FEATHERS AND STEEL: A FOLKLORIC STUDY OF COCKFIGHTING IN NORTHERN UTAH

by

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I want first of all to thank my wife for her faith in me as a person and encouragement in this endeavor. As in all things I do this would have been impossible without her aid and support.

I also want to acknowledge Clyde Milner, my mentor and friend who first introduced me to the fascinating world of folklore. A whole new view of the world was opened to me through the vistas I have explored in my study of folklore.

A warm heartfelt thanks is also due the close fraternity of men known as cockers. I was and still am a member of that fraternity and have attempted to present a folk study of the care, breeding and fighting of the battle cock in a nonsensational, straightforward way.

Lastly I pay tribute to the feathered warriors themselves, those brave, beautiful battle cocks who live and die in a spirit of unsurpassed ferocity.
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ABSTRACT

Feathers and Steel: A Folkloric Study of Cockfighting in Northern Utah

by

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The scope of this thesis is to make a statement on the sport of cockfighting as it is practiced in the counties of northern Utah. It is a sport that has a long and colorful history, a unique body of lore and is practiced by serious, dedicated men.

Cockfighting history emanated from the Manu code of India, through the Greek and Roman civilizations, spreading from there both east and west till it girdled the globe. The Roman traditions largely influenced the English Cockers who brought their sport to the American colonies. The southern gentry were quick to adopt the sport, where it continues to flourish to this day.

The sport spread west with the frontier and found its way to Utah early in the state's history. The Utah cockers follow the traditions of the southern cockers with some influence from the Mexican methods.

I was introduced to cockfighting at age fourteen and have been a devotee since. Through my studies in folklore I developed a keen interest in the body of folklore inherent in the sport. The methods of feeding, conditioning and fighting the battle cock are greatly influenced by folk practice. The concept I have labeled "folklaw" is also present as it applies to cockfighting.
The folklaw concept is the way the tension is resolved between the folk group engaged in an illegal sport and the law enforcement arm of the parent society. The code of the cockers is also protected in some degree by the same enforcement arm.

The cockers function as a folk group by passing tradition, craft ways and tales from one generation to the next. Because of the illegality of their sport, the cocker groups have a natural insularity. This makes for group coherence and integrity.

The cocker groups have a rich body of lore and ways that needs to be observed in the light of reason and impartiality rather than in the glare of media sensationalism. This study attempts to fulfill that purpose.

(149 pages)
Cockfighting is one of the oldest documented sports in existence. The Manu code of India makes reference to the care, breeding and fighting of the Asil, one of the oldest pure breeds of fighting cock in the world.\(^1\) The Manu code is believed to be dated between 1200 B.C. and 900 B.C. The code of Hammurabi is also said to contain instructions concerning cockfighting.\(^2\)

Cockfighting probably started in India where the wild game fowl was domesticated and selectively bred to produce the fighting game-cock.\(^3\) From India the sport spread east and west. In each direction, a different way of fighting evolved.

Toward the east, the cocks fought bare heeled. Some shaping and sharpening of the natural spur was not uncommon but the cocks were largely left natural. Through selective breeding the combs and wattles were gradually reduced in size. Not only are the combs and wattles a natural place for the cock to hold his opponent while spurring, but also they bleed profusely when cut. Blood from a comb can blind the wounded cock thus making him ineffective.

The sport of cockfighting spread east to the Philippine Islands where it became a national mania. A World War II veteran, who today lives in Provo, Utah, related the following incident.

"While I was stationed in the islands I saw cockfights going on all day. Everybody, old men to boys carried a cock around under his arm. They were fighting all over the place. Course the army boys would gather round and egg em on and bet on the fights. Some of those old pappa-sans made a hell of a lot of money on those old roosters."\(^4\)

Even though outlawed in the Philippines today, cockfighting is
still popular and widely practiced. The cockers have largely left the
bare-heeled tradition and use the Filippino slasher spur (see Appendix 1
for cocking terms). They also import cocks, breeding fowls and eggs as
demonstrated in letters written to The Gamecock (See Appendix 2).

The eastern tradition has been kept alive on the island of Bali.
Clifford Geertz examined these cockfights in his essay "Deep Play:
Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." As Geertz reports, other than the
addition of steel spurs the fights follow the eastern tradition.

The two cocks are placed by their handlers...facing one
another in the center of the ring. A coconut pierced with a
small hole is placed in a pail of water, in which it takes
about twenty-one seconds to sink, a period known as tjeng and
marked at beginning and end by the beating of a slit gong.
Within moments [after the cocks start fighting] one or
the other drives home a solid blow with his spur.

The handlers will then pick up their birds and prepare them to
resume the match.

With the birds again in the hands of the handlers, the
cocoanut is now sunk three times after which the cock which
has landed the blow must be set down to show that he is firm.
a fact he demonstrates by wandering around the ring for a
cocoanut sink. The cocoanut is then sunk twice more and the
fight must recommence.

The rules of the Balinese cockfight are written on palm leaf
manuscript and passed from father to son. The general lore of cock
handling and fighting are part of the cultural tradition of the
villages. The eastern betting system is one in which odds are
automatically given. The bettors on the most favored cock give odds to
the ones who cover the bet. In the Philippines a man called the
Cristus stands in the pit with his arms outstretched and with finger
motions matches bettors across the pit from each other. When the
betting is concluded he drops his arms, leaves the pit and the fight
commences.

The armies of Alexander the Great enhanced the western spread of cockfighting. When they reached the eastern limits of their empire, the soldiers quickly adopted the sport and took it back to the Mediterranean area with them. With the rise of the Roman culture in the Mediterranean basin the Romans adopted cockfighting as they did everything else Greek. The Roman soldiers used the sport as a way to pass idle time in camp and further refined the sport by adding a metal cutting spur to make the cocks more efficient killers. War is said to be ninety percent boredom and ten percent sheer terror. The Roman soldier and others who have followed him filled his ninety percent with many diversions, one of which was cockfighting.

The Roman armies spread the sport westward. It was perhaps a Roman fighting cock that crowed when Peter denied Christ in Jerusalem. As the Roman legal system was developed and refined they also codified the rules governing cockfighting. The Roman codex of law that became the blueprint of the legal heritage of western civilization is still followed in cockfighting. The rules most American cockers use to govern their matches are adaptations of English rules which in turn followed the Roman form. The rules the cockers use in northern Utah are either McCall's Rules, or Wortham's Modern Tournament and Derby Rules, copies of which are in Appendices 20 and 21.

Cockfighting has remained a popular sport with armies through time. A reporter in Washington, D.C., complained that the rowdy soldiers of the Army of the West had their favorite fighting cocks on the tops of their packs as they paraded at the end of the Civil War.

The sport of cockfighting spread to the United States from England
where it has long been popular. In England the sport of cockfighting soon became a royal sport, probably because royalty were the only ones who could afford the luxury of a breeding farm and the lavish wagers on the outcome of the fights. Cocklofts appeared throughout England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before they were finally outlawed in 1835. The cocklofts were owned and operated by wealthy individuals or more commonly by game clubs. The cocklofts were built on the manner of a pub with the pits on the ground floor and the conditioning pens on the upper stories. Managers oversaw the conditioning of the resident cocks and they officiated at the fights. Staffs of servants did the actual conditioning of the birds and maintained the pits.

Individual owners employed the handlers of the fighting cocks. Joseph Gulliver became the most renowned of the old English handlers or "feeders." He handled cocks for both George the Third and George the Fourth. He handled the winning side of a main that was said to be the largest sum ever fought for in England, one thousand guineas a battle and five thousand guineas the main. Gulliver was able to retire comfortably and died at age seventy-four in 1833.

The role of the handler in a cockfight is of utmost importance. In his "Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," Geertz makes the following statement: "...a good handler is worth his weight in gold. Some of them can virtually make the dead walk, at least long enough for the second and final round." A good handler was pampered and well cared for. The example of Chicken George in the popular novel and television series Roots is an example of such special treatment.

The English handlers, or feeders as they were called, often spent
their lives in the employ of one or two game fowl breeders. The twelfth Earl of Darby employed a father and son team, the elder Potter and the younger Potter, that handled his cocks through most of his life.21 As the Earl would hatch almost one thousand chicks a year it was no small job to deep his fighting cocks ready.22

Two methods of fighting were developed that were unique to the British Isles: the Welsh Main and the Battle Royal. They both test the true mettle of the battle cock. In the Welsh Main, from sixteen to thirty-two cocks of approximately the same weight are matched and fought in pairs. Each battle was to the death. The winners were then matched and fought. Winners were again matched and so on until two were left. The winner of this last match was declared the champion and his owner collected the entire pot. This was a grueling battle because the cocks were not given recovery time between the matches. That meant the winner of a Welch Main fought as many as five or six matches back to back. Few winners survived long after the trauma of these mains.23

The Battle Royal was a free-for-all in which any number of cocks were pitted together. They fought indiscriminately until one was left alive. He then was declared the winner.24 These battles were spectacular and more popular than the Welsh Main (see Appendix 21 for rules).

In the United States, the cavalier gentry of the South were among the most avid of the sportsmen. They had the land, climate, leisure time and money to become devotees of sport. This cultural heritage is still very strong. Most of the prominent breeding farms are south of the Mason-Dixon line and in Texas. Two of the most prominent breeders of recent history are Walter Kelso of Texas and Col. John Madigin of
Arkansas. These men have developed breeds of chickens that carry their respective names and are excellent brood and battle stock. Their birds cross well on other breeds to produce a chicken that is hardy and aggressive. A trio of purebred Kelsos can cost upwards of two thousand dollars.

It is not easy to produce a true breed of fighting cock or of any animal. Various combinations of purebred parent stock are crossed until an individual of exceptional type, coloring, spur position, and, above all, gameness is produced. Then that individual is bred to a select few hens. If the resulting offspring possess all the characteristics of the parent and pass them on intact, then a new breed can be the result. If, however, the resulting offspring are not uniform and do not breed true, all you have is a mongrel. There are many more mongrels produced than new breeds of worth. Yet the percentages do not dissuade the modern breeder.

A few new breeds have been produced in the last fifty years but none share the popularity or success of the Kelso and Madigan. The Kelso is an extremely game chicken and an efficient killer. They do well as purebreds, or, when crossed on other breeds, they produce a hybrid of excellent fighting ability. The Madigan has achieved its greatest success as a breeding fowl. When crossed with the right breed the resulting hybrids are large, powerful, high-stationed cocks that can cut and get out of the way.

South of the United States, Mexico has a long tradition of cockfighting. In Mexico, there is some mixing of the western and eastern traditions. The betting systems in Mexico are very similar to the eastern way, in that they are very complex and formalized. There
are also a lot of bare-heeled fights among the peon class. This may be because they cannot afford to buy the expensive metal heels. An average set of steel heels costs around seventy-five American dollars.

The most popular spur among the Mexican cockers is the so-called knife or slasher. This spur is shaped much like a cutlass sword blade. It is sharp all along the top side and is usually three inches long. Standard heels are pointed on the end with no sharp edges. The slasher is usually tied on only one leg of the battle cock. Two heels of this length and make interfere with the cock's action. The slasher spurs not only make a puncture wound going in, they make a wicked cut coming back out. Needless to say, slasher fights usually do not last long.

The slasher spur also requires a very elaborate method of attachment. The Mexican and Filippino slashers are made without sockets that fit over the natural spur. There are two pieces of metal set at a ninety-degree angle to the blade and form a V. The cock's leg is padded, then the V-piece is laid against the leg straddling the spur stub. The spur is then tied with waxed linen cord around the V and the leg. When the tie is finished it has almost a woven look. This method is much more complex than the method of attaching a spur with a heel socket. It is in fact considered an art among cockers and there are few who can do it with any degree of competence. The slasher fights are steadily growing in popularity and are now included on a regular basis on many fight programs. (See Appendices 3, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e).

Some American spur makers are now making a heel with a slasher blade attached to a regular socket-type spur (see Appendix 4). This eliminates the time needed to learn the Mexican or Filippino style of tying a heel. The Utah cockers are following this trend and are also
introducing slasher matches into their fight programs. The American cockers have also shortened the slasher spur from the Mexican three-inch down to around two inches.

The eastern and western traditions of cockfighting seem to have met and mixed in the southwestern United States and Mexico. For example, the Mexican slasher spur is a variation of the Indian and Malay slashers. The Malay slasher was a massive sword blade that reached lengths of five inches. The spur was tied to the toes and leg of the battle cock.\textsuperscript{25} The bayonet-type heel used by cockers in the southwestern U.S. is a product of the western tradition. The English used this type of spur. It is made with a socket that fits over the natural spur and is tied to the leg. Many of the English spurs were made from silver. They are beautiful examples of the spur-maker's art.\textsuperscript{26} A recent example of cultural mixing is the making of a slasher blade attached to a bayonet socket. As the general culture of the Southwest continues to see increased Mexican immigration, I'm sure the cockfighting styles of East and West will continue to blend.

Cockfighting has a worldwide distribution. It is an exciting sport and seems to be growing in popularity even in countries where it has been outlawed. Cockfighting is just as much a part of a cultural heritage as is style of dress, language, crafts and arts. Cockfighting makes a valid cultural statement. Because cocking is a male-dominated sport, that statement reflects the male ethos. The historic male role has been that of the warrior and protector of the hearth. Both in and out of wartime, men have turned to sporting contests to provide an outlet for aggressive feelings. Not the least of these sports is cockfighting.
I believe the ethos of cockfighting has a very deep cultural significance. It is one of the few activities of our changing society that is totally male-dominated. Females have not made their presence felt in the gaming traditions as they have in society as a whole. The terminology of the sport is totally masculine. As one ready example the male chicken and the male phallus share the same colloquial term, "cock." Cockfighting is a single-sex activity. The few women who participate are in a supportive role only.

In Bali the sport is more a single-sex activity than it is in the United States. Females do not participate in any way. They are excluded from the fights totally. The Balinese terms for gaming are totally male in their application.27

Cockfighting has a long cultural heritage which allows cockers to feel a tie to things past. In a society that is rapidly changing, one in which sex roles are blending and tradition is outmoded, some feel the need to retain cultural ties. The male cocker participates in a tradition that permits him through extension to become the battle cock, the warrior. Women remain the hens who raise and care for the brood. He again fulfills his presumed role as the dominant member of the species. Elements of the cockfighting sport may blend but the cultural statement is universal.
My interest in cockfighting began in 1956 when I was fourteen years old. My older brother and I acquired some silver-winged game chickens because we thought they were pretty. We lived on a farm so we had ample room to let the chickens roam about and fend for themselves. A few of my friends saw the chickens and wanted to buy some. They kept coming back for more chickens and I finally realized they were buying only roosters. When I asked what they wanted the roosters for I got vague and conflicting answers. After some time a close friend told me they were fighting the roosters. I had seen the roosters fighting each other around the farm and had taken it as a natural course of events. The males of many domestic animals fight and spar with each other when in close proximity. The idea that cocks were fighting in a staged and formalized way was a whole new idea for me. I pestered my friend to take me with him to a fight. This he eventually did.

At my first fight I was introduced to an old-time cocker who was a folk hero among the cocker fraternity. He had been raising and fighting chickens for many years and had won many major derbies around the West. He had an easy, familiar way about him that put a guy at ease right away. When he found out that I was the source of the greys the boys had been fighting, he took a special interest in me. He asked me about my chickens and indicated that he would be interested in buying some hens. Because of his interest I was accepted into the fraternity of cockers and quickly became assimilated into the group.

As if the interest of the old cocker and others was not enough, my
first formal fight made me a devotee. The cocks I saw at the fight had had their wattles and combs trimmed tight to their heads. This gave them a bullet-headed, almost eagle-like look. The fierce eye and the long, tapered beak were now emphasized. The cocks were proud, defiant and unafraid of handling. Their bearing was regal. When the steel spurs were attached to their legs I knew this would be a fight far removed from the free-for-all I had witnessed in the farm yard. At the conclusion of the fight I was both elated and drained. This sport was for me.

At one match I attended early that spring my buddies fought a young, red stag that was really too immature to be in the match. He lost the match and was so badly cut up that my buddies were going to destroy him. I asked if I could have him and ended up trading a hen for him. I took the young stag home and enlisted my mother's help in keeping him alive and nursing him back to health. She used every folk remedy she ever knew to keep that chicken alive. She made a wash of steeped comfrey leaves and some other herbs to clean out the chicken's wound. His head was cut up, so after we washed and cleaned the cuts Mom covered his head with a salve she made herself (see Appendix 5). This salve not only kept the cuts soft so they would heal, it drew out whatever infection was there. This treatment had to be repeated often so I spent a lot of time catching and handling the little rooster. Due to all this handling the chicken became quite tame and my favorite pet.

About half way through the summer the young cock started to act like he might live. By fall he was crowing and preening his feathers and looking like a fighting chicken again. He had become so tame I could pick him up anywhere and spent a lot of time with him.
When the fighting season started that winter I was sparring some young greys and my brother suggested we try the little red. At first I was reluctant. He was my pet after all. At length argument prevailed over resolve and we sparred the little red with one of the greys. We went bare heels to avoid getting him seriously hurt.

On the first buckle the red did a strange thing. Instead of going up in the air to meet the grey he rolled off to one side. I thought he was going to run. Then as the grey passed him he hit the grey in the side right under the wing and spurred over his back. The red hit the grey so hard that he knocked his wind out, so we handled them.

We let the grey recover, then we pitted them again. The red repeated his previous attack pattern exactly. If this was a reaction to his previous beating or something he just did naturally we never knew. We never really cared either as long as he did it consistently. By going under the wing and over the back the red was in an excellent killing position. The vital organs are close to the back under the ribs on a chicken. By thus attacking it also made it very difficult for his opponent to get to the red. We then decided to heel both roosters and see if the red could cut. He did: he killed the grey on the second buckle. I knew I had a cutting machine on my hands then.

When fighting season started that winter the little red cock was our hope. We won six matches with him that season and toward the end of the year I could have named my price for the red. Some cockers I was fighting against wanted to try the red at some larger pits but I just couldn't part with him.

During that period of time the old cocker whom I had met at my first fight along with other experienced men helped with my education in
the sport. They improved my keep and showed me better ways to tie on a set of heels. One cocker even gave me a set of heels he thought would help my chicken fight better. To be accepted so completely into this rather exclusive fraternity at a relatively young age made a lasting impression with me. I will always view cockers as a great bunch of people who engage in an exciting, absorbing sport.

That spring when the fighting season ended I decided to mate the little red with some grey hens and see if his method of fighting was a fluke or if he could pass it on. Three days after I put him in a breeding pen I found him hanging from the chicken wire by his neck. The only thing I could surmise was that a grey had chanced by his pen and in attempting to fight he had gotten caught and hanged himself. I never got one fertile egg from his hens so his fighting trait died with him. However, I was hooked on the sport and remain so to this day.

That summer a Mexican cocker came to the place and offered my dad five dollars apiece for all our grey chickens. In a day when lambs were selling for less than that, my dad took his offer. In about thirty minutes we were out of the fighting-cock business.

During my last two years of high school I purchased a purebred Roundhead cock and some hens and started fighting again. I had some moderate success but I never had the financial backing to become really tough. After school came a stint in the Army, then a proselyting mission for the L.D.S. church. My fighting stock just ran wild on my dad's place.

After I was married and had a position with the Provo City Police Department, I got serious about cleaning up my old brood stock and getting back into the fighting game. I met a Provo City reserve police
officer whose father was one of the premier cockers in all Utah. I started travelling the fighting circuit with this man and his two sons and one daughter. His partner, an excellent handler, also travelled with us. I was made welcome into this circle and enjoyed some great times with them.

As I travelled with this group I learned many of the finer points of breeding, raising, conditioning and fighting the gamecock. The daughter of the family was one of the most astute spotters I have ever met. She could watch a fight and tell which chicken was cutting and which was just hitting with the bottoms of his feet before the handlers could. She could tell when a chicken was taking a lot of punishment before it became obvious.

It was during these years I gained my greatest knowledge of cockfighting. I also came to respect the cockers and their commitment to their sport even more than I had before. I developed a sense of deep loyalty to these men and their sport.

This sense of loyalty has made my field research and the writing of this study a difficult task. In no way do I want to betray an implicit trust. Because the sport is illegal it is of utmost importance that the anonymity of the cockers be protected and the location of the pits be kept secret. It was thus impossible to take cameras and tape recorders into the pits. I had to rely on field notes, memory, and firsthand knowledge to put this work together. Cockers I had known for years were very apprehensive about giving tape-recorded interviews for fear the tapes might fall into the wrong hands and the information be turned against them. To persist along this line might have jeopardized my relationship with these, my friends, so I let the matter drop.
I first started considering the cockers as a folk group worthy of a study when I was introduced to the study of folklore while an undergraduate at Utah State University. Under the tutelage of Clyde Milner and William A. "Bert" Wilson, I developed an abiding interest in the field of folklore.

In 1976 I presented a paper entitled "The Folklaw of Cockfighting" at the national meeting of the American Folklore Society in Salt Lake City. Clyde Milner encouraged me to make a larger study of the folk aspects of cockfighting as my graduate thesis. This thesis is that effort.

My intent is to study cockers as a legitimate folk group. Cockers qualify as a folk group by almost any criterion. Jan H. Brunvand has stated that a folk group can be recognized by "the lingo and lore that sets a group apart from another." A list of terms common to cockers is included in the appendix of this paper (see Appendix 1). The lore of breeding, conditioning and fighting the game bird is common to this group. Patrick Mullen in an address at a recent Fife Folklore Conference stated that a folk group must have continuity. That is, the group must continue through time. The first section of this paper has dealt with the long history of cocking.

The illegal nature of the sport produces an insularity from the parent society that causes cockers to be a close knit and exclusive group. The group draws its members from a broad range of the parent society but at the same time their activity is isolated from it.

This isolation from the parent society and my personal loyalty to the group brings a unique dimension to the scope of this paper. My fieldwork had to be unobtrusive and my sources had to be protected. At
the same time, I felt a study of this unique folk group needed to be
done. The lore of this group is rich and deep and little understood by
society at large. What writing is done is very often sensational in
tone and limited in scope (see Appendix 6).

Few writers have taken the time to explore either the ethos of this
group or the deep personal commitment felt by its members. To most
reporters, combat of the cocks is the major focus of interest. The
sport of cockfighting and the practitioners of the sport cannot be
fairly viewed as separate entities. This is a case where the whole is
greater than the sum of its parts.

Journalists also tend to look for "criminal types" being involved
in this illegal activity. This is no such group involved in gaming.
The yeoman class or the gentry are the practitioners of this sport
today. There is too much care and expense involved to make this sport
appealing to the criminal types. The capital outlay for broodstock,
facilities, conditioning and battle stock is very seldom recovered in
the gaming interests. Cockers fight for pride, not for gain. Some
money is made in gaming from the sale of chickens and paraphernalia
related to the sport (see Appendices 7, 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d).

It wasn't until I was exposed to folklore as a student at Utah
State University that I took the time to look beyond the obvious myself.
The most exciting aspect of my study of cocking was my own deep personal
commitment to the sport as well as my membership in the group. I feel
that as a member of the group I can provide insights that the outside
observer could never see or express. Here again I feel the spectacular
aspect of the sport tends to obscure the real depth and richness that
the fraternity of cockers exhibits as a group.
The scope of this paper is not definitive, but given the limitations involved in fieldwork as well as the necessity to protect informants, I hope to treat the group in a fair way. The folk aspect of gaming deserves to be studied and recorded as much as any other folk group. I will leave the sensational to professional journalists and attempt to look beyond the obvious. I feel the group deserves a careful and thoughtful folkloric study and this is my attempt to do that very thing.

When I reentered the gaming arena as a participant-observer rather than just a participant, I began to look at the sport as a folk expression rather than just a cockfight. I could see a depth of expression that I had missed before. When I observed a group of cockers talking during the weigh-ins, I heard not just an exchange of information but a passing of traditions. When a experienced handler was tying on a set of gaffs the young cocker holding the chicken was learning in the classic folk way, by watching and doing. The way to learn handling is through the apprentice system and experience. To watch a handler in the pit was to see a practitioner of a true folk craft close to art in its expression.

When I asked a handler how he knew his cocks were ready to fight he replied, "They feel ready." I asked him how a ready cock felt and he couldn't tell me. He had developed the innate sense of "feel" by handling hundreds of battle cocks. Technique can be taught but feel has to be learned. This sense of "feel" is what the old handler was attempting to pass on to his young helper.

I started watching the families of the cockers as they interrelated and saw the transmission of knowledge from father to son. Here was the
passing of tradition from one generation to the next.

For the first time the deeper meaning of the extension of the man into the animal became obvious. When a man's chicken won a match the man had by extension won the ultimate victory over his foe. The loser had by the death of his bird suffered the final defeat. The intense emotion and feeling of the gaming arena had taken on a new and deeper meaning.

In retrospect I can also see that I was taught through the classic avenues of folk expression. Neither my teachers nor I were aware of this at the time but the experience is more meaningful for me because of it. My experiences with my cocker group have also given me a greater awareness of life, because each Saturday night we lived life at its most elemental level. The struggle of foes locked in a battle to the death made life much sweeter. Every cocker deals death and fights for life every time he sets a chicken down.

This elemental level may well be one of the great fascinations the sport holds for the practitioners as well as the casual observer. Few can witness a cockfight and remain unemotional and detached. One is either totally engrossed in the whole thing or horrified and disgusted. Total involvement is the element that makes a fight so overwhelmingly emotional. For this study, I will attempt to wed reason and emotion into a working relationship. This is an uneasy marriage at best.

Another element I feel needs to be addressed in this work is the attitude law enforcement and Mormon Church officials take concerning cockfighting in Utah. The sport and the attendant gambling are by statute illegal. Yet a gambling debt is a legal debt.

The unstated but understood view of law enforcement officials is
that as long as no one causes any trouble the cockers will be left alone. Most policemen consider cockfighting a victimless crime and as long as no force or coercion is involved no one suffers innocently. The gaming laws in Utah are so vague that no thinking attorney wants a court test of the laws. However, I am sure the major reason law enforcement officials don't bother cockers is the fact that they are dealing with the yeomanry, merchant and professional classes of society. These are the men who pay the taxes and cast the votes. It is not unusual to see government and law enforcement officials involved in cockfighting themselves. This is very common in the southeastern part of the United States (see Appendix 6).

Local church officials also tend to leave the cocker members of their congregations alone. I was recently talking to an active cocker who had had his temple recommend withdrawn by his bishop for fighting chickens. Within two months his recommend was returned and nothing more was said. There is no official church statement on cockfighting but the zealous can condemn any activity they choose to. The general church authorities have made statements concerning the care and use of animals but nothing on cockfighting specifically. Local stake and ward officials tend to ignore the sport.

Many cockers I know are active members of churches. Mexican cockers often have their local Catholic priests bless their fighting cocks before they go to their matches. The cockers themselves have no problem reconciling their sport and religious beliefs. Cockfighting to the cocker is a sport just as boxing or football is to the people who enjoy those sports. The sport of cockfighting is illegal by statute but it is not immoral in the eyes of cockers. Therein lies the big
distinction. The cockfighters may be breaking a law but they are doing
nothing morally wrong. They think they should be allowed to fight cocks
without outside interference. They don't want to go public with their
sport. They just want to be left alone to practice it as they choose.

The attendant gambling may be an issue in the eyes of some people
but it is no more or less than gambling on a horse race. The bets on
cockfights in Utah tend to be very conservative. The pit bet between
the cock owners or handlers rarely exceeds twenty-five dollars. The
Mexican cockers who travel to the pits in the United States tend to make
some very extravagant bets but they can afford them. The betting in
Bali is perceived as a statement on the worth of the cock and handler so
their bets tend to be high. The betting is attendant to the
fight. The fight is the important element.

The scope of this thesis is the lore and feeling of the cocker
toward his sport and the interrelationship of the man and chicken.
Cockfighting is one of the most dramatic single sex-activities in our
unisex society and as such makes a statement about males and the macho
ethos.
CHAPTER III
FOLKWAYS

Cycles

The cycle of life in rural Utah follows the agrarian calendar. Spring is a time of frantic activity on Utah farms. Ground is prepared and crops are sowed. Summer is a time of crop care. Because of the climate crops need to be irrigated, which requires intensive activity. The fall is a time of harvest and storage. The winter allows the farmer time to relax from his constant activity. It is during this less busy winter time that the cockers gather at the pits and fight their chickens. It is essential, then, that the breeding, conditioning and fighting phases of the sport follow the agrarian calendar.

In Utah the hens are mated in late winter and early spring. As the fertile eggs are laid they are gathered and placed in incubators. The eggs are set in batches and marked so the resulting chicks are identified as to parentage. Wing bands are put on the chicks, or the skin between the toes is punched with patterns of holes to identify them as they are removed from the incubators. The eggs hatch at twenty-one days and the chicks are raised with their hatch. This process continues from March through June.

The hens are not allowed a natural set because when they get a clutch of eggs they stop laying. A clutch may vary from three to more than a dozen eggs. Few hens will hatch all their eggs, so it is much more productive to set the eggs in an incubator. Many hens on a natural set will leave the nest with the first two or three chicks that hatch.
and the unhatched chicks die in their shells. If the eggs are gathered the hens will continue to lay though the hatching period. This will greatly increase the number of offspring from any single mating. This is especially advantageous if a particular mated pair are producing excellent fighters. Many breeders send their eggs to commercial hatcheries for incubation. They have found the good hatching percentage of a commercial hatchery far outweighs the modest cost involved.

There is also a good business in selling fertile eggs (see Appendix 8). Most often a dozen eggs will sell for less than a mature trio of breeding chickens. For the buyer this is an advantage; even with a fifty percent hatch the number of chickens he receives is doubled. For the seller it gives a good return and eliminates the hatching costs (see Appendix 8).

Very often the hatcheries will sex the chicks for breeders, and unless the pullets are specifically wanted by the breeder they are destroyed. The young male chickens are picked up by the breeder and raised under the best conditions that can be provided. Many pullets are kept for replacement stock but these are mainly purebreds.

Professional people, i.e., doctors, lawyers, business owners, and farmers, often form partnerships for the raising of the chickens. The farmer provides the facility and expertise and the professional person helps with the capital outlay.

When the stags are approaching sexual maturity, at about four months of age, they are separated into conditioning pens or put on string walks. Thus they enter the keep state of their lives. They are fed special diets and given controlled exercise that is designed to increase endurance, muscle condition and tone.
Between five and six months of age some of the young stags are sparred against a mature ace cock. The stags are fitted with muffs, a boxing-glove-type spur cover, while the ace cock is heeled with a regular spur. This arrangement protects the ace from injury and allows him to cut the stag. This is basically a test of gameness. If the stag can take punishment and still fight he is game. Very often the ace is allowed to kill the stag as an ultimate test of gameness.

Gameness in the fighting cock is of utmost importance. If a battle cock leaves the pit during a fight he is an automatic loser no matter how well he was fighting. This is also a negative reflection on the breeder and handler as to their own worth. Nothing is as adverse to the code of machismo as cowardice.

If a stag performs well his full brothers are likely to do the same. If a stag quits or does not perform up to expectations, a full brother is put through the same test. If he also fails, the entire brood will become Sunday dinner. If he performs exceptionally well, he or a full brother may be kept as a brood cock.

A particular cocker I know tested his stags somewhat more thoroughly than the common test I just described. He would muff heel the stag, heel the cock and let the cock fight the stag. Periodically he would stop the fight and inflict the most common fighting injuries on the stag. These injuries are: broken wings, broken legs, blinded eyes, nerve couplings, lung and heart rattles.

The cocker would break one of the stag's wings then let him fight again. If the stag could fight through the initial pain and the resulting shock he was game. If the stag continued to fight, the cocker would take a sharpened ice pick and insert it into the stag's lungs.
The lungs quickly fill with blood, causing a so-called lung rattle. The stag would then be set to fight again. If he carried the rattle well the owner might couple him by damaging the nerve over the back legs with the ice pick or break a leg. If a stag continued to fight with a broken wing, a broken leg and a lung rattle against an undamaged ace cock he was game.

Gameness tests may seem brutal but if a cock isn't game he is nothing. Fighting ability is virtually worthless if a cock quits as soon as he is hurt. If two cocks are fought of equal or near-equal ability, the gamest cock will win over the long haul.

Gameness in the fighting cock is his most important attribute. Not only is he prized for it himself, but his owner and handler share in his reflected worth and courage. Cockfighting is an expression of the macho ethos. Nothing is prized more in machismo than raw courage. So the "game" cock is an expression of the ultimate macho statement. The will to continue to fight under seemingly insurmountable odds is what gameness is all about. This same sort of statement is evident in the term, "the brave bull" as it applies to bullfighting.32

The keep continues so the young stags are brought to the peak of conditioning at the age of six months. The early hatches are ready to fight in late November or early December. This time is also a slack time on the agrarian calendar when the farmers have time to get the cocks and stags ready to fight. The first big derby of the year is usually fought the first weekend after Thanksgiving. From the middle of December on through April there is a fight somewhere in north-central Utah every weekend.

The early derbies are stag derbies. The cockers want to get their
stags fighting early in the season to see if the products of their breedings are worthwhile. The cocks are fought more toward spring when they have gone through the molt and are again in full feather.\textsuperscript{33} This early spring weather also heralds the breeding season and the mature cocks respond with more aggressive behavior. This is the prime time to fight the cocks because they enter the breeding season in a state of constant rage. The crowing of other roosters enrages them to the point where they will sometimes spontaneously "pull a shuffle" (see Appendix 1). Chicken farms in the spring are a cacaphony of rooster calls from dawn to dark.

A stag that is good enough to win is fought throughout the season. If he survives the season a winner, he will assume ace cock status and be kept as a breeder or fought the following year as a cock. A winning cock is treated with respect and care by his owner, conditioner, and handler. He is valued not only for his financial worth, i.e., sale value and winnings, but as an extension of the machismo of the man he fights for.

**Identity of Man with Fighting Cock**

There is a real feeling of identity, almost an extension of self, between the cocker and the battle cock.\textsuperscript{34} In a battle to the death all pretense is stripped away. This is life at its primal level. "Kill or be killed," "the survival of the fittest," "to the victor go the spoils," and so forth.

As in nearly all blood sports there is a ritual of presentation that is closely followed. Examples of this range from the armouring of
the medieval knight to the dressing of a matador. This is the
transformation of man into warrior. The ceremony that transforms the
rooster to battle cock is the heeling process.

The fighting cock is held carefully by an assistant while the
handler ties on the spurs. First the handler carefully washes the
cock's legs and feet. After the legs are dried the handler will wrap
strips of "mole skin" around the leg above and below the natural spur
until the leg band on the spur fits snugly against the leg. The natural
spur stub is also wrapped til the heel socket fits snugly around the
spur stub. When the legs and spur stubs are wrapped so the heel fits,
the leathers are folded across the front of the leg. The spur is then
tied on with waxed linen thread. The tie pattern varies from handler to
handler. Some ties cross, others wrap straight around. However it is
done, the artificial spur has to be firmly tied so it will not slip or
come loose. If a spur slips or comes loose it cannot be retied during
the match. Sometimes the horny shell of a cock's natural spur will
break away from the soft inner growth and the heel wobbles, thus losing
its effectiveness. This is called "shelling a heel." Woe to the
handler who shells heel during a match. He will be ridden mercilessly
by his fellow cockers often to a chorus of "who heeled that chicken."
If this happens very often a handler will lose his position and the
regard of his peers.

When the cock is completely heeled he is set down and moved around
to see if he is going to interfere with his heels. The handler can also
see if his heels are positioned to provide maximum cutting
effectiveness. When the heels are tied to the satisfaction of the
handler the cock's feathers are smoothed, his head is washed and his
eyes cleaned. The warrior is presented for the battle not only well armed but well dressed.

A parody of this process of dressing the warrior was seen in the movie *Cat Ballou* when Lee Marvin was dressing for his gunfight. Marvin, who plays a shabby, filthy drunk, was bathed, sobered up and dressed in elegant style. His guns were stainless steel with mother-of-pearl handles encased in holsters of polished black leather. He was no longer a pathetic drunk to be mocked, pitied and reviled, but now a fighting man in all his glory to be feared and respected.

Another movie that showed this transformation of man to warrior was *Valdez Is Coming*. Burt Lancaster was cast as a has-been lawman who has fallen from his former state to a guard on a stage coach. He was trapped into killing a man who was innocent, then decided to avenge the man's life on those who deceived him. He went back to his cabin, pulled out a trunk which contained the weapons and dress he used in his former glory day. As he dressed and armed himself his metamorphosis from has-been to warrior was complete. He then went on to triumph against tremendous odds.

The well-heeled, full-feathered battle cock has become indeed the feathered warrior by extension. The owner and handler of the battle-ready cock is placing himself in the arena.

The extension of man as the battle cock is of supreme importance when looking at the mystique of cockfighting. Cockfighting is a very male-oriented sport. I have never seen a woman handle a battle cock in a pit. The term cock itself is a common reference to the male genitals. This is also true in the Bali cocking fraternity. "Cocky" is a term that means proud and boastful, which is the fighting cock all over.
The game fighting cock is absolutely without fear. Mortally wounded and in severe shock he will continue to fight. This attribute in the male persona is greatly admired by many in our culture. We even have honored the victorious warrior with the highest office of the land, that of the presidency of the United States in the notable cases of George Washington, Ulysses Grant and Dwight Eisenhower. A game cock has all of these attributes in ample proportion.

The primal urge of the hunter-killer is also satisfied when the man pits his battle cock. The cock not only fights for the man but fights to the death. In order to win he must kill his opponent. Every aggressive urge that must be suppressed in a civil society can be let run free for a few moments through the battle of the fighting cocks. To see a demonstration of this all one has to do is watch the reaction of the crowd as favorites win or die. Most leave a cockfight as emotionally and physically spent as if they had engaged in extreme sexual activity. I am not saying the release is sexual but the physical and emotional release is very similar.

I think part of the appeal of blood sports as well as mock blood sports, such as football, is this emotional and physical release. The adrenalin flows in both spectator and participant and this produces a high that neither drugs nor alcohol can duplicate. When the high burns off the release is complete.

Alan Dundes, in his article in the April, 1978, issue of *Western Folklore* on the sexuality of football and mock blood sports makes this point. The football uniform "accents the male physique," the upper body is enlarged and the lower body is dressed in extremely tight pants with a padded codpiece. "This allows the male players to engage in
hand-holding, hugging, and bottom patting which would be disapproved of in any other context."  

38 This sexual symbolism within an all-male group is pushed to the psychoanalytic point that the football represents a male phallus being pushed into a vagina (the goal) and the team with the "balls" emerges the winner. "Thus football [as well as cocking] falls into the general range of male rituals around the world in which masculinity is defined and affirmed."  

39 Women are allowed as spectators but not as participants at football games. The same pattern holds true for cockfights. This emphasizes that both are single-sex activities controlled by and participated in by males. The male player is football and the male cockers and male cocks are the cockfight.

The padding of the football player prevents the shedding of blood but the hits, groans and occasional injuries produce in the audience the same vocal and physical response as does the actual bleeding injuries inflicted in a bullfight or a cockfight. The spectators experience the same physical release in these sports. The mock blood sports elicit the same response as do the true blood sports.

Conditioning

The last two months of conditioning of the stag or cock are the most critical. The conditioner wants his birds to peak the day they fight. The roosters are fed a high-protein, high-fiber diet. This is a mix of cracked corn, whole oats with the hulls on, barley and wheat. The whites of hard-boiled eggs and lettuce or other vegetable matter are also used. If the cocks are in scratch pens or on ties they do not need
the vegetable because they will eat grass and other plant matter. Daily water intake is also controlled. This is called "drying out." Enough water is fed to maintain good health and tissue tone but by reducing fluid intake the blood is thickened in the process. This reduction of fluids helps retard bleeding, control shock and eliminates the sluggish feeling a cock on full water has. This conditioning period is called a "keep." During the keep the birds are given controlled daily exercises usually called "walks and flies."

For a walk, a cock is placed on a board about twelve to eighteen inches wide and three to five feet long. The conditioner pushes the cock quickly back and forth along the board. This is much like running for a human athlete. After a few walks the cock is placed on a table and with a forward, twisting motion the cock is flipped into the air. This is called a "fly." The fly causes the cock to flap his wings and reach out with his feet as if he were spurring in a fight. This process is repeated usually twice a day with the frequency and duration varying according to the whim of the cocker and the condition of the cock.

The idea and ideal is to bring the cock to the peak of condition with good endurance and long powerful muscles on the day he fights. Too much muscle and the cock will tie up (see Appendix 1) in a fight; not enough and he tires too quickly. He also needs the lung and heart to go the distance in the drag pit (see Appendix 1). Keeps vary from cocker to cocker and year to year, new ideas are tried and modified. What works one year may not the next. A typical keep can be seen in Appendix 9. This is the keep of Colonel John Hadigan, a renowned cocker.

All cockers recognize the importance of a good keep. Some who have developed a successful keep have formed schools in which they teach
their methods for a fee. Some offer both a residency training period as well as correspondence courses (see Appendix 10).

There is an excellent keep program taught in Grand Junction, Colorado, at the River View Game Farm that some cockers from Utah have attended (see Appendix 11, 11a, b). There are a few cockers who travel around from area to area teaching their methods to local groups. Because of this, the competency of local cockers is constantly improving. However, the most common method of teaching is still the time-honored method of master to apprentice, most often from father to son or adult role model to eager beginner. There is no substitute for hands-on experience.

The feeding program during the keep is of great importance. Many cockers keep their feed mixes secret, feeling this may be the edge over the competition. Over the last few years many new feed supplements have been developed for the livestock and poultry business. Cockers have been quick to adapt these supplements to their keeps. Some cockers have developed their own supplements which they market to other cockers (see Appendix 12 for examples).

One of the oldest and most relied on feed supplements is strychnine. Many cockers in the Utah area feed controlled amounts of strychnine in their keeps. One old cocker told me, "when you get them right on strychnine, they're unbeatable." I have asked many cockers why they feed strychnine. Some say it gives the cocks more staying power. Others say it keens and sharpens the reflexes. Still others say that cocks on strychnine just fight better. I think it is like so much of cocking: if it seems to work, others try it. The benefits of strychnine are hard to doubt. It has been in widespread use for over
fifty years. Yet, it is used for such a wide variety of reasons that feeding strychnine should be considered a folk belief. However there is some clinical evidence that, "strychnine improves the tone of the voluntary and involuntary muscles throughout the body." Strychnine is not as toxic to poultry as it is to mammals because of the gizzard in poultry, so it can be fed in controlled amounts and not prove toxic to the battle cock.

One of the real problems in the battle is internal bleeding. When a cock is spurred through the lung, the lung fills with blood. This injury is called a lung rattle because of the distinctive sound a cock makes when breathing with the injury. The lung needs to be cleared of blood before the cock drowns.

To clear the lung the handler will hold the cock tipped breast forward, stretch the neck and hold the mouth open and literally pour the blood out of his lungs. Some cockers will put the cock's head in their mouths and suck the blood out. Geertz, in his study on Balinese cockfighting, noticed the same phenomena. In speaking of the handler he said,

He blows in its mouth putting the whole chicken head in his own mouth and sucking and blowing, fluffs it, stuffs its wounds with various sorts of medicines, and generally tries anything he can think of to arouse the last ounce of spirit which may be hidden somewhere within.

Some enterprising cockers have even developed compounds that will help stop and control bleeding. Some compounds will supposedly help a cock throw a rattle. These go beyond the drying out part of the keep (see Appendix 13).

Another reason the handler will blow on a cock's head is to help control shock. Some handlers blow warm air and others blow cool air.
By blowing out vigorously a handler can produce a stream of cool air. To produce a flow of warm air the handler will open his mouth and breathe out gently. Some handlers will give a cock a few drops of lemon juice during a handle as a shock aid. Some others may give a drop or two of strychnine, believing it acts like a shot of adrenalin. The handler will hold the cock's beak open and squeeze whatever his mixture is out of a sponge into the cock's mouth. A drop of two is sufficient. Some cockers have developed their own shock aids and are marketing them to other cockers (see Appendix 14).

Through selective breeding and better conditioning methods the cocks are getting tougher each year. Anything that will give a cocker an edge over his opponent he is willing to try. The winning cockers are the ones who come up with that extra edge year after year.

Along with the scientific methods are the old folk methods. I talked to one cocker who told me that a stag hatched in the light of the moon will be a keener, more aggressive cock than one hatched in the dark of the moon. The stag hatched in the light of the moon, is, however, a bleeder. The stag hatched in the dark of the moon will not be a flashy fighter but he will be a stayer. He will not bleed as badly as a light moon cock.\textsuperscript{43} This old cocker would set his eggs so he would hatch both kinds. Eggs hatch in a twenty-one to twenty-seven-day period of incubation. This closely follows the moon cycle so the setting is not too hard to time. The chickens were conditioned much the same but he swore they fought differently.

The connecting of the light phase of the moon with free bleeding is a fairly common folk belief. My maternal grandfather and my mother would never allow a calf to be castrated, dehorned or earmarked in the
light of the moon. My grandfather was a rancher who ran hundreds of cattle and he never varied his rule. Conversely, we would butcher animals in the light of the moon so the carcass would bleed cleaner.

Whatever the keep method or the reason behind it, the spring-hatched stags are ready to fight in early December. From Thanksgiving weekend on, a serious cocker can fight every Saturday somewhere in the state.

The Pit

The cockpits in the state of Utah are mostly remodeled barns and dairy parlors. The exteriors of the buildings are seldom touched so as to maintain an outward appearance of non-use. The interior is extensively remodeled to include a main pit and usually two drag pits. The main pit is an arena of approximately twenty feet by eight feet. The measurements are not set by rule, for the interior score lines are the important measurement. The drag pits are usually half the size of the main pits. The floors of the pits are coarse sand. The walls are a drape of canvas attached to metal, wood, or plastic frames. The owner of the pit will build bleacher seating around the main pit for spectators. Because the fights are in the winter, wood-burning stoves or heaters of some sort are provided for comfort. Very often a concession area is set up to provide hot or cold drinks, donuts and hot sandwiches. Alcoholic beverages are not served at the pits and are banned at some (see Appendix 15). Emotions run high enough without adding the social combustion of alcohol to the situation.

The pit owners usually charge an admission fee for spectators.
Members of the sponsoring game club and visiting cockers are often allowed in free of charge. The game clubs are organized on a local, regional, state, and multi-state basis. The clubs on a local level are organized to give a group of cockers a sense of cohesiveness. The club has regular monthly meetings where members can give advice as to club functions. The clubs have an elected president, vice president, secretary-treasurer and board of directors. The club officers decide fight schedules and locations for the coming year. They arrange with pit owners to hold the fights in their respective pits on given dates. Some clubs such as the Utah County Game Breeders' Association own their own pit so all fights are held there.

The club officials will also decide which set or sets of rules the club will fight under for the year. The club members have input but the club officers make the final decisions. The club officials can also revoke the membership of a club member who refuses to abide by the rules or is a poor sportsman. This is an important aspect because only club members are allowed to fight in club sponsored matches. However memberships from other recognized clubs are honored at the matches. Membership in local or state clubs is usually accomplished by application or invitation. The Utah County Game Breeders' Association memberships are on an invitation only basis. A new member has to be sponsored by a member in good standing. Then after a review by the club officials the person is invited to join the club. There is also a yearly fee charged to retain membership.

The local clubs very often affiliate themselves with the state game clubs. The state game clubs are more legislative bodies than sponsors of fights. Many state game clubs actively lobby their state
legislatures about gaming laws and provide slush funds to help cockers who may face prosecution. The state officers are elected from the local clubs and meet on a regular basis. The state club is also joined by the cockers from the local clubs and their membership fees help fund the state body.

There is also a national game breeders' association called the United Gamefowl Breeders' Association. This was organized in 1976 and is headquartered in Glen Alpine, North Carolina. The national president for 1985-86 is Belton Hodges from Arizona. Each affiliate state is allowed one seat on the national board of directors. The representative from Utah for 1985-86 is Eldon Barney, an old-time cocker from Salt Lake County. There are thirty-one state organizations affiliated with the U.B.G.A.. The national directors keep a close watch on any national legislation that will in any way affect the sport of gamecooking and are quick to lobby against it. A good example of this was a bill introduced in Congress to outlaw interstate shipments of game fowl for any purpose. This would have severely crippled the sport, so a lobbying effort was launched that killed the bill in committee. The national club also helps fund poultry research at major universities that will identify and control poultry diseases.

Pits in Utah are mostly hand-made affairs that are functional but not too elaborate. There is one notable exception, however. A few years ago the game club that is centered in Utah County purchased some desert land from the United States Government and built a nice cinder block pit a few miles west of Cove Fort, Utah. The pit was centered on a forty-acre parcel of land and a fence was constructed around the boundary. The only access gate was guarded by two club members on fight
night. They allowed only cockers and family members to enter the property. This action cut down on non-club spectators attending the fight and gave an early warning of any law enforcement activity in the area. This pit was constructed especially for fighting gamecocks. There are holding pens around the wall, a compact but ample concession area, a large well-lighted main pit and two drag pits. The pits are surrounded by bleachers for spectators. Weigh-in and heeling areas are also provided. This is an excellent, well-maintained pit and very popular with area cockers.

Pits in the southeastern part of the United States are much more elaborate affairs. The game clubs are larger and better financed. The southeastern clubs usually hold two-to-four day meets rather than Saturday night affairs as they do in Utah. The number of cockers and entries involved makes this possible (see Appendix 16). Also, in the South, law enforcement officials do not bother the pits and are often employed by the pits to make sure things do not get out of hand. County and state officials are active cockers and are in ample evidence at the southern pits (see Appendix 6). Many of these officials use their influence to keep pits open and operating. At the 1985 annual meeting of the Copperstate Game Breeders' Association, state officials were keynote speakers. As reported in the February 1985 edition of The Feathered Warrior:

Senator Polly Getzwiller spoke about individual rights and freedoms and how important it is to contact your legislators on issues you feel strongly about.

Representative Jim Hardegen spoke about the importance of keeping the traditions of the Southwest alive in Arizona. He said we should never be ashamed of what we do. It is part of our cultural heritage and that organizations like ours are the best thing we could do to further our cause.
There are numerous game clubs around the United States that advertise their fight schedules and entry requirements in the gaming magazines (see Appendix 3, 3a, b, c, d, e). The Sunset Game Club in Texas is a popular and highly respected pit. Probably the most widely respected pit in the United States is Copperstate near Phoenix, Arizona. This pit is operated by the Copperstate Gamefowl Breeders' Association, which boasts a membership of over five hundred members. Their pit was built exclusively for gamefowl and is well maintained. To fight at Copperstate is much like driving in the Indianapolis 500 or running a horse in the Kentucky Derby. Only the very best fight at Copperstate. Many Mexican cockers come to Copperstate to enter the slasher derbies. These Mexican cockers are well-monied, owning the finest cocks breeding can produce and money can buy. Their handlers have social rank usually reserved for matadors. A cocker had better "come tough" when he goes against them.

Cockfighting is widespread throughout the United States, especially in the Sun Belt. The pits are important because this is where the testing of man and bird is done. A well-run pit with fair referees needs never worry about ample entrees.

The Battle

Near the set fight day the cocker will check his stags and cocks that he feels are in prime condition and ready to fight. He will put together an entry that will run from three to eight cocks. The cocker may take a few extra roosters to fight some hack matches.
A hack match is an impromptu duel between two cockers. The birds are not part of the derby entry. A cocker will just announce that he has a rooster of such a weight to hack. If someone else in his hearing has a match for him he will answer. The challenger usually allows the cocker who answers him his choice of spurs. They spur up, make a bet and enter the pit. Hack matches are under the same rules and have a referee like the regular derby entry. The hacks are fought before the derby, during the breaks in the derby action and after the derby. Very often a favorite ace will be taken along as a hack. The hack matches also help a young cocker get experience without making a complete derby entry. It is a good-way for a cocker to see if a new bloodline or cross-breed he is trying can go the distance. Hacks are every bit as exciting or even more so than a derby match. Hacks can really get exciting if two well-established cockers go head to head.

The day of the fight the cocks are given a teaspoon of damp, ground corn, no water. They are kept in darkened pens so they will be completely rested at fight time.

Just prior to leaving for the pit the cocker will place his battle cocks in carrying boxes that are shaped and dimensioned as in Figure 1. The carrying boxes are elaborate things. They are painted in a variety of colors and have a myriad of designs on the front. The name of the game farm or the cocker's nickname is also painted on the box. Some of the most popular motifs are crossed spurs, chickens fighting, a skull with crossed spurs below it, or a single battle cock. The colors are usually bright with the name and motif in contrasting colors.

Many of the Mexican cockers have religious icons painted on their boxes. The Christian cross and Our Lady of Guadalupe are very popular. Many of the Mexican boxes are painted in loud, bright colors with red,
black, yellow and dark blue popular. Their boxes are more vividly decorated than their American counterparts.

![Figure 1. Carrying box.](attachment://carrying_box.png)

Boxes are often divided into two compartments so two cocks can be carried in one box. The boxes have air holes on the ends to allow for circulation. When the boxes are closed they are dark inside. Some cockers even line their boxes with black cloth or paint the inside black to make it darker still. The darkness causes the cocks to react as if they were roosting. It keeps them calm and they arrive at the pit rested.

After the cocks are weighed and banded at the pit they are returned to the boxes. Some pits provide fly pens but these are reserved for cockers who have to travel some distance. This allows their battle cocks to stretch and move around a bit.

The cocks are removed from the boxes when it is time to heel them. The heeling process wakes them and the handler will briskly rub the legs
and body to get the blood flowing.

Some cockers will hold their roosters near the pit when a fight is going on. The sight of the battling cocks will get the adrenalin flowing and make a cock alert and ready to fight.

The cockboxes are the most outwardly visible of all the cocker's paraphernalia. The boxes are a folk art form and express the cocker mystique. The designs are bold in character and bright in color. This reflects the personality of the individual cocker better than his demeanor does. I have observed brash outgoing cockers carry subdued boxes with little design. Their chickens usually fight the same way. Other modest cockers carry the brightest boxes with their names emblazoned on them and they fight good chickens. Here is a guy who knows he is good and does not have to brag. His boxes and his chickens are his brag.

I know other cockers watch this also. Once my friend and I took an entry of his father's stags to one pit while his father and brother took an entry to another. His father took the boxes so we carried our entries in cardboard appleboxes tied with twine. Many of the cockers there didn't know who we were and figured they had a couple of country bumpkins fresh for the picking. We had a stag entry and had won the first three straight before they started to realize things were not as they appeared. We ended up winning the derby five straight but I will never forget the looks we got carrying our stags in in appleboxes.

The box designs reflect the whole macho mystique of the cockers. The battle cock as warrior is painted on the boxes. Two cocks in battle express the idea of the fight itself. The crossed spurs is a variant of the crossed sword motif seen on many items from razor blades to wall
decorations and family coat of arms. The field artillery battalions of the United States Army used crossed cannons as their symbol. The box designs seem to express a macho identification of the battle cock as warrior and the spurs as his arms. This idea also expresses the mystique of the man as warrior using the spur as sword engaged in personal, hand-to-hand combat. That is the highest test of personal courage, to be locked chest to chest in mortal combat.

When the battle cocks are brought to the pit they are weighed and a numbered band is placed around the leg. The number is entered in a log book next to the owner's name and time of entry. The leg band is not removed until the handlers bring the cocks into the arena and the referee will match the leg bands with the entry information. Then the referee will remove the leg bands. If the band is not on the cock's leg or the numbers do not match, the offending handler has to forfeit the match and his cock is eliminated from the fight. This is an effort to eliminate ringers and keep things fair.

When all the birds are weighed and banded the pit officials and a club representative will match the board. This is a pairing of the entries determining who will fight who and in which order. A blind match will pit birds at random according to weight. This can be a bad situation for a cocker who brings two complete derby entries. He can end up fighting himself. Most pits favor this method because then the luck of the draw is what makes the matches.

Some pit officials will try to match older more experienced cockers with each other and the less experienced with their peers. This method can leave pit officials open to charges of favoritism but no method is totally perfect. Hack matches, as explained before, are arranged among
the cockers themselves. They are fought by the rules and refereed like any other match.

A stag derby is for stags only and cocks are matched against cocks. Chicken weights and spur lengths are in common. The matches are designated as short heels, long heels or knives before the derby starts so the cockers know before hand what they will be fighting with. Long heels will never fight short and neither will fight slashers.

The period from the time the cocker finishes weighing his chickens till the match starts is an important socializing period. Cockers renew acquaintances, introduce friends and family that may be there for the first time. The best way to be accepted by the group is to be introduced by a member of the group. My own introduction into a game club in Utah County was by accompanying an established cocker who introduced me as his son. I was granted free entry into the pit and though many there knew I was not his son, I was accepted readily because "my father" vouched for me.

Gossip common to cockers is exchanged. The talk ranges through the spectrum of interests common to any rural social gathering. The talk, however, always comes around to chickens and cockers. They exchange information about breeding and conditioning, what is new is heels and other equipment. If someone has a new set of heels he is apt to show them around and get the other cockers' opinions about his purchase. Deals are made to buy, sell, or trade breeding stock. Hack matches are arranged between individuals, odds given and bets set.

For newcomers this is an important time within the group. Oral traditions are passed and new cockers are instructed by the old hands as to the best way to do anything they want to know about.
When the pit is ready, the sand smoothed and watered and the referee on hand, the hack matches start. The hacks are interesting matches in that someone may be trying a new breed of cock he has recently purchased. Some old ace cocks may be matched and the side bets fly. A beginning cocker may be getting his baptism of fire with a hack match or two. The hack matches set the mood and stimulate the bettors and spectators.

A word needs to be said about referees. Referees are by and large chosen from the rank and file of cockers. They are men who know the rules and have a lot of experience. A good referee can either make a pit or break it. The prime criteria for a good referee is impeccable honesty. After that, knowledge of rules and the ability not to be swayed from a decision are secondary. A lot of handlers will call for the count even when they do not deserve it just to see if a referee will give it to them. The referee has to follow a match closely so he will not make this mistake. The same thing goes for a handle. Like all sporting events referees are yelled at and vilified by spectator and participant alike. For this reason a lot of cockers are reluctant to volunteer to referee.

Another problem is the method of payment for the referee. Some pits pay a flat rate to referees per match they oversee. If the match goes one pitting or one hundred he gets the same pay. A referee has to stay with a match from start to finish, from main pit to drag pit.

Some pits will have the winner of the match pay the referee. This is a popular practice because this way the referee will not favor one party over the other. He will get paid no matter who wins. The winner also has money he has just collected from his win to pay with. The pit
officials set the amount to be paid, usually in the five-to-ten dollar range per match.

The problem of good referees is a nation-wide concern and is often voiced in the national game magazines. In the April, 1984, issue of The Gamecock Al Rowe addressed some of the concerns of referees in the eastern and mid-western pits. His concerns are much like ours is the West; low pay and honesty. He believes that if referees are better paid they will have no reason to be dishonest.45

Mike Ratliff of Menlo, Alabama, has started some schools for cockers and referees that he moves around the country. One of his schools took place in the Mountain West from 20 April 1985 to 4 May 1985 in Middleton, Idaho (see Appendix 17). Such efforts will certainly upgrade the quality of refereeing around the country. It is a needed step and will be welcomed by cockers everywhere.

I have seen very few matches in the Utah area that have had much trouble with poor referees. Most of the referees are cockers who have problems handling because of age and stiff joints. They still follow the sport and will help out where needed. I also feel the cultural emphasis on honesty found in the main society of Mormon Utah has an influence on the cocker group as a whole.

The other important human participants in the match are the handlers. A battle-cock handler is the top of the social order in the world of cockers. A good handler is a king. Friends buy him drinks, his word is respected and his presence is revered. Young cockers idolize him and vie to be his students.

Many breeders will handle their own chickens or the wealthy will hire a known handler. Whatever else he may be in the everyday world,
when he steps in the pit he is a handler. It is the handler's task to keep the cock fighting no matter what. A superior handler can make an inferior bird a winner. The character of Chicken George in the novel *Roots* is a good example. The visiting wealthy Englishman complimented George on his handling skill, then arranged for George to accompany him back to England as a handler.46

When a fight is moved to the drag pits, both chickens are often more dead than alive. Here the handler has to keep his wounded chicken fighting. He has to prevent shock, combat bleeding, especially internal bleeding. He has to clear rattles, keep the chicken's head clean so feathers will not stick on the blood and blind the cock. He has to know how to get just one more aggressive move out of his chicken before he succumbs to his wounds. I have often seen two dead cocks exit the drag pit, the battle won by superior handling.

When the handlers enter the pit the referee will have them bill their cocks. This is done by holding the cock's feet in one hand and supporting him across the opposing arm. The cocks are held head to head and allowed to peck at each other until they become aroused and ready to fight. The handlers nod their readiness to each other and to the referee. They then move to their respective ends of the pit, this being determined by choice of the handler or a coin toss by the referee. The cocks are placed on the score lines at each end of the pit, fifteen feet apart. The handler holds his cock by the tail until the referee says, "pit." The handler releases his cock and steps back. A handler cannot push his cock forward. When the cocks are freed they advance and the battle is joined.

The only time a handler can touch his chicken from that point on is
when the referee calls a handle. This occurs when the cocks tie up or one gets his spurs caught in the canvas sides of the pit. A tie-up is when the chicken's spurs get caught in his opponent. The handler will hold his chicken while the other handler pulls the spurs out of his own chicken. This way the handler cannot twist a spur in his opponent while freeing him.

The handle will last for two minutes while handlers work on their chickens. Neither the handlers nor the cocks can leave the pit during the battle, or they automatically lose the fight. An assistant is at the pit side with anything the handler may need. At a minute and a half the referee warns the handlers and they approach the score lines. The process of starting the fight is then repeated.

If the cocks are unable to leave the long score they are brought to the short score at eighteen inches apart. On the short score the handler holds the cock in his hand with the cock's feet off the ground. When the referee says, "pit," the cocks are placed on the short score. Again the handler cannot push his cock forward, he only sets him down. About this point in the match the contestants are moved to the drag pit where there is only a short score.

The fights are finished by the death of either battling cock or by the last wounded cock to make an aggressive move. This is where the importance of gameness is most evident. A "game" cock will fight to the last quiver. The handlers also earn their reputations in the drag pits. It is their passion to keep a badly wounded and dying cock fighting with his last breath.

The last aggressive move can be a spurring action or a pecking motion. Then comes a "count." This is an audible counting of one
through twenty by the referee. If the opponent cock does not break the count by making an aggressive move the birds are handled. This process is repeated through another count of twenty, then a short count of ten. If the count is not broken the cock with the count wins.

During the count the referee must be very alert to the movements of both chickens and the claims and counterclaims of the handlers. If the referee wants to cheat he can either break or hold a count for either opponent and thus affect the outcome of the match. The drag pits make or break referees and handlers.

Cockers pit birds not only for fame but gain as well. Money made at the fights comes from betting. The owners of the cocks make a face to face bet on the outcome of the match. The handlers make a face to face bet while they are billing their birds. When the amount of their bet is settled they may pick up some side bets with the spectators as well.

The spectators will shout back and forth across the pit the amount of their bet and which bird they are backing. A shout of, "fifty on the grey" will begin the challenge. If someone wants to back the opponent for the full fifty he will shout, "I'll take that fifty." If no one wants to cover the full fifty someone may shout, "I take ten of that fifty." The challenger will then accept piece bets until his full fifty has been covered. There is no written record of the bets offered or accepted but I have never seen anyone forget with whom he had what amount wagered.

If a fight moves to the drag pit and a new main is started the betting process is repeated so it is possible to have money riding on as many as three fights at the same time. Most bets in the Utah pits run
around twenty-five dollars. I have seen the handlers pit bets as low as five dollars and as high as two hundred but they average twenty to twenty-five dollars.

Some of the larger pits in the southern part of the United States will run calcuttas, which are similar to baseball or football pools. The people who have bet on the winning chickens split the pot according to the size of their original bet. The owner of the winning cock gets a percentage of the pool and so do the pit owners. The largest bets I have ever seen exchanged were at a Mexican slasher derby at Copperstate in Arizona. Some Mexican cockers exchanged bets of thousands of dollars.

Betting at cockfights is an overt expression of machismo. The larger the bet the bigger the man. It is also a way for the spectator to become involved in the fight as well. When a person bets, he is in effect buying an interest in the cock he is backing. If he wins he is immediately rewarded for his good judgment and is compensated for taking a risk. The adulation of his fellows is often more satisfying than the monetary awards. In a cockfight the betting opponents are in a face-to-face confrontation, a man-against-man contest so to speak.

Informal horseracing is another example of this man-to-man, face-to-face confrontation. The individual is matching his knowledge, sense and gut feeling against an opponent he can see, feel and talk to. Informal betting at other sporting events share this dynamic. This is opposed to the formal betting done at a horse or dog track where the bettors make their wagers against a faceless entity at a barred window. Some tracks are even going to computerized betting machines so the bettor is wagering against an electronic box. This eliminates the
person confrontations of face-to-face wagering.

Wagering is an important dynamic of the cockfight. It is accepted and even expected to take place at the fights. Similarly, yelling and cheering are socially acceptable at high school, college, or professional sporting events. People are allowed public behavior at a sporting event that they might be ostracized for at other times.

Sporting events tend to be social levelers, for saint and sinner, president and pauper, all behave much the same way. A cockfight has this same dynamic. There is no social rank established in the outside world around the pits.

Cockfighting is not a broadly popular sport and is rather self-defining in scope. The illegality of the sport contributes to this. Only those who have a vested interest are usually involved. The pit owners do not advertise for spectators to attend. In fact they prefer just the opposite. Some clubs will only allow members to attend (see Appendix 18).

Professional gamblers also like to bet on cockfights because it is harder to rig a cockfight than any other sport. There is so much projection of the man into the animal that for a cocker to fix a fight would be to commit ritual suicide. Cockers tend to be conservative in their approach to life and are by nature a fair-minded lot. They are the yeomanry, the property owners, taxpayers, churchgoers, and family men. These men are not party to criminal activities, and to fix a fight would be criminal.
Folklaw

The term "folklaw," as it applies to this thesis, is the use of the law enforcement body of the parent society to enforce the understood law or code of behavior of the folk group. People tend to be inhibited by the presence of a law enforcement officer. Note how people reduce their vehicle's speed when they see a highway patrolman on the freeway. Pit owners in the South hire off-duty policemen, in uniform, to patrol their cockpits. The activity of cockfighting is illegal but the force of the law enforcement is not used to stop the cockfight. The force is used to curb unruly behavior of people attending the cockfight. This same force of formal law enforcement has been used by cockers in Utah to close pits in two instances. The sport was not curtailed. The unruly out-group was discouraged from attending the cockfights.

Even though cockfighting is by statute illegal, in the mind of the cockers it is a sport and not a criminal activity. This absence of a criminal element is one of the reasons law enforcement officials tend to ignore cockfighting activities. Sometimes there is an outside group that makes itself known at the cockfights, that creates a disturbance. This out-group is made up of older teens and young adults who are drawn to the cockfights because of the thrill of doing something illegal. The cockers in northern Utah county devised a very effective way of dealing with such out-groups.

Because of the illegality of the sport, cockers do all they can to avoid the attention of law enforcement officials. Their matches are held in secluded areas away from the mainstream of society. The cockers attempt to limit the attendance of idle spectators. It is from this
group trouble will come if it comes. To the cockers themselves and their families, cockfighting is a serious sport. They also have a substantial financial investment tied up in raising and fighting chickens. The idle spectators, on the other hand, are thrill-seekers and have no loyalty to the cocker group. They often come to the fights drinking, make reckless bets which they often lose, and they can end up fighting and causing problems. This activity will bring the attention of law enforcement officials quicker than the actual cockfighting.

The illegality of the sport has created a very closed fraternity. Secrecy and group loyalty are of the utmost importance. Strict adherence to the laws of the group is essential. When this law or code is violated by an outsider, the outside group has to be eliminated.

Though cockfighting is illegal in Utah, it is by and large ignored by law enforcement officials. Cockfighting is a so-called victimless crime. The unwary are not being ripped off. No one is forced or coerced into attending a cockfight. Betting in any modest form has always been considered by society at large to be a harmless practice. The popularity of Nevada and Atlantic City casinos as well as state-run lotteries is testament to this. Another important factor is the cockers themselves. They are family men and property owners. They vote for public officials. Very often the public officials themselves are cockers. In my own experience two members of a game club in northern Utah County were police officers.

The attitude of law enforcement officials toward cockers is that if you don't make any waves we will leave you alone. With that policy in mind it is necessary to control the out-group that assembles at cock fights. When the in-group can no longer control the out-group through
restricted attendance, no-drinking rules or whatever, it must resort to help from the parent society in controlling the rowdies.

In one case the in-group helped organize what could be called a controlled raid. One of the in-group members, who is a police officer, revealed to the sheriff the location and time of a coming cockfight. The sheriff planned a raid using the informing officer as a point man because of his knowledge of the pit. The informing officer then told the in-group of his fellow cockers the day and time the raid had been planned.

The night of the raid the fight was conducted as usual, the only difference being that the cockboxes were filled with junker birds. The out-group could not tell the difference between a good fight and a bad one, so they misbehaved themselves as usual. About the time the raid was to take place the cockers broke the action and boxed their spurs and other paraphernalia. They milled around and had a hamburger and soft drink. A few of them raked and watered the pit so the out-group thought nothing of the break in the action. About that time the doors flew open and the raid began.

It was obvious what had been going on, but because no one was actually holding or fighting a bird the sheriff could not arrest anyone for cockfighting. The informing officer then directed the attention of the raiding officers to the rowdy out-group. The out-group offenders were then arrested for everything from disturbing the peace to possession of alcohol or controlled substances.

The sheriff knew the cockers and knew that a fight had been in progress. However, the rules of evidence are such that without actually having caught anyone fighting no arrests can be made for cockfighting.
The Utah gaming laws are so poorly written that no prosecuting attorney wants to test them in court.

The arrests of the out-group will cause them to lose interest in the cockfights and the cockers can get back to their business. The raided pit will be closed for awhile, but there will be a fight the next Saturday night in an alternate location.

This is not a common occurrence but it does illustrate how the law of the parent society is used to enforce the rules of the group. In the southern part of the United States law enforcement officers are paid by pit managers to act as bouncers at the pits.

County and city officials, including police officers, who are involved in cockfighting feel a loyalty to the folk group of cockers. By being members of the group they do not feel they have compromised their professional ethics. Being a member of this group in no way inhibits the performance of their civic duties. They feel they can be loyal to and effective in both groups.

What the cockers have done is use the force of the parent society of which they are members, to help enforce the rules of their own sub-group. This to me is a working definition of folklaw. The folk group controls its own members with its own code of rules and uses the law of the parent society to aid them in controlling a troublesome out-group.

The incident cited above was used to close a pit in Birdseye, Utah, in 1979. Another case in point happened in Salt Lake County in 1977. A pit notorious for its rowdiness and the rough crowd it drew was closed in much the same way. It had gotten so bad that few serious cockers would fight there. The pit was known among the cockers as, "the pig
pen." It was giving a bad name to the whole sport so a raid was set up. That same night in the south end of the county a pit was in full operation and was not molested. If the real target had been the cockers there would have been a coordinated raid on both pits rather than a selective raid on the pig pen. The pig pen was the one causing the problem so the law was selectively enforced.

Even with the closing of a pit from time to time the sport still flourishes. Cockers are careful not to draw attention to themselves because they are a mutually exclusive group that must function in conjunction with the parent society.

The concept of folk law, separation from but association with the parent society, is an important tension within many folk groups. This permits group identity but avoids a strong negative reaction from the parent society which could destroy the folk group. Cockers and their folk law is one example of this tension and how it is resolved.
CHAPTER IV

COCKERS AS A FOLK GROUP

By a wide range of judgmental criteria cockers qualify as a folk group. They have an activity that is shared in common. The breeding, raising, conditioning and fighting of the gamecock is their interest and passion. Cockers have a shared language. The terms they use to identify and describe the paraphernalia involved in their common activity are unique to cockers. There is an intense group loyalty and solidarity. I am sure the fact that their activity is illegal and must be practiced somewhat clandestinely is a great reinforcing factor in the solidarity of the group.

Cockers have a rich oral tradition. They enjoy talking about each other and telling stories about other cockers. Here is one example from an informant whom I interviewed in 1976.

"An old cocker named Clem Tucker had retired from active fighting because he had lost a leg due to diabetes. He had been fitted with an artificial leg but it was hard for him to bend over because his right leg was stiff. He couldn't handle the cocks in the pits anymore so he quit fighting but still raised a few. Some young cockers who were eager to get into fighting chickens went to Clem to buy some of his brood stock and get a start.

Because of his disability Clem had devised a strange way to catch his chickens. He would walk into the pen, stick his artificial foot under the breast of a cock and pick him up. (As the cock is lifted his natural instinct is to spur out with both feet.) The cock would shuffle right up Clem's leg. When the cock reached Clem's knee he would catch the rooster off his leg. In this way Clem caught his chickens without bending over.

The young aspiring cockers watched Clem do this til he had caught all the chickens the boys wanted to buy. A week later the boys came back to Clem hardly able to walk and asked, 'Clem, ain't there an easier to catch those damn chickens?'"
This story is always greeted with hoots of laughter because anyone who has spent any time with fighting chickens has been spurred, very often with heels. This story fits the motif of the legend, "traditional prose narratives that are strictly fictional and told primarily for entertainment, although they may also illustrate a truth or point a moral." The young cockers in the preceding story acted the part of the buffoon or fool, however inadvertently.

One of the most common concerns in the cockpit is when a referee should call for a handle. Some referees are accused of calling a handle every time the cocks buckle and others will not call handle no matter how tied up the cocks are. A story is told about an old referee who wouldn't call handle for any reason. I first heard his story in 1976 and have heard variants of it at different places and times since.

The variants of this story that are in circulation always make a statement about the competence of referees. These stories allow cockers to blow off steam about referees and their pit competence without directly confronting the referee. The fact that these variants do exist show these legends to be widely circulated and are told with relish whenever repeated. These variants are important because they show a dynamic of concern that is common throughout the sport.

At one fight old "Holdtight" the referee had been letting the chickens fight on without calling a handle. The handlers were getting madder and madder and on one buckle a cock went over his opponent and spurred the opposing handler in the leg. The cock hung up in the handler's leg. So the handler is hopping around with a cock hanging in his leg and he is screaming, "call a handle you dumb sonofabitch" and old Holdtight turns to him and says, "why, there's still one cock fighting."49

In both the preceding stories, the old sage cockers are seen almost
as trickster figures. They use their superior knowledge or intellect to make their foils appear ignorant or at least funny. The cock spurring the man is also a motif common to both stories. In either case the telling of the story makes fun of a situation that as it was happening, at least to the participants, was not all that funny. The telling of the story is a way to release pent-up tension and everyone enjoys a laugh.

Another motif of cockers' folk tales is the ridiculing of those who are critical of the sport. The most obvious target is the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. A story that is told around with considerable relish concerns an action by the S.P.C.A.

Some years ago the S.P.C.A. had the county sheriff's department raid a cock pit in Salt Lake County. S.P.C.A. officials confiscated the battle cocks and were going to take care of them. They would teach the mean men who forced those pretty chickens to fight. Their care consisted of putting the cocks in an unused chicken coop, all together. The cocks had a battle royal that lasted all night. When the S.P.C.A. official went out to feed the chickens the next day the coop was full of dead and dying cocks. The owners of the cocks were going to bring suit against the S.P.C.A. for the value of the birds. In the end they didn't but it sure stopped the S.P.C.A. in their tracks.50

This story is an example of a legend in which the cockers used their superior knowledge to turn the tables on the S.P.C.A.. The S.P.C.A. officials, ignorant of the nature of the fighting cock, put the birds together and perpetrated a worse situation than what they wished to correct in the first place. However foolish the S.P.C.A. was made to appear there is a real tension between the cocker group and this body of do-gooders. By making the adversary appear to be bunglers the cockers can have a good laugh and release some of the tension that exists between the two groups.
Because cockfighting is illegal there is continual tension between the cockers and the parent society. The cockers want to be left alone to practice their sport and the parent society wants to curtail a sport that is felt to be cruel. By telling jokes and anecdotes the cockers show how their sport is misunderstood, but they also indicate that if the parent society took the time to understand and appreciate the sport on the cockers' terms then foolish acts against cockfighting would end. The telling of jokes is also a way of sharing their sense of identity within their folk group and with newcomers who wish to join their ranks.

The teaching of the group ethic is done through the oral tradition. Fathers teach sons and young acquaintances the art of their craft by telling and showing. Cockers share information about their successes and failures with each other. They are not afraid to help each other because an exchange of information is healthy for the sport. The times and locations of local matches are also passed orally.

Even though cockers are drawn from a broad segment of society they constitute a close-knit group. All societal positions are forgotten at the cockpit. A man is judged on his ability to present and fight game chickens. All the money and position in the world is not going to help a cock dying under the spurs of his opponent. A man is respected for what he can do with a chicken and for what his chickens do for him. I think this is one reason a man identifies so completely with his rooster. As a man's own penis or cock is the staff of his manhood so by extension is his fighting cock an extension of himself. The man whose cock lasts the longest and thus wins the fight is judged the better man. A man's own sexual prowess is largely judged by how long he can maintain an erection. The obverse helps prove this statement. A man who is
plagued with premature ejaculation is someone to be pitied and given professional counseling. Thus by association a man who has a battle cock with staying power, pride and fights to the end is macho indeed. Our culture is full of references to the sexual staying power of a man. This is reflected in a bumper sign I saw recently, "Cowboys stay on longer," implying the prowess of another macho group.

The cockers also have a folk art that is uniquely their own, that of the decoration of their cockboxes. The colors and designs reflect the owner's personalities. The flamboyant tend to use bright colors and bold designs. Some bold designs are: crossed spurs, skull and crossbones, a painting of cocks fighting, or a standing battle cock. The more conservative tend to use pastel colors and often have just the name of their game farm on their boxes. Their worth and reputation has nothing to do with the color and design on the box. It is a reflection of the way the cocker sees himself.

Another interesting aspect of the folk group is the use of nicknames. Many groups use pet names or nicknames when addressing each other. The nickname imparts a sense of informality and intimacy, the use of a given name does not. I believe cockers also use nicknames to help maintain a sense of anonymity. This way they can refer to each other without revealing names to curious ears. Some nicknames I am aware of are: John O, Twister, Narragansett, Old Lunchmoney, Freebe, String King, Buzzard, Shuffler, Cajun, Doc, Smokey, Red Devil, Sweater, Big O, Hoss and others. There seems to be no rhyme or pattern to nicknaming. Some nicknames are taken from things people say. Old Lunchmoney was given his name because when he was asked what he wanted to bet on a match his reply was, "just lunchmoney." Cajun was given his
name because he came from Louisiana, Hoss because he was big like the character Dan Blocker played on the television series Bonanza.

I believe the fraternity of game fowl fighters is one of the last strong bastions of masculinity left in the country. There are few activities left which are as male dominated as is gamecocking. The mystique of the blood sport appeals to the carnal nature of man. The identity of man with the fighting cock is keener than that of man with any other animal. One can not really own a fighting cock. He is his own entity. Yet at the same time he is an extension of the man himself. Every time a fighting cock enters the pit he is fighting for his life and the cocker's pride. The fact that he fights to the death and must kill to win is a statement that can not be overlooked. I believe the ballad of Gallo de Cuieso says this very strongly (see Appendix 19).

The fighting cock is a living symbol of courage, pride and utter fearlessness. The French Olympic team used the gamecock as their logo for the 1924 Olympics. A major southern university calls its teams the "fighting cocks." There is a savage beauty in the full-feathered fighting cock and in the battle of the cocks. The folk group that is centered on this beautiful, savage fowl has a heritage and lore that is rich and deep and will be maintained for generations to come.


6 Ibid., p. 423.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., p. 426.


10 Game Cock [pseud.], ed. Cockfighting and Game Fowl, p. 236.

11 Ibid., p. 61.


13 Game Cock [pseud.], ed. Cockfighting and Game Fowl p. 102.

14 Scott, The History of Cockfighting, p. 50.

15 Ibid., p. 150.

16 Ibid., p. 58.

17 Ibid., p. 104.

18 Ibid., p. 112.

19 Geertz, Interpretation of Culture, p. 423.


22 Ibid., p. 105.

23 Ibid., p. 73.

24 Ibid.


26 Ibid.


30 Geertz, *Interpretation of Culture*, p. 434.


34 Geertz, *Interpretation of Culture*, p. 417.


39 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Geertz, *Interpretation of Culture*, p. 423.

43 Interview with Big O [pseud.], Provo, Utah, 1976.


47 Interview with Muley [pseud.], Provo, Utah, 1976.


49 Interview with Muley [pseud.].

50 Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographic note: There is a modest amount of material that has been published concerning the sport of cockfighting. In this bibliography I have included my major sources of reference.

Books


Periodicals


**Unpublished References**

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Muley [Pseud.]. Interview with Author, Provo, Utah, 1976.

APPENDICES
Appendix 1

Glossary of Common Gamecooking Terms

Battle Royal. A cockfight in which any number of cocks are engaged at the same time. The last cock on his feet is the winner.

Blinker. A fighting cock that is blinded in either eye.

Breed. A specific type of chicken with certain characteristics that distinguish it from other types.

Cock. A male chicken that is more than twelve months old.

Cocker. A person who is involved in any way with the gamecock. Also a person who is a supporter of gaming.

Cockfight. A battle between two or more gamecocks.

Cockfighter. A person who fights gamecocks.

Cockpit. An arena or enclosure in which cockfights are held.

Count. (a) long count. When two battle cocks stop fighting for whatever reason the last rooster to make an aggressive move is entitled to a count. This is an audible count to twenty by the referee. If the referee counts two long and one short counts the fight is won by the rooster who holds the count.

(b) short count. An audible count to ten by the referee.

Drag pit. The drag pit is a smaller pit than the main pit. Cocks that are too badly wounded to leave a long score are moved from the main to a drag pit and fought from the short score to the conclusion of the fight. This allows a new fight to start in the main pit.

Dub. To cut off a cock's comb and wattles.

Dubbing. The act of amputating the cock's comb and wattles.

Dunghill (cock). A cock of unknown or mongrel breeding. Also a term of derision applied to a cock who won't fight.

Gaff. An artificial spur, usually pointed with no sharp edges.

Handler. The person who prepares and enters the pit to fight a gamecock.

Heel. Any type of artificial spur.
Heeler. A person who attaches the artificial spur to the cock's leg.

Keep. Any method of conditioning a gamecock for battle.

Leathering. The process of attaching the leather pads to the gaff or heel.

Main. An odd number of battles between the matched cocks of two persons. An odd number of battles prevents a tie.

Molt. The process any chicken goes through in which old feathers shed and new ones grow in their stead. It occurs once a year usually in autumn. A poor time to attempt to fight a cock. This is the main reason old cocks are fought in late winter or early spring. They have molted and are again in full feather.

Muffs. Soft pads of cushioned leather that fit over the spur to prevent injury during conditioning matches.

Naked heel or bare heel. The natural spur of the gamecock.

Pitter. Same as handler.

Shuffle. A spurring motion in which a cock rolls back on his tail, extends his feet forward and upward then spurs with both feet in an extremely rapid manner. The force of this motion will pull the cock forward along the ground.

Slasher or knife. An artificial spur sharp along the top side. Two types are extant i.e., the Mexican and Fillipino.

Sparring. A training fight in which one or both cocks wear muffs to prevent injury.

Stag. A male chicken under twelve months of age.

Tie up. This is a term used to describe a cock that is over-conditioned to the point of being muscle-bound. In a fight a cock will actually stiffen rather than loosen up as he fights.

Trimmed. A term meaning the cock has had his comb, wattles, and sometimes some feathers, removed prior to a battle.

Walk. A place, usually in the country, where cocks can roam at liberty. Also separate enclosures where cocks are tied on a leg tie or kept in pens so they cannot reach each other.

Welsh Main. A type of cockfight in which matched pairs are fought with the win going to the cock who has survived the preceding battles. This is a grueling test of fighting cocks and is not very popular in our area.
Appendix 2


This article shows that for the beginning cocker buying eggs and hatching them is the cheapest way to get in the cocking business. Even with a fifty percent hatching rate it is still cheaper to buy fertile eggs than to buy adult birds. A dozen eggs will cost approximately fifty dollars whereas a trio of adult birds will be upwards of three hundred. So even at a fifty percent hatch rate six birds still cost a fifth of the price of three mature fowl.

This article also considers the problems of home incubators and shows why many cockers have their eggs hatched in commercial hatcheries. The commercial hatcheries have a much lower failure rate than do the home variety.

This article is an example of how the cocking tradition of one area is spread to another. As Narcisco Arong traveled from the Philippines to the United States and back he learned from and shared with others much cocking lore. The superiority of the American chickens is alluded to as well as the popularity of the sport in the Philippines. This popularity is also corroborated by the story in Appendix 21 and the story told by Karl Kelsch on page 1 of this paper.

The exchange of breeding stock and fighting methods is one of the reasons why so many knife matches are appearing on today's fight programs. The Filipino and Mexican knife styles are now common and popular. The ability of cockers to move so rapidly from country to
country by air has greatly enhanced the shared lore of the cocking sport.
A Beginner's Experience
With Hatching Eggs
By Narciso T. Arong

AROUND THE MIDDLE OF JULY 1974 when I was still residing in the Philippines, I came over to the U.S. with my brother on a business trip and checked in at a motel in Berkeley, California. This was only my second time to be in this great country, the first being in 1972 when I emigrated here and worked with the City of Oakland, California for about a year before returning to the Philippines to help manage our family import export business.

During a visit to a long lost uncle in the farming community of Stockton, California about 65 miles away, I met a Filipino cocker who lived near my uncle's home. Upon learning that I was quite interested in 'fighting chickens' he lost no time in inviting me to his place and proudly showed me his different strains of gamefowl. Now, up until that time I had never actually been involved in keeping let alone in breeding these wonderful birds. Although my 'off-and-on' love affair with gamefowl began in my pre-teens when I spent my summer vacations with my grand-dad whose hobby was cooking. In the subsequent years I merely contented myself with watching cockfights during my free weekends at the cockpit located about two blocks from our place. Incidentally, game chickens are probably the most important household fixtures in the Philippines where even in the crowded city downtown area, the sound of roosters crowing compete with the traffic noise and shouts of street vendors.

Needless to say, I was literally awe-struck by what I saw at my cocker-friend's backyard. While I had seen a lot of these legendary American birds fought in the big derbies back home, that was my first time to observe them in their 'native habitat.' This experience plus the fact that my Filipino cocker-friend gave me some back issues of Gamecock and Grit & Steel rekindled my life-long interest in breeding these feathered warriors.

Upon returning to our motel room I promptly read the two magazines from cover to cover. I also discovered, after some research, that the only way a beginner like me could bring American birds into the Philippines was to bring their hatching eggs there. Since we were scheduled to depart in six days, I phoned Ralph Bench of Missouri who advertises in the two gamefowl magazines and ordered three dozen eggs. Mr. Bench was very helpful and told me that the only hatching eggs he had available at that time of the year were McLean Hatch. Also, because of the hot weather he couldn't guarantee anything except that the eggs would be fresh and fertile. My order arrived in good condition two days before our departure. The daytime temperature in Berkeley at that time was in the mid 80s.

Aboard the Jet aircraft on our trip home I hid the package of eggs underneath my seat. When I told a Flight stewardess about the package's content, she looked at me in disbelief! After a pleasant 17-hour flight (including stop overs), we arrived in Manila and the temperature there was in the 90s and very humid. We had to take a connecting flight to our place in Mandawe City, Cebu Island, about an hour's flight by jet from Manila. It took me another three days to get hold of a used, beat-up incubator. During that three days wai, I placed the package of eggs in the vegetable compartment of our refrigerator because the daytime temperature was in the 90s. We incubated the 37 eggs (two were cracked and had to be discarded) in the house of a trusted tenant working on

NARCISO T. Arong at his farm house in Mandawe City, Philippines, with McLean Hatch brood cock (5 yrs. old), one of eight chicks hatched from eggs purchased from Ralph Bench of Missouri in July 1974.

The Gamecock
our small farm. We were concerned with the daily 'brown-outs' which on some days lasted for four hours! The eggs were turned three times a day but we saw to it that the incubator was never opened during the 'brown-out' hours. After 21 days, 8 healthy chicks were hatched — not too bad considering the daily brown-outs and the rough handling the eggs were subjected to during their 10,000 mile journey from Missouri, USA to Cebu, Philippines.

Two months later I was back in northern California again to follow-up and manage this end of our growing import-export business. Since none of my brothers were interested in raising game chickens, I left my 8 two-month old 'babes' (two males and 6 females) in the care of our tenant farmer. Meanwhile, my wife and two children followed me in the U.S. and we settled in Hayward, Ca., a suburb of Oakland. I've been back to the Philippines two times since and what I've learned from my brother was that a certain Chinese-Filipino cocker bought a total of 17 cocks out of the original 8 hatchlings and an incredible 14 of them won in hacks and local derbies; the rest lost but only after long drag fights.

In the spring of 1976 I was toying with the idea of raising some gamefowl in our relatively large backyard, although I was fully aware of the city's strict zoning laws. I figured that if I could keep some game fowl, that would cure my homesickness. Without thinking of the consequences, I ordered hatching eggs from two breeders in Alabama and Texas who are regular advertisers in the two gamefowl magazines. I also purchased a portable incubator from Sears catalog; circular shaped and made of galvanized steel sheets. After trial-testing this 50-egg capacity incubator for two days, I proceeded to set the four dozen eggs I had ordered. I placed the incubator in my enclosed garage and although the night time temperatures was in the low 50s, it didn't bother me at all since the incubator was working perfectly. I followed the instructions in turning and the humidity control. Of the 48 eggs incubated, only two scrappy chicks were hatched and one was completely blind!

I sold my house in Hayward in July of 1978 and moved to my present address in Hawaii. Several months ago I visited a gamefowl breeder who lived at the other side of the island. I noticed that he was using exactly the same kind of incubator I had in California. I was surprised to hear that his hatching percentage using his incubator was around 80% compared with my experience of two hatches out of 48! The average year-round temperature in Hawaii is about 75 degrees.

Last Christmas season, I went home to the Philippines for a 30-day vacation. Because of my plan to eventually settle there late this year, I ordered two settings of eggs from Frank & Dolly Holcomb of Old Town, Florida. I was very pleased with the way they packed and crated my order. Not only were the eggs neatly wrapped individually in several layers of colored tissue paper, the two shipping cartons were of excellent quality. Dolly Holcomb also sent me an accompanying letter explaining the egg markings, and instructions on how to breed the resulting hatches.

This time I brought along a portable Marsh Turn-X incubator, model TX6 manual with 18-egg capacity. After trial-testing the Marsh incubator for two days, I proceeded to set the 18 eggs in it and incubated the other 12 in my old beat-up incubator. On the 5th day, the base of the Marsh incubator, where the water fountain was screwed in, cracked, spoiling the distilled water outside and fouled up the humidity control. This problem plus the difficulty in manually turning the eggs via the dome plastic cover, forced me to transfer the 18 eggs to my old incubator. Since
we now had a stand-by generator. the problem of 'brown-outs' was solved. The eggs were turned 6 times a day by one of our househelp. On the 11th day, we discovered to our dismay, that the thermostat wafer in our old incubator quit working during the night and temperature readings of the two new thermometers I installed was 106°F!! It took us the whole morning to finally fix the thermostat. At this point, I was very pessimistic about the outcome. Incredibly, on the 20th day one healthy chick was hatched and about 8 eggs were already pipping. By the 22nd day, 13 vigorous chicks were out of their shell — 7 Holcomb Clarets, 5 Chocolate Grays and 1 Holcomb Hatch. The fact that 13 chicks out of the 30 survived the incubator's disasters, in my opinion, is an indication of the genetic strength of the parent stock. Even an uncle of mine who operates a hatchery for broiler chicks found it hard to believe that any eggs would hatch under such adverse conditions.

I have a sneaking suspicion that the ambient or outside temperature and humidity of the place where you put your incubator plays a very important role in hatching eggs. My sad experience in incubating eggs in Hayward, California with low ambient temperature and low humidity of the surrounding air; and the more than satisfactory result I experienced in the Philippines with high outside temperature and high humidity seemed to confirm air and environment promotes increased hatchability for the simple reason that the ancestors of American fowl originated in the tropics?

In conclusion, if you are a beginner like me and you want to obtain quality American brood fowl to raise in some foreign country, buy hatching eggs from reputable advertisers and bring them to your place. It's the cheapest and most trouble-free way to compete with the affluent competitors in your country.
Appendix 3


The fight schedules for the above game clubs show the growing popularity of knife fights in the United States. The Mexican and Filipino styles are both included on the programs. Twenty years ago a knife match was a rarity in the United States. The few I saw matched were in Arizona and usually involved two Mexican cockers going head to head.

Appendix 3b also shows how elaborate cock pits can become. The Yuma Game Club pit is a facility built just for the sport and is extremely well appointed. It is a far cry from the old barns and outbuildings that the Utah cockers fight in.

Appendix 3c has a list of other game clubs in Arizona and shows the prizes available in the so called "Shotgun Derbies." One of the prizes is a box of long knives again attesting to the popularity of the knife.

Appendix 3d shows not only the knife entries but also the socializing aspect of the game clubs. The bar-b-que meal and free drinks create a broader social event where much of the lore of cocking is exchanged.
## CIRCLE CLUB PIT

Delane Navarre - 9th Year

Rt. 2, Box 89, Phone: 318-589-2921; 589-9919  
Vinton, LA 70668

Weights 4-0 to 6-2; Turn In Weights 10:00 A.M. Sharp

NO MINORS; 18 YEARS OLD, MUST HAVE I.D.

### 1985-1986 Schedule

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### FREE BAR-B-QUE & DANCE

$50.00 Forfeit On All 6 & 7 Cock Derbies!!!
Appendix 3b

1st Half Season Schedule

Derby Weights 4-4 to 6-2. Weights in by 8:00 A.M. California time. 5-Cock, Entry 100; Optionals 100-700. 3-Cock, Entry 100; Optionals 100-500. There will be a $10,000.00 guaranteed pot on selected derbies. Call for dates.

Sun., Dec. 8, 5/3 Cock Gaff
Sun., Dec. 22, 5/3 Cock Mexican
Sat., Jan. 11, Hacks — 7:00 P.M.
Sun., Jan. 12, AGBA SHOT GUN DERBY 5/3 FILIPINO
Sun., Jan. 25, 5/3 Cock Mexican
Sat., Feb. 15, MARCH OF DIMES — 4:00 P.M. Hacks
Sun., Feb. 16, MARCH OF DIMES — 10:00 A.M. Hacks
Sat., Feb. 22, SAN DIEGO GAME BREEDERS ASSN. BENEFIT BAR-B-QUE
Sun., Feb. 23, 9-Cock Combo, 3 Filipino, 3 Mexican, 3 Gaff
Enter 1, 2 or 3 Plus Overall
Sat., March 15, Hacks 4:00 P.M.
Sun., March 16, Hacks 10:00 A.M. 3-Cock Filipino


BOB HUNTER — Owner
PHONE: 602-627-8901; 619-474-3460; 619-479-7243

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The AGBA

"Shotgun Derbies"

The Arizona Game Breeders Association is proud to announce that, with the cooperation of the Pit Owners and Operators, the Second Edition of the AGBA Shotgun Derbies. The Grand Prize will be a Browning Auto-5 12 gauge shotgun and a dozen long knives and case donated by the VON Knife Co. Also we have a Remington 30-06 Sports Rifle with scope for second prize.

These "Shotgun Derbies" will be held at:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club</th>
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<td>Yuma Game Club</td>
<td>Bob Hunter</td>
<td>474-3460</td>
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<td>5-Cock Long Knife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riverside Game Club</td>
<td>Lawrence Brogdon</td>
<td>602-562-6335</td>
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<td>Ehrenberg Game Club</td>
<td>Cleo Hanks</td>
<td>619-348-3605</td>
<td>Apr 5</td>
<td>5-Cock Gaff</td>
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<td>Camp Verde Game Club</td>
<td>Bob Gay</td>
<td>692-567-3282</td>
<td>May 17</td>
<td>5-Cock Gaff</td>
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REQUIREMENTS

Three out of the four "Shotgun Derbies" must be fought to be eligible for the shotgun. You can fight all four and pick your best three.

The individual with the most wins in three of the "Shotgun Derbies" will be presented with the magnificent Browning Shotgun.

Any TIES will be decided by the toss of a coin.

RESERVATIONS

Make reservations early for the cockers are showing a keen interest in this type of derby and there are only a limited number of cockhouses available. Please contact the Pit Owners or:

Dave Harris at 936-5390 - AGBA President
Bob Looper at 237-2716 - AGBA Vice-President
TWO STATES GAME CLUB
Marietta, Oklahoma

Announces First Derby Of 85-86 Season

5th ANNUAL HOLIDAY SPECIAL — FILIPINO DERBY
DECEMBER 14 & 15
10-COCKS: 5 EACH DAY; WEIGHTS 4-4 TO 6-4

*Fight one day only; no fresh cocks for 2nd day. All entries in overall must have cocks banded and on premises for 1st day.

6th ANNUAL U.S. CHAMPIONSHIP FILIPINO DERBY
MARCH 8 & 9 — 10-COCKS; 5 EACH DAY

4TH ANNUAL 2-STATE FILIPINO DERBY
MAY 17 & 18 — 10-COCKS; 5 EACH DAY

Two States Game Club has continued to stride to make cockfighting a better sport. This club has been responsible for initiated and introducing many new concept over the past 5 years. For instance, 1st with computer matches since 1980. The Grand Slam concept of combine multiple derbies. Using 3 cocks concept in the derby and promoting the Filipino style derbies.

Now we introduce another 1st — it is our pleasure to introduce a package admission this year. All our derbies will have ONE admission price, this price will include admission, reserve seats, Bar-B-Que meal (beans, cole slaw, potato salad, Bar-B-Que meat, etc... all you can eat) plus free soft drinks and beer during the entire derby. We will also re-introduce a 2nd place prize money, this we hope along with the 3-cock concept will help spread the prizes out among the entries. Letters will be sent out explaining this new structure.

If not on our mailing list, contact:

DR. JOHN KOZURA, III
2026 University Dr.
Denton, TX 76201
Phone: 817-383-3973

BILL McRAE
SRW, Box 762-6
Azle, TX 76020
Phone: 817-523-4285
Appendix 3e

Phoenix Grand Canyon
Game Club

JOHNNY JUMPER & HAWAII TRIBUTE
MARCH 6 & 7 — LONG KNIFE; 10-COCK COMBO

Entry 100; Daily Optionals 100-700
Overall Optionals 100-700

MARCH 8, 5-COCK DERBY
ENTRY 100

APRIL 5 & 6 — LONG KNIFE; 10-COCK COMBO
Entry 100; Daily Optionals 100-700
Overall Optionals 100-700

Weight 4-4 To 6-2 For All Derbies!!!

Honesty And Fairplay. We Will Make No Exceptions

For Motel Reservation Call—
RAMADA INN 602-932-3210; CROSS ROAD INN 602-932-5191; SUPER EIGHT 602-932-9622.

To Reserve Seats Or Cockhouse Call Doyle Or Tommy

Weights in 8:00 A.M.; starting time approximately 10:30.
3-COCK EACH AFTERNOON
Weights in 1:00 P.M.

For Further Information Call
DOYLE THOMPSON  TOMMY THOMPSON
Phone: 602-932-5839; 602-932-9622

When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.  The Gamecock
This advertisement is a graphic example of how two cocking styles have blended. The Filipino forked knife and the gaff socket type heel are combined into a knife socket. The tying of the Filipino forked knife is considered an art among cockers. The tie is elaborate and time consuming and as such is hard to learn. There are very few cockers in the United States who have mastered this style. By putting the knife blade on a socket any cocker can fight with knives because it ties like a regular gaff. The blending of folkloric crafts is an important dynamic in any folk group.
FINE QUALITY SOCKETKNIVES

These are the best socketknives made. They are made from one solid piece of tool steel and guaranteed for one year. Available in Bayonet, Bayonet Special, Three-Quarter Drop or Fulldrop in either Regular Set, Intermediate or 'Filipino Style' Set. Price is $70.00 each. Delivery time depends on orders already booked.

RE-BLADING SERVICE

My re-blading technique is one of the best. I can weld a new knife blade on your old socket for $35.00 each or re-blade them with new gaff blades for $56.00 per pair. Most any socket will do. These will all be re-leathered and highly finished to resemble a new one piece knife or gaff. They carry a one year guarantee also. If you don’t have old sockets, I can make you completely new welded socketknives at $50.00 each or gaffs at $75.00 per pair using my sockets. All repair work and re-blading work returned as soon as possible but this depends on amount of work on hand.

* * * SPECIAL SERVICE * * *

Get your Filipino forked knives made into Socketknives. I will weld your Filipino knives onto my sockets and will leather, polish and sharpen it for $25.00 each. There is a 10% discount on 12 or more knives. It can be done in either Regular, Intermediate or Filipino Style set. When returned you can tie it on just like a gaff. Delivery time on this is approximately 3-4 weeks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Knives reconditioned and re-leathered, each</td>
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<td>Gaffs reconditioned and re-leathered, per pair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaff and knife sharpening kit</td>
<td>$50.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Texas Residents Add 4-1/8% Sales Tax

* * * SPECIAL SERVICE * * *

Payment Preferred By Money Order Or Cashier’s Check!!!

“No Shipment Made In Violation Of The Animal Welfare Act Amendment Of 1976”

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Lexington, TX 78947

March 1985
When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.

This recipe is one my mother used to use for a medley of injuries ranging from bruises to cuts, scrapes and burns. The farm animals were treated in like manner as were her children. Because we ran a dairy farm the salve was used on a regular basis to grease the cows' teats after milking to prevent chapping. Our hands were never chapped either but we always carried a faint odor of pine gum with us.

My maternal grandfather also used this salve as a poultice with tobacco leaf on his horses. He ran a large ranch and worked horses nearly all his life. The horses during periods of heavy use would develop collar galls and various scrapes and cuts so the poultices were frequently used.

My grandfather grew a small patch of tobacco in a sandy plot close to the Colorado River in an area we called the sloughs, just west of Moab, Utah. My dad would also raise peanuts in the same area. I can remember as a child large sacks of peanuts and bundles of tobacco leaf drying in the sheds.

Mom's pine gum salve applies to cockfighting only in that we would put the salve on the roosters' injuries after fighting. We also used the salve as a dressing when we dubbed the stags (see Appendix 1).
Pine Gum Salve

Ingredients

1 Cup melted pine gum
1/4 # Beeswax
1 Medium bottle vaseline
1 T turpentine
1/4 # Mutton Tallow
2 oz. Olive Oil
1 T Carbolic Acid

Mix:

Melt pine gum with mutton tallow, heat and strain through cheesecloth. Add rest of ingredients and heat to boiling point. Set off stove and cool. Whip until smooth and pour into containers.
Robert Cahill. "Cockfighting is Illegal, but Popularity Hasn't Waned," The San Antonio Light, 16 October, 1981.


These two newspaper articles are a good example of the sensationalized coverage the media usually gives to cocking activities. There is also a reference to the attendance of law enforcement and county officials at a cockfight. This is not an uncommon occurrence. In the section on folklaw I address this fact.

Many law enforcement officials view cockfighting as a sports event rather than a crime. The fact that cockfighting is illegal by statute does not make it so in the eyes of cockers and law officers. Police and county officials not only allow cockfights to take place in their jurisdictions they openly support the events.
Cockfighting is illegal,

By ROBERT CAHILL

“Big John” says cockfighting may be illegal, but it enjoys a large following in Bexar County and its enthusiastic include many law-enforcement officers. He should know. For nearly 20 years, the man known as Big John followed the South Texas cockfighting circuit. Now he raises the fighting birds in Natalia and sells them for $50 to $100 each.

The FBI is investigating reports that members of the Bexar County sheriff’s department have accepted bribes from the operators of the cockfights in return for not raiding the fights and the gambling operations that go with them.

Cockfights pit two chickens in a bloody battle to the death. Beer-drinking fans cheer on their favorite roosters, which can, by surviving, win them several hundred dollars on a weekend afternoon.

Big John, who sits beneath a hat brandishing the words, “cockfighting Fool” and who owns Big John’s Natalia Tavern, said cockfights have been attended by law-enforcement officials for as long as he can remember. He particularly recalls one cockfight some years ago at a notorious South Bexar County pit (the Old Berg’s Mill) which he claims was graced with the presence of the Bexar County sheriff and a county commissioner.

According to a former member of San Antonio’s Metro Squad, on any given weekend there are probably five or six fights going on at different locations, primarily in South Bexar County.

Texas Ranger Capt. Jack Dean, stationed in San Antonio for the last three years, said he has yet to conduct a raid on a cockfight here, but he noted that on several occasions, Ringers have told fight coordinators to close down, or else.

Persons arrested in connection with the underground sport generally are charged with cruelty to animals or gambling, or both. But since both charges are misdemeanors, Dean said cockfights are what he described as a “lower priority” offense.

And that’s fine with Big John, who thinks cockfights are no different from many other sports. He says the violence in cockfighting is overplayed. “You’ve heard of Muhammad Ali? All he does is beat the hell out of people.”

The fighting cocks are bred for competition from birth, as if the roosters were not mean enough, their natural spurs are sawed off and steel gaffs ranging from 2 ½ to 3 ½ inches are placed in their legs to added cutting power, he said.

“Some of the fights last two seconds, but then again I have been to fights that have lasted two hours,” Big John said of the contests, which generally are held in isolated rural areas before audiences that sometimes swell to 450 people.

The roosters, usually two years of age, are placed in a pit by their handlers, and when the referee hollers, “Pit your cocks,” the deadly contest begins. The survivor of a cockfight advances in the brackets much as major-league teams in the playoffs. Big John said.

“I’ve had chickens that have seven fights,” he boasted. “But after that, I often keep them for breeding.”

Unlike the millions of chickens that meet their makers in chicken-processing plants and eventually work their way into the dinner table, an experienced cockfighter would consume the expired fowl. The birds often are injected with poisonous strychnine, which helps retard bleeding.

A deputy who has observed cockfights in both Bexar and Bandera counties gave the following account of the slaughter:

“It’s like an auction. Say you have chickens numbered 1 through 5. The day before the cockfight they will hold these pools. You bet chicken No. 1 for $200 and someone buys chicken No. 2 for $100 until all the chickens are bought.”

The owner of the surviving rooster gets the money and the coordinator of the fight takes a percentage “just like any other bookmaker who sells animals,” he said. The procedure is commonly referred to as “Calculita.”

Sometimes so many as 50 birds will participate in a two-day marathon cockfight, Big John said.

However, the popularity hasn’t waned yet.

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However, the popularity hasn’t waned yet.
Cockfighting

nets arrests

PARMA, Idaho

( U P I ) — An investigation of illegal cockfighting operations in Canyon County continued Tuesday following the citation Saturday evening of 60 men, women and children attending a cockfight south of Parma.

Deputies confiscated 81 live fighting cocks and two dead cocks, one with fighting spurs still attached to its legs, sheriff's Capt. Roy Mullen said.

Mullen said 52 adults and eight juveniles were cited at the scene of the cockfight, a large barn-like building on Lee Lane, and cited them with participating in a cockfight, a misdemeanor, carrying a possible $300 fine or six months in jail.

The 52 adults are scheduled to be arraigned in 3rd District Court at Caldwell Friday.

Appendix 6b
The ads listed above show the various items that enterprising cockers have developed to sell to their peers. Everything from spurs to chickens is covered and range in location from Molalla, Oregon, to Tyler, Texas. The listed prices also show the expense that can be incurred to support cocking.

The making of spurs is one specialty in which some craftsmen excel. Cockers are very careful in the choice of their heels. A bent or broken spur that cost sixty dollars to acquire can have hundreds of dollars riding on the quality of that spur. A broken spur usually means a lost fight because heels can not be adjusted or replaced once a fight starts. Trusted heel makers may be as far behind as one year in filling orders.
Notice: Price Changes

One Year Guarantee
(Except Light & Keen)

Lone Star Jagger
A widely used gaff that has been around a long time.
Low, medium or high points.
$60.00 Pr.

Half Bayonets
1½" to 3" - $60.00 Pr.

Skeletons
1½" to 3" - $65.00 Pr.

Bayonets
2" to 3" - $60.00 Pr.

NEW BLADES ON YOUR OLD SOCKETS
REGULATIONS, CURVE BLADES, JAGGERS, ETC., $45.00
SKELETONS, DROPS, TWISTERS, BAYONETS, SPLIT SOCKETS, ETC., $50.00 PR.

Don't throw your old broken or bent gaffs away if the sockets are good. I can put new blades on them of the same steel that I use in new gaffs. The price includes new leathers and all sockets are nickel plated to prevent rust. They will look like new gaffs and have the same guarantee.

ORDERS FOR NEW GAFFS OR NEW BLADES SENT BACK C.O.D. IF YOU WISH. EVERYTHING SENT INSURED AIR MAIL.

POLISH, SHARPEN AND NEW LEATHERS... $9.00 PER PAIR

FREE CATALOG-
-Telephone Orders Welcome-
PHONE: (503) 829-2580

JOHNNY ROBERTSON
ROUTE #2, BOX 312
MOLALLA, OREGON 97038

-Support the United Gamefowl Breeders Association-

THE FEATHERED WARRIOR DeQueen, AR 71832
Pride Manufacturing Co.
P. O. Box 1E, (503) 493-2753
Princeton, OR 97721

(ONE PIECE)
Filipino Fork Knife $39.50 Each
$228.00 ½ Dozen ($38.00 Each)
$408.00 One Dozen ($34.00 Each)

SUPER STEEL
The Steel For These Slashers Are Made From
Jet Aircraft Engines, With
Super Strength & Hardness

1¼" to 2¼" JAGGERS $45.00 Each Pair
$125.00 3 Pair

FREE (#2) Gaff Sharpening Wheels with pre-paid order for 3 pair Gaffs.
Beautifully Leathered — Highly Polished & Sharp

#1. SLASHER WHEELS
PROFESSIONAL QUALITY WHEELS
That Will Hone Your Slashers Like a Razor In Only 5 MINUTES. Complete Sharpening Supplies & Instructions.
"It's Easy"! Only $29.00.

#2. GAFF WHEELS
PROFESSIONAL QUALITY WHEELS
That Are The Perfect Size For Sharpening Your Gaffs. Instructions & Supplies $27.00

#3. TIE STRING
Large Roll 540 Yards $11.00
90 Day Satisfaction Guarantee On Everything We Sell.

#4. TIE OUT CORDS
Heavy Duty Nylon Cords With Chrome Swivel & Steel Stakes, Ideal For Cocks or Stags
8' or 10' Specify Length $2.95 EA. or $27.00 Dozen

#5. Miracle Polishing Cloth $2.25. Keeps your Gaffs & Slashers sparkling clean. (Cleans Blood, Rust, Oxidation, Corrosion, etc., in seconds.

#6. Spur Saw $5.00.

#7. Gaffs Reconditioned, sharpened and re-leathered $10.00.

#8. 14-Day Excalibur Keep FREE with orders of $20.00 or more. Must ask for it. Or if you're not ordering at this time send $1.50 for postage and handling and we'll send you a FREE KEEP.

Orders Processed Same Day Received.
AMERICAN GAME BREEDERS SUPPLY
P.O. Box 346
Wolf Creek, OR 97497

P.O. Box 1313
Okmulgee, OK 74447

GAFFS $40.00 Pr.; 4 Pair (any pattern) $130.00
2-5/8" LENGTH (Shorter length on request). All Standard Set.

JAGGER

REGULATION

BAYONET

FILIPINO
SOCKET KNIFE
$35.00

SHARPENING WHEELS
(#1. 7x3/4"; #2. 6"), $25.00 PAIR
#3. 51/2"x3/8" WIDE, MADE ESPECIALLY FOR MEXICAN KNIFE, $20.00 PAIR
WHEELS MADE FOR SHARPENING TRADE AND WILL LAST LONGER THAN ANY WHEEL ON THE MARKET TODAY THAT WE'VE SEEN MADE BY ANYONE!

SHARPENING WHEELS KIT
$6.00

SPUR SAW.................. $ 5.00
TIE STRING.................. $11.00
(Wax Slip Free String)

HEELING TAPE
3/4"x30 YARDS-$3.00

ORDERS FILLED IN 30 DAYS OR MONEY REFUNDED CHEERFULLY UPON REQUEST.
ALL ORDERS PREPAID EXCEPT C.O.D.'S.
WILL RE-LEATHER & RE-SHARPEN GAFFS FOR $10.00 PR. ONLY GAFFS OF OUR MANUFACTURE.

November 1985
THE FEATHERED WARRIOR
Country Walked Cocks

PEAHEAD

COCKS — WEIGHTS 4.0 TO 7.8 .............................................. $65.00
12 FOR ........................................................................... $750.00
STAGS (Young Stags) — As To Size And Age .............. $15.00 To $20.00
STAGS OF BREEDING AGE .............................................. $25.00
HENS .............................................................................. 2 FOR $45.00

(Shipment of 3 or more)

We keep over 500 head at the home ranch ready for immediate shipment — twice that number on country walks and yards.

— WE HAVE RED FOWL IN THESE WELL ESTABLISHED BLOODLINES —

HATCH — CLARET
HULSEY ROUNDHEAD — MANZIEL — CLIPPER
KELSO — WALTON — D. D. SPECIAL

Greys are Walton, Manziel, Peahead, Jacobs.
Our Dark Fowl are Mugs and Kearney Brown Red.
Trollpugh Blues. Also some great crosses.

We ship to any point — Delivery within 7 days — Safe, sound arrival guaranteed in new, custom built, very light cases.

DAN C. DEFFEBACH

ROUTE 20, BOX 340
PHONE (AC 214) 566-2257
TYLER, TEXAS 75708

The advertisement in Appendix 8 shows four interesting items. First, the price of eggs at sixty dollars per dozen. Second, the price of trios from five hundred to a thousand dollars. Third, the fact that this breeder supports for different cocking organizations. Fourth, the keep this breeder is using is available on cassette tape for the price of one hundred dollars.

The price of a dozen eggs as compared to a trio of black Sid Taylors is a vivid example of the point I made in Appendix 2. Even at a 50% hatch rate the purchaser would be ahead financially to buy the eggs. He would have six chickens for sixty dollars as compared to three for one thousand. This is also an example of how much a breeder can invest in brood stock before he ever starts to fight.

The fact that this particular breeder supports four breed organizations is not unusual. The game breeders' organizations do much to help lobby against bills on both the local and national level that would hurt the gaming sport.

The keep on cassette tape is an example of using modern technology to spread a folkway. The keeps are products of literally centuries of folkways passed from generation to generation. There are elements of the old English keeps still evident in the most modern keeps of today.
SUNRISE GAME FOWL
AS BRED BY KATT BRAZZELL

“The Most Talked About Purebred Fowl Today”

PROVEN “POWER” BLOODLINES

TORNADO GREYS (Originator) HATCH WHITEHACKLE KELSO

First class game fowl that are carefully selected and bred to produce major circuit game cocks. Aggressive, high station, leg fighters, deadly cutter.

- SPECIAL ACE COCKS, Conditioned and ready to fight $200.00 EACH
- SPECIAL SELECT TRIOS $500.00
- SPECIAL BROOD COCKS $200.00
- SPECIAL BROOD STAGS $150.00
- PROVEN BROOD HENS $150.00
- CLASSY 1984 TRIOS $350.00
- ACE BATTLE COCKS $150.00
- SELECT TRIOS BLACK SID TAYLORS, Cock and 2 hens, only a few to sell $1000.00

Now accepting egg orders to be shipped starting Feb. 1st. Send your order now to get your eggs first. $60.00 PER DOZ.

Supporters of UGBA, SCGBA, NCGBA, TNGBA
Our Proven Keep On Cassette Tape $100.00

WRITE OR CALL NOW

SUNRISE GAME FARM
REID BRAZZELL
PHONE (803) 329-3412 or (803) 329-3636
ROUTE 3, BOX 251
ROCK HILL, SC 29730
Col. John Madigin. "Conditioning Method," The Feathered Warrior - no publication date is listed.

There are as many keeps as there are cockers. I included this keep because it is typical and was developed by one of the most successful and well known of modern cockers. Col. John Madigin was extremely successful as a breeder and fighter of gamecocks. A breed of fighting cock he developed, the Madigan Claret, is a strong contender in pits and breeding farms all across the United States.

The feeding and conditioning of the battle cock is very important. A cock has to be as fit as any athlete, animal or human, when it enters the competitive arena. An effective keep will help cockers win the battles especially in the drag pits where stamina and strength are so vitally important.
Col. John Madigin's Conditioning Method

Published By
THE FEATHERED WARRIOR
The Col. Madigin Feeding Method

The Madigin cocks were always farm walked. When brought in for a main, derby or tournament, they were placed in scratch pens and brought down to approximate weight by feeding up or down accordingly. By approximate fighting weight is meant within about three or four ounces which they would lose after drying out, etc. As an illustration, a cock comes in from walk weighing 5.10. It is decided he should fight at about 5.02. Scratch him down to about 5.05 and he will lose another three or four ounces after drying out and being trimmed out.

The cock house was a large room over a double garage. There were windows and shades on each side to let in air, and the shades to darken the room when the cocks were not being worked or fed, so they could rest. There was a small room about 4x6 in front of the windows on the east side of the building. The bottom of the windows were about 3½ feet from the floor. Against the wall, in front of and even with the bottom of the window was a padded board about 18 inches wide and three feet long. On the floor in front of the padded board was another pad. There were always hens running on his yard and they could be seen from the board in front of the window. After the cocks had been handled for a day, so they were tame, each would be placed on this board so he could see the hens on the yard. Then he was taken off and dropped to the pad on the floor. Anxious to keep the hens in sight he would immediately fly back up to the board. The Colonel called this "jumping the cocks." They were jumped each day at 11:00 a.m., ten times... fast. He said this helped to empty them out and it did.

Everything was done on schedule, work started at 4:00 a.m. sharp, they were fed at 7:00 a.m., jumped at 11:00 a.m., worked again at 4:00 p.m., and fed at 7:00 p.m. They were given six dips of water after each feed, morning and night. They were conditioned 14 days and fought on the 15th day. In between workouts and feed... the cock house was darkened.

The grain fed during the entire keep was made up as follows: Three quarters (3/4) of the total was composed of equal parts of cracked corn, or as some call it "chops," and oats, whole oats with the hulls on, 1/8 barley, 1/8 wheat. An illustration: suppose you were feeding a dozen cocks and mixed up two gallons of grain before the keep began. There are eight quarts in two gallons, so mix up three quarts of corn, three quarts of oats, 1 quart of wheat, and one quart of barley.
Each cock got $\frac{1}{2}$ of the white of a hard boiled egg. A half head of lettuce was fed to ALL the cocks at each feed. This is the way it was done. Say there were 12 cocks. The whites of three hard boiled eggs would be placed in a bowl with a half head of lettuce. These were chopped up real fine with a food chopper. Now, estimate the amount of grain the 12 cocks will require, then put in all the egg and lettuce you have chopped up and thoroughly mix. Now take an ordinary tablespoon and get a heaping tablespoonful of your feed, shake it until it's nicely rounded and you have the amount each cock is to be fed twice per day all during the 14 days of the keep.

First day: At 4:00 a.m. give each cock 15 runs and 15 flys, fast. Rest for one minute, rub for two minutes and REPEAT the work—15 runs, 15 flys. Do the same EVERY DAY, that is where the keep calls for 35 runs and 35 flys, after the rest and rubbing REPEAT IT. When the keep calls for 45 runs and 45 flys, rest then, rub them, and give them 45 more of each or a total of 90 fly and 90 runs. Also, in running the cocks, OVER AND BACK is counted as ONE run—NOT two, and the runs and flys are ALWAYS fast. At 7:00 a.m. feed, then give each cock exactly six dips of water. Darken cock house. At 11:00 a.m. jump ten times—fast. After the jumping put each cock in a scratch pen for ten minutes with about six grains of feed. There were small scratch pens in the cock house for this purpose. Darken cock house until 4:00 p.m. Same work as in a.m., same feed and water at 7:00 a.m. Close up for the night.

Second day: Exactly the same work, feed, jumps and scratch, etc. as the first day.

Third day: Exactly the same except increase work to 25 runs and 25 flys morning and night.

Fourth day: Exactly same work and feed as the third day,

Fifth day: Increase work to 35 runs and 35 flys. At noon feed each cock about one ounce of lean ground beef, raw, and rolled in corn meal. Feed morning and night as usual.

Sixth day: Same work and feed as the fifth day except no meat at noon.

Seventh day: Increase work to 45 runs and 45 flys. Wash feet and head and dry thoroughly, then trim them out the way they will fight. Feed, jump, scratch, etc. same as other days.

Eighth day: Same work, feed, jump, scratch, etc. as seventh day except at noon feed each cock one ounce of BOILED ground beef.
Ninth day: Same as 8th day except no meat at noon. About 10:00 a.m. put in outside runs for about a half hour so they can take a dust bath.

Tenth day: Decrease work to 35 runs and 35 flys, same feed, water, jumps, etc.

Eleventh day: Cut work to 25 runs and 25 flys. Same feed, water, jumps, etc.

Twelfth day: Cut work to 15 runs and 15 flys. Scratch each cock 5 minutes morning and afternoon.

Thirteenth day: No work. Scratch each cock five to ten minutes morning and afternoon.

Fourteenth day: Same as thirteenth day.

DAY OF FIGHT: No feed or water unless the cocks are to fight in the afternoon or at night. Then they are given a FEW GRAINS (about ½ teaspoonful) of damp chops in the morning. No water.

The last two days—the 13th and 14th, the cocks should want little if any water, if they have come on as they should. A desire for much water at this time indicates they have fever and should not be fought.
The Driskell advertisement is interesting for two reasons, first the marketing of a keep and second the conditioning capsules. The fact that cockers can attend keep schools or purchase keep methods again demonstrates the use of modern technology to spread a folk craft. The modern conditioning aids are finding a ready market among cockers as they look for that edge they need to win. As a contrast the Madigan method in Appendix 9 mentioned no drug or food additives. Modern keeps include vitamin, hormone, and "secret remedy" additions to the traditional feeding methods.
DRISKELL CONDITIONING CAPSULES

****It's What You Learn... After You Know It All That Counts****

DRISKELL CONDITIONING CAPSULES have been proven for 46 years now! Not only have we personally tried and tested our capsules, but cockers all over the world use them with the same success in the short and long gaffs and knives. Our capsules have been developed to meet the rigid requirements necessary to produce "Top Performance" in your roosters. They contain a "power-pack" formula essential in today's competition. Our reputation all over the world is the GUARANTEE that we are professionals in recommending to you the "BEST." These capsules are SUPERIOR to other formulas because without a doubt, they are better than anything you can give to stimulate your cock's appetite. You will be amazed when you see how he throws his feed. You don't need to give anything else to stop bleeding or combat shock either. Unless he gets a direct hit into the heart, you can "bet" he will throw the rattle and win the fight. Your cocks will be more than ready to leave your hands with the speed and "dynamic power" absolutely necessary to win! The capsules are proven to be a remarkable aid in making your cock's feathers shine, especially during and after moulting. Driskell Conditioning Capsules continue to supply the "razor-sharp" edge you expect... after giving only one capsule daily. No Dope. Complete with instructions. 5 Cock supply—-$14.00.

DRISKELL CORRESPONDENCE KEEP

REGULAR PRICE $250.00... NOW REDUCED FOR LIMITED TIME — ONLY $150.00

If you are unable to attend a cocker's school, this is the next best thing for you. You will receive a COMPLETE KEEP with easy and simple step-by-step instructions advising how to condition your roosters. Also included is a wealth of vital information regarding pre-keep, hauling roosters, etc. You will receive $135 WORTH of supplies (enough for 20 cocks) capsules, vitamins, etc. All the secrets are unveiled in this newest and most advanced DRISKELL KEEP method. The DRISKELL KEEP brings out all of the expertise you have searched and wished for and is available now. We have used our Keep in major competition in the United States, Mexico, Hawaii and the Philippines. We have proven it is a tool used by the winners throughout the country today! Invest in a "A SURE THING" today and I GUARANTEE you it will continue to pay off in the future.

DRISKELL KEEP BOOK

REGULAR PRICE $50.00... NOW REDUCED FOR LIMITED TIME — ONLY $25.00 (No supplies included)

Orders Shipped Parcel Post same day. $1.00 extra for Air Mail.

C.O.D.'s Welcome — No Personal Checks

DRISKELL GAME FARM
P. O. Box 5176, Phone: 1-817-756-1856
Waco, TX 76708

April 1985

When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.

The River View game farm in Grand Junction, Colorado, is marketing a keep program that is near to the Utah cockers. Along with their keep they teach both the Mexican and Filipino knife process. The teaching of knives again shows how popular the knife fights are becoming in game clubs of the Mountain West.

River View has also modified and updated the feeding of strychnine in its keep. Strychnine is probably the oldest of the chemical additives in the conditioning program. I can remember an old cocker telling me over twenty-five years ago that if a cock was on point with strychnine he was unbeatable. Here again is an old folk method being combined with the new hormones on the market to produce the unbeatable keep.

The keep schools are also a short cut method for the young cocker to make it in the gamecock business. He can learn in a matter of weeks what would have taken years not so long ago. I emphasize start because there is still no substitute for experience in the pit. The schools also help cockers improve their skills and acquire better ways to condition and fight the battle cock.
THE RIVERVIEW
HORMONE-STRYCHNINE KEEP
As Used By The Miss.-Colo. Combine

This is the method we teach in our classes and exactly the same method you have seen us win major derbies with in the toughest pits in the country. Nothing is left out! We tell you how and when to give the injections and other aids, what they are, how each works and why, in the most detailed and concise keep book on the market. We take you step by step, and day by day through the complete program, including feed, work, and medication, followed by the most comprehensive pointing procedure in the industry. You will be using the latest forms of the powerful new Hormone, vitamin combinations coupled with our EXCLUSIVE NEW STRYCHNINE FORMULA to produce a conditioning method unequalled in the sport. We guarantee it will make well-bred cocks even more aggressive and incredibly hard to kill and at the same time enhance their speed and cutting ability. Added information has now been included concerning medication and pointing which takes this new method far beyond our competitors and imitators. We are the originators of the Hormone-Strychnine conditioning method. Only the RIVERVIEW method is continually up-dated and improved in major competition by its originators. Air Mail or C.O.D. $50.00.

Your Choice Of Any One Of Our Other Publications Free With Keep!!!

THE RIVERVIEW SLASHER KEEP
For Long And Short Knife!

This is the method we used to win 21 out of 25 long knife fights within World Class competition in 1982!!!

This is the method now being used by two of the top competitors on the West Coast. (One of these men has not been out of the money a single time this season in the short knife.)

This is the all-new knife version of the hottest gaff keep on the market. The Riverview Hormone-Strychnine Keep. Over three years in development. This method has now been perfected to the point that we feel confident in offering it to the public under the Riverview name. Actually TWO Keeps in one!!! One specifically designed for the one inch Mexican knife and one for the Filipino long knife!!!

The increasing popularity of the knife in today's competition has made it highly advantageous for the serious cocker to understand the vast difference in knife and gaff conditioning. Here is a METHOD that can put you in the fore-front of the competition and give you an opportunity to compete on an equal basis anywhere in the world.

We have the years of experience to make ours work for you — and the record to prove it. We are as close as your phone, with the answers you need, precisely when you need them.

Either Keep Same Day Airmail Upon Receipt Of $50.00

Now Accepting C.O.D. Phone Orders
All Orders And Inquiries Should Be Addressed To;

RIVER VIEW GAME FARM
P.O. Box 1603 Phone: 303-243-3368 Grand Junction, CO 81501

When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all. The Gamecock
THE MODERN CONCEPT
CORRESPONDENCE COURSE

First hand information from people who make their living lighting cocks on the MAJOR circuit!!!

1. A full set of textbooks exactly like those used in our regular school. THE ONLY CORRESPONDENCE METHOD TO PROVIDE PERMANENT REFERENCE MATERIAL DESIGNED TO GUIDE YOU STEP BY STEP THROUGH EVERY PHASE OF THE SPORT.
   Including breeding, feeding, handling, traveling, merchandising and conditioning for both knife and gall!!!
2. You also receive an ample supply of all necessary aids and vitamins. Enough for several keeps! All drugs are fully explained, identified and are easily obtainable at reasonable cost in the future.
3. Update sheets with added information and late developments.
4. Correspondence students are entitled to all the same privileges accorded our regular students, such as specially selected brood stock at one half the regular price.
5. Our phone line is always open to offer help and guidance.
6. The right to attend any of our one day seminars absolutely free, and/or our complete 7 day school for only $250.00.
   Not just a “Keep but a complete course of instructions designed to cover every phase of the sport including conditioning using the RIVERVIEW HORMONE-STRYCHNINE KEEP AND RIVERVIEW SLASHER KEEPS!!!
   ONLY $250.00 COMPLETE

We urge you to carefully compare our course with any other on the market. The well-known success of our methods have made this the most popular educational concept in the sport.

WE HAVE THE EXPERIENCE TO HELP YOU WIN AND THE RECORD TO PROVE IT!!!

All Orders And Inquiries Should Be Addressed To:

RIVER VIEW GAME FARM

P. O. Box 1603
Grand Junction, CO 81501
Phone: 303-243-3368

February 1985

When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.

This advertisement is an example of the long list of feed supplements that have come on the market the last few years. Some of these supplements have been developed with the aid of grants from the United Game Breeders' Association to major research programs. They are all designed as conditioning aids.
A Word From The Miss.-Colo. Combine:

The above products are formulated by a registered Pharmacist with the full approval of Riverview Game Farm and in strict accordance with their methods. Our performance using these products and methods are a matter of record.

—Gene Brown
—Ron Chappell

WE ARE THE ONLY DISTRIBUTORS OF THE REVISED "RIVERVIEW" HORMONE-STRYCHNINE KEEP PRODUCTS!!!

The products in this advertisement directly address the two biggest concerns in the pit, bleeding and shock. Many gamecocks die in the pit from blood loss and the resulting shock. Many winning gamecocks take a lucky blow that severs or punctures a major blood vessel or artery and bleed to death fighting. It is to the advantage of the handler to stop the blood loss and he has only a two minute handle in which to do it. These products, if they are as effective as they are advertised to be, are an invaluable aid to a handler with a bleeding cock in the pit.

This advertisement reads somewhat like the patent medicine ads of a generation ago. Mr. Driskell sells a lot of conditioning aids. He also has the weight of being a very successful cocker to add credence to his products.
"Repeat Customers... Makes Me Feel Good!"

They’re satisfied with our PRODUCTS, KEEPS & FOWL... are you with the ones you’ve tried lately?

Normally when a business has many repeat customers year after year, there’s a reason why. Either the customers like the SERVICE or PRODUCTS or BOTH!

Nobody ever knew went back and repurchased something again if they didn’t like the service or product received the first time. I have had customers who ordered supplies and I wouldn’t hear from them for a while then I’d receive another order a year or two later. This tells me they are coming back to products that have worked for them in the past!

“Here’s Just A Few Comments From Satisfied Customers”

FROM KY—I wanted to tell you how much I have enjoyed doing business with you and to comment on the quality of your fowl. Recently I won a four stag derby using the fowl! I ordered from you a couple of years ago... R.J., Ky.

FROM OREGON—Friend Reed, I received your Hy-Roller “No Compromise” Keep, March 23rd. I used it for our annual 7-cock derby. I tied for first (1st) with a 6-1 score. Everything worked perfect, our cocks were strong and fast and real tigers in the pit. I've used several “Keeps” in the past; yours comes the most to being perfect of any I have used. I'm really pleased... E.W., Oregon.

FROM ALABAMA—I used your STOP BLEED last year and saw my chickens throw raffles that had killed me many times before. If your STOP SHOCK is half as good it would be an asset to anybody’s keep... A.H., Alabama.

FROM S.C.—Please rush (3) orders STOP SHOCK, (2) orders STOP BLEED. Won 9 straight, last Sunday. People say roosters don’t need this stuff, don’t know what they are talking about, do they? We took 1st place alone. I had two cocks to come back from the dead. HA HA... K.C., S.C.

“NOTICE”

If you’re not happy with the results you’ve been getting with your CONDITIONING AIDS, KEEPS or FOWL why not try something new this season. My KEEPS & SUPPLIES are PROVEN in MAJOR COMPETITION in all types of weapons, by MYSELF and my STUDENTS and CUSTOMERS each SEASON! SPECIAL OFFER... FOR LIMITED TIME ONLY

HY-ROLLER NO COMPROMISE KEEP (the same as YOU’D learn here at school for two weeks) enough CONDITIONING CAPSULES, STOP BLEED & STOP SHOCK for (12) cocks or Stags ONLY $75.00 COMPLETE (regular price $140.00, save $65.00 today) and see the difference a proven KEEP & SUPPLIES will do for you next time you condition a show of cocks or stags. HOW MUCH TIME, MONEY AND GOOD COCKS HAVE YOU ALREADY LOST?

ORDER TODAY—AIR MAIL $1.00 EXTRA

“HY-ROLLER SUPPLIES (Still the best and less expensive)

HY-ROLLER CONDITIONING CAPSULES, (6) Cocks or Stags .......... $10.00
HY-ROLLER STOP BLEED, (12) Cocks or Stags ................. $10.00
HY-ROLLER STOP SHOCK, (12) Cocks or Stags ............... $10.00

NOTE—Due to many repeat orders and new orders please allow 7 to 14 days shipping time on supplies. THANK YOU!!!

Regular Parcel Pre-Paid—Air Mail $1.00 Extra

REED A. DRISKELL
HY-ROLLER GAME RANCH
14351-A Haymeadow Dr., Phone: 214-960-0585 Dallas, TX 75240

This appendix is a list of conditioning and battle aids similar to the one in Appendix 13. Particular attention should be paid to the shock aids. Shock is a real concern of a handler fighting a badly wounded cock. The shock aids are purported to reduce the incident and severity of shock. In the drag pit this could mean the difference between winning and losing.

A note at the bottom of this advertisement is interesting. Clarence Tucker of Provo, Utah, is the Clem Tucker character in the story about the cocker with the wooden leg that is included in the body of this thesis.

The mention of the strychnine keep in the lead paragraph of the ad also attests to the time honored belief in the oldest of the conditioning aids. Even with all the new hormone, vitamin and chemical aids on the market there is still a place for strychnine.
Graff Veterinary Supply

PHONE (303) 242-1113
P. O. BOX 40655
GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO 81504

My goal is to better the art of cockfighting by helping the beginner and the working man. I carry only the highest quality supplies and conditioners available, but even with these it is impossible for any one to win 100% as is claimed by some of the advertisers. If you feel that you are not winning your share, send $15.00 for my new book. In this book there are four keeps, each one of them have been used with great success all over the world. They are the Graff Hormone Keep, the Graff Conditioning Formula, Graff Strychnine Keep and the H. H. Moore Keep. This book will save you not only time, but a lot of your hard earned money.

I will send you the only three ways you could possibly help your cocks in battle. (No charge) Probably 95% of all big time cockers use these items. There are very few things that take the place of good cocks, good feed, clean water and know how.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONDITIONER New Hormone</td>
<td>(enough for 8 cocks)</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAFF CONDITIONING FORMULA</td>
<td>(enough for 8 cocks)</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONDITIONER for Strychnine Keep</td>
<td>(enough for 8 cocks)</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITAMIN B12, fortified, long lasting (1 bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRON, LIVER, B1, B12, long lasting, fortified (1 bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORMERS: One per bird (safe for cock or hen) will kill worms for 21 days</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.00 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW CASTLE VACCINE: For shipment to Islands (1000 dose only)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW CASTLE &amp; INFECTIONS BRONCHITIS VACCINE (1000 dose only)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHICKEN POX VACCINE: (500 dose only)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEXTROSE: (Strong) Gives extra strength during battle, for 30</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHEAT GERM CAPSULES: High potency. Give 2 or 3 during keep</td>
<td></td>
<td>.06 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRON, LIVER, B1, B12, RIBOFLAVIN in pill form</td>
<td></td>
<td>.06 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITAMIN K: Helps control bleeding. Enough for 50 cocks</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENICILLIN TABLETS: For sinus trouble &amp; infection</td>
<td></td>
<td>.06 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERRAMYCIN CAPSULES: Used with penicillin will cure sinus trouble &amp; ratties</td>
<td></td>
<td>.06 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE HORMONE: Injectable, long lasting (1 bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANGE PARALYSIS or MAREK'S DISEASE: (1000 dose)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYRINGE &amp; NEEDLE (both)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOSE &amp; EYE CLEAR: This product is for the curing of nose &amp; eye swelling. Rub in eyes and nose, it will save valuable cocks &amp; hens. (Bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONDITIONING CAPSULES:</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOCK CAPSULES</td>
<td></td>
<td>.35 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOCK LIQUID: Enough for 10 cocks: This will help you so don't be without it</td>
<td></td>
<td>$6.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I perfected the New Hormone Conditioner last year & I have had many reports from cockers both in slasher & gaffs who say it is the best they have ever used. Try it one time & I know you will be more than satisfied. I am different from most advertisers, when you win with my Formulas, keep it to yourself. Any one who tells what he is using is just stupid. I do not need testimonials to sell my products.

I have the old time H. H. Moore Clarets for sale. They will cost you $100.00 for cock, hen, stag or pullets. Three old hens are still alive on my yards that are out of the last trio Mr. Moore sent Clarence Tucker of Provo, Utah.

I am a member of U.G.B.A. and feel that every one of you should join too.
The Ehrenberg Game Club advertisement shows three restrictions more and more game clubs are including in their operations. A minimum age limit, no alcoholic beverages on the premises and membership requirements. These three limitations will help solve a lot of problems before they surface.

The membership limitations will deny access to potentially disruptive outsiders. This problem is addressed in the section on folklore in the body of this thesis. The elimination of alcoholic beverages also prevents problems of over consumption and the behavior associated with it.

When some raids on cockpits have been made by law enforcement officials, one of the charges brought against the pit operator has been contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Very often plea bargains and lack of evidence cause law enforcement officials to drop serious charges and prosecute on minor charges that they have a chance of winning. Contributing is a charge on which it that is easy to gain a conviction.

The point of this entry is to show that many game clubs including those in Utah are restricting access to their fights. This is an attempt to prevent trouble from developing.
EHRENBERG GAME CLUB
1983-1984

APRIL 14-15, 8-COCK LONG KNIFE COMBO
3-Cock (Saturday & Sunday) Optional 100.................. Entry 100
APRIL 29, 6-COCK GAFF, JIM PONTON DERBY
Also 3-Cock, Optional 100................................ Entry 100
May 13, 5-Cock Long Knife & 3-Cock, Optional 100...... Entry 100
MAY 26-27, 8-COCK SHORT KNIFE COMBO
3-Cock Each Day, Optional 100.......................... Entry 100
June 10, 5-Cock Short Knife & 3-Cock, Optional 100..... Entry 100

Daily Weights 4-4 to 6-2; All 2-Day Weights 4-4 to 6-2.
Weight In Time 8:00 A.M. California Time
Arizona G.B.A. Membership Required For Admission
RESERVATION FOR COCKHOUSE CALL WALTER

WALTER FLAGLER
Phone: 209-784-2301
(240-784-2162
(240-784-2162
19136 Ave. 150
Porterville, CA 93257

EHRENBERG GAME CLUB PHONE 602-923-9339
No Children Under 14-Year Old; No Alcoholic Beverages On Premises

1983

CHICKASHA CLUB, INC. 1984

April 7, 5-Stag, Optionals 25-25 ......................... Entry 50
APRIL 21-22, SHERRILL DAVIS MEMORIAL
April 21, 6-Cock (Gaff), Optionals 50-50 .............. Entry 200
April 22, 5-Cock (Slasher), Optionals 50-50 .......... Entry 200
May 4, 4 Cock-Stag, Optionals 20-20 .................. Entry 40
May 19, 5 Cock-Stag, Optionals 25-25 ................. Entry 50
JUNE 2-3, 8-STAG COMB., ENTRY 150
June 2, 4-Baby, Optionals 50-50
June 3, 4-Bull, Optionals 50-50
JUNE 16-17, 8-COCK COMB, OKLAHOMA CHAMPIONSHIP
ENTRY 200
June 16, 4-Cock, Optionals 50-50
June 17, 4-Cock, Optionals 50-50

Weights in by 9:00 P.M. regular derbies; weights in by 9:00 A.M. 2-day derbies. No top or bottom weights. Wortham rules and house rules. All stags must be in full leather.
GENERAL ADMISSION $5.00
For Further Information Contact:

VAUGHN OTEY
Rt. 2, Chickasha, OK 73018
Phone: 405-224-1891

ROY HILL
Rt. 2, Box 107, Ninnekah, OK 73067
Phone: 405-224-6668

UGBA — Supporter — OGBA

April 1984
When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.
The sixty entries listed in this program is an incomplete entry list. By the time this match was fought it could have been twice as large.

This number of matches is in contrast to an average Saturday evening meeting for Utah cockers. The usual number of entries rarely goes over twenty and vary from three to five cock entries in the Utah pits. However, many Utah cockers will fight in Arizona and Texas in the big matches.

This large entry program also represents many thousands of dollars spent on cocks, paraphernalia, and travel expenses to the pit. It is not a poor man's sport to fight the big ones.
Phoenix Grand Canyon
Game Club

JANUARY 4 & 5, 10-COCK COMBO
LONG KNIFE; ENTRY 100; DAILY OPTIONALS 100-700
OVERALL OPTIONALS 100-700

Entries As Of November 12th

Bryan Orian
Steel City
Phoenix Combine
Larry Cook
Frank Cardota
Red Fox
Robbie & Harold
Tombstone Game Farm
Billy & Smiley (Royal Game Farm)
Ron Ennis
Alex Sanchez
Howard Belk
Jimmy Johnson
Foster Farms
John S.
Harold Clayton
Leverne & Shane
Jack English
R.D. Farm
Larry Cowan
Dan Hadley
Bias
Augie Mora
PCI
Ed Brogdon
Mike Formosa
R.B. Pearson
Tony Topica
Bull Run
Herman Dasley

January & Nading
Tom Jones
James Southern
Randy Hurd
Dan Gray
China Boy
Chuck Ellis
Super Light
Maya Game Club (Freddie, Jr. & Tom)
N.O. Ka-Oh
Gary Sparlin
Rod Hardian
Jerry Douglass
McPearson
Don Radley
Junior Strange
Jimmy & Billy Power
Herman Pinnon
Rodney O. Botelho
Bob Teverbaugh
Steve Johnson
David Harris
Raymond Rayno (2 Entries)
Inland Wes
Robert Dominguez
Black Gold
Pete Eaton
John Tripp
Johnny Lowe
Jerry Sanchez

Complimentary Dinner Night Before

Weights in 8:00 A.M.; starting time approximately 10:30.
3-COCK EACH AFTERNOON
Weights In 1:00 P.M.

For Further Information Call

DOYLE THOMPSON  TOMMY THOMPSON
Phone: 602-932-5839; 602-932-9622

Mike Ratliff is certainly filling a void in the business of cocking by holding his referee schools. Most of the men who referee cockfights are cockers who no longer actively fight. They do their best but many have an inadequate knowledge of the rules. Some are intimidated by aggressive cockers and others are not alert enough to catch all the nuances of the fight. The Ratliff schools will do a lot to remedy some of the weakness in the referees' performances.

An interesting aspect of this advertisement is the part under the heading, "notice." Mike is making a bid for lady cockers to enroll in his school and mentions that he has seen two lady referees. This seems to indicate a weakening of the single sex barrier in cockfighting. I'm sure lady referees would receive less abuse than men referees but I do not look for this to be a trend. Most cockers are quite conservative and hold to the old ways. The sport is also so male oriented that I do not see women playing a major role in the sport for many years.
RATLIFF SCHOOL
For Cockers And Referees

OLD MEXICO CLASS
Starts Feb. 1st; fight day, Feb. 15. Contact: Ignacio Noyola, 5 D E Mayo #30, Lada 487, Rio Verde, SLT, Mexico 79600. Phone: Home, 21147 or 21491; Business, 21818 or 20191.

"NOTICE"
All ex-students of surrounding states: Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas and Missouri. The Mike Ratliff Ex-Student Annual Derby will be held at Coushatta, LA, Hi-way 71 on March 31, 1985.

6-COCK; $300.00 ENTRY
Only ex-students participate. A derby of the season, you must see to appreciate. Well bred and sharp cocks winning. Absolutely no fixed fights will be seen in this derby. Call: Jo Holloway for cockhouse reservations at 318-832-4229 or 318-832-4704.

IDAHO CLASS
Starts April 20; fight day, May 4. Contact: Dennis Drown, Box 208, Middleton, ID 83644. Phone: 208-585-2901.

"NOTICE"
All lady cockers that are interested in my REFEREE SCHOOL contact me the coming season.
It is truly a shame and disgrace that 90% of all gamecocks are mistreated by incompetent referees — "Men Referees"
I sincerely believe that lady referees would demand respect of all pitters, something that very few men hold is the respect of all pitters while refereeing.
In my travels with my school I’ve seen 2 lady referees and both had the full respect of all pitters while refereeing.

MIKE RATLIFF
Phone (205) 643-5561 (This Is An Alabama Phone)
To get to General Cross Farm: Come to Menlo, at the red light go on west 48 for 7/10 of a mile, then turn left and go 1 & 7/10 of a mile. We will be the 6th house on the left.

When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.

The paragraph at the bottom of this fight schedule has a notice in it that states the club is private and they can refuse to admit anyone. Also to fight in a match called the Missouri Championship one must be a member of the Missouri Game Breeders' Association. Many of the game clubs in Utah follow this same rule. This is an attempt to control thrill-seeking outsiders.

This fight program also lists two Filipino knife fights which attests to the growing popularity of the knives in the United States. This is a trend that has developed in the last five years. The knife fights usually do not last very long because of the severity of the wounds the knives inflict.

Battle cocks that fight with knives tend to be bigger than gaff cocks. The recent popularity of the Asil brood stock supports this trend. The Asil is the oldest of the recognized game breeds but they were thought to be too slow to fight as purebreds. A mature Asil cock will weight six to eight pounds where most gaff cocks weigh around four pounds. Crossing Asil brood stock with the gaff breeds produces a larger cock which still has speed. The Asil can also take a ton of steel before they go down which is important in a fighting cock.

The knife cocks tend to be bigger because it is thought they hit harder. It takes a good blow to completely sink a three inch knife in an opponent. The knife cocks are conditioned differently from the gaff cocks also. The knife fights rarely go to the drag pits so a knife
chicken does not need the endurance of a gaff cock. They need to be fast and strong and not muscle bound.
KELLYVILLE GAME CLUB
1984-1985 Schedule

JUNE 2, 5-COCK FILIPINO KNIFE — DAYTIME
50-50-50: Weights in 10:00 A.M.
June 8, 5-6 Cock or Stag, 50-25-50

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10-COCK FILIPINO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 21, 5-Cock, 100-100-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 22, 5-Cock, 100-100-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall 150-150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BATTLE ROYAL — TERRAPIN RACE July 13, 3-4-5 Cock, 20-30-40

BATTLE ROYAL
July 20, 4-5 Cock, 20-20/20-20
*Denotes Daytime Events

FRIDAY NIGHT SCHEDULE 1984-1985

June 14, 3-4 Cock, 10-10/15-15
June 28, 3-4 Cock, 10-10/15-15

BATTLE ROYAL
1. Weights in at 8:30 P.M.
2. Admission $5.00.
3. Cockhouse is on a first come first serve basis.

ATTENTION — Kellyville Gaff Gauge has been drilled out larger to #53 drill which is 59½ thousands. Gaffs must pass this gauge.

No top or bottom weights. Wartham and house rules. Stags must be in full leathers and spurs will be measured. Admission on tribute and 10-Cock derbies and the Missouri Championship will be $10.00. All others will be $6.00. This is a private Club and reserve the right to refuse admission to anyone. Weights in at 10:00 A.M. on daytime fights. Weights in at 8:30 P.M. on night fights. Forfeit will be required to reserve a cockpit. All derbies with overall options (Cock or Stag) must all be banded the first day and must stay on the pit grounds. To fight in the Missouri Championship you must be a member of the Missouri Game Breeders Assoc. Cards will be sold at the gate.

For Information Or To Reserve Seats Or A Cockhouse, Contact:

CLAYTON SMITH — 918-224-5441
If No Answer Call:
HOWARD BRYANT — 918-885-6629

June 1985
When writing advertisers mention The Gamecock. It helps us all.

The fact that I have this ballad is one of those rare pieces of blind luck. I was recording cowboy songs as performed by James Keyes and this ballad was in his repertory. Jim's dad worked much of his life as a cowboy and Jim and his brother Kelly followed their dad in this profession. In the December 22, 1985 issue of Cache Magazine, published by the Herald Journal, Kelly is featured on the cover and in an article on cowboys.

Jim worked his way through college at Utah State University largely by cowboying. After graduation with a M.S. degree in 1984 Jim went to work for a ranch near Cody, Wyoming. Jim has had an interest in cowboy ballads for years and as he moved around among the cowboys he learned from them the ballads they sing. Jim follows the buckaroo tradition in dress and style which is predominant in Nevada, Oregon and Idaho. His brother Kelly follows the cowboy tradition prevalent in Montana and Wyoming. They are both traditionalist and dress in the styles they have chosen to follow. The cowboys of today have made a conscious style shift that approximates as nearly as possible the styles predominate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In December of 1985 Jim left the ranch in Wyoming and became an agricultural extension agent in Salt Lake County. He is still actively collecting cowboy ballads.

The ballad of Gallo de Cuielo says a lot about cockfighting.
Carlos Saragosa starts with a stolen one-eyed rooster and twenty-seven dollars. He fights de Cuielo till he has a stake of fifty thousand dollars and bets that on the last fight. Some Mexican cockers I have known would bet like that. Once at Copperstate I saw some Mexican cockers bet as much as five thousand dollars on a match. This was not just one match but went on all afternoon. In his essay on cockfighting in Bali, Geertz noted the size of the bet proved the worth of the man. I think the Mexicans are very similar. It takes balls to put down thousands on a cockfight that might last seconds.

The affection Carlos displays for de Cuielo and the bed of silk used by the champion cock of San Diego exhibits the special care and high regard given the exceptional battle cock. These ace cocks are pampered and develop quite a following. Their names are remembered long after they die. It is not unusual to go into a cocker's home and see framed pictures on the mantle of his favorite battle cocks. The association of the cocker with his battle cocks is almost mystic at times. In a very real way the battle cock represents the man in the pit. When Carlos Saragosa buried his beloved de Cuielo, he buried with him his most beloved possession, the picture of his sister framed in gold. Many cockers would scoff at the hypothesis I just advanced, but if you look into their faces when they remember the old great battle cocks and watch them handle their current champions one will see that I came very close to the mark.

**Ballad of Gallo de Cuielo**

Well Carlos Saragosa left his home in Casas Grande when the moon was full. With no money in his pocket just a picture of his sister framed in gold. He headed
for El Sequo stole a one-eyed rooster named Gallo de Cuielo. Then he crossed the Rio Grande with that chicken nestled deep within his arms. Now Gallo de Cuielo was a rooster born in heaven so the legends say. His wings they had been broken and he had one eye rolling crazy in his head. He'd fought a hundred fights and the legends say that one night near El Sequo, they fought Cuielo seven times and seven times he left brave roosters dead.

Hola my Teresa I'm a thinking of you now in San Antonio. I have twenty seven dollars and the good luck of your picture framed in gold and tonight I'll bet it all on the spurs of Gallo de Cuielo and I'll return to buy the land that Villa stole from papa long long ago.

Outside of San Diego in the onion fields of Paco Monte Verde the pride of San Diego lay sleeping on a fancy bed of silk. They laughed when Saragosa pulled the one-eyed de Cuielo from beneath his coat. But cried when Saragosa walked away with a thousand dollar bill.

Hola my Teresa I'm a thinking of you now in Santa Barbara. I have fifteen hundred dollars and the good luck of your picture framed in gold. And tonight I'll bet it all on the fighting spurs of Gallo de Cuielo. And I'll return to buy the land that Villa stole from father long long ago.

Now the moon has gone to hiding and the lanterns' lights spill shadows on the fighting ground. As the wicked black named Zorro faces Gallo de Cuielo in the night. And Thomas Saragosa feels the tiny crack that runs across his roosters beak and fears that he has lost the fifty thousand that is riding on this fight.

Hola my Teresa I'm a thinking of you now in Santa Clara. All the money's on the table and I'm holding to your good luck framed in gold. And everything we've dreamed of is riding on the spurs of de Cuielo. I pray that I'll return to buy the land that Villa stole from father long long ago.

Well the signal, it was given, and the cocks they arose together far above the sand.
And Gallo de Cuielo sunk a gaff deep in Zorro's shiny breast. They were separated quickly but they arose and fought each other thirty-seven times. And legends say that everyone agreed de Cuielo fought the best. Then the screams of Saragosa filled the night outside the town of Santa Clara as the beak of de Cuielo lay broken like a shell within his hand. They say that Saragosa screamed a curse upon the bones of Poncho Villa when Zorro rose up one last time and drove de Cuielo to the sand.

Hola my Teresa I'm a thinking of you now in San Francisco. I've lost all our money and I no longer have your good luck framed in gold. For I buried it last evening with the bones of my beloved de Cuielo. Now I'll not return to buy the land that Villa stole from papa long ago. No I'll not return to buy the land that Villa stole from papa long long ago.
The Wortham rules as revised in 1961 are the most commonly used by most pits in the United States. The Mc Calls rules were popular a few years ago but they were outdated by Wortham's revision. The Mc Calls rules were an old set of rules that came intact from England. As the traditions of the United States cockers changed under the influence of the Mexican and Filipino styles the Mc Calls rules became dated. The Wortham rules have also been widely used so as to create a standard cockers can follow. Many cockers fight outside their home state so a standard set of rules establishes a sense of continuity in the sport. A standard set of rules also helps the referees in their jobs. By knowing one set of rules well they can be more effective than if they have a passing knowledge of two or three sets of rules. Wortham was a great cocker in his own right and was respected well enough that his rules were readily adopted. There was no radical departure from the English rules just some refining and defining to better fit the American style of fighting.
(Not a definite rule but is a suggestion)
Clubs are urged, with the consent of all entries involved, to institute a house rule imposing a specified money fine for failure to comply with agreed time limits in healing, such fines to be paid immediately and are added to the purse.

1. In matching derbies no entrant shall be forced to give away more than three ounces unless agreed to by entry or owner concerned, and all entries. If impossible to match within these limits, even though within advertised top and bottom weights, the entry will be withdrawn if weight differential is objectionable. Penalty or entry fee to be returned. Advertised top and bottom weights in a derby are to be considered check weights unless at the matching is concerned. In derbies lasting more than one day the rule must be differently construed. Should an entry once start to fight through one day of a multi-day meet he is obligated to continue to the end of the meet even though it would be impossible to match his cocks as stated. It is the duty of the match-maker to match such cocks that do not meet the 3-ounce differential at the closest possible weight.

2. In tournaments and derbies the referee or referees shall be selected by the pit management, they or he is accepted as satisfactory by all entries upon signature of Contract or payment of entry fee. After entrants have accepted referees and have signed acceptance by payment of entry fee or signature of contract, any decision of the referees will govern. No entry will be accepted who does not agree to abide with the provisions of this and all other rules.

3. The referee's decision is final and unreviewable regarding all violations of rules or the conduct of pitlers when fighting under these rules.

4. Advance event rulings may otherwise, any length heel that is round from socket to point is fair.

5. In localities where custom limits the length of blade to 1 1/8" or 1 1/2" it shall be the duty of the pit operator or promoter to post in a conspicuous place the exact definition of a fair heel in that particular pit. It shall also be the duty of the referee to see that all entries and participants are acquainted with any and all pit rulings as to what constitutes a fair 1 1/8" or 1 1/2" gaff, before any battles are fought.

6. Feathers. Cock shall be shown in full feather which is defined as follows: tail, wing, saddle, and feathers around the vent may be trimmed. The referee will not band any cock that does not meet the specifications of this paragraph. Shaving or trimming head and neck feathers is not permitted. In extreme emergency, if a cock is a fraction over the specified weight when presented at the scales, under body feathers may be thinned in such manner as in the refire's opinion, fighting ability of the cock is not impaired.

7. In tournaments and derbies, entries, upon arriving on the club grounds, are under the jurisdiction of the pit management.

8. All cocks in derbies and tournaments are to be banded by the referee or his representative before any matching procedure is started. No one but the referee or his designated representative should have access to the band numbers used on the respective entries.

9. After a meet has once commenced, any entry or entries that are detected borrowing, using or attempting to use any cock that does not have the band assigned to him or is not owned by him is barred from the meet.
properly banded shall lose the fight in question and all previous in all other contests. The same penalty is to be imposed upon all parties connected with such fraud or attempted fraud. If the same cock is in such event the procedure described in sub-paragraph "a" of rule 1 is to be used. The innocent party must fight a cock to get a win.

b. Any cock that has been banded and fought cannot be rebanded in the same main, derby or tournament unless he has been rebanded by the referee prior to leaving the fighting pit (not pit building) at completion of original fight.

SECTION 2 Fighting Rules

1. Upon the piters entrance to the pit, the referee will weigh his cock, check band numbers, carefully examine heels and see that the cock complies in every way with these rules. Pitters will also be allowed to check weights and heels to protect his own interest.

2. Billing. After cock are declared eligible the referee will compel the pitter to bill cocks a few times, order them to get ready and then pin at his command. If in the process of billing, a cock is disabled in any way, it is classed as negligence on the part of the pitter and the cock must be shown. Billing is considered a part of the fight.

3. Pitting from 8 foot scores. The score lines will be drawn eight feet apart and cocks must be placed directly on these lines at all times—the cocks are to be caged down solely on their feet in the center of their respective score, directly facing each other, not sideways, and released immediately at the command pin. Pitting is in front or behind the score line, walking or running the cock up in the list is not permissible.

4. Pitting on the center score (as called for under Count and Time provisions) is performed with one hand, at all times. At the order get ready, the pitter the pitters immediately take one hand off and away from cocks—they will not be allowed to touch the cock in any manner except with the hand holding cock after the order "get ready." Pitters are to be in a standard position when delivering the cock, not knelling, to permit immediate retirement six feet from the birds.

a. At the order of free hand. After "get ready" the free hand will be carried so further to the front than the center of the pitter’s hip and will not be in motion in any manner that the referee’s opinion will distract the opposing cock.

b. The center score lines are to be drawn 22 inches apart. At the order pit the pitters must come to their score lines, facing each other. The referee shall be the judge as to any unorthodox positions caused by physical conditions of the cock.

c. The hand holding the cock must be directly under the bird, open, and between his legs.

2. Pitter’s position. At all times the pitter and cock will be in full view of the audience and referee. At the order get ready both pitters must come to their score lines, facing each other. After pitting, either at the 8-foot or center score, the pitter will retire six feet from cock and then will at all times stay at least six feet from either cock until the referee orders handle.

6. Handle. After cocks are pitted and fighting the referee will order handle when it is apparent that one or both cocks are hung.

It is entirely up to the referee as to when to order a handle—when this order is given the cocks must be handled immediately. If the cocks prove to be hung or not.

a. Cocks must not be touched at any time during battle, by either handle or by the referee, until the order of handle is given, when the pitters will promptly obey.

b. The order of handle will be given when a cock is hung in his opponent, the pit, himself, or in case of a foul.

c. Should the referee be in doubt at any time as to whether the cocks are hung in any manner he should order a handle.

d. The pitter is to pull the gaff from his own cock. He will grasp the other cock below the knee and without lifting from floor remove the gaff.

e. A pitter will not be allowed to touch the opposing cock at any time except after the order of handle to protect himself or his cock and this must be done with an open hand. Mashing or unnecessary roughness is a foul.

f. Rest. The period of rest between pittings, after handling is 20 seconds. At the end of this period the referee will call get ready followed by the command pit which is to be issued no longer than five seconds after the get ready call.

g. Giving of count. A cock is entitled to the Count when he fights last, or when the other cock runs away. Count is given only when called for by the pitter of the cock entitled to same. Pitter calling for the Count when entitled to it, must call for it within five seconds, otherwise he loses right to the count and is given if both cocks are not fighting. The referee decides whether the count is asked for in the five second period. It is the pitter’s responsibility to call for the count at all times when entitled to it but it cannot be forced upon him when not desired. In case of a runaway Count can be called for at any time.

3. The Count—The Count is three Tens, and one Twenty (established by long custom and the order of these rules), with rest of twenty seconds between each pitting. Counting shall always be done by the referee, and not by the pitter, with the object of having each Ten cover ten seconds and the Twenty Count, twenty seconds. After the three Tens has been counted, the referee again counts Twenties and awards the battle to the cock of the Count. For the 20-count the cocks are pitted on the center score. Should the cock having the Count hang, the referee will call Handle, then get ready and then pit. When once the cocks get to the center score, either in Time or Count, they remain there until completion of the fight. If cocks are handled for any reason, except in case of a hang, they must be repitted on the same score as at beginning of the pitting.

If handled, the Count shall continue from where it was left off when handled. If hung again, they shall be handled and repeated in the same manner. The full three counts of Ten or one count of Time must be completed before cocks are pitted on center score. However, if they have previously been pitted on the center score, they shall be so pitted at the end of each count of Ten.

10. Breaking count. When a cock being counted out fights, or cock having the Count runs, the referee will call, count broken, and when given again, it starts over again with the first Ten. A cock breaking a count by fighting is entitled to the Count himself, if opposing cock is not fighting. If a cock having the Count dies, the opposing cock wins. If not a runaway—but if a runaway (because it is impossible to determine the gameness of the
dead cocks and a runaway cannot win, neither entry will receive credit for this fight on scorecard, although it is a theoretical draw. If a cock having the count rest against an opposing cock is entitled to the Count, if not a runaway—but if a runaway (both running) Time is given. If both cocks are running neither has the count and each entry loses a full fight. If both cocks are dead or dying and distantly unable to break the count, the fight is a draw and each entrant is awarded an-half fight. A runner (can not win under any circumstances). Dead cocks are entitled to draw only as stated. The referee is to continue all counts or times before rendering a final decision.

11. Time. When both cocks stop fighting, or run, and neither has the count, within five seconds, the referee shall automatically give Time of 20 seconds, three time. In taking Time, referee shall call out Time is Going On, and at the end of 20 seconds call Handle. When pitted again, cocks are pitted back to back on the center score, and so on until three 20 seconds have been given from the start of the first Time, and fight will then be declared a draw. To be fully understood whenever Time is given, each Time will be 20 seconds and 20 seconds rest between pittings. If neither fights, unless both are running, the battle is a draw. When both cocks are running each entrant loses a full fight.

12. Dead cocks. A dead cock is one that in the opinion of the referee is actually dead and not dying; he loses to a live cock if the latter is not a runaway. The referee is to continue to record of all counts or time before rendering a decision or making an examination of the birds. If both cocks are dead the fight is a draw. A blank entry credited with a half fight.

13. Testing and Gamelessness. The question of gameless or of a cock being a runner shall be left to the discretion of the referee at all times and not to the pitiers. At no time will a fresh cock be brought in the pit to test the gameless of another cock unless the opposing cock is physically unable, in referee's opinion, to show fight.

14. Leaving the pit. When a cock leaves the pit during a fight under any circumstances, he will automatically lose any count or counts he may have. The referee will immediately order the cock to be pitted, and give Time. The cock remaining in the pit receives the count only by right when next ordered pitted by the referee. However, if in the opinion of the referee, the cock leaving the pit is running the cock remaining in the pit automatically receives the count (if not running or dead). In such instances referee will continue through all counts and rest periods, before making the final decision. If a cock is brought back at any time he is to be pitted at the commencement of next pitting. If he is not brought back before the commencement of the 30-count he is declared the loser if cock in pit is not dead or running.

15. Should the cock remaining in the pit be a runner, Time is called. The cock that has left the pit may be returned and pitted at the commencement of the next Time and if he shows fight will acquire the count. However, if both cocks are not present when the order to pit is given for the third and final Time, or the cock in the pit is still running, the fight is declared a draw and rules governing two runners apply.

16. Fighting. Fighting is striking, chasing, pecking or pecking at the other cock in the opinion of the referee. When cocks are motionless and one or both are hiding or apparently holding and neither runner claims or is entitled to the count, the referee shall give Time.

a. In tournaments and derbies a cock is deemed to have been matched when the referee cuts off his band or if not banded when the referee has completed weighings and examination of cocks and declares the cock eligible to fight. He cannot be replaced by the entrant if he does not show. In matches the cock will be considered matched after the referee calls the first "get ready." In a hack, should a cock not face in the preliminary billing, the fight is declared "no contest."

b. These rules definitely state what is fair and unfair pitting and define the penalties. In a hack, when evidence of fraud or collusion between the parties fighting is discovered, the fight shall immediately be stopped by the referee and declared a draw.

SECTION 3

Penalties

1. Under these rules the referee is the sole judge and jury and is fully empowered to inflict penalties for any violations of the Rules. In addition to those already mentioned the penalties at the discretion of the referee may be, forfeiture of count, awarding the count to the opposing cock, disbarment of pitter, or disqualification of entry from further participation in the event. If an entry is disqualified, management is to make every effort in cooperation with entrants who have met or do not meet the offender, to produce the needed cocks at the proper weights to complete the meet. The offending entry can win nothing. If it is impossible to find cocks that will weigh in the weights in a tournament, the remaining entries will receive half of the fight when matched (14).

with the ejected entry, all previous fights to stand as recorded. In the case of a derby the referee, if cocks are not available to complete the match that will be forced to temporarily halt the meet and rematch the remaining entries.

The following are unfair, foul practices, or not permissible.

The use of unfair heels. Unfair trimming out. Borrowing, buying, or loaning cocks after an event is matched.

Use of cooks not properly banded. Handling before the order of referee. Not pitting at the order of referee. Turning cock loose before order of pit. Not observing the 6-foot rule and covering over cocks.

Not pitting with one hand at the breast. Cheating, brain, waving handkerchiefs, or any action that may attract attention of cock.

Changing or replacing gaffs, cutting off a gaff or broken gaff, cutting off a boked wing during the course of battle.

Assistance by anyone in the pit is not legal.

The use of individual water cups is prohibited and the pit will furnish fresh water for the use of both pitters.

No pitter will pit for more than one entry provided however that an entry may change pitters if desired between fights. In case of injury this rule may be relaxed.

No cock can be withdrawn and the fight given up in a tournament or derby battle as all other entries are interested. In all match fights cocks must be fought to a finish and with the referee alone having the right to decide the result of a contest. Contestants cannot agree to draw.

The time allowed to heel after a fight has been called will be announced to all entrants (12).
naturally upset the predetermined match list and the majority of the pits now ask all entrants to sign a contract in which they agree to fight all fights to a finish, regardless of their place on the score card.

The Orlando (Florida) Game Club contract is considered by many to be a model of simplicity. It states the particular "house rules" which govern their tournament, the weights, forfeit, prize money and other pertinent information. It then asks that each entrant sign a short contract which reads as follows:

"I hereby agree to take an entry in the Orlando Tournament to be held at the Orlando Game Club at Orlando, Fla., Jan. and to do my best to win. Under the jurisdiction of Club rules from time it enters the grounds."

"I am enclosing $250 as a guarantee, which is to be applied on entrance fee, and I agree to put up the balance on or before _____________________."

"The money is to be made payable to ________________ ."

Date__________________ Signed__________________

It has been found that binding all cocks to be shown in the tournament is one of the best ways to prevent substitutions or "switching" of cocks. Hands should be affixed by the referee or his appointed assistant prior to the start of the event with a different series of numbers assigned to each entrant. The referee will keep a record of these numbers and check them when cocks are brought in to the pit. Care should be exercised that the hands are firmly and tightly affixed and it is a good practice to use a band on each leg.

In recent years it has become the custom to band all cocks in any entry's cockhouse and permit him to use any of these birds as desired, as long as they meet the weight requirements as stated in the rules. There is less chance of unsportsmanlike conduct if the entrant is forced to use only the exact number of birds called for in the contract.

It is of utmost importance that the match list be drawn up correctly. The following charts will be found correct and as printed indicate how the entries will meet in each round of weights. As the matching problem the calling of the first weight will indicate the "key" of the list and under no circumstances can the list be changed after the original call. It is not necessary however, that the "pairs" be used as printed-the referee can use any "row" he wishes for any particular weight. All of this should be determined before the start of the meet and the referee decides only in "numbers not names" when making his match list. The entrants themselves are identified with the numbers by having them draw from 2 hat or box slips or envelopes containing a number, according to the number of entrants.

**TEN ENTRIES**

- 9-3, 4-9, 3-13, 2-4
- 3-9, 4-10, 7-4, 1-9
- 2-7, 4-9, 3-8, 6-14
- 1-3
- 3-8, 6-7, 1-20, 9-16, 4-7
- 3-9, 4-2, 7-10, 6-9, 1-3
- 3-7, 4-6, 9-9, 1-8, 5-1
- 2-3, 5-10, 6-3, 7-9, 1-4
- 3-4, 5-7, 8-10, 1-9
- 2-8, 3-5, 4-7, 8-9, 1-10

**TWELVE ENTRIES**

- 11-12, 9-5, 4-8, 3-10, 2-6, 1-7
- 9-5, 4-7, 8-12, 6-11, 2-10
- 5-2, 3-6, 4-10, 7-11, 3-12, 1-9
- 2-7, 4-9, 3-4, 6-12, 10-11, 1-3

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a derby are often great! Even at a small brush fight enough entries may show to make the pot very attractive.

It is because of this financial responsibility a pit, to operate successfully, must set a pattern as to banding, matching and fighting cocks.

While assisting the late Bob Luster in matching a derby, he remarked, "The referees and officials, a few years from now, will have it easy as a pattern will be established for matching these events.

After many years, through the sometimes easily and often embarrassing trial and error system, a way has been found to band, match and fight cocks in a derby that is accurate and fair to all concerned.

The banding of cocks is often taken too lightly by the pit operator. This is a very important phase of conducting a derby. The referee should be supplied with monogramed bands and he should be instructed to put two, yes two bands on each cock, one on each leg and to be sure they are securely sealed. The management should not band a bunch of bands to some irresponsible person and permit him to band the cocks.

Note of the necessary supplies are expensive accurate scales, monogramed bands, weight cards, match board and call sheets. A few dollars will purchase a season's supply. Too many pit operators believe they can run on the simple premise of having enough "door keepers."

As the cocks are banded, the referee should instruct each entry to go to the pit manager and draw the weight card (ascended in a blank envelope) which will have his derby number, pay his entrance fee, take or reject the optional, and finish such other business as reserved seats.

Each locality has its own caution regarding the number of cocks to be banded. Time has shown me all cocks on the grounds should be banded and accounted for. When the weight card as illustrated following is used, only the cocks turned in are eligible to fight, four or six as the derby contract may dictate.

**WEIGHT CARD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry No.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-12</td>
<td>001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-12</td>
<td>002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-14</td>
<td>003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-15</td>
<td>004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-10</td>
<td>005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-10</td>
<td>006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that each weight must correspond to the two bands shown directly across from the specific weight. Also, it will be seen that the card is perforated so the entry can tear it apart and turn in the weight side only for matching.

At the same time weights are turned in, the hand side of the card should be deposited in a sealed container, kept in full view of all concerned. The entry should identify himself on the back of this half of the card. This container must not be removed from public view nor opened until the match list is completed and

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9-10, 4-5, 10-2, 6-11, 8-7, 1-2
6-5, 7-12, 2-9, 4-11, 1-8
3-6, 5-2, 1-4, 7-10, 1-12
5-12, 3-7, 5-10, 4-9, 1-15
3-5, 4-10, 6-7, 8-12, 1-12
1-10, 5-7, 9-2, 4-13, 1-15
5-14, 1-8, 7-11, 6-0, 7-11, 1-14
6-9, 5-10, 1-0, 5-11, 7-10, 1-15
5-14, 2-5, 7-1, 0-10, 3-11, 1-12
7-14, 5-1, 7-13, 8-9, 6-11, 1-14
2-4, 5-6, 9-8, 5-13, 11-15, 12-12, 1-2
2-9, 5-1, 7-2, 6-11, 2-14, 10-2, 1-4

**SIXTEEN ENTRIES**

1-3, 2-6, 0-9, 9-11, 10-12, 13-15, 14-16, 5-7
1-5, 2-6, 0-9, 9-11, 10-12, 13-15, 14-16, 5-7
2-6, 3-4, 1-0, 5-9, 12-11, 7-12, 5-15, 1-16
3-6, 5-3, 4-2, 12-10, 3-9, 14-17, 8-10
2-5, 3-15, 8-7, 5-15, 18-12, 14-15, 11-14, 1-9
2-1, 5-4, 0-5, 8-9, 10-14, 7-10, 6-11, 1-14
1-5, 3-5, 1-15, 4-10, 5-10, 9-13, 11-14, 12-15
1-5, 3-15, 8-7, 5-15, 18-12, 14-15, 11-14, 1-9
8-12, 5-14, 0-5, 8-9, 10-14, 7-10, 6-11, 1-14
1-3, 5-2, 4-11, 5-10, 9-16, 10-15, 7-12
1-5, 3-7, 4-12, 9-5, 11-15, 16-14, 13-15
3-5, 1-1, 3-10, 6-4, 12-9, 14-6, 10-12, 7-12
1-3, 5-1, 7-12, 8-11, 12-13, 14-4, 5-10, 1-16
2-8, 3-10, 4-0, 5-13, 6-16, 11-15, 12-14, 1-7
8-2, 0-13, 7-15, 8-11, 13-12, 14-4, 5-9, 1-10

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"point" his cocks for four or five days and to have them at the peak of their fighting ability while holding at specified weights.

To better understand the Derby we turn back to the year 1829, when according to an article appearing in The Gamecock, some years ago, Bob Dyer of Frankfort, Ky., was trying to promote a tournament. It was in the spring and most of the cockers had fought out their best fights. Although several were interested he could not fill his tournament. Some of the prospects did not have enough cocks. Dyer put some of them together for a conference. Among those gathered was E. A. Brophy of Paris, Ky. (Who won this first derby.) They talked the situation over but it seemed hopeless. The only thing left was to hack their roosters—then someone made a suggestion.

"Let's all show five or six cock and match them according to weight. The one who wins the most fights will get the money." A moments silence while the possibilities were considered, was followed by enthusiastic discussion. Practical suggestions built up the idea and they reached an agreement.

"What will we call it?" someone asked. It was derby-time in Kentucky and the natural answer was, "Let's call it a derby." No one dissented and so the derby was born.

The late Tom Fowler of Knoxville, Tenn., devised a simple system of matching derby which was widely accepted. As the derby became more popular, official found some weaknesses and the following procedures have been adopted. They represent the opinions and experiences of many referees, including the author of these rules, and are based on an article by Bob Basham printed in Gamecock.

The derby is the stimulant that brought cocking to its present height of popularity in our generation. The odds one may receive in

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(20)
posted, folded to offer no information, yet in view of all present.

The reason for this procedure is to obviate calling entrants back a second time to turn in the band side of the weight card.

In effect this system permits the referee or matchmaker to make a blind match, band to band, without cluttering up the match board with a lot of band numbers.

After the matchmaker has finished the actual match list and posted it in the pit, the "band box" is opened. He puts each section of the card together, then places the weight card in its entirety beside his call book and enters the corresponding band numbers to the weights he has matched.

Starting at the top of the weight card, he enters the first band number that will correspond to the first listed weight reading down to on until all band numbers are entered beside their corresponding weight on the match book. This eliminates "fishing" for low band numbers and being able to arbitrarily make certain cocks meet through a first or second call where two or more cocks are turned in at the same weight as the matchmaker now knows who is who. Bear in mind, the match has been made and posted!

If you will give this particular move a bit of consideration, it means in effect that every cock matched fights band-to-band yet the matchmaker is able to tie them together "blind" and has no way of knowing who is meeting who. When cocks are matched all the way through band-to-band, it is possible by consulting the master band book, to determine who the entries are!

Actually, the careful team of matchmakers simply add the band numbers to the corresponding weight so that when the call sheet is given the entry, there is no excuse for bringing the wrong cock to the scales.

As to the actual matching of cocks, I prefer a sheet of heavy cardboard (which incidentally can be purchased from any print shop in a 22x28 inch so that my practice to ride this card into appropriate squares as soon as the definite number of entries is known. See illustration.)

Across the 28-inch way, very top column, weights in 1-ounce differentials are listed; on the far left are the entry numbers. I like to use extra large numbers at each pound break; the use of a red-score pencil helps as the pound lines can be identified with one of the colors and helps prevent the hazing of any matchmaker, a pound mistake. Half ounces go to the next highest ounce, quarter ounces to the next lower.

After the marks representing the cocks for each entry are placed on the card, of course each mark in the proper weight column, the board is double checked and matching begins. The matchmaker should study the board to see if the matches are possible within three ounces and to see if there are weights difficult to match in the small or large weight brackets. The derby is a "number in the hat" so to speak as far as who meets who is concerned and this has a very direct bearing on the outcome.

Since the numbers are drawn for position on the board the matchmaker must not arbitrarily take this chance out of the game by deliberately matching certain entries or by missing others should he have chance or otherwise know the identity of certain entrants. An entry should not have one his number nor the weights of his cocks before the match.

Considering a theoretical derby... should entries numbered one and two have 11-12 cocks, they should meet... not one and ten. The matchmaker should start at the top of his weight columns and list the closest numbers together with like weights. There is no excuse for "dodging" around from top to bottom of the entry numbers.

I want to impress on entries that they should insist that cocks are matched in this or any other fair manner as in the first column—not taking entry one past three and five to reach nine!

In the match is being made a helper can run the "check sheet" shown below as a key to the matchmaker know at all times which pair have met or are still not matched. For the protection of the officials, this should be destroyed at the moment the matchlist is checked out. It is a full "picture" of who meets who and possibilily of value for buying or selling in the wrong hands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHECK SHEET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entry No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry No. 4</td>
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I was not present, but recently at a 20-odd entry derby where there were plenty of cocks and weights, two entries met twice. This is deplorable and indefensible on the part of the officials!

(26)
After the call book is presented, it is the duty and responsibility of the "expeditor" or "man at the mike" to make his calls as the matchmaker made the matches. Experience has proved that it is wise to use a written call sheet rather than verbal notification to the coming contestants. We have devised a rather long and complicated call sheet illustrated below. Each entry gets a copy and one sheet is given to the referee who is calling the fight in question. This obviates the necessity of lengthy checking of records when the cock reaches the scale and all information is in the hands of those concerned.

The completed match board is to be folded and, secured in a public place where all the entrants and spectators can see it at all times. The sheets are not to be opened until the fight by the referee — in this way there is proof the cocks were fought as matched.

At a multi-day meet, each day's match list should be posted openly for the inspection of all present after the conclusion of the day's fights. This puts the man who calls the fights and the matchmaker on notice not to make a mistake and for the matchmaker to match the cocks as they fall in by weight and not go by certain entries to make other matches or not meet.

Many cockers have contributed their opinions and suggestions to make up this procedure for matching and fighting cockers. We must be progressive and consider all new ideas to constantly improve the phases of cockfighting, regardless of who advances the thought.

May always be the cock who can and will fight last under the rules?

Printed by The Gamecock
(30)
Battle Royal Rules. The Feathered Warrior.

The battle royal rules came intact to the United States from England where this fighting style was originated. The battle royal has never been widely popular in the United States. It is a melee in which luck as much as skill wins the fight. It is not a true test of a cock's merit because the last cock alive wins. A coward, if he can keep from getting cut up, could win. I just included these rules as an example of a different set of rules from the Wortham. That they came intact from England attests to their antiquity.
BATTLE ROYAL RULES

1. Any number of cocks or stags regardless of size may enter.

2. The amount agreed on shall be put up with the referee before the battle starts.

3. The referee shall choose one man other than an entrant to assist him in pulling heels and nothing else.

4. At the call "get ready" each handler shall step in the pit, set his bird on the floor close to and facing the pit wall.

5. At the call "pit" handlers shall release their birds, still facing the wall, then step out of the pit and remain out until asked to come in by the referee at the first handle.

6. Birds shall not be touched by the referee or his assistant except when hung in another bird, themselves, the pit wall or floor. The heel or heels shall be pulled and the bird or birds left exactly as they were before, on their backs, on top of the other bird, etc., etc.

7. A bird may jump the pit and be put back once. If he jumps again he stays out. All dead cock shall be removed immediately.

8. When all fighting stops for a period of 30 seconds the referee shall order a handle. The regular handlers may now come in the pit, pick up their birds and nurse them for ONE MINUTE. The handlers shall remain in the pit from this first handle until the conclusion of the battle.

9. At the call "get ready", after the one minute rest period, the handlers shall form a circle in the center of the pit. At the call "pit" birds shall be bressed in a circle, beak to beak and breast to breast.

10. Any bird not showing fight at the breast shall be ordered out of the pit immediately.

11. The handlers may now pull heels as in a regular battle, that is pull the other birds heels out of his cock but must not put the bird on his feet or change his position in any way. Once the handlers come into the pit, the assistant referees work is finished and will stay out of the pit.

12. Anytime the fighting stops for 30 seconds, after a breast, another ONE MINUTE nursing or rest period will be given. As before, any bird not showing fight at the breast shall be ordered taken out. If three or more birds are bressed and only one definitely shows fight, he wins the battle royal. If two show fight the battle is to be finished according to the regular pit rules as applied at the center score. This battle between the last two birds shall be started at the center score with neither having the count.

-Published by-
THE FEATHERED WARRIOR

These two stories are included here as examples of the delightful stories that circulate among the cocking fraternity. Cockers see themselves as a macho group where all the male attributes predominate. They like cussedness in themselves as well as their battle cocks. This is not expressed in a mean way but with hearty good humor.
Well, Junior, here's the way it was. This pit was one large building, everything under one roof. All the cockhouses were inside this building as well as the pit, lunch stand, etc. Lots of hackin' going on. Some very notable cockers were there that day; O.C. Nations was there, Bobby Manziel (incidentally, I forgot to mention this meet was held in March 1939), Bill Christmas, Ike Maupin, and many, many more. All have passed on, except possibly Bill Christmas, Ike Maupin, A.T. Wight and Olle and myself are still around, but just barely.

There were five pairs of cocks ahead of me. Fairy and I were just settin' up in the bleachers, waiting to get in the pit. I had a little cock heeled up, just waiting to be called in. He was a little Brownred cock that I called a Sandsifter. (These are mentioned in Johnson's History of Game Strains). Anyways, I had fought this little cock four times as a stag, but had never turned him loose as a cock. I had him matched at a very good buddy of mine by the name of A.T. Wight. Now A.T. and I were pretty close — outside the pit, but when we met in the pit, we were mortal enemies! O.K., Fairy and I were just taking it easy, just waitin' on our time. Then four guys walked in the door. I forgot to mention there was only one door to this pit. These four fellers walked in, didn't waste any time at all, well-dressed, all had on shop-made boots. I didn't have to look twice to see who these gent's were—Texas Rangers! One, the spokesman, went in to the pit proper. He was a Ranger Captain, the other three took their place outside the pit proper. The Captain spoke, "Ladies and gentlemen, we are Texas Rangers and you are all free to leave, no charges will be filed, except the two pitters inside the pit, the referee, the owner, or owners, and managers—you people are all under arrest. This cockpit is now closed and will not be opened again."

O.K., here I sit with a rooster with gaffs on, in my lap, but according to what he said, I am free to leave. And leave I did. I don't know what the hell happened to Fairy; she just faded away. But me, I took one of my gaffstring cutter offers and took them gaaves offen that little rooster, and pitched him in a vacant cockhouse, where all of us heeled and unheeled our cocks. I just pitched him in that room and headed for a safer place. I ran for about a hundred yards and dived over behind a huge pine log. Everything got real quiet. Then later I heard what I thought was a herd of buffalo coming toward me. Well, hell, I didn't want no buffalo running over me, so I raised up cautiously, here comes that A.T., all out of breath. He jumped down behind the log. When he could get his breath, he wanted to go ahead and fight the two cocks. I said, "Hell, no, let's let well enough alone". He said, "You's yeller". I said, "I ain't yeller, we wuz lucky this time, let's let it stay like that."

Then he said, or asked, "What did you do with our cock?" I told him I pitched him in that vacant room. He said, "Did you take the gaffs off?" I said, "Shore I took the gaffs off, you damn dummy, you don't think I would risk some jerk goin' in there and stealin' my rooster, and my gaffs as well, do you?" Then I asked A.T., "What did you do with your rooster?" He replies, "I pitched him in that same cockhouse". I asked him if he removed the gaff. He replied no, that he didn't have time. Then the sad news broke in front of me. There's my little sandsifter fightin' for his life against an armed man, and him with nothin' to protect himself. A.T. and I walked slowly back to the pit, opened the cockhouse door. There on the floor was A.T.'s rooster on his back, with gaffs on, mine on top of him, floggin' hell outta that cock. In fact, A.T.'s cock was as dead as a mackerel. Mine had done it barefooted!!
"Hawg"

Nations. He was called Hawg because he raised "hawgs" in East Texas and these more-or-less ran wild in the East Texas piney woods. Now, I'm gonna tell it like Mr. Nations told it to me. I knew that he had lost an eye; I learned that quite sometime back before this meeting. So I said, "Mr. Nations, I'd like to ask you a very personal question". He said, "Shoot son, I'm listenin'". Then I asked him, "How did you lose that eye?" He replied, "Well, son, I'll tell ye. It was a cockfight. There was two brothers at this meet; both were small men, like 135 pounds, give or take a pound or two. For some unknown reason, these two brothers jumped on me, one getting on my back, wrapping his legs around my body, and his arms around my neck, the other one punchin' me in the face. Then this 'un on my back put one of his fingers in my eye." I told him, "Go ahead, you sonofabitch, pull my eye out and I'll kill ye." O.K., the guy did pull my eyeball out and I would have killed the sonofabitch had not the crowd pulled me off him."
The stories cockers tell to each other and about each other are similar to those told among any folk group. The stories mirror the triumphs and tragedies, concerns and aspirations of the group. Many stories are funny, some sad, a few cruel, but they all share the same dynamic. The story in the body of the paper about the old referee Holdtight is a funny story but it also mirrors a concern many cockers share and that is getting spurred by your own chicken in a handle or during the conditioning process. Some cocks become so adept at getting a spur into handlers that they are called man fighters. Some cockers say a man fighter gets that way because he is over-handled. They say just get a cock gentled down so you can pick him up then leave him alone until he fights. Other cockers say man fighters are just born that way. Either way a man fighter is a bad chicken to fight because he will not relax in a handle and some will even turn on their handlers when they are pitted. If they do this their opponents get a free buckle and its usually up over the back which is the killing place. One old cocker told me about an old man fighter he had that he called Caesar.

Caesar was a white hackle roundhead cross he raised from a chick. When John started conditioning Caesar he picked up man fighting early on. John didn't care for that and he was about to twist the rooster's head off but decided to pit him instead. The first fight Caesar had was in a hack fight with an old ace cock that was a six time winner. They were in short heels and Caesar killed the ace on the third buckle. John spent the whole season overmatching Caesar in hacks trying to get him killed. Caesar kept winning and his man fighting habits got worse. John fought him in every heel he had from short gaffs to the long knife. Caesar didn't care what kind of steel he was packing he just loved to fight. It got to where when John would pit Caesar he would step out of the pit or old Caesar would whirl around and pull a shuffle on
John before he went for the other cock. By the end of the season Caesar had won more fights and more money than any cock John had ever owned.

That summer John turned Caesar out hoping a skunk or dog might jump him. By fall Caesar had gone through the molt and was in full feather and full of fight. John caught him off a roost one night and threw him in a conditioning pen. Caesar fought all winter and by spring John was giving long odds to even get a match.

Caesar had got so bad at man fighting than when John poured water in his watering pan, old Caesar would pull a shuffle on the water dish. John had so many cuts and peck marks on his arms and legs he said he would be damned if he would fight him another year.

Caesar had built up quite a reputation in the last couple of years. He was a thirty time winner and he had never been seriously hurt. A lot of people came to see Caesar and John would always invite the visitor to pick the old cock up. They would get hit by a feather tornado and John would have a good laugh.

John decided to breed old Caesar if he wasn't going to fight him anymore. He put one of his best roundhead hens in with old Caesar. The hen was already laying so she was in prime breeding shape. John put her in the pen and old Caesar crowed and strutted. The hen squatted and Caesar started to mount her. He was half on, forgot what he was doing and pulled a shuffle clear up her back. John couldn't believe what he was seeing. He figured maybe if he just left them alone they could work it out.

The next morning John looked in Caesar's pen and there was the hen, backed up as tight as she could get in one corner, a dazed look in her eye and every feather on her back was broken, bent or pulled out. Caesar was wandering around looking for something to pull a shuffle on. John said the hen never laid another egg all summer.

John kept old Caesar around his place for years. He would use Caesar to test his stags and occasionally fight a hack match with him. John enjoyed cussing that old bird but he kept him till he died.

There is an element in stories like this that is common in the genre. If the protagonist has a little eccentricity that sets him apart it is somehow easier to accept the other fantastic parts of the story. For instance it was widely reported that Man O'War, the racehorse, was a demon in the saddling paddock. It often took twenty minutes to saddle him. When he was saddled he won races.

Another story in the same genre was related to me this last summer
(1985) by Mack Gleeve of Salt Lake City. Mack came to my place to look at some horses I had for sale. He saw a pen of fighting chickens I had and that prompted him to tell the following story. He had been stationed in the Philippines during the Second World War in an engineer battalion. His battalion was building air strips on the occupied islands.

All the Filipinos had fighting cocks and it wasn't long before soldiers started getting them. It seemed like every company had their champion. My buddies and I got a couple and pretty soon we were fighting all over the island. There was a bunch of Sea Bees stationed down away from us we fought a few times. They had one great big bastard that was a sore loser so we tried to avoid him.

One day a bunch of us went back into the island to do some trading. We ran into an old man who wanted to trade some chickens for some C-rations. His chickens looked pretty good so we did. He had one little white rooster there he kept trying to pawn off on us. The Filipinos don't like white roosters and we didn't want him either but finally the old man just threw him in the package so we took him. One day just for the hell of it we heeled him up and boy was he a fighter. He sort of became our dark horse. Everyone would laugh at our little white chicken but he just kept winning.

One day we were heading across the base for a chicken fight when we ran across the big Sea Bee and his buddies. They saw we were carry a fighter so they started promoting a match. We tried to back out but the big guy wouldn't let us. We said all we had was the little white rooster and he wasn't much. They finally offered us five to one odds so we said ok. We put the money in a C-ration can and set it on a rock. I told my buddy to sit close to the can and when I hollered, to grab it and run like hell. See, I knew what was going to happen.

We heeled up and set them down and sure enough the white started cutting like mad. The more he cut the madder the big guy got. I threw my buddy the sign and nodded for him to get ready. Sure enough on the next buckle the white cock put the other one down. The big guy could see he had been sucked in so he started to get the money.

I hollered to my buddy, he grabbed the can and we hauled out. I could hear that big, mean bastard coming but I could run faster scared then he could mad. We outran him and hid in a warehouse the rest of the day.

The next day a guy saw me and asked if I had seen the big Sea Bee. I said, "no why?" and he said, "he acted like he wanted to talk to you."

This story also has a cock with an unusual characteristic, the
white color. It is interesting to me that the feeling expressed by the Filipino cockers about not wanting to fight a white cock is also common in the United States. Why this is so I have no idea. There is a breed of white fighting chickens called Dom but they have never been popular. Doms are outcrossed with some of the red breeds, producing a color called spangle that is common in certain areas. It is not uncommon in folktales to have as a central figure someone or something that is notable for an unusual physical characteristic. The extreme man-fighting character of old Caesar and the color of the white cock fit this genre.

Some cocks are known for their siring ability as much as they are for their own fighting prowess. It is common to have cockers introduce a new set of stags saying these are sons of so and so. The next entry in the appendix is a picture and brief description of one such game cock. It is also interesting to note that the cock Simcoe is trimmed in the old English style. The saddle feathers have been pulled or trimmed and the tail feathers have been cropped. Cocks are now fought with a full tail.
HEARTY, 3,000 or 3,000, won nine fights, seven times and $20,000 at different times. He is the fountain head of the present Rangers. Died in 1916 of natural causes when he was seven years old.
There are many short anecdotes as well as tales that circulate among cockers. The following is one example.

At one cockfight a used car salesman from Spanish Fork brought a derby entry of stags. One of the stags looked a little old and someone questioned the fact that he may be a cock. A couple of cockers picked up the cry and pretty soon there was a heated argument as to whether the rooster was a stag or a cock. The car dealer told his handler to drop the rooster in the pit and let him walk around then everyone could see he was a stag. One sage old cocker who had gotten heated up in the argument sat on the side of the pit and carefully studied the rooster. He said, "He's a cock."

The car dealer jumped in the pit and shouted, "He's a stag." The old cocker and said, "I'll just bet you he's a cock." The car dealer whipped a hundred dollar out of his pocket, dropped it in the pit and said, "A hundred says he's a stag." The old cocker looked at the rooster a minute, back at the hundred dollar bill, and said, "By hell, I believe he is a stag."

The throwing of the bill in the pit was a way of calling the bluff. If the old cocker had matched the bet the burden of proof would have been on him. It was a great expression of macho on the part of the car dealer. He knew the size of the bet would quell the argument.

The merit of the cocker lies in the quality of his chickens and the size of his bet. The Mexican cockers are respected at the pits because they seem willing to bet everything they own on the outcome of a single fight. This attitude is expressed in the ballad of Gallo de Cuieio. Carlos Saragosa bet the full fifteen thousand on his battle cock. I know few Anglo cockers willing to make that much of a commitment.

Geertz in his writings about the Bali cockfighters makes much the same point. The "deep play" he writes about emphasizes the size of the bet.1 Whole villages or families will pool all they have to back one cock in a match. Deep play demonstrates this total commitment. They are one death away from wealth or penury.

The merit of the battle cock is expressed in two commonly heard
statements-- he's game or dead game--meaning a cock has exceptional bravery. The fighting capabilities of the cocks are expressed in terms such as, "He can cut," or "He's a cutting machine." The great macho battle cocks are the ones that can win repeatedly in the long knife. They are the cutting cocks.

It is often said of a poor cock that he can neither cut nor get out of the way. A term of derision that traces back to England to describe a poor cock is dunghill. The poor cocks ended up on the dungheap and thus the term dunghill. This term is still widely used in the United States.

Another call you hear at a cock pit is the cry, "Who heeled that chicken?" If a spur comes loose or the natural spur shells and wobbles the handler will hear that cry echo around his head. The first time I heard that I asked a man by me why he hollered that. He said "I don't know, that's what they holler at me."

I think that sums up the folktale.

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