

Chapter 6

THE LAST CYCLE: CIVIL WAR FILMS 1964-75

*'We had a dream and we are losing it'*¹

With civil rights legislation going through Congress, Hollywood returned to the Civil War. It was not the Civil War of *The Horse Soldiers*, previously praised by the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, but one where African Americans emerged from the background to play more significant and positive roles. This cycle is different to previous cycles as Hollywood produced a range of representations reflecting the changing debate over race, civil rights and identity and looked indirectly at Cuba and the war in Vietnam. It petered out in 1972 in parody and disillusion. These films completed the demolition of Hollywood's myths of the Civil War: the Southern character was discredited, miscegenation was accepted and the symbol of the beneficial plantation destroyed.

Even as the high-water mark of the Civil Rights Movement and of Lyndon Johnson's presidency was celebrated in 1964-65, those same years sowed the seeds of disunity in the Civil Rights Movement and the undoing of a great vision. As the war in Vietnam escalated it drained political impetus, goodwill and financial support for the Great Society.² The Civil Rights Movement splintered over the issues of the use of violence, separatism, and the failure of the federal government to fulfil its promises. By the end of the decade Richard Milhouse Nixon had capitalised on the anti-war movement, the frustration of African Americans at the slow pace of change, the backlash of northern working class whites and the rise of the Christian fundamentalist right, to forge a new alliance and slow down progress on civil rights reform. Nixon's downfall over Watergate forced Americans back to re-examine their beliefs in the Constitution – with the bicentennial of the Revolution only two years away – and away from the issue of equality.

Hollywood's difficulties continued throughout the 1960s, building up to the severe financial crisis of 1969-72. This led eventually to complete the transformation of the industry to one where film production was just part of a conglomerate empire. The revision of the Production Code in 1966 and its demise in 1968 allowed Hollywood to exploit the increasing violence in society and be more explicit about sexual, and inter-racial, relationships. Hollywood discovered a new audience, the African Americans who inhabited the inner city areas, and produced films with black heroes and heroines –

Blaxploitation – which reversed the traditional white and black roles.³ Young production executives encouraged the equally young independent directors, who no longer had to worry about the Production Code, and who had different interests and new visions.⁴ They created, for a few years, the ‘Hollywood Renaissance.’⁵ With the Civil War apparently abandoned by Hollywood, television - now the main medium of popular culture - took over and began to produce films, documentaries and miniseries.

Hollywood returns to the Civil War

It was not the centennial celebrations that returned Hollywood to the Civil War but the change in the attitude of the Kennedy administration towards the issue of civil rights under the pressure exerted by the Civil Rights Movement. Kennedy’s policy had been to resolve the issue of civil rights through a minimum of legislation, executive orders, action through the federal courts and an increasingly productive economy, whilst he attended to the more important issue of containing communism abroad.⁶ The Civil Rights Movement however persisted in claiming its rights through non-violent direct action, which sought to create situations which would force local white communities that had ‘constantly refused to negotiate [to] confront the issue.’ The policy was not to provoke violent reaction, although it was accepted that this would probably be the response, but to expose Southern violence to the world. This was particularly successful at Birmingham, Alabama, in May 1963, where the apparent violence of the police, filmed by television, revealed the true nature of Southern segregation.⁷ Kennedy’s response was to make civil rights a ‘moral issue’ and to legislate. For the first time since the 1870s a federal government was fully committed to implementing equality and had the backing of public opinion.⁸ The national agenda had been set.

The Civil Rights Movement had managed to maintain the moral high ground through its policy of non-violent direct action and through Martin Luther King Jr.’s marriage of the American creed with strong Christian beliefs.⁹ But it was not just about moral clarity and idealism, until 1965 the Civil Rights Movement was able to balance this with political effectiveness.¹⁰ The March on Washington in August 1963 was inter-racial and inter-denominational and demonstrated to the world that the Civil Rights Movement was ‘strong, united, determined and responsible.’¹¹ For the first time since the blacklist, liberal Hollywood stars felt able to demonstrate their support for a liberal cause without being

labelled a communist. Sixty top Hollywood stars attended.¹² Many were now independent of the studios. With such a public demonstration of support by the stars, whose presence in films was demanded by the financial backers as some guarantee of success, it made it easier for Hollywood to return to the Civil War. But now it was acceptable to re-introduce race into the narrative and to treat it positively - even with the western setting and the themes of unity and reconciliation.

The Civil Rights Movement was again influencing Hollywood and changing popular culture. By continually contesting the major theme of the centennial celebrations – unity – the Civil Rights Movement had forced America to acknowledge that the memory of the Civil War was also about emancipation and inclusiveness and that resolving the question of civil rights for African Americans was its logical conclusion. This fitted well with America's foreign policy of containing communism by stressing the democracy and freedom of the West in contrast to the totalitarianism of the communist states.¹³ Civil War films could be about freedom and equality, and the injustices caused by their denial, as well as improved race relations. The fact that Kennedy's assassination occurred in the South, and that the assassin was a white man, made it less risky for films to have an inter-racial content as well as continuing the perception that racism was a sectional and not a national problem - especially as most of the films were set in the south and south-west.

Hollywood's Civil War films of 1964 reflected the new attitude towards civil rights. *Invitation to a Gunfighter* (1964) looked back to *Band of Angels* with suppressed anger against slavery suddenly erupting. However its central 'black' anti-hero was a Creole and played by a Caucasian, Yul Brynner, whilst Rau-Ru, in *Band*, had been played by the African American Sidney Poitier. Hollywood was again being cautious by using a white star as a mulatto, for obvious marketing reasons, to represent the African Americans, very much as it had used white women in mulatto roles in the 1940s and 1950s. The film is a portrait of contemporary America, which touches on the old Southern myths. Yul Brynner (Jules) is hired by townspeople to kill the Confederate (Martin) who has returned from the Civil War to find that his property has been sold and he naturally wants it back. The town had supported the Union because it was against 'secession and slavery' but these fine words hid northern racism. The Mexican townspeople were kept firmly in their ghetto of Mexicantown. 'How do they vote,' asks Jules. 'They're different,' says the banker hiring Jules, 'they go their way, we go ours.' African Americans living in their inner city ghettos

would surely recognise the Mexicans' situation as analogous to their own. *Invitation* is a dialogue with 1960s racism, white supremacy, Lost Cause myth and hypocrisy. Jules acts as the conscience, saviour and finally martyr to the cause of racial justice and understanding – just as the civil rights activists were. He questions the liberal view expressed by Ruth, Martin's former lover, who cared 'about men buying and selling other men' even though she had never seen slavery, and opposes it with his experience, ironically suggesting that 'black men are born to be slaves.' The young, black radicals in the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) understood that hating the idea in the abstract, as Ruth did, is one thing, living under it is entirely different.

Jules exposes how racial intolerance, corruption and greed dominate society. He is at first refused a room at the local hotel until he waves his money around: greed wins out over principle and prejudice. The barber tries to sell Jules a watch for double the price he told the owner, on whose behalf he is selling it; the stable owner tries to sell him a lame horse. The local banker, who owns most of the town, dominates the sheriff and the democratic process. Law and order is subverted by hiring a gunman to kill another man without a trial and with no regard to his innocence or guilt.¹⁴ This is the language of lynching, the language of informal and unlawful social control that still pervaded the South as in the case of the three civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi in 1964.¹⁵ Finally, filled with disgust at the overall corruption in the town, Jules destroys buildings on the main street – foreshadowing the urban riots of 1964-68.

Jules acts out a variant of the 'buck' role that Donald Bogle has identified.¹⁶ He is not violent and over-sexed but sophisticated, handsome, morally superior and self-assured. He is able to charm women of all ages. Here indeed is the real fear of southern white males: an African American who is able to attract white females as a man, and not attempt rape to satisfy some imagined animal lust. Ruth is attracted and plans to leave with him. Once again Hollywood is cautious about a black/white physical relationship, and nothing happens between them. Instead Jules acts out the Christian symbolism of death and rebirth. He refuses to kill Martin and denies himself the possibility of finding some inner happiness by refusing to let Ruth go with him. He gives Martin his killer's fee 'for the emancipation of the local slaves.' He humiliates the banker before the townspeople to show that they have nothing to fear from him if they act together. However, Jules is accidentally shot by Martin, who then kills the banker. Jules' death brings about a rebirth as it unites the town

and, symbolically, the country. White townspeople and Mexicans carry his body away with Martin and Ruth following, hand in hand, the races united, North and South united, America united.

The double symbol of reconciliation changes for the first time the Hollywood tradition of white North marrying white South. In *Band of Angels*, Rau-Ru's waving goodbye was preceded by an act in the master-slave relationship – helping his master to escape; in *Invitation* the coming together is a voluntary action breaking down the inter-racial barriers. It is reminiscent of the coming together at the end of the March on Washington giving hope for the future and also of the coming together of America after Kennedy's death. Hollywood, however, did not forget its southern audiences or its standard Civil War stereotypes. Martin has a reputation for being a very good marksman (one Southerner can lick ten Yankees) and returns from the war unscathed (in contrast to the dead, maimed and blinded Union supporters). Sympathy is evoked for him for the loss of his farm (carpet-bagging) and he did not go to war to defend slavery ('who's ever seen a slave in these parts'). So why did he go to war? Is he just a born rebel, as Ruth suggests, or is it something else? Both Martin and Jules are outsiders and outsiders confront consensus. Martin is an outsider as he supported the South but also accepted the Mexicans as equals. Jules is the external dark force brought in to solve a problem like the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Both expose society for what it is. Jules, the African American, and Martin, the Southerner, are the outsiders in 1960s America and it is their reconciliation that holds the key to better race relations in the future. Jules, however, in not killing Martin has the higher moral ground but, as a hired killer, has to be sacrificed, as the Production Code dictated, to achieve that message.

The reconciliation theme between African Americans and white racist southerners is taken up in other films. In *Rio Conchos* (1964), the main African American character, Franklyn, is set against an unreconstructed racist, Lassiter. In the book there are no African Americans so the introduction of Franklyn is a deliberate decision to highlight the civil rights issue.¹⁷ The story is set in 1867 and revolves around the theft from the federal army of a new type of quick-firing rifle by former Confederates who are planning to invade the southern states from their base in Mexico. Lassiter has been found with one of these rifles and is allowed out of military prison to help find them. As the search progresses a mutual respect develops between the two and they die together as they destroy the stolen rifles.

There are similar examples in *Major Dundee* (1965). Following one racial incident, when a Confederate soldier tries to provoke the African American sergeant, Aesop, by reminding him of his former slave status, the Confederate captain compliments Aesop publicly on his actions earlier in the day. This does not happen in the book where Aesop just ‘melts away.’¹⁸ Towards the end of the film, when Aesop and a Confederate soldier are observing the French soldiers, Aesop confidently remarks that he and his ‘boys can take that outfit.’ The Confederate agrees and Aesop replies ‘they’ve never been South.’ With this conspiratorial and inclusive comment they look at each other and laugh.¹⁹

Major Dundee was the first film since *The Birth of a Nation* in which African American soldiers were seen to be engaged in military activities during the Civil War.²⁰ It was followed by *Shenandoah* (1965), which also contained African American and southern white reconciliation in the friendship of two boys: Gabriel, the African American slave and Boy, the youngest son of the white Anderson family. Boy had taken to wearing a Confederate cap that he had found, so when Union troops come upon them, Boy is considered a Rebel and is taken away, while Gabriel is told, by a light-skinned African American soldier, that he is free.²¹ The two boys later meet on the battlefield. Boy lies injured. Gabriel is about to bayonet him when he recognises Boy and carries him to safety - just like his angel namesake or as the ‘faithful slave.’ However, their past relationship was one of mutual friendship and Boy came from a family that did not own slaves nor had any wish to do so. Gabriel’s action therefore is one of humanity and compassion enlarged to a symbol of reconciliation – the extension of the hand of friendship between the races.

These films coincided with the high point of the Civil Rights Movement: the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), Johnson’s ‘unconditional war on poverty’ and the creation of a ‘Great Society,’ which would also end ‘racial injustice,’ and the Immigration Reform Act (1965).²² Two years later the Supreme Court ruled that any state laws forbidding marriage between people of different races were unconstitutional.²³ The concept of American national identity as being white and European was being replaced by a ‘pluralist civic definition of Americanism.’²⁴ At the same time the centennial celebrations fizzled out with only about 5,000 people attending the last ceremony at Appomattox Court House where Lee had surrendered to Grant.²⁵ The memory of the Civil War had changed and the theme of unity needed revising to include the memory of all Americans. But while the framework of racial justice was being established, the hope of

continuing progress towards racial harmony was threatened. Urban rioting in depressed African American communities started in New York in 1964, followed by Los Angeles in 1965 and then other northern cities in the following years. Young African American activists, badly bruised after their experiences in the south and their handling at the Democratic Party Convention in 1964, began to reject non-violence, the federal government and integration. After the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964 Johnson increasingly turned his attention to Vietnam. As he committed more troops there a new protest movement grew. Hollywood became less certain of the mood and direction of the country and its Civil War films reflected this.

Two steps forward one step back

The strains within the Civil Rights Movement came to a head during 1965-66 just as 'the dream' was appearing to become the reality. Up till then there was a shared belief between white liberals and black leaders that racism could be overturned through the political process. The basic tenets of American civic nationalism were the foundations of the good society and all that was needed was to develop the right framework to give equal opportunity to every citizen and race relations would be improved.²⁶ Martin Luther King, Jr., had signed up to this in the mid-1950s seeing the issue not as a race war but as one between justice and injustice²⁷ while, in 1963, he told the March on Washington that the 'Negro dream is rooted in the American dream.'²⁸ This belief in the American tradition and his political intuition enabled King to achieve national status and to keep the movement together. However, the experience of the younger black activists had forced them to the conclusion that racism was institutionalised. The only way to challenge it was by direct confrontation, by dealing with the social and economic disadvantages faced by African Americans and by developing their own black national identity: some joined the Nation of Islam, others followed the 'Black Power' path and some looked to complete separation.

The split in the Civil Rights Movement undermined and, eventually, ended its moral leadership and influence. Although King changed the emphasis of the civil rights demands in the Chicago campaign of 1966 to social and economic inequalities, and began to articulate a more radical and anti-war agenda, it was too late to keep the movement together or to maintain the same passion and momentum. Taking the campaign north and

using the same tactics that had proved successful in the south did not have the same effect on working class whites nor receive the same support from African Americans. Many of the liberal white supporters were concerned by the more militant and separatist views of leaders like Malcolm X and drifted away to other issues, in particular in opposing the Vietnam War, or were marginalised and forced out of the SNCC. By 1966 white attitudes had changed, with 85% thinking that African Americans were seeking too much too fast, compared to only 34% in 1964.²⁹ The effect of the urban riots was to picture African Americans as hooligans who were out of control, rather than as patriots who shared the same American values as white citizens. This was history repeating itself: the flag-bearing peaceful marchers of the early 1960s were now the mythical post-Civil War black radicals.³⁰

With the Civil Rights Movement fracturing and with deteriorating race relations, Hollywood stepped back from its more positive and prominent portrayal of African Americans to its myths – the all-white western, the loyal African American servant and no inter-racial romance. Loyal servants appear in two films – *Alvarez Kelly* (1966) and *Journey to Shiloh* (1968) – which both include plantation settings. The plantation made a comeback in the late 1960s Civil War films but it played a very different role to that of the 1930s. While the African Americans in both films express their support for the system the films raise questions about slavery and the current state of race relations. In *Alvarez Kelly* the slaves support the Confederates in their successful attempt to steal a herd of cattle brought to a plantation to provide meat for the Union army. The Union major cannot understand it. ‘We’re down here fighting for you, fighting to free you. How can you be so loyal to someone who wants to keep you a slave?’ The slaves have a choice: to walk away ‘free’ into an unknown war situation or to stay in a comparatively safe and protected environment – one that they know. In the mid-1960s this was, for all its problems, the inner city ghetto.

The other film, *Journey to Shiloh*,³¹ took a more ironic look at the question of citizenship and national identity. Seven young Texans, the ‘Concho County Comanches,’ set out for Richmond, Virginia, to join the Texas Brigade. They cross into Louisiana where they meet Jacob, the first African American that they have ever seen. Jacob does not appear in the book so his inclusion is inserted specifically to attack racial prejudice.³² Jacob runs the cotton gin for the plantation owner Colonel Claiborne. He has his own house – ‘better than

mine' one of the Texans states in wonder – and family and is perfectly at ease with these young whites. Jacob identifies not only with his master - 'a mighty fine gentleman' – but also with the South. 'I hear tell the Yankees are fighting us,' he says, 'we'll whip them though.....us Southerners.' The Texans are confused as they ride on. They are bemused as to why he called himself a 'Southerner' - only whites referred to themselves as Southerners in the 1960s - but as 'he lives here' (in the South) he cannot be a 'Northerner.' Here is a man who speaks well, is happy in his work, has a responsible job, identifies with his country and the only difference between them is the colour of his skin. No wonder that it 'doesn't make much sense.'

By 1968 there was confusion over the racial issue. Campaigning in the north, Martin Luther King, Jr., commented that he had 'never seen so much hatred and hostility.'³³ Recent studies have shown the extent of segregation in the north from 1945 and particularly among the white 'ethnic' working class who could not move out to the suburbs.³⁴ Their opposition to racial inclusion increased further over the amount of taxpayers money going into welfare support and the Community Action Programmes that were seen to be disproportionately benefiting the African Americans. They viewed the black urban underclass as a threat by bringing crime and violence into their white communities. Demands for desegregation by 'outside agitator,' like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and white liberals, was viewed as direct provocation and gave an excuse for white rage.³⁵ Therefore, despite the Civil Rights legislation, racism seemed to be more firmly entrenched than ever.

Nevertheless, in the late 1960s Hollywood discovered that, as well as an increasingly younger audience,³⁶ African Americans in the cities made up 30% of the audience. Hollywood began to produce films targeted at this new audience – Blaxploitation - which helped to pull the industry out of recession.³⁷ These films featured black actors on the same footing as white actors but reversing the heroic roles.³⁸ Civil War films resumed the more positive portrayals of African Americans, as in 1964-65, but with a major difference: for the first time they had African Americans as leading characters. It was not that Hollywood had ignored black stars or the issue of race, but had been very wary, with racial turbulence in the cities erupting each summer, towards opening up its Civil War narrative to directly centre on the issue.³⁹ However, with a new audience and very few constraints, Hollywood looked to sex and violence to revive its fortunes.⁴⁰

The conflict between civil rights and the white backlash and the question of national identity was examined in *The McMasters* (1970). The central character, the African American Benjie, returns home, after fighting in the Civil War, to a ranch in the south-west owned by McMasters - the man who had raised him. After the local racists learn that McMasters has made him an equal partner they set out to make his life unbearable. Benjie is the exemplar and inheritor of the Civil Rights Movement. He supports Martin Luther King Jr.'s espousal of the American dream. He wants to have his own ranch, work hard, obey the law, treat everyone in a fair and equal way. He accepts the concept of manifest destiny to such an extent that the Native Americans call him a 'white man.' Benjie is also the inheritor of Black Power. He will use violence if he, his family and future are threatened. Eventually the 'sick, ignorant, ugliness of racism' explodes.⁴¹ Benjie is humiliated and almost lynched, his wife is raped and his ranch is destroyed. But Benjie, like the civil rights workers, has belief in himself as a man, and in his ideals and he struggles back towards the ruins of his ranch to start again. The film is a stark indictment of the irrationality of racial prejudice.

Two years after *The McMasters*, Sidney Poitier directed *Buck and the Preacher* (1972), a light-hearted Blaxploitation-type film that dealt with African Americans seeking a better future in the west after the Civil War. They are pursued and harassed by bounty hunters, who want them to return to Louisiana, as cheap labour, to work in the plantation fields. The bounty hunters feel the only way forward is to return to the past – 'we got to keep it going like it was, we got to keep things the way they rightfully belong.' The past might be in the mind of southerners but it was not the case on the ground. The civil rights legislation had underlined the rights of African Americans and was supported by Supreme Court judgements, positive discrimination was increasing employment opportunities, while the south and south-west had seen the development of the new high-tech industries in the Sun Belt.⁴² By moving west the African Americans were pursuing the American dream and reversing Hollywood's western images of white heroes in a white west.

Buck and the Preacher was the last Civil War film that had African Americans playing leading roles until *Glory* in 1989. This long gap indicates once again how the Civil War continues its unique status in American popular culture. It was not that African Americans had been sidelined again. In the 1970s more black actors and actresses worked in the film

industry than ever before. In the 1980s came the African American superstar and the black/white buddy movies.⁴³ As America recovered from Vietnam and accepted multiculturalism and equality for all, Hollywood gave the impression that there was now racial harmony in America. Ronald Reagan led the way by declaring that the American spirit knows 'no ethnic, religious, social, political, regional or economic boundaries,' but his social and economic policies attacked the very structures that assisted an inclusive nation.⁴⁴ With the emphasis on market forces, patriotism and military dominance, Civil War narratives with African American lead actors would question this new structure of unity.

The end of mythology

By the early 1970s, the Lost Cause myths, and Hollywood's representation of them, had been overturned. The Supreme Court's ruling in 1967 which declared anti-miscegenation laws in Virginia unconstitutional now gave it legitimacy in Civil War films. The ultimate resolution of the inter-racial problem was seen in *Cain's Cut-Throats* (1969) in which a Confederate officer returns from the war to his African American wife and son. By then there were well over 300,000 inter-racial marriages in America each year.⁴⁵ In another film, *Bloody Trail* (1972), an African American woman nurses back to health a former Union officer who had been attacked by ex-Confederates. Acceptance of inter-racial relations even occurred in John Wayne films. In *The Undefeated* (1969), Colonel Thomas' (John Wayne) adopted Native American son, Blue Boy, courts and wins the daughter of a former Confederate colonel. And to press the message home about the mixing of blood Wayne states that he is 'as proud of him as if he were my own blood.' (Given Wayne's iconic status this is a considerable advance in race relations from the ambivalence of *The Searchers*.) Another Wayne film, *Rio Lobo* (1970), includes a Confederate captain with French and Mexican parentage and a Confederate sergeant with a Mexican fiancée, while Wayne ends the film limping off to the future - and supported by a Mexican woman. National identity was changing. A pluralistic nation was being accepted.

The 1960s saw a return of the plantation but in a very different way. In *Rio Conchos* an uncompleted plantation-style house is burnt to the ground, indicating that any thought of future rebellion by the planter aristocracy will end in the same way. Similarly in *The Undefeated* the plantation house is set ablaze by the planter himself and its destruction

symbolises the end of the South's opposition and future secession. In *Alvarez Kelly* the plantation house is the centre of Confederate intrigue, trickery and rebellion. Nothing can be trusted from the wiles of the mistress to the complicity of the slaves. The plantation house in *Journey to Shiloh* represents all the arrogance and hypocrisy of the South. The young Texans have been invited to attend a ball by the sons of the planter. They only have their normal buckskin clothes to wear and this causes the refined planter's wife to faint. The planter calls them 'savages' and they are thrown out by his African American servants, dressed immaculately in their uniforms. This is far from the picture of a 'united nation engaged in a holy crusade.'⁴⁶ The seven Texans are on their way to fight for the planter and his way of life. Not only are they considered as 'white trash' but the planter forbids his sons to accompany them to fight for the South. (In the book, the sons slip away to join the Texans - but with tragic consequences.) In similar films thirty years earlier they would have been greeted as heroes, now the whole purpose of the war is questioned. This mirrored America in 1968, which was polarised over the war in Vietnam. Yet, as in the Civil War when the wealthy could buy off military service by paying someone else to substitute for them, middle-class Americans could help their sons delay being drafted, which left the poorer and the ethnic groups to serve disproportionately to their population.

Hollywood also dramatically changed its representation of the plantation in Ante Bellum films. It now became 'a vicious system in which the blacks found spiritual uplift in murder and mayhem and the whites in depravity and miscegenation.'⁴⁷ Hollywood might have been trying to attract a new audience but its overt depiction of ill-treatment, only hinted at in films like *Band of Angels*, indicated how far the Civil Rights Movement had influenced popular culture. The remake of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1965) produced a 'brutal spectacle' with 'Negro slaves whipped and chained.' The 1969 film *Slaves* began a period where white sensitivities were no longer considered as the slaves turn on their master and burn the plantation.⁴⁸ Other films showed unbridled miscegenation, the horrors of the Middle Passage, slave seasoning, the murder of slave-owners and slave breeding.⁴⁹ While these films gave a representation just as extreme as the previous pro-planter films, they now gave the audience a counter-balance to the plantation past of *Gone with the Wind* (GWTW).⁵⁰ At this time historical scholarship, following Stamp and Elkins, was examining the plantation system in great depth. J. W. Blassingame's *The Slave Community* (1972) and Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974) attacked Elkins's 'Sambo' image of dependency and suggested that slaves were troublesome and not docile, that they

retained a large cultural heritage from Africa and exhibited a whole range of personality types.⁵¹ The cultural unity, portrayed until the 1940s, had gone. Hollywood would not be able to return to a benign vision of the plantation – except to titillate or with tongue in cheek.

By the mid-1960s violence had become part of American life with the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy and was increasingly available on the daily television newscasts from Vietnam. Released from the restraints of the Production Code, Hollywood included more scenes of a graphically sexual and violent nature in its attempt to attract its audience back in its battle with television, where the sponsors of programmes took a conservative approach in providing safe, family entertainment.⁵²

Violence invaded the Civil War films where it was mainly white on white and perpetrated by southerners. In *Alvarez Kelly*, the eponymous hero is threatened by a Confederate colonel to have all his fingers shot off unless he co-operates. In *Arizona Raiders* (1965), Quantrill and his guerrilla gang continue their amoral robbing and killing spree after the Civil War.⁵³ However the violence of Parson Josiah Gant in *The Desperados* (1969) is different - it is driven by an inner force, a perversion of religion with the bible used to justify looting, raping and murder. The same can be said of Kolby in *The McMasters*. It is Kolby with his one arm and in his Confederate uniform, who organises the attacks on Benjie. When his men are brought back dead he calls them ‘martyrs’ who died in a ‘holy war’ and talks about ‘God’s terrible swift sword of vengeance.’ The Civil War films about John Brown⁵⁴ had been turned on their head - the religious fanatics are not Abolitionists but southern racists using every argument to maintain white supremacy.

During the 1950s/1960s the Southern code of honour was shown to be a sham. Southern governors who gave their word and then broke it, as Orval Faubus, Governor of Arkansas, did in 1957 to Eisenhower during the Little Rock crisis,⁵⁵ set the example. Colonel Mirabeau Cooney,⁵⁶ in *Journey to Shiloh*, with his white goatee beard, white hat and clothes is the epitome of the image of the southern planter. But the soft-talking, easy-going exterior masks the other side of the South, its falsity and hypocrisy. He is not a colonel – ‘that’s an honorary title’ he says. When the Texans rescue Samuel, a runaway slave, Cooney gives his southern word of honour that he will see that Samuel is returned to his

rightful owner, with only a 'lick or two' with the whip to 'make an example of him' as field-hands are too valuable an investment to mistreat severely. But, once handed over to the sheriff, Samuel is hanged.

The Confederate, Lee Travis, in *Arizona Bushwhackers* (1968), is let out of prison to help clean up a western town, which has a crooked sheriff.⁵⁷ Travis takes advantage of the trust placed in him by spying for the Confederacy. Even white women are no longer respected as symbols of purity. In *A Time for Killing* (1967), the fiancée of a Union officer is taken hostage and raped by a Confederate captain. There is a similar occurrence in *The Scavengers* (1969) with both a white woman and her African American servant raped and a Union soldier tortured. A southern entrepreneur, in *Gunfight in Abilene* (1967) grows rich and powerful during the Civil War and ends up corruptly dominating his town and expanding his influence through violence and by appointing and controlling the law officers. There are positive images of southerners but Hollywood continued to change its former pro-southern bias to a much more pro-North view of the Civil War.⁵⁸

In this last cycle of Civil War films there are few northern villains. Apart from the banker in *Invitation to a Gunman*, whose demise at the end of the film is welcomed by all the townspeople, and a Union sergeant in *Mosby's Marauders* (1967) there are only two northern villains of consequence - in *Rio Lobo* (1970) and in *The Beguiled* (1970). *The Beguiled*⁵⁹ is a Gothic black comedy in which a wounded Union soldier, McBurney, is taken in by a small private seminary for ladies, a 'mansion full of malignant magnolias,'⁶⁰ in Louisiana, and nursed back to health. The film establishes a familiar theme – northern power against southern ingenuity and determination. McBurney's relationship with each of the women and their response violates all the conventions that surrounded the southern view of the pure, inviolate woman. However he goes too far and the women poison him - but not before he has exposed the falseness of this Lost Cause myth. The only person to resist his charm and maintain her dignity throughout is Hallie, the African American housekeeper who, in effect, organises the whole seminary. Unlike Mammy, in *GWTW*, Hallie confidently asserts that she doesn't like being a slave and ironically comments that 'you white folks only killing each other 'cause you care about us niggers.' Civil War films rarely discussed the causes of the conflict or mentioned slavery. Now, like Benjie in *The McMasters*, African Americans could be assertive. Legislation and Black Power had given

them confidence yet Nixon was actively slowing down school integration, agreeing with Daniel Moynihan that the 'issue of race could benefit from a period of benign neglect.'⁶¹

Apart from cowardice, which had been an early theme in Civil War films and only addressed in later years by *The Red Badge of Courage* (1951), treachery is probably the other most heinous crime in war. This forms the basis for the plot in *Rio Lobo* in which Confederates rob trains that carry Union gold, with uncanny regularity, and the only way they could do this is with inside information. After the war the Union colonel, who had been in charge when these robberies occurred, teams up with the Confederates, who had been stealing the gold, to hunt the traitor. 'What you did,' says the colonel to the former Confederates, 'was an act of war, but selling information, that's treason – rotten treachery money.' The traitor is finally revealed as one of the colonel's former sergeants. Patriotism in 1970 was being contested over the Vietnam War with those families and politicians who supported the war seeing opposition to it as un-American and tantamount to treachery. *Rio Lobo* may have brought former enemies together to fight a threat to American values but this previous Hollywood approach to resolving the Civil War was on the decline – more films were ending without reconciliation than with. In some films the ending resolved the conflict between North and South (*Incident at Phantom Hill* (1966), *A Time for Killing*, *The Beguiled*), or between former Confederates (*The Desperados*, *Cain's Cut-throats*). However, in *The McMasters* there is no end to the racial hostility while in *Buck and the Preacher*, although the African Americans succeed in fighting off the white bounty hunters, their future safety remains in doubt.

This move away from reconciliation reflected the upheaval in America in the late 1960s as the liberal consensus collapsed. The battle over civil rights had stirred America's conscience and channelled the frustrations of the young towards a more idealistic vision of the future. Many too were inspired by Kennedy's vision for America – 'Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country.' They moved from civil rights to free speech and a more open and democratic society to opposition to the war in Vietnam. They gradually established a counter-culture, which rejected many of the sacred values that had 'made' America – hard work, family, patriotism, the free market – for one of communitarianism, peace, free love and drugs. Those who could evaded the draft. Against this demand for change and renewal were ranged the conservative forces of anti-communism, the religious right and many white working class families in the North, who

felt threatened by the speed of change. At the same time the Civil Rights Movement moved leftwards, with King openly supporting the opposition to the Vietnam War and moving the civil rights agenda to a critique of the failure of the free market system to guarantee American citizens the promise of improvement. It was these fears and developments upon which Nixon built his election campaign in 1968, bringing together the 'silent majority' and ending the liberal consensus.

From Cuba to Vietnam

Many of the major Civil War films of this period used the Cold War to explore America's racial and political problems. *Rio Conchos* was a representation of Kennedy's struggle with Cuba, the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs and the missile crisis of 1962. In the film, a former Confederate Colonel Theron Pardee (Castro) had established a base in Mexico (Cuba) from where he could launch a strike against America using a stolen consignment of the newest repeating rifles (missiles) that he had acquired through his contacts in the United States (communist agents). An undercover operation (CIA) was organised – Union captain, African American sergeant, a Confederate major and Mexican gambler – which finds and destroys Pardee, his base and the rifles thereby protecting America from the threat of invasion. As in the World War II platoon movies, America had triumphed through the gradual respect that developed among this multi-ethnic group – although this time reflecting a more realistic composition of the nation. Nevertheless, this positive image of American intervention soon changed when Johnson ordered a rapid escalation of America's involvement in Vietnam, following the Gulf of Tonkin incident, days after he signed the Civil Rights Act into law in 1964.⁶²

Opposition to the Vietnam War came initially from university campuses,⁶³ but Hollywood was already reflecting America as a 'violence-prone nation' embarking on 'prolonged and meaningless wars' with their 'dehumanising and destructive impact.'⁶⁴ *Major Dundee* (1965) was about 'individual and imperial hubris' in which a 'proud and wrong-headed' authoritarian's pursuit of three kidnapped children by Apaches 'leads to international confrontation.' Major Dundee leads a mixed force of Americans – Union, Confederate, African American, Mexican, Native American, Irish and Nordic immigrants – across the border into Mexico. The composition of this force extends the concept of inclusiveness, and examines the issues, to resemble the America of the 1960s. Like the 'platoon' movies

it is only towards the end of the mission that there is any resemblance of a unified command. Before that there is racial conflict, bitterness between North and South and disregard for American values, all reflecting the upheaval and polarisation of American society in the mid-1960s. The Apaches (Viet Cong) prove difficult to find. 'How can we catch the wind or destroy an enemy we never see?' asks the young bugler, Ryan, in a prophetic comment on America's military involvement in Vietnam. The Mexican villagers (South Vietnamese) are initially liberated but then punished by the French (Soviet Union) when the Americans leave. There are no winners in this war. Most of the expeditionary force is killed.⁶⁵ Dundee is a figure like Johnson, as determined as Johnson was in his fight against communism. To Johnson, Vietnam was just like the Alamo, retreat was no option.⁶⁶

Retreat was just what happened in *The Undefeated* (1969), foreshadowing Nixon's plan to negotiate America's military withdrawal from Vietnam. A group of Confederates and their families leave the South after the Civil War to go to Mexico to fight for the imposed Emperor Maximilian (General Thieu)⁶⁷ against the popular backed resistance of the Juaristas (the Viet Cong). At the same time a former Union officer and the men he led plan to make some money by selling horses to the federal army. When the price offered is considered too low they agree to sell instead to Maximilian but have to drive the horses into Mexico to get paid. This is a remarkable comment on patriotism and American democratic values when profit is considered more important than supporting one's own army and helping an imposed dictator to enslave another nation just after freeing four million slaves in your own. The Confederates are captured by the Juaristas, but they are offered their freedom in exchange for the horses. The Union men agree – they are Americans after all - and Union and Confederate return home together to restart their lives. Reconciliation is further cemented with the Union colonel due to marry the Confederate colonel's sister-in-law.

This vision of fighting the enemy in the open and coming to a mutual understanding at the end was very different to the reality of fighting the Viet Cong, who fought against superior firepower with great cunning. America did not understand their motivation, and saw them only as communists, as the alien 'other,' who had to be destroyed no matter what the cost. Yet they were an illusive enemy who made daring incursions like the Tet offensive of 1968. The train robbery at the start of *Rio Lobo* (1970) echoes the Viet Cong's ability to

strike at the heart of American power with great ingenuity and then melt away. In *The Beguiled* (1970) America's pejorative view when fighting non-whites is exposed. McBurney, even though he is wounded and reduced to one leg seeks to use his sexuality (firepower) to dominate the women (Viet Cong). He uses Nixon's divide and rule tactic by approaching each of the women separately, judging that their pride and personal feelings will prevent them from comparing notes and uniting against him. The 'weaker' party, however, wins through subtlety and imagination and McBurney is killed by his own weakness. McBurney had underestimated them just as Johnson, Nixon and the American military underestimated the North Vietnamese.

As the Vietnam War escalated so the anti-war opposition grew. Many Americans, especially African Americans, wondered why the American government appeared more concerned with freedom in Vietnam than freedom at home. They questioned the whole basis of a war that few understood and many considered immoral. When the Texans in *Journey to Shiloh* set out to travel to Richmond they believed in what they were going to do: they were going to fight for the South in the war. They were on an epic journey of innocence to experience travelling through 'regions of increasing moral complexity.'⁶⁸ On the way they meet their first African American who turns out to be just like them and committed to the South. They experience duplicity from those in authority in the person of 'Colonel' Cooney and again when they are tricked into enlisting into the Confederate army before they reach Richmond. Before the battle of Shiloh they realise that they have not got anything 'against these Yankees' (Viet Cong) nor have they seen any of them. They wonder why they are fighting.

Buck: It's war, we're Southerners we've got to fight, it's a matter of freedom.

Miller: Whose freedom? Like the slave we took in.

Buck: He run away to be free. Is that why we're here – to be free.

Miller: Lots of things don't make sense. Now we're getting ready to go to a battle we don't know anything about – not even why.

Johnson was justifying the war by fighting for the freedom of the Vietnamese yet many of the soldiers felt that freedom began at home. As the young Texans died so did the American troops in Vietnam. Buck is the only one left, and even he has lost an arm,

ironically because of a southern bullet. He finally returns to Texas muttering 'I know nothing about this damn war.'

The irony of Vietnam was that it was the first war that America fought with a racially integrated army, but the socially biased nature of the draft meant that African Americans were four times more likely to be drafted than white Americans⁶⁹ and 'to die in extraordinary high proportions.'⁷⁰ Although Gabriel, in *Shenandoah*, fights for his freedom and for the freedom of all African Americans, the white Anderson family do not wish to get involved in a war that 'is not mine.' They have no reason to fight for something they 'don't believe is right.' So the family declares neutrality opting out of any moral obligation to society until they are directly affected by the war. They had adhered to the American values of hard work, independence and family but not sufficiently to the principle that all men are created equal and that that principle was worth fighting for.

Whilst the Andersons opposed the war out of self-interest, others did so on principle. Students announced that they would not join the armed services if drafted, many left for Canada and some publicly burnt their draft cards.⁷¹ Those who supported the war and saw their sons killed or wounded called the resisters agitators and communists and turned against the liberals who supported such un-American activity.⁷² But being against the war was not an easy option. Ashby Gatrell, a conscientious objector, in *No Drums, No Bugles* (1971), hides out in a cave for three years. Sometimes he overhears conversations, as this one between a father and son.

Father: This here war don't make much sense to me.

Son: I don't much like the idea about shooting at somebody....but I ain't turning traitor....that's what the law calls him (Ashby).

Father: You reckon it don't take guts to say 'no I ain't going to do it.'

Ashby has to confirm and reconfirm his principles – 'a man can stand by what he feels is right' – as he has given up his home, wife and child. Like the civil rights workers there are principles to uphold and sacrifices to be made on the way to freedom. 'The whole world is going to be free' Ashby says when he overhears that the war has ended. He comes down from the hills but finding his house deserted he goes towards the church as the bells are ringing. 'Nobody wins,' he says, 'I didn't kill.' Ashby falls to the ground and dies - just as

Lincoln was killed at the end of the Civil War, just as the African Americans saw freedom snatched away and as the fight for justice and equality faltered in America in the late 1960s.

Most reviewers were sympathetic, seeing the 'obvious relevance to our own days.' It is a 'different and effective approach to the contemporary draft-card burning pacifism' of those 'resisters who have abandoned not only their families but also their citizenship to escape participation in a guilty war.' Only the *Wall Street Journal* defended the 'my country right or wrong' philosophy by suggesting that Ashby, by isolating himself from the 'human community, from its demands and responsibilities (no matter how misguided they may have seemed) he has in fact deprived himself of his own humanity.'⁷³ In fact during the film Ashby learns to respect every living creature – he shies away from killing a rattlesnake and chases off a bear with 'no hard feelings.' The *Journal's* view echoes the conversation of some returning soldiers, which Ashby overhears: 'I done what I was told to do like the rest of you,' says one. 'Well we all done what we was told,' says another. 'Well there was some that took to liking it too much,' says a third. Vietnam was a different type of war to the past. Young Americans became brutalised, disillusioned and took to drugs. Their inability to distinguish friend from foe led to massacres such as occurred at My Lai as America intervened to defend its view of 'freedom.'

While *No Drums, No Bugles* approached the issue of the draft from a principled objection to war, *Bad Company* (1972) reflected the 'radical disenchantments that have shaken America during the last decade.'⁷⁴ The film centres on Drew Dixon, a young boy from Ohio who is to be conscripted into the Union army. His parents do not want to lose another son in the war and so hide him from the recruiting officer. They then send him west to escape the war and make his fortune. He meets up with other youths, also uprooted by the war. They are forced to live in a world where survival is the bottom line, moral principles have no place and success is an illusion. In a period when not supporting the Vietnam war was considered unpatriotic and a crime by many, and the alternative life-styles of the young were condemned, reviewers of the film were supportive. 'The drop-outs of recent times, it seems had their sensible predecessors,' commented *Films and Filming*.⁷⁵ 'With tongue in cheek and inevitable allusions to the contemporary scene,' wrote Edwin Miller in *Close-up*.⁷⁶ Pessimism and lack of hope pervades the film as the group fall under the power of an 'hypocritical American entrepreneur....whose blinding obsession with money

motivates everything' and they meet a settler returning East who has found that 'the west is not a land of promise.'⁷⁷ *Bad Company* not only debunked the 'assorted myths of the Old West' it also continued the questioning of the 'glories of patriotism' as well.⁷⁸ In fact unquestioning patriotism was no longer a box office draw as *The Green Berets* (1968) - the only film to support America's military involvement in Vietnam made during the war - demonstrated.⁷⁹

The end of the cycles

In the early 1970s Hollywood lost interest in the Civil War. No films were produced after 1972 until *The Outlaw Josey Wales* in 1976. This was the longest period since 1908 without a Civil War film and marked the end of Hollywood's Civil War cycles. During these years the Vietnam War ended, Nixon was humiliated and forced to resign over Watergate and America began a reassessment of its values prior to the bicentennial celebrations in 1976. It was also a time of fundamental change in Hollywood.

Why did this cycle of Civil War films end in the early 1970s? A major factor must be the demise of the Civil Rights Movement. The coalition that Martin Luther King Jr. had held together splintered after 1965 with the more radical groups pressing not only for black-led solutions requiring radical changes to society but also to separatism rather than inclusion. Whatever moral authority remained soon evaporated after King's assassination in 1968, shortly followed by that of Robert Kennedy, events from which the Civil Rights Movement never recovered. Attempts to resolve issues over housing and employment in the north brought opposition into the open from white, working-class groups who also saw urban rioting by African Americans as a threat to law and order in their neighbourhoods. Their fears were shared by middle-class whites, who had escaped to the suburbs to avoid this, and were further angered by court orders to integrate schools through bussing.⁸⁰ America was a society ill at ease with itself and Civil War films about disunity could only mirror what was going on.

Nixon harnessed these fears and attitudes into his southern strategy. He embraced the 'silent majority' rallying behind 'law and order' and slowed down and reversed civil rights reform. He divided the African Americans, and divided them from liberals, by advocating his own version of 'black power,' which he defined as 'black capitalism.' He introduced

federally mandated guidelines for affirmative action to out-manoeuvre the Democrats and divide them from their union support.⁸¹ Nixon saw in the development of the new high-tech industries in the Sun Belt, with its evangelical Protestantism and 'political and cultural conservatism,' as a natural ally for the Republican Party.⁸² The students and radicals opposed to his policies found political opposition making no headway. Many withdrew from political activity seeing the counter-culture as the only way ahead.⁸³ Radical groups were harassed out of existence. According to Theodore White, by '1973 it was clear that the political passions and polarisations of the 1960s had died, replaced by a general sense of political alienation and apathy.'⁸⁴

Nixon's policy of détente with the Soviet Union and China reduced the Cold War temperature and a gradual withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam not only reduced the anti-war opposition but also removed a significant area of social commentary. As Nixon finally negotiated America out of Vietnam it was seen and felt to be a defeat. In Civil War film terms this was a defeat for both North and South and therefore there was no room for reconciliation or unity. Withdrawal from Vietnam helped to kill off the Civil War film.

At the end of the 1960s Hollywood was suffering from severe financial problems and the conglomerates, which now dominated the industry, were looking for guaranteed profits from their investment.⁸⁵ Civil War films were not doing this even with major stars like John Wayne. Many of the directors who had produced Civil War and western movies over the past forty years – for example John Ford, Anthony Mann, Jacques Tourner, Raoul Walsh, Budd Boetticher, Lesley Selander - were ending, or had ended, their careers.⁸⁶ The western, in decline since the late 1950s, also lost its appeal as the genre's assumption of 'American invincibility, innate righteousness and God-guided national destiny' was exposed in Vietnam and the events of 1968.⁸⁷ There was also competition from the Italian 'spaghetti' westerns using American actors and set in the Civil War era.⁸⁸ The new studio bosses sought to emulate the success of films like *The Graduate* and *Bonnie and Clyde* in 1967 and the inexpensive yet runaway success of *Easy Rider* (1969). They encouraged young directors who would be able to connect with the young audience - approximately half of whom were now under twenty-five. These directors, the products of the early film schools, had other interests and wanted to exploit both the techniques they had learned and the new technologies now available. The young were enthusiastic when films related to

them or subverted authority and tradition. It was the young who were 'driving the national resurgence in film attendance.'⁸⁹ Even the success of the Blaxploitation movies, could not be transferred to Civil War films as Blaxploitation reversed black/white relationships and this would be unlikely to appeal to white audiences. Furthermore, recent Civil War films had not been box office successes and Hollywood considered the subject had lost its appeal. This was underlined when, *Tara*, the sequel to *GWTW*, commissioned by the Mitchell estate, failed to interest Hollywood.⁹⁰

For decades the Civil War movies were about conflict and reconciliation by white Americans but the social conscience films of this last Civil War cycle had pushed the narrative away from the genre's more familiar plots. Because of the high profile of the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans had figured more prominently than before, but the political climate was changing to a more conservative outlook. This can be seen in the re-releases of *GWTW* (1967, 1971, 1974) and *Song of the South* (1972) and a renewed interest in the Ante Bellum period. However these new 'plantation' films, while reversing the previous African American stereotypes, emphasised sex and violence and distorted representations in the same way that D. W. Griffith had done.⁹¹

Hollywood's battle with television came to a resolution during the 1960s when it was recognised that accommodation with the new medium would be in its best interests. Hollywood could obtain income from making television programmes and commercials, selling the companies older, and earning rental from newer, films.⁹² As Hollywood's interest in the Civil War waned television's interest increased. That interest started in the mid-1950s with the occasional documentary programme and post-Civil War western series like *The Gray Ghost* (1957) and *The Rebel* (1959). This increased in the 1960s because of the centennial with a few 'made-for-television' films, e.g. *Johnny Shiloh* (1963) and *Andersonville* (1966). In the early 1970s interest in the western series was reducing and new subjects were being sought. The Civil War was a familiar area and could provide a whole range of narratives. Unlike recent Hollywood films, television's Civil War productions had not been linked to Vietnam. It was therefore unlikely to put off sponsors. Furthermore the social turmoil caused by the Civil Rights Movement and the radical groups had dissipated. America had accepted the civil rights agenda and it was safe to be more inclusive. 1974 saw *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*, which traced the history of an African American woman from slavery to the 1960s and a television remake

of *The Red Badge of Courage*. In the last quarter of the twentieth century it was television, not Hollywood, that looked at the Civil War.

By the early 1970s, Hollywood's options for producing Civil War films were limited. For three decades the Civil War had been used to address race, civil rights and national identity. America had sought to resolve these in its legislation of the mid-1960s. However, the war in Vietnam had destroyed the social programmes essential to that process and created further disunity in the country. The influence of the Civil Rights Movement faded as its coalition fractured and Vietnam became the centre of opposition. Hollywood, entering another major financial crisis in 1969, sought different solutions with younger directors to woo younger audiences. Nixon's Cold War strategy paid off with détente and military disengagement abroad and his appeal to the conservative 'silent majority' at home. Watergate, however, with its abuse of presidential power, made America look to defend the Constitution and the democratic process. As Nixon's role was exposed, television documentaries on Lincoln, the man who had saved the Union and brought about the rebirth of America were being shown.⁹³ America had to come together to defend its founding principles and its political process. Civil War films were about conflict, what was needed was unity.

¹ Julius Lester, quoted in Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, (eds.), *"Takin it to the streets": A Sixties Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 561.

² Lyndon B. Johnson, *My Hope for America* (London: William Heineman., 1964), 41-52.

³ This is a somewhat pejorative term coming from 'black action' films. David A. Cook, *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Vietnam, 1970-79* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 259.

⁴ For example, Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, John Cassavetes, Roman Polanski and Robert Altman.

⁵ Cook, *Lost Illusions*, xvii, 71. The term 'Hollywood Renaissance' was coined by Diane Jacobs in her 1977 book of the same name and referred to the European-style auteur cinema that prevailed briefly in America from 1967-75, Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies, Revised and Updated* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994, first published 1975), 322.

⁶ William T. Martin Riches, *The Civil Rights Movement: Struggle and Resistance* (New York: MacMillan, 1997), 64. William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1999), 186.

⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from Birmingham City Jail, quoted in Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 276-8.

⁸ Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 273-80; Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War, Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 169-187.

⁹ Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 273-4.

¹⁰ Kevin Mattson, *Reviews in American History*, 30 (2002), 663-70.

¹¹ Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 280-1.

¹² Among those attending were Charlton Heston, Marlon Brando and Burt Lancaster. Stephen J. Ross, 'When Stars Speak Out: Movie Stars, Politics, and the Power of Audience Response' paper given at the Commonwealth Fund Conference, 26-8 June, 2003.

¹³ Robert Cook, 'From Shiloh to Selma: The Impact of the Civil War Centennial on the Black Freedom Struggle in the United States, 1961-65,' in Brian Ward and Tony Badger, (eds.), *The Making of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement* (London: MacMillan Press, 1996), 133.

¹⁴ Martin had gone to argue with the current owner of his farm. The latter however had pulled a gun on him and Martin had shot him in self-defence.

¹⁵ The racist Mississippi Senator James Eastland called their disappearance 'a publicity stunt.' Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 285.

¹⁶ Donald Bogle defines pure black bucks as 'big, baadddd niggers, over-sexed and savage, violent and frenzied as they lust for white flesh' in *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretative History of Blacks in American Films, New Third Edition* (Oxford: Roundhouse, 1994, first published 1973), 10-15.

¹⁷ Clair Huffaker, *Rio Conchos* (Futura Publications, 1975, first published 1958).

¹⁸ Harry Julian Fink, *Major Dundee* (Greenwich, Connecticut: Gold Medal Books, 1965), 56-7.

¹⁹ This scene is not in the book.

²⁰ Enoch, in *Friendly Persuasion* (1956), asks for, and is given, a gun to help defend the community against the southern raiders, but he is not shown fighting. Rau-Ru in *Band of Angels* is just pursuing white planters who have disobeyed the orders of the Union commander.

²¹ The mixing of white and African American soldiers is an anachronism, as it did not begin to happen until Truman's Executive Order 9981 in 1948.

²² Johnson, *My Hope for America*, 35, 43. The Immigration Reform Act overturned the hugely restrictive National Origins Act of 1924 and dramatically changed the composition of future immigration.

²³ *Loving v. Virginia* (1967).

²⁴ Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 281.

²⁵ Cook, *From Shiloh to Selma*: 145.

²⁶ Gary Gerstle, 'Immigration and Ethnicity in the American Century' in Harvard Sitkoff, (ed.), *Perspectives on Modern America: Making Sense of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 287.

²⁷ David Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 249.

²⁸ William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, first published 1986), 319.

²⁹ Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 337.

³⁰ Thomas Borstleman, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 194.

³¹ Based upon the novel *Fields of Honor* by Will Henry (1960).

³² *Variety*, 15 May, 1968.

³³ Riches, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 91.

³⁴ Stephen Grant Meyer, *As Long as They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighbourhoods* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000) reviewed by A. Scott Henderson in *Reviews in American History*, 29 (March 2001), 119-25; Thomas J. Sugrue, 'Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights and the Reaction Against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964' in Jack E. Davis, (ed.), *The Civil Rights Movement* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2001), 65-83; Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 303.

³⁵ Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War in the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 188-200.

³⁶ A survey in 1968 for the Motion Picture Association of America found that 48% of the audience was aged 16-24 years. Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 67.

³⁷ Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 262.

³⁸ Kevern Verney, *Black Civil Rights in America* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 81.

³⁹ For example Sidney Poitier in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967) and *In the Heat of the Night* (1967).

⁴⁰ The Production Code had been replaced in 1968 by a four category voluntary ratings system aimed to protect minors but open to negotiation. Responsibility was now placed with the parents rather than the filmmakers, distributors and theatre managers.

⁴¹ *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1970.

⁴² The states of the Old South together with Texas, California, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Arizona, Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 383.

⁴³ Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*, 232, 268.

⁴⁴ Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 357-65.

⁴⁵ Yasuhiro Katagiri, 'Blurring the Color-Line?: Reflections on Interracial and Multiracial America' in *49th Parallel – An Interdisciplinary Journal of North American Studies*, 2000/1. Available from: <http://artsweb.bham.ac.uk/49thparallel/backissues/issue6/KATAGIRI.HTM> (accessed 11 July, 2003).

⁴⁶ Remark made by 'Colonel' Cooney - in *Journey to Shiloh*.

⁴⁷ Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., *The Celluloid South* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 179.

⁴⁸ William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* about the slave revolt in 1831 had been published in 1966.

⁴⁹ *The Quadroon* (1971), *The Skin Game* (1971), *Drum* (1976) and *Mandingo* (1975).

⁵⁰ Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., ' "Burn Mandingo, Burn": The Plantation film in the South, 1958-1978' in Warren French, (ed.), *The South and Film* (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1981), 107-16.

⁵¹ J.T. Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, revised 1986, first published 1978), 130; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, first published 1988), 486-7. Other books that explored slave society at this time were: George Rawick, *From "Sundown to Sunup"* (1972); Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *"Time on the Cross"* (1974); Eugene D. Genovese, *"Roll, Jordan, Roll"* (1974); Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (1976); Donald Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977).

⁵² Paul Monaco, *History of the American Cinema: The Sixties, 1960-69* (New York: Charles Scribner, 2001), 262. By 1961 forty-eight million homes had television. James L. Baughman, 'The Weakest Chain and the Strongest Link: The American Broadcasting Company and the Motion Picture Industry, 1952-60,' in Tino Balio, (ed.), *Hollywood in the Age of Television* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Unwin, Hyman, 1990), 110.

⁵³ This is an entirely fictional story as Quantrill was mortally wounded in Louisville, Kentucky on 30th May 1865.

⁵⁴ *Santa Fe Trail* (1940), and *Seven Angry Men* (1955).

⁵⁵ Faubus had promised not to create any further difficulties but he then withdrew the National Guard from the high school and left the capital. When the African American children came to register, they were met by a shrieking crowd and no protection was given to the children. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 158.

⁵⁶ There is additional irony here as the first part of Cooney – 'coon' - is offensive slang for a Negro.

⁵⁷ Lincoln had allowed Confederates to join the Union army to help patrol the west.

⁵⁸ In films such as *Invitation to a Gunfighter*, *Mosby's Marauders* (1966) *Gunfight in Abilene*, *Fastest Guitar Alive* (1967), *Arizona Bushwhackers* and *Rio Lobo*.

⁵⁹ Adapted from the 1966 novel by Thomas Cullinan.

⁶⁰ *Newsweek*, 19 April, 1971.

⁶¹ Riches, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 102; Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 272.

⁶² Johnson called what happened there, 'Aggression – deliberate, wilful and systematic.' Lyndon B. Johnson, *My Hope for America* (London: William Heinemann, 1964), 58. We now know that the 'incident' was provoked by the U.S. activity in the area close to the coastline of North Vietnam and hardly anything happened - if at all.

⁶³ The first rally organised by the Students for a Democratic Society in Washington in April 1965 attracted 20,000 demonstrators, Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 324. The figure is 25,000 in Bloom and Breins, (eds.), "Takin it to the Streets," 203.

⁶⁴ John H. Lenihan, *Showdown: Confronting Modern America in the Western Film* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 47.

⁶⁵ Michael Coyne, *The Crowded Prairie: American National Identity in the Hollywood Western* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1997), 127-131.

⁶⁶ Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 274-5.

⁶⁷ Thieu came to power through a military coup.

⁶⁸ Lincoln Kaye, *Release*, 1968 in *Journey to Shiloh* (PCA file at Margaret Herrick Library, Los Angeles.)

⁶⁹ 41% from a population of 11%. James Maycock, 'War within war', *The Guardian*, 15 September 2001.

⁷⁰ Martin Luther King Jr.'s speech quoted in Bloom and Breins, (eds.), "Takin' it to the Streets," 230-35.

⁷¹ In Oakland, over half of those conscripted did not turn up and 11% of those who did refused to serve. In the army by 1970, nearly 70,000 soldiers had fled their duties. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 404-5.

⁷² Riches, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 90.

⁷³ *Variety*, 11 August, 1971; *New York Times*, 24 February, 1972; *Wall Street Journal* 10 March, 1972.

⁷⁴ *New York Times*, 19 November, 1972.

⁷⁵ *Films and Filming*, September, 1973.

⁷⁶ Edwin Miller, *Close-up*, 17 December, 1972.

⁷⁷ *New York Times*, 19 November 1972; Lenihan, *Showdown*, 163.

⁷⁸ *Time*, 23 October, 1972.

⁷⁹ Sklar, *Movie-made America*, 335.

⁸⁰ *Alexander v. Holmes County* (1969) – all school districts to abandon segregated school systems at once; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg* (1971) – bussing was a speedy and effective method for integration; *Keyes v. Denver School District 1* (1973) – implementation of city-wide bussing.

⁸¹ Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 176, 273-4

⁸² Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 383.

⁸³ 1970 was the last year of mass demonstrations against the war. Six students were killed at Kent State University and Jackson State College. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey*, 406-8; Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 270.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Leonard Quart and Albert Auster, *American Film and Society Since 1945* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 3rd Edition, 2002, first published 1984), 99.

⁸⁵ Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 2-14, 71-2.

⁸⁶ Sklar, *Movie-made America*, 322.

⁸⁷ Coyne, *The Crowded Prairie*, 138; Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 182.

⁸⁸ With films like *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1967), *Kill Them All and Come Back Alone* (1968), *Macho Callahan* (1970) and *Massacre at Fort Holman* (1972).

⁸⁹ Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 156.

⁹⁰ *Tara: The Continuation of Gone with the Wind* by Anne Edwards was not published as it had been commissioned on the basis that it would be made into a film. Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 103-4.

⁹¹ Campbell, *The Celluloid South*, 183-8.

⁹² In 1967 Hollywood received \$270 million from television rentals. Television was now a regular secondary market for films. Balio (ed.), *Hollywood in the Age of Television*, 38.

⁹³ *Lincoln – Trial by Fire* (1973) and Sandburgh's *Lincoln* (1974).