequent Stampedes.[68]

This image is particularly telling regarding the whitewashing of history which had taken place, as the NWMP, which preceded the RCMP, had initially been formed to exert colonial control over the First Nations of the prairie provinces. The history of the relationship between the Mounties and the Indigenous people of Alberta is not, as such imagery suggests, an amicable and peaceable one. The popular narrative holds that the Northwest Mounted Police were formed to keep peace between settlers and Indigenous peoples and to protect those Indigenous peoples

[67] Guy Weadick, Letter to E.L. Richardson, 16 February 1927, CESF, M2160/192a GMA.
[68] Invitation, 1925, CESF, M2160/29-6 GMA. (The same image is used in Figure *7*)

from American whiskey traders and other harmful interlopers.[69] However, following the passing of the Indian Act in 1876, the Mounties took on expanded roles enforcing assimilation efforts through residential schools and, after 1885, through enforcement of bans on Indigenous religious practices.[70] These changes to the government's treatment of Indigenous people were in living memory for some, so this image and the theme celebrating the anniversary of the NWMP would seem to be a celebration of colonial efforts to assimilate Canada's First Nations. However, in the broader context of the Stampede as a celebration of the region's history and the Industrial Exhibition as a celebration of the region's supposed progress, the amicable relationship depicted would seem to be more of a hearkening back to a mythical past against which to contrast the progress of industrialization. Put simply, the imagery seems to be a celebration of development and industrialization while romanticizing the settlement era.

Following W.M. Graham's resignation in 1932, as Hugh Dempsey explains, his successor delegated the authority for "such matters as fairs" to M. Christianson, the regional director for Alberta, who was not opposed to Indigenous involvement in the Stampede and other similar events.[71] Christianson became one of the directors of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Board and continued to grant permission to Treaty 7 First Nations to participate in the event.[72] The departure of W.M. Graham as Indian commissioner coincided with Guy Weadick's termination as the Stampede manager in the same year. However, E.L. Richardson shared the

[69] This is a commonly repeated explanation of the NWMP's entrance into Western Canada, seen in various popular history narratives of the police force. See, for example: "Contact with the Europeans: The Whiskey Trade" *Glenbow Museum*, https://www.glenbow.org/blackfoot/teacher_toolkit/english/culture/whiskeyTrade.htm Accessed January 4, 2023.
[70] Milloy, *A National Crime,* xxi.
[71] Dempsey, "Indians and the Stampede," 60.
[72] Ibid.

same fondness for historical pageantry in the Stampede that Weadick put forth in his original vision and remained in his position as manager until 1940.

Throughout the 1930s the Stampede organization would increase their usage of Indigenous imagery in marketing the event. This change coincided with a shift in settler culture in which discourse around Indigenous peoples moved from the myth of the vanishing Indian to that of the noble –but still disappearing due to assimilation policies– Indigenous people and cultures which had begun two decades prior in the United States.[73] The 1931 Stampede promotional invitations again used the photo of Inspector Spalding and Chief Joe Calfchild that had adorned invitations to the 1925 event. This time, however, the photograph was captioned "Friend to the First Canadians," and the invitation was bordered with a red, black, and yellow pattern styled after what seems to be an artist's interpretation of Plains First Nations artwork. (Figure 7: Invitation to the 1931 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede This invitation is the earliest piece of Stampede promotional literature which uses the term "First Canadians" in reference to Indigenous peoples, though the caption also identifies Joe Calfchild as a Blackfoot Indian, so one term does not replace the other here. Newspapers from this period also use the term First Canadians to reference First Nations peoples, though the term does not seem to have gained significant traction, as the term Indian still dominated discussions about Indigenous peoples in popular media.[74]

[73] Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2004): 246.
[74] "Want 'First Canadians' to Help Celebrate," *Stony Plain Sun*, 12 May 1927, 5.

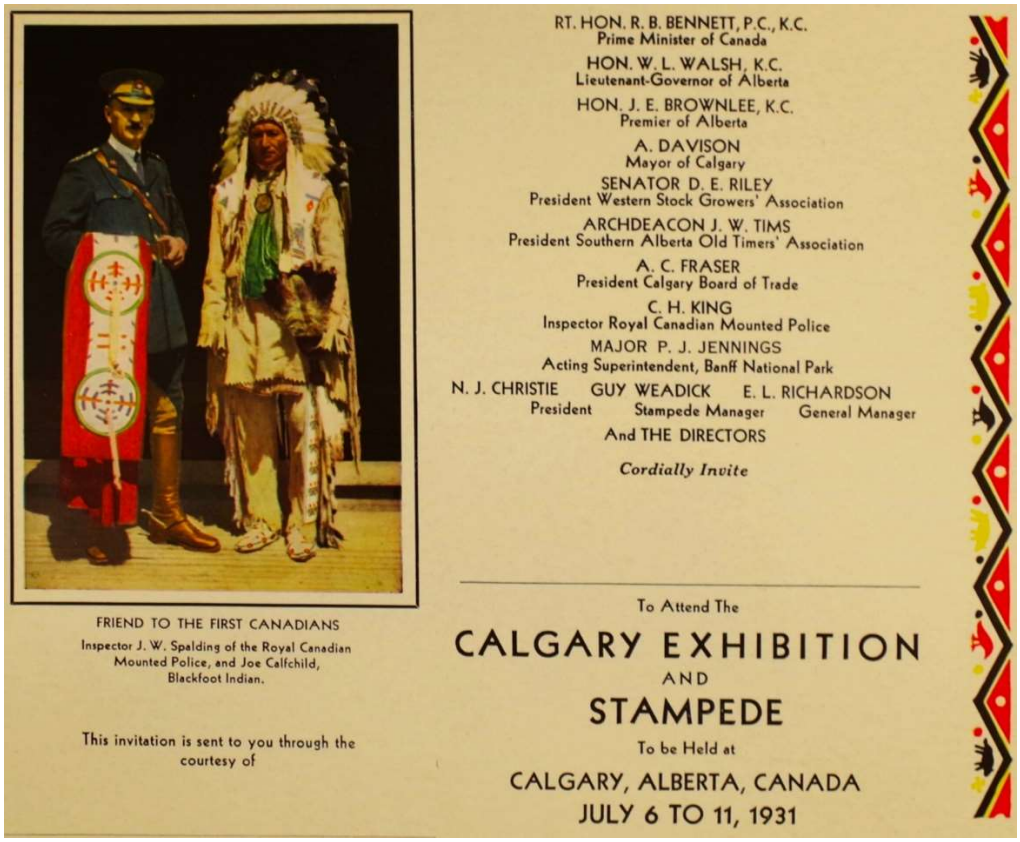

Figure 7: Invitation to the 1931 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede[75]

From 1929-1939, half of the promotional brochures for the event featured photographs of Indigenous people or the Indian village at Victoria Park. In the same span, the official posters for the event featured images of Indigenous people in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1939, with all of the posters from that decade featuring mention of either Indian races or the Indian Village, with the 1929 poster as the lone exception.[76] Many depictions of Indigenous people in Stampede promotional materials include images of RCMP officers as well, such as the 1935 poster, which shows Tsuut'ina Chief James Starlight presenting a gift to a pair of constables. (Figure 4) That year's Stampede theme was the Diamond Jubilee of the NWMP arrival at Fort Calgary, which

[75] "Invitation," 1931, CESF, M2160/36, GMA.
[76] Posters, Various Dates, *Calgary Stampede*, Heritage – Collections, https://origin.calgaryStampede.com/heritage/collections/

the ceremony on the poster is meant to recall. Such images are common throughout the first half of the 20th century, as the Stampede's celebration of Indigenous peoples typically presented popular versions of Indigenous culture, as addressed in the preceding pages, and evidenced by Guy Weadick's concerns about mistaken identities of First Nations athletes. More commonly, though, such celebrations reinforced the nation-building narrative of a settler society and government policies that were working to the benefit of the First Nations peoples. While many viewed Guy Weadick as a friend to the Indigenous people involved in the Stampede, and contemporary stories have positioned his genuine interest in preserving First Nations cultures as altruistic, his departure from the Stampede in 1932 did not drastically change how the event depicted First Nations peoples. The 1935 Stampede poster is one prominent example of the whitewashing of colonial history, but it is notable for continuing the trend rather than beginning it. Much of the celebratory tone surrounding colonial anniversaries and settlement more broadly relies on a similar whitewashing, which can be understood as part of the broader settler-colonial project in Canada.

In 1940, with Canada now involved in the Second World War, the Stampede organizers scaled back operations both to meet austerity measures in place regarding consumption and to remain profitable as the government funding which had aided the event's operations was put on hold.[77] In 1945, as part of the promotional efforts for that year's event, Stampede arena manager Jack Dillon hosted a local radio show in the weeks leading up to the Stampede. The show was a recurring promotion for some years prior, though the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Fonds at the Glenbow Museum and Archives only contain a selection of the 1945, 1946, and 1947

[77] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1940, U of C DC, 3.

scripts.[78] This radio show is discussed in depth in the previous chapter of this study, but three episodes of the show are relevant here. The script for one undated episode, presumably from 6 July 1945, is titled "Indians" and details the importance of Indigenous participation in the Stampede, from a tradition standpoint, while also indicating organizational agreement with the government's wishes to educate the younger generations of Indigenous people. This is very much in line with Guy Weadick's token gesture in 1924, as Dillon at once espouses the value that Indigenous participants have to the event and insists that the participation of Indigenous youth in the Exhibition and Stampede is of their own volition and not intended by the organization.[79]

Along with this statement, presumably intended to appease the federal government's concerns about the impact of the Stampede on the assimilation project, Dillon also explained the Indian Village to listeners. The explanation of the Indian Village is paternalistic at times, for example, explaining traditional games played in the village as "their own innocent forms of amusement" and two instances of comparing the respect owed to Indian Village participants to that shown to "any ordinary white man" and "an ordinary white family" respectively. However, Dillon does strongly emphasize the need for visitors to the Indian Village to show respect, by asking permission to enter tipis and by treating the tipis as one would a home in which they are a guest.[80] The emphasis on respect implies that for some guests treating Indigenous people with respect would not be a given, and the devotion of nearly half the script of that particular show to explaining how to be respectful indicates that there may have been issues in past years with Stampede revelers mistreating ERC participants. Indeed, complaints from ERC tipi owners about

[78] Various Documents, 1945-1947, CESF, M2160/34, GMA.
[79] Jack Dillon. "Indians," Script, N.D., CESF, M2160/34 GMA.
[80] Ibid.

the location of the Village at the entrance to the grounds and the trouble caused by visitors were not uncommon.[81] Given the concerns of both event organizers and those participating in the Indian Village, Dillon's focus on respectful treatment of tipis and their occupants seems to be a reactionary measure rather than a pre-emptive one. It also indicates a significant trend in the interactions between settler Canadians and the First Nations participants in the Stampede.

Another Dillon script, dated 25 June 1947, also addresses the importance of education as well as how the Stampede management is working cooperatively with Indian Affairs to ensure that the Indian Village disrupts as few school-aged Indigenous children as possible. However, this script replaces the paternalistic tone of the above with more accurate descriptions. For example, in speaking about the games, which he had previously described as innocent, Dillon states, "It will be interesting to watch the Indians playing their own games in their village. You will find games of checkers going on. You won't understand them. They are entirely different from the way you and I play the game, but they will willingly explain to you, if you just ask them."[82] The script again mentions treating the ERC participants with respect, reminding listeners that "these people are human beings, the same as you and I" and directing them to seek out Mr. Ed Hall (the associate director of the Indian Events Committee) if they desire to enter any of the tipis outside of the tipi judging time.[83]

The broadcast from the following day goes into detail about the function of tipi design, as well as providing information on the ornamental artwork adorning the tipis and their significance to the families that own them. Dillon describes some of the customs of the tipi, such as the significance of seating arrangements, before describing the designs on the outside of the various

[81] Dempsey. "Indians and the Stampede," 64.
[82] Jack Dillon, "Wednesday June 25," Script, 25 June 1947, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.
[83] Ibid.

tipis. He closes the broadcast with a suggestion to "get hold of some outside visitors" and "take them down on Saturday morning to the Indian Village and have these things explained."[84] In contrast to the previous day's show, which implies a need for greater respect for the ERC and its inhabitants, the Thursday broadcast indicates a popular fascination with Indigenous cultures, which is seen in many of the other materials promoting the Stampede. While the descriptions Mr. Dillon offers of Indigenous culture are somewhat shallow, his directive to have the same things explained by the Indigenous participants in the event indicates that this shallowness is more to tease the available information and entice potential visitors than it is to simplify complex cultures.

These three broadcasts elucidate the attitudes of Euro-Canadians toward the country's First Nations people in the era. The contrast between the emphasis on reminding listeners of the humanity of, and respect owed to, the Indigenous performers and the fascination and wonderment with which Jack Dillon describes elements of their culture shows the wide gap between a shared fascination with Indigenous cultures and respect for the individuals within those cultures. That is the ERC continued to attract visitors, but those same visitors needed reminders about respectful behaviour, showing that interest in First Nations cultures did not automatically translate to respect. Additionally, the continued positioning of the camp at the entrance to Victoria Park despite these concerns shows that event organizers chose to prioritize the tourist draw of the Village over the comfort of its inhabitants. This location was not only inconvenient for the ease with which troublemakers could harass those in the camp, but, as

[84] Jack Dillon, "Thursday, June 26, 1947," Script, 26 June 1947, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.

James Gray explains, it was also prone to flooding as the camp had been positioned in a low spot, which had formerly been a sunken garden.[85]

The year 1955 marked the province's Golden Jubilee, a milestone celebrating 50 years since joining confederation. As had been and would continue to be the case with all major provincial and national milestones, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede adopted the Golden Jubilee as the theme for that year's event. As part of the promotion and celebration of the anniversary, the Alberta government commissioned two Golden Jubilee caravans, one for the northern and one for the southern portions of the province. These caravans functioned as mobile museums, displaying artifacts of the province's heritage. The southern caravan contained "ranching relics, articles from Fort Whoop-Up, plains Indian curios, and articles brought to Canada by pioneer Mormons."[86] The caravans also brought equipment for showing films about "progress in Alberta" over the previous 50 years. Along with the caravans, the Jubilee committee also produced the *Alberta Golden Jubilee Production Handbook* to offer guidelines as well as scripts and stage directions for a two-hour production celebrating the province's anniversary.[87] The juxtaposition of artefacts from Indigenous groups and artefacts from pioneers, along with the overall message of progress, suggests that the Golden Jubilee celebrations likely fell in line with the federal government's official stance, which viewed the colonization of the country and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples as part of that progress.

Despite the nation-building narratives surrounding much of the province's Golden Jubilee, it is noteworthy that the 1955 Stampede poster promotes the Banff Indian Days

[85] Gray, *A Brand of Its Own,* 128.
[86] "20,000 See historical data in Alberta Jubilee caravans," *The Carbon Chronicle*, 14 July 1955,6.
[87] "Jubilee 'Show' Book Available," *The Hanna Herald*, 23 June 1955, 8.

alongside the numerous attractions at the Stampede. The Banff Indian Days celebration had been an annual tradition since 1902 but had seldom been mentioned in promotional materials for the Calgary Stampede. The celebration being advertised alongside the Stampede shows a greater emphasis on the history of First Nations peoples in that year, even if not in the imagery of the Stampede poster itself, as the Banff Indian Days format focused almost exclusively on the nature of the region and its Indigenous inhabitants. It is likely that the decision to cross-promote the events came at the request of the provincial government, as they had expanded their efforts to bring tourists, business, and new residents to the province during the postwar period.[88] The Golden Jubilee and the cross-promotion of that celebration with the Stampede and other fairs and pageants is a logical extension of those provincial efforts. Additionally, part of the province's anniversary celebration was to award Jubilee medallions to the "leading chiefs" of various First Nations at the Calgary Stampede, Banff Indian Days, Fort Macleod Rodeo, and the Edmonton Exhibition.[89]

So, while the province was celebrating its anniversary of joining the Confederation, arguably the culmination of the colonial efforts of Ottawa, they were also paying homage to and celebrating the First Nations peoples who had existed in the area long before settlement. The Calgary Stampede, Banff Indian Days, and other similar, if smaller, events throughout the province had long relied on Indigenous people as a draw for tourists and had celebrated some elements of their cultures as a part of the events. By contrast, though, the province had largely

[88] The Alberta Travel Bureau's postwar advertising in the United States seems to have effectively boosted travel to the province. In the Spring of 1950, an estimated total of 1.08 million people visited the province. By the time of the 1955 report, that number had reached 1.7 million tourists. Alberta Travel Bureau, *Annual Report of the Department of Economic Affairs of Alberta*, 1950, 1955, archive.org

[89] "Chiefs to Receive Jubilee Medallions," *The Cardston News*, 30 June 1955, 1.

worked hand-in-hand with the federal government to continue the process of colonization and forced assimilation. The inclusion of Golden Jubilee events in the Calgary Stampede and other such events can then be seen as mirroring the efforts by Guy Weadick and the Stampede Board to appease Indian Affairs in 1919, celebrating both the colonial project and the failure of assimilation. These colonial celebrations, alongside the celebration and showcasing of Indigenous people and cultures, highlight the continued dualistic way in which their non-Indigenous counterparts viewed First Nations people. The tension between the desire to celebrate and preserve Indigenous cultures and the desire to colonize and assimilate Indigenous peoples is plain to see in the context of the Calgary Stampede. The event, in some ways, serves as a microcosm of settler-Indigenous relations in the province, save for the additional agency afforded to First Nations participants in having a public venue to proudly display their cultures to a different audience than those that might seek out such information on their own.

Along with the temporary changes seen during wartime and the Golden Jubilee, the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s also saw a shift in the frequency of depictions of Indigenous people in Stampede promotional materials. In contrast to the 1930s, the official posters over those decades feature very little Indigenous imagery, with 1940, 1942, 1959, and 1967 as the only years with images of First Nations peoples or the Indian Village on the poster. Along with the shift away from Indigenous imagery in promoting the event, the execution of the Stampede in those decades leaned more heavily on the event's growing fame throughout the western world. The trend of heavily emphasizing non-Indigenous elements of the province's history or of the Stampede itself became the standard for the official posters, one of the most visible elements of promoting the Stampede, in the decades following the war. It was not until the mid-1980s that posters featuring or focusing on Indigenous people or imagery would again become the standard. From 1985 to

2013 most of the official posters feature images of First Nations people, even as many of the posters prominently feature archetypal white cowboys as the focus of the artwork. This continued inclusion of Indigenous imagery in the Stampede, and especially the increased frequency in the last three decades, indicate both the importance of Indigenous people and imagery to the Stampede's brand and the continued widespread appeal of Indigenous people, cultures, and iconography.

During the 1960s a trend emerged in that the growing fame of the event brought more global attention and attracted more famous attendees, and even helped the event organizers in securing big-name celebrities as parade marshals and other honorary positions to help promote the event. However, even as the organization shifted to capitalizing on famous entertainers in promoting the Stampede, the Indian Village remained a steadfast attraction. The continued importance of Indigenous participation is seen in the souvenir program each year, including a write-up about the "Indian Village," even as other aspects of the program were changed to match the theme for the year or to highlight interesting stories from recent Stampedes.

As had happened in 1950 and to varying extents in other years, the Indian Village's low-lying location led to flooding in 1965. While media coverage of this flooding is scant, the Calgary Stampede reached out to tipi owners following the Stampede and offered compensation for any damages to personal belongings that occurred as a result of the flooding. The compensatory cheques were issued while a press release was sent to local media, which listed the rough total ($2,000) sent to those tipi owners who claimed damages to their belongings. [90] Not mentioned in the available correspondence regarding the payments to tipi owners, nor in the

[90] Indian Committee, Draft Letter to Indian Village Tipi Owners, 31 September 1965, James Kerr Fonds, M9009/F347, GMA.

press release, was the ongoing conflict between the Indian Village participants and the Calgary Stampede organization about the location of the Indian Village.[91] This point of contention and the long delays with relocating the Indian Village, a longstanding demand that would not be met until 1974, along with correspondence between members of the Indian Committee (later, the Indian Events Committee), are emblematic of the social and political dynamics of the ERC and its place in the Calgary Stampede. In short, the Indian Committee and other relevant groups within the Stampede organization were quick to remedy many concerns regarding the Indigenous participants in the event, though compensation for damaged belongings after multiple years of floods indicates a reactive rather than a proactive approach. So, while the concerns about the location of the Indian Village would not be rectified or seemingly addressed at all for multiple decades, the public image of the relationship between Indian Village participants and the Stampede organization was one of friendship and cooperation.

Despite appearances, private correspondence shows some degree of paternalistic thinking on the part of the event organizers. One of the more subtle examples of this comes from a letter written by Stampede General Manager J.B. Cross to the organization's president, T.B. Hall, in January of 1965. Cross states that he knows "from past experience that unless one is very firm with our friends at Gleichen that they will take a great deal of his time." He further offers the advice to meet them "out in the reception hall" and to "never let them in your office."[92] The "friends at Gleichen" referenced here are those members of the Siksika Nation who are involved in the Stampede, and the advice is indicative of some of the cross-cultural tensions that the cooperative relationship between the organization and the First Nations participants could not

[91] Dempsey, "The Indians and the Stampede," 64-65.
[92] J.B. Cross, Letter to T.B. Hall, 25 January 1965. Jim Kerr Fonds, M9009/F347, GMA.

wholly eliminate. While other correspondences with members of the Indian Committee do not tend to take such a cautionary or paternal tone, this is not a fully isolated example.

In a page of handwritten notes, which appear to be from an Indian Committee meeting on the matter of improving the events under that committee's purview, the final point notes the need for "great participation by Indians in camp." The anonymous author adds that the Indian Village should not be "just a bunch of adults and hords (sic) of kids lounging around" but that it should include "craft work etc." and that participants "should demonstrate some enthusiasm" rather than treating their time in the Village as a campout.[93] While these notes may have been addressing an objective issue with the execution of the Indian Village, they do align quite closely with the widespread stereotyping of Indigenous people as lazy and also show a prescriptive policing of behaviour in the Indian Village.[94] Similar prescriptive measures are apparent in Indian Committee notes and correspondences from this era and are perhaps illustrative of a push for the Indigenous participants to match visitor expectations of Indigeneity. As discussed in the following pages, later years would see a greater emphasis on Indigenous control over Indian Village events and cultural representations, with less top-down prescribed behaviours and a more collaborative approach to planning Indian Village events. However, the attitudes of the Indian

[93] "Indian Committee 1967 Stampede and Thereafter," N.D. Jim Kerr Fonds, M9009/F348, GMA.

[94] The idea of Indigenous people as lazy was common throughout North America beginning in the settlement era and was largely tied to the codified ideas of acceptable and productive behaviour, first in an agrarian society and then in an industrial society. In the Canadian context, these stereotypes existed and were often applied to Indigenous people to explain the failures of colonial efforts to transition more nomadic peoples from hunting to farming. This is mentioned briefly in the preceding pages, citing Helen Buckley's *From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare*, but is also examined in some depth by Sarah Carter in *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990).

Committee members in the above examples are by no means outliers for the time but rather align quite closely with prevailing attitudes and ideas about Indigenous people among settler society.

While the goal of total assimilation had failed, and by 1960 Status Indigenous people were granted voting rights in Canada, the paternalistic and assimilationist legislation of the Indian Act was still a factor in the daily lives of First Nations peoples. Laws at the time meant that status Indigenous people were not allowed to be in possession of nor consume alcohol outside the boundaries of their respective reserves. To comply with existing legislation and the demands of the Department of Indian Affairs, the Indian Committee expressly prohibited the possession and consumption of alcohol in the Indian Village. In response to a sharp uptick in arrests the previous year, most of which were for the crime of status Indigenous people being in "possession of intoxicants off a reserve," the Indian Committee issued a reminder to all the tipi owners in the Indian Village.[95] The memo states plainly that "the use of alcoholic beverages is not permitted in teepees or in the Indian Village. Violators of this rule are subject to prosecution."[96] So while the relationship between the Stampede organization and the Indigenous participants in the event was one of mutual benefit and cooperation, it was still very much bound by the social attitudes and legal constraints of the era.

However, Indigenous participants in the Stampede remained central to the event's claims to authenticity and, by extension, remained publicly visible, with numerous accounts of the Stampede throughout the 1960s emphasizing Indigenous involvement. One such account, originally printed in *The Calgary Albertan* and later reprinted in *Kainai News* titled "Stampede Pays Well For the Indians," breaks down the compensation structure for First Nations

[95] RCMP Report, 31 August 1965, Jim Kerr Fonds, GMA, M9009/F347.
[96] Indian Committee Memo, 24 June 1966. Jim Kerr Fonds, GMA, M9009/F348.

participants in the Stampede, stressing the idea that "Indians at this year's Stampede certainly won't go hungry and will not show off to visitors for nothing." The compensation provided includes a transportation allowance, ranging from $25-$50 depending on the band and their relative distance travelled, a $200 per family allowance for tipi owners to cover wear and tear to the tipis, $10 per day that a tipi is open to the public, and varying levels of compensation for participating in the opening parade and various dances. The article cites an Indian Committee spokesperson who says the total amount paid out for the "Indian Exhibition" is around twenty thousand dollars, less $3700 in food rations supplied to the village.[97] The tone of this article seems to indicate that there had been some concerns among the newspaper's readership about whether the ERC participants were properly compensated, as the author stresses the fairness of their compensation and the costs associated with organizing the village rather than critiquing the compensation as had been seen prior to 1951.

From 1967 onward, marketing took on a more fluid form than previously. That year began a span of 15 consecutive years in which the Stampede and much of its promotion would focus on a specific theme.[98] With a few notable exceptions, the representations of Indigenous peoples in promotional materials remain largely unchanged during this era. The 1967 theme was Canada's centennial, an explicitly colonial theme with imagery to match. The poster and souvenir program for the year feature a photograph of a First Nations chief, a rodeo cowboy, and an RCMP officer, each on horseback, in front of a tipi in the ERC.[99] This image hearkens back to the image of Chief Calfchild and Inspector Spalding which had adorned promotional materials at

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[97] "Stampede Pays Well For the Indians," *Kainai News*, 15 July 1968, 5.
[98] For an in-depth examination of the selected themes and their broader implications, see the previous chapter on marketing The Stampede.
[99] "1967 Poster," *Calgary Stampede*, Heritage – Collections, https://origin.calgaryStampede.com/heritage/collections/1967

various points throughout the 1930s. The inclusion of the rodeo cowboy, here positioned centrally between the Chief and the Mountie, seems intended to tie the Stampede itself into the broader history of Canada and the celebration of the centennial. The program for the 1967 Stampede followed similar layouts to those in the years prior and continued with the established pattern of highlighting some of the longstanding attractions of the event alongside new additions and special guests. Promotions and print materials in this era continued to mention the Indigenous involvement in the parade, in the ERC, and in the event more broadly, though the rodeo events made up the bulk of the advertising efforts. While First Nations participants and their representation remained a staple of the event and of promotional materials, there is little evidence of tangible change beyond the incremental increases in spending on the event and the occasional writeup in a souvenir program about their involvement.

One of the longstanding complaints from ERC participants and tipi owners, the location of the camp, and its vulnerability to flooding and harassment from intoxicated Stampede attendees would be addressed in the first half of the following decade. In what was the most significant change in Indigenous involvement in the Stampede since the prize money bump in 1951, in 1974, the ERC was relocated to new location, one that addressed the major concerns with the original location.[100] This change came as part of the Stampede's expansion plan, with a new racetrack and other updated facilities being completed in time for the 1974 Stampede. The new location, "in the beautiful Kinsmen Elbow River Park," moved the camp away from the main entrance to the Stampede and to higher ground on the opposite side of the Elbow River.[101]

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[100] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, 1974 CESF, M2160/29-26, GMA, 3.
[101] "Calgary Stampede Expansion Plans," in *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Souvenir Program*, 1973, CESA, U of C Digital Collections, 67.

This location would remain the home of the ERC until the camp was relocated again following the 2015 Stampede. Though once again lagging behind expectations, the relocation of the ERC in 1974 was a direct response to calls for change from participants in the camp. Although the delay between the complaints about the location and the change could be seen as evidence of a disconnect between the First Nations participants and the predominantly settler-run organization, the eventual relocation of the ERC does show a level of reciprocal respect and understanding between the two parties. While there is an undeniable power dynamic between the Stampede organization and the ERC participants, efforts to address the concerns of the latter group show a baseline of respect for their personal comfort and security. Likewise, the promotion of Indigenous (and especially Treaty Seven) cultures later that same decade mirrors Guy Weadick's efforts to convince DIA officials of the importance of First Nations involvement over four decades prior.

In 1977, the Stampede Board selected the theme of "A Salute to the Indian People" for that year's event. This marked the first year that a theme for the event had focused on Indigenous contributions. This theme was a part of the aforementioned series of themed Stampedes and marked the tenth year of annual thematic changes to both the marketing of the event and its programming.[102] While not explicitly stated as a contributing factor, this theme also followed significant activism from First Nations and Metis people throughout Canada over the previous decade and up through the 1970s.[103] The imagery used to promote the 1977 Stampede was borrowed stylistically from Plains First Nations culture and art styles, with the poster and the

[102] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program and Guide*, 1977, CESF, M2160/29-29, GMA
[103] Scott Rutherford. *Canada's Other Red Scare: Indigenous Protest and Colonial Encounters During the Global Sixties* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2020).

souvenir program featuring an image of two Tsuut'ina men in brightly coloured garments pow-wow dancing and the logo for promotional materials changing out the letter A in Calgary Stampede for tipis and the letter E for arrowheads, while also adopting the orange/red/yellow colour scheme of many traditional ochres used in plains Indigenous artwork. (Figure 6)

In addition to the more prominent use of Indigenous imagery in the promotion of the event, the Kinsmen Center was used for the duration of the Stampede as an exhibition space for each of the bands represented in the Indian Village. As described in the souvenir program, each Indigenous group presented a different aspect of their traditional culture or contemporary endeavours important to the band. In the order listed in the program, the displays were as follows: Blackfoot (Siksika) – a miniature display of the Sundance ceremony, and replicas of the Indian Village tipis with explanations of the artwork on them, Blood (Kainai) – a demonstration of the Kainai Industries house-building, Peigan (Piikani) – displays of contemporary merchandise from moccasin and denim garment factories owned and staffed by Piikani, Sarcee (Tsuut'ina) – a miniature golf course and a putting green by the operators of the Redwood Meadows Golf Course, and Stoney (Stoney Nakoda) – a three-screen film production with "eloquent photography, powerful melody and narrative."[104]

The wide range of these exhibits is illustrative of several aspects of the Stampede and the planning of this specific portion of it. First, it highlights the freedom that organizers gave to the nations in deciding how to represent their culture or their people, an important aspect of the reciprocal relationship between the Stampede organization and the First Nations participants in the event. Additionally, it is indicative of the efforts of First Nations people to be viewed and

[104] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program and Guide*, 1977, CESF, M2160/29-29, GMA, 29.

represented as extant peoples rather than as historical figures outside of time, as the Siksika exhibit was the only one of the five which was not designed to highlight contemporary business endeavours. Given the presentation of First Nations cultures through the Stampede Parade, ERC, and other prominent components of the Stampede, visitors to the Kinsmen Center who had not read the official program may have expected to encounter exhibits more akin to a museum of the cultures represented. However, the more contemporary focus of the above exhibits did not replace the celebrations of more traditional elements of First Nations cultures elsewhere in Victoria Park.

Along with the Kinsmen Center exhibits, the program also lists an "Indian Activities Area" with Indigenous youth competing in various events such as the "Little Britches Rodeo" as well as the "Indian Village," with an increase to 34 tipis over the regular 25. Additionally, to coincide with the theme of that year's Stampede, the Government of the Northwest Territories sponsored "a display of crafts and traditional games from Arctic Canada" in a tent outside the Stampede Corral.[105] While the Indigenous representation in the Stampede had typically been limited to those nations who call Southern Alberta their home, the inclusion of Arctic peoples, even in this narrow capacity, does show a growing interest in Indigenous peoples more broadly, both within the Stampede organization and among the general public.

Despite the enthusiasm with which the First Nations participants embraced the Salute to Indian People theme, it was not accepted uncritically by all. The *Kainai News* newspaper ran a special "Stampede '77" edition, which was distributed on the grounds on the penultimate day of the event; this special edition largely served to summarize the successes of Indigenous

[105] Ibid.

individuals in various events, as well as to recap the week.[106] However, in the weeks leading up to the Stampede, the same newspaper had addressed the continued bigotry experienced by First Nations people in the province, both in their personal experiences and in print. In an editorial, Caen Bly addressed a letter which had been printed in the June 11 *Calgary Herald* that was sharply critical of the tribute to Indigenous people and the commemoration of the signing of Treaty 7.[107] The letter to which the editor is responding is one which critiques the idea of the event as a tribute to Indigenous people, and argues that it is more of an attraction which will be a display of "silly, dishonest sentimentalism" mixed in with the informative exhibits. The editor indicates that this is part of a racist line of thinking, one which sees the celebration of Indigenous heritage or culture as sentimentalism rather than "fight[ing] for a conviction by which they live, which in fact means expecting fellowman to live up to his obligations."[108] That is, rather than seeing the continuity of Indigenous beliefs as being as valid as any other belief system, the letter to which Mrs. Bly is responding sees Indigenous cultures as outdated and stuck in the past.

The historicization of extant people and cultures is a common thread throughout Canada's history, from the Indian Act legislation intended to erase Indigenous cultures to the popular belief of the "vanishing" of those people and cultures and the popular culture image of Indigenous people as static and unchanging. There is a direct link between the line of thinking of the letter to the *Calgary Herald* and Indian Affairs policies such as the 1914 amendment to the Indian Act discussed earlier in this chapter. The assumption underlying both is that by preserving their cultural heritage, Indigenous people are not able to progress beyond their pre-contact ways. The reality of the Kinsmen Center exhibits, however, shows that while Indigenous cultures and

[106] "Stampede '77 Edition," *Kainai News*, 16 July 1977.
[107] Caen Bly, "Bigotry… The Usual Excuse," *Kainai News*, 20 June 1977, 4.
[108] Ibid.

traditions remain important to the relevant groups, those same groups have adapted to suit the demands of a capitalist, industrial society.

Appearing on the first page of the same issue of *Kainai News*, alongside the cover story explaining the theme of that year's Calgary Stampede, is a political cartoon illustrated by Everett Soop, illustrating the attitudes of non-Indigenous people toward Alberta's First Nations. (Figure 8) The cartoon depicts two Indigenous men, one in a headdress and one in a wide-brimmed hat with a single feather, standing next to a sign that reads "Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Salutes the Indian" with the fairgrounds in the background. A non-Indigenous woman and her son are walking past, and the mother is glaring at the men as her son holds his nose. One of the Indigenous men is speaking, saying "Rather odd way to salute!" to the child.[109] This cartoon implies that while the Stampede organization is happy to pay tribute to the Indigenous people of the province, many non-Indigenous Albertans still harbor prejudices against those same people. This cartoon, and others appearing in *Kainai News* around the same time, illustrate not only the ongoing political tensions of the day, but also the tension between settler and Indigenous Canadians in their daily lives. At least from the perspective of the cartoonist, the Salute to the Indian People theme was one which was at odds with the treatment of Indigenous Canadians from their non-Indigenous neighbors.

[109] "Calgary Officials Formally Recognize Indian Contribution to Stampede," *Kainai News*, 20 June 1977, 1.

Figure 8: Everett Soop cartoon from the 20 June 1977 edition of Kainai News[110]

Ongoing concerns about human rights and treaty violations were common subject matter for *Kainai News* through the 1970s, and political changes had brought some of these issues into popular discourse. The Canadian government passed legislation to allow Indigenous groups to make land claims in 1973, seeking compensation or renewed rights to lands of which they were dispossessed. Contemporary news sources offer some insight into how this process was perceived by the settler population. A 1975 story in *The Calgary Herald* outlines the British Columbia government's unwillingness to cooperate with the federal government on the process, stalling the processing of the existing claims at the time.[111] The following year the newspaper published a summary of a survey on Canadian opinions of Indigenous issues carried out by a political scientist and a sociologist from the University of Calgary. The study found that most Canadians were somewhat ambivalent about Indigenous issues, but that Albertans were among the least sympathetic toward Indigenous people and were also distrusting of the reasons

[110] Ibid.
[111] "Cooperation Key to Claims on Land, Says Buchanan," *The Calgary Herald*, 8 September 1975, 5.

Indigenous peoples were entering into the land claims process.[112] These attitudes, along with the ongoing political negotiations themselves, likely contributed to the feelings expressed in editorials and political cartoons in the newspaper. In the broader social context of the era, the decision to have the 1977 Stampede's theme be one of honoring Indigenous people is not entirely out of place.

Popular culture moments relating to Indigenous rights and representation, such as Marlon Brando's rejection of the Best Actor Oscar in 1973, and the Red Power movement, had helped to raise awareness among settler populations of ongoing land and treaty rights issues as well as the overall ongoing marginalization of Indigenous peoples. While not all were sympathetic to those specific causes, as implied by the *Kainai News* political cartoons, the Calgary Stampede board was seemingly in favour of honoring and respecting First Nations people. While the earlier depictions of First Nations peoples in the Stampede largely played on the notion that these were vanishing cultures and peoples who would soon be relegated to the history books, the Treaty 7 exhibits in the Kinsmen Center emphasized the longevity and adaptability of those cultures. Alongside these displays of modern industrial efforts, the established traditions of the ERC and other Indigenous aspects of the Stampede took on renewed importance in an era of increased political struggles for recognition and legal protections.

The year 1980 marked the province's 75th anniversary of joining confederation, and much like the 1955 Golden Jubilee celebrations, the Stampede again adopted the anniversary as that year's theme. While the official poster and the souvenir program cover featured no mention of Indigenous peoples, instead focusing on cowboys and the rapidly changing Calgary skyline, First

[112] Dr. Roger Gibbons and Dr. Rick Ponting, "Indians and Indian Issues: Survey Finds Most Canadians Take the Middle Road," *The Calgary Herald*, 3 September 1976, 7.

Nations imagery again played a crucial role in promoting the event. Perhaps the most notable change from previous years was the General Pow Wow, hosted in the Stampede Corral on the Sunday and Monday of the Stampede. Promoted in the souvenir program with an image of an Indigenous man in brightly coloured regalia, the organizers invited "over 108 Indian bands throughout North America" to participate in a "giant Pow Wow which has never before taken place in Alberta."[113]

Along with the standard write-up about the "Indian Village," which had been a staple of the souvenir program since 1974, the 1980 program also featured two full-page advertisements relating to Indigenous involvement in the Stampede. The first depicts a First Nations man in full ceremonial dress on horseback in the Elbow River Camp, with the photograph occupying most of the page and the bottom section of the page informing readers that the "Indian Village" is courtesy of Western Canada Lottery's Alberta Division. The second full-page advertisement for the Bank of Montreal shows an Indigenous chief and an RCMP officer in his parade uniform shaking hands in front of tipis in the ERC. The first advertisement seems primarily designed to inform readers of the lottery's sponsorship of the Indian Village and uses an image representative of what visitors might expect to see in the village. The second advertisement, though, seems to be a reference not only to the long history of settler-Indigenous relations in Canada but also to the long history of the Bank of Montreal in the country in an attempt to associate Canada's heritage with the bank.[114] The inclusion of these images, and especially their use of photographs of First Nations people within the ERC illustrates the marketing power of the Stampede more broadly, but also of authentic Indigenous people in this era.

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[113] "Salute to Alberta's 75th Birthday" *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, 1980, CESF, M2160/29-30, GMA, 4.
[114] Ibid. 30, 49.

The decade from 1980 to 1990 was a time of substantial social and political change in Canada, as well as for the country's Indigenous peoples. The Constitution Act of 1982, which included the patriation of the Canadian Bill of Rights, provided not only full sovereignty for the country but also legal protections for all persons under Canadian law. The 1985 amendment to the Indian Act, via Bill C-31, also ensured that Indigenous women would maintain their Indigenous status after marrying non-Indigenous men and that their children would be considered status persons as well.[115] Prior laws had stripped Indigenous status from women who married non-Indigenous men as part of the goal of "enfranchisement" or assimilation.[116] The decade also saw the continued efforts of Indigenous peoples of Canada to regain land rights through comprehensive and specific land claims.[117]

Throughout the 1980s the representation of First Nations peoples in the Stampede's promotional materials and in the event itself, remained largely unchanged from the previous decade. However, from 1984 onward, the larger souvenir program was split into one which highlighted the rodeo and other mainstays of the Stampede, and one which highlighted the grandstand evening show. These programs feature varying levels of representation of the ERC and other "Indian Events", but the representation remains consistent throughout the decade. A notable exception is the official poster for the 1986 Stampede, which marked the 100th

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[115] Government of Canada, "Bill C31 and C3 Amendments," *Background on Indian Registration*, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1540405608208/1568898474141 Accessed August 23, 2024.
[116] *Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes in this Province, and to Amend the Laws Relating to Indians*, 3rd Session, 5th Parliament, 1857.
[117] The Reporting Centre on Specific Claims lists 32 specific claims settled countrywide throughout the decade, with an additional 102 settled over the first half of the 1990s. https://services.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/SCBRI_E/Main/ReportingCentre/External/externalreporting.aspx Accessed August 23, 2024.

anniversary of the Calgary Agricultural Exhibition. The theme of the 1986 Stampede was a 100th Anniversary Salute, and the poster for the event featured artwork of a white cowboy, a white RCMP officer, and an Indigenous man in a headdress, with the three men's faces flanked by images of the rodeo and the midway. The image contrasts the traditional dress of these three groups, each an integral part of the Stampede's history, with the present of the event as one of the premier outdoor sporting events in the world.

While the 1977 Kinsmen Center exhibits had served as a way of showing how the First Nations involved in the Stampede had incorporated and adapted to industrialized society, the 1986 Stampede, with the theme of "A Century of Progress," arguably relegated the First Nations cultures on display to the early history of the province.[118] Though the relationship between the ERC participants and the Stampede Board remained one of reciprocal respect, the contrast of the theme of the event and the way in which the ERC was sold to visitors was striking in this year. Though to some degree the camp is representative of the history of the bands represented in it, in the same way, many living history museums are representative of the settler history of the province, framing the ERC as purely historical belies the continued importance of much of what is represented in that space. As has been alluded to already in this chapter, the ERC illustrates select elements of the First Nations cultures that participate, elements with continued significance to the people of those cultures.

While the world outside of Victoria Park was changing, especially regarding Indigenous rights and land claims processes in Canada and in the United States, much of the representation of Indigenous peoples remained the same throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s. The

[118] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program, Evening Grandstand Performance*, 1986, CESA, U of C DC.

focus of Stampede posters and brochures became more focused on the sport of rodeo and especially the chuckwagon races for which the event had increasingly become known than on the history and heritage of the province. However, in 1989 the Stampede Board again selected a theme which focused on the Indigenous people who played so crucial a role in the event. Though that year's poster depicted an image of a cowboy on a bucking horse superimposed over a midway and the city skyline filled with fireworks, the theme was "salute to the Indians of Treaty Seven," similar to the broader Indigenous salute twelve years prior.[119]

While the major promotional items did not match the theme of the event as they had in 1977, the Stampede Organization did go to some lengths to promote the theme to the public. One decision which drew some criticism was the hiring of local artist Harley Brown. The Stampede Board commissioned a painting from Brown titled "The Chief," which was a portrait of an elderly Indigenous chief wearing a headdress. Prints of this painting were sold as official souvenirs for the 1989 Stampede, though the artwork was the subject of some criticism. In an interview with the *Calgary Herald*, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, a fellow Calgary artist and an Indigenous woman, criticized the generic painting, stating, "I don't think a print of a no-name Indian helps understanding of native people." Cardinal-Schubert also critiqued the Stampede more broadly, arguing that "if they really wanted to salute the native people, they would have more information and more exposure of native people as contemporary beings." The artist further characterized the ERC as "the Stampede reservation, where native people are on display."[120]

[119] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, 1989, CESA, U of C DC.
[120] Nancy Tousley, "Chief wrong choice, says artist," *Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1989, 24.

While Cardinal-Schubert and other Indigenous individuals were openly critical of various aspects of the Stampede, and some people remain critical of the use of Indigenous imagery to sell the event, the same edition of *The Calgary Herald* also featured a story praising the benefits of the event for Indigenous people in the province. In the article, Bruce Starlight, a Tsuut'ina man who was also the vice-chairman of the Stampede's Native Events Committee at the time, explains his own view of the event. Mr. Starlight credits the Stampede with strengthening Indigenous cultures in the region, saying in part: "The Calgary Stampede keeps the Indian culture in this area alive, and that's why natives participate in it – because we're very concerned about preserving our ways. If it wasn't for the Stampede, we wouldn't have the things we still do as a people today." However, along with his praise for the event and some fond reminiscences of his involvement in the Stampede as a child, Mr. Starlight also touches on the idea of visibility of Indigenous people and cultures, stating, "it's always an honour to be saluted, but we still need to be more visible, and I think this year we will be."[121] Presumably, Bruce Starlight was referring to the expanded program of Indigenous-focused events to go along with the theme of the Stampede. Additionally, the theme of the event meant that promotional materials included an increased focus on the First Nations participants. Along with the now-standard ERC events, such as pow-wow dancing, storytelling, and meat-cutting contests, the 1989 Stampede included displays in the Big Four building showcasing contemporary Indigenous developments, a pre-Stampede parade of Indigenous participants, an Aboriginal Film Festival and various other additions. These changes to the standard program of Indigenous events were planned by the Indian Events Committee and provided opportunities for both increased visibility of Indigenous cultures and education of non-Indigenous visitors.

[121] Eva Ferguson, "Stampede Boosts Native Culture," *The Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1989, 74.

While the two articles above provide contrasting viewpoints from Indigenous individuals, both Joane Cardinal-Schubert and Bruce Starlight highlight the need for a greater level of understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. Though these concerns are visible in the Indigenous press, such as the previously examined editorial cartoon in the 20 June 1977 *Kainai News*, concerns with representation were largely absent from mainstream press discussions of the Calgary Stampede. That such discussions were published in the city's longest running and most widely read newspaper is indicative of the increased public awareness of Indigenous people and cultures. By 1989 the cumulative impacts of the land claims process, ongoing political activism, and the closure of residential schools across the country had created a historical moment in which First Nations people were an unavoidable part of public discourse. While the Stampede's theme for that year could cynically be viewed as an attempt to capitalize on the increased public fascination with Indigenous people and their cultures, it can also be viewed as an attempt to provide a space for cultural expression for the Treaty Seven nations beyond the confines of the Indian Village traditions.

In staying with the theme of the 1989 Stampede, the souvenir program for that year featured a multi-page write-up titled "Indian Legacy," in which the author gives a brief recap of historical moments in the Stampede's history pertaining to Indigenous participants. Accompanying this piece are four photographs, the first of an Indigenous man in ceremonial dress riding a bison for the Wild Buffalo Ride event, the second a portrait of legendary Kainai cowboy Tom Three Persons and his wife, the third a photo of the "Indian Village" as it appeared in 1928, and the last a photo of young Pow Wow dancers from a more recent Stampede. These images are particularly well-suited to depicting the history of First Nations participation in the event, as the Wild Buffalo Ride was an event which was meant to recall the history of the plains

bison and was created to highlight that portion of the province's and the First Nations peoples' history. However, the event is more of an entertaining facsimile of the buffalo hunt than it is any real tradition of its own. Next, the portrait of Tom Three Persons underscores the importance of Three Persons' legacy for both the Indigenous rodeo competitors who would follow in his path and for the inaugural Stampede at which Three Persons was the only cowboy from Canada to win an event. The photo of the Indian Village as it existed in 1928 serves as a visual indicator of the longstanding importance of the village for the Stampede and for those involved in it. In a similar vein, the image of contemporary youths highlights what Bruce Starlight spoke about in the *Calgary Herald*; the importance of such representations for continuing to celebrate and maintain First Nations cultures. Though these four photographs are the only visual representations of Indigenous people in that year's souvenir program, the images chosen and their positioning alongside an article about the legacy of Indigenous involvement accurately portray the continued significance of First Nations participation in the Stampede, for both the event's own traditions and for public visibility of those participating groups.[122]

The following year saw a significant decrease in Indigenous representation in promotional materials, with the 1990 souvenir program featuring only a recurring splash page of a pow-wow dancer accompanied by a short blurb about the ERC.[123] The official poster for that year's event did feature Indigenous imagery in the form of an artist's depiction of a First Nations chief in full ceremonial dress and headdress among a collage of other Stampede symbols and figures.[124] However, while the 1989 Stampede's theme was not a precursor to a trend of

[122] Scott Ross, "Indian Legacy," *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Program,* 1989. 12,14,32.
[123] *Souvenir Program*, 1990, U of C DC, CESA, 43.
[124] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede*, Poster, 1990, Calgary Stampede Heritage.

increased representation of Indigenous people in future events, events outside of the Stampede grounds had led to increased media coverage of the Indigenous aspects of the Stampede.

While the Stampede's fame continued to grow those in charge of marketing the event focused less on Alberta's heritage and more on the famous guests it attracted. As is examined in greater detail in the previous chapter of this study, though Hollywood, film stars, and celebrities in general had been part and parcel of the Stampede since as early as 1925, the promotional materials for the event in the early 1990s began to feature lengthy write-ups about and photographs of celebrities ranging from Hoot Gibson to Brad Pitt at the event. This shift in focus coincided with a resurgence in the province's film industry which some industry insiders credit to the success of Clint Eastwood's Alberta-shot *Unforgiven* (1992).[125] This change resulted in less focus on celebrating the regional and local history and, by extension, a decrease in Indigenous representation in the promotion of the event.

However, films such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990), *Tombstone* (1993), and *Legends of the Fall* (1994), all of which were commercial and critical successes, helped the resurgence in popularity of western genre films and brought increased public interest in the west, though primarily in the Hollywood version of it. While the previous decade had seen increased media coverage of Indigenous issues due to the public interest in the land claims process, and those processes were still ongoing throughout the 1990s, the increased popular fascination with Indigenous people and cultures, which seems to have coincided with the popularity of Western films and country-western music, also led to increased media coverage both in Canada and abroad. Notably, features about the Indian Village, the Indian Village Princess, and various other

[125] Eric Volmers, "Assassins and Men of Low Character: 30 Years Ago, Unforgiven Forever Changed the Western and Alberta Film Industry," *The Calgary Herald*, 28 September 2022.

aspects of Indigenous representation in the Calgary Stampede became commonplace in news media. [126]

Where events outside of Victoria Park had brought increased public awareness to Alberta's First Nations peoples, the conscious efforts of the Calgary Stampede organizers helped to bring cultural education to the forefront of the Indian Village beginning in 1996. The Indian Events Committee continued to emphasize a mixture of the more eye-catching aspects of First Nations cultures, such as the tipis and pow-wow dancing, and the informative elements of those cultures, such as traditional storytelling.[127] While the Calgary Stampede more broadly continued to move away from the historical pageantry of Guy Weadick's original vision and toward celebrating the history of the event itself, the ERC remained a point of entry for visitors into some level of understanding of the cultures on display. In contrast with the Hollywood depictions of Indigenous peoples as one of a handful of tropes or as antagonists to the notion of settlement and progress, the Calgary Stampede continued to celebrate the history and culture of those peoples.[128] Also, in marked contrast to the more exploitative uses of Indigenous imagery and iconography seen throughout popular culture, the ERC continued to provide space for chosen forms of cultural expression.

Additionally, the space allowed for First Nations people to profit directly off the outsider fascination with elements of their cultures. A staple of the ERC is a row of First Nations artists and craftspeople selling jewelry and artwork, often made in traditional styles or using traditional materials. The selling of traditional beadwork, or of traditionally tanned and sewn leather goods,

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[126] See for example: Heinrich Kim, "Native Dancers Love Their World of Whirling, Twirling Color," *Calgary Herald*, 16 July 1995, A3 and Rebecca Eckler. "'Adopted' Native Gets Another View of Life," *Calgary Herald*, 10 July 1996, B2.
[127] *Annual Report, Calgary Stampede*, 1996, U of C DC, CESA, 23.
[128] *Media Guide, Calgary Stampede*, 1999, U of C DC, CESA, 39-41.

is hardly unique to the Calgary Stampede, with roots going back to the first instances of trade between Indigenous and European peoples in North America. However, within the Calgary Stampede, the ERC is unique in that it provides these spaces exclusively to First Nations vendors and artists, with the space strategically positioned opposite the gazebo in which the pow-wows, drum circles, and various other traditions and celebrations take place.[129]

The 1992 Calgary Stampede souvenir program celebrates the country's 125th year. The program is the first of the decade to bear what would become a recurring advertisement style, as Husky Oil and Nova joint sponsored the ERC and a full-page advertisement for it. In the 1992 edition of the ad, a First Nations man is depicted in full regalia mid-dance, and the photo is accompanied by the large type-face caption "Indian Culture Remains Through Changing Times," along with a short description of the Indian Village and the attractions on offer.[130] Unlike some earlier iterations of promoting the Village, this ad offers little information beyond the statement that the space is meant to represent the residents' way of life and that the sponsors are "proud to participate in this presentation of an important part of our Canadian history." The relatively sparse text seems to be intended to allow the colourful and vibrant photograph to be the primary attraction. By presenting a familiar image of an Indigenous person in ceremonial garments, the advertisement aligns with tourist expectations of Indigeneity without directly pandering through misleading or inaccurate information.

The same ad was used periodically throughout the decade but was not the sole representation of Indigenous and First Nations peoples in official promotional materials over that span. The 1996 souvenir program, for example, uses a similar full-page advertisement style,

[129] *Media Guide, Calgary Stampede*, 1999, U of C DC, CESA, 39-41.
[130] *Souvenir Program, Half Million Dollar Rodeo*, 1992, CESF M2160/29-31 GMA, 38.

though it replaces the colourful photograph of a man dancing with a desaturated photograph of some teepees set up under the prairie skies, captioned "Make Yourself At Home With Canada's First Families." The text accompanying this ad is more casual than the other format, stating that First Nations families "make themselves at home" in the ERC and "share their unique history and culture with visitors" while closing with the statement that the sponsors are "proud to join Canada's first families in welcoming you."[131] In this version of the advertisement, both the copy and the image focus on the historicity of the people and cultures present in the camp, rather than on the space itself. The photograph accompanying the ad could just as easily be a promotional image from a tourism guide or from a western genre film.

The marketing for the event, and in turn, the Indigenous representations within the event and its promotional materials, do not seem to have undergone significant change over the final decades of this study. While the stylistic choices for marketing materials have shifted to suit contemporary standards, the shift toward celebrating the event on its own merits and highlighting various aspects of the Stampede seems to have been solidified in the late 1970s or early 1980s. The result of this has been a high degree of consistency in how Indigenous people and cultures have been represented over the past few decades, save for the years in which the ERC and Indigenous participation have been highlighted. While small shifts continued over this period, representations of Indigenous people in promotional material from the early 1990s are not markedly different from those in promotional materials from the mid-2000s. The notable exceptions to this are the posters from 2008 and 2011 which feature artwork of an Indigenous Chief on horseback and an Indigenous woman performing a dance, respectively. The artist for

[131] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, 1996, CESF M2160/29-31 GMA.

the 2008 poster aimed for his work to represent "all of the Great Plains First Nations" and incorporates some of the shared imagery from those groups.[132] The 2011 poster is meant to represent the relationship between Treaty 7 Nations and the Stampede and was inspired by the 2009 Indian Princess.[133]

In 2013, nearly a century after the land forfeiture of the Calgary Stampede's nearest First Nation at the urging of federal and municipal governments, the Tsuut'ina Nation's land claim was settled with the Canadian government. The $20.8 million total payout ended a conflict over land rights which had persisted since shortly after the inaugural Calgary Stampede. This event, though not directly related to the Calgary Stampede or Indigenous representation therein, serves as an illustrative example of the competing interests which shaped settler-Indigenous interactions within Canada over the century examined in this study. While this is not the only land claim brought to the federal government by one of the First Nations involved in the Stampede, it is the proximity of the Tsuut'ina Nation and their direct relationship with the City of Calgary and the Calgary Stampede organization that merit some mention here.

As discussed in the introduction to this study, the 101st-anniversary iteration of the Calgary Stampede served to highlight the event's importance to the city, as extensive flooding and damage to the facilities at Victoria Park led to round-the-clock cleanup efforts to allow the event to go on as planned. These efforts included the restoration of the site for the ERC, which had been damaged extensively along with the rest of the park. For many of the families that participate in the ERC as tipi owners, the flooding which ravaged Southern Alberta also

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[132] "2008 Poster," *Calgary Stampede*, Heritage – Collections, https://origin.calgaryStampede.com/heritage/collections/2008
[133] "2011 Poster," *Calgary Stampede*, Heritage – Collections, https://origin.calgaryStampede.com/heritage/collections/2011

impacted their homes outside of the Stampede grounds. Siksika and Morley saw significant flooding, and Gerald Sitting Eagle from Siksika and Mark Poucette from Morley lost numerous family artifacts, including their tipis, in the flooding.[134] That both families received support from fellow tipi-owning families shows the importance of the ERC to those who participate in it.

From an outsider's perspective, it may appear that a contrast between settler and Indigenous cultures has always been the purpose of the ERC. However, the primary attraction of the event has shifted over time from a widespread fascination with settlement narratives and the history of North America to the event itself, with the rodeo and the city-wide celebration as highlights. So, while the seemingly static and historic nature of the Elbow River Camp has always provided a contrast to attractions such as new inventions and the latest advances on display in the industrial exhibition, so too have the rodeo events and many elements of the Stampede's entertainment which remain relatively unchanged from the founding of the event. That is, with some notable exceptions, the event has centered on The Elbow River Camp, the Rodeo, the Exhibition, and Agricultural shows such as livestock competitions, all of which predate the Calgary Stampede in the region and are illustrative of important elements of the province's history pre- and post-settlement. Arguably, the early draw of the ERC, which seems to have been such a crucial part of bringing in tourists where the Industrial Exhibition had failed to do so, was the notion of the "vanishing Indian," as examined earlier in this chapter. However, even as those ideas have become less commonplace, the Indian Village has remained an important part of the Stampede, drawing Indigenous and non-Indigenous visitors in large

[134] Sherri Zickefoose, "Community Comes Together to Ensure Siksika Members Hit by Floods Have Traditional Home at Indian Village," *The Calgary Herald*, 11 July 2013; Darlene Chrapko, "Indian Village Participants Still Feeling Impacts of Last Year's Flood," *Alberta Sweetgrass*, 21 no. 9 (2014).

numbers and serving as a site of entertainment and education. Over the history of the Stampede, popular culture has cycled in and out of popularizing Western Genre films, Indigenous imagery, and various other trends, which have helped to keep the non-Indigenous public fascinated by Indigenous cultures.

Though Indigenous activists, along with scholars and Stampede attendees, have been critical of the use of Indigenous imagery and Indigenous people to sell the Stampede or to give the event an air of authenticity throughout its history, First Nations involvement in the event has been an important part of its success since Guy Weadick first convinced the Big Four to finance his vision. While opinions vary on how important the Stampede and other similar events have been in preserving Indigenous cultures, the Calgary Stampede remains as one of the most visible and accessible forms of representation for those cultures. The Calgary Stampede reaches a very broad audience, from the public of the region to tourists from abroad. This creates a dynamic in which individuals who might not receive any level of exposure to Indigenous people and cultural practices can do so as part of their time at the fairgrounds and rodeo. Non-Indigenous people do have other opportunities to engage with First Nations cultures, as many groups have their own cultural festivals that are open to tourists, but the Stampede provides a venue for such exposure to a different audience than such festivals. Additionally, as the decision-makers within the Stampede organization have changed, the relationship between the Calgary Stampede and the Treaty Seven nations has remained steadfastly respectful and reciprocal. Though it is impossible to say whether the Stampede would have succeeded without Indigenous representation, the financial commitment to the ERC and First Nations participants in the event, as well as the continued use of Indigenous imagery in marketing the event, makes it clear that the Stampede Board sees these elements as crucial to the identity of the Calgary Stampede. While the

Stampede long ago abandoned Guy Weadick's stated ambition of being a historical pageant celebrating the heritage and history of the province in an accurate way, the Indigenous participants in the event have continued to represent their history and heritage in ways that they choose and control.

Chapter 3: Cowpunchers and Dressing Western: Representations of Masculinity in The Stampede

"All you do is grab a steer by the horns, flip him over… if you break his neck, you get another steer. If he breaks your neck, you're disqualified."
-Narration, *Bronco Busters*[1]

In the above quote, the narrator of the 1946 National Film Board promotional documentary *Bronco Busters*, explains steer wrestling at the Calgary Stampede. The dramatic reference to the risk-taking involved in the sporting aspects of the Stampede illustrates one of the primary ways in which the organizers and promoters of the Stampede depict masculinity. From the illustrated covers of dime westerns to the iconic silhouette of the Marlboro man, and even to more recent images such as that of John Marston and Arthur Morgan of the Red Dead videogame franchise, the iconography and mythos of the cowboy has captured the popular imagination for the better part of two centuries. Far more than a man in a Stetson hat and leather chaps with a pistol on his hip, the cowboy stands as a symbol; a symbol of an idea of rugged, individual, frontier masculinity and a symbol of nostalgia for a world in which that archetype has faded into historical memory. Along with the nostalgic appeal of First Nations imagery, the cowboy mythos, and especially the popular culture idea of the cowboy, has long been a staple of the Calgary Stampede and the ways it has been marketed. As the following chapter illustrates, while the popular image of a cowboy in mass media is that of a figure who reflects the masculinity of the frontier and the "wild" west, the Stampede's depiction of cowboys has adapted to suit changing contemporary notions of masculinity.

[1] *Bronco Busters* (Ottawa: National Film Board, 1946) *NFB.ca*, Digital Video: 8:03.

Popular discourse around cowboys, whether as real people or fictional characters, tends to position their values as being drawn directly from the figure's historical roots. This imagined cowboy, one whose ideas and values have remained static, is at odds with the consistent adaptation of the popular culture cowboy and the rodeo cowboy to suit changing cultural values and ideas of masculinity. As with the other aspects of the Stampede examined in this study, it is the malleability of these seemingly concrete archetypes and ideas that has allowed the event to retain its cultural relevance for over a century. This portion of this study uses Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity as a framework for understanding these changing concepts of masculinity, as well as Chris Blazina's *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity* to understand the social construction of Western masculinity and the ways in which archetypal masculinity is renegotiated over time.[2] This chapter also builds on the work of Mary-Ellen Kelm which examines the construction of masculine identities in the Calgary Stampede through the early 1930s.[3] Where Kelm's work is primarily focused on the development of these identities within the sports aspect of the event, this chapter examines the re-negotiation of hegemonic masculinity throughout the 20th century and how the Stampede organization adapted to those changes to maintain cultural relevance.

The Stampede's rodeo is part of the broader professional rodeo circuit, and many of the ideas of masculinity regarding cowboy athletes can be applied to those other events. However, it is worth noting here that the Stampede and comparable events represent only a portion of all rodeos. The predominantly Caucasian, cis-gender, and heterosexual (or heterosexual-passing) depictions of the rodeo and its participants, as well as the lack of women's events outside of

[2] Chris Blazina, *The Cultural Myth of Masculinity* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2003).
[3] Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Manly Contests: Rodeo Masculinities at the Calgary Stampede," *Canadian Historical Review*, 90 no. 4, (2009): 711-751.

barrel racing, means that the Calgary Stampede is not illustrative of all rodeos. Notably, there are gay rodeo circuits, Indigenous and reserve rodeo circuits, and rodeo circuits at varying levels which include multiple women's rodeo events.[4] While the Stampede has never limited entrants on the basis of gender, sexuality, or racial or ethnic background, the depictions of rodeo athletes and cowboys have been decidedly narrower. Thus, while the Stampede has long been one of the premier rodeo events at the professional level, it is not representative of all rodeos.

In addition to the negotiation of what Kelm calls "rodeo masculinities," or the specific masculine archetypes which develop in the context of the professionalization of rodeo sports, the Stampede has featured similar development and renegotiation of masculine identities outside of the rodeo arena. At present, the cowboy imagery used to sell the Calgary Stampede and its mystique is less related to the history of the province and is instead an icon of masculinity and individual success that is readily recognizable to most of the western world. However, this image combines culturally defined notions of masculinity with a family-friendly appeal, far removed from many of the popular culture cowboys of recent decades. In a sense, rather than the anti-hero outlaw cowboy or the hardscrabble ranch hand turned hero of western genre literature and film or the cartoonishly friendly and heroic musical cowboys of the mid-20th century, the rodeo cowboy stands as a sports icon who embodies a clean-cut and family-friendly image as well as a high level of physical toughness. In meeting the expectations of performing masculinity both in the rodeo arena, competing through pain and injury, and in public by presenting himself as a role model, the rodeo cowboy combines two disparate archetypes of masculinity.

[4] Notable examples of these varying rodeo categories include the Canadian Rockies Gay Rodeo Association (CRGRA) which hosts several gay rodeos including on the Stampede grounds, the Gateway to the North Pro Rodeo which is Canada's only Indigenous professional rodeo, and the Women's Professional Rodeo Association which sanctions various roping events which are notably absent from the Stampede.

To deconstruct the representations of masculinity within the Stampede, it is important to first understand that masculinity itself is culturally determined and mutable. Understandings of gender, including what traits and roles fit within a defined gender, are not static or universal, even as they appear to be to most observers inside a given culture. As Judith Butler outlines, cultural understandings of gender are based on the actions and behaviours expected of individuals. As a rule, these expectations change based on class, race, ethnicity, and, more broadly, the needs of a society.[5] This malleability of gender and gender norms can explain why the cowboy of the pre-industrial west is viewed as an ideal masculine figure, not for the historical reality of the cowboy as an individual, but for the cowboy as a template upon which the ideal masculinity of a given time can be projected. Far from a static masculine ideal, the cowboy in the popular imagination is adapted to suit contemporary values.

While the popular imagination in North America tends to picture the archetypal cowboy as a John Wayne or Clint Eastwood type or even the more family-oriented Gene Autry or Roy Rogers character type, a discussion on the notions of masculinity surrounding rodeo cowboys merits some examination of the historical cowboy upon which the cowboy mythos is constructed. As with other elements of the Stampede, the notions of masculinity and the cowboys which embody them in the rodeo and marketing materials have adapted to changing popular ideas as well as the needs of the event. However, the foundation upon which the popular idea of the cowboy is built has historical roots. As with rodeo sports, the cowboy mythos is rooted in practical ranching skills, techniques, and apparel. As Mary-Ellen Kelm and others have

[5] Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

explained, the various elements of the archetypal cowboy, from his boots and hat to his skill with horses and cattle is based on the practical skills necessary for cattle ranching and cattle driving.[6]

The cowboy archetype has also been shaped by the need for civilian enforcement of property laws in the American west, as examined by scholars such as Ray August, who argues that the historical reality of such law enforcement has shaped the cowboy myths which make up the popular culture figures.[7] The cowpuncher upholding the law is common throughout western genre fiction, whether as a deputized lawman in times of need, a vigilante, or any number of other hero roles that populate the genre. The anti-hero cowboy figure, one who eschews heroic morality, as taken to an extreme by Clint Eastwood in *A Fistful of Dollars*, is a common figure in western fiction as well and is an embodiment of another type of culturally relevant masculinity.[8] However, by the time the anti-hero reached widespread popularity in North America, the marketing team of the Stampede had cemented the event's image as (mostly) wholesome and family-friendly. Though the masculinity represented in the Stampede has largely followed cultural shifts, this era is one of several instances where the desire to keep the brand for the event consistent trumped the following of trends. The constant reconfiguration of masculinity within the hegemonic North American culture has provided ample room for renewed interpretations of masculinity, and the organizers of the Stampede, as well as the sponsors of the event, have explored a wide breadth of masculine ideals. While the very notion of masculinity is ever-changing, perhaps no single masculine archetype and icon is more consistent and more emblematic of both the Stampede and North American masculinity than the cowboy.

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[6] Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 25.
[7] Ray August, "Cowboys v. Rancheros: The Origins of Western American Livestock Law," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 96 no.4 (1993): 457-490.
[8] William McClain, "Western, Go Home! Sergio Leone and the 'Death of the Western' in American Film Criticism," *Journal of Film and Video*, 62 no.1 (2010): 52-66.

The image and the idea of the cowboy as we know it today has origins which precede ranching in the southwestern United States. While the popular culture version of the cowboy, in film, novel, and video games has been based primarily on frontier narratives and the idea of the "wild" west, the American cowboy can be traced back to the Mexican *vaquero*, a tradition which can be traced back further still to the Spanish equestrian tradition. The *vaquero* formed the foundation for two distinct cowboy traditions within North America: the California/Californio tradition, which is more directly linked to the Mexican and Spanish cowboy traditions, and the Texas/Tejano tradition, which is an amalgamation of the *vaquero* and Eastern United States and Great Britain cattle farming traditions.[9] For the purposes of this study, the differences between these traditions are not especially important, as film and other popular culture cowboys are often a fictionalized version of certain elements of both traditions. A prominent example of this is the widespread use of the term "buckaroo" in fictional depictions of cowboys, as the term, believed to be an anglicization of "*vaquero,*" was predominantly used by California cowboys. In the case of the rodeo cowboy, influences from both traditions, and by extension from *vaqueros*, are visible in the standard attire and in the case of Canadian rodeos, much of the jargon can also be traced back to these traditions.[10]

The historical cowboy and the *vaquero* from which many of the practical aspects of his attire were borrowed play a clear, if indirect, role in creating the popular image of the cowboy. More directly relevant, at least in the anglosphere, is the cowboy of popular fiction. Historical fiction featuring cowboy heroes dominated North American mass media for much of the latter half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. The frontier and its conflicts between east and

[9] Jacquelin M. Moore, *Cow Boys and Cattle Men: Class and Masculinities on the Texas Frontier, 1865-1900* (New York: New York University Press, 2009): 23.
[10] Ibid. 41.

west, settlement and nature, and civilization and savagery are common themes in this genre, and decades before the Calgary Stampede's formation, dime novels, serials, and pulp fiction had established heroes who personified these themes. Whether fictional creations or fictionalized portrayals of real cowboys, these heroes served as a stand-in for the vanishing frontier. As Christine Bold explains, James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* protagonist Natty Bumppo created an archetype for pulp fiction cowboys. Bumppo and other early pulp fiction cowboys were the protagonists in narratives that imagined lonesome cowboy figures struggling to come to terms with the changes in the world around them. Bold further explains that, building upon the foundation laid by these early pulps, later western genre fiction would follow the same sorts of conflicts, though with differing resolutions, hopeful or tragic, varying by author.[11] The form of these narratives meant that the protagonist could be a sort of stand-in for contemporary anxieties about the industrial world and the pressures of society. Their popularity, by extension, can be understood as a product of the relatability of the protagonists and their struggles. In much the same way that Guy Weadick aimed to capitalize on the nostalgia and yearning for the settlement-era west, these western genre fictions sold readers romantic ideas of the past and created a masculine archetype in the process. And so, by the time Guy Weadick sought to bring his Stampede format to Calgary in 1912, the general populace was accustomed to fictionalized ideas of the cowboy and attuned to the American masculine ideal that he embodied. Additionally, Weadick had the vaudeville Wild West shows against which he could contrast the "cowboy sports" and to which he could look for inspiration for the historical pageant aspects of the Stampede.

[11] Christine Bold, "How the Western Ends: Fenimore Cooper to Frederic Remington," *Western American Literature*, 17 no.2 (1982): 117-135.

Beginning in earnest in the early 1870s, another form of entertainment, the Wild West show, capitalized on the popular fascination with the heroes, real and imagined, of the frontier. As the public taste for these shows increased, so too did their scope, with the most successful eventually becoming open-air displays of trick roping, steer wrestling, and various other stunts, along with narratives that depicted Indigenous peoples as either obstacles to the civilizing and settlement of the west or as victims of settler colonialism.[12] These shows have roots in various forms of travelling shows, including travelling exhibits of Indigenous people, such as artist George Catlin's "Indian Gallery."[13] The creator of what is sometimes considered the first Wild West show, Catlin had taken the traditional narrative of civilization vs. savagery so common in pulp fiction, travelogues, and other settlement narratives at the time and repositioned the Indigenous peoples as tragic victims. However, most Wild West shows, and especially the most influential examples, took familiar narrative tropes from western fiction and depicted them on stage and in open-air arenas. Two of these Wild West shows had a direct and indelible influence on Guy Weadick's Stampede, due in part to Weadick's time touring with each.

In 1883, three years prior to the first annual Calgary Industrial Exhibition, William "Buffalo Bill" Cody founded *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, a large touring Wild West show. Cody's show included many prominent figures from well-known families and groups, as well as historic figures such as Sitting Bull (Tatanka Iyotake) and figures who would become a part of American folklore due to their fame growing along with that of the show.[14] The show included

[12] Alison Fields, "Circuits of Spectacle: The Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Real Wild West," *American Indian Quarterly*, 36 no.4 (2012): 445-446.
[13] Stephanie Pratt, "Objects, Performance and Ethnographic Spectacle: George Catlin in Europe," *Interventions*, 15 no.2 (2013): 272-285.
[14] Other notable figures who participated in Cody's show include Tom Mix, Annie Oakley, Martha "Calamity Jane" Canary, and Will Rogers.

reenactments of stagecoach robberies, Indigenous attacks on settlers, and other dramatized aspects of the so-called Wild West that would remain prominent in western genre fiction well into the 20th century. Though William Cody's format would become the de facto template for subsequent Wild West shows, various touring companies differed in key aspects of their programming and execution. The most notable of these shows was the *Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Real Wild West* show. This show followed the popular narratives of settlement and the conquest of civilization over savagery visible in popular culture at the time, much like the Buffalo Bill show. As other Wild West shows had done in the past, the 101 Ranch show included an Indian Village as well as events similar to what could be seen in rodeos, though often with additional showmanship, such as Bill Pickett's unique steer wrestling tactic, which involved biting the lip of the animal to bring it to the ground.[15]

Before coming to Canada to pitch the Stampede format, Guy Weadick got his start as a vaudeville and Wild West show performer, having worked for both the *Wild Bill* and *101 Ranch* Wild West shows, even meeting his wife Florence LaDue, a fellow trick roper, on the circuit. Weadick was apparently drawn to the cowboy lifestyle, at least in part, by Buffalo Bill's famous show. After visiting Calgary for the Dominion Exhibition with the *101 Ranch* company in 1908, he developed a plan for what would become the Calgary Stampede.[16] His fascination with popular culture depictions of cowboys and his time on the vaudeville circuit undoubtedly influenced Weadick's vision for the Stampede.

The Wild West shows would gain a foothold in the Canadian cultural milieu at the time, owing, at least in part, to the cross-border cultural exchange which had popularized Western

[15] Fields, "Circuits of Spectacle," 444.
[16] "Guy Weadick: Dean of Rodeo Producers Part 2," *Canadian Cattlemen*, (September 1946): 73, 112-113.

genre pulp novels and other mass-market entertainment north of the 49th parallel. While the popular mythologies of the Canadian and American west are at odds with each other, numerous scholars have argued that the experiences and cultures on both sides of the border are more similar than is popularly believed.[17] The closing of the frontier led to the popularization of nostalgic fiction, as well as scholarship based upon Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. As with the settlement narratives before it, Turner's thesis and the more widespread nostalgia for the open frontier extended to Canada as well. Though Turner's theory would become foundational for following generations of historians in their conceptualization of the American west, the issues raised by the closure of the frontier were more directly impactful to society outside of the academy. Theodore Roosevelt famously wrote and spoke about the negative impacts of an industrial and urban lifestyle, urging individuals to live a "strenuous life" in his speech of the same name to counter these effects. This speech, along with offering a remedy to this concern, mirrored the Turnerian idea that struggle and hardship had created a distinctive American character.[18]

While the primary representations of masculinity were continuously reconfigured throughout the first century of the Calgary Stampede, examining masculinity as represented in the cowboy mythos offers a limited and somewhat narrow explanation of the subject. While western genre fiction and the popular fascination with the cowboy were (and arguably remain) the most prominent and obvious construction of masculinity, these were not the only ideas of masculinity. Some of these ideas took on a rigidly defined form, such as the popular figure of

[17] Brian W. Dippie, "One West, One Myth: Transborder Continuity in Western Art," *The American Review of Canadian Studies*, 33 no.4 (2003): 509-541.
[18] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," in *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: The Century Co., 1900): 1-22.

Tarzan. Other ideas of masculinity also emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The idea of seeking perfection in the human form, seen as a masculine endeavour akin to mastering man's control over nature, also grew in popularity through this period. As John Kasson explains in his discussion of Prussian bodybuilder Eugen Sandow, this pursuit of perfection took a very corporeal and human form as Sandow wowed audiences across Europe and North America with both his physique and his physical prowess. While Sandow was a standout example, the so-called "perfect man" linked health, extreme physique, and, importantly, whiteness, to masculinity. [19] This pursuit of perfection also included various attempts to assert dominion over nature, not only through the taming of nature and animals but also through the planning and engineering of large structures and the elimination of many of the risks involved in such feats. While contact sports and rodeo maintain elements of risk to the life and limb of their competitors, these risks are limited by rules, safety guidelines, and, in some cases, protective equipment. Engaging in risk-taking behaviour with reasonable precautions falls into the same ideological category of masculinity as those who set out to settle the North American west, and is an evolution or extension of those efforts, though one done in an attempt to re-assert masculinity rather than to colonize a continent.

By the turn of the century, the rapid urbanization of the western world and the increasing industrialization of the North American west had inspired numerous nostalgic works of fiction which mourned the bygone era of rugged settlers facing off against nature. Workers were increasingly alienated from the products of their labour, leading to a popular fascination with the pre-industrial era as well as with people and ideas connected to that past. This indulgence in nostalgia is also rooted in growing antimodernist sentiment in the late 1800s, which T.J. Jackson

[19] Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan and the Perfect Man*.

Lears roots in the waning legitimacy of public authority.[20] As these social and cultural changes intensified, southern Alberta was facing a unique transformation of its own, as the federal government had offered up much of the open prairie for sale as farmland and was actively encouraging the immigration of white, English-speaking families from the United States.[21] This meant that the open-range ranching, which had dominated the region for a short time and which had helped create its identity, was rapidly being surpassed by more industrialized forms of agribusiness. It was in this context that the idea of the Calgary Stampede began.

Before securing any funding for the inaugural Stampede, Guy Weadick had begun his work of setting the event and the rodeo competitors in it, apart from the Wild West Shows and the silent western genre films of the era. In his sales pitch to his eventual investors, Weadick drew a sharp distinction between the carefully planned stunts and historical drama of the Wild West show and the real risk and historical authenticity of his proposed Stampede. This messaging would continue after successfully securing financial backing, as promotional materials recruiting competitors emphasized real competition and fair chances for competitors, and the poster and souvenir program both emphasized the ties between the event and the province's pre-settlement past. For example, the promotional poster for the 1912 Stampede features a reproduction of the painting "A Serious Predicament" by famed American artist C.M. Russell, and bears the text "The Last Great West" as well as "Greatest Frontier Days Celebration Ever Attempted."[22] The painting is a well-known work by an artist famous for his depictions of the American west, and of cowboys in his artwork, and this painting is one of many that depicts

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[20] T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture: 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 3-7.
[21] Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 40-41.
[22] "1912 Poster," *Calgary Stampede* Heritage – Collections, https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/collections/1912

an action-packed scene of cowboys at work on the range. (Figure 9) From a marketing and promotions standpoint then, the cowboy mythos and the popular culture depiction of the cowboy as the last remnant of a now-closed frontier has been an important part of selling the event to the public since its inception.

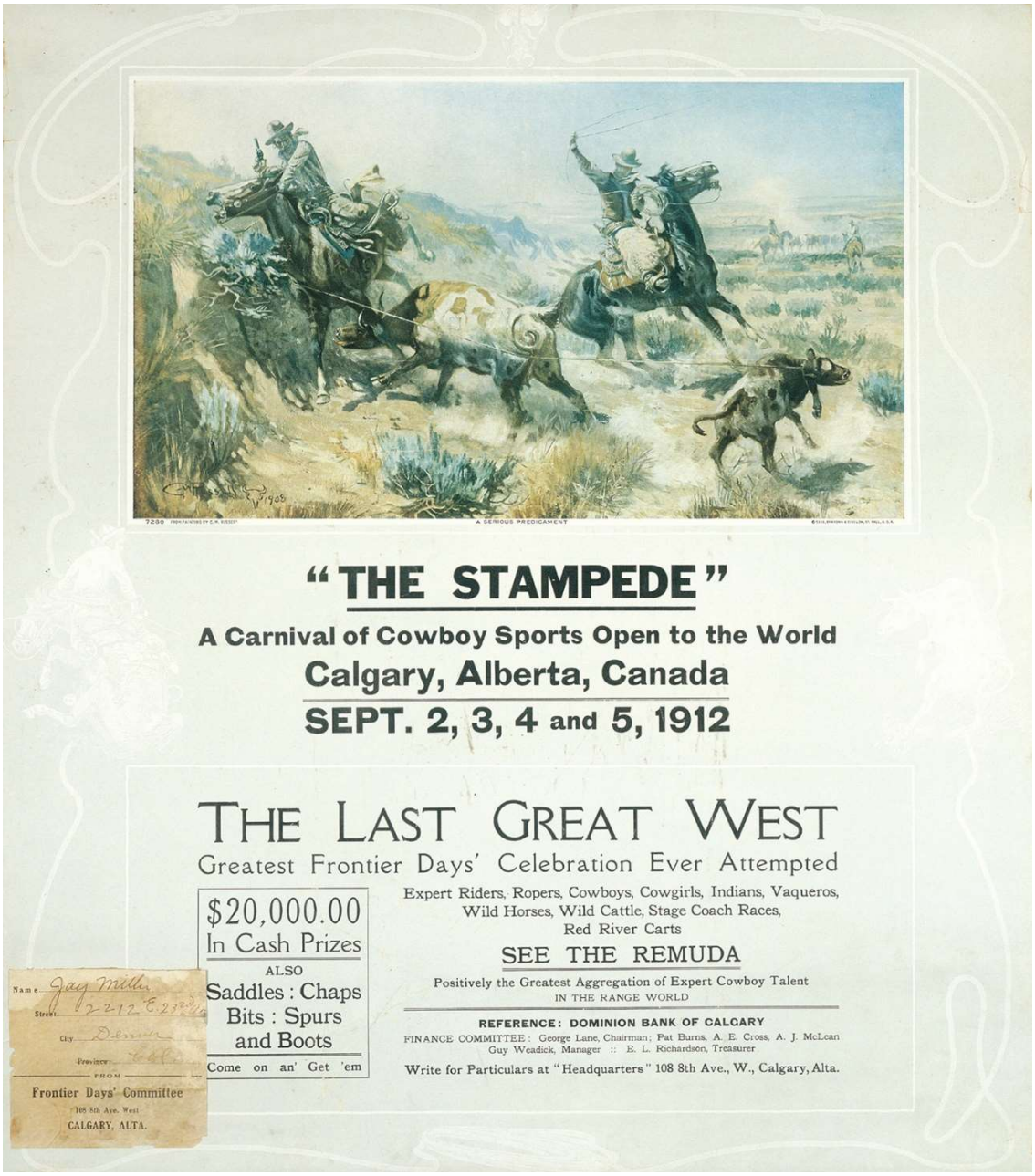

Figure 9: 1912 Stampede Poster, Courtesy of the Calgary Stampede[23]

At the earliest stages of the Calgary Stampede's marketing, Guy Weadick positioned it as a "rodeo for all," with the implication being that the rodeo competitions would not be off-limits to anybody who wanted to test their mettle. In practice, this meant that rodeo competitors would

[23] *The Stampede 1912*, Poster, Calgary Stampede: Heritage: Posters https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/collections/

not be prevented from participating in the contests based on their race or ethnicity, or as Weadick explained, "we assure everyone, no matter where they come from what their nationallity (sic) is, nor what their color may be a square deal."[24] However, women were neither expected nor allowed to compete alongside the men. The 1912 Stampede did allow women to take part in the rodeo, though the events were gender segregated, like many sports at the time and into the present. In the inaugural Stampede, this meant that in some events, there were as few as three competitors in the women's segment.[25] In his letter to famous trick roper and eventual competitor Fannie Sperry, Guy Weadick explained that the wild horse race would be open to cowboys only as "it is rough enough for the men let alone ladies."[26] The presumption that women could not compete in the event due to its physical challenges speaks to the assumptions and ideas of masculinity at the time. One could reasonably assume that Miss Sperry was, as a professional trick roper and rider, aware of her abilities and her limitations and that by asking to enter the contest, she believed she at least had some chance of being competitive in the event. However, in this and some of the other events, the assumption from organizers seemed to be that even a highly skilled woman would not have the strength to compete, even as any man who could pay the entry fee was able to compete, regardless of skill. The underlying assumption in this instance seems to have been that men willing to partake in the risks of the wild horse race would also have the physical prowess to match their courage, a common idea in stereotypical masculinity which often conflates risk-taking with physical ability and toughness.

While the Stampede's rodeo events have never excluded competitors based on their ethnicity, from 1912's Saddle Bronc champion Tom Three Persons onward, and the earliest

[24] Guy Weadick. Letter to Fannie Sperry, 11 July 1912, GWF, M1287/1, GMA. 3.
[25] "1912 Competitors," CESF, M2160/17A, GMA.
[26] Weadick. Letter to Fannie Sperry, 2.

iterations of the event allowed women to compete as well, the images of cowpunchers used in promoting the event have been unwaveringly white and male. Even as the depictions of cowboys have changed from the period-appropriate attire of the rider on the 1912 program to more Americanized apparel, and now to the present professional rodeo attire emblazoned with sponsor logos, the cowboys chosen to represent the event have remained steadfastly white. There has been an acknowledgement of non-white cowboys, as Tom Three Persons' story has become part of Stampede lore, and at least one promotional film makes mention of the Mexican *vaqueros* who would make the journey to Calgary "every couple of years" to remind the city where rodeo and cowboys originated.[27] However, promotional posters and brochures do not prominently feature non-white cowboys, whatever the reality of the event itself.

While the construction of the cowboy as the masculine archetype for the rodeo remains confined to a narrow set of parameters, primarily white or white-passing men, the lived experiences of some rodeo competitors who fall outside of those parameters provide a different lens through which to view cowboy masculinity. The first-ever Saddle Bronc champion at the Calgary Stampede, Tom Three Persons, was not only the first champion in his chosen event but was also the only Canadian winner at the inaugural Stampede. As a member of the Kainai nation, he was the first Indigenous man to win a championship at the event as well. Tom Three Persons was able to transcend his status as an Indigenous man in the eyes of his peers as a result of his athletic abilities, garnering respect and renown that was often out of reach for most First Nations people at the time.[28] In addition to the respect of his peers, the combined income from his rodeo wins and his successful ranching operation on the Kainai reserve meant Three Persons' long-

[27] *Calgary Stampede*, dir. Arthur Chetwynd, (Toronto: Chetwynd Films, 1957), 16mm film, James Kerr Fonds, GMA.
[28] Kossuth, "Busting Broncos and Breaking New Ground," 53.

term legacy was not only his important connection to the 1912 Stampede but also his estate and his influence within his community.

So, while the historical cowboy, even in Canada, was not exclusively white, the popular imagination, thanks to dime novel protagonists, western films, and comic books, positioned the archetypal cowboy as a rugged, often hypermasculine, white man. The popular depiction of the cowboy as a white man seems to inform the Stampede's imagery as well, likely to put the promotion of the event in line with settler expectations. As Kossuth alludes to with Tom Three Persons, while rodeo athletes were not exclusively white, the masculinity of rodeo athletes conferred some of the status of whiteness upon those athletes.[29] Put simply, among their rodeo competitor peers, non-white athletes were able to attain levels of social status that were otherwise reserved for white men. The respect and status afforded to rodeo champions, one which ignored typical racial boundaries, mirrors the settler fascination with Indigenous cultures discussed in the second chapter of this study, in which the ability of the Indigenous individuals to fill a role superseded the racial stratification of settler colonial society. However, in each case the respect and admiration shown to the non-white participants was contingent upon performing (whether Indigeneity or cowboy masculinity) within the expected parameters of the settler imagination. Additionally, the status achieved by such performance allowed Indigenous people to transcend these mutable boundaries but did not change the archetypal cowboy image. While exceptions do exist both within Calgary Stampede images and within the sphere of popular culture more broadly, the assumed default is a grizzled Caucasian man with only his apparel adapting to temporal and regional changes. Here the Stampede mostly aligns with the popular image, with the dominant cowboy imagery of the event depicting white rodeo athletes.

[29] Kossuth, "Busting Broncos and Breaking New Ground."

Despite their prominence, the historical cowboy, and later the rodeo cowboy, are not the only depictions of masculinity within the Calgary Stampede and its promotional materials but are the most obvious as they tend to fall outside of contemporary hegemonic masculinity. As Mary-Ellen Kelm outlines, by the end of the 1930s, the rodeo cowboy had emerged as a separate and distinct masculine archetype within the Calgary Stampede and within rodeo more broadly. Due to both the professionalization of the rodeo and the establishment of various traditions and norms within the sport, codified sets of behaviours began to take shape. Kelm uses the contrasting examples of the carousing, whiskey-fueled brothel and pool-hall patron that many cowboys embodied and the more strait-laced consummate professional that the early stars of rodeo strove to exemplify. Where the early rodeo cowboys had earned reputations as troublemakers and hard drinkers, Kelm uses the examples of Pete Knight and Herman Linder, who each made conscious efforts to distance themselves from those stereotypes by not drinking or smoking and by travelling with his wife, respectively.[30] One of the notions of masculinity that was taking shape in this era was the ruggedly masculine man who was also able to be part of polite society, and the growing respectability of sport was part of this trend. Knight and Linder's efforts, along with those by Stampede management, were important to bringing that respectability to rodeo as well. However, respectability and the professionalization of the sport did not isolate the rodeo entirely from broader trends in hegemonic masculinity.

A number of scholars have written about the ways in which masculinity, specifically and gender roles more broadly, were renegotiated in the postwar era. The war effort, including the inclusion of women in traditionally male workspaces and the valorization of men who joined the fight, contrasted with the association of those who did not with cowardice, resulted in a

[30] Kelm, "Manly Contests," 736.

substantial shift in ideas of masculinity.[31] Following the war, Canadian society saw a push for a return to pre-war normalcy, which included efforts to re-assert the gendered spaces of the public sphere.[32] In addition to this push for normalcy, some scholars have also argued that in this era, the construction of risk-taking as a masculine endeavour became a codified part of the hegemonic masculine identity.[33] As a result, by the middle of the century, depictions of rodeo cowboys had shifted away from the nostalgia present in the earlier marketing materials for the Stampede. Instead, depictions began to combine the idea that cowboys were holdovers from a vanishing way of life: that of the ranch hand on the open range, with newer versions of the cowboy borrowed from popular western fiction of the era. In promotional materials, the visual depictions did not change substantially from the early 1930s. From 1932 through 1968, the posters featured photographs of various scenes around the Calgary Stampede, with the most common motifs being the chuckwagon races or the rough stock or bucking horse events. For over three decades, with the exception of some depictions of Indigenous men as outlined in the second chapter of this study, the marketing of the event through its posters focused primarily on rodeo sports, with dramatic images highlighting the action of the most popular events. As the Stampede became further entrenched as a Calgary tradition, the depictions of masculinity within the event settled into a well-defined niche. However, the language used to present the rodeo did shift significantly over the same period. Perhaps the most obvious change was from one which

[31] Michael Brendan Baker, "Who's on the Home Front? Canadian Masculinity in the NFB's Second World War Series 'Canada Carries On'" in *Making it Like a Man: Canadian Masculinities in Practice* ed. Christine Ramsay (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2018).
[32] Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*, 29-30.
[33] Dummitt discusses this in depth, though there remains scholarly debate in various fields whether such behaviors are socially or biologically determined, or some combination of them. See: Genevieve Creighton & John L Oliffe, "Theorising masculinities and men's health: A brief history with a view to practice," *Health Sociology Review* 19, no.4 (2010): 409-418

emphasized the skill and prowess of the rodeo athlete, as well as the wildness of the non-human competitors, to one which emphasized the risk the rider was knowingly taking on.

Extensive training and numerous safety precautions, as well as onsite physicians, significantly limit the risks taken on by competitors. However, as Christopher Dummitt explains, certain postwar ideas of masculinity relied heavily on risk-taking as an indicator of manhood.[34] This same type of risk-taking is emphasized in postwar promotional efforts by the Stampede organization. The association of masculinity and physical strength and toughness is inherent in rodeo in general and remains a key part of the sport's culture into the present. Perhaps the most static aspect of masculinity in both the Calgary Stampede and in rodeo is this notion of toughness. In contact sports, this takes various forms, whether through praising those who compete through injuries or mocking those who do not; among rodeo athletes, this often takes the form of the phrase "cowboy up," a phrase which inextricably links competing through injuries and other risk-taking behaviours with the identity of the cowboy in question. Researchers have found that similar attitudes often dissuade competitors from the use of safety equipment beyond what is mandated.[35] The notion of rodeo cowboys as the embodiment of physical toughness and, by association, masculinity does have a firm footing in the reality of the profession. Though many of the risks have been engineered out of professional rodeo through safety equipment and various other countermeasures, it is a sport that involves a high level of physicality and includes high rates of injury as well.[36]

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[34] Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*.
[35] C.R. Reisenauer and J.W. Stoneback, "Rodeo Injuries: The Role of Safety Equipment," *Muscles Tendons and Ligaments Journal*, 10 no.2 (2020): 192-200.
[36] M.A. Brandenburg, D.J. Butterwick, L.A. Heimstra, R. Nebergall and J. Laird, "A Comparison of Injury Rates in Organized Sports, with Special Emphasis on American Bull Riding," *International SportsMed Journal*, 8 no.2 (2007): 78-86.

The rapid societal changes of the post-war era created some uncertainty, which in turn seeped into notions of masculinity throughout the western world. The post-war era saw new gender roles developing as increasing numbers of women entered the workforce or remained in the workforce following the war effort. Simultaneously, social conservative political and community voices called for a renewed emphasis on heteronormativity and a return to pre-War normalcy.[37] As Dummitt and others have explained, the project of modernity became, in many ways, a project of man asserting dominance over nature, an aim that would remain constant within the sport of rodeo even as masculinity was rapidly reconfigured in the postwar era. These images would remain some of the most visible aspects of the Stampede brand through the late 1960s.

For the majority of the Stampedes from 1950 up to the present, marketing imagery focused on rodeo athletes, with dramatic images of cowboys on bucking broncos or the chuckwagon races being run, with the occasional change to suit the theme of that year's event.[38] While these depictions are not without their differences, the ideas of masculinity which underpin them remain largely the same across several decades. In the rodeo cowboy, we see a figure outside of the confines of the present cultural moment who has little need to change with the times. While popular film depictions of cowboys changed quite rapidly over the first half of the century and would continue to do so following World War 2, the rodeo cowboy of the Calgary Stampede and the masculinity he represented were not so quick to adapt.

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[37] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
[38] For more on these themed promotional materials, see the chapter of this study examining marketing of the Stampede.

Under the leadership of Guy Weadick and Ernie Richardson, the Stampede's original emphasis on historical pageantry remained a central focus of marketing and planning the event. This is seen in the above emphasis on cowboys and authenticity in the Stampede, as well as in the use of local historical figures. However, the event was not without its appeals to more contemporary sensibilities. A 1927 promotional pamphlet, for example, promises "AN HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE!!!" calling the event "Calgary's annual, thrilling panorama of a stage and day in the history of our country that is fast disappearing forever" and offering sights of real cowboys "who once ruled the whole West as its own land." Here, the event offers both interaction with real cowboys and a glimpse at the pre-settlement history of the region, following the nostalgic trend set by Guy Weadick's framing of the first Stampede. In positioning the history of the region alongside present examples of "THE COWBOY WHO VITALIZED THE WEST," this and other promotional materials from the early Stampedes implied a direct connection to the masculinity that many feared would fade following the settlement of the west, the same masculinity which helped popularize western genre fiction in the preceding decades.[39]

Guy Weadick's use of nostalgia overlapped significantly with the cowboy masculinity discussed above, as rodeo cowboy imagery was influenced by both nostalgic fiction and practicality. However, it also served as a connection between the roots of industry in the region and the present. By celebrating the accomplishments of those who had settled the prairies, Weadick was, in turn, celebrating the economic development and expansion of Calgary as an urban center. This link between the region's industrial development and the history presented by the Stampede created continuity between the past and present. By appealing to both the nostalgia and heritage of the settler population and shifting contemporary values, the Stampede has

[39] *Promotional Pamphlet,* 1927, CESF, M2160/30, GMA.

ensured its continued relevance. Though North American consumer culture was in its infancy in the early years of the Stampede, it was still present in promotional materials for the event.

An oft-overlooked aspect of early-to-mid-century notions of masculinity is the melding of the developing consumer culture with ideas of masculinity. Stuart Ewen explains the ways in which being a productive and contributing citizen became synonymous with being an active consumer in the United States. Ewen uses Marx's idea of capitalism being reliant on the reproduction of the means of production to explain this drive for constant consumption in an era of seemingly endless economic expansion.[40] While his work focuses on the cultural shift in the United States, many of the same explanations can be applied to Canada throughout the first half of the 20th century. In the case of the Calgary Stampede, this meant that the timeless masculine icon of the cowboy (and later the rodeo cowboy specifically) often appeared alongside advertisements which implied or even explicitly stated a causal link between the purchasing of consumer goods and one's status as a man in society. One blatant example of this is an advertisement for Campbell's Toggery in the 1912 souvenir program, which states that "Self confidence and poise go with good clothes" and that "correct attire […] brings forth a man's best qualities."[41] Later examples would be less explicit in their messaging but with the same intended effect.

These advertisements for clothing alongside the Stampede, along with being savvy branding on the part of local businesses, tie into the continued efforts to have civic boosterism aid in the success of the Stampede. As discussed in the first chapter of this study, at various points throughout the event's history, city officials and the Stampede organization have

[40] Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness.*
[41] Advertisement in *The Stampede at Calgary Alberta 1912*, Program, GWF, M1287/F1, GMA, 9.

encouraged Calgarians to "dress western" in what has become one of the most visible indicators of Stampede season. However, while the calls for cowboy costumes are intended to create an exciting atmosphere around the city, they cannot be separated from the implicit masculinity of the cowboy aesthetic. What began with the 1923 Stampede as a contest for best-dressed cowboys and cowgirls in the daily street displays would eventually expand to contests for attendees as well as general requests for this type of participation in the event.[42] Within a consumer culture that values conspicuous consumption as a sign of success and (when the consumer is male) masculinity, the elaborate outfit expected of Stampede attendees is doubly masculine as expensive consumer goods which mirror the cowboy aesthetic. The unofficial cowboy uniform of the Stampede; cowboy boots ($200+), Wrangler brand jeans ($50-100), and a felt cowboy hat ($40-800), represents a significant financial investment.[43] While these items would represent an investment in workwear for those who do ranching and farming work, for most visitors to the Calgary Stampede, they serve as a festive costume.

It is important to differentiate between the images used to market the Stampede through the posters and souvenir programs and the images of masculinity depicted in advertisements within those promotional materials. While the advertisements themselves would have obtained editorial approval from those finalizing the souvenir programs, their content was likely chosen by the marketing professionals and approved by the company being promoted, as is common in media advertising. While the ads are not always suited to the themes and ideals projected by the Stampede, they tend to fit into one of two broad categories: advertising typical of the era or advertising looking to align the brand's image with the Stampede. In many cases, the latter is

[42] "Dress Western Contest First Day of Stampede," *The Calgary Herald*, 7 July 1977, 16a.
[43] Present pricing according to Lammles, the official western wear supplier of the Calgary Stampede. https://lammles.com Accessed 19 July 2024.

seen with companies who are partnered with the Stampede or whose products are in some way related to the theme of the event, such as saddles, leatherworks, or livestock products. However, the other category of advertisements highlights the difference between contemporary advertising trends, and those specific to the Stampede, and for the purposes of this section of the study, of the different representations of masculinity within each.

Advertisements targeted toward men and co-opting cowboy jargon and slang have been a part of the media surrounding the Stampede since the event began. One menswear store ran ads in local newspapers in 1919, which listed "Everything a Cowboy Needs" from Stetson hats to "cowboy silk handkerchiefs" alongside men's formalwear.[44] The same ad copied the "Zip! Bing!! Zowie!!!" slogan from that year's Stampede advertisements and was featured alongside various other ads which attempted to align local businesses with the Victory Stampede in the minds of consumers. This early example indicates a trend that continues into the present in which advertisers use the combination of the positive image of the Stampede and the cowboy and western imagery to appeal to readers. In some cases, there is a direct challenge or appeal to the masculinity of the consumer, as in the (perhaps tongue-in-cheek) ads for Bull's-Eye brand barbecue sauces seen in the mid-1990s, which use slogans such as "Give yer sissy tastebuds a whuppin'" though in most instances the ads simply conflate consumption and cowboy aesthetics with masculinity.[45]

Beginning in the postwar era there is also a significant proportion of advertisements within the Stampede souvenir programs that, while some of their copy may refer to the Stampede, otherwise fall within contemporary advertising trends. While the masculinity of

[44] Advertisement, *Calgary Eye Opener*, 23 August 1919, 4.
[45] Advertisement, *Calgary Stampede Souvenir Program*, 1997, CESF, M2160/29-34, GMA, 12.

cowboys remained largely unchanged throughout this era, rapidly changing cultural norms moulded other representations of masculinity within the Stampede. Promotional materials for the Stampede in this era juxtapose the cowboy and his seemingly timeless masculinity with the postwar ideas of masculinity more focused on consumption.

In the 1950 Souvenir Program, a full-page ad for an automobile featuring an illustration of two well-dressed men and a woman in the car bears the tagline "We came to the Calgary Stampede in our new Nash Canadian Statesman" and is directly opposite the rules for the Saddle Bronc competition and a photo of a cowboy riding a bucking horse.[46] These images show perhaps the most obvious appeal of the cowboy archetype: the sharp contrast between past and present, and the rugged masculinity therein. However, this and other advertisements illustrate a new form of masculinity that arose in the decades following the Industrial Revolution, one in which a man came to be measured not solely by his physical prowess but also by his ability to provide consumer goods to his family.[47]

This trend coincides with a continued broadening of the Stampede's appeal. While advertisements for farm equipment or animal husbandry supplies were still commonplace in Stampede programs and prize lists throughout the 1950s, advertisements for consumer goods became increasingly common throughout the decade. This trend shows that the potential advertisers saw a changing demographic attending the Stampede, one which consisted of potential consumers for a wider range of products than farming and ranching equipment.

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[46] Advertisement in *The Stampede at Calgary Alberta 1912*, 28.

[47] This trend continues into the present, one prominent example can be seen with GMC being a title sponsor of the chuckwagon races in recent years, and one entrance to the park housing a large GMC display, including pickup trucks and GMC branded prizes for those willing to brave an often hour-long line to play a GMC branded game. Thereby linking the masculinity of the Stampede cowboy with the pickup truck manufacturer and by extension with ownership of a GMC vehicle.

However, advertisements for industry-specific products would continue to be part of the official programs and prize lists, and agriculture publications, such as *The Western Farm Leader* and *The Farm and Ranch Review*, would continue to print both advertisements for and recaps of the Stampede, indicating continued popularity among their readers.[48] The choice to advertise in these publications also indicates a continued attempt to appeal to farmers and ranchers in the province, as does the continuation of the livestock auctions and shows.

Even as the cultural changes of the postwar era and the beginnings of Alberta's transformation to a petroleum economy were reshaping ideas of masculinity, the roots of the Stampede in agriculture remained intact. This continuity, along with what Donald Wetherell explains as the invented traditions of the Calgary Stampede, offers some explanation for the continuity in depictions of masculinity in promotional materials for the event.[49] Save for the advertisements, which used contemporary design, the imagery in the Stampede posters and souvenir programs features remarkably similar depictions of rodeo competitors throughout most of the event's history. However, from the early years of the Stampede and into the present, the organizers have attempted to situate the Stampede as both historically rooted and as modern entertainment.

One of the ways in which the organizers of the event have successfully integrated both the cowboy mythos and contemporary masculinities in the Stampede has been with the use of celebrity guests and entertainers. Due to the continued popularity of western genre fiction and country-western music over the history of the Stampede, the organizers of the event have had a near-constant stream of celebrities who fit the ideas, brand, and aesthetic of the Stampede while

[48] *The Western Farm Leader* was the news publication of the United Farmers of Alberta, and *The Farm and Ranch Review* was a monthly trade publication for agriculture in the province.
[49] Wetherell. "Making Traditions."

also being popular with contemporary audiences. As part of the Stampede organization's ongoing efforts to remain culturally relevant, popular entertainers, musicians, and various other celebrities have been part of the attraction of the event nearly every year. As a result, the representations of masculinity outside of the rodeo and the primary promotional imagery do change with changing cultural norms, though still with an eye toward remaining family-friendly. Some of these VIPs included the most popular film and television cowboys of their respective eras, each representing their own brand of cowboy masculinity, often one in line with the hegemonic masculinity of the day. The earliest example of this comes with Hoot Gibson's presence at the Stampede in 1925 as he filmed his feature *The Calgary Stampede*.

By the time he arrived in Calgary to participate in the Stampede parade and shoot his feature film, Gibson had starred in dozens of single-reel films as well as numerous feature-length films, with a clear preference for westerns. Along with his acting career, Gibson was a rodeo competitor and a stunt rider, with his experience as a ranch hand as his entry into the sport.[50] Gibson had also attended the inaugural Calgary Stampede to compete as a steer roper, taking home the first prize.[51] So, as the first celebrity cowboy to play a prominent role in the Stampede, Guy Weadick had selected an acquaintance who embodied the sort of masculinity that the closure of the Frontier four decades prior had seemed to endanger and who also happened to be one of the top film stars of his time.

Hoot Gibson, along with other lesser-known film cowboys of the era, had managed to capture a sort of mythic masculinity which combined the romantic ideas of frontier cowboys as

[50] Jana Bommersbach, "Hoot Gibson," April 2017, *True West Magazine*, https://truewestmagazine.com/article/hoot-gibson/
[51] Bryce Forbes, "Silent Movie and Archie Comics Helped Put Stampede on the Map," *Calgary Herald*, 28 June 2012.

heroes in film with the real skills of handling a horse. Much like Guy Weadick himself, Gibson had the skills of a cowboy, with the refinement necessary to succeed in other fields. Along with his appearances at the 1925 Stampede, Gibson was also named parade marshal for that year, an honour since bestowed upon notable figures from premiers and prime ministers to such entertainers as Bing Crosby and Walt Disney.[52] Following in the footsteps of Mr. Gibson, numerous cowboys and celebrities famous for portraying cowboys would be featured guests or entertainers at the Stampede. What follows is an examination of a number of these cowboys, with an emphasis on the cultural ideas of masculinity they embodied and how those ideas factored into the Stampede.

Following the 1925 appearance of Hoot Gibson there were several years in which the organizers of the Stampede chose to focus on more locally and nationally significant factors in marketing the event. This included the continued celebration of colonial milestones and anniversaries, as well as a shift in focus to highlighting the competitors and the history of the Stampede in marketing materials. It was not until the postwar era that the organizers would return to the use of famous cowboys as a marketing tactic. The immediate postwar era saw the Stampede board, which had long focused its programming efforts on making the event as broadly appealing as possible, renew its efforts to appeal to younger audiences.

As Canada adopted the postwar mentality of a return to normalcy through nuclear family structures and strongly delineated gender roles, the programming for the Stampede took steps in the same direction. In 1952, this took the form of the inaugural Children's Day programming, child-focused programming combined with free admission for children. The Stampede board

[52] "Parade Marshals," *Calgary Stampede*, Heritage, https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/parade-marshals

also recommended in their annual report for that year that the event plan to expand children's programming, including an expansion and further promotion of children's agricultural programming.[53] Children's Day would be rebranded as Family Day in 1968 and has remained a staple of the Stampede calendar, offering family-oriented programming and eventually free admission.[54] In 1957, Royal American Shows, the midway company for the Stampede at that time, advertised a "gigantic 'Kiddyland' with new rides for the children" and promised "all clean fun for the entire family," illustrating continued efforts to appeal to families with the event.[55]

This push for family-friendly and youth-oriented programming brought another type of masculine figure to the forefront of the Stampede in the form of the singing cowboy, a category of entertainer enjoying a resurgence in popularity at the time.[56] These men embodied the masculine form of the cowboy as well as the paternalistic figure espousing white Christian values. Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, well-known television and movie cowboys were invited as VIP guests and hired as performers. As the event became increasingly family-oriented in alignment with the postwar emphasis on the nuclear family ideal in North America, the cowboy entertainers featured in the Stampede were figures whose public images aligned with those values. Roy Rogers and Dale Evans were the most prominent figures brought in as guests and performers in this period. Rogers, with his family-friendly and child-oriented brand, became

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[53] George Edworthy and Maurice E. Hartnett, "Annual Report of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited for the Year Ending September 30, 1952," in *67th Annual Report: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited*, (1952): 5.
[54] "First Family Day Widely Approved," *Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1968, 18.
[55] Advertisement, *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Souvenir Program*, 1957. U of C DC, CESA, 40.
[56] Travis D. Stimeling, "The Sons of the Pioneers' Lucky 'U' Ranch and the Singing Cowboy in Cold War America," *American Music*, 28 no.1 (2010): 76-96.

somewhat of a regular fixture at the Stampede throughout the 1960s, appearing in the parade alongside his wife, Dale Evans, in 1962 and again in 1969. Rogers also performed at the Stampede at the grandstand show and in a performance on "Kids Day." Rogers' public persona was not only that of a singing cowboy but also the archetypal hero cowboy he had portrayed on *The Roy Rogers Show* from 1951-57. The so-called "King of the Cowboys" came to the Calgary Stampede not only to draw crowds due to his fame but also because he and Dale Evans were widely considered to be the embodiment of both Old West individualism and contemporary family values.[57] So while the Stampede had long since positioned itself as an event for all who wished to attend, the push for a return to family and gender norms, along with the popularization of the notion of the nuclear family, in North America in the postwar era and throughout much of the 1960s meant a broader emphasis on a family-values focused Stampede. This included both the development of the Woman's World exhibitions, focused on domestic productivity, such as baking and quilting, and the aforementioned shift in masculine iconography.[58] That masculinity, which focused on the husband as protector and provider and on Western Christian values, was one which Roy Rogers and other TV cowboys (and various other celebrities) embodied.

In Roy Rogers and Dale Evans' appearances at the Stampede then, the ideas of masculinity, which rose to prominence in the postwar era, were presented to Stampede attendees. The seemingly static image of the rough and rugged historical cowboy as a picture of masculinity stands in stark contrast to the more clean-cut, approachable, yet stern good guy of

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[57] Raymond E. White, *King of the Cowboys, Queen of the West: Roy Rogers and Dale Evans* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005): 3-5.

[58] The Woman's World exhibitions, first documented in the 1972 annual report, would be changed to the male-inclusive "Creative Living" exhibitions in 1979. The 1979 souvenir program explains that "The Creative Living Committee [formerly the Woman's World Committee] has chosen to concentrate on the creative talents of people in our community." *Official Souvenir Program, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1979,* CESA, U of C DC, 14.

Roy Rogers. Beyond the embodiment of contemporary ideas of family values and acceptable masculine behaviours, Roy Rogers was also quite fitting for the Stampede due to his show's anachronistic setting. The Roy Rogers Show depicts Rogers and company rescuing others in typical western genre form. In typical "B" western fashion, the show was set in a contemporary city with automobiles and other modern conveniences. The Roy Rogers Show's setting took the western genre cowboy and placed him in a contemporary context, linking the inherently masculine cowboy ideal with postwar family-oriented masculinity. This amalgamation of the seemingly timeless masculine cowboy mythos with contemporary masculinity is somewhat unique to "B" Westerns and Rogers' television show. However, it also highlights the ways in which representations of masculinity outside of the rodeo portion of the Stampede have been able to play some part in keeping the event culturally relevant.

Rogers' personal brand was also tied directly to the new masculinity based on the burgeoning consumer culture of this era. Through the 1950s and 60s Roy Rogers licensed the likenesses of himself and his horse Trigger to various consumer goods. From "Roping Cowboy" action figures and children's cowboy costumes to musical instruments and saddles emblazoned with his name and image, the Roy Rogers brand fully embraced the conspicuous consumption of the postwar era.[59] In addition to Rogers' adoption of postwar consumerism, his Stampede appearances also continued a trend of two competing priorities: keeping the event true to its roots and original vision, and showcasing Calgary's rising position as a prominent city in the prairies. Stampede organizers balanced the supposed historical authenticity of the event (and the invented traditions of it) with the desire to showcase the Southern Alberta city and the recent

[59] *Sears Christmas Book*, 1950, Sears, Roebuck and Co. 140, 203, 278. And *Sears Christmas Book*, 1961, Sears, Roebuck and Co. 61, 134, 381.

developments of the region. However, as Alberta shifted toward an oil economy and the process of urbanization accelerated, similar fears about a loss of masculinity as those at the turn of the century offer some explanation of the quick shift to embrace Hollywood aesthetics in the Stampede. While professional rodeo cowboys could be assured of their masculinity given the dangers they chose to face and the fiercely independent nature of the sport, many Albertans seemed ready to wholeheartedly embrace emerging postwar masculine ideals.

If the decade of the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s marked a transformation for the Stampede toward a more Hollywood version of Western imagery, Roy Rogers and other celebrity cowboys were emblematic of that change. The same can be said of other celebrity guests who, while not necessarily matching the aesthetic of the event, aligned with the brand in other ways. Another transformation of popular depictions of masculinity gained took place following the American failure in Vietnam. While many of the same values and rigid gender roles which had been popularized in the previous two decades remained intact, the popular culture of the early 1970s through to the late 1980s depicted a much more violent form of masculinity. *The Wild Bunch* (1969) paved the way for western genre films which focused much more on realistic violence and action, and is often considered one of, if not *the* film which crossed the boundary from what Asbjørn Grønstad calls "euphemistic portrayals" of violence into "an image of *real* bodies."[60] This new trend toward realistic violence in western genre films brought the violent outlaw or antihero protagonist to popularity. Scholars such as Tracey Karner have pointed to the violent reality of the Vietnam War and the resulting societal revulsion as

[60] Asbjørn Grønstad. "Blood of a Poet: Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch*," in *Transfigurations: Violence, Death and Masculinity in American Cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 130.

significant factors in the reconfiguration of masculine ideals in this era.[61] This, in turn, led to further efforts to correct the loss of trust in established masculine values.

In place of the Western Christian values championed by Roy Rogers and other singing cowboys, this new era and all its anxieties brought a shift to more violent western genre films, as well as the development of the action hero film. Cowboy heroes that aligned with the Stampede's family-oriented brand became less prominent, replaced in popular films by anti-hero and tragic hero figures. The anti-hero archetype became arguably the most popular character in Western genre fiction, as well as in the blockbuster action heroes of the 1980s, as popular films began to trend toward more spectacular violence. This trend is visible in the rise of Clint Eastwood's fame in the 1970s and 80s, playing violently heroic western protagonists in films like *High Plains Drifter* (1973), *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976), and *Pale Rider* (1985) along with his role as the violent policeman Harry Callahan in the *Dirty Harry* pentalogy (1971-88). This trend toward explicit violence in films brought actors such as Sylvester Stallone and Arnold Schwarzenegger to action-movie hero status. It is at this rise in the visceral violence of Hollywood blockbusters that the Stampede diverged from the contemporary movie star cowboys, with the 1970s and 1980s continuing the family-friendly precedent set decades prior. In place of guests of honour from western films and television, organizers promoted First Nations chiefs, famous entertainers such as Wilf Carter, and more grounded role models such as astronaut Eugene Cernan and air force pilots C.H. Dickens and Douglas Bader as parade marshals and VIP guests.[62] However, the event remained a draw for larger-than-life figures from both the big and small screens.

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[61] Tracey Karner, "Fathers, Sons, and Vietnam: Masculinity and Betrayal in the Life Narratives of Vietnam Veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder," *American Studies*, 37 no.1 (1996): 63-94.

[62] "Parade Marshals," *Calgary Stampede*, Heritage, https://www.calgarystampede.com/heritage/parade-marshals Accessed September 17, 2021.

Popular depictions of masculinity in the 1970s and 80s often used portrayals of either over-the-top violence, or viscerally realistic violence meant, in some cases, to critique the romanticization of violence in cinema.[63] With the post-Vietnam rise in popularity of western genre fiction, and later the action hero era of the 1980s, the Calgary Stampede's depictions of masculinity continued down the established family-friendly route. For the duration of most of the 1970s and 1980s, and throughout the 1990s as well, the masculinity depicted by VIPs and celebrity guests to the Stampede became (and remained) a masculinity rooted in the history the region, the country, and the invented traditions of the event itself. Masculinity specific to the Stampede is present throughout the last three decades of the 20th century in a number of forms; from the VIP guests and parade marshals directly connected to the Stampede, such as a selection of former rodeo contestants alongside champion boxer Willie deWit in 1982, and former rodeo champion Herman Linder in 1999, to the continued encouragement of Calgarians to "dress western" thereby taking on the aesthetic form of the modern rodeo cowboy and historic cowboy.[64]

During the first few decades of its existence the Stampede organization emphasized the so-called frontier history of the region, foregrounding the historic cowboy through both romanticized descriptions of that period and the inclusion of "old timers" who had lived through it. The historic cowboy was depicted alongside the contemporary form of that figure in the rodeo, with men whose practical skills came from ranching exhibiting their athleticism and, by

[63] Grønstad, "Blood of a Poet."
[64] The western attire on offer at various clothing stores ranges from workwear, which would be familiar in form to the historic cowboy and a modern ranch hand, to the flashy dress shirts often seen on mid-century country musicians, to replicas of modern rodeo cowboy apparel complete with sponsor logo patches.

extension, their masculinity. As rodeo became professionalized, the rodeo cowboy became a professional athlete whose skills came from rodeo itself, and a culture of competing through pain and injury developed. The rodeo cowboy and his masculinity developed at a time in which hegemonic masculinity was being challenged and reformed in the face of modernity, with risk-taking becoming an increasingly important signifier of masculinity. This form of masculinity remains prominent in rodeo and other high-risk sports, with some changes over time; risks engineered out with safety advancements, and an expectation of athletes that they handle themselves in a respectable manner outside of their sport. While the history of the region remains part of the Stampede's brand, and masculine imagery such as the historic cowboy is still present in the event and its promotional efforts, the Stampede organization has also adapted to changing hegemonic masculinity over time. The postwar emphasis on the nuclear family presents the most visible and continuous example of this change, as the event became increasingly family-oriented over the latter half of the 20th century. Ultimately, the Stampede organization has managed to blur the lines between the historic cowboy, the contemporary rodeo cowboy, and the event attendee dressing as an amalgamation of the two, and in doing so, has linked the masculinity of the historic cowboy to a much different contemporary masculinity for at least ten days each July. The organization's ability to adapt to changing hegemonic masculinity while still linking it to a historic archetype of masculinity has helped the event maintain its relevance and its social and cultural influence on the city.

Chapter 4: Born to Buck: Animal Actors and Animal Activism in the Stampede

I have been thinking that what we need here is another organization, the S.P.C.C.; Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Cowboys, so as to curb the antics of some of the animals. – Jack Dillon [1]

Animal participants in the Stampede have simultaneously been the primary draw for many attendees and a point of friction for animal rights activists throughout the event's history. The above epigraph, a quote from a promotional radio broadcast for the Stampede, illustrates that those speaking out against the rodeo, as well as the organization's efforts to address concerns about animal welfare, are not new phenomena. Though certainly not unique to Calgary, concerns about cruelty or undue risk of harm to non-human participants in the Stampede have been nearly as constant an element of the event as the famous chuckwagon races, which draw so much activist attention. Though the organizers of the event have taken steps to reduce the risks that rodeo animals are subject to during events, it is seldom that a year goes by without protests against the use of animals in the rodeo, or the use of animals in general, garnering some media attention. In recent years, the advent of social media has allowed extensive public commentary on these issues, which can be particularly enlightening about the views of those for and those against the use of non-human animal athletes in rodeos.

An article shared by the *CBC Calgary* Facebook page on 15 July 2019, which reported on the deaths of six horses during that year's chuckwagon races, for example, features arguments on both sides of the issue. Comments in favour of changing the event range from those suggesting changes for the safety of the horses to those arguing in favour of banning the races outright. The comments opposed to changing the event are illustrative of the discourse on that side of the

[1] Jack Dillon, "Broadcast No. 9," 27 June 1947, CESF M2160/34 GMA.

argument, which can be seen attached to articles dating back at least a decade, arguing that the animals are treated well and that those calling for change are uninformed, as well as arguments that people should be more concerned with social issues in the city and less about perceived animal cruelty.[2] Though this discourse is most visible in these modern forums, concerns about the well-being of animal athletes are far from a 21st-century occurrence and have been present throughout nearly the entire history of the event. Furthermore, these concerns have played a key role in the execution of the rodeo, with the organization working to balance the health of the non-human participants and the perception of their welfare with competitive standards and the reputation of the Stampede as a premier professional rodeo. As with the other aspects of the event examined in the preceding chapters, the Stampede organization has maintained the event's cultural relevance through the adaptation of the rodeo events to both advances in our understanding of non-human animals and changing cultural ideas surrounding the treatment and care of those animals.[3]

Scholars in a wide variety of disciplines have studied the changing mainstream perception of animal rights and animal welfare campaigns, as well as changes to broader societal ideas of animal cruelty. For the purposes of this chapter, the widespread public condemnation of animal cruelty is assumed to be the result of a number of separate factors, with some overlap between them. Primarily due to the era in which the Stampede first took place, the first major shift in thinking can be attributed to Progressive Era values, with these values often taking cues

[2] CBC Calgary Facebook, "3 More Horses Put Down After Injuries During Stampede Chuckwagon Race," *CBC Calgary*, Comment section, 15 July 2019.
[3] The cultural shifts in thinking about non-human animals are discussed throughout this chapter, but it is important to note here that animal rights and animal welfare activists play an important role in shaping those perceptions. See Bernard E. Rollin, "Animal Rights as a Mainstream Phenomenon," *Animals*, 1 no.1 (2011): 105-115.

from such writers as Jack London. The popular desire for animal welfare seen in the early 1900s was preceded by over a hundred years of activism in Europe and North America. Animal rights advocates had begun to push for legal protections for animals in England more than a century prior, and the first legislation to that effect had been enacted in 1822.[4] Despite the widespread acceptance of measures to combat animal cruelty, popular movements do not fully explain the human-animal relationship. Recent research in Canada and Australia has found that around 90% of pet owners view their companion animals as members of their families, and that the relationship with these companion animals provides psychological benefits to the owner.[5] Furthermore, the co-evolution and long historical bond between humans and companion animals (especially dogs) has created a level of cooperation and socialization which feeds into the understanding of companion animals as family members.[6]

Beyond the complex cultural understandings of non-human animals and how they should be interacted with, scholars have argued that the act of domestication of animals as livestock creates a social relationship between human and non-human animals, but that this relationship allows for a greater level of aggression than the relationship humans form with companion animals.[7] This aggression is also often accompanied by physical force, such as the use of spurs on horses, or electrified prods on cattle, which can be interpreted as abuse or cruelty by those with a more companion-oriented understanding of animals. However, it should be noted that

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[4] Kay Armatage, *The Girl From God's Country: Nell Shipman and the Silent Cinema* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003): 275-76.
[5] Catherine Amiot, Brock Bastian, and Pim Martens, "People and Companion Animals: It Takes Two to Tango," *Bioscience*, 66 no.1 (2016): 552-553.
[6] Ádám Miklósi, József Topál and Vilmos Stampedeányi, "Big Thoughts in Small Brains? Dogs as a Model for Understanding Human Social Cognition," *NeuroReport* 18 no. 5 (2007): 467.
[7] Jack L. Albright, "Human/Farm Animal Relationships," in M.W. Fox & L.D. Mickley (eds.), *Advances in Animal Welfare Science* (Washington D.C.: The Humane Society of the United States, 1986): 51-66.

those who work with these animals often claim that this use of force is not enough to cause pain to the animals when administered correctly, as they believe large animals have much higher pain thresholds.[8]

Under the assumption that these three theories are valid, we can begin to see the bigger picture of how accepted understandings of non-human animals can be reconfigured over time. That is, these changing ideas can be understood as both a product of changing cultural norms and as a direct result of the increased urbanization and industrialization of Europe, Canada, and the United States, leading to fewer individuals in society interacting with livestock in a work capacity. By extension, an ever-increasing percentage of people have primarily interacted with companion animals, with the expectations of compassionate and kind treatment and the social bonds that are formed in those circumstances. The history of animal representations in the Calgary Stampede illustrates the continued importance of animals as an attraction to Stampede attendees. Likewise, the changes to rodeo rules and to the ways in which animal welfare is approached, from reactive to more proactive, are reflective of animal rights campaigns and a culture with a less utilitarian relationship with animals. Additionally, while many rodeo events use animals provided by common sources (at present, the Stampede's own breeding program), the chuckwagon races are a notable exception as the drivers of the wagons provide their own horses and may therefore view the animals as pets or companion animals. This relationship to rodeo stock is a commonplace argument among both the chuckwagon teams and supporters of

[8] This commonly held belief has been contested by activists as well as by scientists. In one study Anil et al. explain that as many livestock animals evolved as prey animals, assessing the pain they experience can be difficult since evolution favors disguising injury or weakness. Sukumarannair S. Anil, Leena Anil, and John Deen, "Challenges of Pain Assessment in Domestic Animals," *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*, 220 no. 3 (2002): 313-319.

the sport when the event is criticized following animal death or injuries.[9] Another common point argued by chuckwagon drivers is that the sport uses retired racehorses, which saves them from being slaughtered once their usefulness in that sport is finished.[10] This idea of protecting animals from potentially worse fates corresponds with the idea that retired race horses still desire to run, and willingly do so in the chuckwagon derby.

However, animal rights organizations and scholars studying animal history question the extent to which non-human animals are willing participants in sport. While certain behaviours, such as running and bucking, take place with minimal prompting in the rodeo arena, scholars such as Susan Nance cast doubt on whether this should be equated to consensual participation. Nance argues that, while human competitors in rodeo sports are choosing to take on risks associated with the sport, they are imposing that same risk-tolerance upon the non-human participants.[11] In short, while rodeo stock animals may come naturally to the behaviours needed for their sports, they do not possess the reasoning to understand that they face potential injury and even death in pulling a chuckwagon or bucking a cowboy from their back. This understanding aligns with the idea that rodeo stock animals need not be coerced into performing but suggests that humans have a duty of care for those animals that ought to extend to protecting them from the risks of rodeo sports.

To understand the impacts of the activism surrounding non-human animals in the Stampede, it is important to understand the context in which such activism began and the broader history to which it is connected. As concerns about the well-being of the animals involved in the

[9] Katie Schneider, "Stampeders say Bob Barker Full of Bull," *Toronto Sun*, 2 February 2012.
[10] Maggie Macintosh, "Animal Advocates Want Chuckwagon Races Cancelled after 3 Horse Deaths," *CBC News* 12 July 2019.
[11] Susan Nance, *Rodeo: An Animal History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020): 4.

Calgary Stampede make up a significant portion of this chapter, it is worthwhile to examine both the general timeline of animal advocacy and the distinction between the commonly used terms "animal rights" and "animal welfare" as differentiated in much of the literature about this topic. Campaigns which focus on animal welfare tend to be concerned with eliminating overt or obvious cruelty toward non-human animals. These campaigns comprise many of the more mainstream animal advocacy efforts from the creation of humane societies and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) through to the present. Animal rights campaigns tend to take a stronger stance against the exploitation of animals in any form, whether overtly cruel or not. Animal rights activists have often been critical of animal welfare efforts, often framing animal welfare as a way of institutionalizing or legitimizing animal exploitation. Various sources exist which make this critique using differing language, perhaps the most widely known animal rights organization, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) presents their stance on animal welfare on their website. The website explains:

> Animal welfare theories accept that animals have interests but allow these interests to be traded away as long as there are some human benefits that are thought to justify that sacrifice. Animal rights means that animals, like humans, have interests that cannot be sacrificed or traded away just because it might benefit others. […] Animal rights means that animals are not ours to use for food, clothing, entertainment or experimentation. Animal welfare allows these uses as long as 'humane' guidelines are followed.[12]

While other organizations in this space frame the difference between animal welfare and animal rights in different terms, the consensus among animal rights groups seems to be that animal welfare is about minimizing cruelty in the ways in which non-human animals are used, in

[12] PETA, "What is the difference between 'animal rights' and 'animal welfare'?" *PETA.org*

contrast to eliminating the unnecessary captivity and use of said animals.[13] As this chapter outlines in the following pages, the animal advocacy in the Calgary Stampede follows a trajectory from animal welfare concerns to a combination of animal welfare efforts and animal rights activism, and that trajectory can be understood as being caused by both changing cultural attitudes toward animals over time and improved animal welfare within the rodeo and peripheral events at the Stampede.

The activism surrounding the Stampede must be understood as part of the broader animal welfare and animal rights movements throughout Canada and the western world. This is a long and complex history, but for the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to understand that animal welfare efforts predate the Stampede and the Calgary Industrial Exhibition by several decades. While philosophers have questioned the sentience of animals and the morality of causing them undue pain since Aristotle, scholars of animal welfare trace the earliest scientific recognition of animals as sentient, feeling creatures to the work of William Youatt in the 1830s.[14] The English *Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act* of 1822, amended in 1835 to the Cruelty to Animals Act, and the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA, changed in 1840 to RSPCA) are the earliest forms of animal welfare legislation and activism, respectively, in the western world. Each of these developments, scientific, legal, and activist, played some role in influencing public opinion on the acceptable treatment of animals. However, the popularization

[13] Although PETA is an obviously biased source, their stance is broadly similar to other animal rights groups, where the foundational efforts toward animal welfare such as Humane Societies and the SPCA, discussed in the following pages, are argued to be a trade-off between the total exploitation of animals without regard to cruelty and the elimination of speciesism in determining ethical treatment of living beings.

[14] Ian J.H. Duncan, "Animal Welfare: A Brief History," in *Animal Welfare: From Science to Law*, eds. Sophie Hild and Louis Schweitzer (Paris: La Fondation Droit Animal, Éthique et Sciences, 2019): 13-16.

of the animal welfare movement into the mainstream during the Progressive Era is often credited to the work of author Jack London, and to the Jack London Club, inspired by his activism.

Jack London's works *Jerry of the Islands* and *Michael, Brother of Jerry*, both published in 1917, included appeals to readers to inform themselves about the cruelty involved in the training of circus animals, which London had witnessed firsthand. This, in turn, inspired the creation of the Jack London Club by the Massachusetts SPCA and the American Humane Society.[15] The Club encouraged the public to avoid the circus and staged walkouts of circuses to raise awareness of the cause. Jack London's influence was so widespread that in 1919, when the Humane Society in Edmonton, Alberta, issued a statement against the city bringing in a "bucking horse show," one newspaper reporter cited London as their inspiration. The author connects these concerns to the "campaign against such form of 'sport' now in progress in the States instituted by the well-known writer, Jack London," and indicates that said campaign has led "public opinion to be against 'Stampedes' and the like."[16] The founding of the Jack London Club in the United States helped usher in an era of public awareness about the cruelty performing animals frequently underwent as part of their training for circus and stage shows and similar events. It is to this movement that the author of the article in the *Edmonton Bulletin* refers.

The author of the article also illustrates a continuous trend in how animal welfare and animal rights groups are portrayed by those outside of the movements. While counter-movements to animal activism are not as visible in media surrounding the Calgary Stampede, organizers, rodeo supporters, and other interested parties dismissed concerns about animal rights and animal welfare. Though not always as organized as counter movements in favour of the

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[15] Diane L. Beers, *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States* (Athens, OH.: Ohio University Press, 2006): 105-107.
[16] "Humane Society Against the Proposed Stampede," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 11 April 1919.

industrial agriculture and sport hunting industries, such as the hunting advocacy efforts of groups like Safari Club International, the pushback from those in favour of the Calgary Stampede and other similar events has been remarkably consistent across time and space.[17] Examples of these responses are examined in the following pages, but the broad trend is a twofold approach: treat animal welfare and animal rights concerns as new, misinformed, and aberrant and dismiss the concerns by pointing to recent advancements in animal welfare at the event.

It was not long after the Stampede became an annual event that concerns about animal welfare began to shape the event. While an examination of these early years of the Stampede does not reveal any media coverage of protests or demonstrations directly opposed to the event, the Calgary Humane Society was founded in 1922 and, given the broader discourse about animal welfare at the time, likely would have had some concerns about the rodeo portions of the Stampede. Though local media did not report on any specific instances of protests or any specific demands from the Calgary Humane Society or similar groups, there is some evidence of public opinion turning against certain aspects of rodeo events. *The Calgary Albertan* discussed Guy Weadick's explanation of the changes to the 1924 Stampede, which would open the following week, and compared it to the rodeo held at the British Empire Exhibition. The article explains that the rodeo at Wembley has been the subject of considerable publicity, "most of it directed to expressions pro and con regarding the stunts of steer roping and steer bulldogging as to whether they were cruel or not." Weadick goes on to explain in his interview that those specific events will not feature in the Stampede as "we don't need them. The general public don't want those two stunts, not only in London nor anywhere else."[18] The specific events mentioned had not been

[17] "Hunting Advocacy," *Safari Club International*, https://safariclub.org/hunting-advocacy/
[18] "Calm and Considered Judgement of Guy Weadick, Manager of the Stampede Features of the Fair," *The Calgary Albertan*, 3 July 1924.

a part of the previous year's Stampede, and so the statement that they were not necessary seems to either be in response to public pressure to denounce such events or a way to pre-emptively stifle any controversy about the perceived cruelty of the rodeo.

That steer bulldogging (a.k.a. steer wrestling) and calf roping (a.k.a. tie-down roping) would eventually become regular features of the Calgary Stampede and return to popularity among rodeo organizers and attendees more broadly reveals how public perception of animal welfare has played a key role in shaping the event. As the British Empire Exhibition had brought negative publicity to these specific events, the Stampede's organizers recognized the public distaste for them. For the 1927 Stampede, due to the previous popularity of bulldogging in other rodeos, Guy Weadick devised an event that "provide[d] the thrills of bull-dogging, at the same time eliminating every objectionable feature" known as steer decorating.[19] This event changed the objective from wrestling a steer to the ground to tying a ribbon on one of its horns in an attempt to reduce the risk of harming the animal. However, bulldogging remained a popular event in other rodeos and would become one of the professional rodeo sports in major rodeo circuits. By 1967 once public opinion was no longer vociferously opposed to the sport, it was brought into the Calgary Stampede.[20]

Much of the history of animal welfare in the Stampede can be summarized as an effort to alleviate the concerns of attendees about the treatment of non-human participants. The above examples show some of the specific instances of such concerns and how they have been addressed, but public scrutiny of the Stampede on these matters continues. One concern which persists into the present is the perception from critics that the event's organizers are reactive in

[19] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1927, CESA, U of C, DC, 6.
[20] The Calgary Stampede website lists Steer Wrestling champions dating back to 1967, but the event does not appear in official programs until the following year.

issues of animal welfare, rather than proactive. An incident in 1927 illustrates this reactive approach; Mr. J.J. Bowlen wrote to E.L. Richardson that the chutes at the event, intended to allow one horse into the space at a time, had been too broad, which allowed two of his horses to become wedged into the space, causing one horse to be severely injured, and eventually die, as a result of the efforts to dislodge them.[21] Richardson's response to this incident was an inquiry into the design of the chutes, which culminated in a redesign to avoid similar accidents in the future. However, it is unclear if the chutes which caused this accident had been built specifically for the 1927 Stampede, or if they were the same chutes used in previous years. As a result, it is also unclear why this is the first reported instance of horses being injured by the chutes and whether it was a matter of poor design or an error in the handling of the animals. Regardless of when the chutes were installed and where fault lies for the tragedy, the chute redesign taking place only after the death of a horse is the sort of reactive approach that critics have lambasted.

While incidents such as Mr. Bowlen's horse being injured seem to have been relatively uncommon outside of rodeo competition, the rodeo itself has drawn consistent criticism from animal welfare activists. Multiple other incidents of non-human and human competitor injury throughout the history of the Stampede further illustrate the reactive response the organization has taken in regard to changes to rules, regulations, and equipment. For example, throughout the following decades, changes would be made to the materials used for the barrels and stoves in the chuckwagon race following a number of injuries to horses and riders, and in more recent years, further changes to the chuckwagon race have included grooming and packing the track between heats to lessen the likelihood of wagons overturning.[22] Though some activists have called for the

[21] J.J. Bowlen, Letter to E.L. Richardson, 25 July 1927, GWF, M1287 F1, GMA.
[22] "Animal Care Practices," *Calgary Stampede – About Us – Animal Care*. https://corporate.calgarystampede.com/about-us/animal-care/animal-care-practices

cancellation of the chuckwagon race altogether, these incremental changes seem to be the organization's preferred approach, lessening risk while still maintaining the flagship event.

In 1947, in response to mounting public pressure and growing concern about what some saw as cruel treatment of the rodeo stock, Jack Dillon devoted a portion of his promotional radio broadcast to combatting concerns about animal welfare which he states have been brought to the organization. Mr. Dillon began his broadcast by explaining that the Calgary Stampede has always worked closely with the S.P.C.A. and that during his tenure with the Exhibition and Stampede, his bosses have instructed him to "work in accord with the wishes of [the S.P.C.A.] at all times." He continues by pointing to the close involvement with, and attendance to, the Stampede of Mr. Jerry Puckett, the president of the S.P.C.A., and Tom McCaul, the S.P.C.A. inspector for the region. The implication of these men being so intimately involved in the event is that if any animal cruelty were taking place, they would be aware of it and attempt to put a stop to it. [23]

While Mr. Dillon's radio broadcast did not cite specific policies or actions taken by the Stampede or the S.P.C.A. to curb animal cruelty, he did state that "years ago, before this organization became very active, it was a common occurance [sic] to raise the collar of a work horse […] and find on the point of his shoulders raw open sores" and that in the years since the S.P.C.A. had become active, it was now "rare indeed to find a horse being worked with sore shoulders or neck." The radio broadcast ends with the host stating that in all his time involved in the rodeo, he has never seen a calf "crippled or abused" and that while he has seen racehorses injured it is always "a pure unpreventable accident" before joking that what is needed at the Stampede is "another organization, the S.P.C.C. Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

[23] Jack Dillon, "Broadcast No. 9," 27 June 1947, CESF M2160/34 GMA.

Cowboys, so as to curb the antics of some of the animals." Mr. Dillon's joke echoes the tone of the narrator in the above-discussed film *Bronco Busters* and may have been a common joke among rodeo competitors and supporters in this era. [24]

Though Mr. Dillon does not mention animal welfare activism specifically, that potential concerns about animal welfare are a topic of discussion is indicative of awareness that such activism had some hand in shaping public perception about the event. For an event that relied so heavily on non-human participants for most of the major attractions, the Calgary Stampede organization had a vested interest in addressing such concerns, whether pre-emptively or within the context of an increasingly visible movement which stood to negatively impact the event. Additionally, the close involvement of the S.P.C.A. in the event shows a proactive approach to animal welfare, even if said approach had not always kept pace with the expectations of those opposed to the event. The joke that the animals were the ones being cruel to the cowboys fits within the broader narrative against the idea of animal cruelty in rodeo, a narrative which continues to this day and delineates those who see the rodeo as cruel from those who understand the temperament and physical toughness of animals. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this often takes the form of dismissal of claims of cruelty, with supporters of rodeo declaring ignorance on the part of detractors.

In 1946, as part of a joint effort with the Canadian Government Travel Bureau to promote travel to Canada, the National Film Board released a 10-minute short film titled *Bronco Busters,* which examines the Calgary Stampede by way of the horses that make up the rodeo stock.[25] The film shows the life of these animals, from their raising on the open plains to their breaking and

[24] Ibid.
[25] Brégent-Heald, *Northern Getaway*, 179-181.

training as rodeo stock, and finally, the rodeo events themselves. Though it is presented in the style of a documentary, the film's tone and content are meant to promote the event as the narration depicts the rodeo as a series of harrowing feats of athleticism in which the contestants risk their lives for the thrill of the sport, and the raising of rodeo stock as a romantic holdover from the old west. The film also served to promote tourism Southern Alberta, featuring scenes of the open plains, Calgary, and the Rocky Mountains.[26]

Bronco Busters begins with scenes of cowboys on horseback on a ranch and then at a camp on the open prairie, with the latter featuring a shot of a cowboy mounting his horse in front of a teepee and riding off in a cloud of dust. The film continues with shots of corralling and roping of "outlaw" horses, with the narrator telling the audience "it's the first time these outlaws have been fenced in, and the wrangler knows he's got a corral full of dynamite" and explaining that "some broncos go crazy the first feel of a rope, a wise cowboy keeps clear of those hooves, otherwise he knows there'll be blood on the saddle."[27] In the buildup to showing the actual rodeo, *Bronco Busters* shows competitors checking and adjusting their saddles, while the narrator explains "the boys are after the prizes and a good roper or rider can do well for himself if he's lucky, of course he may get his leg broke (sic) but he double checks his equipment and hopes for the best." This bit of dramatic narration serves to provide significant stakes, both monetary and bodily, for the competitors before the film shows clips of the wild horse and saddle bronc contests, with the narrator assuring viewers once more of the danger of the sports, as discussed in the chapter of this study examining masculinity. The film also shows calf roping,

[26] *Bronco Busters*, dir. Laurence Hyde (1946; Ottawa, ON: National Film Board).
[27] Ibid.

bull riding, and steer wrestling clips, each time emphasizing both the skill of the human competitors, and the risk posed to them by their non-human counterparts.[28]

The implication in the narrator's description of each rodeo competition is that there is nearly equal risk for the human and non-human participants in these events. The narration positions both steer and cowboy as risking their literal and metaphorical necks in steer wrestling. This stands out among other descriptions as the dramatic tone is at odds with critical opinion of the sport. As discussed in the preceding pages, it was seen, decades prior, as unsuited for a civilized world with Guy Weadick echoing popular sentiment at the time that there was no need for such an event. Additionally, there are reports of steer dying, being injured or maimed during the event, both at the Stampede and elsewhere.[29] While in 1912 Weadick had assured critics that the odds were in the steer's favor in the event, animal injuries and deaths tell another story.

As part of the organization's seemingly nonstop efforts to expand and improve both the Stampede and the rodeo circuit in the province more broadly, The Stampede organization purchased a ranch two hours northeast of the city in 1961 and began its own breeding program for bucking horses. The "Born to Buck" program has been a focal point for some critics and for many supporters of the organization. For supporters, it ensures that the bucking horses used in Stampede events meet standards of care and animal welfare that the organization sets, and given the Calgary Humane Society's longstanding relationship with the Stampede the program presumably meets that organization's standards as well. However, the ranch has also been a point of contention for those opposed to the rodeo. In 2012 an article in the magazine *Alberta Views*

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Various sources address injuries and deaths of steer in rodeo and at the Stampede specifically. See for example: "Animal Deaths at the Calgary Stampede Rodeo & Chuckwagon Races," *Vancouver Humane Society*, 2018. https://www.vancouverhumanesociety.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Deaths-at-the-Calgary-Stampede-1986-to-July-2018.pdf

alleged that horses in the program who are found to be unsuitable for bucking, or dangerous to cowboys, are culled and disposed of at the Fort Macleod meat plant.[30] These allegations received media attention when brought to CTV, and subsequently picked up by the Vancouver Humane Society in their ongoing campaign against the Stampede. A few days later, then director of rodeo and chuckwagons Keith Marrington issued a statement on the Stampede's website countering that narrative and arguing that culling the herd was done only as needed under the same criteria it would be in any other large herd of horses, not for lack of bucking ability.[31] The difference between animal welfare and animal rights arguments around the Stampede is important here. Animal welfare arguments would position the high operations budgets and high quality of care of these animals as justification for the ranch and its operations. By contrast, the Vancouver Humane Society's continued opposition to the Stampede exemplifies the sort of pressure exerted on the Stampede to continue changing and improving its practices.

In 1964 the National Film Board once again released a film promoting the Calgary Stampede, this time with a focus on the chuckwagon races, known within the Stampede as the Rangeland Derby. The aptly titled *Chuckwagon* begins with footage showing the process of getting horses ready for chuckwagon races, with the narrator explaining that drivers begin putting their team through the paces in the early spring to get them ready and working well together in time for the Stampede. The film shows brief clips of the other rodeo events, alongside a soundtrack whose lyrics include "wild horses and Indians, wild Brahma bulls are part of the show you will see, there are calf ropers, bulldoggers, bronc riders too 'til the chuckwagon races

[30] Curtis Gillespie, "Under Scrutiny: Animal Care at the Calgary Stampede," *Alberta Views*, 1 June 2012.
[31] Keith Marrington, "Speaking Out on the Born to Buck Program," *Calgary Stampede Blog*, 4 June 2012.

are run." In contrast to the narration in *Bronco Busters*, this film attempts to romanticize the present-day chuckwagon race and its history, rather than the risks taken by the competitors. Much of the narration focuses on explaining the races and emphasizing how competitive they can be, as he tells viewers that the race was designed so that the best team of horses can win and states that the total time difference between the winner and second place at the end of the week may be as little as a fifth of a second.[32]

Additionally, the narrator explains that the barrels were changed to cardboard from steel to avoid overturning chuckwagons, and the stoves were changed from steel stoves to wooden boxes to minimize the risk to the horses if one is left behind or falls from a wagon.[33] This explanation of safety measures is in line with the ongoing public discourse about the chuckwagon races. Though not as obviously violent in nature as bulldogging or calf-roping, the accidents that occur during chuckwagon races often have fatal consequences for human and non-human participants. During the 1960 rodeo season, chuckwagon driver Don Chapin was killed in a crash at the Stampede, and a few weeks later, fellow Alberta driver Rod Bullock was killed in a similar incident at Cheyenne Frontier Days.[34] Even with continuous safety enhancements to the race, many Stampedes are marred by horse deaths during the derby due to collisions or other incidents. From 1986 through to the end of the 2000 event only five total Stampedes occurred at which no horse died during the Rangeland Derby.[35] The history of the chuckwagon race at the Stampede is one of continuous rule changes and modifications in the name of safety, though it continues to be a source of concern for animal welfare and animal rights activists into the present

[32] *Chuckwagon*, directed by Robert Barclay (1964; Ottawa, ON: National Film Board).
[33] Ibid.
[34] "15 Drivers Will Race for Fund," *The Calgary Herald*, 10 August 1960, 22.
[35] "Animals Deaths at the Calgary Stampede Rodeo & Chuckwagon Races," *Vancouver Humane Society*, July 2019.

as the nature of the race prevents it from being made wholly safe for the non-human participants.[36]

In 2010 the Calgary Stampede introduced a rule change for the steer wrestling event, intended to limit injuries to the non-human animals in the event, the "dog fall" rule, which immediately stops a given run if the steer falls "with his legs under him or lands on the opposite side of the cowboy."[37] Though injuries to steer in professional bulldogging events are seemingly infrequent, the Stampede's rule change seems to be a proactive measure to lessen the danger to the steer. However, the risk of injury to non-human participants in rodeo cannot be totally eliminated, and in 2013 the first fatality of the Stampede was a steer who had to be euthanized following a bulldogging run which left the animal fully paralyzed.[38] In speaking with the media about this animal's death, the Stampede organization stated that "over the past decade, more than a thousand steers have competed in this event, and only one other steer has died as a result."[39] However, as has consistently occurred following animal deaths at the Stampede, animal welfare activists spoke out against steer wrestling following this incident, with the Vancouver Humane Society issuing a statement which called for the sport to be suspended for the duration of the 2013 Stampede.[40]

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[36] Aaron Sousa, "Veterinarians Euthanize 3rd Horse Following Calgary Stampede Injuries," *Global News*, 14 July 2024.
[37] Michelle Lennox, "Animal Safety at the Calgary Stampede," *CalgaryStampede.com*, 6 July 2010
[38] A similar accident also led to a steer being euthanized in the 2024 Stampede: The Canadian Press. "Steer, 2 Horses Euthanized at Calgary Stampede Rodeo Competition," *CBC News*, 9 July 2024.
[39] Dallas Flexhaug and Tamara Elliot, "First Animal Death of 2013 Stampede: Steer Euthanized," *Global News,* 10 July 2013.
[40] Vancouver Humane Society, "List of Stampede Animal Deaths Since 1986," *CTV News Calgary*, 11 July 2013.

Speaking to the media, the spokesperson for the society, Peter Fricker, stated that the 2010 rule changes had not worked and called for an independent review of the sport to determine if it could be made humane and safe for the steers. Fricker went on to state that "if these events are so hard on the animals that it can kill them, it's obvious they're suffering pain and stress" and to critique the continued inclusion of steer wrestling in the Stampede given that the sport was invented for rodeos and has no historical basis in ranching skills.[41] While Fricker's suggestions were not implemented, this sort of external pressure from humane societies and animal rights activists had been the impetus for change in the past and will likely continue to be so into the future. Recent years have seen increased publicity around animal rights and welfare concerns, even as the Stampede organization has continued to work closely with humane societies, animal experts, veterinarians and other relevant third parties to improve the safety and well-being of rodeo competitors – human and non-human.

As it has throughout the event's history, the rodeo still draws criticism from animal rights activists and remains a point of emphasis for animal welfare campaigns. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, it is the risk of harm and the perception of cruelty toward rodeo animals, which has been the focus of many of these efforts. Animal rights organizations such as PETA and Showing Animals Respect and Kindness (SHARK) maintain their positions that rodeos constitute animal cruelty and that animal welfare efforts fall short of remedying the issue.[42] The Calgary Humane Society, by contrast, works closely with the Calgary Stampede to ensure that, within the context of the rodeo and other aspects of the event, which rely on animal participants,

[41] The Canadian Press, "Steer Wrestling Animal Euthanized after Neck Injury at Calgary Stampede," *The Globe and Mail*, 11 July 2013.
[42] "Rodeos," *PETA.org* and "Rodeo Cruelty," *SHARKonline.org*.

the potential for harm to said animals has been minimized and engineered out wherever possible.[43]

Another aspect of the Stampede rodeo which has drawn criticism is the use of spurs and straps in the bucking horse sports. Activists argue that the use of spurs and flank straps to encourage bucking constitutes cruelty, while rodeo supporters argue that the spurring action does not cause the horses to buck and that the flank strap does not cause pain or discomfort for the animals. Unbiased sources of information on this aspect of rodeo are challenging to find, as the treatment of rodeo livestock and whether said treatment constitutes cruelty tends to be a polarizing topic. The Calgary Stampede's official "event descriptions" handout describes the spurring of broncos; "the spurring motion begins with the cowboy's feet over the points of the bronc's shoulders, and as the horse bucks, the rider draws his feet back to the "cantle', or back of the saddle in an arc, then he snaps his feet back to the horse's shoulders just before the animal's front feet hit the ground again."[44] This description implies that the spurring action is more performative and for the balance of the rider than it is to provoke the horses into action. Additionally, current professional rodeo regulations state that the rowels on spurs must be rounded and able to roll freely and that competitors are to be disqualified if their spurs cause any injury to the animal.[45] However, detractors of the sport and animal rights activists argue that the rounded spurs still inflict pain on the horses and also point to incidents of equipment being modified in order to cause further discomfort to the bucking stock and provoke more aggressive

[43] "Calgary Humane Society's Role in the Calgary Stampede," *Calgary Humane Society*, https://www.calgaryhumane.ca/calgary-humane-societys-role-calgary-Stampede/
[44] "Event Descriptions, 2017 Calgary Stampede Bronze Competition," *The Calgary Stampede*, 2017.
[45] Cindy Schonholtz, "Professional Rodeo Horses are Bred to Buck," *National Animal Interest Alliance*, 16 January 2012.

bucking as a result.[46] This highlights the gap between animal welfare concerns and animal rights concerns, as the current professional rodeo standards are designed to prevent direct harm to the bucking stock as a result of aggressive spurring or ill-fitting equipment but cannot fully eliminate the risk of accidental injury to the horses.

In recent years the Calgary Stampede has partnered with researchers at the University of Calgary to study the impacts of participation in rodeo events upon the animal athletes. A 2015 study funded by the University of Calgary Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and the Calgary Stampede examined the behaviour of bucking bulls in the chutes prior to their respective events. While this study represents only the initial steps to understanding how rodeo animals respond to the stressors related to bucking events, the authors conclude that, at least within the confines of this study, the physical movements made by bulls prior to their performances are more indicative of typical behaviours of bulls around humans than they are of an elevated level of stress or fear due to the rodeo performance itself. [47] The study concludes that, without impacting the quality of the rodeo performance, it would be possible to modify the behaviour of humans around the bulls during the loading of the chutes and once the bulls are in the chutes in order to limit the "reactive" behaviour the bulls display when faced with "intrusions in their immediate environment, particularly in uncommon situations."[48] This study was funded by both the University of Calgary's Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and the Calgary Stampede, which falls in line with past and ongoing efforts by the Stampede organization to ensure that animal welfare is a top priority. In 2019 Dr. Ed Pajor, one of the co-authors of the 2015 study, gathered data on

[46] "Rodeo: Cruelty for a Buck," *PETA.org*.
[47] Christy Goldhawk, Guilherme Bond, Temple Grandin, and Ed Pajor, "Behaviour of Bucking Bulls Prior to Rodeo Performances and Relations to Rodeo and Human Activities," *Applied Animal Behaviour Science*, 181 (2016): 63-69.
[48] Ibid. 68.

the bulls at the Calgary Stampede to examine the health and comfort of the animals between rodeo events.[49] This study was undertaken with the goal of finding ways to improve the welfare of the rodeo animals and to potentially prevent injuries during their performances.

These studies carried out at the Stampede represent only a few points of information in the ever-growing body of literature on animal welfare from various disciplines. Other studies have examined different measures of animal welfare, including more recent attempts to quantify the stress experienced by animals in various situations. In a study designed to observe how the behavioural responses of rodeo and workhorses differ from their physiological responses, Rosselot et al. determined that the behaviour of the animals did not always provide an accurate indicator of their physiological response (in this case, varying heart rate) to their surroundings. Further, the authors suggest that when animals are conditioned not to exhibit certain behavioural responses, their physiological responses may be intensified as a result of not exhibiting said behaviours, which could help to cope with stresses.[50] In a related study, this time measuring variables in the animals' blood related to physiological responses to stress, González et al. show variation in those parameters between rodeo horses and workhorses.[51]

In a similar vein, a 2016 study by Sinclair et al. examined both behavioural and physiological responses of calves to a simulated calf-roping event. This study involved naïve calves marshalled through the rodeo arena as well as experienced rodeo calves being roped and

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[49] Sarah Reiger, "Researchers study how bucking bulls are really doing at Calgary Stampede," *CBC News*, 8 July 2019.
[50] Paula Rosselot, Tiago Mendoça, Igor González and Tamara Tadich, "Behavioral and Physiological Differences between Working Horses and Chilean Rodeo Horses in a Handling Test," *Animals*, no. 9 (2019): 397-407.
[51] Igor González, Cristian G. Torres, Ricardo Chihuailaf, Victor Neira, and Tamara A. Tadich, "Differences in Blood Parameters Associated to Stress Response Between Chilean Rodeo Horses and Chilean Urban Working Horses," *Journal of Equine Veterinary Science*, no. 73 (2019): 110-114.

dropped as they would in rodeo competition. The authors conclude that both groups of calves showed elevated levels of cortisol, epinephrine, and nor-epinephrine after the simulated events. In this study, much like the Rosselot et al. study, the behaviour of the animals is not a direct indicator of their physiological response to the situation, as the naïve calves were marshalled at a relatively slow pace and were not roped or dropped and still exhibit physiological stress responses. These studies, along with the growing body of work on physiological responses to stress among non-human animals, indicate that parameters beyond animal behaviour should be considered in animal welfare studies. [52]

Activism and advocacy in support of safer rodeo competitions are important parts of understanding the Stampede as well as how and why the rodeo events have changed over time. However, the involvement of animals goes beyond the rodeo events and grandstand shows, as the Calgary Industrial Exhibition, which preceded the Stampede, had a central focus on non-human animals as well. In its present form, the exhibition portion of the event includes show animals, live animal exhibits, educational programs, and various other events focusing on the breeding and raising of livestock and the science of agriculture. While not as large a spectacle as the rodeo, these types of events have been a staple of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition since its beginning in 1886 and of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede since the merger of the events in 1923.

The Calgary Stampede as it exists today is the result of the merger of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition and Guy Weadick's Stampede format in 1923. The Industrial Exhibition was first held in 1886 and predates the inaugural Calgary Stampede by nearly three decades. The

[52] Michelle Sinclair, Tamara Keeley, Anne-Cecile Lefebvre, and Clive J.C. Phillips. "Behavioral and Physiological Responses of Calves to Marshalling and Roping in a Simulated Rodeo Event," *Animals*, 6 no. 5 (2016): 30-42.

city also hosted the 1908 Dominion Exhibition, one of a then-annual series of Dominion exhibitions which various cities hosted from 1879-1913.[53] Due to the centrality of non-human participants in these exhibitions, they merit some examination here.

The Calgary Industrial Exhibition grew out of an idea put forth by the editors of the *Calgary Herald* in 1884, in which they proposed the formation of an agricultural society, as well as a fall exhibition of the region's crops.[54] This proposal was in direct response to both the high quality of the crops grown in southern Alberta and what the editors characterized as "misrepresentation and erroneous ideas of our country, its climate and capability for production."[55] The exhibition was, in turn, part of a larger trend aimed at promoting settlement in the region and could be seen as a sort of boosterism for the city and for the region. When the Industrial Exhibition began in 1886, it was a long way from the spectacle that it would eventually become under the guidance of Richardson and Weadick. Instead, the early renditions of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition focused on agriculture, livestock and showcasing new technologies and methods for ranching and farming in the region. Today, these elements remain but are dwarfed in scope and renown by the more exciting and dramatic concerts, rodeo, and midway attractions of the Calgary Stampede. However, the Industrial Exhibition laid some of the groundwork for Guy Weadick's Stampede, including the construction of exhibition venues in the event's Victoria Park headquarters. Beyond the event space itself, the Calgary Industrial

[53] "Government of Canada Recognizes the National Historic Significance of Dominion Exhibition Display Building No.2," *Government of Canada, Parks Canada*, 16 October 2018. https://www.canada.ca/en/parks-canada/news/2018/10/government-of-canada-recognizes-the-national-historic-significance-of-dominion-exhibition-display-building-no-2.html
[54] "Early History of the Exhibition, as Taken from the Herald Files," CESF M2160/5a GMA.
[55] Ibid.

Exhibition also set the precedent of a large agriculture and livestock show which would continue unabated following amalgamation with Weadick's Stampede.

In a similar vein to the Industrial Exhibition, the city also played host to the 1908 Dominion Exhibition. The Dominion Exhibition was organized in conjunction with the Industrial Exhibition and lists among the event's attractions the livestock show, the annual dog show, which is "one of the chief points of interest at the exhibition," and a separate building for exhibiting "every variety of hens, geese, ducks, turkeys, pheasants, peafowl and pets" from across North America.[56] Billed as "Western Canada's Greatest Fair," the event aimed to attract participants and guests with displays of animals and animal competitions alongside Wild West shows and vaudeville acts. The entertainment listed also includes rough riding, and an exhibit of animals from the Banff Zoo, both of which rely on a human fascination with animals to draw crowds. These events also fit into the broader popularity of Wild West shows and vaudeville acts which saw a resurgence in the late 1800s and into the early 1900s.

The Dominion Exhibition attracted just over a hundred thousand guests, surpassing all previous attendance records of the Industrial Exhibition.[57] The Dominion Exhibition was a well-known and popular event and drew larger crowds to a grander spectacle than the city's Industrial Exhibition. Of note though, is the common use of animals as both attraction and as participants in both events. The starring role of livestock and show animals in the events indicative of the non-human animals' importance to the region, both in the direct and practical sense seen in agricultural development and in the more symbolic sense of human conquering of nature,

[56] *Dominion Exhibition Official Catalogue & Programme*, 1908, CESF M-2160/29-6 GMA. 8.
[57] "Annual Report of the Manager to the Shareholders of the Inter-Western Pacific Exhibition Co. Ltd." In *Dominion Exhibition Official Catalogue & Programme*, 1908, CESF M-2160/29-6 GMA, 1.

previously discussed in this study. Furthermore, the animal exhibitions exist over a century later in much the same format as before, with livestock judging largely unchanged and the dog show continuing under sponsorship from pet food companies. The continued appeal of the livestock show illustrates the broader appeal of animal involvement in the Stampede, including the novelty of seeing livestock and farm animals up close and in person. Along with the draw of the animals themselves, promoters use their inclusion in the event to maintain the Stampede's ties to ranching and agriculture beyond the rodeo.

The Dominion Exhibition's stated goal in the promotional program is to inspire and instruct citizens "so that gratitude for what has been accomplished shall have fruition in strong resolve to do still better in the future" as well as to continue the work of previous Dominion Exhibitions which had "enlarged the outlook and extended the knowledge of Canadians" and had "brought the people closer together with the consequent generation of a better feeling and a closer mutual interest in the Dominion as a whole."[58] The Calgary iteration of the event attempted to achieve these goals through a nostalgic representation of the west, similar to the early Stampedes discussed in the preceding chapters, as well as through exhibits meant to display the agricultural production of the province. The opening parade for the exhibition lists among the participants a "posse of cowboys and their horses" as well as two displays of mounted police and the Fifteenth Light Horse regiment of Southern Alberta.[59] Of the twenty-three parts of the parade listed, roughly a third were presumably on horseback, and many were intended to invoke the region's past. From the opening of the Exhibition through to its end, animals acting in various

[58] *Dominion Exhibition Programme*, 5.
[59] Ibid.

roles made up a significant portion of the attractions and helped to lend authenticity to recreations of the historic west so central to the event.

The Industrial Exhibitions and the Dominion Exhibition shaped the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede in a number of ways. Most notably, the exhibition and the livestock shows were carried over directly to the combined event. The Industrial Exhibition had attempted to appeal to audiences outside of those looking to learn about new farming and ranching advancements, bringing in Vaudeville acts and other entertainment. Despite these efforts, it took the appeal of the popular Stampede format to draw larger crowds, with the rodeo and the Indian Village serving as major attractions. As the precursor to the Stampede, the Industrial Exhibition further highlights the importance of non-human animals in the Stampede and in the region's culture. The Exhibition is illustrative of the deep roots of animal involvement outside of the Stampede's rodeo, serving both as a tangible symbol of the province's economic status and as a representation of the settlement era.

When E.L. Richardson and Guy Weadick merged the Calgary Industrial Exhibition with the Stampede in 1923, the marketing for the event increased in scope and scale to ensure success. As early as May of 1923, the event was advertised to readers of *The Calgary Albertan* and other local news outlets. A large advertisement in *The Albertan* features an illustration of various cowboys, Indigenous men, and vaqueros riding a team of horses. Along with this somewhat archetypal imagery, the event is billed as "Calgary's Colossal Exhibition and Stirring! Startling!! Scintillating!!! Stupendous Stampede and Bang-Up Buffalo Barbecue," and the copy of the ad explains that all who attend will "get a free feed of buffalo meat," and implores the people of Calgary to act as both boosters and attendees for the event.[60] This and other promotional

[60] Advertisement, *The Morning Albertan*, 12 May 1923.

materials for the first annualized version of the Stampede show the multifaceted importance of non-human animals to the event, with industry, sport, food, and even the history of the settlement of the region, each related to animals depicted in the written word and artwork.

The marketing of the 1923 Exhibition and Stampede followed the vision of the previous iterations of the event discussed in the preceding chapters, focusing on authenticity, historicity, and the participation of non-human animals. The image of a cowboy on a bucking bronco, which had graced the cover of the 1912 Stampede's official program, continued to be a theme throughout various official and unofficial avenues of promotion of the event. A brief article featured in the 22 June edition of *The Albertan* tells readers of the efforts undergone to secure the animals for the wild horse races at the rodeo. The article emphasizes that the horses are truly wild and that Guy Weadick himself played a role in selecting the best available horses from supplier Jack Morton's ranches.[61] Here again, the authenticity of the competitions, as well as the risk to competitors due to the ferocity of the non-human athletes, seem to be the focus of Weadick's promotional efforts. The billing of the Calgary Stampede's rodeo stock as the best available is a central, almost unchanging feature of promotional materials for the event, from the inaugural Stampede up to the present.

Even with the relative novelty and excitement of the Stampede portion of the 1923 Exhibition and Stampede, much of the press coverage of the event remained focused on the animals and the aspects of the livestock industry on display in the exhibition portion of the event. Among various stories recapping the opening ceremonies and the first day of rodeo competition, the 10 July edition of *The Albertan* features headlines such as "Livestock of Province and Industries of Calgary are Well Represented on Grounds," "Best of Horses on Exhibit at the Fair

[61] "Wild Horses for Stampede Race are Really Wild," *The Morning Albertan*, 22 June 1923.

This Year," "Great Interest Being Shown in Many Poultry Exhibits at Local Fair," and "Competition is Keen in Show of Alberta Cattle."[62] These headlines introduce stories of the successes of the exhibition portion of the event, and further illustrate the importance of non-human animals in the Stampede, both in industry and in the show aspects of livestock raising as seen in the horse show, which remains an annual feature into the present.

One significant critique of the 1923 Stampede came from Miss E. Cora Hind, then the agricultural writer for the *Manitoba Free Press*, who argued that the combination of the Stampede with the industrial exhibition would cause the agricultural show to be "neglected by fair visitors in favour of the Stampede and other amusing attractions," according to a response published in *The Albertan*. This critique is significant as it shows the importance of the Calgary Industrial Exhibition to the agricultural industry in western Canada. Likewise, E.L. Richardson's response shows the continued importance to the event's organizers, as he explains at length in an interview that the directors of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede remain committed to the importance of livestock development in the province. Richardson further explains that the inclusion of the Stampede in the exhibition is wholly necessary for the continued existence of the agricultural portion of the event, stating, "one thing has to be done, and that is a sufficiently attractive program has to be put on to draw a large attendance or the exhibition cannot be continued," and that "the Stampede features provided money for the Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan stockmen who competed," which is preferable to "sending money away for fireworks displays etc." In short, Richardson argues that the combining of the two events is to the benefit of the agricultural portion of the event and is beneficial to participants as well as the

[62] *The Morning Albertan*, 10 July 1923.

public.[63] A similar line of argument persists into the present, as discussed in earlier in this chapter, with supporters of the rodeo arguing that its existence is beneficial to the animals involved.

Along with the Stampede's rodeo attractions, vaudeville acts, some of which featured trained animal performers, remained a staple of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede in this era. The 1928 prize list mentions a trained bear act "Palenberg's Bears" as an attraction, along with the promise that "this is the best programme of vaudeville specialties we have ever had at the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede."[64] In the following year's prize list the Vaudeville acts are listed under the heading "Super Vaudeville," and the act "Duncan's Collies," listed as "a beautiful dog act from Auld Scotia," is accompanied by an illustration of dogs performing various tricks such as driving a miniature automobile and using a miniature telephone booth.[65] The inclusion of non-human animals in entertainment is not unique to any one event or form of entertainment, and these examples illustrate the widespread appeal of this type of performance.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s there was relatively little in the way of drastic changes to how promotional materials for the Exhibition and Stampede represented non-human animals. With a handful of notable exceptions, the imagery chosen to represent the rodeo was of cowboys on bucking horses and bulls or photographs of horse races and the chuckwagon derby. Over the same period, horses also featured heavily in promotional images of the other aspects of the event as well, with many promotional brochures and press releases including photos of First Nations men and women on horseback in the "Indian Village" or old timers and cowboys on horseback in

[63] "Livestock Won't Suffer: It Will Benefit by Stampede This Year, Says Richardson to Critics," *The Albertan*, 24 July 1923.
[64] *Calgary Exhibition Prize List*, 1928, CESF, M2160/F21, GMA. 8.
[65] *Calgary Exhibition Prize List*, 1929, CESF, M2160/F22, GMA. 9.

the opening day parade. As discussed in the preceding chapters of this study, much of the marketing of the event in this period remained focused on the historical pageantry envisioned by Guy Weadick and his cofounders. However, animals played key roles in promoting the event, drawing on popular fascination with both the rodeo and with animals in general.

In June of 1940, *The Albertan* ran an article imploring competitors to enter that year's Stampede, noting that numerous entrants, including the top chuckwagon racers of the era such as Dick Cosgrave, had already entered.[66] Despite the ongoing war in Europe, the Calgary Stampede would continue as it had in prior years, save for the lack of government funding and strict limits on the use of railways to transport non-essential goods. An advertisement for the event, also published in *The Albertan,* bills it as "The Star Attraction in Canada in 1940" and features images of a horse and a steer while listing attractions such as horse racing and "Miles of Interesting Exhibits: implements, livestock, industrial and domestic art exhibits."[67] Other advertisements in the weeks leading up to the 1940 Stampede featured different images, such as young people in cowboy hats and the prototypical Stampede image of a cowboy on a bucking bronco. However, the common tie between advertisements remained, as it had in previous decades, the central focus on non-human animals, whether in rodeo events, horse races, or agricultural exhibitions and livestock shows.

Despite the growing appeal of other aspects of the Stampede, the livestock show continued to garner significant attention from both visitors and entrants to the contest. By the end of the 1955 Stampede, it had become clear to organizers that the space allocated for livestock was insufficient for future growth. The 1955 Stampede annual report stresses the need for both

[66] "Rush Entries to Stampede," *The Albertan*, 8 June 1940.
[67] Advertisement, *The Albertan*, 15 June 1940.

short and long-term solutions to the space limitations of the existing facilities.[68] The same report also highlights the continued appeal of animal involvement in the Stampede outside of the rodeo, listing record numbers of entries to the annual bull sale and noting an increased number of permanent staff in the organization's livestock department related to livestock shows and sales.[69] Along with emphasizing the importance of non-human animals to the exhibition and Stampede, these changes also highlight some of the ways in which the organization was able to expand its scope using its existing infrastructure and expertise. This continues in the present with various programs aimed at improving smaller rodeos in the province.

Non-human animals have been a central aspect of the Calgary Stampede since its conception, and the direct ties between livestock and the agricultural development of the Canadian west have ensured the continued importance of non-human participants in the event. While cultural values regarding the treatment and use of animals have changed significantly since the 1912 Stampede, many of the ways in which non-human animals are involved in the event would still be recognizable to those who attended the inaugural Stampede. Through incremental changes to rodeo events and ongoing collaboration with the local Humane Society and veterinary scientists, the Stampede has been able to avoid falling out of public favour or drawing the intense levels of scrutiny from the general public that events such as circuses have received. Additionally, the cultural significance of the Stampede to the City of Calgary and the surrounding areas has kept the more vocal critics on the fringes of public discourse.

However, since the event's conception in the Progressive Era, public opinion on the proper treatment of non-human participants has shifted in subtle ways, which have forced the

[68] *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report*, 1955, CESA, U of C, DC, 7-8.
[69] Ibid. 7.

organization to adapt to new or newly popular concerns. Animal welfare and animal rights groups, whether the more mainstream Calgary Humane Society or more polarizing groups such as PETA have played some part in shifting those public opinions.[70] The most clearcut examples of this, discussed in the preceding pages, are the popularization of Humane societies and the SPCA by the Jack London Club and other groups and the changes made by the Stampede organization to improve the safety of animal athletes in various rodeo events, which have largely followed the publishing of a combination of public, animal activist, and rodeo participant concerns.

Due to the ever-present concerns from animal rights and animal welfare activists, the shifting public discourse on such matters, and the central importance of non-human animals to the success of the Stampede, the organizers must balance the safety and wellbeing of human and non-human participants with the competitive standards of the rodeo. The continued efforts to adapt the rodeo events, making them incrementally safer for all involved, shows this delicate balance. While the desire to remain a premier event among professional rodeos has led to many of these changes being reactive rather than proactive, the changes have been sufficient to maintain the event's public goodwill. The efforts of animal welfare and animal rights activists regarding the Stampede, and especially the rodeo aspect of the event, have often been dismissed or downplayed by both the broader public and the organization itself, but their efforts have played a clear role in shaping public perceptions over the 20th and early 21st centuries. While the

[70] This is difficult to quantify, but a 2016 study showed that Humane Societies and SPCAs enforce animal protection and animal cruelty legislation in Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island and Quebec. Additionally, nearly two thirds of the groups included in the study provide education about humane treatment of animals. *Humane Societies and SPCAs in Canada: A Comprehensive Look at the Sector* (Ottawa: Canadian Federation of Humane Societies, 2016).

documentary evidence of changes within the Stampede does not directly credit or reference such activists, public opinion around the fair treatment of non-human animals has transformed significantly over the past hundred years. While the Stampede has changed substantially in form, scope, and scale since Guy Weadick's initial offering in 1912, the central importance, both implied and expressed, of non-human animals has remained constant. From the early days of the event with rodeo athletes whose skills were honed in ranching and farming to the professionalization of rodeo and the expansion of the Stampede to be worthy of its self-imposed moniker of The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth, horses, steer, and any number of small farm animals have remained constant sources of wonder and awe for guests.

Conclusion

Since its humble beginnings as a one-time celebration of the region's history, the Calgary Stampede has played a significant role in shaping perceptions of the city and of Southern Alberta more broadly. In over a century of major cultural, economic, and social changes, the self-proclaimed "Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth" has maintained a dominant place in Calgary's identity and culture. As this study has shown, the organization's ability to adapt to changing norms and values while simultaneously signaling the history of the event and the province has kept the Stampede culturally relevant. The event's prominent place in the culture of the city achieved through the concerted efforts of the organization, has made the Stampede a key part of civic and regional identities. The organizers of the Stampede, from Guy Weadick to the current team of nearly 30 different committees, have structured the event to be appealing to as broad an audience as possible, strengthening its cultural cachet. From the examples discussed throughout this study, such as changes to be more family and youth-oriented in the postwar era, to more recent examples, like booking musical acts of every popular genre, the organization has expanded on its original premise to align with an everchanging cultural landscape.[1] In doing so, they have created an annual event which has consistently grown its attendance and which remains a core facet of the city's identity.

This study has examined, in-depth, the ways in which the organizers of the Stampede have turned a rodeo and industrial exhibition into a pillar of civic and regional identities. When the Stampede is considered in its totality, its continued cultural relevance and impact are

[1] Two of the event's music venues, the Big Four Roadhouse and the Coca Cola Stage, host acts ranging from country music, to hip-hop, to electronic dance music. The headline acts for each venue are typically internationally known artists who have mainstream appeal.

undeniably the result of a continuous renegotiation of the ideas and values the organization portrays. While some elements of the Stampede have the appearance of remaining static, such as the image of the cowboy, or the Elbow River Camp, closer examination has revealed the malleability of every aspect of the event. In their quest to remain relevant as tastes, demographics, and cultural sensitivities have shifted, the Stampede organization has continually adapted, with all but the aesthetics of the event drastically changing over its first century. By holding on to aesthetic aspects, such as the icon of the cowboy and his horse, which seem static, and by pointing to its own storied past, the Stampede has retained a claim to its roots in regional history, as it has become a part of that history.

From the inaugural Stampede in 1912 up to the present day, the organizers have sold the event to the public as a combination of attractions; a thrilling rodeo, an education on the region's history, and a spectacular celebration of both. Under the leadership of Guy Weadick and E.L. Richardson, the combined Exhibition and Stampede maintained a focus on regional history with historical pageantry, celebration of ranching and farming, and the Indian Village / Elbow River Camp. Following changes in management in the 1930s, the marketing team would continue to sell the event on the thrills of the rodeo, but over time the history which was sold to the public shifted toward the history of the Stampede itself, with exceptions for milestones such as Canada's 100th anniversary of confederation. By making this change to focus on the history of the event, the organizers were able to maintain ties to history, and market the event based on nostalgia, even as the historical pageant aspect of the event was diminished. As the Stampede's brand became less about the region's settlement and agricultural history, the marketing team focused more on the spectacle of the event, highlighting the rodeo, musical acts, celebrities, and other exciting attractions. Even the animal aspects of the event outside of the rodeo rely on the

spectacle presented by large breed horses pulling wagons around the fairgrounds, well-trained dogs performing agility feats, and the scope and scale of the opening day parade in which VIPs typically participate on horseback. Thus, what history is included in the marketing for the Stampede tends to focus on the history of the event itself.

In addition to marketing the event as a spectacle, the Stampede has established a number of invented traditions which span the city and contribute to the word-of-mouth marketing for the event. The most expansive of these invented traditions is the pancake breakfast, dozens of which are hosted by various companies and groups throughout the city during the Stampede. These events, not funded by or even typically connected to the Stampede organization, allow the various interested parties to align their own brand with the Stampede and add to the city-wide atmosphere of celebration that the event brings. The pancake breakfasts, though seemingly mundane from an outside perspective, serve as one of the invented traditions that have spread the celebration of the Stampede beyond the confines of the park, ingraining the event into communities across the city. This is the primary example of the use of food as part of the appeal of the Stampede, but other one-off events discussed in the marketing chapter of this study, such as the buffalo barbecue in 1923, have reinforced the connection between shared experiences around food and the Stampede. The same experiences can be seen in the last two decades in the form of the intentionally weird midway food offerings that change each year.

Another longstanding invented tradition is businesses in the city adorning their storefronts in western themes, ranging from square hay bales and wooden signs to painted window murals depicting cowboys and horses. This tradition, along with the pancake breakfasts, serves as unofficial advertising for the Stampede while also aligning the participating businesses with the goodwill of the Stampede brand. In a similar vein, the tradition of dressing western,

which many Calgarians and visitors to the city participate in, serves as a form of boosterism for the Stampede. Each of these traditions comes at no cost to the Stampede organization, with costs incurred by the participants instead. That businesses and individuals are willing to pay these optional costs, whether by supplying food to thousands of revelers, paying to have their storefront decorated, or purchasing western clothing, highlights the cultural importance of the Stampede to Calgarians as well as the perceived benefits of aligning with expectations during the event.

The one aspect of the Stampede which has remained largely unchanged over its history is the Elbow River Camp (ERC). Aside from a location change due to recurring flooding and trouble with drunk Stampede attendees, followed by another location change when the park was expanded, the camp has been a staple of the event since its inception and has undergone relatively little change over that time. The ERC has always consisted of family-owned tipis, set up for display and with the tipi-owning families selecting what items to display and to what degree they would like to share information with visitors. The primary change to this aspect of the event is the use of Indigenous involvement in the Stampede as a marketing tactic. Where early promotional materials for the Stampede discussed Indigenous people in terms of how they lived prior to European contact, later materials celebrated the extant cultures of Treaty Seven nations in ways that the participants chose to share their cultures. Simply put, the marketing of the ERC as an attraction changed from historicizing Indigenous people and cultures to encouraging visitors to learn about families and cultures from the participants themselves. This change further illustrates the adaptation of the Stampede organization to changing cultural norms as the hegemonic culture went from believing that Indigenous people and cultures were going to be fully assimilated to increasingly learning about and celebrating those same people and

cultures. Along with the ERC as a space for cross-cultural contact and education, Indigenous involvement in the Stampede has played a role in shaping Calgary's identity more broadly, alongside more direct efforts to incorporate Indigeneity into the city's image. Marketing for the event often includes Indigenous imagery, and tourism promotions, which include the Stampede also often include this imagery. Indigenous people, and particularly the Treaty Seven nations that are annual participants in the event, are a crucial part of its identity and by extension, the identity of Calgary.

In this study I have also examined the representations of masculinity that are a key element of the Stampede. The masculine element of the event is present in marketing the rodeo, marketing the historical aspects of the event, in encouraging conspicuous consumption, and in the civic boosterism, the city and organization foster in citizens dressing the part of a cowboy. The two most visible masculine forms in the Stampede are those of the historic cowboy and the rodeo cowboy. The historic cowboy in popular imagination has become a somewhat mythical figure upon whom ideal forms of masculinity can be projected even as those ideals change. The rodeo cowboy, by contrast, is a professional athlete whose masculinity comes from the risks he takes in his chosen profession and his ability to overcome those risks and the injuries they may cause. These two masculine forms are prominently featured in advertisements, souvenirs, and media coverage of the event, and they paint a picture of the Stampede as being inherently masculine. Other forms of masculinity converge with the aesthetics of these masculine archetypes, as the unofficial dress code for the Stampede is western wear that often amalgamates the historic and rodeo cowboy. Along with serving as a form of boosterism, as mentioned above, the cowboy costume aligns wearers with the positive connotations of cowboy masculinity without the need to live a frontier life or be tossed from the back of a bucking bronco. While few

visitors to Calgary would likely expect to find an old western town chock-a-block with real cowpunchers, the cowboy image has prominently featured in the city even outside of the Stampede. The combination of the ranching history of the region, with Calgary's hinterlands still dotted with farms and ranches, and the central importance of the Stampede to Calgary's identity means that the cowboy, along with the masculinity he represents, is a symbol of both the event and its home city.

While the cowboy, both as a real person and as a symbol, is the most outwardly obvious form of masculinity on display at the Stampede, invented traditions such as dressing western provide the opportunity to perform a more consumerist masculinity. The conspicuous consumption of the Stampede, discussed briefly in this study, also serves as a way for individuals to depict their masculinity. Whether in the form of an elaborate costume, or in the form of lavish spending at Stampede parties or VIP sections at the event, there is no shortage of ways to spend money during the event.

The final chapter of this study examined the role of animals and animal rights activism in shaping the Stampede. Non-human animal participants in the event have been central to most major aspects of the ten-day affair since 1912. The rodeo is not the only aspect of the event which includes non-human animals. From the opening parade, in which many participants are on horseback, to the livestock shows and the agricultural pavilion, animals are prominent throughout much of the Stampede. These events range from educational events, teaching children where certain animal products come from, to competition in the livestock shows and pure spectacle in the parade and grandstand shows. The inclusion of animals in so much of the event points to the farming and ranching of the area, the ongoing agribusiness in the prairie

provinces, and to a popular shared fascination with non-human animals on the part of Stampede attendees.

The most prominent portion of the event which includes animals, the rodeo, is also the one that has drawn the most scrutiny. The risks taken by rodeo cowboys are not theirs alone, as every rodeo animal from roping calves to steer to bucking stock is placed at some level of risk of physical injury, with euthanasia as a likely outcome for severe injuries. While the rodeo has drawn criticism since the early years of the event, the Stampede organization has worked to decrease risks both to human and non-human participants. Various rule changes, temporarily removing certain events from the schedule, bans for dangerous competitors, and even the continuous monitoring of animal vital signs have all been implemented in attempts to mitigate harm to the rodeo competitors. This is one aspect of the Stampede in which the organizers have attempted to find a balance between adapting and remaining true to the spirit of the event. Faced with growing opposition to the rodeo because of continued harm to non-human participants, and the desire to remain one of the premier rodeo events in North America, the Stampede organization has worked to engineer out animal injuries and deaths rather than remove or fundamentally change specific sports. This attempt to minimize risk has varied in effectiveness, and non-human competitor deaths, though typically decreased in number, are still a regular occurrence within the rodeo. The incremental improvements to safety in these events have fueled ongoing animal rights and animal welfare activism but have not led to any measurable decrease in the Stampede's popularity. The Stampede's attempts to improve rodeo animal safety have led to a close partnership with the University of Calgary's school of veterinary science, as well as a bucking stock program that provides high levels of care to the animals in order to ensure they are fit for competition. While it once served as a major site for cattle auctions, earning it the

nickname Cowtown, the Stampede's animal participants, especially horses, are as ever-present in the city's image and identity as the cowboy.

In each of the aspects of the Calgary Stampede examined in this study we can see the centrality of the event to the city's identity, as it is seen both by Calgarians and by visitors. The way the Stampede's important attractions and elements are sold to the public has a profound effect on how the event is perceived. The organizers of the Stampede have adapted the event over time to continue to have a mainstream cultural appeal while continuing to root the event in history by focusing on the history of the Stampede itself. By maintaining relevance through adaptation, the Stampede organizers have shaped the event into a point of civic pride for many Calgarians. This, in turn, has inextricably linked the event, even among those who are not proud of it, to their idea of what the city is and represents. By extension, the way in which Indigeneity, masculinity, and non-human animals are presented in the Stampede shapes the identity of the city. For as long as the event remains the cultural juggernaut that it is within Calgary specifically and within Southern Alberta more broadly, it will remain a key component of civic and regional identities.

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