INDIAN RODEO IN BRITISH COLUMBIA:
A STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

by

ROGER EARL HAUGEN

B.S., Southern Oregon College, 1964

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology and Sociology

Accepted for the
Faculty of Graduate Studies,

[redacted]

Dean pro tem,
10 May, 1971

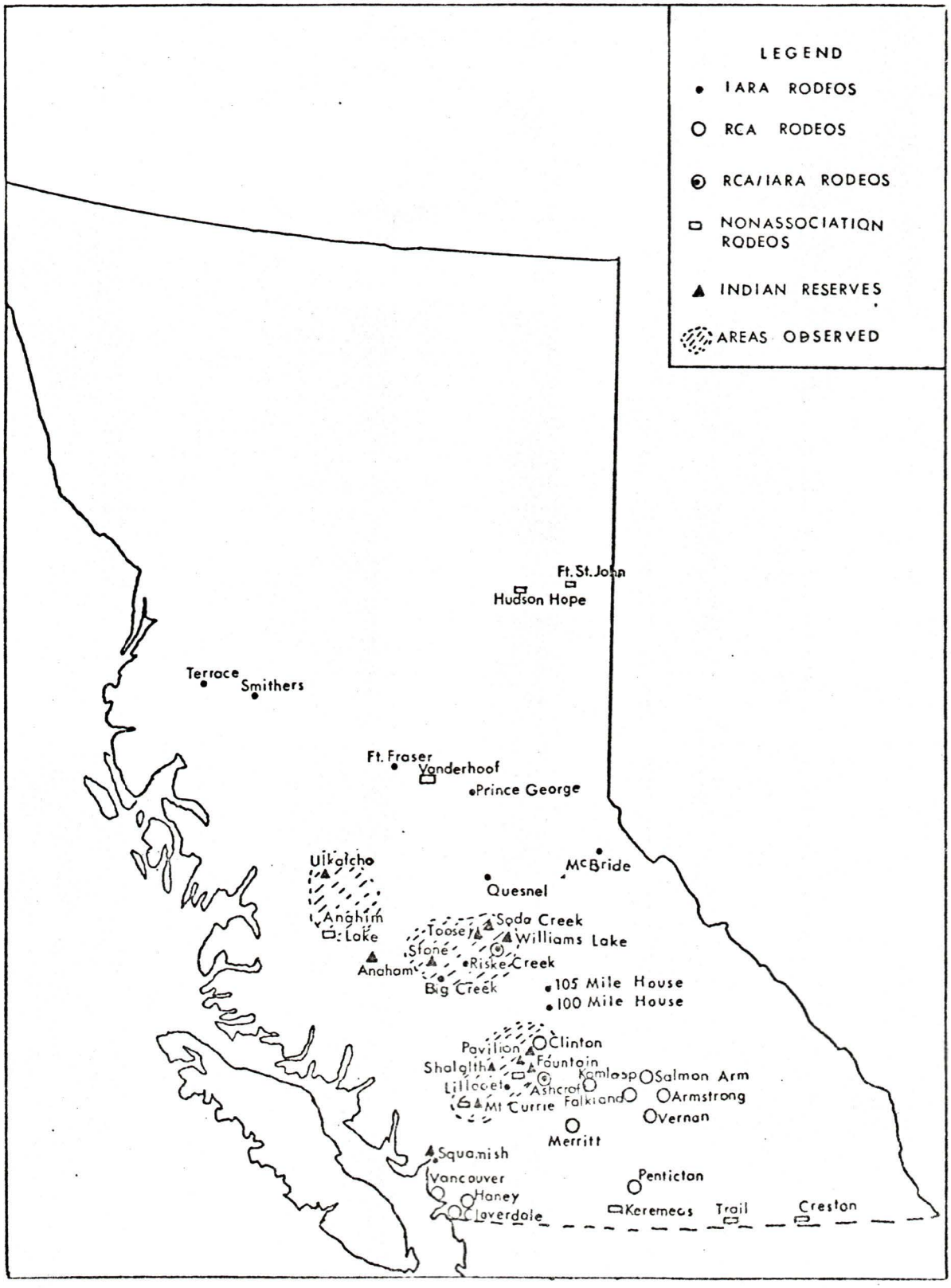
We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

[redacted]

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

April, 1971



RODEO MAP OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Supervisor: Dr. N. Ross Crumrine

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to demonstrate that Indian participation in the British Columbia interior rodeo complex is conditioned by (1) their unique position as a well-defined minority with specific rights, privileges, and limitations deriving from their reserve status and the amounts and kinds of land represented by this; and (2) by a set of pan-Indian values which tend to be characteristic of the Indian people of this area of the interior of the Province of British Columbia. These latter consist mainly of attitudes towards (1) steady work, such as wage employment that would require living away from the reserve versus the more favored employment allowing one to remain on the reserve and, (2) types of work, such as the relative appeal of exciting, outdoor, variable jobs as opposed to dull, indoor, routine occupations. Also important are values regarding kinship relations and obligations, which affect Indian conceptions of status and prestige and attitudes towards the accumulation of wealth.

Research for the study involved observation of several rodeos, including those at Mt. Currie, Riske Creek, and Anahim Lake. Additional information was obtained through informal interviews with Indian and Eurocanadian riders and spectators, with special attention being given Indian riders.

Data collected supports the argument that Indian

participation in rodeo is directly influenced by band organization and reserve status, which provide Indian people with social and geographic solidarity and a measure of economic security. These, plus the accessibility of land, stock, and materials on the reserves facilitate the establishment of reserve rodeos. This is all greatly enhanced by a set of pan-Indian values, including (1) attitudes towards types of work favored, (2) a desire to be self-employed or independent, (3) the importance of kin and band ties, which provide both status and economic security, and (4) a general reluctance to live away from the reserve. Reserve status and values combine to foster participation in Eurocanadian rodeo.

Examiners: [redacted]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The fieldwork for this thesis, conducted during the summer of 1970, was funded by a grant from the Social Science Research Centre, University of Victoria, and was supervised by Dr. N. Ross Crumrine, my thesis supervisor.

I am grateful to Dr. Crumrine and the members of my committee, Dr. Richard Shutler, Jr., and Dr. Henry G. Timko, for their guidance and support. In addition, I wish to thank Mr. David Stevenson, who provided me with much encouragement and direction during the period of the fieldwork and when I began writing the thesis.

Finally, I acknowledge my debt to the Indian and non-Indian people in the areas of my research who so willingly took time to answer my many questions. I am especially grateful to the Indian rodeo cowboys without whose aid this thesis would never have been written.

PREFACE

Purpose of Study

In a broad sense, this thesis is concerned with the problem of defining and describing the following two variations on the general structure of that institutional complex generally identified as rodeo: (1) Indian rodeo as it has been adopted and subsequently modified by certain of the Indian peoples of British Columbia and, (2) rodeo as practiced and conceived of by members of the dominant Eurocanadian society in areas of the British Columbia interior. The concern with the latter variation is to provide a basis for comparison and contrast with the former; though, as will be made explicit, the two do not exist entirely independent of each other.

More specifically, as this study is principally concerned with Indian integration within the entire complex of British Columbia rodeo, both on reserve and off, and because it provided a ready means whereby information regarding Indian adaptations of rodeo could be obtained, the attitudes and behaviour of the Indian rodeo cowboy were selected as a primary focus for the study. Particular attention is given Indian conceptions of the relationship of rodeo to their lives, with special reference to its social importance and its place within a generalized pan-Indian value system.

Research

The data collected in the field and forming the basis for this thesis was gathered by the writer during the period beginning in May, 1970 and ending in September, 1970. At that time, the writer was employed by Dr. N. Ross Crumrine, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Victoria, who was the recipient of a research grant from the Social Science Research Centre, University of Victoria. The core data consists of observational records made at rodeos in the British Columbia interior during that period, as well as interview data collected from Indian and Eurocanadian informants, principally the former. The bulk of this material is contained in a report filed with the Social Science Research Centre (Haugen n.d.).

Fourteen Indian adult male rodeo contestants were interviewed, representing eight different reserves in the interior of British Columbia: Mt. Currie, Clinton, Fountain, Williams Lake, Soda Creek, Ulkatcho, Stone and Anaham (see map, frontispiece, for distribution). Interview data was also collected from three non-rider Indians and one Eurocanadian. Many other individuals, both non-Indian and Indian, were talked with at length, but material gathered from these sources was not of sufficient complexity or in enough detail to justify treating it in terms of a relatively formal interview structure. These additional materials are, for the most part, included in the main body of the report filed with the

Social Science Research Centre, University of Victoria.

Interview questions were used mainly as an aid in establishing rapport with informants, as well as a guide for eliciting information; no effort was made to employ them very systematically, or to use the same questions with each informant, as in a formal questionnaire procedure. This was because of uncertainty about the kinds of information that might be available, since no prior research had been done on the subject. Also, of course, the interview situation in the field, where interviews often had to be conducted at rodeo grounds, in pubs, in automobiles, and at camps as well as in the homes of informants, does not always lend itself to highly structured, formal procedures.

Rodeos observed were: Mt. Currie Rodeo, 17, 18 May, 1970, at Mt. Currie Reserve; Mt. Currie Junior Rodeo, 24 May, 1970, at Mt. Currie Reserve; Riske Creek Rodeo, 6, 7 June, 1970, at Riske Creek; Anahim Lake Stampede, 3, 4, 5 July, 1970, at Anahim Lake (see map, frontispiece, for locations). The Fountain Rodeo, on the Fountain Reserve, and informal and spontaneous rodeos, usually referred to as "jackpot rodeos" because they involve bets on the contests, are also treated in this thesis, though none were observed. Information concerning these was obtained from informants' reports.

Problems

Preliminary planning for this research had provided

for the investigator to attend approximately twelve rodeos in the British Columbia interior during the summer of 1970. As it turned out, the investigator was able to attend only four, with plans to attend a fifth later in the summer which, unfortunately, was cancelled at the last moment. Even attending this number of events, however, served to restrict seriously the time available for interviews. It was found that the rodeos themselves were poor places to attempt interviews, hence most of those reported took place at the informants' homes, jobs, or in pubs and campgrounds. Rodeo cowboys, not unlike athletes in other sports, while participating or preparing to participate, are usually too preoccupied with what they are doing to be much inclined to discuss their activities. In addition, it was difficult to see riders at their homes in mid-week, because many were en route to rodeos during these intervals. As a result, the investigator often spent more than a week locating and interviewing one or two informants. At least two of the most active Indian riders were never interviewed because they were rodeoing in the United States during the entire period the investigator was in the field. It is believed, however, that the interviews obtained do represent at least a reasonable if not unbiased sample of those Indians who participate in rodeos in that area of British Columbia considered in this study.

It should be noted that the names of most individuals, as well as the identification of their reserves, have been

omitted from this study. This was done, not because the materials gathered were felt to be particularly sensitive or confidential, but rather because, in an effort to establish relationships of trust as quickly as possible, as there was only limited time available for the collection of data, each informant was advised that the interviewer was not attempting to collect information on particular individuals but was instead interested in Indian rodeo cowboys generally, and that informants could therefore speak openly, as they would be assured of as much anonymity as possible. It is hoped, therefore, that those who read this thesis will respect the agreement made between the investigator and the informants; and, if they should find any material herein which might cause an informant embarrassment or harm, they will treat it accordingly.

CHAPTER I

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The general analytical framework for this study is a modification of Malinowski's conception of the "concrete isolates of organized behaviour" (Malinowski 1944). Beginning with the proposition that an institution can be defined as ". . . an organized system of purposeful activities. . .", he proceeds to a specification of the structural elements out of which the institution, or "concrete isolate" is made: charter, personnel, norms or rules, material apparatus, activities, and function (1944:52-53). The data forming the basis for this thesis are to be analyzed in terms of this fairly broad conceptual framework.

One major modification made by this writer of Malinowski's general theoretical perspective is the emphasis which is placed on extra-institutional factors in this study. For example, Malinowski, though acknowledging in some instances the importance of historical studies in anthropology (1945:31), usually, as others have noted (Bidney 1967:226; Harris 1968: 553), tended to deprecate diachronic studies and the examination of other factors and emphasize instead the relative importance of purely synchronic investigations relating specifically to the institutional complex being considered. It is expected that utilizing Geertz' coceptual framework will resolve this problem (see below, p. 9).

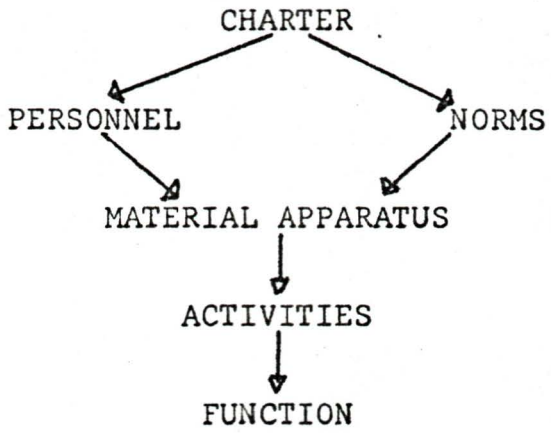
Another difficulty with Malinowski's perspective is his equation of function with the fundamental psycho-biological needs of man (1944:74). For Malinowski, in Bidney's words:

> The origins of culture were to be sought in non-cultural, biological and social needs without reference to the historical sequence of forms. . . . Of course, underlying the basic types of cultural invention and custom there is always some psycho-giological need or social requirement which they are introduced to satisfy. . . . Culture forms have a history of their own which cannot be deduced from their functional utility and consequences. Hence the origins which the ethnologist seeks are cultural antecedents for later cultural developments, not the psycho-biological motivations and objectives which may tell him why a given type or category of cultural instrument was invented and utilized. In brief, biological and social conditions are the necessary but not sufficient, causes of cultural invention and change. For an adequate explanation of origins we require a combination of psycho-biological, social, and purely historical factors (1967:226-227).

As the data collected for this study are not readily amenable to analysis in terms of psycho-biological factors, emphasis here is on cultural, social, and historical factors contributing to the development of rodeo, with special reference to Indian rodeo. It is believed that this in no way does violence to Malinowski's more limited conception of function in his discussion of it as an element in his conceptualization of the concrete isolate of the institution: ". . . the integral <u>result</u> of organized activities. . ." (1944:53, italics mine). Viewed in this more restrictive sense, as the consequence of

behaviour, or the effect an action appears to have, the concept of function is relevant to this study.

In order to facilitate understanding and to provide graphic representation of his analysis of the phenomenon of the institution, Malinowski diagrams it thus (adapted from Malinowski 1944:53):



In this thesis, the definitions of these elements correspond to those of Malinowski, except where indicated. The institution, it will be remembered, is defined as "an organized system of purposeful activities." Charter is defined as ". . . the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize or enter organizations already existing. . . the personnel of an institution [are defined] as the group organized on definite principles of authority, division of functions, and distribution of privileges and duties. . . . The rules or norms of an institution are the technical acquired skills, habits, legal norms, and ethical commands which are accepted by the members or imposed on them" (1944:

52). As can doubtless be seen, and as Malinowski here indicated, both the personnel and the norms are ". . . derived from and contingent upon, the charter." In addition ". . . the rules or norms. . . are worded so as to define the ideal behaviour" (1944:48, italics mine). The material apparatus consists of that total complex of equipment, environment, wealth, and profits, if any, which provide the operational basis or empirical locus of the institution (1944:52-53). "The activities depend on the ability, power, honesty, and goodwill of the members. They deviate invariably from the rules, which represent the ideal of performance, not necessarily its reality. The activities, moreover, are embodied in actual behaviour; the rules very often, in precepts, texts and regulations" (1944:53). And, finally, function is defined, as previously, as the result or consequence(s) of organized activities.

Generally, it is within the context of this analytical structure that the two types of rodeo institution, Euro-canadian and Indian, will be discussed. It is clear that Malinowski's scheme suffers from a lack of formal analytical mechanisms whereby one can deal with historical and extra-institutional factors. In addition to Malinowski's plan, therefore, and particularly when discussing Indian rodeo and Indian riders, a more comprehensive analytical tool, employing a tripartate system, will be overlaid on the institutional model. It involves three categories of integration: logico-

meaningful integration, causal-functional integration, and the pattern of motivational integration.[1]

> By logico-meaningful integration, characteristic of culture, is meant the sort of integration one finds in a Bach fugue, in Catholic dogma. . . it is a unity of style, of logical implication, of meaning and value. By causal-functional integration, characteristic of the social system, is meant the kind of integration one finds in any organism, where all the parts are united in a single causal web. . . . And because these two types of integration are not identical, because the particular form one of them takes does not directly imply the form the other will take, there is an inherent incongruity and tension between both of them and a third element, the pattern of motivational integration within the individual which we usually call personality structure (Geertz 1957:34).

Overlaid on Malinowski's model, it would appear as illustrated on page 11, overleaf. Also, Geertz' distinction between culture and social system is that which will be used throughout this study: culture being the system of symbols and meanings which provides the basis for social interaction and the latter referring to the social system proper, which is taken to mean the actual network of social relations (1957: 33).

By utilizing the first two of Geertz' analytical categories, additional insight into the dynamic patterning of behaviour and the structuring of the institutions themselves can be obtained. The broader categories of Geertz, if overlaid on Malinowski's scheme, result in the following approximate equivalences: logico-meaningful integration =

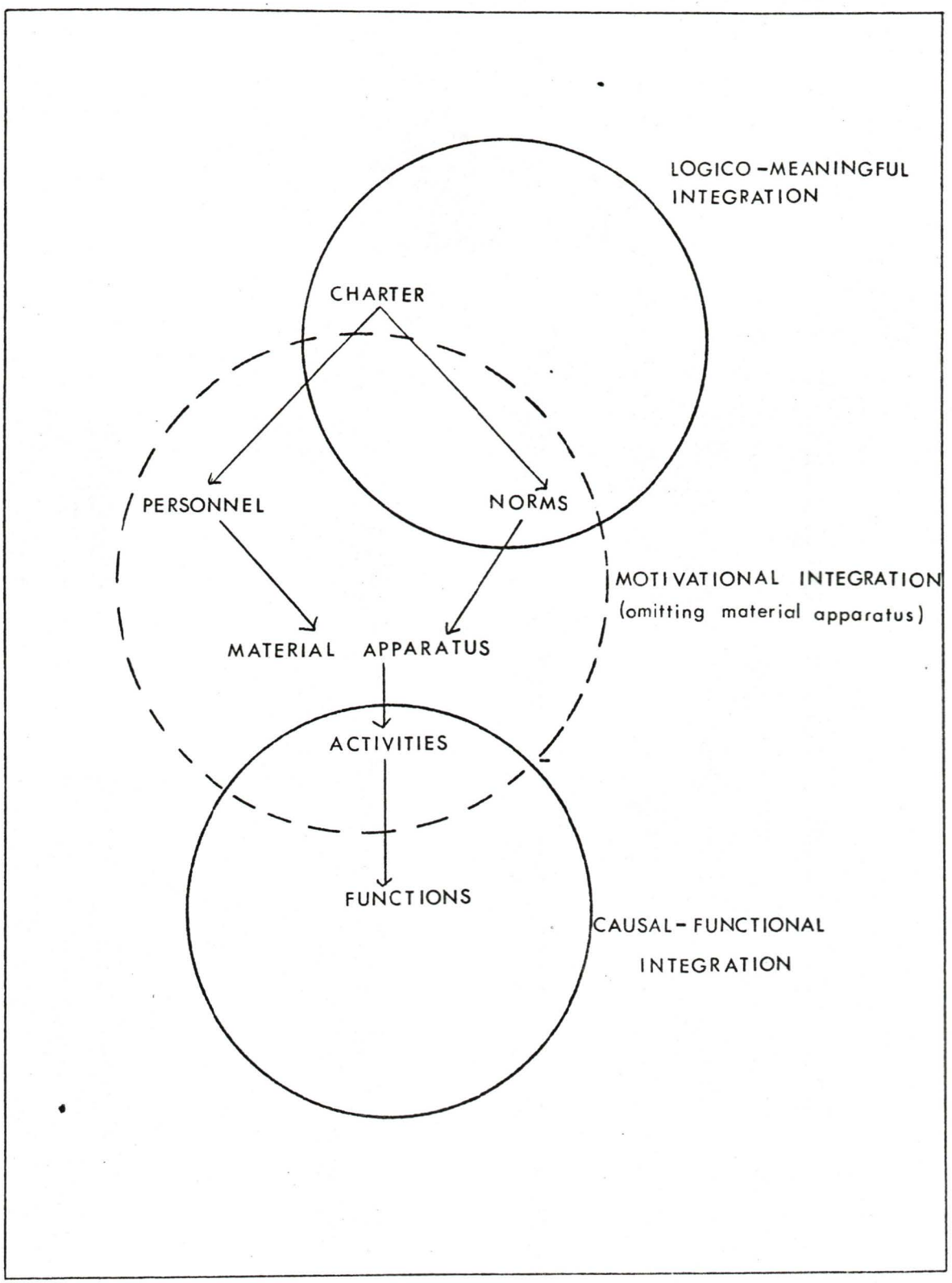


FIGURE 2. MODEL OF ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

cultural factors and the charter and rules and norms of the institution; and causal-functional integration = activities and functions, both intra- and extra-institutional. This model also illustrates that none of this occurs in a vacuum: Indian society is embedded in the matrix of the greater Eurocanadian world as well as in a bio-physical environment, both of which affect activities within the Indian society.

For purposes of this study, the Indian people and the Eurocanadians discussed will be regarded as members of two separate ethnic groups. Although obviously rooted in separate historical traditions, and hence definable as discrete cultural entities, the facts that (1) the English language is common to both; (2) Indians, though occupying a circumscribed territory residentially and often in terms of work, often leave the reserve to work in other areas; and (3) both groups share certain resources, such as pubs, stores, some schools and governmental agencies, and other cultural features derived almost exclusively from the dominant Eurocanadian culture, tend to make it somewhat less difficult, conceptually, to see them as ethnic groups inter- and intra-acting in the same general milieu.

The definition of ethnic group used throughout this study is that advanced by Barth (1969:10-11), where he argues that an ethnic group

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating.
2. shares fundamental cultural values,

realized in overt unity in cultural forms.
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction.
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

Use of Barth's conceptual framework is purely definitional however, and is not to be considered an important element in the theoretical framework of this study.

Because it was a readily identifiable group, Indian people dealt with in this study were those individuals who declared themselves to the investigator as being members of a band organization and resident on reserve lands. Presumably, these people would conform to the definitional requirements of Indian as set forth in the Indian Act (Canada 1965:3-8). In instances where interviews were not practical, as in campgrounds and on rodeo grounds, the investigator defined as Indian those individuals or groups of people who were characterized as such by Eurocanadians, known Indians, and the investigator's personal judgment.

Non-Indians are classified as Eurocanadian. Apart from the two groups considered, no other ethnic group was observed as being involved in rodeo affairs in any significant manner.

A word should perhaps be added at this point regarding the use of the euphemism Eurocanadian, as a substitute for white. Although it is recognized that the former may seem

awkward to some, it is felt to be the more satisfactory of the two because it characterizes the dominant culture as intrusive rather than autochthonous, and because it does not carry, for this writer at least, the unpleasant racialist overtones of white.

The problem of explanation in studies of this sort is, at least superficially, difficult to resolve. If, as Homans argues, ". . . the explanation of a finding, whether a generalization or a proposition about a single event, is the process of showing that the finding follows as a logical conclusion, as a deduction, from one or more general propositions under specified given conditions. . ." (1967:23, italics mine), then the difficulty of positing logical relationships between the structure of the institution of rodeo and the function of rodeo would appear to preclude explanation.[2] Paradoxically, the problem is simultaneously only apparent and real: real in the sense that, formally, it probably cannot be resolved; only apparent in the sense that it does not seem entirely to disallow the possibility of considering the relationship between structure and function in some fruitful and significant manner. Here substituting institution for organism, Nagel's (1953:557) discussion of the same problem facing biologists makes this latter perspective clear:

> . . . the question of why a given. . . structure is associated with specified functions may be irresolvable, not because it is beyond our capacities to answer it, but simply because the question in the

> sense intended asks for what is logically impossible. In short, structure does not logically determine function, though as a matter of contingent fact the specific structure possessed by an organism [institution] does set bounds to the kinds of activities in which the organism [institution] can engage. And conversely, the pattern of behaviour exhibited by an organism [institution] does not logically imply a unique. . . structure, though in point of contingent fact an organism [institution] manifests specific modes of activity only when its parts possess a determinate structure of a definite kind (brackets mine).

It is from this point of view, that of analytical interpretation rather than that of theoretical explanation, that this study is conducted. In terms of a more formal anthropological position, the writer is in substantial agreement with the views expressed by Evans-Pritchard in his discourse on anthropological method:

> . . . Social anthropology studies societies as moral, or symbolic, systems. . . it is less interested in process than in design, and. . . it therefore seeks patterns and not laws, demonstrates consistency and not necessary relations between social activities, and interprets rather than explains (1951:62).

Problem Statement

In this thesis, two variant types of rodeo institutional complexes will be defined and analyzed in terms of the conceptual framework of Malinowski which was outlined in the previous section. The two types of rodeo considered are:

(1) the Eurocanadian variant which has developed in the interior of British Columbia, examples being taken from rodeos in the Williams Lake and Anahim Lake areas and (2) Indian rodeo, examples being drawn from Mt. Currie near Pemberton, British Columbia, as well as from the Lillooet and Clinton areas in British Columbia. In addition, other rodeos, both Indian and Eurocanadian, will be considered where relevant.

Primary consideration is given to the problem of treating the Indian variant in terms of Malinowski's model of the institution. Moreover, the analytical framework developed by Geertz and as outlined above, will provide an additional device for considering the institution of Indian rodeo within the broader perspective of Indian ethnic identity, in both historical as well as contemporary terms.

It is expected that this analysis will provide support for and a demonstration of the adequacy of the central thesis of the study: that Indian participation in the British Columbia interior rodeo complex is largely conditioned by their unique position as a well-defined ethnic minority with specific rights, privileges and limitations deriving from their reserve status and the amounts and kinds of land represented by this; and by a set of pan-tribal values which, it is argued, tend to be characteristic of the Indian people of this area of the interior of British Columbia. In this regard, the values of most concern in the thesis relate to attitudes

toward (1) steady work, such as wage employment that would require living away from the reserve versus the more favoured choice of employment allowing one to remain on the reserve and, (2) types of work, for example, the relative appeal of exciting, outdoor, variable jobs as opposed to dull, indoor, routine occupations. In addition, the relative importance with which most Indian people regard kinship relations and obligations, which in turn affects their conceptions of status and prestige, directly influences the often-observed indifference with which the accumulation of material wealth is regarded. This last, of course, doubtless affects occupational attitudes, at least with reference to salary or wage considerations. Finally, it is argued that, as a consequence of the foregoing, and to the degree that it is true, the development of a rodeo institution peculiarly Indian is facilitated, which, conjointly, allows for participation in the more generalized Eurocanadian rodeo complex.

CHAPTER II

RODEO -- PAST AND PRESENT

Rodeo, as it is known today, grew out of the ranch skills acquired in the range cattle industry which was developed in the southern part of what is present-day Texas by the early Mexican rancheros. As both cattle and horses were allowed to run free on open range, a procedure long since abandoned in Europe, new roping techniques and horse-breaking skills were devised which served the needs of ranchers in the area. As Anglo-Texans moved into the region and began building up ranches of their own, they adopted these skills to aid them in catching and branding wild cattle and breaking wild horses (Boatright 1964:195).

For the beginnings of rodeo proper, however, one must turn to the round-ups (the Spanish term for round-up is rodeo), on the ranges and, more importantly, to the informal and usually impromptu celebrations and contests held by cowboys in the cowtowns at the ends of the old cattle trails; places such as Abilene, Sedalia, and Dodge City (Westermeier 1947:33). The earliest recorded account of a rodeo-type contest is reported by Deaton near San Antonio, Texas, between 1840 and 1869. This contest involved 50 Comanches, some Mexican ranchers, Texas Rangers and cowboys. In addition to horse races, riding exhibitions and marksmanship contests, there were also bucking contests. Prizes were given the

winners in each event (Deaton 1952:14-15). The same author reports that, by 1870, rodeo corrals had been developed in crude form in a number of areas in the ranching country of the southwest and that betting had become a regular part of the entertainment at bucking contests (Deaton 1952:3). "In the late 1880's and early 1890's more and more western communities began staging riding and roping contests at recurrent intervals" (Boatright 1964:200). That rodeo was well-established by about this time is attested to by the fact that Prescott, Arizona, in 1888, inaugurated its Frontier Days Celebration on the 4th of July in that year: an event that is now regarded as the oldest continuous annual rodeo on record (Westermeier 1947:35).

A few years earlier, in 1884, and also on the Fourth of July, North Platte, Nebraska, gave birth to the wild west show under the direction of William (Buffalo Bill) Cody. In addition to cowboy events, Cody introduced a stage holdup, shooting contests, horse races and the drive of a small herd of buffalo (Boatright 1964:197-198). Prizes were posted for roping, shooting, riding and bronco-riding events. "Cody estimated he might get one hundred cowboy entrants; he actually got one thousand" (Russell 1970:4). But, as Russell notes, although Cody's "Wild West" stimulated the development of rodeo, there is no doubt that rodeo really grew out of cowboy celebrations during roundups and cattle drives (1970: 5). Cody's show ran for three decades, however, attracting,

in total, crowds of millions, in Europe as well as North America, almost certainly thereby encouraging the development of rodeo. But by the second decade of the twentieth century, the overhead for travelling wild west shows was enormous, and Cody failed, to be soon followed by his imitators, Pawnee Bill (Gordon William Lillie), Tom Mix, and Tim McCoy. Economic reasons, as well as the development of motion pictures with their greater degree of verisimilitude (a stage holdup in a fenced arena is no match for one staged on the open prairie), doubtless contributed to their passing (Boatright 1964:200). In the meantime, the cowboy-as-contestant-entertainer had taken his place alongside the working cowboy in the public mind. "Early in this century, from the border towns of southern Texas, northward, and beyond the border into Canada, the cattle industry and the cowboy were being immortalized in rodeo" (Westermeier 1947:44).

What may well be the first reference to rodeo in Canada appeared in the Calgary Weekly Herald of May 16, 1893. The article mentions that this is the first contest of its kind to be held in Calgary. The first Calgary Stampede was held in 1912 on September 2, 3, 4, 5. The promoter of the celebration was an American, Guy Weadick (Westermeier 1947: 315-320). In the area of British Columbia dealt with in this study, the earliest rodeo appears to be that which was held at Williams Lake in 1918 (Williams Lake Tribune Pictorial, Summer 1970:6). In 1919, a rodeo arena was built, in

anticipation of an annual event. That rodeo should develop in an area somewhat remote from the ranching area of the great plains is not too surprising, as many of the early ranchers in the Chilcotin-Cariboo region of British Columbia, as well as considerable numbers of their ranchhands, came originally from the cattle country in the United States, and, presumably, would have brought knowledge of rodeo with them (History and Legends of the Chilcotin n.d.).

By 1929, rodeo had become an important enough activity to warrant the organization of the Rodeo Association of America (including Canada), which took as its purpose the promotion of rodeo as an amateur sport, the standardization of rules, and the establishment of schedules to avoid conflicts in the dates of shows. Membership in this association is limited to rodeo associations or organizations which produce rodeos in their areas (Westermeier 1947:183).

In 1936, the Cowboy's Turtle Association was formed in Boston, Massachusetts. Although efforts had been made earlier to form an organization to help insure the rodeo cowboys fair treatment, reasonable prize money, and some control over the structure of rodeo and the events, all had failed. The Turtle's Association, however, survived and became, in 1945, the Rodeo Cowboys Association (RCA), with offices now located in Denver, Colorado (Lamb 1956:40-53). Its 1969 membership totaled 3,346 (Rodeo Information Foundation 1970:14).

That rodeo has become an important institutional complex is indicated by the fact that, in 1969, there were 533 Rodeo Cowboys Association approved rodeos, and that they awarded over three million dollars in prize money during the same year (Rodeo Information Foundation 1970:14). These figures are quite conservative, as they include only those rodeos (and prizes), which are sanctioned by the Rodeo Cowboys Association. For example, in British Columbia in 1970, there were only nine Rodeo Cowboys Association approved rodeos (Rodeo Sports News 1971:96). The total number of scheduled rodeos, however, was 32 (Department of Travel Industry, Government of British Columbia 1970). All of this suggests, of course, that there are also many more than 3,346 individuals competing in rodeos, since Rodeo Cowboys Association members are not allowed to compete in any except Rodeo Cowboys Association sanctioned rodeos (Rodeo Information Foundation 1970:33).

Charter of Rodeo

In addition to its traditional purpose of providing a means whereby those seeking recognition of their competitive skill in ranch-related tasks can do so, and as a social setting in which those participating celebrate a round-up, the end of a trail drive, or a holiday of some sort, rodeo has come to serve at least two other purposes: (1) that of being a source of civic pride, since a rodeo will attract the

attention of other communities and individuals outside the community, and, deriving from this, (2) it frequently brings to the community, as well as the sponsoring organizations, revenue in the form of tourist spending (Rodeo Information Foundation 1970:32). Obviously, a prime motive in some instances would be economic while consideration of such things as civic pride and sport would be only secondary.

Rules or Norms of Rodeo

The fundamental rules guiding those who conduct the affairs of rodeos, as well as those participating as contestants, can be derived from the rules of the Rodeo Association of America and the Rodeo Cowboys Association: (1) honesty and fairness are cardinal rules and every effort should be made to insure that each contestant is treated accordingly, therefore (2) accuracy and proficiency in judging are important and each official charged with such responsibilities should be competent and capable of carrying out his duties in a businesslike manner when called upon to do so, which means that, (3) punctuality, sobriety, and efficiency are necessary for the running of a proper rodeo. All of the foregoing, of course, can be subsumed under the general charter, which, in asserting its function as a medium within which contestants can test their skills, implies, insofar as it adheres to general notions of fairplay and sport, an atmosphere of impartial honesty and general competence on

the part of officials (Westermeier 1947:183-188).

In a general sense, the rules for behaviour of contestants at rodeos are derived directly from those applying to the operators of the rodeo. Contestants are expected to be punctual, sober, properly equipped for their rides, with equipment conforming to RCA standards. They must obey all rodeo officials, pay their entry fees, and must not mistreat stock. The consequences for violation are penalties, in the form of disqualification and/or fines (Westermeier 1947:183-188; Rodeo Information Foundation 1970:34-35).

Although not specifically mentioned in the rule books, rules concerning spectator behaviour would reasonably include, at least minimally, payment of admission fees and non-interference with the smooth operation of the rodeo, such as not entering the arena during contests or abusing stock in the corrals.

Finally, in very general terms, rules for the behaviour of those participating in rodeo, including contestants, spectators, and officials, include notions about "having a good time", which conforms to the traditional charter element of rodeo as being a kind of celebration.

Personnel of Rodeo

In addition to the general rules and principles governing rodeo which derive rather directly from the charter, there are also formal rules and norms which accrue to and

derive from specialized roles and statuses within the general framework of rodeo. In terms of Malinowski's criteria for defining the personnel of an institution as those functions, privileges, duties, and lines of authority along which the group is organized, these specific rules attaching to particular categories of individuals in rodeo are more properly discussed in relation to personnel.

The personnel of rodeo can be divided into three broad categories: (1) officials, including rodeo committees, arena personnel, extra-arena officials, such as concession operators, dance committees, parade officials, and police, (2) the contestants, including those involved in non-rodeo events, (3) spectators.

The spectators, including men, women, and children, fulfill, in terms of the charter, two important functions: (1) they provide an audience for the contestants which serves as witness and judge of the efforts of contestants and rodeo committee alike, and (2) they provide the revenue in the form of gate receipts which makes the affair economically feasible.

The specific, formal roles of the contestants are virtully identical for all rodeos. Their essential function, in terms of the charter, is to provide the rationale for the entire affair in that, ostensibly at least, it is to see them compete that the spectators pay admission. In addition, the contestants are there, presumably, for at least one of two reasons, or some combination thereof: (1) to test and to win

recognition for their competitive ability and skill and (2) to win a share of the prize money. Both of these are consistent with the general charter.

The rules given below for the major rodeo events are adapted from Rodeo Information Foundation, Rodeo Reference Book, 1970:

Saddle Bronc Riding

A rider is disqualified for:

1. Failing to keep spurs over the animal's shoulder until first jump out of the chute is completed. (Called "starting" the horse.)
2. Touching animal or equipment with free hand during the ride.
3. Losing a stirrup.
4. Bucking off before official end of the ride. (Length of the ride may be 8 or 10 seconds. Choice is the stock contractor's, usually based on size of arena.)

Bareback Riding

Same rules of disqualification as used in saddle bronc riding, with exception of rule No. 3 (losing a stirrup).

Bull Riding

More leniency is shown than in saddle and bareback bronc riding. A bull rider is not required to spur his mount but may receive additional credit from the judges if he does so; in the air when official end of ride is signaled, but still holding some part of his rope, rider still rates a qualifying mark. Disqualification comes from hitting the ground before the eight-second ride is completed; failing to have bell attached to his rope; for touching his mount with free hand at any time during the ride.

Calf Roping

The event calls for two or more time-keepers, field flag judge and scoreline flag judge. Length of score (headstart) given calf depends on arena's size. Roper remains behind a barrier until calf crosses

scoreline. Breaking through the barrier adds 10 seconds to roper's time. After the catch, roper must throw calf by hand, cross any three legs for the tie, then signal for time by raising his hands. Field judge then passes on the tie.

Steer Wrestling

Officials are two or more timekeepers, a field and scoreline judge. Contestant waits, with hazer posted on opposite side of the release gate, until steer crosses designated scoreline. Breaking barrier adds 10-second penalty. Steer must be on its feet before being wrestled down. Running falls do not count. Steer is to be flat on its side, all four legs extended, before official time is given.

Team Roping

Two or more timekeepers, a field and scoreline flag judge are used. Steer is given designated start with both ropers behind a barrier. Breaking the barrier is an automatic 10-second penalty. Heel roper is assessed a 5-second fine if he catches only one hind foot. A total of three throws are allowed. Ropers must face their horses toward steer with ropes taut for official time. No penalty is assessed for picking up front foot in head loop.

Steer Roping

Two or more timekeepers, field and scoreline flag judges are the officials. Steer is given designated headstart while roper waits behind barrier. Breaking the barrier is a 10-second penalty. Steer must remain tied until approved by field flag judge. Only clean catch of steer's horns is allowed. Two throws permitted.

Wild Horse Race

RCA approved but with no championship award. Teams of three cowboys, on foot, try to saddle unbroken mustangs in the arena. One team member then tries to ride animal across given scoreline.

Wild Cow Milking

Another added event with no RCA title

award. Against time, two cowboys attempt to get at least one drop of milk from the cow into a small-neck bottle, then deliver it across designated line.

Steer Decorating
The Canadian variation of steer wrestling. Contestant jumps from his running horse on the steer, placing an elastic band on the animal's horn instead of wrestling the steer to the ground (34-35).

With the exception of the last three mentioned above, world championships are proclaimed in these events. Of these, five are considered standard events and no rodeo is RCA approved unless it has them: saddle bronc, bareback, bull riding, calf roping and steer wrestling (Lamb 1956:59). In addition to the events mentioned above, there are others which are entirely optional, such as ladies barrel racing, ladies undecorating, chuckwagon races, and horse racing. Ladies barrel racing involves timed races around a clover leaf pattern, while ladies undecorating, another timed event, parallels steer decorating with the exception that the rider here leans down and removes a ribbon from the animal's horn without leaving her mount.

The personnel constituting the basic official category in rodeo are diagrammed in terms of their hierarchical arrangement, overleaf. [Definitions of their duties, privileges and the lines of authority through which they operate are drawn from Rodeo Information Foundation, Rodeo Reference Book, 1970, p. 33; Official Program of the Williams Lake

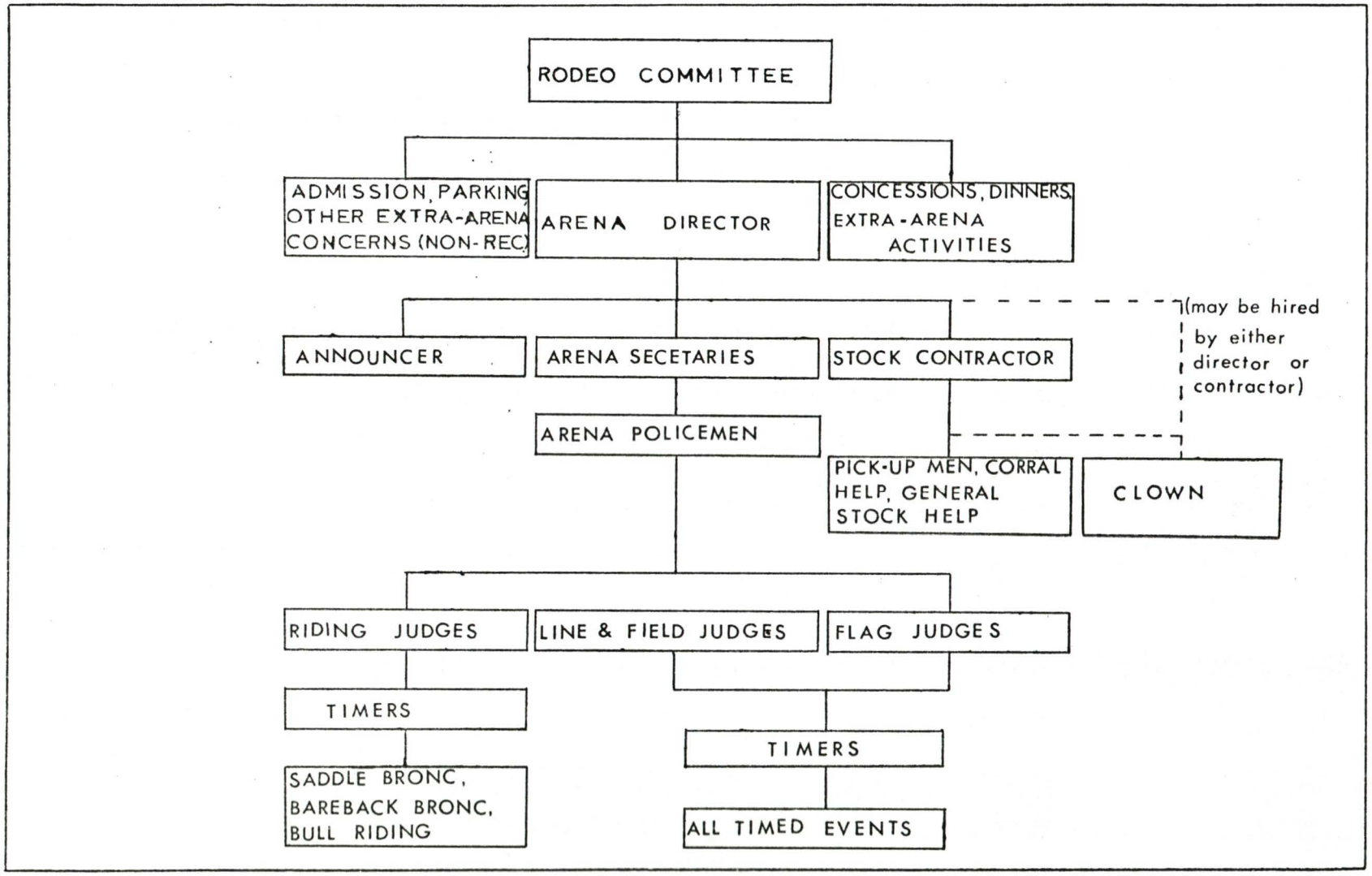


FIGURE 3. CHART OF OFFICIAL RODEO PERSONNEL

Stampede, 44th annual edition, p. 11 (an RCA approved rodeo); the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association Judge's Handbook; and Lamb 1956.] Their various duties, privileges, and the lines of authority through which they operate are as follows:

The arena director is responsible for the over-all operation of all the events in the arena and is directly responsible to the rodeo committee.

The rodeo committee is composed of local people, either representing an organization or the community at large. They are ultimately responsible for the entire performance.

Arena secretaries have, among their duties, responsibility for accepting entry fees, computing payoffs for events, and posting draws (no rider may ride a given animal more than once).

Arena policemen's duties are to check that each contestant wears a number, usually between the shoulder blades. This generally consists of a square of cloth with a number painted on. Without an official number, a contestant is not issued stock.

Riding judges, of which there are two, draw the stock to be ridden: a rider's name is called, then an animal's number is drawn. Posted on either side of the chute gate, the rider and animal come out between them. They each score the animal and rider separately, on scales of from 1 to 25 points. These four scores are totaled for the final score.

Flag judges monitor timed events. Stock is drawn as

for riding events. Time is taken between the flags, with one judge in the field, and the other at the starting scoreline.

Line judges decide the legality of a start, while field judges signal the completion of a tie or a thrown steer.

Timers work nearly all events. In riding events, their stop watches start on the animal's first jump from the chute, and are stopped at the end of the ride, either eight or ten seconds. Timed events are decided between flags. No less than two timers are necessary.

All judges at approved rodeos must themselves be qualified riders, but are not allowed to compete in the rodeo which they judge.

Although not in direct lines of authority, in terms of the chart on page 29, there are several other individuals directly and formally involved with arena affairs.

The stock contractor is the person who agrees to provide the stock needed for the show. He generally also agrees to provide the necessary labour, such as those necessary for chute and corral work with the stock. As a producer, he contracts to provide everything, including special attractions. In addition, the contractor frequently hires the clown to work the bulls.

The announcer is charged with conveying information about riders, and miscellaneous information to the contestants and spectators.

The clown is necessary for working the bulls. As the brahma bulls used in rodeo will attack a horse as readily as they will a man, pickup men are not used to help the rider. In order to facilitate the rider's escape, or to lure the bull away should a rider be injured in a fall, a clown is employed. His chief responsibility is to protect the bull riders, and his clowning and other activities are incidental to this role.

Pickup men, usually two, are men on horseback whose duties are to help riders dismount in saddle bronc and bareback riding events. They also help clear the arena of stock, including cattle used in wrestling and roping events.

Finally, there are those individuals and groups who, though not working directly with events in the arena, are usually important to the successful functioning of a rodeo. They include, depending on the particular rodeo, people to take tickets, help with parking, run concessions (these are sometimes given over to clubs in the community), and the other extra-arena activities, such as dances, dinners, and "cowboy breakfasts".

Material Apparatus of Rodeo

The material apparatus of rodeo is highly variable, there being great differences in the amount of time, money and effort put into the National Finals Rodeo held in the United States in a major city and a small-town rodeo some-

where in the interior of British Columbia. Basically, however, all rodeos consist of at least two sets of apparatus: (1) permanently located equipment and the items associated with such pieces of equipment and (2) portable equipment, including stock and the material apparatus used by contestants.

Included in the permanent apparatus are the rodeo grounds proper, with corrals, announcer's platform, bleachers, roping pens, chutes, concession booths, and other facilities. Items associated with the permanent apparatus include feed for the stock, loudspeaker equipment, cooking materials for concession booths, and mounts, saddles, flags, stop watches, and other equipment used in conducting events. This list could be extended almost indefinitely to include materials such as programs, decorations, national flags for parades, and sundry pieces of equipment.

The size and cost of rodeo grounds and arenas is highly individual, depending upon money available and the aspirations of the sponsoring agency. No information has been found which specifies the dimensions of an arena, for example. Because the stock contractor is usually allowed to determine the length of rides, depending upon the size of the arena, it is assumed that there is no fixed size prescribed. The writer observed that arenas were, minimally, roughly 150 feet in diameter, though some were larger and oval rather than circular in shape. Corrals and chutes are likewise variable: chutes, ranging, in the writer's experience,

from four to more than ten. A minimum of two corrals were observed to be the rule: one to hold horses, the other for steers and calves. In one instance where brahma bulls were used, it was observed that the bulls were kept in a corral separate from all other animals. At only one rodeo attended were bleachers available for spectators. Roping pens were in evidence at all rodeo grounds, though at one rodeo they were not used as there were no roping events. All rodeos observed had at least one concession booth and all had a building on the grounds or immediately adjacent to the grounds which was used as the dance hall. All rodeos observed had, in varying degrees of elaborateness, parking facilities and toilets. In addition, several made provisions for camping.

Apparatus used in contests by the riders is more uniform. (The following information is adapted from Rodeo Information Foundation, Rodeo Reference Book, 1970, p. 34-35). In the saddle bronc events, saddles are of a prescribed design (Curly 1949:23+). One rein, usually of braided manila, is used. Called a buckrein, it is about six feet long and about an inch and a half thick. It is fastened to the bucking horse halter. Spurs must be short shanked, with dull rowels. Chaps are of leather, fitted snugly around the thigh.

The bareback rigging consists of a double thick leather pad which is cinched to the horse's back. No stirrups

or rein is used. At the top of the rigging is a leather handhold. Spurs of the type described for saddle bronc riding are worn.

For the bull riding, a flat-braided length of manila rope into which is woven a single handhold is used. This is placed around the bull just behind the animal's shoulders. A weighted bell is also attached to the rope. This apparatus is called a bull-rope.

For the roping events, a lariat rope, about 25 feet long and three-eighths of an inch thick is used. Ropers usually carry two ropes, as they are often allowed more than one throw, depending on the event. For those involved in roping events and steer wrestling, a horse is necessary, but these are often borrowed.

Consultation with a rodeo official who also deals in ranch and rodeo equipment yielded the following estimates of cost for the items of equipment necessary for a contestant to be relatively well-equipped for competition (Haugen n.d.: 58):

Saddle:	$200.00
Spurs:	15.00
Chaps:	40.00
Buckrein:	10.00
Bullrope:	20.00
Bareback Rig:	50.00
TOTAL:	$345.00

A check of these estimates by examining copies of Rodeo Sports News, the official publication of the Rodeo Cowboys Association, and the place where these equipment items are heavily

advertised revealed that, as the informant indicated, the estimates given are actually quite conservative. Boots, cowboy hat, and gloves are not included as apparatus because an individual might possess them anyway.

Activities and Functions of Rodeo

As both activities and functions are embodied only in actual behaviour, it is impossible to consider them in general terms. In a limited sense, of course, function can be taken to mean the realization of the aims expressed in the charter. However, rather than discuss the two areas in purely abstract terms, examination of them will be limited to concrete instances in subsequent sections.

Summary

It is clear that rodeo is a well-developed institutional complex, possessing in fully-defined form all of those structural characteristics specified by Malinowski.

In addition to the formal elements of charter, personnel, apparatus, and rules and norms discussed above, it is important for purposes of this study to keep in mind that the institution of rodeo is typically flexible, with variations on the basic form ranging from the more traditional types of casual contest-celebrations to the modern and highly formalized professional shows. As will be seen in the following chapters, there are a number of configurations in between, all of which depend upon the aspirations and

capabilities of sponsoring agencies and participants.

CHAPTER III

RODEO IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: EUROCANADIAN

Examination of the map forming the frontispiece reveals that there are three types of regularly scheduled rodeos in British Columbia: (1) Rodeo Cowboys Association approved rodeos, (2) Interior Amateur Rodeo Association sanctioned rodeos, and (3) those sponsored by local groups yet not formally affiliated with any organization outside the community. This thesis is concerned only marginally with those of type one, mainly because the time available for collection of data in the field precluded the possibility of collecting complete information on all aspects of rodeo and because, as soon became apparent, only a few of the Indian riders with whom the study is primarily concerned ever participate in these professional shows.

In this study, type two rodeo is represented principally by the Riske Creek rodeo and type three by the Anahim Lake Stampede and the Mt. Currie Indian Rodeo. The Mt. Currie rodeo represents an Indian variant of this third category. In addition to these, but not represented on the map, are two types of Indian rodeo which are characterized as (A) unscheduled formal and (B) jackpot. These will be discussed in conjunction with Indian rodeo only.

Riske Creek Rodeo

Although the first cattle and horses were brought into this area as early as 1863 by settlers (History and Legends of the Chilcotin n.d.:20), it was not until 1900 that a race track was laid out on Beecher Prairie near Riske Creek (History and Legends of the Chilcotin n.d.:26). No mention is made, however, of rodeo type contests in connection with this track. Annual races and celebrations took place during a three day meet, and people, coming from as far away as Soda Creek (north of Williams Lake), camped out on the prairie. During the period from 1880 through 1920, many settlers came to the region from the ranching areas in the United States, so presumably they were at least aware of rodeo-type events. As noted above, Williams Lake, some 30 miles to the east, had a rodeo as early as 1918. The owner of a lodge in the area, and a life-long resident as well as secretary of the Riske Creek Rodeo Association reported, however, that the Riske Creek Rodeo is only five years old. Prior to the establishment of the rodeo by the Riske Creek Community Club, in conjunction with help from the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association (IARA). there were annual horse races in the summer in the Riske Creek area (Haugen n.d.:18).

Riske Creek Rodeo Charter

The charter for the Riske Creek Rodeo seems to consist of three basic elements: (1) the desire to have an

annual event which will attract tourists to the area, as several of the individuals most active in the rodeo activities are local businessmen, (2) as the area residents are mainly ranchers, they are inclined to view rodeo as an important adjunct to their social lives, as a recreation uniquely serving their interests; several ranchers maintained that rodeo was a good place for local riders to "prove themselves", and, (3) as a source of civic pride in the sense that a well-run rodeo achieves for the community some regional recognition. This last point is reflected in one of the basic tenets of the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association, of which the Riske Creek Rodeo Association is an affiliate; that of maintaining a ". . . professional quality show--people pay money to see a good show, and that's what they get at an IARA rodeo" (Haugen n.d.:57).

Riske Creek Rodeo Rules and Norms

The fundamental rules of the Riske Creek Rodeo are reflected in the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association Judges Handbook (IARA Handbook) which, in turn, reflects in every essential the same rules outlined above as those guiding the conduct of rodeos approved by the Rodeo Association of America and the Rodeo Cowboys Association: (1) honesty and fairness; (2) accuracy and proficiency; (3) punctuality, sobriety, and efficiency. This is not surprising, as the rules governing the conduct of IARA rodeos are, in all

important details, the same as those used by the professional associations.

In broad terms, the rules for behaviour of contestants are based upon the rules generally governing the conduct of the rodeo itself. Contestants at Riske Creek, therefore, are subject to essentially the same rules as those affecting participants in professional contests: all contestants are expected to pay their fees, obey officials, not mistreat stock, to be sober, properly equipped for their events, and punctual when called to ride. If a contestant is disqualified because of an infraction of any of these rules as interpreted by the rodeo officials, he is liable to a $50.00 fine and/or disqualification in the event, with subsequent forfeiture of his entry fee (Haugen n.d.:20).

With respect to the special rules governing specific events, the IARA Handbook clearly indicates that the rules operating at Riske Creek are virtually identical to those specified for professionally accredited rodeos.

Riske Creek Rodeo Personnel

At Riske Creek, the official personnel included all of those statuses and roles prescribed by the rules of professional rodeo and as diagrammed on page 29 above. The rodeo committee at Riske Creek was made up of members of the Riske Creek Rodeo Club whose primary function, in conjunction with the Riske Creek Community Club, is the annual production

of the Riske Creek Rodeo. The Arena Director was drawn from the membership of the Rodeo Club. The concessions, cowboy breakfast and dance were sponsored by the Riske Creek Community Club, which receives the proceeds from these activities. The sale of admissions to the rodeo, as well as rodeo grounds maintenance and arena labour, was handled by volunteers from the local Eurocanadian community.

The stock was contracted by a professional stock contractor who also provided a clown for working the bulls. It was not learned how many of those working in the arena were actually employed by the contractor, but the pickup men were local men, presumably volunteer labour.

A rodeo official pointed out to the writer that all judges were necessarily members of the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association. Timers, however, were not necessarily members, though several were. To insure that the rodeo was conducted according to the rules of the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association, at least one member of the executive of the Association was there in an official capacity as an observer.

The announcer was a paid participant, as was the official photographer, the latter's expenses being borne by the IARA. The photographer informed the writer, however, that his rodeo income, above expenses, was derived mainly from the sale of photographic prints of the rodeo to contestants.

Contestants at Riske Creek, with the exception of those participating in the women's and junior events, were

all members of the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association. Contestants competed in the following events: saddle bronc, bareback, calf roping, team roping, ladies barrel racing, bull riding, junior calf roping, ladies undecorating, boys steer riding, steer wrestling, and wild cow milking (Haugen n.d.:24-25). Contestants in the ladies and junior events were, as far as could be determined, all Eurocanadian. Participants in the adult male riding events were, however, both Indian and Eurocanadian, the latter group being by far the larger. Although exact figures were not obtained, of the 61 adult males listed as competitors on the program, 10 were known to be Indian (Haugen n.d.:24-25). Changes in numbers of contestants after publication of the program did not appear to appreciably alter this ratio. Also, although there may have been a few Indian contestants overlooked by the writer, it is not likely that more exact figures would yield a substantially different picture.

As might be expected, most contestants, both Eurocanadian and Indian, were from local communities, but both groups were represented by individuals who had come from as far away as Prince George, Clinton, Kamloops, and Lillooet. As far as could be determined, no Indian riders were from the nearby Toosey Reserve, but several came from Williams Lake, one from Anaham, two from Clinton, and one from Pavilion.

The ratio of Eurocanadians to Indians among

spectators appeared to be about the same as that observed for riders: approximately 5:1 or 6:1, although the numbers of those camped seemed to be about equally balanced between the two groups. The writer received various estimates of the number of spectators present, ranging from 300 to 1000.[3] It appeared to the writer that there were between 800 and 1000 people present the first day, perhaps half that number on Sunday. In the absence of bleachers, and because cars were arriving and leaving almost constantly on both days, these estimates represent total numbers present on a given day rather than the number present throughout the contest period.

Apparatus at the Riske Creek Rodeo

The permanently located material apparatus at Riske Creek Rodeo consisted of the following: rodeo arena proper, two holding corrals, chutes, announcer's booth above the chutes, two concession booths, roping pens, and, on the same grounds, the Riske Creek Community Hall which is used for the dance (see map overleaf). The announcer's booth was equipped with a loudspeaker system, including a horn to signal ends of rides, as well as a phonograph for music to accompany the opening parade. The judges and timers were well-equipped with the necessary stop watches, flags, clip-boards, forms on which to record events, as well as horses for judges. The concession booths were temporarily equipped

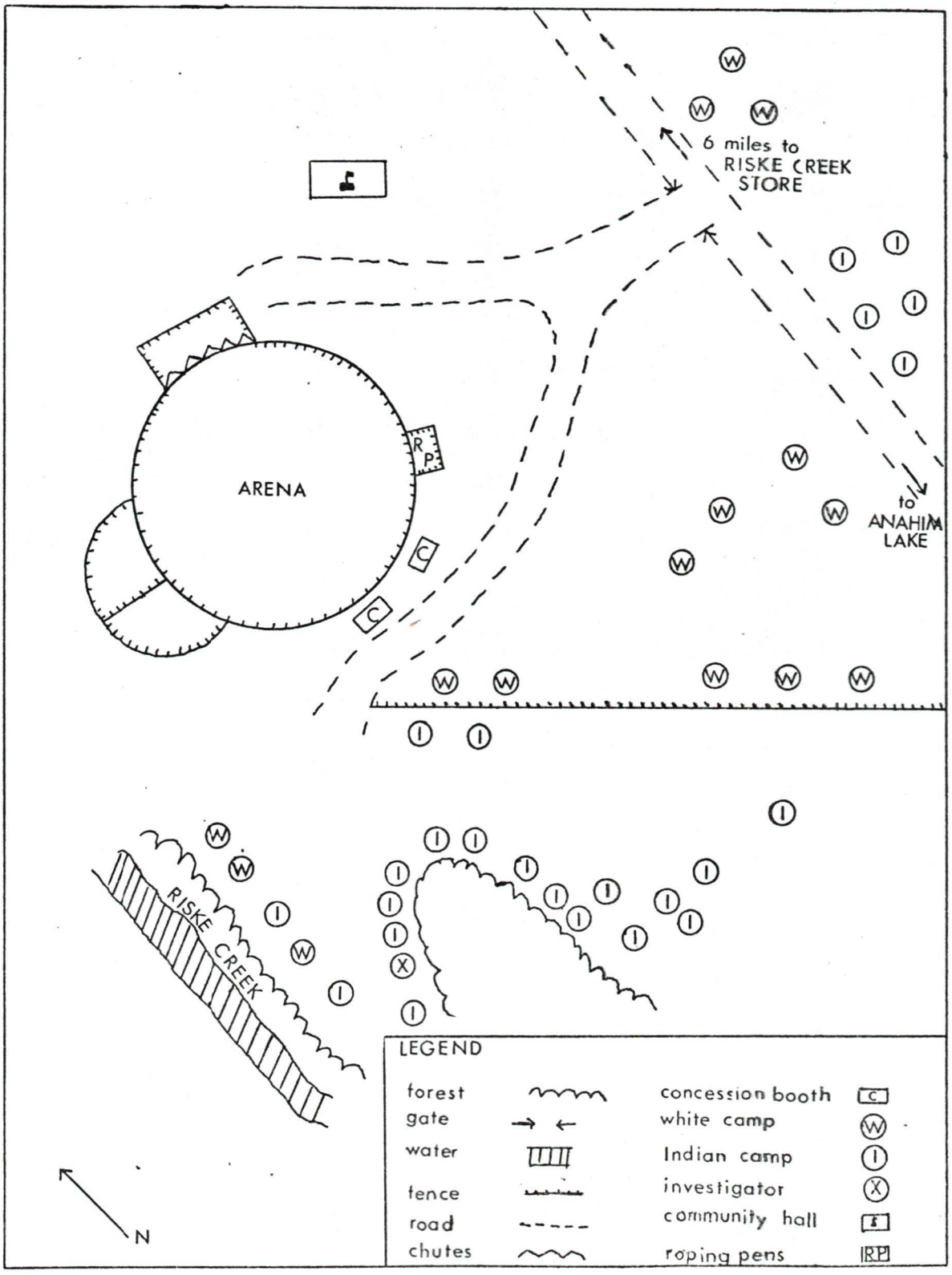


FIGURE 4. RISKE CREEK RODEO GROUNDS

with refrigeration units and grills for heating and cooking.

The portable equipment included the stock provided by the contractor: bulls, horses, steers, calves, "wild" cows (beef cows, not dairy animals), as well as feed and equipment for handling the animals. The Riske Creek Rodeo Club provided a basic set of equipment for contestants who did not have their own. These items included a regulation saddle, buckrein, bullrope and bell, bareback rigging, and chaps and spurs. It is not known how many riders used the equipment provided by the Rodeo Club, but at least four riders did not have complete sets of equipment for all the events in which they participated, hence it can be assumed that they borrowed equipment, either from other riders or from the club. Most riders however, according to both Indian and Eurocanadian informants, did have their own basic equipment. An Interior Amateur Rodeo Association official stated that most Indian riders (as well as Eurocanadians), own their equipment, which he estimated to be worth between 400 and 500 dollars for each man (Haugen n.d.:59). Official programs were for sale, as well as mimeographed lists of events with contestants listed.

Activities at Riske Creek

On 5 June, 1970, the day before the Riske Creek Rodeo began, the writer, who had previously established a camp at the camping area on the rodeo grounds (see map, page

45), observed that local Eurocanadians, including ranchers, a lodge owner, and the Riske Creek store owner, were working on preparing the rodeo grounds. Repairs were being made to the chutes and corrals, as these had apparently fallen into disrepair owing to disuse. Several of those present were asked if local Indian people were involved in working on the grounds, and it was reported that while some Indian people in the area say that they will come down to help, none have ever shown up. Regarding Indian participation in the rodeo, it was said that none of the local Indian people ride or otherwise participate in rodeo activities on any regular or formal basis. In the two days the writer had been camped at the grounds observing the work projects, no Indians appeared. It should be stated, however, that non-participation on the part of local Indians was not because they were shirking a responsibility: the Riske Creek Rodeo, as several Eurocanadians involved made clear, is a project of the local Community Club and Rodeo Club, both of which are Eurocanadian. In fact, no efforts are made by the Eurocanadian community to involve Indian people in the rodeo activities, though it was said that they would be welcome to participate if they chose (Haugen, n.d.:18-19).

On 6 June, 1970, by 10:00 AM, it was observed that there was a great deal of last minute activity in preparation for the rodeo, which was to begin at 1:30 PM. By this time, there were perhaps a hundred persons on or around the grounds,

some involved in raking the arena, and finishing repairs to the chutes. Several adult Indian males, later identified as contestants, were engaged in helping with these final preparations.

When asked why the grounds were in such disrepair, rodeo officials and local people stated that the grounds were used infrequently if at all through the late spring and early summer. In fact, it was reported, the grounds were used hardly at all except for the period of the annual rodeo.[4] It was indicated that the near impossibility of collecting sufficient stock for practice rodeos prevented local people from making more use of the grounds.

At approximately 1:30 PM, the scheduled time for opening the rodeo, the grand entry began, with contestants, officials, local people and visiting dignitaries riding in the ceremony. Introductions of officials and important visitors proceeded smoothly, and the first riding contest began between 2:00 PM and 2:30 PM with the emergence of the first bronc rider from a chute. In terms of the formal rules of rodeo, the conduct of affairs in the arena proceeded smoothly and on schedule: riders were reasonably quick to respond when called for their events and judges, timers, and other officials appeared to be discharging their duties efficiently and in accordance with the rules of the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association.

By 3:00 PM, it was noted that there was considerable

socializing among the Indian people present, both riders and non-riders. Five Indians from the Lillooet area with whom the writer had become acquainted seemed to know quite a number of the local Indian people. There was much social drinking and visiting, both at the arena and in the camp area. Most of the drinking was among younger Indian males who, for the most part, were not riders. Indian riders, it was observed, were not drinking much if at all. Most were keeping track of events in the arena, either from behind the chutes or around the arena on the fence. One Indian rider, though not participating at Riske Creek, kept careful note of times and points for all rides. When he left for a time, the writer was asked to record times and points for each ride. All of this, of course, applied to the behaviour of Eurocanadian riders as well: nearly all riders were absorbed in what was going on in the arena and their socializing consisted largely of interacting with each other. The area in the arena near the chutes was kept clear; riders did not congregate here but instead were concentrated in the area behind the chutes and along the outside of the arena corral.

In the camping area, an obvious contrast between Indian and Eurocanadian camps was that the former were largely occupied by non-contestant people while the Eurocanadians camped seemed to be primarily those who were participating in the rodeo. This difference would seem to account, at least in part, for the difference between the

two groups in terms of amount of attention given the rodeo: the Eurocanadian camps were practically empty while events were going on, while the Indian camps remained busy centers of social activity. Throughout the day and early evening of 6 June, it was observed that most of the older Indian people who were camping did not leave their camps to watch the rodeo events. A very few wandered over to the arena for a few moments to speak with younger people, most notably riders, then returned to the camp area. There was also a good deal of visiting between Indian camps all day during the events.

Another non-arena activity which involved mainly Indian adult males was a number of crap games which were kept going more or less steadily by the holding corral and in the camp area near the creek. A few Eurocanadians were observed participating in these, but the overwhelming majority of those gambling were Indian non-riding adult males, both young and old. Drinking was fairly heavy at these games, as it was in the Indian camp area.

It should perhaps be emphasized here that there was some heavy drinking and gambling among both Eurocanadian and Indian contestants, but this was the exception rather than the rule. On the whole, most contestants appeared to be primarily interested in the rodeo proper rather than in the extra-arena activities.

At 9:30 PM the dance in the Riske Creek Community hall began. Admission was $1.00 and a western band provided

the music. Both Indians and Eurocanadians attended in considerable numbers, with the latter in the usual majority. There was little mixed dancing observed. Younger Indian adults, male and female, were at the dance, older Indian people seemingly preferring to remain in the camp area to socialize. The Eurocanadians present at the dance were a varied group, with younger and older adults about equally represented.

Throughout most of the evening, the writer visited at the camp of one of the Indian riders. Several Indian riders were present, as well as one non-Indian rider. No drunkenness or very heavy drinking was observed. Conversation was mainly about horses, bulls, and events of the day. There was considerable discussion of rides that day and the possibilities of "draws" (which animal one might be given), for the next day. There was some time given to preparation of equipment, such as adjustments on saddles and general checking of riding equipment.

There was a great deal of socializing and drinking in the camp area during the evening, among both Indians and Eurocanadians, with considerable informal segregation between the two groups.

Returning to his camp at 2:30 AM, the writer observed that most other camps were still more or less active, with the exception of those occupied by riders.

There was drinking and socializing in the Indian and

Eurocanadian camps until sunrise, when things seemed to quiet down briefly. Formal activities commenced again about 10:00 AM, 7 June, with a "cowboy breakfast". This was finished by about 12:30 PM, both Indians and Eurocanadians having participated. Most of the older Indians in the camp area, however, prepared their own morning meals. Indian participants in the commercial breakfast were generally young people and riders.

By 1:30 PM, rodeo events began, again in accordance with the announced schedule. Events proceeded much as they had the day previous, though with a marked decline in the amount of drinking. The rodeo ended about 5:00 PM, and camps, which had been in the process of breaking up all morning and afternoon, had virtually disappeared by this time. By 5:30 PM, the area was nearly empty, except for a few Rodeo Club and Community Club members who remained to clean up and remove portable equipment, such as speaker equipment and concession materials.

Function of Riske Creek Rodeo

The basic terms of the Riske Creek Rodeo charter, as discussed above, would appear to have been well-met by the Riske Creek Rodeo: (1) tourists, from as far away as California, Oregon, and Washington, judging from license plates on automobiles in the parking area, were present in considerable numbers. It is extremely doubtful that an isolated and thinly-populated ranching community such as this, with a

one-store shopping area, could of itself generate a crowd of the size present at the rodeo. (2) From the testimony of observers and rodeo officials, as well as the announcer's comments, many of the participants, including those in the ladies and junior events, were local people, thus fulfilling, at least in part, the second element of the charter which justifies the rodeo as an activity for local people and of local interest. (3) The fact that the stock was professionally contracted, that events included all of those specified as necessary for a rodeo to receive Rodeo Cowboys Association approval, and considering the fact that events began on time and that there were sufficient officials to adequately handle the events, it would appear that the ideal of the rodeo as a "source of civic pride," inasmuch as it is a "professional quality show. . . a good show," was achieved.

For the contestants, it would seem that Riske Creek provided a well-run set of events in which they could test their skills and compete for prize money. ($166.00, for example, was paid for first place in the saddle bronc event (Haugen n.d.:58).) Both Indian and Eurocanadian riders, from what could be observed, were equally intent on achieving these two traditional contestant goals, viz., testing skills and winning prize money.

For Eurocanadian spectators, the rodeo at Riske Creek seemed to provide those things which the sponsoring organizations hoped to provide: a well-run, professional quality

rodeo. As indicated above, most of the Eurocanadian spectators were relatively attentive to affairs in the arena. Indian spectators, however, did not appear to be much concerned with whether the rodeo was of a high quality or not: most of them, with the exception of some young people and riders, paid little attention to arena affairs, but instead spent most of their time in the camp area visiting camps and otherwise socializing. Most of the drinking by older adults which was observed during the day was done by Indian people in the camp area, and most of the gambling was done by Indians. In terms of function, then, the Riske Creek Rodeo seemed to have served more as a justification for Indian people to gather and socialize rather than as an athletic contest they wished to observe. This is consistent with what a number of informants, both Indian and Eurocanadian, have said about non-rider Indian participation in rodeo: rodeo is an excuse for Indian people to get together; for them, it is more of a social affair than a spectator event (Haugen n.d.:57-60).

Anahim Lake Stampede

Although the country around Anahim Lake was settled by ranchers as early as 1909 (Weir 1955:61), the Anahim Lake Stampede was not organized until 1937, when it was initiated by a local storekeeper/rancher named Stanley Dowling, who had come into the Anahim Lake country from Bella Coola some years earlier (Williams Lake Tribune Pictorial, Summer 1970:28;

Hobson 1955:158-168). Originally conceived of as a celebration for local settlers and Indians.(the road at that time being nearly impassable from Williams Lake out to Anahim Lake), it has since come to attract contestants and spectators from all over the Chilcotin-Cariboo area. The writer observed automobile licenses from Montana, Oregon, California, Washington, Idaho, and Nevada among the cars parked at the camp ground during the Stampede. Inquiries elicited the information that many people from the United States were actually in the area fishing or camping and had heard of the Stampede upon their arrival; others indicated that they had friends (local ranchers) in the Anahim Lake area and that they came up at Stampede time every year for a visit.

Charter for Anahim Lake Stampede

Although the founder of the rodeo, Mr. Dowling, undoubtedly had some pecuniary interest in developing the rodeo, as he ran the local store and sold liquor and other items during the Stampede (Haugen n.d.:27), a prime element of the original charter for the Anahim Lake Stampede, according to local people interviewed, involved the provision of area residents with a celebration. Area residents, including officials of the Anahim Lake Stockman's Association (sponsors of the rodeo), Indians, and other local residents, asserted that the primary purpose of the present-day Stampede remains

that of providing local people and visitors with a celebration. Contestants, of course, are afforded the opportunity to test their skills, and, possibly, earn some prize money. The Anahim Lake Stampede has, then, as its basic charter, most of the elements characteristic of the early rodeos in the cattle country of the American southwest. The Williams Lake Tribune Pictorial, Summer 1970, makes this eloquently, if somewhat colloquially, clear:

> The roustabouts and chute hands at this jackpine jamboree, for instance, sweat, eat dust and cuss a bit simply because they enjoy what they're doing. There's no payroll here. And the contestants aren't registered with any cowboy's-protective association or rodeo rules committee. They're ranch-bred, work-a-day bronc stompers that take a few days off each summer to see how they stack up against their neighbors in the lively art of topping-off a few specimens of plunging, twisting, end-swapping cayuse or clinging to the unpredictable back of a bucking steer. Oh, there's prizes alright, but the real incentive is the competition.
>
> And this spirit isn't confined to the arena. It permeates all the related activities. Everyone connected with the stampede gives it everything they've got, be it at the dances at night or around the myriad of campfires that flame cheerfully among the collection of tents that are spread through the woods (1970: 28).

In short, the charter of Anahim Lake Stampede consists mainly of two elements: (1) providing a means whereby people can test certain skills in an informal and friendly manner against others in a minimally structured way which

does not interfere with the achievement of the primary goal of the stampede, which is (2) providing all participants, riders and spectators alike, with a celebration.

Rules and Norms at Anahim Lake Stampede

The rules governing the conduct of affairs in the rodeo arena are essentially the same as those governing professional contests except factors such as efficiency, punctuality, and sobriety are under-played or, at times, ignored entirely. Rules for riders, in terms of those criteria by which actual performance is judged, are, however, as far as could be determined, the same as for professional or IARA sanctioned events. It was emphasized by several local rodeo officials that the stampede did not affiliate with the IARA or any other outside rodeo association because it was considered desirable to prevent the affair from becoming too formal, thus destroying the relaxed, social atmosphere which had for so long been a main feature of the Stampede. These same individuals deplored the fact that the rodeo has begun attracting so many people from outside the local community that greater structure has become unavoidable. More provisions must be made for campers, while there is increased need for people to help take tickets, run concessions and police and patrol the area. The general reaction of local informants is one of ambivalence. On the one hand they are pleased that outsiders are coming to the Stampede in larger

numbers, thus making it a greater commercial success, and on the other they deplore the need for increased structure and organization.

With regard to extra-arena affairs, the one rule seems to be that of having a good time, which conforms to the charter element of the Stampede as largely a celebration.

Personnel at Anahim Lake Stampede

Stampede officials were largely drawn from the Anahim Lake Stockman's Association, which sponsored the rodeo. The Arena Director was a member of the local association, as were most of the arena help, including pickup men. Judges and timers were drawn from the ranks of local people and riders who were not participating in this rodeo. As this rodeo is not affiliated with any outside rodeo association, it apparently was not necessary to insure that the judges themselves were qualified contestants. In terms of numbers and organization, however, the official personnel at Anahim Lake were about the same as those required to operate an IARA sanctioned event.

The stock, however, was not contracted by a professional stock contractor but was instead drawn from several sources, mostly local. Bucking horses, for example, came from at least two different sources; calves for roping and steers for riding were drawn from several local ranches. Brahma bulls were conspicuously absent, the reason for this,

of course, being that, while other animals needed for rodeo contests are normally available in ranching country, including bucking horses, brahma bulls are not ordinarily of any practical or potential economic interest to most ranchers. Brahma bulls, therefore, would not normally be available to a rodeo unless a professional stock contractor was engaged.

Two local men did, however, serve as clowns, even though in formal rodeo terms they were functionally unnecessary, since there were no bulls. Their sole purpose at Anahim Lake, then, was to provide entertainment, which perhaps underscores the importance with which the maintenance of a festive mood for the rodeo was regarded.

The announcer, concession booth operators, ticket takers, and most arena help were unpaid local persons. Some of the arena help consisted of men who were riding in the events, including people working in the holding pens, in the corral area, and at the chutes. Revenue from the booths, the dance, and the rodeo proper, goes to the Anahim Lake Cattleman's Association.

Rodeo contestants at the Anahim Lake Stampede consisted of persons participating in the following events: saddle bronc, bareback riding, steer riding, steer wrestling, calf roping, wild cow milking, and horse racing. Participants were adult males, both Eurocanadian and Indian. As no list of riders was published, and because the writer was necessarily away from the arena at various times throughout

the entire period of the rodeo, any estimate of the number of Indians participating must be largely conjectural. However, on the basis of observation, supplemented by the testimony of Eurocanadian and Indian riders and spectators, it is estimated that approximately one-third of the riders were Indian. As there were some 50 riders, this would mean that there were 15 or so Indian contestants. Of these, however, some were identified as non-status (called half-breeds by informants) Indians. The writer knew for certain of only five reserve Indians who participated, two of whom were from the Ulkatcho reserve and the other three of whom were from the Williams Lake area.

Examination of the copy of the official program overleaf indicates what was borne out during the period of actual observation: at least as much emphasis, and perhaps a bit more, was placed on gymkhana events as was given to rodeo events proper. Most of the contestants in these non-rodeo events were local children and young people, not rodeo contestants. Very few Indians competed in any of these events except for the horse races and the "Kids Calf Riding".

The majority of Eurocanadian contestants were identified as being local men, with a minority from as far away as Williams Lake and other areas between Williams Lake and Anahim Lake. The same areal pattern seemed to hold for the Indian riders, except that the number of local riders was smaller than the number from outside the area.

1970 ANAHIM LAKE STAMPEDE PROGRAMME

THE 33rd ANNUAL STAMPEDE

JULY 3, 4, & 5th

PARADE AND GRAND ENTRY -- 1 p.m., July 3

STAMPEDE EVENTS

Saddle Bronc Riding	Team Roping
Bareback Riding	Cow Cutting
Steer Riding	Wild Cow Race
Calf Roping	Wild Cow Milking
1/4 Mile Open Race	1/2 Mile Open Race
1/4 Mile Stock Horse Race	1/4 Mile Jr. Race

GYMKHANA EVENTS and NOVICE RIDING

Saddle Bronc Riding	Open Barrel Race
Bareback Riding	Open Stake Race
Steer Riding	Open Pole Bending
Calf Roping	Jr. Barrel Race
Chariot Race	Jr. Stake Race
Kids Calf Riding (10-14)	Jr. Pole Bending
Kids Calf Riding (up to 10)	Bantam Barrel Race
Business Men's Cow Riding	Bantam Pole Bending
Bantam Stake Race	

Sponsored by the Anahim Lake Stockman's Assn.

FIGURE 5

Non-riders, both Eurocanadian/Euroamerican and Indian, came from considerable distances: automobiles from California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho were prominent in the campground. Many of these people reported that they either have friends in the area or that they were camping and fishing in the vicinity. There were considerable numbers of Eurocanadians from the Williams Lake area. Among the Indians attending, at least one had walked from Nazko, a distance of approximately 60 miles through the woods on a wagon road, and he indicated others were following in wagons; two were from Burns Lake, having hitch-hiked over 400 miles; several were from Bella Coola; and at least five were from the Alexis Creek area. Indians and local Eurocanadians agreed that non-riding Indian people came from a wide area to attend the rodeo.

In addition to spectators from outside the area, many "local" Eurocanadian people, some of whom live 20 miles or more from main roads, arrived with their entire families in horse-drawn wagons. According to several of these people, whose statements were corroborated by others, it takes some of them two or more days to reach the rodeo grounds by wagon.

Apparatus at Anahim Lake Stampede

The permanently installed material apparatus at the Anahim Lake Stampede grounds included the rodeo arena proper, which consisted of a bucking arena, two corrals for

holding stock, at least five chutes, a roping pen, and an announcer's stand. In addition to the arena equipment proper, there was a one-half mile fenced horse-racing track, a concession booth, and, immediately adjacent to the arena, the Anahim Lake Stockman's Association Hall, which was the site of the dance (see map, overleaf). The announcer's booth was equipped with a loudspeaker system and a horn to signal the ends of rides. Rodeo officials were equipped with stop-watches, clipboards and flags for conducting events. The concession booth was equipped with cooking and refrigeration equipment.

Portable equipment in the form of stock, which consisted of horses, steers, beef cows, and calves, were supplied by various ranchers in the area. Feed and equipment for handling animals were provided by the sponsoring group. In addition, the Anahim Lake Stockman's Association furnished a complete set of equipment for contestants, including a regulation saddle, bareback rigging, spurs and chaps, bull rope (used on steers), and other items necessary for the basic riding events. Local informants, both Indian and Euro-canadian, stated that riders from Anahim Lake did not own rodeo equipment, with the exception of such work-a-day items as spurs and chaps. It was noted, however, that most of those riders from outside the Anahim Lake area, including Indians, were equipped with saddles, bareback rigging, buck-reins, and other items of rodeo equipment.

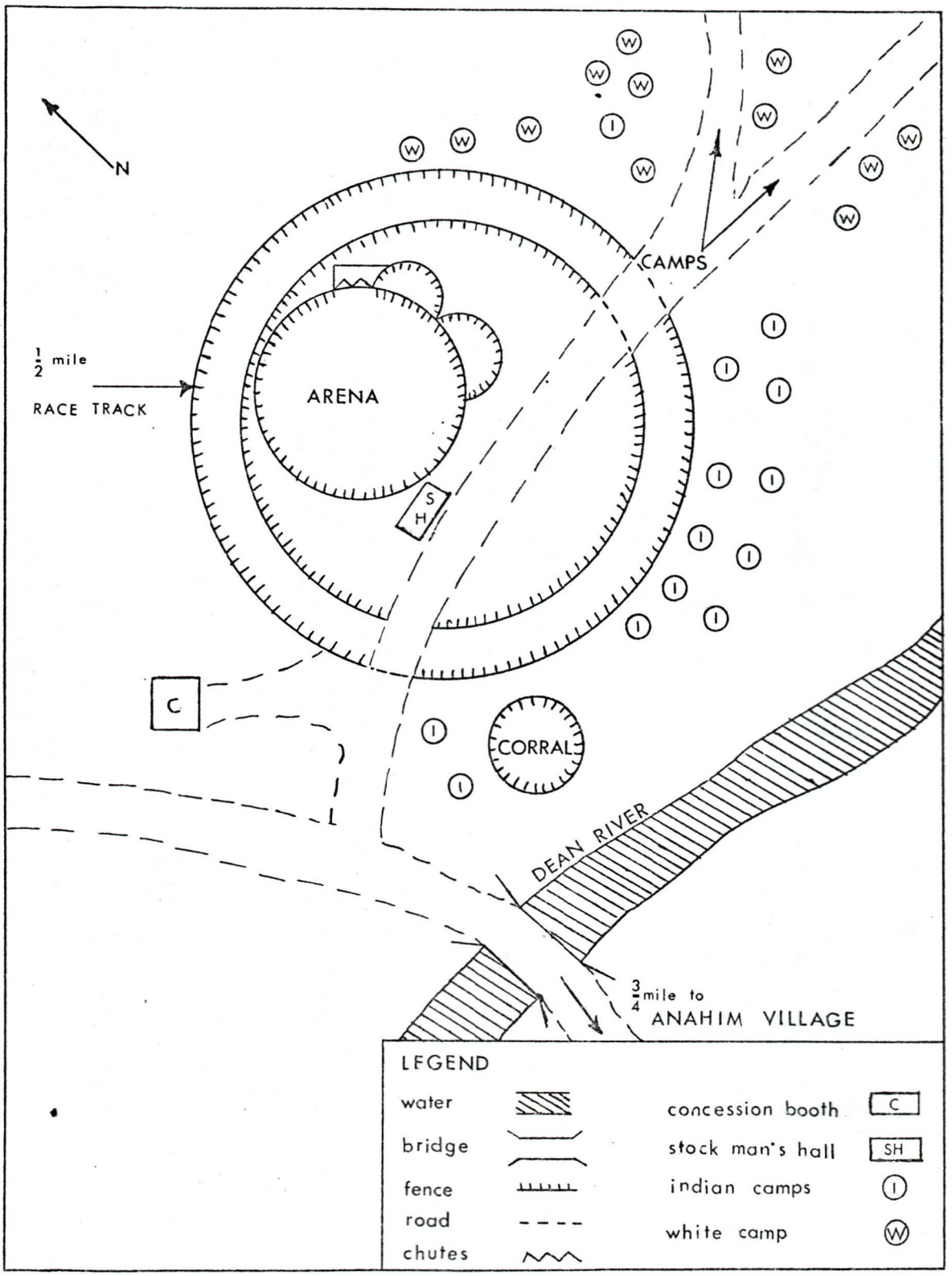


FIGURE 6. ANAHIM LAKE STAMPEDE GROUNDS

Official mimeographed programs were distributed to spectators as they entered the rodeo grounds, but there was no list provided of the riders' names or lists of events in the order in which they were to be run (see copy of official program, p. 61).

Activities at Anahim Lake Stampede

On 2 July, 1970, considerable numbers of people were arriving at the Stampede area campground via both wagon and automobile. Some of those in wagons, when asked, stated that they had travelled over 20 miles to reach the rodeo. Many confirmed that the rodeo is a major social event for area Eurocanadians and Indians.

On 3 July, 1970, the Stampede, scheduled for opening at 1:00 PM, officially got underway at approximately 2:00 PM with the grand entry. From this point on, affairs were conducted somewhat casually, particularly with reference to efficient and rapid dispatching of events. In the vicinity of the chutes, and inside the arena, there was a good deal of congenial banter, teasing and joking, on the part of riders and spectators, all of which served to slow down the proceedings. Indian and Eurocanadian riders intermingled on a friendly basis. There was a good deal of coming and going from the chute area to automobiles and pickup truck campers parked nearby. It was subsequently learned that, while there was no open drinking in the chute area proper, there

was much being done by riders and spectators in the automobiles and camper units nearby. The Arena Director made some efforts to keep events moving rapidly, but he too was operating on a fairly informal and casual basis. At one point, an Indian rider, a local man, failed to appear for his ride when called. When the man eventually arrived, long after he would have been disqualified at an IARA or professional show, the Arena Director assured him that he would be allowed to ride the following day without forfeiting his entry fees. Soon after this, a young Indian adult male from outside the local area was allowed to ride several times in succession even though intoxicated to the point that he had great difficulty walking unaided and could not, in fact, mount a horse unassisted. As far as could be determined, he had paid no entry fee, so technically should not have been allowed to ride under any circumstances. This activity in itself required that three saddled horses, officially drawn for paid entrants, were used by a person who, in addition to being intoxicated, was not even a contestant.

In all, a very slow-paced, relaxed atmosphere prevailed, with Indians and Eurocanadians coming and going from the nearby local cafe (cold beer being available there with a minimum food purchase), and the campgrounds. Considerable drinking was observed on the part of both Eurocanadian and Indian people. In particular, the Indian people, with the exception of a very few who were riding and those who ride

elsewhere, did not appear much interested in arena proceedings. At the reserve, it was noted that much socializing and drinking were going on. Two Indians from Burns Lake informed the writer that while they do not ride, they come to the Anahim Lake Stampede every year to visit friends at the reserve. In the campground, Indian camps were centers of much social activity, many of the occupants never or rarely leaving their camps to watch arena proceedings. At the campgrounds, however, many Eurocanadians were also observed who did not take any interest in the rodeo proper. At one camp of Eurocanadians with whom the writer was well-acquainted, it was observed that only two of the more than seven people in the camp went to the arena during the entire three day period of the Stampede.

The dance on 4 July at the Stockman's Hall was in every detail similar to that at Riske Creek: a small country and western band provided the music, the floor was crowded with Indian and Eurocanadian couples dancing, with little mixed dancing apparent and much drinking outside the building on the part of both Indians and Eurocanadians.

Function of the Anahim Lake Stampede

In terms of the charter elements or ideal goals of providing spectators and contestants alike with an informal celebration and the opportunities for observing and participating in minimally structured competition, the Anahim Lake

Stampede would seem to have been a success.

For both spectators and contestants, Indian and Eurocanadian, local as well as those from outside the area, the drinking and socializing at the reserve and in the campground, as well as in automobiles in the parking area, would seem to testify to the achievement of the goal of providing at least the proper atmosphere for a celebration. For the contestants, the generally informal atmosphere pervading the whole arena operation would seem to have encouraged relaxed and friendly relations among participants. The informality with which arena affairs were conducted certainly did nothing to discourage socializing on the part of contestants, even to the detriment of their competitive performance.

The formal competitive activities were diverse enough to allow nearly anyone, particularly local Eurocanadians, an opportunity to test their abilities in a number of areas. Since the standards of performance were set by local authorities rather than by outside agencies, such as the IARA or the professional association, local people and those who apparently do not compete in other more sophisticated shows here are afforded the opportunity to test their abilities.

In order to understand the vigor with which local people, particularly the Eurocanadian members of the community, pursue the goals of sociability and conviviality

rather than that of a highly structured competitive situation, it must be remembered that the residents of the local area are scattered. Many lack the benefits of easy communication with their neighbors, let alone the outside world. There are no movie houses and no television. Problems of transportation and the isolation of many ranches compounds all of this. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand that the annual stampede provides a relatively rare opportunity for people in the area to get together. The Indian people, though most of them live in the reserve village during the winter, are scattered in the spring and summer, working on ranches or taking jobs logging or in sawmills at considerable distances from the reserve. For them too, then, the period of the stampede is an opportunity to socialize with friends and relatives.

Finally, the isolation of Anahim Lake helps account for the lack of participation in other rodeos, which in turn indicates why none of the local riders have equipment. The expense, difficulty, and time involved in travelling long distances over a dirt and gravel road seems to discourage participation outside the community.

Summary

As noted earlier, rodeos exhibit considerable variability. Riske Creek Rodeo, for example, incorporated as major elements in its charter and rules the aims of the IARA

while Anahim Lake, avoiding involvement with any outside group, generally adhered to the less formally structured traditional goals and norms of rodeo. In addition, while one of the primary charter components at Riske Creek included the objective of attracting tourist-spectators, the desire to provide local people with a celebration took primacy at Anahim Lake.

These fundamental differences are reflected in the behaviour of both spectators and riders. All spectators were far less interested in arena activities at Anahim Lake than they had been at Riske Creek. Eurocanadian and Indian riders alike were much less concerned with factors such as punctuality, sobriety, or efficiency at Anahim Lake.

Local people, riders, and spectators at both rodeos, it should be noted, pronounced each rodeo successful. Riske Creek, of course, met its charter purposes of being (1) a tourist attraction, (2) a recreation for local people, and (3) a source of civic pride. Anahim Lake achieved its primary goal of supplying people from the area with a celebration without entirely overlooking the traditional competitive function of rodeo.

This variability in rodeo charter, reflecting as it does differences in locally defined goals, is an important factor in considering Indian rodeo.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN RODEO IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

History of Mt. Currie Rodeo

Former Chief Baptist Ritchie, of the Mt. Currie band, reported that the Mt. Currie Rodeo had its beginnings in his father's time, some 80 to 90 years ago, before the turn of the century. Originally, he said, there were only horse races in the spring on a straight track (a road) from the Lillooet River to the present part of the community called the old village. As a boy, and as a young man, Mr. Ritchie remembered piles of goods, such as blankets, rifles, and traps, being wagered on the outcomes of the races. During the entire period, and up until 1962, when the present rodeo grounds were constructed, bucking contests were conducted on an informal basis in the field west of the old village area (see map, overleaf).

At one time during the depression era, Mr. Ritchie recalled, the village collected approximately $300.00 from the reserve community at large and staged a big rodeo celebration. Indian people came from as far as Lillooet and Squamish to join in the celebration and compete in the rodeo. He further indicated that, until 1962, when the present grounds were developed, the rodeo had been almost exclusively an Indian celebration, with only a very few local Eurocanadians attending.

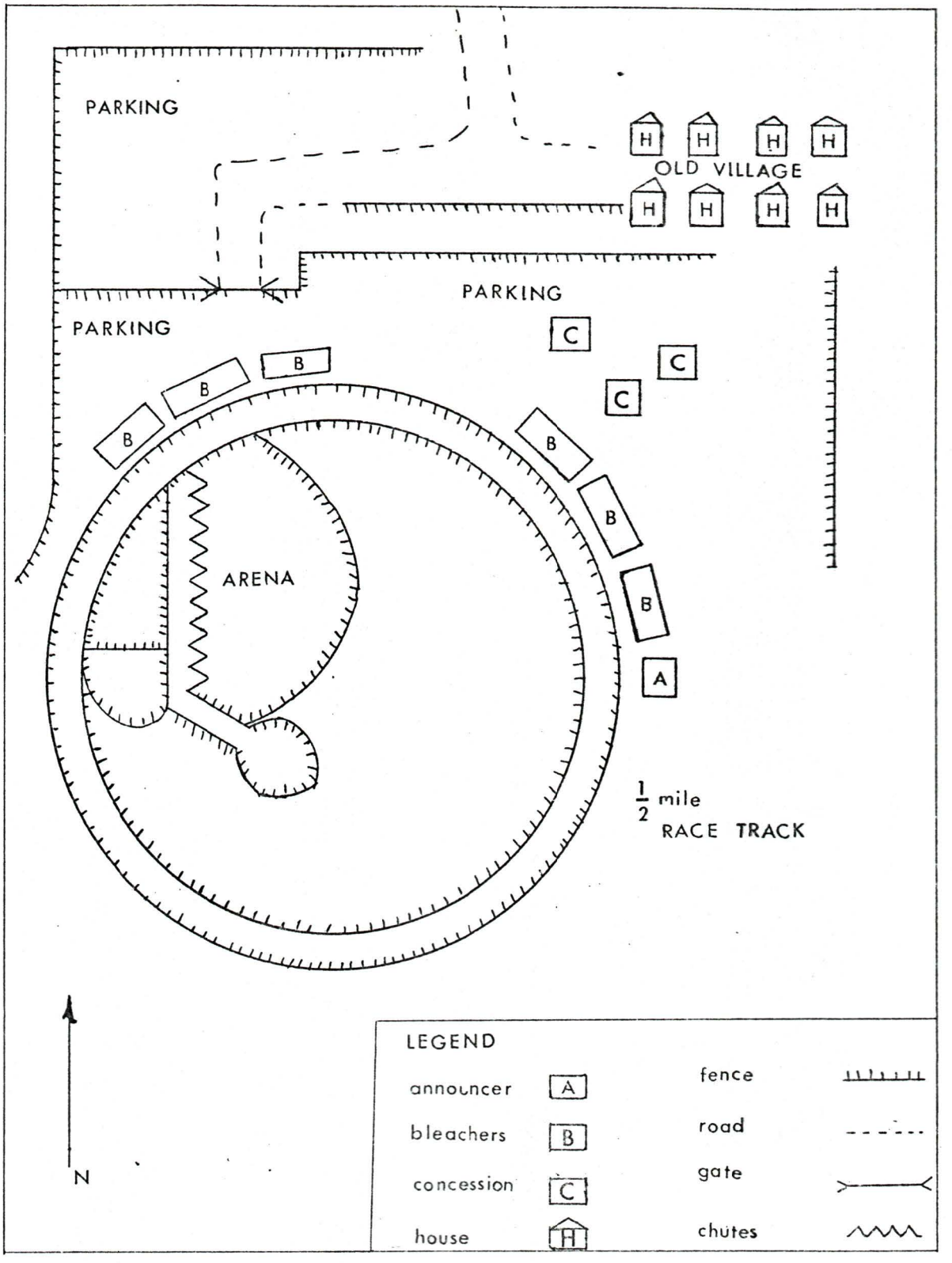


FIGURE 7. MT. CURRIE RODEO GROUNDS

Chief Adam James, who was also chief in 1962, corroborated Mr. Ritchie's account of the development of the rodeo. He then said that, in 1962, when it was decided to build a rodeo grounds, the band council allotted approximately $1000.00 for materials. All labour was volunteer, and most of the materials and equipment came from the reserve.

Since 1962, according to Chief James and others, the Mt. Currie rodeo has grown a great deal, both in terms of the size of the crowd of Eurocanadians it attracts and in terms of the amount of effort expended on it by members of the reserve community. In spite of this growth, however, most informants agreed that the rodeo has remained primarily an Indian celebration. Chief James reported that the efforts of a few to get the Mt. Currie rodeo to join an outside rodeo association, such as the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association, have been thwarted by a majority which fears that such a move would make the rodeo something other than an Indian celebration. Other informants, mostly riders, argued that involvement in associations of any kind would attract "professionals" for the competition, thus making it difficult for truly amateur riders to participate on any kind of equal basis.

Charter of the Mt. Currie Rodeo

According to Chief Adam James, former chief Baptist Ritchie, all other Indian informants, and several local Eurocanadian informants, the primary purpose for which the Mt. Currie Rodeo is organized is as a celebration, with rodeo competition a secondary concern. More precisely, it is intended to be mainly an Indian celebration. All informants agreed that it was to achieve this goal that the rodeo was organized. General concensus was that rodeos prior to 1962 were somewhat more informal attempts to achieve essentially the same thing.

That an Indian community should willingly expend so much time, money, and effort in developing an institutional complex such as a rodeo celebration is consistent with what has been observed in Indian communities throughout the province:

> In sharp contrast to the lack of united effort in such tasks [as lumbering, house construction, village improvement, church building, recreational operations] is the very effective operation of many Indian communities today in meeting other internal needs and crises, such as arrangements for funerals, religious ceremonies, potlatches, and the more recently introduced sports days and stampedes (Hawthorn 1960:35).

Other charter elements, which can perhaps be subsumed under the main feature of celebration are (1) competitive events where Indians may test their abilities in certain activities, or, as in the case of races, test their animals

against others, (2) platforms or mechanisms for gambling, which is indicated by many to have been a traditional element in the rodeo/racing activities every spring, and (3) since the development of the grounds in 1962 with the resultant increase in Eurocanadians attending, sources of revenue for clubs on the reserve, which run the three concession booths and the dances. Several informants, members of reserve organizations, reported that the rodeo was a primary source of income for some reserve groups.

Rules or Norms for Mt. Currie Rodeo

The rules for the Mt. Currie Rodeo resemble in most essentials those described above for the Anahim Lake Stampede: general adherence to the rules of rodeo as prescribed by the professional and amateur associations, but without their emphasis on efficiency, punctuality, or sobriety. As at Anahim Lake, it is feared at Mt. Currie that too much emphasis on the formal elements of rodeo would tend to interfere with or have a negative effect on the achievement of the primary goal of having a celebration. In this same vein, the increased need for planning and organization which results from the rodeo's growing popularity has given rise at Mt. Currie to complaints similar to those voiced at Anahim Lake; namely, that greater organization and structure diminishes those qualities which have made the rodeo most attractive, informality and sociability.

Personnel at Mt. Currie Rodeo

The Mt. Currie Rodeo Club, a reserve organization, sponsors the annual rodeo. The Arena Director, announcer, most judges and timers as well as the pickup men, were all Indian men from the Mt. Currie reserve. Several judges, it was observed, were Indian men from other reserves: at least one from Pavilion, and one from Squamish. The personnel working at the chutes and in the corrals consisted of volunteer labour which included men who were riding in the events as well as non-contestant males. As there were no bulls used, there was no clown. The animals were not provided by a professional stock contractor, but were recruited from the reserve. The rodeo secretary was a Mt. Currie man who was not a member of the Rodeo Club, indicating that membership in the Rodeo Club is not a prerequisite for participation in planning and running the rodeo. The concession booths, of which there were three, were operated by reserve organizations, such as the Athletic Club and the Homemakers Club.

With the exception of several Eurocanadians, all of whom were identified as local people, all of the riders, as nearly as could be determined, were Indian. The majority of these were from Mt. Currie, but Indian riders came from as far away as Clinton and Squamish, with the greatest number of those from outside Mt. Currie coming from the Lillooet area.

Although there were approximately 300 Eurocanadian

spectators, according to various informants, most of the crowd of something over 1,000 was made up of Indian people. Many of these people were, of course, from the Mt. Currie reserve, but there were many visitors reported from other reserves, principally those from which riders came. In addition to these visitors, it was reported by many Indian informants that former residents of Mt. Currie frequently returned for visits during the rodeo celebration period.

Material Apparatus at Mt. Currie Rodeo

The permanently located material apparatus at Mt. Currie consists of three concession booths, six bleachers, a one-half mile race track, an announcer's stand outside the race track, a rodeo arena on the infield of the race track, with at least five chutes, three holding corrals and an announcer's stand over the chutes. The concession booths were temporarily fitted out with cooking and refrigeration units. The announcer's booth was equipped with loudspeaker equipment which was moved from the race track stand to the rodeo stand when rodeo events began. The stands were furnished with a horn for signalling the end of events and a starting pistol to signal the start of races. Judges, timers and pickup men were supplied with the necessary notebooks, stopwatches, and mounts. The Mt. Currie community hall provided the space for the dances held nightly during the two day period of the celebration.

The portable equipment provided by the sponsoring agency consisted of horses and steers and a set of rodeo gear for riders to use. It was noted, however, that most riders seemed to have their own gear. And, of course, entrants provided their own rigging and animals for the many racing events. No printed programs were available, nor were there published lists of events and contestants.

Activities at Mt. Currie

Below is a copy of the posted schedule for the events of the two-day rodeo period beginning Sunday, May 17, 1970, and ending Monday, May 18, 1970.

Upon arrival in Mt. Currie on 17 May, 1970, the writer was informed that the British Columbia Tourist Bureau had erred and that the published dates of 24 and 25 May were incorrect: the rodeo had already begun. Assurances were given by Chief Adam James and Mr. Harold Pascal, chairman of the rodeo committee, that nothing in the way of formal rodeo activities or opening ceremonies took place on the first day, most of the events consisting of foot races, horse races, and a softball game. This was in agreement with the posted schedule (see overleaf).

On 18 May the writer arrived in the Mt. Currie village before 9:00 AM to observe the forming of the parade, scheduled to begin at 10:00 AM. A great deal of organizational activity, mainly involving children, was observed in

Mt. Currie Stampede
Sunday, May 17, Monday, May 18, 10:00 AM

Racing Events	Entry Fees
1. Opening chuckwagon race	25.00
2. Indian horse race	7.00
3. Wild Horse race	7.00
4. Local horse race	7.00
5. Men's 100 yard dash	5.00
6. Local derby	15.00
7. Cross country foot race	7.00
8. Relay horse race	10.00
9. Saddle horse race	7.00
10. Ladies 1/2 mile foot race	5.00
11. Workhorse race	7.00
12. Men's 1 mile race	5.00
13. Ladies horse race	7.00
14. Baby bottle race	0.00
15. Cowboy foot race 1/2 mile	5.00
16. Cowhide race	7.00
17. Men's 1/2 mile foot race	5.00
18. Slowhorse race	7.00
19. Open derby	20.00

Softball match between Shalalth and Mt. Currie is scheduled for 9:00 AM at rodeo grounds.

Monday Parade commences at 10:00 led by rodeo queen on her horse followed by floats and parade consisting of rodeo participants. Starts at ball field, around school, then to race track.

Racing Events	Entry Fees
1. Chuckwagon race	(same as first
2. Indian horse race	day entry fees
3. Local horse race	for same events)
4. Local derby	
5. Relay horse race	
6. Saddle horse race	
7. Workhorse race	
8. Ladies horse race	
9. Cowboy 1/2 mile footrace	
10. Slowhorse race	
11. Open derby	

Rodeo Events	Entry Fees
1. Bareback riding	10.00
2. Steer riding	10.00
3. Saddle bronc	10.00
4. Stake horse race	10.00

Deadline for entry fees for rodeo events is Saturday, May 16, at 9:00 PM at Harold Pascal's.

FIGURE 8. MT. CURRIE (POSTED SCHEDULE)

the area near the school where the parade was forming. Indian children of all ages were actively involved in the parade activities, such as float decoration and organization of marching or parading groups, the latter composed of those riding horses, wagons, bicycles, and flat-bed trucks.

A great deal of social drinking was observed, mainly beer, but no drunkenness was observed. Some of the spectators present were local Eurocanadians, but the majority were Indian people.

The parade, which began at 11:30 AM, an hour-and-a-half late, was dominated by children. The floats, mainly crepe-paper decorated trucks and horse-drawn wagons, were sponsored by reserve clubs. The parade began near the school grounds and moved down the main street towards the old village and into the rodeo grounds.

At the rodeo grounds, Chief Adam James delivered a brief speech congratulating those who had worked to produce the rodeo, stressed that it was a community project, and ended by welcoming visitors. The floats were then judged by a group of Indian adults, men and women from Mt. Currie. Immediately after the judging of the floats, a group of local Indian ladies performed several Indian songs. No special significance was attached to any of these by Indian informants, except that they were traditional festival or celebration songs. The announcer, a Mt. Currie man, joined in over the loudspeaker for one song. After the singing, there

was some delay in organizing the coming events; judges were not available and a stop watch was missing (the announcer asked for a volunteer from the audience to act as a judge in the racing events and also inquired if anyone in the crowd had a stop watch that could be used in timing events.)

With pre-event activities concluded, racing events got under way, and these went smoothly, though there were frequent delays while contestants were located. It was observed that one Eurocanadian forfeited his entry fee for a wagon race because he did not arrive in time for the race. No other forfeitures were observed, though there may have been some while the writer was occupied elsewhere.

At approximately 1:30 PM, the writer drove to Pemberton, the nearby Eurocanadian community, to observe activities at the pub in the local hotel. The pub was quite crowded, Indians and Eurocanadians being present in approximately equal numbers. Back at the rodeo grounds, racing events proceeded smoothly until about 3:30 PM, when there was a disturbance. Several Eurocanadian adult males disrobed and staged an impromptu foot race on the track in front of the bleachers. Rodeo activities were suspended for approximately 45 minutes while police apprehended and removed those creating the disturbance.

At 4:30 PM, efforts were made to initiate rodeo events, which consisted of steer riding, bareback bronc

riding, and saddle bronc riding. There was much discussion down at the chutes, primarily among Indian adult males, with the several Eurocanadian contestants participating. The arena manager was present, directing efforts at organization. Things moved at a relaxed pace, with no attempt to follow a timetable or tight schedule. At 5:30 PM the steer riding began. By this time, the crowd had thinned to perhaps 400-500 people, most of whom were Indian.

There was a good deal of leisurely organizational activity around the chutes; most of the men involved in the rodeo, both as riders and officials, congregating to help out. No serious efforts were made to clear the areas on top of the corrals and in front of the chutes of small boys, who were present in considerable numbers. The presence of the children, plus the fact that many of the men present were engaged in conversation and the exchange of friendly banter, made for what might be called a highly inefficient though sociable rodeo operation.

The announcer called riders repeatedly to report to the area behind the chutes, but no forfeitures were observed. Points earned for rides were not announced, thus making it impossible for spectators to determine which riders were ahead. Just prior to the beginning of the rodeo contests, the announcer reported that a judge was missing (broadly hinting that he was unable to perform his duties because of drunkenness). An Indian visitor from Pavilion volunteered

to take his place, and events proceeded.

The rodeo events continued until darkness made it difficult to continue. Also, preparations were being made for beginning the dance, which drew most of the hundred or so remaining spectators away before all of the events were completed.

The dance resembled those held at Riske Creek and Anahim Lake; a small country and western band (consisting here of Indian musicians from Mt. Currie), provided the music, the dance floor was extremely crowded, and there was a great deal of drinking outside the hall. At Mt. Currie, however, the Indian people were in an overwhelming majority, with a few Eurocanadians (informants identified them as being local people) present. Informants also reported that there were many parties at private homes on the reserve. From reports of a number of informants, both Eurocanadian and Indian, this is apparently representative of the entire weekend of the rodeo period, with Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights marked by dances in the community hall and parties throughout the reserve. Dances, it was reported, are sponsored by reserve organizations and clubs as sources of revenue.

Function of Mt. Currie Rodeo

The principal goal of the Mt. Currie rodeo, that of providing mainly Indian people with a celebration, would

appear to have been achieved: the many events, most of which were not rodeo events proper, allowed ample opportunity for participation in contests, including a softball match between the Mt. Currie people and the Indian people of Shalalth. The rodeo events proper, conducted with considerable informality, permitted casual, amateur participation. The nightly dances and parties emphasized and helped foster the festival atmosphere. The facts that (1) officials were not always present when needed, (2) the arena area in front of the chutes was a gathering place for riders and some spectators alike, (3) a stopwatch, an important item of equipment, was not available at the beginning of activities, and (4) points were not announced at the ends of rides, all serve to emphasize that the formal competitive aspect of the entire rodeo situation was not taken too seriously. The subsidiary goals of providing competition, a situation allowing gambling, and revenue for reserve organizations were all met as well. The many events, most of which were non-rodeo, provided the opportunity for competition as well as gambling, and representatives of the Homemakers Club reported that many clubs secure most of their annual income from sponsoring dances during the rodeo or from running the rodeo concessions.

Finally, it was repeatedly emphasized by both Euro-canadian and Indian informants that many former Mt. Currie people who no longer live on the reserve, often come back for

visits during the rodeo period. Several informants stated that this (rodeo) was the only time many people ever returned to the reserve. In this sense, then, the rodeo functions as a kind of "homecoming" celebration for a certain portion of the Mt. Currie people.

Fountain Band Rodeo

The rodeo sponsored by the Fountain band was not observed by the writer, but the two informants who were consulted were both involved in its production, one as a concession operator and the other as director. Both men have helped the writer in the past and are extremely reliable informants.

Mr. Pat Alec, a member of the Fountain band, rodeo cowboy, and manager of the August 29, 30, Fountain rodeo, said that the idea of having a rodeo was nearly spontaneous. The idea was gotten up the week before the rodeo actually took place by Alec and the band chief, the latter suggesting that a rodeo might be a good way to get Indian people in the area together to socialize. To announce it, they simply contacted neighboring bands and asked them to spread the word. The stock was provided by Alec and Chief LeBourdais and his brother, both of the Clinton band. Mr. Alec is planning to become a stock contractor, hence has acquired some bucking horses of his own. The LeBourdais brothers are rodeo cowboys also, and keep bucking horses for practice.

The rodeo was held in a practice arena developed by Mr. Alec. The arena is complete with holding corrals, chutes, and an announcer's stand.

Events consisted of bronc riding, both saddle and bareback, calf roping, steer riding, gymkhana events, and junior events, including calf riding. Riders, all of whom were Indian, came from Clinton, Mt. Currie, Lillooet, and Pavilion areas. Mr. Alec and the LeBourdais brothers refrained from competing in order that younger, less experienced men would be encouraged to enter.

Some 300 people attended, mainly Indians from neighboring reserves. There was a dance outdoors on Saturday night, the 29th of August, for which there was a good turnout of primarily Indian people. Dance admission of $1.00 per couple helped defray the expense of transporting stock, providing feed, and other expenses incurred. Mr. Alec reported that no money was made on the rodeo, but that the band anticipates making it an annual event anyway. He thinks that it may be possible for the rodeo to eventually make some money and he considers the rodeo to have been a success socially as well as in terms of rodeo proper, inasmuch as many Indian people came from reserves all over the area to participate as contestants and spectators.

Mr. Sam Mitchell, also a member of the Fountain band, corroborated Mr. Alec's account, adding that Mrs. Mitchell and he operated a refreshment stand across the road from Mr.

Alec's practice arena, the site of the rodeo. His wife sold smoked and barbequed salmon, and made approximately $200.00. As far as he knew, nobody camped, though some Indian people from Mt. Currie and Anderson Lake area stayed with friends belonging to the Fountain, Lillooet or Pavilion bands. Most of the rest of the spectators and contestants were, he said, from the Clinton and Lillooet areas, both of which groups returned home at night.

Jackpot Rodeos: Indian

Jackpot rodeos, at one time fairly common throughout the area, according to both Eurocanadian and Indian informants, are now almost exclusively an Indian activity. They consist essentially of an informal, relatively spontaneous, gathering of riders and animals, usually only horses for bareback and saddle bronc contests. Bets are made on the outcome of rides, usually between and among the riders present. It is not necessary that there be non-participant spectators, although if there are, they frequently are involved in the betting.

During the entire field period, the writer was unable to witness a single jackpot rodeo. There were two reasons for this: (1) because they are unscheduled and because the writer was relatively unknown by local people, no effort was made to inform him that one was taking place or about to take place and (2) the writer was mainly in areas where

preparations were being made for scheduled rodeos, which according to informants, usually resulted in diminished interest in promoting jackpot rodeos. In any case, many jackpot rodeos were reported, most of which involved only Indian riders and all of which took place on Indian reserves.[5]

At Mt. Currie, there are actually two rodeo arenas, the main grounds developed by the band as a whole, and the arena behind Mr. Pat Williams' house, complete with holding corral, chutes, and an announcer's stand. Mr. Williams' arena was, in fact, the site of the Mt. Currie Junior Rodeo on May 24, 1970 (Haugen n.d.:16). Mr. Williams is a rodeo cowboy and plans to become a stock contractor. Due to his plans to become a contractor, he and some Indian friends on the reserve built the "practice" arena behind his home.

Various informants at Mt. Currie reported that there are jackpot "practice" rodeos at Mr. Williams' place regularly throughout the summer, usually on weekends, sometimes in midweek. These rodeos, according to informants' reports, are jackpot rodeos in every essential detail.

At Fountain, Mr. Pat Alec, as reported above, has developed an arena on reserve land for purposes identical to those of Mr. Williams. Here too, jackpot rodeos, involving mainly Indians, occur at frequent intervals throughout the summer months.

At Clinton, Chief LeBourdais and his brother have developed a practice arena similar to those at Fountain and

Mt. Currie. Chief LeBourdais reported that the principal participants in the Clinton band jackpot rodeos were Indians, but that occasionally local Eurocanadian riders competed. In addition, he reported that, for the jackpots at the Clinton arena, 15 to 20 Indian riders were present on any given occasion, some coming from as far away as Lillooet and Cache Creek. "Some of the local riders [Indian] practice once in a while during the week if they aren't too busy" (Haugen n.d.: 71).

Summary

Three kinds of Indian rodeo have been considered above: (1) regularly scheduled formal rodeo, of which Mt. Currie is an example, (2) unscheduled formal rodeo, represented by the rodeo on the Fountain reserve, and (3) jackpot Indian rodeo, which has been reported for three reserves.

Of all of these, the Mt. Currie Rodeo can be understood, at least in part, within the context of Eurocanadian rodeo, particularly those of the type earlier identified as being sponsored by local groups but not affiliated with outside associations, such as the Anahim Lake Stampede. Although similar to the Anahim Lake Stampede, the Mt. Currie Rodeo placed even greater emphasis upon having a celebration. In this regard, it was stressed at Mt. Currie that the rodeo was also a kind of homecoming affair. Other differences between the two rodeos were the even greater informality at Mt. Currie

and the larger number of non-rodeo events there, the latter of which served to involve many non-riding Indian people, including a number from outside Mt. Currie, such as the members of the Shalalth softball team.

The Fountain Rodeo, although unscheduled and on a smaller scale than Mt. Currie, appeared to be of much the same order. The Fountain Rodeo, in addition, illustrates the ease with which Indian people in the area can arrange for a rodeo. Three factors contribute to this: (1) high interest in rodeo itself, (2) availability of stock in a concentrated area, such as that provided by reserve lands, and (3) the ready communication between Indian groups afforded by band organization and reserve status, which, respectively, serve to keep people together socially and geographically. Also, considering the apparent ease with which the Fountain Rodeo was organized, it is perhaps significant to note that the Lillooet Rodeo, an IARA scheduled contest sponsored by the Eurocanadian community in Lillooet, was cancelled at the last minute because of lack of organization, despite the fact that it had been scheduled months in advance (Haugen n.d.:34).

The existence of jackpot rodeos, apparently taking place only on the several reserve rodeo grounds in the area, their frequency, and the fact that they involve mainly Indian riders illustrated even more clearly than Mt. Currie or the Fountain Rodeo the very considerable Indian involvement in

rodeo.

In general, however, Indian rodeo in the area observed can only be understood by considering socio-cultural factors which are relevant to Indian people only.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Extra-Institutional Factors

To understand more fully the differences between Indian and Eurocanadian participation in rodeo, extra-institutional factors must be considered. Thus, Geertz' conceptual framework was introduced (see above, p. 11-12). This framework involves three categories of integration, (1) logico-meaningful integration, which is characteristic of culture, including cultural elements such as meaning and value; (2) causal-functional integration, referring to the social system and the integration of behavioural units; and (3) motivational integration, referring to personality structure, the elements of which (here meaning feelings, acts, life style, values and aspirations), largely derive from and/or are conditioned by the culture and the social system, all of which of course, are integrated within both the greater socio-cultural matrix of the Eurocanadian world and a bio-physical environment. These three types of integration provide an effective device for considering factors contributing to institutional behaviour which are not covered by Malinowski's model.

Logico-Meaningful Integration of Indian Spectators

On the level of logico-meaningful integration, the most striking dissimilarity between Indian and Eurocanadian spectator conceptions of the meaning of rodeo is graphically illustrated by the differences in behaviour observed by the writer. With the exception of Mt. Currie, Indian spectators were almost without exception relatively inattentive to arena affairs but were instead heavily involved only in social activities. The amount of Indian spectator disinterest was generally directly proportional to the degree of Indian rider participation, while Eurocanadian spectator interest tended to remain relatively constant regardless of who was competing.

At Riske Creek, for example, where there were quite a number of Indian riders from the Williams Lake, Lillooet, and Clinton areas, there was some fairly constant interest shown in rodeo activities by younger Indian people at least. At Anahim Lake, on the other hand, sustained interest in arena activities was largely confined to those few Indian males who were riding in the rodeo or who rodeo elsewhere, most of the Indian people either confining themselves mainly to the camp area or the reserve village. At Mt. Currie, however, with contests dominated by Indian riders, there was substantial Indian interest in arena activities.

The fact that admission was charged Indians at Riske Creek and not at Mt. Currie, or the fact that the village at Anahim Lake was over a mile from the rodeo grounds, while at

Mt. Currie the rodeo was on the reserve, in no way accounts for the discrepancy in spectator behaviour. Indian people had to pay admission at Riske Creek, but this did not prevent many from coming considerable distances anyway, and even then they tended to ignore those arena activities which they had ostensibly paid to see. And, in the case of distances, people who walked from Nazko overland or who hitch-hiked from Burns Lake to get to Anahim Lake would not very likely be deterred from attending the rodeo by a walk of approximately a mile on level ground.

Eurocanadian spectator behaviour, by way of contrast, is marked by a decided tendency to act more in accordance with conventional norms of spectator conduct: namely, to concentrate most of their attention on those matters for which they have paid money. It should be noted, however, that Eurocanadians do not entirely neglect those convivial and social aspects of rodeo upon which the Indian spectators focus their attention.

It is one thing of course, to observe a difference in behaviour between two ethnic groups, and quite another to offer explanations for the difference. It is particularly difficult in this case because of the diversity of cultural backgrounds of the Indian people attending the rodeos observed: ranging from Salish, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier, to Bella Coola. This diversity, of course, means that a specific set of cultural values, for example, those of the Shuswap

people, are probably not adequate to account for the uniformity of the behavioural pattern observed among most of the Indian people seen at the rodeos. It should be reasonable, therefore, to infer that the uniformity observed indicates that a pan-Indian value or meaning is operative with respect to rodeo. Testimony of informants drawn from Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier, and Interior Salish bands tends to confirm this. For example, one informant said, "There are usually Indian people at rodeos, so I meet new people and old friends too" (Haugen n.d.:46). Another reported that ". . . Indians come from all over to watch their friends [Indians] ride" (Haugen n.d.:56).

The conception of rodeo which seems to be shared by various of the Indian people in the interior of British Columbia is that rodeo per se is of little consequence to spectator Indians except as a rationale or justification for bringing Indian people together for purposes of socializing (Haugen n.d.:60). Eurocanadians, on the other hand, from what was observed at rodeos as well as gleaned from conversations with Eurocanadian spectators and rodeo officials (the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association, an organization modeled on the professional association, it should be remembered, is a Eurocanadian invention), while not overlooking the social potential of rodeo, tend to view it more in terms of conventional Eurocanadian/Euroamerican notions about spectator sports. The spectator is primarily a passive observer of

formal events rather than an active-participant in peripheral and informal social affairs.

This fundamental difference in generalized values and expectations almost certainly accounts in large measure for the differences in the conduct of Indian and Eurocanadian rodeos. Riske Creek was a relatively efficient, professionally conducted contest, while Mt. Currie was, in terms of formal events, inefficient and amateurish. The implications an awareness of this difference in values and expectations and consequent behaviour has on interpreting Indian activities at other rodeos as well as their own is provocative. Without a clear understanding of the kinds of values being implemented, an observer could easily conclude that Indian people, at least non-riders, are incapable of organizing and operating effectively an institutional complex as sophisticated as rodeo and that, in the case of their behaviour at non-Indian rodeos, they do not understand what appropriate (Eurocanadian) spectator behaviour is, or, much worse, that they are incapable of maintaining interest in one activity for very long at a time.[6]

It is with respect to these stereotypes that the Anahim Lake Stampede is of special interest: in many ways, its inefficiency and the more relaxed and informal behaviour of the Eurocanadians involved, both spectators and officials, is analogous to what was observed at Mt. Currie. At Anahim Lake, as was indicated above, the express desire of the rodeo

organizers was relatively consistent with Indian expectations regarding rodeo in general. This may partially account for the popularity that the Anahim Lake Stampede enjoys among Indian people over a wide area of the interior, attracting them from considerable distances.

At Mt. Currie, the fact of Indian social control, both formally and in terms of absolute numbers, doubtless facilitated greater spectator interest.

Causal-Functional Integration of Indian Spectators and Environmental Factors

Why rodeo should serve as a mechanism for gathering Indian people together for social purposes is in part understandable simply because "it is there". More specifically, in all of the areas considered in this thesis, with the exception of Mt. Currie, where logging is the principal economic activity, Indian people maintain cattle and horses and usually derive a substantial part of their livelihood and income from ranching and ranch-related occupations such as haying and fence-building (Hawthorn 1960:144-151). It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect them to use rodeo as a focus for part of their social life.

In terms of social interaction, rodeo can be understood as an attractive institution for non-riding Indian people in that many report having kin who ride in rodeos. Numerous reports show that many non-Eurocanadian peoples

everywhere, and certainly most Amerindian peoples, regard kin-ties and attendant obligations and responsibilities with far more importance and usually with wider application than do most Eurocanadians. It is a relatively safe assumption therefore, that the existence of a cadre of Indian rodeo riders does much to stimulate non-rider Indian interest in rodeo as an event of some importance, though not necessarily in the sense that rodeo in itself is worth attending. This, coupled with numerous non-rider Indian remarks to the effect that one reason for coming to the rodeo was because a relative or friend (Indian) was participating, underscores the importance with which the socializing element of rodeo is regarded by many Indian people.

Logico-Meaningful Integration of Indian Riders

On a strictly observational level, it would appear that the meaning which Indian riders attach to rodeo is virtually identical to that given it by Eurocanadian riders: that of its being an arena in which they can test their skills as riders, with secondary but important consideration given the possibility of winning some money. This would seem to be the case since their behaviour is virtually indistinguishable at rodeos from that of their Eurocanadian counterparts, and the latter, although not formally interviewed, repeatedly informed the writer in the course of numerous conversations, both at rodeos and elsewhere, that their

primary interest in rodeos is because they afford them the opportunity to compete. Only two of the many Eurocanadian riders with whom the writer spoke entertained notions about becoming professionals and riding for money. Mr. Willy Crosino, secretary of the Interior Amateur Rodeo Association, confirmed the widely-expressed opinion that the interior rodeo circuit, in general, with the obvious exception of the RCA shows at such places as Cloverdale and Williams Lake, is organized primarily for competition rather than as a professional or even quasi-professional circuit.

Examination of interview data with Indian riders reveals, however, that many of them do not regard their participation in rodeo as only an amateur athletic recreation, but that, instead, they conceive of themselves as professional or at least nearly full-time rodeo cowboys, for the period of the interior amateur rodeo season. For example, of the eleven Indian riders who reported participating in more than one rodeo, all indicated that they were primarily occupied with rodeo during the rodeo season and that they worked irregularly or part-time at other jobs during that period. Six of these riders considered themselves professional rodeo cowboys, although the highest rodeo income reported by any of them was $500.00 for his best season. Interestingly, the highest rodeo income reported for an Indian rider, $8000.00, was earned by an individual who did not consider himself fully professional, even though he had for several years

derived his greatest cash income from rodeo.

It is not intended here to attempt demonstrating any causal connection between the fact of irregular work and participation in rodeo; such an attempt would probably be futile in any case since other research suggests that most Indian adult males in the areas considered are irregularly employed or self-employed (reserve farming or ranching) anyway (Hawthorn 1960:82-83; Jamieson 1961:220). Whatever the reasons, ultimately, for their lack of integration within the full-time work and wage economy, whether disinclination on their part or exclusion by Eurocanadians, it is significant, in terms of cultural values, that most of the Indian riders interviewed are so deeply involved, on a very nearly full-time basis, in what for Eurocanadians is amateur and recreational rodeo.

In his section on occupational motivations and attitudes, Hawthorn (1960:86-89), posits a number of pan-Indian values some of which would appear to be supported by the data the writer has collected on Indian rodeo riders.

> Most White workers in our culture, where they have the choice, seem to prefer jobs that require inside rather than outside work, that are physically easy rather than hard, particularly if they are in the white-collar rather than manual category, that are steady rather than intermittent, with big companies rather than small operators, and in large cities rather than in small towns or isolated communities.
>
> Job preferences among Indians seem to be quite opposite to these on a number of

> points. Perhaps mainly influenced by their traditional hunting, fishing, and food-gathering economies, they show a marked preference for outdoor rather than indoor jobs; for "men's work" that has elements of excitement and risk, and opportunities for exhibiting prowess in competition with others; and for a variable rather than even pace of work, with periods of peak physical effort followed by opportunities for rest and relaxation (1960:88).

In every essential detail, the description of work most favored by Indians, at least in Hawthorn's view, conforms to the opportunities provided by rodeo: excitement and risk, men's work, opportunities for testing prowess in competition with others and a variable work pace involving periods of peak physical effort followed by periods of rest and relaxation.

> A strong desire for independent status is felt by many Indians, as by other peoples. . . .
>
> The widespread preference among Indians to be self-employed rather than hired employees may be due, primarily, to a desire for the greater freedom of action which the former status makes possible for the individual; particularly, there is freedom to cease work and participate in other meaningful activities when the occasion demands, rather than be tied down to a rigid schedule which can be ignored only at the price of being dismissed (Hawthorn 1960:89).

This too is consistent with rodeo: the rodeo cowboy is self-employed if he is anything, and his involvement in a rigid schedule is minimal, consisting largely of being present at the chutes at the appropriate time. Coupled with the values relating to job preferences, rodeo becomes a powerfully

appealing activity for those committed to such values.

Part of the difficulty, however, with demonstrating that these particular values are operational with respect to rodeo relates to the ambiguity of the relationship Indian riders have to the institution. Is rodeo for them a recreational or an economic activity? The answer here would seem to be, paradoxically, neither and both. It is not simply recreational for Indian riders, otherwise one could reasonably expect that their degree of involvement would be more on a par with that of Eurocanadian riders, who explicitly state that their interest is recreational. But, as is indicated above, Indian riders devote a great deal of time to rodeo. None of the Eurocanadian riders with whom the writer spoke for example, participate in more than two or three regional rodeos during the course of a season, while those Indian riders interviewed reported riding in most of the smaller rodeos throughout the area, including jackpot rodeos on reserves, as well as occasionally travelling to the United States to compete. However, their unanimity in asserting the importance of the competitive aspect of rodeo, which also conforms to the importance of competition in terms of Hawthorn's work values, would indicate that rodeo is at least partially a recreational activity for Indian riders. It is not purely an economic activity in the sense that it serves as a primary source of income for Indian riders, but the fact that most riders report that they at least earn

their expenses or break even by the end of a rodeo season suggests that it does represent some income. After all, expenses sensibly should include cash for food and drink consumed during the periods when riders are engaging in rodeo activities. (Most riders did in fact indicate that they considered the total expenses of rodeo included such things as liquor and admission to dances.) Another indication of the economic/non-economic function of rodeo for Indian riders is best understood by considering it in relation to matters pertaining to the operation of the social system.

Causal-Functional Integration of Indian Riders

At this level, two other factors relating to Indian work attitudes as considered by Hawthorn are relevant. In considering non-industrial societies, and British Columbia Indian society in particular, it is noted that:

> Such a society is usually characterized by a close relationship of the individual to his family or kinship group, and to his village or community or, for the Indian, to his band. . . . It also provides him with a certain economic security in terms of a claim to at least a customary level of subsistence from family and kinfolk; in terms of land as a basis for at least minimum livelihood; and in the case of Indians, in terms of a claim to services from the government. Steady wage-work away from family and village threatens to destroy such relationships and may give rise to feelings of anxiety and insecurity.
>
> Thus, in a sense, security, a primary

> human goal, often implies different objectives for the urban White, and the reserve Indian. To the former, security means steady employment, the right to stay on the job that gives him income and status. To the Indian, security is likely to mean casual employment, the right to leave the job in order to preserve the ties with home and village and to engage in band activities (Hawthorn 1960:87).

This basic economic security provided by kin obligations and reserve status which provides a land resource base, coupled with a preference for casual employment involving something other than routine, dull, or non-competitive work, would, while obviously not causing individuals to participate in rodeo, certainly provide at least an attractive situation in which rodeo participation could flourish. In this connection, it is perhaps instructive to consider the situation at Mt. Currie. In speaking of this reserve, Hawthorn says:

> The land that is presently cleared and in use by Indians is only a small fraction of the total potential. It is held in uneconomically small and poorly shaped and distributed tracts. Only one Indian could be classed a full-time farmer deriving a major part of his livelihood from sale of produce. Nine others supplement their incomes by part-time farming, through sales of hay and potatoes or other vegetables. Most Indian-held farm land is left in hay to help maintain their horses, which are kept in numbers for transportation and recreation (1960:151).

The writer, visiting the reserve some twelve years after Hawthorn's report, noticed that most of the bottom-land along the river was in fact maintained in pasture, if at all, with

only relatively small portions being given over to agriculture. Of course, many Indians here work as loggers on the reserve timber holdings, but the point of this illustration is that those who here participate in rodeo on a nearly full-time basis through the summer do so by choice: there exists the potential for economically productive and steady farm work on the reserve.

In the Fountain and Clinton band areas as well as farther north around Williams Lake, where ranching is a primary means of livelihood, the intensity of Indian involvement in rodeo can be understood as an extension of those working values defined by Hawthorn throughout the lives of many of the men in the area: ranching and rodeo both have a great deal to recommend them in terms of those values which Hawthorn sees as operative in Indian life in British Columbia:

> Cattle ranching. . . attracts many Indians, even to a point where marginal, low-income ranch operators and labourers could better their economic position if they transferred to other occupations. . . . Its attraction is easily understandable: it does not require the drudgery of row-crop or dairy farming; it allows the proprietor, indeed it requires of him, a greater mobility; it provides risk and excitement, in the seasonal round-up and the drive to market; and associated with it are the big social occasions like the annual stampedes that have become an inseparable part of life in several districts in the interior (1960: 154). .

The other point made by Hawthorn is that of

> . . . the criteria by which status and prestige are bestowed in the non-industrial culture and the industrial. In the latter, as noted before, prestige and status can be acquired primarily by achieving high money income. . . . In many Indian cultures, status tends to be inherited rather than acquired, by virtue of identification with and position in a particular family or kinship group. Status or prestige may have little or nothing to do with possession of wealth . . . (1960:87-88).

Viewed against the background of the relative economic security provided by the band and the reserve setting, plus an inclination to favor work roles which provide rewards similar to those generated by rodeo, the fact that rodeo participation does no more than allow a rider to make his expenses or break even assumes a position of relatively little importance. Beyond a minimum of economic needs, most of which are met by conditions of Indian life, the Indian rider is relatively free to consider himself a professional or virtually full-time rodeo rider without being much concerned about the economic rewards offered by such an occupation. In this sense, he resembles those persons of independent means in Eurocanadian society who engage in such things as sports-car racing or creative enterprises such as theatre or painting on a full-time basis with little or no concern for whether economic rewards will be forthcoming.

In terms of environmental factors, Indian rodeo participation receives a powerful impetus deriving from the

condition of reserve status: (1) with a concentration of population on the reserve lands, Indians who wish to gather for any purpose, jackpot rodeos for example, can do so with greater facility than can their Eurocanadian counterparts, (2) the fact that reserve lands in this part of the province are organized for purposes of ranching and agriculture allows Indian people to collect cattle and horses very quickly for rodeo purposes and, (3) perhaps most importantly, there is space available for the development of rodeo facilities. The rodeo sponsored by the Fountain band, for example, plus the jackpot rodeos at Mt. Currie, Clinton, and Fountain all testify to this. In more general terms, with respect to the reserves mentioned, examination of amounts and kinds of land available on the three is demonstration of the points made above. At Mt. Currie, the reserve consists of 6356.90 acres, most of which is farming, ranching, and woodlands; at Clinton, the reserve consists of 1041.19 acres, most of which is dry ranch land; and, at Fountain, the reserve covers 1834.93 acres, most of which is farming and ranching land (Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia 1916:449, 471, 644 respectively).

Motivational Integration of Indian Riders and Spectators

As no attempt was made to interview Indian spectators in any systematic fashion regarding projective data, almost anything that might be said regarding rodeo Indian personality

structure would not only be inconclusive but unwarranted as well. In addition, although data specific to Indian riders was collected, anything that might be said here about the personality structure of the riders, or of particular riders, would be speculative at best. However, information obtained on cultural and social phenomena is, perhaps, at least suggestive of directions research on such problems as assimilation and adaptation might take. In a formal personality study one might explore in some detail the complex of feelings and attitudes individual Indians, riders or spectators, have towards rodeo and related activities.

Conclusions

At this point the reader should be disabused of thinking that the writer has any illusions about the formal explanatory power of his discussion of pan-Indian values. Most of what has been said here is more suggestive and interpretive rather than formally expository in a strictly logical or scientific sense. However, the strikingly close fit obtained by superimposing Hawthorn's set of presumed generalized Indian work values and attitudes on the behaviour of the Indian rodeo riders offers an impelling and persuasive argument for the validity of the writer's position. Indian participation in the British Columbia interior rodeo complex is largely conditioned by their unique status as a well-defined ethnic minority with specific rights, privileges and

limitations: (1) band organization coupled with reserve status, taken together, provide Indian people with social and geographic solidarity, and (2) ready access to stock, land, and materials facilitates the establishment of rodeos. This is all greatly enhanced by a set of pan-Indian values which tend to be characteristic of the Indian people of at least the area of British Columbia considered. These include (1) attitudes towards types of work favored, (2) a desire to be self-employed, (3) importance of kin and band ties, which provide both status and security, and (4) a general reluctance to live away from the reserve. All of these are, of course, interconnected, each impinging upon the others and being influenced by them in turn. And this whole set of socio-cultural factors affects and is affected by the Eurocanadian culture, bio-physical environmental factors, and the charter and rules of rodeo proper.

Finally, it has been argued that, as a consequence of the foregoing, and to the degree that it is true, the development of a rodeo institution peculiarly Indian has been facilitated, which at the same time, allows for and in fact fosters, participation in the more generalized Eurocanadian rodeo complex.

Recommendations

Further research on this subject should almost certainly include investigation in some detail of at least

three topics: (1) the degree to which, if any, rodeo has supplanted more traditional Indian ceremonial and social activities on some reserves, (2) the social and economic importance of reserve jackpot rodeos, and (3) the place of rodeo in the annual cycle of an individual Indian rider's life. It is felt that study of these matters is a potentially fruitful source of information on assimilation and adaptation.

NOTES

[1]In introducing the concept of personality, it is hoped that the formal intent of this study will not be obscured: that of examining the structural variation manifest in two similar institutions. It should be emphasized, therefore, that psycho-biological factors, including personality factors, are as previously indicated, regarded as being outside the competence of this thesis.

[2]Polanyi (1962:330) makes this dilemma patently clear when discussing the problem faced by an hypothetical team of physicists and chemists who, having no knowledge of what a clock does, cannot; no matter how profound their grasp of the physico-chemical structure of the object, ever logically deduce its function.

[3]More exact data was sought on attendance at all rodeos observed, but records were not kept by officials. At Mt. Currie, Indians were admitted free, which, even had records been available, would have prevented getting an accurate count.

[4]This is significant in terms of what is developed later concerning jackpot rodeos on reserves: Indians make frequent use of their own facilities, which points to a difference in degree of involvement in rodeo between Indians and Eurocanadians.

[5]See note 4, above, and page 44 in the text.

[6]That such misunderstandings are fairly common, sometimes having serious consequences, is demonstrated by an article appearing in the B.C. Teacher (Heshidahl, et al., 1970:148-154) where several teachers report that Indian children do not think in abstract terms, suffer from speech defects (difficulty with sh sounds), and lack social experiences. For a scathing rebuttal see Mitchell's article in the same journal (November 1970:66-68).

REFERENCES

BARTH, FREDERIK
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. Forlget: Bergen-Oslo Universitets.

BIDNEY, DAVID
1953 Theoretical Anthropology. New York: Schocken Books.

BOATRIGHT, MODY C.
1964 The American Rodeo. American Quarterly XVI:195-202.

CANADA
1964 Indian Act, Office Consolidation. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

CURLY, CAL
1949 The Origins of the Association Saddle. Western Horseman. 14:23+.

DEATON, MARY LUCILE
1952 The History of Rodeo. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E.
1951 Social Anthropology. Glencoe: The Free Press.

GEERTZ, CLIFFORD
1957 Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example. American Anthropologist 59:32-54.

GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. DEPARTMENT OF TRAVEL INDUSTRY
1970 British Columbia, Canada, Calendar of Events. Victoria: A. Sutton, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

HARRIS, MARVIN
1968 The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

HAUGEN, ROGER E.
n.d. The Interior Rodeo and the Indian Cowboy in British Columbia: Field Report. Unpublished field report, Social Science Research Centre, University of Victoria.

HAWTHORN, H. B., C. S. BELSHAW, and S. M. JAMIESON
1960 The Indians of British Columbia, a Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

HESHIDAHL, G., F. HOFF, R. DOUGLAS, AND R. HARDING
1970 How Well Do We Teach Indian Children? B. C. Teacher January:148-154.

HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF THE CHILCOTIN
n.d. History and Legends of the Chilcotin. Williams Lake, B. C.: Cariboo Press Ltd. (by: Community Clubs of Alexis Creek, Big Creek, Hanceville, Riske Creek and Meldrum Creek.) 48pp.

HOMANS, GEORGE C.
1967 The Nature of Social Science. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.

INTERIOR AMATEUR RODEO ASSOCIATION
n.d. IARA Judge's Handbook. Williams Lake, B.C.: Interior Amateur Rodeo Association.

JAMIESON, STUART
1961 Native Indians and the Trade Union Movement. Human Organization 20:219-225.

LAMB, GENE
1956 R-O-D-E-O Back of the Chutes. Denver: The Bell Press.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW
1944 A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays. London: Oxford University Press.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW
1945 The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry Into Race Relations in Africa. P. Kaberry, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

MITCHELL, MARJORIE
1970 Teaching Indian Children: A Different View. B. C. Teacher November:66-68.

NAGEL, ERNEST
1953 Teleological Explanation and Teleological Systems. In Readings in the Philosophy of Science. Herbert Feigl and May Brodbeck, eds. New York: Apleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

POLANYI, MICHAEL
1964 Personal Knowledge, Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

ROYAL COMMISSION
1916 Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. Victoria: Acme Press, Ltd. 4 vol.

RODEO INFORMATION FOUNDATION
1970 Rodeo Reference Book. Denver: The Rodeo Cowboys Association.

RODEO COWBOYS ASSOCIATION.
1971 Rodeo Sports News. 19(3).

RUSSELL, DON
1970 Cody, Kings, and Coronets. The American West VII:4-10+.

WEIR, THOMAS R.
1955 Ranching in the Southern Interior Plateau of British Columbia. Ottawa: Canada Department of Mines and Technical Surveys. Geographical Branch, Memoir 4.

WESTERMEIER, CLIFFORD P.
1947 Man, Beast and Dust, the Story of Rodeo. Denver: World Press, Inc.

WILLIAMS LAKE STAMPEDE ASSOCIATION
1970 Official Program, Williams Lake Stampede. Edmonton: Commercial Printers Ltd.

WILLIAMS LAKE TRIBUNE PICTORIAL
1970 He Started the Show. Williams Lake Tribune Pictorial Summer, 1970:6.

VITA

Surname: HAUGEN Given Names: ROGER EARL

Place of Birth: DULUTH, MINNESOTA Date: 27 OCTOBER, 1938

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

SOUTHERN OREGON COLLEGE, ASHLAND	1959 to	1964
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE	1966 to	1966
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, VICTORIA	1968 to	1971
	to	

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.S.	1964	Southern Oregon College, Ashland

Honors and Awards:

NDEA Fellowship, University of Oregon, 1966

Graduate Teaching Assistantship, University of Victoria, 1969/70, 1970/71

Graduate Scholarship, University of Victoria, 1970/71

Publications:

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to the University of Victoria the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users in the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only in response to a written request from the library of any other university, or similar institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. For this service, a fee may be collected by the University of Victoria to cover the bare costs of reproduction. It is expressly understood that there will be no multiple copying, nor will any copies be sold at a profit. This license will continue in effect until further notice from me.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

"Indian rodeo in British Columbia: a structural-functional analysis"

Author: [redacted]

Roger Earl HAUGEN
(name)

17 Feb 1972
(date)

THE UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA LIBRARY
MANUSCRIPT THESIS
AUTHORITY TO DISTRIBUTE

AUTHOR: This thesis may be lent or microfilm copies made available:

(a) Without restriction _____

(b) With the restriction that, for a period of five years (until 1976) the written approval of the following is required:

(1) The Chairman, School of Graduate Studies _____

(2) The Author Roger Earl Hansen

(3) both the Chairman, School of Graduate Studies, and the Author _____

BORROWERS: The borrower undertakes, by signing below, to give proper credit for any use made of this thesis, and to obtain the consent of the author if it is proposed to make extensive quotations, or to reproduce the thesis in whole or in part.

Signature of Borrower	Address	Date