

Dress Up for Big Boys: Cowboy Culture of the Urban Rodeo

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Dress Up For Big Boys: Cowboy Culture of the Urban Rodeo

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Declaration of Committee

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Abstract

Billed as The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth, the Calgary Stampede is one of the West's most celebrated events with visitors, from near and far, partaking and reveling in Southern Alberta's Western heritage. This event is a celebration of Alberta's western past and, as such, the Stampede has continually encouraged its attendees to dress up in Western (cowboy) attire in order to (re)capture the Western spirit. The cowboy has unremittingly been held up as an exceptional model of hegemonic masculinity, which, in turn, is celebrated and reinforced each year during the Stampede's live action performances. A study was then conducted on this form of masculinity by interviewing local males who use the attire to construct a short-term dominant masculine identity for the ten days in direct contrast to their daily normal lives.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

He wasn't a good man, he wasn't a bad man, but Lord, he was a man (The Ballad of Cable Hogue). [Excerpt from the 1970 film Ballad of Cable Hogue, as noted in Jane Tompkins (1993), *West of Everything: the inner life of westerns.*]

The cowboy is a predominant figure in the West and the term immediately connects one to the wide-open range and romanticised frontier; however, rarely is the cowboy seen as someone herding cattle. 'He' is either a heroic gunfighter, hunter, gambler, rancher, sheriff, outlaw, or scout (Smith, 1948, Savage, 1976, Slotkin, 1992, Tompkins, 1993, Huxley, 2018). Whether this figure is seen as good or bad depends on one's perspective. Regardless, the 'cowboy' is "defined by his strength, honour, and independence, his wilderness identity, not by his job" (Wright, 2001, p.6). This hero has "no bosses, no time clocks to punch, and no rigid work schedule to follow" (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007, p.397). To many, he is an independent labourer positioned against the working stiff and symbolises liberty, individuality, and a command of nature, which is often a mere fantasy (Mitchell, 2003; Wright, 2001; Grisby, 1980, Herbst et, al., 2014). 'He' is an inspiring hero.

Cowboys are easily recognizable. The hat, the embroidered plaid shirts, and the boots are telltale signs. When one sees this dress, it immediately brings to mind cowboys and their culture regardless of the context. The visual element is important as the clothing has symbolic meaning beyond just the need to cover the body. For instance, In Canada the cowboy and his clothing are intimately associated with Alberta, and the Western frontier. This, in turn, has arguably produced a 'unique' Albertan culture and identity based on the idea that the West is inherently different (Western exceptionalism). Particularly, Western Canada's "values, political system and history...are unique and worthy of universal admiration" (Walt, 2011, n.p), which is revered and celebrated each year during

the annual Calgary Stampede. Although the attire is meant to represent the historical cattle handler, ranch-related tasks, and the ranching industry, the clothing is also synonymous with manliness because the cowboy has represented -- and as I will argue still does -- an 'ideal' concept of manhood in the West - a brave, hardworking man who stood up for his rights (cultural and social), defended his family (patriarchy), and country (nationalism) (Najera-Ramirez, 1994; Vargas 2010).

The Calgary Stampede is one of Canada's most popular events. First staged in 1912 and then annually since 1923 (Wetherell, 2008), it is also one of Canada's longest running celebrations. In 2019, the event drew an estimated 1.27 million visitors during the ten days of festivities (Hudes, 2019), with many attending the fairgrounds more than once. On the surface, the Stampede is a host for food trucks, rides, games, and of course the rodeo; however, it is also known for its 'party' atmosphere. As such, it attracts an abundance of partygoers. Although, many attend for the former well-known reasons, more often they attend for the revelries which have become almost intrinsic to the festival spirit. In conjunction with these festivities, attendees are encouraged to dress up in cowboy attire, namely cowboy hats, boots, plaid shirts, belt buckles and of course denim. As the Stampede's mission is to "preserve and promote Western heritage and values" (Kelm, 2014, p.712), the attire is based on theme of the 'rodeo', with the rural male 'cowboy' seen as the genuine Westerner (Seiler, 1998).

The Calgary Stampede has continually celebrated the West's heritage and values, which includes the people, the animals, and the land - the unique spirit of the West. As such, the connection between the Stampede and Calgary is immeasurable, especially in relation to both the immediate and long-term economy. In 2019, the 10-day festival generated an estimated 250 million dollars in economic benefits, with 407 million dollars in related tax revenue for the city (Hudes, 2019). As a result, the City of Calgary does its utmost to cater to the people attending and its communities. For instance, although the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission had previously only allowed private events to serve alcohol early in the day, the provincial authority now allows bars, restaurants, and lounges to start serving to the general public at 8:00 a.m. However, on 'parade day' (the opening day of the Stampede) some establishments are permitted to start serving at 7 a.m. (Gilligan, 2014). Needless to say, the revenue generated from the early morning activities was enough for the AGLC to change its rules.

In relation to the long-term economic benefits, the Stampede has also become an important showcase in attracting foreign investment and international workers and is considered a 'mecca' for networking (Hudes, 2019). In fact, each year the Stampede Park hosts over 1,200 business, tourism, sporting, hospitality, and community events which contribute an estimated 540 million dollars annually (Barnes, 2019). Not only do these events contribute to the economy, it undeniably adds to the sense of community spirit. In fact, this connection is also firmly entrenched within individual communities, as local businesses and charities across the city host pancake breakfasts for their (potential) customers, employees, and, of course, the general public.

Unsurprisingly, there is an enormous sense of spirit found within the actual Stampede. The not-for-profit organisation, which is supported by over 2,500 volunteers, has year-round events, programs, and initiatives dedicated to investing in agricultural, youth, and western culture (Barnes, 2019). The

Stampede heavily invests in Calgary and its communities, and in turn, these people and communities heavily invest in the Stampede. The relationship is reciprocal. People are encouraged to participate, and both the CS and the city encourage and welcome this in return. In fact, one could almost argue it is expected.

1.1. On the Research Question and Thesis

As Calgary is a vibrant, multicultural city, with a mixture of social and economic classes situated within numerous suburban communities (the Statistics Canada 2016 Census shows that 29.4% of Calgary's population are immigrants, 33.7% of the population are visible minorities, and the city has over 240 ethnic origins; the total population at this time was 1,392,609), I do not understand the continued modern appeal of this culture. To me, the cowboy is a relic that represents an appalling bygone era: an era full of white dominant, hegemonic, masculine heteronormative males who view anything outside their domain with disdain and contempt. This figure is someone who seems, to me, completely out of place in a modern city. To understand the continued appeal of the cowboy and his culture, I decided to interview local males between the ages of 18-45. As many of the males who attend each year dress in part, I had hoped that many maintained this cultural tradition and dressed in cowboy attire out of respect for Alberta's heritage; however, as 'cowboy' culture is still synonymous with manliness and the ideal concept of manhood, I believe the clothing may also embody a particular masculine identity, at least for ten days out of the year.

1.2. My Interest

My interest for this project comes from two distinct areas: one personal and the other academic.

1.2.1. Personal

I was on the train heading to work one Friday when I noticed two young Japanese women dressed in full cowboy gear. Both were wearing cowboy hats, denim vests, belt-buckles, denim pants, and cowboy boots. I was perplexed and found it odd. When I arrived at work, I mentioned this to a few people and they just shrugged, 'It's Stampede Week'. At the time I had no idea what they meant, especially as I had just moved to Calgary. A few days later a young male employee 'strutted' into the lunchroom just prior to his shift wearing a cowboy hat, a massive belt-buckle, and cowboy boots. On a normal summer day, it would be a t-shirt and shorts, chosen without purpose; however, on this day he walked in with cause. I laughed, still not being familiar with Calgary's 'custom', but over the next few days I noted his demeanour had changed. He was no longer an insecure young kid; he was a man with a purpose. As he walked, he moved with an air of confidence, assured that he was in control of himself and his surroundings. He was committed. Over the course of the week, as I travelled around the city, I met similar 'men' dressed in similar gear and similarly committed; The way they talked, walked, and interacted with each other also seemed different from the usual. To me, this was no longer a costume, but a statement. What kind of statement, however, remained unclear.

1.2.2. Academic

My academic interest stems from research and literature which indicates white masculinity is in crisis (Ferber, 2000; Capdevila, 2016). As men have often benefitted the most from the conventional

definitions of gender, many have responded with fear, anger, and feelings of loss to equality movements that are often perceived as having threatened and marginalized the white heterosexual normative man. This has especially been the case since the second wave of feminism. Taking this into consideration, could the appeal for the masculine cowboy culture and his attire be based on the desire, both conscious and unconscious, to maintain the status quo? Do Calgary men feel threatened by the changes in society, and is the fondness for a masculine male-dominated western culture a way to reach to the past when things were, in their minds, simpler?

1.3. Research Design

This research draws primarily from qualitative observation fieldwork conducted around the period of the annual Calgary Stampede and consists of interviews with nine males who attended the events dressed in cowboy attire. The interviews were necessary in order to understand the continued modern appeal. My personal observations and opinions were also used to expand on certain interviews and themes. In addition, thematic historical literature related to Wild West shows, rodeos, clothing, and biographies were also integrated into the research.

The interviews were conducted, following the Stampede, (face-to-face) using a semi-structured approach to ensure the questions remained consistent and on topic. This approach not only provided flexibility, but also allowed for the exploration of emerging and unexpected themes. This process also allowed the interviewees the freedom to express their thoughts comfortably, and to respectfully decline answering any particular questions. As I was interested in capturing 'their' voice this would also increase the likelihood that respondents would fully express their thoughts, ideas, and attitudes, and be more active in the research process. Most of the respondents were either recruited from outside the Stampede's gates or from one of the local pancake breakfasts (community events where volunteers cook large quantities of food for the general public, often free, though donations are accepted if it is a fundraiser; some businesses also hold luncheons). Additional respondents were identified through personal acquaintances who had access to men who fit my criteria. One individual was recruited personally as I knew he dressed up and attended multiple Stampede events. In total nine interviews were conducted. One was conducted at the respondent's place of work, two were conducted in local coffee shops, and the remainder were conducted at my place of work. In relation to the actual interview questions, respondents were asked general questions about themselves along with questions in relation to the Stampede, and its cowboy culture. Although my research is largely based on masculinity research, at no time during the interviews was this mentioned. I had made a conscious decision to not mention anything specifically masculinity related as I did not want to influence anyone's opinion, especially in relation to the cowboy and its culture. (The average interview lasted around thirty minutes. As many of the questions were directed towards their personal experience with the Stampede and its culture, their responses can be considered authentic expressions of participants in that culture. For interview schedule and further information see Appendix A.)

1.4. Thesis Structure

As previously indicated, this project is an attempt to understand the continued modern appeal of the cowboy, 'his' culture, and the cowboy attire which is both formally and informally linked to the Calgary

Stampede. To explore the cultural dynamics between the cowboy, the culture, the clothing, and why men continue to dress in cowboy attire, the thesis is broken down into sections identified as chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the overall theme of the paper and includes my personal and academic reasons for the research and indicate what I hope to achieve. I detail how the research was conducted and provide information on the structure of the interviews. It will also briefly introduce the main research in relation to the overall theme of the thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses the concept of sex and gender, along with some of the most relevant discourse in relation to gender development and differentiation. This is followed with a discussion on masculinity research as it pertains to my thesis.

Chapter 3, I look at the historical roots of the traditional cowboy and how 'he' came to be within both the American and Canadian contexts. As the cowboy and 'his' culture are heavily integrated into the Stampede, it is important to understand why 'he' is considered an important icon in regard to Southern Alberta's heritage.

Chapter 4 looks at the creation of the mythical cowboy, which is important as there is a considerable difference between the traditional cowboy and the more common cowboy stereotype (fact vs. fiction). The section traces the creation of the heroic cowboy, from dime novels to Wild west shows and rodeos. These dime novels created a romanticised frontier with the heroic cowboy 'driving' Western expansion, which was (re)created within both of the later visual forms of entertainment. This is significant as the Stampede has managed to preserve many of the cultural traditions in association with the cowboy's origins - both real and fictional.

Chapter 5, I discuss the highly gendered clothing. As many men not connected to the culture use the attire to construct themselves as 'heroic' cowboys during the period of the Stampede, it is important to understand how this clothing came to represent and reinforce a manly ideal. This is significant as the clothing moved from utilitarian to aggrandizement furthering accenting masculinity identity and expression and is still used to model a certain form of masculinity.

Chapter 6, I discuss the data in relation to my thesis, which will indicate that some men use the attire to construct a short-term masculine identity, which can also lead to other forms of masculine behavior. This chapter will draw together the central argument of the thesis.

Chapter 7, this final section summarizes my research, discussing its limitations and noting areas for potential future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Today, gender is one of the most important aspects of person's identity and can affect one's appearance, mannerisms, interest, activities, career choices, friendships, and interpersonal styles (Miller, 2016; Milam & Nye, 2015; Capous-Desyllas & Johnson-Rhodes, 2018; Stanley, 2012). It is complex, salient, and constantly in flux (Connell, 2000). Historically, at least in the North American context, the terms 'gender' and 'sex' were used interchangeably. These terms are no longer synonymous, so it is important to understand the difference between the two. Gender refers to an

individual's concept of themselves, their identity, or it speaks to the social, cultural, and psychological traits attributed to men and women which are frequently divided between masculinity and femininity (Lorber, 2000, Connell, 2005). Sex refers to the biological characteristics of males, females, and intersexes, such as genitalia and genetic differences (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender makes one either masculine or feminine, and sex makes one male or female (of course, there are identities that are not exclusively masculine or feminine and fall outside the standard gendered binary; non-binary is one term used to describe genders that do not fall into the standard male or female categories). As there are a different set of norms, roles, and cultural expectations applied to both based on these terms, a fair number of theories were developed to explain gender development and differentiation (Marchbank & Letherby, 2014). In the following I address several influential theories and theorists regarding gender.

2.1. Sex Role Theory

Proponents of the Sex Role Theory hold that, due to the biological differences between the two sexes, men and women are inherently suited for different roles and tasks. Accordingly, these theorists insist that there is one designated role for men and one for women (Campbell & Bell, 2009). One of the significant ideas of this argument is that the roles are separated into expressive and instrumental (Parsons, 1951). As women were considered to have a more nurturing instinct they were linked to more expressive (feminine) roles within the family sphere. Men, deemed to be more competitive and aggressive, were allocated an instrumental (masculine) role as providers (Marchbank & Letherby, 2014). As these norms were considered expected behaviour, men and women, both as children and into adulthood, learned their appropriate roles through socialisation (Connell, 2000); however, these expectations reached beyond the family sphere and into greater society. For instance, science and technology, seen through this ideology was culturally defined as a masculine realm (Milam & Nye, 2015).

2.2. Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory, when applied to gender refers to a person's tendency to learn "vicariously by observing other people engag[ing] in gender-type behaviour and witnessing the responses" (Miller, 2016, p.3). Through this process one learns what roles are characteristic of each gender and the consequences associated with engaging in either suitably gendered behaviour, or 'other' behaviour. People are rewarded for appropriate activities and punished for conduct considered inappropriate. In this way, roles acquired through observation and imitation become personal references and reinforce the gendered binary (Busey & Bandura, 1999). This is especially the case when one set of examples is strongly provided for males and another set for females. For example, as a child I always wanted an E-Z Bake Oven for my birthday and was told by both of my older brothers baking is for 'girls'. Needless to say, the message was received.

The most obvious counter arguments to these theories are the rapid social changes in society in the last few decades. For instance, behaviours that were once considered to belong in one gendered category are now in both. Men increasingly embrace roles that were once stereotypically assigned to women, such as child-rearing and homemaking; women have become more active in social and occupation roles typically associate with men (Olah, et al. 2014). As noted by Zhu & Chang (2019),

this clearly indicates previous social and behavioural dispositions which resulted in gender roles and gender inequalities are not fixed.

2.3. Social Construction of Gender

At present, the most relevant theory in relation to gender is social construction. The theory asserts that gender is not fixed, innate, or a natural identity, but rather gendered labels are (re)created through social interactions and sociocultural influences (Connell, 2005). As this labelling categorises and divides men and women, there are separate sets of general scripts designed for men (masculine) and women (feminine). Accordingly, people are compelled to adhere to the gender normative roles as set within their culture (Lorber, 1994). For instance, the labelling of sex (it is a boy or a girl) often starts with an assignment to a category before birth, and this compels society to treat a child in one category much different than those in the 'other' category (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As these gendered categories become internalised through further socialisation, people (often as children) begin to behave and act differently in order to re-create the stereotypical gendered roles. Thus, we learn, internalise, and then recreate the gender roles through socialisation (Marchbank & Letherby, 2007).

As gender often requires adhering to gendered norms and being rendered either masculine or feminine (Peterson & Runyan, 1993), gender is an achieved status which is "created and re-created out of human interactions, out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life" (Lorber, 1994, p.13). This view is also supported by Connell (2005) who notes that gender "is a way in which social practice is ordered" (p.71). However, when we categorise people based on their appearance and behavioural cues, gender can also produce systemic, identity-based discrimination and segregation in a culture where, for example, the construction of gender places men and masculinity above women and femininity in social sorting. For instance, where the social construction and ranking of gender upholds a system of masculine power by favouring those "institutions and practices that are male dominated, and/or representative of masculine traits and styles" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993, p.18), it can cause individuals to behave differently in order to achieve the idealised expectations, thereby leaving those who challenge the power differentials to face the consequences of non-conformance.

Although all levels of society are expected to act in accordance with these defined roles, this paper will focus solely on the romanticised masculine institution of the West and the 'highly' gendered cowboy as 'he' has been unremittingly held up as an idealised version of manhood. Many may reject the masculine cowboy, and ultimately challenge the overall gendered binary; however, some individuals will conflate their own identity in order to abide by the cultural norms as dictated by society. This is especially the case during the period of the Stampede. As opposed to discussing all the intricacies of masculinity, which would far exceed the scope of this paper, the following section will discuss the most relevant discourse in relation to my research on gender and performance within the confines of the Calgary Stampede.

2.4. What does it mean to be a man?

What does it mean to be a man? Is 'being a man' something we (as men) personally ascribe to or something we are expected to behave according to? In reality, it is, in most cases, both; however, there is no single correct or concrete definition of what it means to be a man. It is contentious. However, there are concepts associated with men which deserve further discussion, namely the concept of masculinity and the common themes and stereotypes associated with it; specifically, dominance, power, control, independence, athleticism, etc. All have been used to describe men in a positive way; however, in broader social discourse, these same words can be and often are used in a negative way. Why are these words important, and why are they constantly ascribed to men? More importantly, why do men ascribe to them? What makes a man (or boy) look to these terms and their associated characteristic and traits for some sort of value? Why is masculinity synonymous with being a man?

2.5. Masculinity Studies

The interdisciplinary field of masculinity studies aims at analysis that incorporates insights from cultural, social, historical or political scholarship which examines masculinity within individuals and communities. It is relatively new in the field of gender inquiry, and is an offshoot and counterweight to feminist theory which undeniably adds significant value in relation to understanding the complexities between gender and power. This field of study is particularly relevant in the way it studies not the actions of men but how their role as gendered beings in society shapes these attitudes and actions.

2.6. Difficult to define

Because masculinity, or masculinities, can be difficult to define, as noted by Clatterbough (1998) and again by Hearn (1996), the terms are used in inconsistent ways by different authors and researchers. Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) are supportive of this as they reject a fixed masculine essence, noting multiple masculinities and ambiguous meanings that can alter depending on the context. Connell (2001), in her aptly titled, *Understanding Men*, also reiterates this point, noting the terms "are often used in ways that imply a simplified and static notion of identity, or rest on a simplified and unrealistic notion of difference between men" (Connell, 2001, p.20). Due to the lack of concrete definitions, the terms are arguably open to interpretations which are dependent on the researchers' analysis and perspective. Furthermore, the terms masculinity, manhood, and manly, are all used interchangeably to describe or define men (or women). For instance, numerous articles use the words in both historical and modern context without differentiating between particular historically imbedded meanings.

There are writers who disagree with the generic use of these labels in discussions that range across different historical periods and point to the differences between meanings over time. For instance, Gail Bederman (1995) in *Manliness and Civilisation*, illustrates how the late 19th century the Western concept of 'manliness', encompassed a moral dimension. In this regard, manliness referred more to character or conduct worthy of man and assumed standard Victorian norms, such as self-restraint, a powerful will, and a strong moral character. However, Bederman also specifically contends that masculinity during this period was "devoid of moral or emotional meaning" and instead referred to any characteristics that all men ostensibly had (p. 18). All men were considered, virtually by definition, masculine. Bederman does acknowledge that, by the mid-twentieth century, 'masculinity' had

developed into the mix of ideal traits, with which we are more familiar today, including modern western ideals, such as aggressiveness, athleticism, stoicism, and independence. Kimmel (1994a), in *Consuming Manhood: The Feminisation of American Culture and the Recreation of the Male Body*, equates manhood with masculinity, stating that manhood, since the 1830s, has been based on proving one's own masculinity.

Kimmel (1994b), using a contemporary model called 'marketplace masculinity', argues that masculinity is based on proving one's manhood through the accumulation of wealth in the sphere of economic competition. As the western ideal of manhood demands self-reliance, self-sufficiency, and self-control (Brod, 2018), the accumulation of goods (wealth, power, and capital) is considered a true sign of success; manhood is thereby validated.

With no clear definition of what it means to be a man and, arguably, no concrete definition of masculinity, both terms remain ambiguous. Masculinity, in general, refers to the social roles, behaviours, characteristics and meanings ascribed, and by extension prescribed, to men in any society at any one time (Beynon, 2010). In this regard, masculinity can be viewed as a set of social practices and cultural representations typically associated with being a man.

2.7. Masculinity and Culture

As noted by Bederman (1995) and Kimmel (1996), masculinity is never free from cultural influences. Culture shapes and expresses masculinity "differently at different times in different circumstances in different places by individuals and groups" (Beynon, 2010, p.2). This is also supported by Connell (2005) who considers masculinity to be a configuration of practice that may follow different trajectories and is "always liable to internal contradiction[s] and historical disruption[s]" (p.73). As masculinity varies both historically and culturally, this suggests that there is not a single type of masculinity, but rather many masculinities, each with its own specific characteristics and features that can be adapted to meet the different objectives of the culture (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell, 1998). As such, masculinity can be socially constructed to fit an individual's, or society's needs and, as those circumstances change, the practices can be contested and (re)constructed. It is neither static, timeless, nor fixed.

However, as cultures present their own idealised version of masculinity depending on the 'particular situations', not all masculinities are equal; some are dominant, some are complicit, and some are progressive, while others are subordinated or marginalised (Courtenay, 2000). Although there are definite social relations among the variants (Connell, 2005), the patterns of conduct in western society often promote the hegemonic form over the others. This hegemonic form often dictates what is culturally appropriate, which in turn is reproduced as the culturally appropriate way to think, act and interact. In fact, this hegemonic form of masculinity currently embodies the most honoured way of being a man and requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it (Donaldson, 1993; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

2.8. Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of hegemony derives from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations and refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life through mobilisation and demobilisation (Connell, 2005). In his writings, Gramsci called this complex process 'hegemony', which, in basic terms, is a means of maintaining class domination through persuasion. This is done partially by convincing a greater part of the population that the ruling class's ideas are just common sense. The concept of hegemony then helps to understand the "position of dominance attained through relative consensus rather than regular force, even if underpinned by force" (Jewkes, et. al, 2015, p. 113).

The literature on hegemonic masculinity is quite extensive, and the concept has been widely used, debated, and refined (Hearn 2004; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Regardless, it has generally been theorised as a legitimate, protected, normative form of elite masculinity, which is "always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women" (Connell, 1987, p.183), ensuring that gender relations are (re)produced through actions and behaviours. In this regard, hegemonic masculinity is a belief system imposed by the ruling class as a set of societal norms, which are then perceived as beneficial to society, when it is only beneficial to the ruling class, as is it helps maintain the status quo. As the hegemonic definition of manhood is "a man in power, a man with power, and a man of power" (Kimmel, 1994b, p.124), it identifies and delineates the attitudes and practices men use to perpetuate this inequality, between men, and between men and women. It is important to note, however, that although hegemonic masculinity has been defined as the culturally idealised form (Donaldson, 1993), only a few actually achieve it. In this regard, it is largely aspirational.

Despite this, the research in this area can be essential as the hegemonic form of masculinity is valued above all other expressions and must, for this reason, be clearly analysed and understood. This is especially the case during the period of the Stampede, where men celebrate and aspire to reach the dominant form of masculinity which becomes, in this instance, the cowboy.

2.9. Hegemonic Masculinity and Race

As hegemonic masculinity legitimises men's dominant social position and justifies the subordination of other men, the normative standards can also be used to measure against other forms of masculinity in a cross-cultural comparison (Connell, 2005). In this regard, it can cause people from a dominant group to associate different traits of masculinity with different racial groups in order to uphold their own 'normative' form while ensuring the subordination of 'others' (Ferber, 2000). For instance, the dominant image of the African American male in Western civilisation used to be ugly, violent, and hyper-sexual in contrast with the 'true' account of Western manliness (Shaw & Tan, 2014). The purpose of this stereotype, besides racial demonization, was to provide a contrast in relation to the white, western image of hegemonic masculinity. As a result, this research can also lead to a better understanding of the interaction between race and hegemonic masculinity.

2.10. Performance and Hegemony

As previously discussed, masculinity can be constructed to fit the needs of society by dictating what is culturally appropriate and which traits are considered the pinnacle of manhood. Masculine traits are

the result of learning and do not inherently reside in men. Instead, they are developed through the ongoing and repetitive practice of dialogue and actions (Sheerin and Linehan, 2018). In *Masculine Style: The American West and Literary Modernism* (2011), Worden supports this view, observing that the "commands to walk, talk, act, and take it like a man, make it clear that masculinity does not reside in a male body but instead in a series of performance gestures and public presentations" (p.1). This is also one of the central tenets of Butler (1988), who asserts that gender performativity is a "stylised repetition of acts, an imitation or miming of the dominant conventions of gender" (Fitzgerald & Grossman, 2018, p.40). In fact, Butler (1988) argues "the act that one does, that act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that's been going on before one arrived on the scene" (p.526).

However, these gender performative 'acts' also produces a series of effects. This means that these acts of performativity can also change social and cultural expectations. In this regard, acting in a certain way can change how an individual is perceived. For instance, if someone walks, talks, and dresses in a more masculine manner, they will (can) be viewed as more masculine. Butler also notes that an important aspect in relation to this performativity is the repetitiveness of the acts, comparing it to "a ritualised production" (Butler, 2011, p.60). Butler notes (2011) that if specific acts are repeated over and over, in time our view of what is normal will change. Thus, the performative, repetitive acts then help (re)enforce the societal norms. As masculinity and masculine traits do not reside in men, gender is a process which comes into being as a consequence of performativity. Masculinity is literally a performance constituted of speech and silence, of action and inaction.

2.11. Hegemonic Masculinity in Practice

Gender is constructed through performance, which, in turn, is influenced by the dominant conventions of gender. Culture thereby serves as a cause and effect of this type of behaviour. Because the western vision of masculinity equates manhood with power, wherein "masculine power is valued over the feminine" (Kivel & Johnson, 2009, p.111), hegemonic masculinity secures and maintains this dominance (Connell, 2005; Donaldson, 1993). Men's expression of this 'dominant' masculine identity through their body, personality, and culture (Kivel & Johnson, 2009), continually (re)produces inequality and societal stereotypes, while ensuring gender roles remain intact. For instance, Sheerin and Linehan in *Gender performativity and hegemonic masculinity in investment management* (2018), argue that a masculine culture is reproduced daily and, within the investment management environment, "women are expected to perform in a confident, aggressive, ruthless and performance-driven manner to survive" (p.7). This, however, is still not enough to ensure a woman's success because the 'traditional men' who dominate the field only promote men who resemble themselves. In fact, women who act in what is deemed the appropriate manner are often criticised or labelled as difficult to deal with.

2.12. The Importance of Hegemony and Masculinity

Placing hegemonic masculinity in a historical moment and cultural context allows researchers to examine how, at that moment, in that culture and particular social setting, the construction of masculinity sets boundaries (Johnson 2008; Butler, 1988; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Although "the actual personalities of the majority of men may show little correspondence with the cultural ideals of masculinity" (Mackinnon, 2003 p.9), men "often feel obligated, consciously or

unconsciously, to perform masculinity in specific ways that are dependent upon the current cultural climate" (Johnson, 2008, p.386). For instance, as "femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap, where both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life" (Hofstede, 2001, p.297), the rejection of anything feminine through the repetitive practice of dialogue and actions not only regulates social behaviour but also constrains it (Butler, 1988). In addition, as pervasive images of masculinity communicate that 'real men' are physically strong, aggressive and in control (Brod & Kaufman, 1987), or that 'real men' are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success (Hofstede, 1981), it can also condition men to act in a certain way in order to live up to those expectations, even though most will never achieve that goal. However, as one of the precepts of masculinity is that some men are inherently considered more manly than other men (Kimmel, 1994), men can, through performative gestures, (re)position themselves within the masculine society. For instance, during the period of the Stampede, it is possible that some men use the attire to (re)position themselves as the 'hegemonic' man. As such, research into the dominant form of masculinity in particular contexts, like the Stampede, is essential in order to reveal how that dominant form creates a hierarchical social structure that can then result in profound effects on all levels of society.

2.13. Masculine Traits

One of the principle concepts in relation to masculinity are the traits assigned to men. Research also indicates that there is no one single character trait or universal characteristic to define manhood, manliness, or masculinity. In fact, as noted by Beynon (2002) there are "multiple characteristics/traits associated with men, and diverse ways for men to operate within the gender order" (p.2). In the numerous journals, articles, chapters, and books dedicated to manhood, manliness, or masculinity, there are an assortment of character traits, or forms of domination and collective male practices associated with men.

Table 1: Traits Associated with Masculinity (as compiled by the author): Aggressive, Alpha male, Athletic, Ambitious, Analytical, Assertive, Breadwinner, Calm, Capable, Collected, Competitive, Confident, Control/ling, Courage, Directed, Dominant, Easy-going, Effective, Focused, Forceful, Hard, Heterosexual, Heteronormative, Honourable, In control, Independent, Inexpressive, Invulnerable, Machismo, Materialistic, Patriarchal, Physical, Pioneer, Power/ful, Predator, Privilege, Protective, Promiscuous, Risk-Taker, Ruling Class, Self-restrained, Self-sufficient, Sexual, Smart, Stoic/ism, Straight, Strong, Success/ful, Tough, Violent.

To be associated with the Western vision of manhood a man must possess at least a few of the attributes detailed in Table 1. In fact, the more attributes the better because society places higher value on men who hold and maintain the dominant cultural standards. Not all men buy into these stereotypes, nor do the actual personalities of the majority of men correspond with these cultural ideals (Connell, 2005). However, research indicates men and boys are often compelled to endorse these gendered societal prescriptions (Beynon, 2002). Since masculinity is socially constructed rather than innate and men and boys are also active agents in (re)constructing the dominant norms (Butler, 1988; Courtney, 2000), there is social pressure to conform (Kimmel, 1994), especially as society quickly labels and reprimands (Pascoe, 2011) those who do not conform.

Note: Although this paper refers to hegemonic masculinity and the/its variants of masculinities, it by no means assumes or suggests that all men necessarily ascribe to the views and traits described. In addition, although a range of other masculinities exist (inclusive, hybrid, subordinate, complicit, etc.), this thesis will focus primarily on the hegemonic form. Furthermore, I will use the terms manhood, masculinity, and manly interchangeably as all have been used to describe the heroic cowboy or define men in a historical and modern context.

Chapter 3. The Authentic Cowboy

3.1. Historical Roots of the Cowboy

The historical roots of the cowboy reach back to the Mexican cattle herder, the vaquero, who had toiled on Spanish colonial ranches supplying the farmsteads with daily agricultural support (breeding and branding of cattle), which also included the maintenance of the ranches (Malone, 1971). In the early 1700s, as cattle ranching spread north into what is now Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, the vaquero followed, eventually settling in the American Southwest (Ramirez, 1979). In 1769, when the livestock industry spread to California via the Franciscan missions, the industry began to flourish (Ramirez, 1979). However, as very few markets existed for the end products (cattle, meat, hides, and tallow), long trains of pack mules would transport the products to Mexico City (Casto, 2017). It was not until the early 1880s that American ships began to service Californian ports, thus creating a local market for the Missions, necessitating large scale roundups to collect cattle. As the 'hard-riding' vaqueros were known for their expert horsemanship and roping skills, controlling the chaos with ease (Casto, 2017), many were employed to collect and bring the cattle to market. In fact, the vaqueros were said to "only dismount for a chance to dance with pretty girls" (Casto, 2017, n.p).

After the United States of America's annexation of Texas in 1845, the cattle industry increased about 30 percent annually, causing an equivalent increase in the number of cattle handlers (Fishwick, 1952). Accordingly, many of the vaqueros went to work on the new Anglo-American ranches, teaching the Anglos how to handle cattle and imparting much of their folklore and ranching savvy (Slatta, 2008). Despite this, there was still no recognizable 'cowboy' stereotype; this would come at a much later time.

3.2. The 'Golden Age' - American

Although the cattle industry and popular interest in the early 'cowboy' type had increased during the evolution of the vaquero, this ended abruptly with the start of the US Civil War in 1861, as many southern ranchers left their farms to fight for the Confederate Army. Ranching was further affected by Lincoln's declaration of a blockade on southern ports, thus prohibiting all commercial dealings with the South and putting an immediate halt to the industry (Fishwick, 1952). Over the course of the war, the Union Army had used up the large supply of beef in the North. As a result, at the end of the Civil War in 1865, the cattle industry quickly revitalized and, by 1866, cattle were being rounded up in the South by the millions and 'driven' towards the railroad depots and markets (MacLachlan, 2006). This was the initial impetus that stimulated the southern cattle industry, with Texas becoming one of the leading suppliers of beef (Moore, 2014). However, it was actually the American expansion into the west, which resulted in a cattle boom that "staggered the imagination" (Fishwick, 1952, p.80). It is

estimated that, following the early expansion west, the number of cattle increased from 11,000 to 520,000 in Wyoming; 26,000 to 430,000 in Montana; and 71,000 to 791,000 in Colorado by the 1870s (Fishwick, 1952). As the cattle industry increased, there was increased demand for labour, and many ex-confederates, African-Americans, Native Americans, vaqueros, and Anglos rushed in to fill the relatively new and expanding occupation of a 'cowboy' (Durham, 1955; Bernstein, 2007). It is estimated the cattle industry created jobs for 35,000-40,000 'cowboys' and kept millions of workers in the East and Midwest busy processing meat products, which was substantial considering the relatively short time the industry flourished (Seiler & Seiler, 1998; Frank, 2019). Because the vaqueros and their skills were an essential component of the industry, many of the new rural workers adopted their horsemanship, their technology, and their social and economic structure. However, with a significant number of English-speaking traders and settlers also migrating, the vaquero began themselves to transform their lifestyle, clothing and languages, as they began merging with standard English cultural traditions. It was ultimately this fusion that produced the traditional American 'cowboy' (Malone, 1971). During this period of expansion, 'the golden years' (roughly from the 1860s-1880s), the traditional figure of the American cowboy emerged as a distinctive form of frontier white rural worker.

3.3. End of the American 'Golden Age' of Cowboydom.

In the 'golden age', the American cowboy was essentially a product of post-war demographics and economics (Seiler & Seiler, 1998; Dempsey, 1995), and his job was dependent on a vibrant cattle industry. However, when the economic boom ended quite suddenly in the late 1880s, it brought an end to the open-range and the cattle industry, which unfortunately impacted the traditional cowboy's livelihood. For instance, poor range management often led to overgrazing, which put downward pressure on agricultural productivity (Felske & Rasporich, 2004). Conversely, mismanagement also caused overproduction, which, in turn affected cattle prices (Wcykoff, 1999). Consequently, many ranches failed, forcing cowboys to move on or find other means of support. The Panic of 1873, an economic crisis which gripped the nation until 1879 (Panic of 1873, 1891), also impacted the industry. When the investors who had previously backed American projects, began to sell their interests, banks failed, factories closed, and thousands lost their jobs (VanderCreek, n.d). As the cattle industry was closely linked to Eastern financial interests; cattle prices plummeted and continued to fall though 1885 (Webb, 1931), resulting in an extended period of very little profit.

As the prices continued to fall, the disastrous blizzard of 1886-87, 'The Big Die-Up', resulted in the deaths of thousands of cattle as the temperature reached fifty below zero in some parts of the West. Although the total losses were difficult to report, it was estimated that up to 90 percent of the herds in the open range were destroyed (Wheeler, 1991). As a result, many small ranches went out of business (Briggs, 1934), with a few of the large cattle companies declaring bankruptcy.

A last, and perhaps one of the most pervasive factors to affect cowboy life and put an end to the open range was the massive influx of migrants who had moved into the plains to settle (Webb, 1931). Although the Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged western settlement by providing 160 acres of 'unoccupied' land to settlers (the land was hardly unoccupied as the Indigenous population were still free to roam), migration was initially slow. In the post-war years, however, as the west opened,

thousands moved into the advancing frontier in order to lay claim to the free land (in the end, 1.6 million individual claims were approved, which accounted for roughly 420,000 miles of territory (Becoming Us, n.d.)). Small farming operations became the norm as settlers moved in, and the land became more privatised and centralized (meaning the land was often controlled under one single authority), which was partially due to the invention of barbed wire which kept the cattle from running free. This allowed many of the homesteaders to take over the functions previously performed by the cowboy (Webb; 1931; Dessain, 1970; Mclean, 1982). As the barbed wire also kept unwanted steers off their lands, it eventually brought an end to the 'open-range', and the authentic cowboys who had inhabited it.

3.4. The 'Golden Age' - Canadian

Despite the overwhelming impression of the 'cowboy' being an American cultural icon, which it undeniably is, Canada had its own 'golden age' of cowboydom (roughly 1880-1910), which also resulted in a Canadian rendition of this iconic figure, although to a much more confined degree. The Canadian 'cowboy' occupied a fairly small region which included the Columbia basin and the southern interior plateau of British Columbia, southwestern Alberta, and southwestern Saskatchewan (Seiler & Seiler, 1998). In terms of ranching technology, the frontier was an extension of its southern counterparts (Washington, Montana, Dakota Territories) (MacLachlan, 2006); however, the physical conditions of the ranching areas worked against the 'open-range' in favour of a more mixed operation free-range. In this regard, the cattle were enclosed within a ranging area that was typically leased as opposed to roaming freely regardless of land ownership. As a result, Canadian ranching community and the cattle industry were somewhat distinct from their American counterparts.

Although the cattle industry in Canada developed during essentially the same period as in Wyoming and Montana, the industry remained initially quite small (Jennings, 2015; MacLachlan, 2006) because it was not able to develop at the same rate. The West's Indigenous population was still free to occupy their own land, and the cattle herds often competed with the buffalo when grazing, so it was initially impractical to consider ranching on a grander scale (Dempsey, 1995). However, as all available land became Crown land after the removal of the Indigenous population onto reserves, and the buffalo herds were practically extinct by the late 1870s (there was never any form of progressive extermination of the Buffalo in Canada, unlike its American counterpart, however, the Canadian government did nothing to preserve the herds (Roe, 1934)), many felt the prairie lands were far too rich to lie fallow and government surveyors began travelling throughout the countryside marking township lines and railway lines, readying the land for exploitation (Dempsey, 1995).

In 1881, the federal government recognised the importance of land in relation to the cattle industry and passed legislation by order-in-council which stipulated a person or company could lease up to one hundred thousand acres of grazing land with the only requirement being one head of cattle for every ten acres (Johnston & MacKinnon, 1982). Thus, for an investor to lease the full amount of land, a herd of ten thousand cattle was needed. By the late 1880s, Canadians, from the east, and Britons with the right credentials (friends of the Conservative government (Seiler and Seiler, 1998)) dominated the industry (Jennings, 2015; Seiler & Seiler, 1988). Collectively, they had placed over 4.4 million acres under lease, with sixteen ranches reaching the maximum 100,000 acres (Foran, 2003).

As the leasing regulations encouraged large-scale ranching, they also required the importation of cattle. As a result, the Canadian herds were purchased south of the border, and American cowboys were hired as the 'drovers' (McLean, 1988; Dempsey, 1995; MacLachlan, 2006). In 1880, roughly one-thousand head were imported, with six thousand arriving the following year, and sixteen thousand the next (Dempsey, 1995). By the early 1900s, the Albertan cattle population reached about 325,000 through importing and subsequent breeding (Johnston & Mackinnon 1982).

At its formation, the ranching community was overwhelmingly Anglo-Canadian and British (McLean, 1982; Jennings, 2015), and British mores and values were deemed the most acceptable (Dempsey, 1995). However, after the American 'drovers' arrived, many opted to stay, and, by the early 1890s, the ranching community had changed (McLean, 1982; Seiler & Seiler 1998). While still overwhelmingly Anglo-Canadian, with roughly 80% coming from eastern Canada, 17% of the community were Americans who were indistinguishable from their Canadian counterparts (Jennings, 2015). Although many of the Americans maintained their customs and traditions during the 'golden age', they also absorbed some of the unique qualities of the Canadian west, creating a new standard of man - the Canadian cowboy (Dempsey, 1995).

In contrast to the free-ranging ideals of the American cowboy, many of the Canadian ranches were the "product of government initiative and development within a well-established legal framework" (Felske & Rasporich, 2005, p.162) and ultimately controlled and supervised by middle and upper-class easterners, (Jennings, 2015). This external control then led to an ethos in the community and the cowboys of the Canadian West that was deeply conservative (many of the early ranchers were also retired Mounted Police, which added both stability and tone to the community (Jennings, 2015)) (Felske & Rasporich, 2005). Throughout, the basic dress and lingo remained utilitarian.

3.5. End of the Canadian 'Golden Age' of Cowboydom.

Similar to its southern counterpart, the Canadian cowboy was also a by-product of economics (MacLachlan, 2006; McLean, 1982; Johnston & Mackinnon 1982), and a sequence of events that began in the late 1880s brought an end to this form of ranching and the aforementioned 'cowboys', putting an end to the Canadian 'golden age' (Foran, 1988; Seiler & Seiler, 1998, Dempsey, 1995). For instance, the blizzard of 1886-87 was just as severe in Alberta. The average loss of cattle was approximately 25% in Calgary, and about 50% percent in the surrounding areas. (Jennings, 2015). As a result, the community suffered significant losses; a few shareholders lost their entire investment, and several companies were forced into bankruptcy (Johnston & Mackinnon 1982). The ranges could have been replenished with more cattle 'driven' north, but, due to Canadian import duties then coming into effect, it was not economically feasible (Jennings, 2015). In addition, because of the crippling losses, many of the American migrants returned home as cattle prices continued to drop (MacLachlan, 2006). A second factor which influenced the end of the industry was the influx of homesteaders (Johnston & Mackinnon, 1982). While the original leasing system had barred settlement on Crown Lands, the federal government changed the system in 1886, allowing settlements on lands not under the previous twenty-one-year leases. Although the changing policy had little impact on the larger ranges, the federal government cancelled the larger leases in 1896, and the ranchers could only purchase 10% of their original leaseholds. As only the more affluent ranches

purchased the maximum amount and were successful in leasing the remainder, there was nothing to stop settlers from encroaching on the land and settling (Johnston & Mackinnon, 1982; Dempsey, 1995). Plus, with the introduction of barbed wire, fences began to appear throughout the ranges sectioning off new land for homesteaders (Webb, 1931; McLean, 1982).

In 1902, a second cattle boom took place; there were small ranches located just across the US border, and larger ranches moved further into the Dominion territory. However, in 1905 the new Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, who described the ranchers as pampered, tightened lease regulations by inserting a two-year cancellation clause (Dempsey, 1995; Jennings, 2015). In response, the industry moved into areas where it was not in direct competition with homestead interests, but, according to Foran (2003), these regulations promulgated by an unsympathetic government represented the "death knell" (Foran as quoted in Jennings, 2015 p. 232) for the industry.

Although, in the second 'boom', the number of cattle doubled reaching an estimated 1.5 million, another disastrous winter (1906-07) essentially finished the "devastation that homesteaders, depressed prices, and leasing regulations had begun" (Dempsey, 1995, p. 144). By 1910, it was all over, and the 'golden age' of Canadian ranching and the cowboy who toiled alongside it, became a "cherished way of life, not an economic system" (Jennings, 2015, p.232).

Cowboys emerged from a distinctive form of frontier agricultural work during the colonial expansion of North America, and their skills as a 'drover' or 'ranch hand' were indispensable. Despite this, none of the comforts of a civilised life were made available to them (Dessain, 1970). Cowboys often lived outdoors for extended periods of time, enduring all types of weather and natural disasters while wrangling with range-wars, robbers, squatters, hunters, predators, and the Indigenous people who often resisted colonial expansion (Roosevelt & Remington, 1888; Webb, 1931; McLean, 1982; Johnston & Mackinnon, 1982; Gondola, 2016). In addition, the transportation of cattle was often difficult as herds were frequently lost in the range and died. As well, there were always risks of stampedes (Dempsey, 1995). In addition to this, many ranchers lived lonely lives and worked long hours for little pay. They also ate poorly, slept very little, and often died at a young age (Dempsey 1995). As noted by William Savage Jr., (1976), the historical cowboy was "a hired man, a rugged individual without capital in the employ of an enterprising individual with capital" (As quoted in Felske & Rasporich, 2005, p.157). Life was lonely, repetitive, and physically demanding.

When the traditional era of ranching ended, the traditional cowboy's job also ended; however, society continued to celebrate the drover and ranch hand. As the cowboy was an important component of Western expansion, the immediate public sentiment romanticising the cowboy was not surprising. Why, however, does the image still resonate with people today? Why has 'his' image persisted? The answer is simple: It's the Masculinity, Stupid! (Katz, 2010). (Katz (2010) uses this quote in relation the media and the presidency; however, it is fitting in my context. Numerous have donned the cowboy hat in an effort to present themselves as more western and authentic. For example, Madeline Albright, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, the majority of Albertan politicians, and practically every Prime Minister from Ottawa who has visited the Albertan West.)

Chapter 4. Creation of the Mythical Cowboy

4.1. Early Literature

He was a youth of an age somewhere between sixteen and twenty, trim and compactly built, with a preponderance of muscular development and animal spirits; broad and deep of chest, with square, ironcast shoulders; limbs small yet like bars of steel, and a grace of position in the saddle rarely equalled... (Edward Wheeler) [From Woodside's (2016) *The Nineteenth-Century Dime Western, Boyhood, and Empowered Adolescence* (p.11). It was used to describe Deadwood Dick a dime novel protagonist.]

Traditional cowboys were an integral element within the cattle industry, and, without their skills and expertise, it is possible the industry may not have progressed as it did. As a result, there is a considerable amount of research illustrating the importance of the cowboy to economic development (Seiler & Seiler, 1998; Dempsey, 1995; Mclean, 1982; MacLachlan, 2006). There is also, however, a fair amount of research which places no real value on the cowboy. In fact, when he appeared in early public prints and writings, he was often referred to as someone "rough, uncouth, shaggy, and dirty, whose behaviour was violent, barbarous, and rowdy" (Kimmel, 2005, p.29): in other words, not very appealing.

In the late 1800s, when the cowboy first started to appear in Western dime novels, writers began to portray him as a "noble descendent of chivalric knights and crusaders" (Kimmel, 2006, p. 152) rather than writing realistically about a poor transient worker endlessly herding cattle.

The cowboy transformed from 'hired hand' to 'hero' though this medium and accounts of his activities quickly spread, transforming the cowboy into one of the most prominent figures in the mythology of the Western frontier, a definitive western hero. Although the dime novels were regarded as a cheap, sensationalist form of literature, they became an early source of information on cowboys and Western life (Moon & Ogle, 2013). The common characteristics attributed to the cowboy in literature came to define the cowboy and 'his' form of rural masculinity. He was a nascent model of manhood.

The following chart offers a loose assortment of terms which are commonly associated with the cowboy (as used, in some form, by researchers such as Fishwick, 1952; Gibson, 2016; Gondola, 2016; Huxley, 2018; Jones, 1970; Macauley, 2010), created by the author from terms commonly used to describe the heroic cowboy.

Table 2: Traits Associated with the Cowboy: Adventurous, Brave, Calm, Courageous, Confident, Heroic, Honourable, Independent, Individualistic, In control, Iron-nerved, Modest, Pioneer, Rough & tumble, Self-reliant, Steel-thewed, Strong, Tough, Truthful, Violent.

The new lands provided endless opportunities for conflicts, both real and perceived, with stories depicted in exaggerated detail that allowed audiences to follow the adventures of the 'pioneers' and cheer for their heroes as their actions were deemed necessary (Fishwick, 1952; White 1981). As fiction has long been the means for people to escape their everyday lives (although initially the fictional world of the Wild West was quite small in Canada, this changed by the end of the nineteenth century, as the cowboy's influence reached across the border (Seiler & Seiler, 1998)) (Penaloza, 2001), the cowboy went from literary obscurity to completely dominating a new market within a few

short years, helped along by the fact that these stories glorified Western expansion and depicted a romanticised version of frontier life (Huxley, 2018; Jones, 1970).

The dime novels certainly had an effect on the American psyche and one of the early advocates to reinforce this myth through non-fiction was Theodore Roosevelt. In 1888, after spending a few years on his ranch in Dakota Territory (now known as North and South Dakota) (1884-1886), Roosevelt wrote a book on his experience in the 'bad lands' (1888). Although he met and chronicled an assortment of characters during this time, it was the cowboy that made a strong impression as he described the heroic cowboy figure as "the grim pioneer of our race", who "prepare[d] the way for civilisation" (Fishwick, 1952, p.83). This further instilled the cowboy as a 'heroic' figure; with Roosevelt himself becoming a fine model of American cowboy masculinity (Woodside, 2016) telling prolific tales of cattle drives, punching a drunk in a bar, and tracking down three outlaws (Smith, 2016).

Although Roosevelt's supposed first-hand experience reinforced the masculine stereotype of the early cowboy, similar passages were duplicated in dozens of books creating a more generalised picture (Fishwick, 1952). The same stories were produced over and over, and, as audience demand increased, prolific writers continued to subscribe to the concept and reproduced a "mythical lifestyle that revolved around a horse, open space, white privilege and country values (Baker, 2014, p.7), in order to continually appeal to the market. In this regard, all other facets of the frontier (race, gender, the vaquero, African Americans, Indigenous people) were ignored or pushed aside while instilling and upholding the "Western norms which had become defined as American" (Mitchell, 2003, p.148). However, there was no specific hero, but rather a generalised stock form of 'cowboy' and his values.

With countless books dedicated to the 'cowboy' one might expect that the need for more variety might generate some inclusive literature; this was not the case. The literature specifically targeted, championed, and reinforced white male superiority (Fishwick 1952; Martin, 1966; Mitchell, 2003; Baker, 2014), while ignoring factual evidence. Many have questioned the non-inclusion, especially as multiple ethnicities (it is estimated 25 percent of an approximate 35,000-40,000 cowboys were African American (Frank, 2019)) contributed to the development of the industry and the making of the West (Durham, 1955; Bernstein, 2007). Walter P. Webb, in his book, *The Great Plains*, (1931) offers a brilliant insight into this matter. Webb, who asked several Western story editors about their reasons for the continuing stereotype found that, "it is by us, and should be understood by everyone, that we are dealing with the popularity of Western stories as concerns readers who are white...the white race has always been noted for being hard-drinking, hard-fighting, fearless, fair and square. The heroes of Western stories have these characteristics" (p.467). As a result, although multi-ethnic cowboys may have participated in reality, in fiction they were "confronted with a colour line over which [they] could not ride" (Durham, 1955, p. 291).

Certain stock character traits appear in virtually every story. In many of the tales the cowboy normally starts out alone. Eventually he comes across some form of community and, even though he is an outsider, he ends up pitching in when needed. He is chivalrous and not afraid of hard work (Huxley, 2018). Despite this, he maintains his freedom in direct contrast to outside influences (Herbst et al., 2014). The hero is also fiercely independent (Wright, 2001). He has no boss and no rigid schedule. He can choose his own path and ultimately answers only to himself. The hero is also tough and stoic

(Basso, McCall & Garceau, 2013). Whether he's valiantly conquering a wild animal or conquering the bad lands and its inhabitants, he brings peace and progress (Roosevelt & Remington, 1888). The heroic cowboy can handle any situation and refrains from expressing pain even in the direst circumstances. He's always in control (Szreniawksa, 2012). He is "rough and ready" (Seiler & Seiler, 1998, p. 302), one on hand and the "epitome of honesty, freedom, and hard work" (Dempsey, 1995, p.32) on the other. In addition to these traits the cowboy is also prone to violence, but only as a means of justice and social control or to preserve social harmony (Moore, 2014). He knows the difference between right and wrong and is not afraid to set someone straight, especially when defending his honour (White, 1981). He is a good man to have with you, and a fiend when is against you (Fishwick, 1952). With these type of characteristics and a 'spirit' unlike anyone else, the cowboy is as "wholesome as a glass of Grade A pasteurised milk. A man's man with a virile code and outlook" (Fishwick, 1952, p.92).

I had the pleasure of reading a few of the reprinted dime novels from the 1860s to the early 1900s, and, although they followed a rather predictable pattern, they were quite entertaining, so it easy to understand their popularity during that period. The romanticised version of frontier life depicted was extremely appealing and exciting. Cowboys were brave and free and did what was necessary in order to survive. He is indeed an exceptional hero.

4.2. Cultural Meanings in Dime Novels

As previously discussed, men often learn their appropriate gender roles according to masculine expectations as set by society, and these stories are one way to articulate what is culturally appropriate. In the late nineteenth century when the cowboy first appeared in the dime novels, a shift in the concept of masculinity was taking place. As Victorian rectitude gave way to physical prowess and manliness, conveniently linked to the great outdoors (Roosevelt & Remington, 1888; McCall, 2001), the new frontier mythology helped to reinforce gender roles. For instance, in many of the narratives, the standard frontier woman adhered to Victorian norms of chastity, sedentarism, and domestic work, which was also a romanticised misrepresentation as women were largely active within the frontier (Macauley, 2010), while only the itinerant working cowboys were assumed to have the strength, endurance, and stoic individualism to civilise the frontier (Basso, McCall & Garceau, 2013). The dime novels and overall mythology offered instructive models of appropriate social actions (Wright, 2001), and reinforced the idealised standards of western masculinity. Therefore, it is no real surprise that the stories were endlessly reproduced and thereby endlessly reinforced the mythical cowboy and his frontier exploits.

4.3. Western Films

The Western is secular, materialist, and antifeminist; it focuses on conflict in the public space, is obsessed by death, and worships the phallus. (Jane Tompkins) [From Tompkins (1993), *The West of everything: the inner life of westerns.*]

Dime novels offered a mental image of masculinity, generally directed by a few illustrations and largely constructed in the imagination of the reader. In the early twentieth century, pop culture continued to celebrate the mythic 'hero' through another persuasive purveyor of cowboy mythology,

Western films. From the silent film onwards (even until to present day), as noted by Fishwick, (1952), "an army writers, film executives, and directors have dedicated themselves" to reinforcing the myth ensuring the "old cowboy tales and deeds do not die, nor even slightly fade away" (Fishwick, 1952, p.81). In fact, Fishwick argues "if anything, they have added to the glamour, glory, and guts of the historical cowboy" (p.81). This perspective is compelling as audiences could now see their hero in action valiantly conquering the West.

Western films have long been a staple in the Hollywood film industry. Examples range from Paramount Pictures' *The Covered Wagon* (1923), a film about a group of pioneers travelling across the West and fending off an Indigenous attack, through 20th Century Fox's *My Darling Clementine* (1946), in which Henry Fonda's character Wyatt transforms from a small time cattle roper (authentic) to a law enforcing powerful (mythical) figure in a town filled with chaos, to Touchstones Pictures' modern *Open Range* (2003), which depicts vigilante justice in an intense gun battle. These Western films reaffirmed tales of Western expansion and the cowboy's cultural codes of behaviour (Seiler & Seiler, 1998). As a result, there is a significant amount of research already dedicated to this filmography, which is important to understanding the continued appeal. Live performances also used the dime novel template and created a live-action visual event which allowed the audiences to be in close proximity to the action, and, at least to some extent, to participate. In this way the live shows became more important as reinforcers of the heroic masculinity so deeply associated with the cowboy.

4.4. Wild West Shows

Fear not, fair maid! By heavens you are safe at last with Wild Bill, who is ever ready to risk his life and die, if need be, in defense of weak and defenseless womanhood. (Wild Bill Hickock)

In addition to the popularity of the dime novels, and Western films, another medium which further glorified the western hero was the travelling vaudeville Wild West shows. Dare-devil bareback riding, trick marksmen, and 'authentic' historical pageants depicted the west (re)conquered. As the shows travelled, these visual performances continually romanticised the frontier and aided in the construction of the masculine cowboy (Penaloza, 2001; Warren, 2003; Forsyth & Thompson, 2007). Although a number of wild west shows were developed over time one of the most famous characters who was representative of the productions was 'Buffalo Bill' Cody. Although Cody was not a cowboy per se, he used his celebrity dime novel status (in 1869, Ned Buntline incorporated the famous buffalo hunter into one of his stories, and other authors quickly followed suit; eventually 557 stories were dedicated to Buffalo Bill, and he became one of the most popular protagonists in dime novel Westerns (Russell, 1976)) to quickly reposition himself into one of the West's own celebrated heroes (Martin, 1996; Worden, 2011; Huxley, 2018) and a hallmark of American masculinity.

In 1883, Cody recognized the nostalgic impulses in Americans and their affinity for these types of performances and organised a travelling show called Buffalo Bill's Wild West, incorporating the dime novels themes into a more grandiose exhibition (Slotkin, 1992). As one of Cody's goals was to present the 'real' West, he hired cowboys, Native Americans, and Mexican Vaqueros to perform along with bucking horses, buffalo, stagecoaches, and emigrant wagons (Bernstein, 2007). As there was already an audience for these types of shows, Cody's 'authentic' performances were an immediate

success, and fans would pack the stands with hopes of seeing their dime-novel hero in action (Martin, 1996).

In order to further enhance his own version of the frontier, Cody consciously refused to label his exhibitions a 'show' and instead referred to them as 'object lessons' (Cody often advertised his 'Indian' subjects as object lessons (Carter, 2018)) and 'object teachers'. Although Cody's series of "original, genuine, and instructive lessons" (Martin, 1996, p.93) were an attempt to authorise his own specific version of westward progress, the claims of authenticity and edification were continually reinforced in the public mind by similar pronouncements in the press. In fact, the New York Dramatic Mirror, called the shows "a living lesson to the youth of the land" (Martin, 1996, p.11). As a result, Cody's pageants not only helped transform the dime novel cowboy into a definitive western hero, he also convinced millions that the heroic masculine cowboy set the tone and pace of the West.

For instance, in the third act of Cody's 1886 Drama of Civilisation, an aptly titled performance piece named Attack on the Settler's Cabin, depicted the pioneer farmer exploiting the natural wealth of the West. The scene quickly turns towards an Indigenous attack, and as movingly put by the New York Times, "just as the most exciting part of the massacre, a troop of cowboys arrive and the noble red men are sent to the happy hunting grounds in a body" (New York Times, as noted by Martin 1996, p.105). As the shows continued to travel, this type of event, in some form or variation, became a regular part of the exhibition with the attackers always being drive off by heroic Buffalo Bill and his cowboy entourage (Warren, 2003). In fact, two additional stagings, Attack on an Emigrant Train by Indians, and Repulse by the Cowboys, and Capture of the Deadwood Mail Coach by the Indians, featured similar conclusions. During the emigrant train performance, Cody and his cowboys arrive just in time to rescue the poor captured maiden, and the infamous Deadwood mail coach is rescued by the cowboys who ensure the coach and its inhabitants arrive without harm. As each scenario ends in a similar manner, Cody's message is almost impossible to misinterpret. As noted by Bernstein (2007), Cody's romanticised versions were "very easy to understand, exciting, and the message was unmistakeable" (p.29). The heroic white cowboys were always shown prevailing, as they "dominated horses and cattle, used their guns to run off toughs, always triumphed over Indians, and won fair damsels" (Etulain, 2004, p.269).

In the later years, when Cody introduced the Congress of the Rough Riders segment to illustrate the methods and accomplishments of cowboys worldwide in comparison with the American version, the message was, once again, quite clear. Although Cody had invited the Mexican vaquero, Native American, South American Gaucho, the Cossack, and the Ruffian Arab to participate (Martin, 1996), the men were often described as peculiar, strange, or savage, while the North American cowboy was presented as the norm (Rogers & Seefeldt, n.d). Although all delegates were praised for their physical prowess and proficiency, the idealisation of the American Rough Rider over the other nationalities further exemplified white American cowboy manliness in an international arena. This idealisation also reinforced the hegemonic form of masculinity, against the lesser 'subordinate' masculine men (Ferber, 2000). This was also the case during Cody's vivid reproduction of the Charge Up San Juan Hill (part of the decisive battle in the Spanish-American war, where the Rough Riders, who had been forced to leave their horses behind, led the charge up the hills (The Battle of San Juan Hill, n.d)). Newspaper coverage on the spectacle stated the cowboy "had lost none of its potent masculinity

since the days of the frontier" (Rogers & Seefeldt, n.d.).

During the thirty-three years that Cody and his show travelled, he convinced many of his audiences (the cultural reception was immense with kings, Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, and Pope Leo XIII, all captivated by the 'rip roaring circus-like show'; in fact, in London alone 300 performances were held with more than 2.5 million tickets sold (Wrobel, 2017)) that the reality of the West matched the romanticised version (Warren, 2003). As the shows offered an exciting, albeit mythical, version of westward progress, the cultural response is not surprising, especially as his stories capitalised on the popular fascination with the cowboy and rugged frontier masculinity. With stock characters, stories, and presentations, Cody's dramatic image of the Wild West made the cowboy one of the world's most identifiable figures and helped transform the dime novel protagonist into a living, breathing, deified hero. The cowboy, re-imagined, had become the perfect model of American manhood.

4.5. The Rodeos

There's a hundred years of history and a hundred before that. All gathered in the thinkin' goin' on beneath his hat. And back behind his eyeballs and pumpin' through his veins. Is the ghost of every cowboy that ever held the reins. (Baxter Black) [Taken from Baxter Black's poem Legacy of the Rodeo Man (Black, 1986).]

A second organised visual form of entertainment which also glorified the cowboy, one almost designed for that specific purpose, was the rodeo. Although Cody and his fellow vaudeville performers and promoters may have begged to differ, it is likely that the rodeo has done more to present cowboys passing as heroes than any other imaginable spectacle (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007). This argument is also supported by Dempsey (1995) and again by Penaloza (2001), both of whom posit that the rodeo stage also helped (re)create and glorify the cowboy by incorporating myths, images, and artifacts that preserve the 'wild' frontier (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007). Although it is difficult to determine when the first public rodeos were held, most sources agree that two of the earliest on record were in Pecos, Texas (1883), and Prescott, Arizona (1888) (Stoeltje, 1989; Pearson & Haney, 1999).

Many of the rodeo events are anchored in vaquero history and feature the particular skills of the range, such as riding, roping, racing, droving, and branding (Stoeltje, 1989; Pearson & Haney, 1999), which had developed from early cowboy customs (in the modern era they are modified for dramatic effect (Penaloza, 2001)) (Penaloza, 2001). As the range men were often competitive, the vaqueros and the Anglos would regularly gather on haciendas and large ranches for contests based on their working skills to see who was best. These informal competitions were either held between the cowboys themselves or against larger ranches, while other cowboys, ranches, and friends cheered them on (Stoeltje, 1989; Bernstein, 2007). Interest in the competitions spread into small towns and communities, becoming more popular and progressively larger, and the rodeos then moved from the range into specialised arenas where newly created organisations turned what were once low-keys event into more impressive public spectacles (Stoeltje, 1989). All the while, the humble roots still allowed communities to endow the rodeos with historical and patriotic meaning beyond its entertainment value (Wetherhell, 2008). With defined formats and rules to now govern the competitions, the traditional customs developed into more of an exhibition, and the rodeos began to

incorporate increased competition and danger. This was especially the case after the introduction of steer wrestling and bare-back bronc riding, and bronco busting (Bernstein, 2007).

Although the competitive performances emerged out of a period of grandiose theatrics, rodeos, in a similar fashion to the Wild West performances were also imbued with symbolic meaning. As only the heroic cowboy had the grit and determination to civilise the land's savage forces, the rodeo as a ritual re-enacts and sanctifies this myth and thus the events symbolise the land's conquest (Furniss, 1999; Lawrence, 1982). In this regard, the bronc, steers, and calves represent the wild forces of nature and the cowboy represents the taming force of western civilisation (Allen, 1988). The rodeo cowboy, attempting to tame the wild, is acting out the myth. The performance of the imagined west through the rodeo has, in many ways, become a performance of Western manliness, and the rodeo cowboy reinforces this concept by his participation. This accords with scholarship by Lawrence (1982), who asserts that, in acting out the frontier the performers fully adopt the traits and values of the historic cowboy. As gender is a process which comes into being through performance (Butler, 1988), the rodeo then reaffirms the historic notion of manliness through the acts, by quite literally showing off bodily strength and skills of horsemanship (Hicks, 2002).

As many of the audiences no longer had firsthand experience in regard to the frontier, the audiences were receptive to these performances, and rodeos have been held in small towns, communities, and cities since the late 1880s (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007; Penaloza, 2001). Although the rodeos provided cowboys with large-scale performance opportunities, they also helped cultivate the general public's fascination with the cowboy. As noted by Stoeltje (1989), these events "contribut[ed] significantly to the definition of the cowboy as a folk hero" (p.249), for they could now see a somewhat recent, somewhat real, living example of the last frontiersman enacted within their own community.

4.6. Cultural Meaning of Shows

The band would play the anthem, The clowns fell down in jest, All the people saw again The winning of the West... (Ian Tyson) [An excerpt from Ian Tyson's song Old Cheyenne (Tyson, 1987).]

Masculinity is constructed through repetitive dialogue and actions (Sheerin & Linehan, 2018). Dime novels, with their repetitive characters, dialogues, stories and events, generated mental images of cowboy masculinity; Wild West shows, and rodeos reinforced the ideal concept of masculinity through live action. As "hegemony is a terrain of struggle, a process by which elites must labour to convince those beneath them that the dominant conception of the world is natural" (Martin, 1996, p.106), the visual displays not only convinced audiences that this noble being, the cowboy, was the dominant elite but also helped legitimise his exploits (Moses, 1991; Warren, 2003; Etulain, 2004). In this regard, the shows formed a coherent narrative, one that traced and dramatised the civilisation of the west placing the heroic cowboy above all else (Martin, 1996). In fact, even those who could not read some of the show's programmes were often given an explanation prior to each act to further accelerate the message (Kelm, 2009). The message was clear: the cowboy was top.

Both forms of popular culture (re)produced an uber masculine trope (Kimmel, 1996; Penaloza, 2001), and audiences willingly bought into it. Why was the average person enthralled by cowboy culture? Part of the fascination can be attributed to nostalgic reverence for the era (Errington, 1990; Dempsey,

1995; Seiler, 1998), dime novels (Huxley, 2018; Wright, 2001; Kimmel, 2006), Western films (Hoffman, 2003; Tompkins, 1993), and the media coverage which idealised the mythical being. However, research indicates these shows might have been received so well for other reasons. At the end of the nineteenth century, when the masculine power structure was slowly being stripped by the women's rights movement, rapid urbanisation, industrialisation, and a competitive individualistic economic system (Jones, 1970; Tompkins, 1993; Beynon, 2010, Rogers & Seefeldt, n.d) it is possible the shows gave some sense of self-gratification as they championed and reinforced masculine superiority. Audiences could vicariously experience the ongoing battle between civilisation and savagery, and both the stories and performances could function to reaffirm one's own sense of importance and authority over 'others'. 'Others', in this case being anyone who does not fit society's definition of hegemonic masculinity.

In addition to reaffirming their own sense of importance, it is possible that the shows may have offered a sense of escapism. As the cowboy came to symbolise freedom, individuality, and independence (Dempsey, 1995; Wright, 2001; Mitchell, 2003; Herbst et. al., 2014), the shows allowed men to revel in their masculine cowboy forebears who, as previously suggested, tamed the frontier (Errington, 1990). As detailed by Martin (1996), the exciting displays filled urban audiences with intense sensations that allegedly made up daily life on the frontier, allowing them to imagine themselves as part of the struggle. Fishwick (1952) posits that cowboys are an intangible safety valve for the mechanised and urbanised, noting that, when things get difficult one can vicariously hit the trail leaving their tedious world behind and enter a realm where "men could be free from the barriers of society and live under their own rules" (Macauley, 2010, p.35).

4.7. The Role of 'Others'

The role and image of women as a helpmate has permeated western culture since the frontier days, despite research which indicated women participated in previous male-dominated roles "assert[ing] a measure of independence from the rigid norms of 19th century society" (Moon & Ogle, 2013, p.110). The ideal wife for a cowboy in many of the narratives was a woman who would take care of the home, the ranch, and the children, and do whatever was necessary to support her man and family, an all-around helpmate (Forsyth & Thompson, 2007; Stoeltje, 1975). As the frontier was constructed as a masculine arena, it is not surprising that the forms of entertainment followed suit. Certainly, there were woman performers who often performed the same feats as men, frequently getting top billing (LeCompte, 1990). However, women were either forced to abide by the gendered norms or were eventually pushed out of the performances entirely.

In relation to the Wild West shows, women in many of the acts were often posited as the helpless victim (the same could also be said for the majority of Western films); however, a few also had roles in the arena where they "unashamedly display[ed] their athleticism and physical prowess" (Macauley, 2010, p.29). Although these women often performed the same feats as men, in order to ensure the gender roles remained constant, the shows continually emphasised female dependence on men as vital (even though Cody believed women should have the same liberty and privileges men have in society, his shows did not reflect this view (Martin, 1996)). As noted by Macauley (2010), the acts they were performing were essentially the same as the classic frontier women, "they helped on the

homestead, got their hands dirty, and, alongside men, built the community from scratch" (p.39); however, promoters had to be careful in how they were presented.

For instance, one of the most famous performers in the Wild West exhibitions was Annie Oakley a renowned markswoman, who had travelled with Buffalo Bill Cody for approximately sixteen years, wielding a rifle, the "highly resonant symbol of manhood and masculinity" (Martin, 1996, p.114). Despite, Oakley's prominence in the arena where she pushed the boundaries of expected gender roles (Canslar, 2014), she also continually reaffirmed Victorian expectations for "true womanhood" (Macqualey 2010, p.40), by emphasising her femininity during her performances. As noted by Julie Williams (2017), she "projected an image so feminine, ladylike, Victorian, and appealing that most people could see little harm in cowgirls" (p.28). As hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to women, ensuring gender relations are continually (re)produced through actions and behaviour (Messerschmidt & Messner, 2018), the response to Oakley is somewhat expected. It was okay for women to be active and supportive, but let's not forget your domestic obligations or proper gendered behaviour (Macaulay, 2010). As a result of this public persona, it undoubtedly assuaged men's fears of possible changes in the gender order by ensuring the roles remained somewhat fixed, but more importantly it reaffirmed men were still in charge. This is especially true as the rest of the dangerous and violent performances were completely dominated by the masculine male.

From their inception, rodeos were largely inclusive. Although women only played a minor role in the early days, by the 1920s and 1930s they were performing in approximately one third of all contests, often competing against men in bronc-riding and steer roping (LeCompte, 1990). As the 'cowgirls' continued to present an image of the Western woman as physically and mentally fit (Schofield, 2019), audiences were receptive especially as the events continued to promote an 'authentic' frontier. In fact, many were praised as real cowboys who "demonstrate[ed] skill and pluck...without a drop of blood being shed" (Kelm, 2009.p.720). Despite this, they were eventually excluded from the main competitions and the rodeo became more of an exclusive male domain (Kelm, 2009). Women could still compete, but to a much lesser degree.

As noted, gender comes into being through performance and is sustained through dialogue and actions. As the rodeo women were considered "independent, assertive, and athletic" (LeCompte, 1990, p.320) and performed masculine tasks associated with frontier men, this undoubtedly threatened gender norms and the respectability of the iconic male cowboy. By removing women from the major competitions and allowing men to continually perform the overtly masculine acts this effectively bolsters the claims of cowboy masculinity and authenticity, thereby granting legitimacy through performance. This removal of women also reinforces the western notion of dependence. Since the frontier was constructed as a masculine arena where it was assumed dependence on men was vital, the removal reinforces this belief. For instance, even though Lucille Mulhall, one of the first female performers to successfully defeat men in major competitions noted "cowboys treat cowgirls like one of themselves" (LeCompte, 1990, p.319), her exceptional performance threatened the iconic view of western women as dependent. As the performance of the imagined west has in many ways become a performance of masculinity, the removal of women reaffirms the mythical masculine frontier.

Since the early rodeos grew out of unorganised ranch-hand competitions that represented the cowboy's skills within the 'authentic' west, the performers in these rodeos were quite diverse (Bernstein, 2007). There was no real animosity between competitors along the lines of race, and everyone was free to compete and perform. Vaqueros would perform their roping skills, African Americans headlined shows, and Indigenous competitors could be crowned champion of the whole event (Scofield, 2019; Kelm; 2009). It was a diverse and eclectic mix of talents, skills, and backgrounds. However, when the rodeo slowly became organised and transformed from informal performance into a regulated festival of sport that further exemplified masculinity within the arenas, race became an increasingly prevalent factor. As the rodeo began to exemplify the (re)conquest of the 'mythic' west by the heroic white cowboy, it was important to maintain this illusion across the events. In fact, in one instance Tom Three Persons, an exceptional Indigenous competitor, was offered money to purposefully lose in a rodeo so that local white riders could win (Kelm, 2009). As the competitions increased and became even more regulated, with the rodeo growing into a multi-million-dollar entertainment industry (Scofield, 2019), the image of the white cowboy prevailed while fewer and fewer people of colour found a place within the main rodeo associations (for further information in regard to the Indigenous and the rodeos in Canada, see Mary-Ellen Kelm's, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (2009)) (Kelm, 2009). As hegemonic masculinity justifies the subordination of other men considered inferior, this exclusion not only helps (re)enforce the heteronormative standards of the white cowboy, it also (re)enforces the myth of this figure.

4.8. Weadick and the Calgary Stampede

As discussed, the cattle industry was vibrant throughout southwestern Alberta, with grazing lands extending from the border. After the arrival of the railway in 1883, Calgary became the main shipping point for livestock essentially becoming the "capital of [the] conservative Cattle kingdom" (Seiler & Seiler, 1998). As the growth of the city was closely linked to the cattle industry it is not surprising the nickname 'Cowtown' was assigned to it. Although the closing of the range paved the way for the widespread adoption of modern ranching, and the influx of immigrants and settlers changed the city's dynamics (Dempsey, 1995), the 'Cowtown' name persists. In fact, even a hundred years or so after the 'Golden Age' the connection to cowboys still remains relevant. Of course, neither cowboys nor ranches have disappeared completely, nor has the industry. The cattle industry is still vibrant and continues to be promoted; however, why is there still a connection to the traditional cowboy? The answer is simple, the Calgary Stampede. Billed as the 'greatest outdoor show on earth', it is a "festive celebratory tribute to a bygone era" (Foran, 1988, p.2).

In a similar manner to the Wild West shows, the rodeos also had their own promotional agents, and one of the most famous, at least from a Canadian perspective, was Guy Weadick (Pannekoek, 2008). Weadick, as noted by Foran (2008), set the precedent for frontier authority when he brought together the "greatest gathering of men" (p.7), who had laid the foundation for Western development, to participate in one of the first of the Calgary stampedes.

In a similar manner to Cody, Weadick's story is also interesting. Guy Weadick was born in 1885, at the end of the American golden age, in Rochester New York, a relatively modern city at the time (Kelm, 2009); however as Weadick was captivated by the cowboy way of life through pop culture

(assumed to be dime novels and Wild West shows) (Seskus, 2017), and regaled with first-hand stories of the 'Wild West' by his uncles, he headed out West as a teenager and found work on ranches ranging from Montana to the Mexican border (Foran, 2009). In his late teens, when Weadick began to promote various Wild West shows throughout the country (Wetherell, 2008), he accordingly became acquainted with hundreds of cowboys and their stories. However, due to the inauthenticities of the Wild West show's accounts, he envisaged an event which depicted a more accurate cowboy lifestyle as opposed to staged exaggerations (Foran, 2009; Mikkelsen, 2008). Of course, Weadick was still interested in the mystique of the West and wanted his shows to be wildly entertaining and exciting, similar to Buffalo Bills (Russell, as noted in Foran, 2009).

Weadick first visited Calgary in 1905, and then again in 1908 with the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Wild West Show, who were hired to perform at Calgary's Dominion Exhibition. As Southern Alberta was changing and becoming more diversified, the cowboy appeared on the Exhibition poster as an emblem of the region's past (Kelm, 2009). Although it would be difficult to connect Weadick's vision to the poster, he certainly did see in Calgary an opportunity to merge the American cowboy myth to Southern Alberta's own history of the range (Kelm, 2009). In 1912, when Weadick returned to Calgary as an experienced promoter and salesman, he approached H.C McMullen, a Canadian Pacific Railway agent, about organising an event to celebrate the region's heritage, promising it would be a tribute to the memory of the cowboy devoid of the old stereotypes (Dempsey, 1995). In fact, he assured it would not be "a circus parade of actors tricked out to tawdry and unauthentic trappings of pseudo-picturesque nature but a real pageant of the plains and a reunion for old-timers" (Kelm, 2009, p.719). McMullen, in return approached four prominent Calgary businessmen with links to ranching, who agreed to finance the show (Foran, 2009). As a result, an early version of the Stampede was born.

Although the Stampede was a one-off event, a tribute to a bygone era (Dempsey, 1995), it left an enduring mark on the city and following the end of the First World War, a Victory Stampede was held with Weadick again in control (Felske, 2008). As the event was once again successful, further cementing Weadick's reputation as an exceptional promoter, in 1923 the Calgary Exhibition manager Ernie Richardson approached Weadick with a proposal to hold 'his' rodeo in conjunction with the annual Exhibition (Foran, 2008). As noted by Kelm (2009), Calgarians readily embraced the reprised Stampede, and attendance figures soared to nearly 140,000, which was surprising as the city's population at the time was just over 60,000 (Fortney, 2012). As the event was all around successful, this led to public calls for its continuance. In fact, Richardson addressing the Exhibition's Board of Directors explicitly stated, "Calgary has found something that people want, something peculiarly appropriate to our environment... Today you will be asked to decide officially if a Stampede is to be annual adjunct of Calgary's exhibition" (Foran, 2009, p, 256). Richardson's suggestion was adopted unanimously on September 26, 1923, with Weadick becoming its "guiding instrument" (Foran, 2009).

[Note: The source text obtained for this transcription was truncated at this point during extraction and does not contain the remainder of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 (Clothing, Masculinity, and Identity Construction), Chapter 6 (Interview Analysis), Chapter 7 (Summary and Conclusion), the References list, or the Appendices. Only the text through the beginning of section 4.8 (Weadick and the Calgary Stampede) was available in the extracted source.]