

# **Yanks, Dixies and cowboys**

**The Hollywood perspective on  
sociopolitical issues during the  
American Civil War**

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**May 2011**

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**Version 4**

**Master thesis**



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# 1. Introduction

Since the birth of commercial cinema in the early 1900s, the American Civil War (1860-1865) arguably has barely been depicted on the silver screen. Aside from a handful of short films produced between 1900 and 1930, only a few Hollywood films seem to have taken the Civil War as its main topic or plot focus. In almost all productions about the Civil War, the historical events seem to serve only as a mere backbone. Stories are told about families, friends, comrades and small town conflicts, but hardly any references are made to the major (social and racial) issues and politics that were at stake during the War.

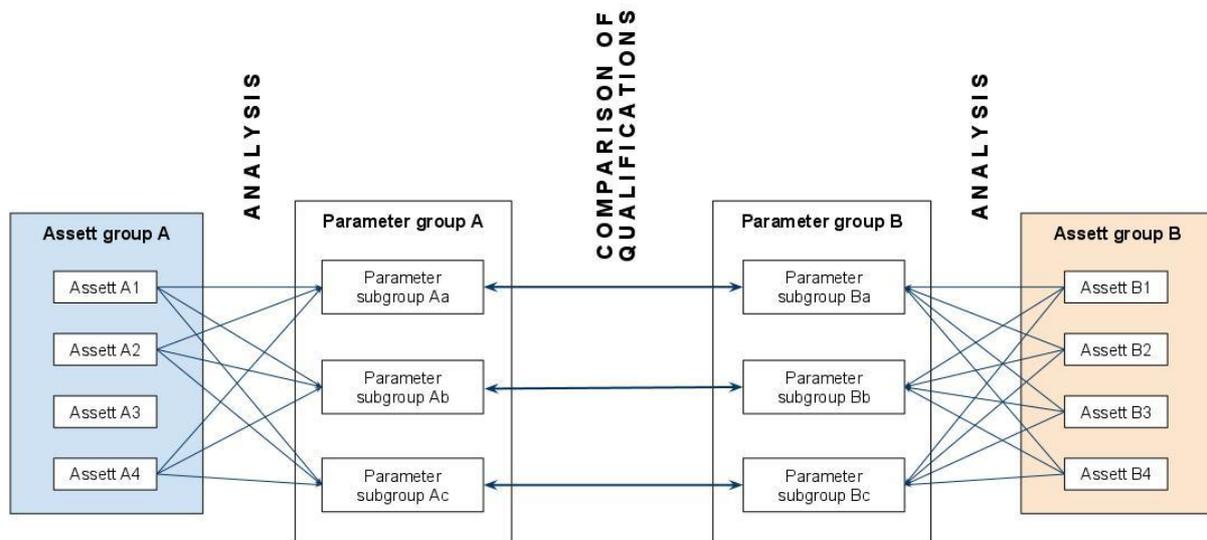
Although the Civil War ended only five decades before the American movie industry really took off, Hollywood interest in this subject seems to have never been as great as for other major historic events, such as the Vietnam War or the two World Wars. This is remarkable since the Civil War possibly contributed far more to contemporary American society, politics and culture than other great wars. After all, most wars were fought on foreign grounds and had no direct consequences to political or social reformation, while the American Civil War victimized hundreds of thousands US citizens on American soil and dictated a sociopolitical refurbishment.

Several questions arise in this context. How many films have been made concerning the Civil War in comparison to other major historical events? Is there a big difference with other historical events and if so: why? Did the filmmakers work from a polarized ideological point of view? Or in other words: what was the approach filmmakers took regarding political elements and social proportions? Closely related to this, is the on-screen treatment of racial issues: how were African Americans portrayed? Which were the dominating genres and themes over the years? And to which part of the social spectrum did the main protagonists belong? These questions should provide a clearer insight to the way filmmakers have approached the Civil War, without necessarily trying to explain *why* they approached the subject the way they did.

All questions can be summarized into one research question: how did Hollywood deal with the Civil War?

## Statistical method

Research carried out on the data corpus will provide answers to the questions above, using nonlinear multivariate analysis (NLMVA), and the distance based method especially.<sup>1</sup> The main principle of this type of analysis is the definition of (in this case) two comparable groups of parameters (which include parameter subgroups). Two different asset groups are tested to these parameter groups, with asset group 'A' only testing 'A' parameters, and asset group 'B' only testing 'B' parameters. These tests result in a deposit of qualifications for each asset (with each parameter providing one qualification). For instance, asset 'A1' is tested in parameter group 'A', subgroup 'color'. Asset 'B1' is also tested in subgroup 'color', only in parameter group 'B'. The resulting qualification is 'red' for asset 'A1' and 'blue' for asset 'B1'. These qualifications are subsequently comparable, both quantitatively (i.e. the total number of 'reds' in asset group A and in group B) and qualitatively (i.e. the relation between the total number of 'reds' and 'blues' in asset groups A and B).



FIGUUR 1.1 - SCHEMATIC OVERVIEW OF NON-LINEAR MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS (NLMVA) AS USED IN THIS RESEARCH

The author of this thesis has experience in statistical archaeological and art historical research. This, and the fact that the core of this thesis' data corpus is formed by two groups of films, or asset groups (a dataset of Civil War films and a dataset of film regarding a comparable historical event), makes it permissible to use a primarily archaeological statistical model within a context of

<sup>1</sup> As defined by Albert Gifi (1990).

film theory. The results of the NLMVA form the basis for this thesis' quantitative research, on which the subsequent qualitative analysis will be performed.

### Finding a comparable historical event

To investigate the way in which Hollywood dealt with the Civil War, we also have to perform the NLMVA on films regarding another, comparable event in US history. This second historical event will be analyzed to compare the characteristics of films regarding this event, to films regarding the Civil War. Of course there have been many major (political) occurrences that have been (and still are) dealt with by Hollywood: World Wars I and II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Gulf Wars. Almost none of these events can be used in this study, for three different reasons:

Firstly, the Civil War (which ended in 1865) took place about forty years before to the birth of cinema, while most other major recent historical events occurred much later. The Civil War filmography spans over one hundred years, while, for instance, the World War II filmography will always be about fifty years younger (and thus potentially smaller), simply because that War started some fifty years *after* the birth of cinema. It is therefore necessary to look at a historical event that took place relatively close to the Civil War, in order to build a data set that is comparable in both size and timeframe that it encompasses.

Secondly, because the Civil War had ended long before film production started in Hollywood, Civil War filmmakers were always 'looking back', telling historical stories per definition; they were always working from within their contemporary mindsets. More recent historical events were depicted by filmmakers living much closer to the actual facts. Although a 1995 film about World War II indeed suffers from the same amount of 'lag' as the earliest Civil War film (both were made about half a century *after* the conflicts they depict), Civil War cinema suffers from a 'void' of at least fifty years. After all, the first film about the Second World War was released before the end of the War in 1945, while the first Civil War film was made some forty years after the end of that War. In other words: no film about the Civil War was ever made while the actual conflict was still going on.

Thirdly, the differences in political polarization and social relevance between the Civil War and most other major sociopolitical historical events are

rather enormous (internal versus international/global conflict), which makes a clean comparison even more difficult (if not impossible).

To find a suitable 'counterbalance' to the Civil War, we have to go back further into history than the Vietnam War or the Second World War. When disregarding World War I as a potential 'counterbalance' (because the US wasn't as involved in this war as compared to other recent great wars), there is a big time gap between the end of the Civil War and the next major historical event: World War II. Of course several historical processes came into play during that seventy year span, such as industrialization, the invention of automated (tele)communication and the implementation of electricity as prime power source. But these processes are mere forms of technical progression, not necessarily historical events. They were supportive to the development of already ongoing technical facets of humanity and hardly had any direct political or distinctive sociopolitical implications – although their economic (and therefore indirectly political) impact was undeniably huge.

To maintain the focus of this thesis, these processes are unfit as counterweight to the Civil War. Based on the arguments stated above, only the colonization of the West seems fit. Like the Civil War, this was a historical process that was painted on a rather broad temporal canvas, and its purpose and goal had an analogous relevance to the Civil War. Both occurrences resulted in a newly formed national political status and both contributed a powerful force to the (uni)formation of society. Closely related to this was the (political) geographical reformation that was accomplished. Another very important issue that makes a close comparison possible, is the omnipresent racial factor that hugely influenced the development of both series of events. Slavery played a very important (arguably a defining) role in the Civil War, while Native Americans were instrumental in the (resistance against the) colonization of the West.

The social impact of the Civil War (which lasted 'only' five years) will compensate for the seeming vastness of the colonization's time frame (which lasted for almost 90 years). The Civil War directly affected the lives of over 12.5 million American people,<sup>2</sup> while the expansion of the Frontier was performed by

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<sup>2</sup> Figures vary, but ~3,900,000 slaves (both Northern and Southern) were freed; over 4,000,000 Southerners either fought in or were employed for the cause; an estimate of

a relatively small group of settlers: almost 180,000 people inhabited the western and pacific states/counties by 1850, while over 3.1 million people lived in the western and pacific states (at the time of the 1890 US Census).<sup>3</sup>

## Research method

To compensate for this temporal paradox and thus to again restrict the focus of this thesis, two essentially similar datasets have to be created. The datasets are obtained by solely selecting films focusing on sociopolitical or military processes directly related to the issues at hand during either the Civil War or the (relocation of the) Frontier. For instance, stereotypical 'cowboy movies' about cattle driving and life in boomtowns do not immediately meet this criterion, since they are physically set *in* the West, not necessarily in the historical macro conflict *about* the West. The same selection criteria will be applied to films concerning the Civil War, since a large portion of these productions were merely interested in romantic endeavors between protagonists, without any military, social or political merit.

To ground the quantitative approach of this thesis, a dataset containing all relevant productions concerning the Civil War and the colonization of the West will be presented, built using the NLMVA method discussed above. Six parameter subgroups have been defined:

- Year of release
- Genre
- Theme
- Protagonist group
- Racial attitude

Every subgroup in each of the two parameter groups ('Civil War' and 'colonization of the West') contains a set of parameters (i.e. the genre subgroup

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2,100,000 northern soldiers were fighting, while another 2,500,000 northern civilians were working in the war industry. All numbers derived from the general Wikipedia page on the American Civil War (English version, visited December 15 2010); all quotes as referenced in Wikipedia notes.

<sup>3</sup> All documentation as available on the US Census Bureau website ([www.census.org](http://www.census.org)). Nota bene: the 1850 census data does not specify any racial division aside from whites and blacks, while the 1890 census specifies a number of about 100,000 'American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut' inhabitants. The composition of this number remains unknown, due to changing US policies towards the American natives and enumeration protocols utilized by the Census Bureau. No data preceding 1850 is available for the western part of North America.

contains 'drama', 'action/adventure', 'comedy' and 'musical'), which may be unequal but nevertheless directly comparable (for instance, the parameter 'musical' was available for Civil War films, but because no film qualified as a musical, this parameter is no longer part of the genre subgroup in the Civil War parameter group).

Following a short summary of the most important aspects of the Civil War, both the Civil War dataset and the dataset concerning the colonization of the West will be analyzed in two separate chapters. The third and final chapter will draw conclusions from the analysis that were performed, and provide answers to the research questions stated earlier.

## Definitions

In order to keep the dataset clean and representative, definitions will have to be presented for both 'Hollywood Civil War movies' and 'Hollywood movies about the colonization of the West'.

As a 'Hollywood Civil War movie' will be earmarked all fiction productions produced for theatrical distribution between the years 1900 and 2005, taking sociopolitical aspects relevant to the American Civil War as a major theme or point of plot focus and/or featuring one or more characters with a relevant (historical) connection to the American Civil war or its aftermath.<sup>4</sup> They are set in the War itself (1860 – 1865) or in the period directly preceding or following the War. Films must be produced in the United States and/or by a film company established in Los Angeles by the time of film's release and/or featuring a major American actor as (one of) its main commercial selling point(s), thereby primarily aiming at an American audience.

As a 'Hollywood movie about the colonization of the West' will be earmarked all fiction productions produced for theatrical distribution between the years 1900 and 2005, specifically featuring stories and/or themes directly related to settling or living on the Frontier in geographical and/or legal conflict and/or warfare (thus including issues related to diminishing lawlessness by force or the implementation of jurisdiction), and set during the period from the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 to 1890.<sup>5 6</sup> Films must be produced in the United

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<sup>4</sup> I.e. members of the military, politicians or others directly inflicted by the War.

<sup>5</sup> In 1803, US president Thomas Jefferson purchased over 828,000 square miles of North American soil from France, whose claim on the territory (which was called

States and/or by a film company established in Los Angeles by the time of film's release and/or featuring a major American actor as (one of) its main commercial selling point(s), thereby primarily aiming at an American.

Films will be collected and researched using available literature, analyzing them as thoroughly as possible, while being aware of the fact that it would be impossible to watch all titles. Analyses are therefore performed on synopses and, where possible, on further film-specific texts.

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Louisiana, hence the name 'Louisiana Purchase') became instantly invalid. Because the exact western boundary of the newly acquired grounds was contested, Jefferson ordered three missions to map the new territory, thereby forming the western frontier.

<sup>6</sup> In 1890, the eleventh US Census stated that "there was no longer a clear line of advancing settlement". Since 1790, after the American Revolution, the United States Census Bureau has organized a decennial census to determine the current size of the US population. The 1890 census stated that major westward migration was no longer evident, prompting Frederick Jackson Turner to publish his Frontier Thesis, which described the history of the Frontier – and all related processes – in minute detail. This publication is now considered a formative moment in the written accounts on the colonization of the West.

## 2. The Blue and the Grey: Civil War cinema

### A short history of the War

Slavery strongly divided United States politics in the years leading up to the presidential election of 1860. The Republican Party, which had chosen Abraham Lincoln as its presidential candidate in 1859, strongly campaigned for the further abolishment of slavery beyond states that were already 'free'. Another important Republican issue was the struggle against potential disunion of several states, which were threatening to leave the United States (also known as 'the Union').

Following Lincoln's election in November 1860, the seven 'cotton states' that earlier threatened to disunite, immediately declared their secession from the United States. Together they joined forces in the newly formed Confederate States of America. However, no foreign government, let alone the new government of the Union, legally recognized the Confederacy as federal state.

The seven states that formed the Confederacy were so-called 'slave states', or 'cotton states', and were all strong proponents of slavery (indeed, a large part of their economy relied on free labor). Among the remaining 25 Union (or 'Northern') states, were another five states that declared their secession from the Union on April 21, 1861.

On that day, Fort Sumter, a Union-controlled military fortification in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, was attacked by Confederate troops (also known as 'Dixies'). Union president Lincoln responded by instantly raising a voluntary army in every state, setting up naval blockades along the border and crippling the Southern economy by blocking all internal and international trade routes.

The attack on Fort Sumter marked the start of the American Civil War, which was fought mostly on Southern, Confederate territory, with the Northern army enjoying a huge advantage in number of troops (which the Confederate soldiers called 'Yanks') as well as hardware. Lincoln controlled most modern infrastructure (railroads, organized trade and military fleets) and all industrial areas in North America.

The War ended on April 9, 1865, when Confederate general Robert E. Lee signed the Confederate capitulation in Virginia. Although all skirmishes effectively ended about six weeks later, Southern troops capitulated in large numbers. Despite of Abraham Lincoln's assassination, only five days after Lee's surrender, emancipation had already started by freeing slaves in former Confederate territories according to Union law.

The Reconstruction, which had already started during the War as new states joined the Union, was sustained after April 1865 and pursued two main goals: a) the conformation of Southern local and federal government to Northern example and b) the total abolishment of slavery in all states. The Reconstruction formally ended in 1877, but the echo of social and racial disproportion that was apparent during the Civil War, was heard for many decades afterwards.<sup>7</sup>

### Racial sensitivity

In January 1909, after the Springfield Race Riot of 1908<sup>8</sup>, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded (initially named the National Negro Committee), an organization primarily focused on the emancipation of black people by US society and US government. In 1914, the NAACP successfully managed to win the right for African Americans to serve as officers in World War I. This event clearly illustrates the common state of mind and attitude towards black Americans that was apparent in early twentieth century US society. An attitude that naturally crossed over into the arts as well.

Almost simultaneously with the founding of the NAACP, D.W. Griffith was in the middle of production on one of the most controversial American feature films to date. Ever since Griffith's fourth feature (the one-reeler ROMANCE OF A JEWESS, 1908), Griffith displayed a keen interest in depicting social issues, particularly racial conflict and social imbalance.<sup>9</sup> In the case of his infamous THE BIRTH OF A NATION, which made him one of the first Hollywood directors to address the Civil War in a feature film, Griffith dealt primarily with 'micro issues'

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<sup>7</sup> Olsen 2006, mostly ch. 5, 16 and 19.

<sup>8</sup> In Springfield (Illinois), after the alleged rape of a young white woman, two black men were suspected and had to be brought to safety from a crowd of white citizens, enraged by the gravity of the crime. Riots broke out after news of the rescue broke, resulting in at least seven lethal casualties – all blacks.

<sup>9</sup> Simmon 1993, p. 9.

concerning the War, without sketching the contours of the bigger issues at stake. While he did show the Lincoln assassination (clearly a 'macro' event) and a rather simplified version of the Reconstruction (in Part 2),<sup>10</sup> he hardly commented on the underlying themes and events which contextualize these specific occurrences. Griffith never painted the bigger picture of the Civil War, not even in subtle strokes.<sup>11</sup>

This pattern of social instead of political and/or military interest in Civil War related themes cannot just be attributed to Griffith's own personal preference. The fact that he frequently used the Civil War as merely a backdrop for his stories illustrates a pattern that has been apparent in Hollywood for quite a few decades. Depicting small scale social conflict during the Civil War seems to have been common practice in Hollywood, illustrating anxiety towards political and racial themes (as pointed out by Richard Maltby in his analysis of Hollywood's struggle with 'hot' political issues<sup>12</sup>). A stigma of ethnic discrimination had trickled into Hollywood:<sup>13</sup> "For many years [...], few blacks appeared in mainstream American films and most of those who did were confined to stereotypical roles [...]"<sup>14</sup> After *THE BIRTH OF A NATION* was seen by millions of US citizens, it would take until 1934 before a black person would feature again in a Hollywood film concerning the Civil War.

Even though discrimination of blacks during the Civil War was a matter of fact, it is apparent that Hollywood has remained extremely careful in depicting this delicate chunk of social history, an assumption that is validated by statistical analysis below. Large scale productions like *GONE WITH THE WIND* (1939) certainly touch upon the subject, and indeed show African Americans working for white people, but in a peaceful and almost idyllic way. US historian David Reynolds strikingly summarized this mythical fictionalization: "The white women are elegant, their menfolk noble or at least dashing. And, in the background, the black slaves are mostly dutiful and content, clearly incapable of an independent

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<sup>10</sup> *THE BIRTH OF A NATION* was conceived as a two-part matinee, with an Intermission separating Part 1 (focusing on proceedings during the Civil War) and Part 2 (focusing on proceedings during the Reconstruction), elaborated on by Stokes (2007), 85.

<sup>11</sup> Further analysis (see below) will expand on this matter.

<sup>12</sup> Maltby 2003, p. 268-307, esp. 269.

<sup>13</sup> Chadwick 2002, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Bogle 1994, p. 17.

existence."<sup>15</sup> The way Hollywood filmmakers portrayed the issue of slavery on the silver screen in a literal, not lateral, fashion is clearly definable: they didn't.

### Civil War cinema in numbers

With this imbalanced social background in mind, a deconstruction of the dataset is in order. Due to the focus of this thesis and the availability of data, a few selection criteria had to be defined to create this corpus. As stated earlier, only films regarding the Civil War as an essential part of their (thematic) narrative are included in this dataset, which has been built using Spehr (1961), Chadwick (2002) and Kinnard (1996). Films that only touch upon the subject of the War are – because of their sociopolitical superficiality – not useful in this analysis, since they do not tell us anything about filmmakers' attitudes towards the War. As an example, stories concerning a romance between a soldier and his lover are not necessarily relevant to this research. To justify inclusion in the dataset, the soldier should have either been on a mission (with this mission serving as main plot focus) or be about to leave on a mission (with his imminent departure driving the story). The mere fact that he is a soldier does not warrant a representation in this thesis, because that fact does not comment on the politics or social impact of the soldier's part in the War.

Before we dive deeper into the numbers, it should be noted that, even though all three authors (Spehr, Chadwick and Kinnard) do not claim to have written overviews that are either comprehensive in numbers or extensive in descriptions, the synopses they offer for every film cannot possibly encompass all facets of each film. The numbers below can therefore only provide a primary insight into Civil War film statistics, until every individual film has been watched and analyzed according to the criteria defined in chapter one. In most cases, a summarily description was all that was available.

All in all, 658 theatrically released films were researched, both shorts and features. Quite early on, it became clear that short films were underrepresented in the literature that was used. Numbers found in other publications and on the internet offered widely varying estimates of about several hundreds of short films produced about the Civil War, while only 90 could be thoroughly analyzed

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<sup>15</sup> Reynolds 2009, p. 195.

using the available literature. It was therefore decided not to include films in this thesis with a duration less than 45 minutes.

Another large part, 180 titles in total, primarily contained nonfiction-elements, and were subsequently excluded from the dataset.

98 films were discarded because however referencing the Civil War, they did so from a historical perspective: stories about war veterans or melancholy stories told by survivors.

The remainder of the films, 290 titles, did meet the primary criteria, namely being fictional feature films about the Civil War. Exactly 200 of these titles had to be disregarded based on their thematic nature: horrors, fantasies and romantic stories touching upon the subject, without ever exposing it thoroughly, did not have any merit in finding answers to our research questions.<sup>16</sup> This left only 90 titles to build the dataset with, obviously a vast decrease: about 14% of all 658 titles researched.

Shorts (< 45 minutes)	<b>90</b>	14%
Non-fiction	<b>180</b>	27%
Different time frame	<b>98</b>	15%
Theme/genre: horror / fantasy	<b>16</b>	2%
Theme/genre: romance	<b>184</b>	28%
Meeting criteria	<b>90</b>	14%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>658</b>	

FIGURE 2.1 – DIVISION BY TYPE OF FILM OF ALL CIVIL WAR FILMS RESEARCHED

The table above makes for an interesting observation: the Civil War has apparently been romanticized a great deal, since the majority of all films not meeting the requirements (and not having been discarded due to length or non-fictional nature) were romantic dramas (and in a rare case romantic comedies) without any sociopolitical merit: 184 in total. This means that close to a third of all films (28%) concerning the Civil War in its broadest sense (658) are romantic stories, while only 14% of all films takes a substantial sociopolitical approach.

From this point onwards, for the sake of clarity, the 90 films meeting the criteria will be referred to as simply Civil War films, collectively forming Civil War cinema.

<sup>16</sup> Yet, quite some films containing romantic elements were included among the 90 titles that formed the corpus, as they did not focus on the romance-elements of the story but only featured romantic plot thread(s) within a bigger sociopolitical framework.

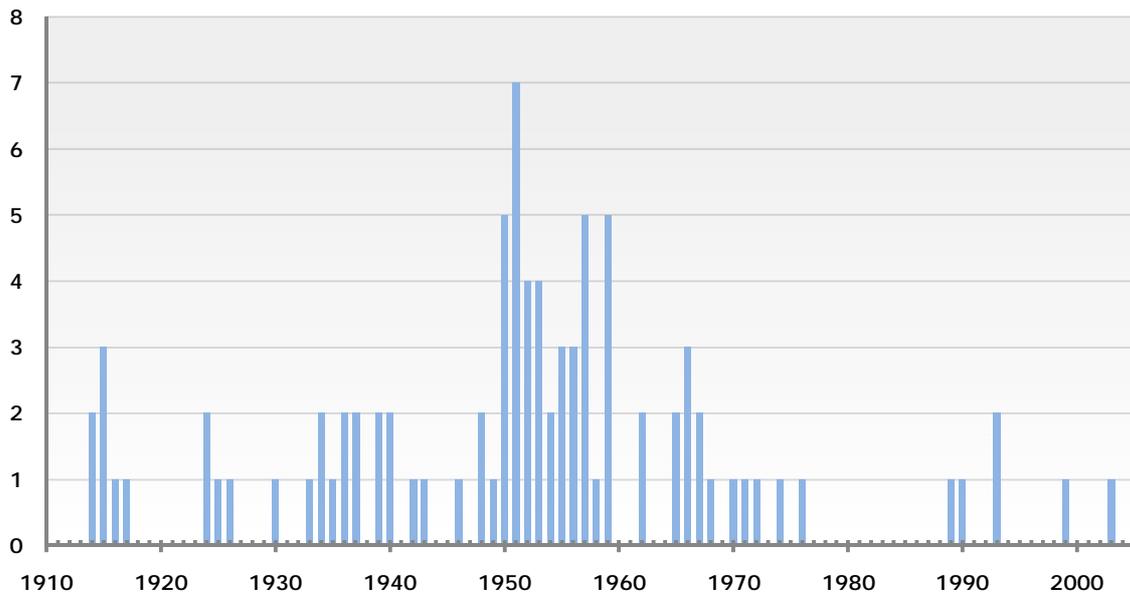


FIGURE 2.2 - TOTAL NUMBER OF 'REAL' CIVIL WAR PRODUCTIONS (1910 - 2005)

Figure 2.2 shows that Civil War cinema did not take off until after the second World War. Before 1948, an average of 0.71 Civil War film was produced each year, compared to an average of 2.46 during the next twenty years. In the early 1960s, Hollywood interest in Civil War cinema seemed to have faded, before enjoying a modest revival in the late 1960s and early 70s. Since the mid-seventies, only a handful of Civil War films have been produced: a sign that overall interest had gradually died away.

Therefore, to keep the amount of data discussed in this thesis clear and manageable, all upcoming graphs and tables will only include data up until 1979.

### Genres and themes

Using Grodal's genre typology (1997) – in which the author clearly separates "tragedy & passive melodrama" from "comedy" and "canonical narratives of action and adventure" (among other genres) – three basic genres (or "characteristic narrative types") were defined in the Civil War dataset, according to Grodal's genre distribution model: drama, action/adventure and comedy.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Grodal 1997, p. 161-173.

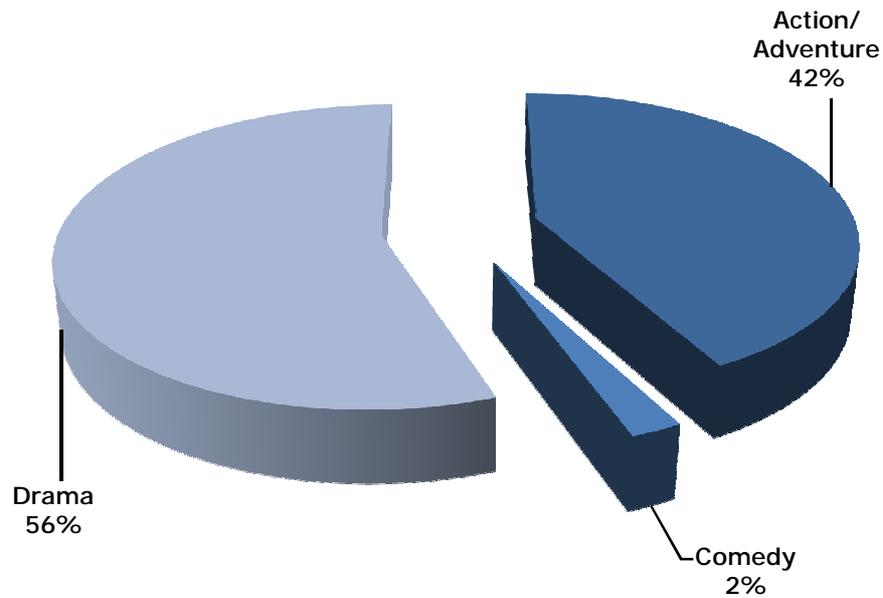


FIGURE 2.3 - GENRE DIVISION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS

One might expect, considering the militaristic nature of the conflict, a larger share of action/adventure titles. But the fact that this share is less than fifty percent in total, combined with the fact that the drama genre is so well represented, should disclose – at least partially – Hollywood’s general approach to this historic landmark. As discussed before, Hollywood was cautious in its portrayal of the conflict, initially not wanting to elaborate on military or political mechanisms, as shown in figure 2.4. The drama genre offered a ‘clean’ route. Showing a steady presence of Civil War drama’s in the 1910s, twenties and thirties, figure 2.4 also displays a steadily increasing number of action/adventures from the 1930s. This supports the assumption that Hollywood film producers were hesitant in showing military action up until World War II, as is affirmed later in this thesis.

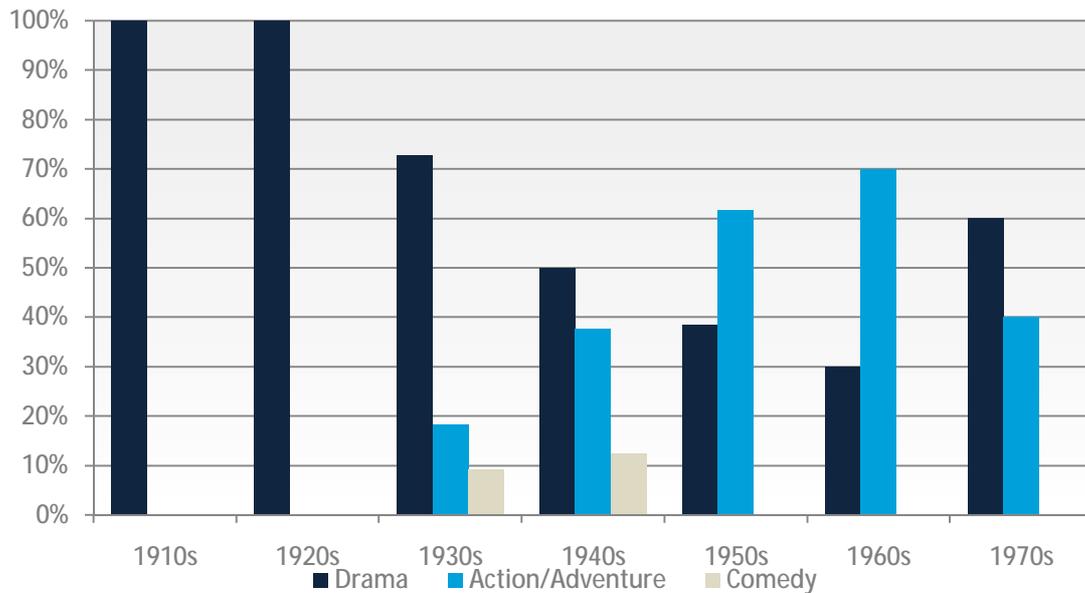


FIGURE 2.4 - GENRE DIVISION PER DECADE (1910 - 1979)  
AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVIL WAR FILMS

With drama being the predominant genre, the question arises whether a thematic division follows this same paradigm. Within the confines of this research, five major themes were designated within the parameter subgroup ‘theme’, to differentiate the main topics that filmmakers employed. The division was made considering the most important sociopolitical processes during the Civil War: armed military action (‘conflict’ theme), political and/or unarmed military action (‘mission’ theme), intelligence (‘espionage’ theme), social development (‘society’ theme) and the use of inter-state infrastructure (‘railroad’ theme). Of course these themes are not mutually exclusive, as a ‘conflict’ film could easily feature social elements. The division was made with a focus on the thematic context of the protagonist’s development: each film was classified based on its preeminent narrative theme.

As explained earlier in this thesis, the data below first of all helps to distinguish the approach filmmakers took in setting up their stories within the confines of the preferred genre. Secondly it helps to illustrate the way in which the several ‘facets’, or core processes, of the war were shown. Whereas a division based on genre only exemplifies the broad structural build of a movie, a division based on themes offers a more subtle view on the subject.

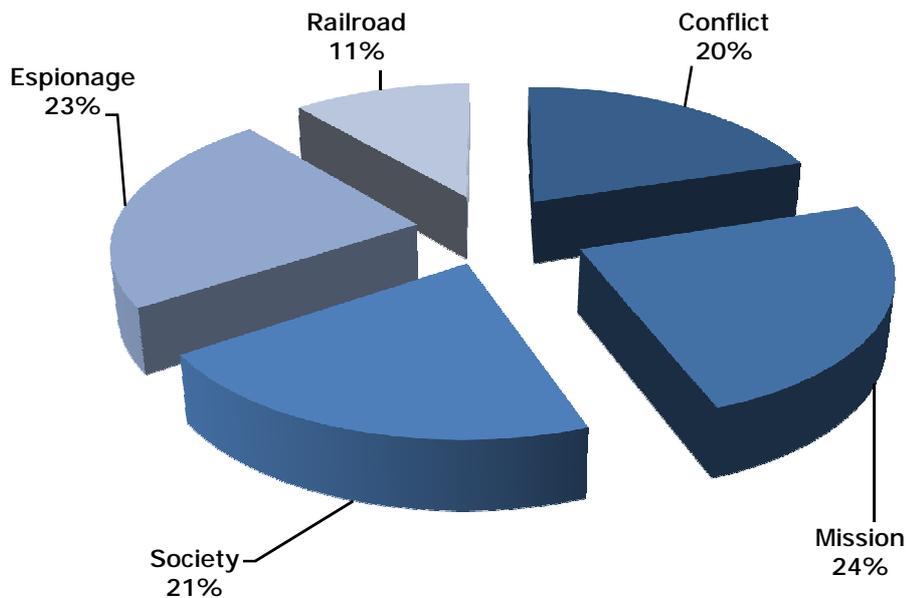


FIGURE 2.5 - THEMATIC DIVISION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS

First the 'society' theme. This group includes all movies set in either an urban or rural environment, and/or featuring at least one municipal resident as main protagonist, and/or portraying a war-related social phenomenon (i.e. families losing a son).

The next three themes are closely related: 'mission', 'conflict' and 'espionage' – all (politically) military themes. They all share the element of not being necessarily *civilian-centered*, i.e. not featuring a civilian and/or focusing on a social dilemma. These three themes represent the macro conflict itself, the procedures, operations and assignments that shaped the proceedings of the War. All titles marked as a 'conflict' title tell their story from a predominantly military point of view. The plot is either fixed within an actual charge or battle, or is used to set up the execution of a large physical conflict. In this theme, there is usually violent action between the North and the South. The 'mission' theme however lacks this component of (large scale) physical conflict. These are films about soldiers on a mission to dispatch orders or communications, rescue fellow military or men on their way to the battlefield: a combination of military and political elements. The third theme within this group, 'espionage', somehow resembles this last description, but adds an element of secrecy: soldiers (or just plain spies) ordered to steal information from the enemy by infiltration or violent action. As it turned out this was a hugely popular theme among Civil War films and, on a side note, also featured a remarkable amount of women: about 45%

of all 'espionage' films had a female spy protagonist. This has its roots in reality, since women were frequently involved with espionage operations.<sup>18</sup>

The last theme, 'railroad', takes a special position among its peers. This theme features mostly military elements or government agents, but since these stories have their primary focus on the railroad and illustrate the enormous value of this infrastructure, it has been included in the dataset as a separate entity. It is the only theme that is completely shared with the dataset of films referencing the colonization of the West (see next chapter). In fact, the railroad played an elementary role in the War as well as on the Frontier. It was essential in stocking the troops, but also in setting up trade and migration to the West.<sup>19</sup>

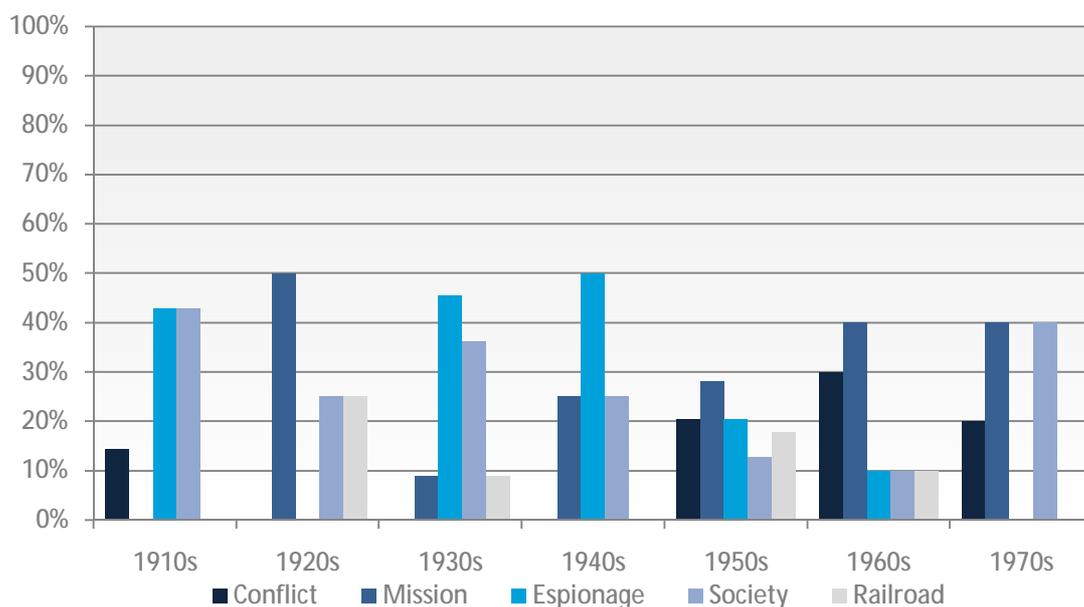


FIGURE 2.6 - THEMATIC DIVISION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER DECADE (1910 – 1979)

The chronological comparison between the themes as shown above, offers some insights. First of all, over the decades, no theme ever had a majority over its 'competing' themes. Topics were more or less in balance, so to speak. It is remarkable that 'mission' films have had a pretty steady presence from the

<sup>18</sup> This was necessary on the one hand (for many men were mustered in the army) and clever on the other: female underground operators had the advantage of surprise, especially in the early days of the War. The military primarily consisted of men, who initially did not expect anything doubtful from a visiting female 'ally'. In fact, women were able to identify themselves as friends of the cause and subsequently had almost unrestricted access to delicate information (Frank 2008, p. 29-35). This situation didn't last long of course, but apparently gave Hollywood screenwriters enough inspiration to have almost 10% of all Civil War films feature a female secret agent as major plot point.

<sup>19</sup> A famous example of the importance of the Railroad is the history of the Great Locomotive Chase: a train was used by the Union to disconnect the Confederacy from its interstate supply lines.

twenties onwards. As figure 2.7 (below) shows, these titles were more frequently released in the action/adventure genre, while 'espionage' films were equally represented in both action/adventure and drama. Also, 'conflict' films are almost evenly divided between the two main genres.

The fact that 'conflict' films are basically absent from the corpus up until the 1950s, affirms the conclusion that the depiction of 'hardcore' military action between the North and the South was almost completely avoided until after World War II. This fact, combined with the information that 'mission' films became gradually more fashionable in Hollywood after 1950, suggests that the American people were not supposed to be ready for a large scale on-screen confrontation between the two opposing parties of the War. Whether the Second World War had an effect on heightened interest in military-centered Civil War stories remains to be seen. After the end of World War II in 1945, it took five more years before the first Civil War battle was shown on the silver screen: in 1950, two films were released portraying the conflict from a primarily military point of view (*ROCKY MOUNTAIN* and *TWO FLAGS WEST*), but still in a rather subdued manner: no big battles were shown. That would change over a year later with John Huston's *THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE*, which not only for the first time offered a large scale confrontation between the North and the South, but also in full color, showing blues, grays and reds in all frankness. It took Hollywood almost half a century to actually show major Civil War combat on screen. In the decades prior to that, producers restricted their depictions of the War to simpler setups, close-up shots, battle preparations or aftermaths.

The decision to show actual battles was a breakthrough and apparently a successful one as well: conflict-films retained a steady presence up until the final decline of Civil War cinema in the late seventies.<sup>20</sup>

The most striking observation however, is the total absence of slavery as a main theme in any Civil War film. Not a single title in the dataset features this enormously relevant subject as its primary thematic focus. Considering the leading role slavery played in the processes that eventually lead to the Civil War, makes this omission hugely important. Also the total lack of predominantly

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<sup>20</sup> On an interesting side note, five of six Civil War films produced after 1979 were conflict-films, with all five depicting battles in full detail. If one includes *DANCES WITH WOLVES* (1990) as well (which doesn't show any battle but a rather graphic battle aftermath), it becomes six of six.

government-focused films (i.e. films featuring conflicts on a political level) is an essential observation.

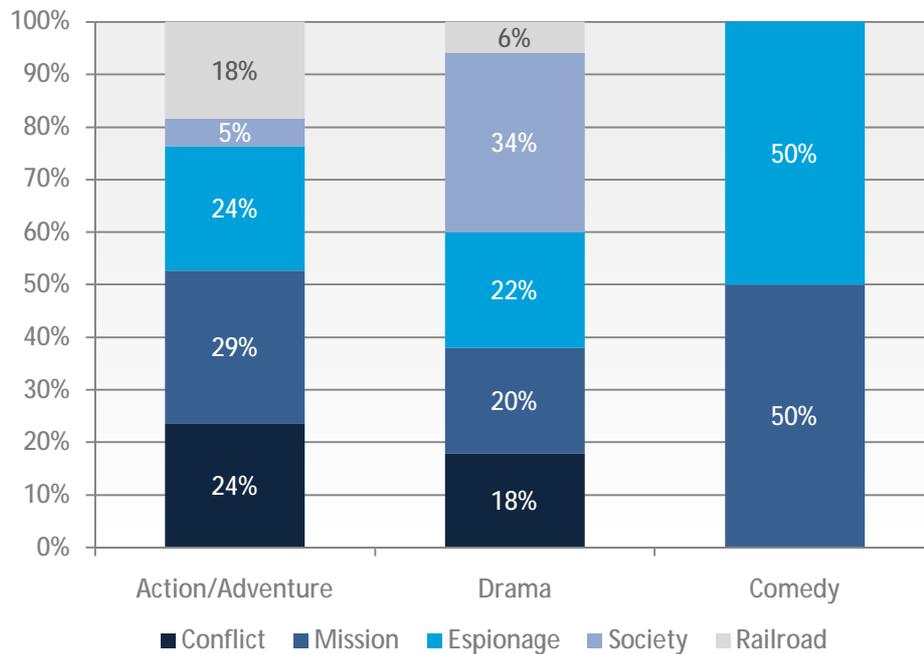


FIGURE 2.7 - THEMATIC DIVISION PER GENRE AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF GENRE ENTRIES

### Primary protagonist grouping

All films, and films with sociopolitical relevance in particular, share a common denominator: the contraposition of good guys and bad guys. Since all Civil War films *always* present an American character as its protagonist *and* as its antagonist, no foreign bad guys could be deployed.

Further below, earlier conclusions regarding genre analysis and thematic divisions will be compared to the way main protagonist characters were presented. This is helpful because it sheds further light on the way Hollywood film producers tackled the Civil War and its social characteristics (for instance, using mainly civilians within a militaristic context may reveal a reticent attitude towards showing visceral military conflict).

Five basic clusters were differentiated to take in all different protagonist groups. The division was made on 'society level', i.e. the main branches that formed society: civilians, the military, government employees, the militia (civilians involved in mostly military combat) and African Americans. This last group has to be pointed out separately, as African Americans actually were

systematically excluded from other branches in large parts of the country.<sup>21</sup> Some freed slaves were able to take up positions in the army or as government officials, and in those cases are counted in the relevant protagonist group. However, the predominant part of black America was still enslaved and stood at the sideline, thus constituting a segregated part of society.

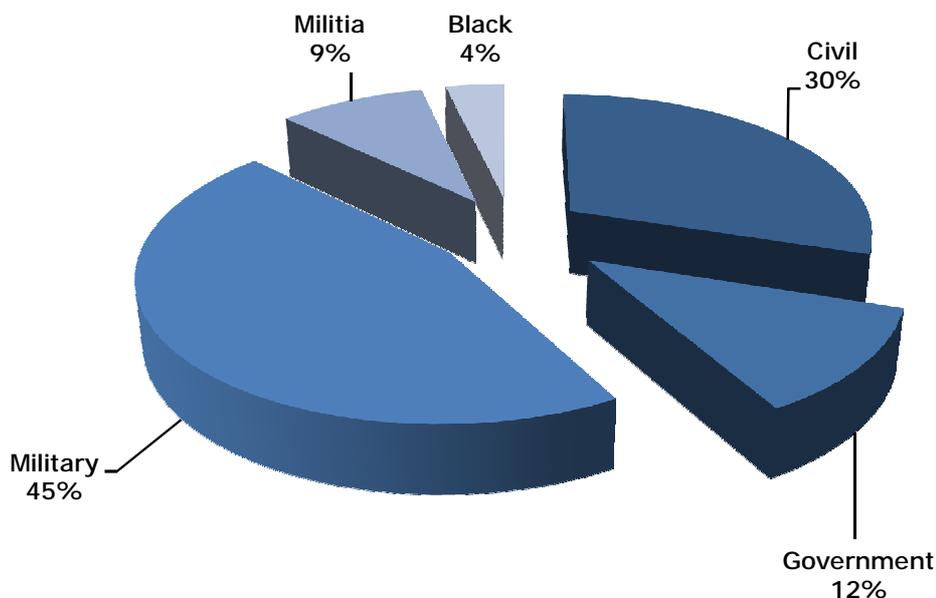


FIGURE 2.8 - PRIMARY PROTAGONIST GROUPING AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVIL WAR PRODUCTIONS

The basic grouping is quite clear: military characters take up a large share, as well as civilians and government agents. The 4% representation of African Americans is relatively small, considering the fact that in 1860, slaves formed at least 12% of American society.<sup>22</sup>

The chronological comparison (in figure 2.9) is without any big surprises. Military characters are a lot less represented during the 1930s and 40s, which may have a correlation to the Economic Crisis and the Second World War, respectively. The years of financial decline prior to World War II had a great impact on film audiences.<sup>23</sup> Warmth and familiarity were themes people desired, not fighting, suppression and violence. However, the interference of the Bureau of Motion Pictures greatly influenced what filmgoers could see:<sup>24</sup> non-propagandistic military-themed films were sparse, especially films depicting conflicts between civilians (let alone graphic films about the Civil War).

<sup>21</sup> Reynolds 2009, p. 190.

<sup>22</sup> Bureau of the Census Library 1864, p. 597.

<sup>23</sup> For instance by Koppes & Black (1987).

<sup>24</sup> See page 31 and further of this thesis for more information.

Unification and peace were the keys to cinematic success, not segregation and secession.

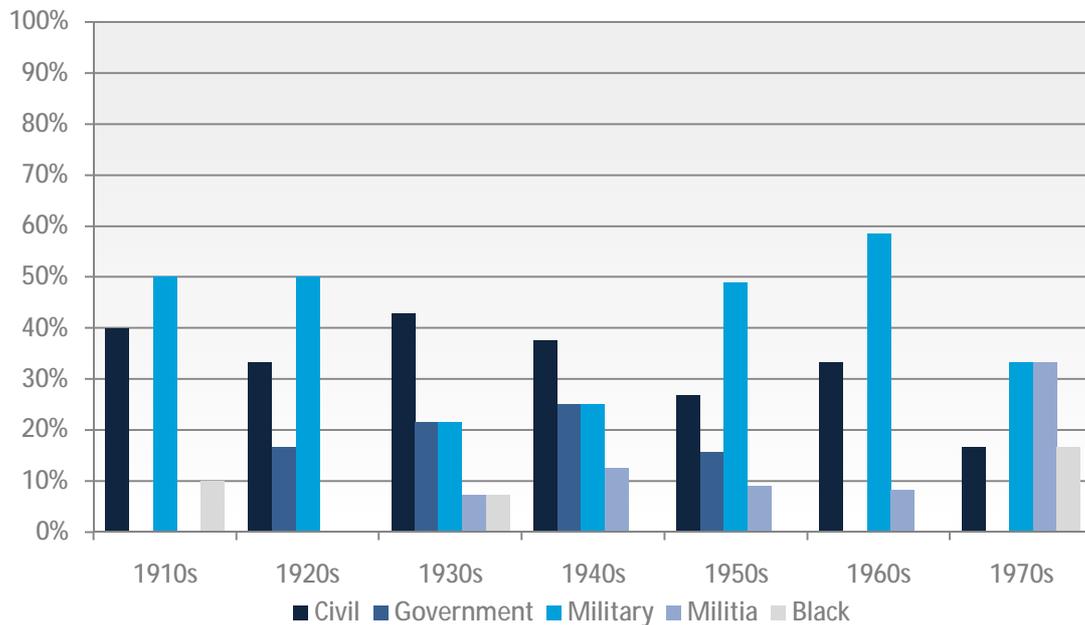


FIGURE 2.9 - PRIMARY PROTAGONIST GROUPING AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER DECADE (1910 - 1979)

What is clear as well, is that civilian characters are well-represented during these years (1930s and 40s); a pattern that resembles the remarkable growth of 'espionage' films in this period (see figure 2.6). This could lead to the conclusion that civilian protagonists, at least in this timeframe, were more often figured in 'espionage' films than military protagonists. However, the graph below (figure 2.10) does not support this assumption (more than half of all 'espionage' films feature military protagonists<sup>25</sup>), but we have to keep in mind that the data in figure 2.10 cover all seven centuries, thus producing an overview unadjusted for each separate timeframe.

Another noteworthiness is the absence of black protagonists in the 40s, 50s and 60s. Only in 1971 do we see a production with an African American lead (THE LAST REBEL). Highly remarkable, since Hollywood started to come around regarding black main characters, as is shown by Harry Benshoff (2004) in his

<sup>25</sup> This is not mirrored in reality, as both the Union and the Confederate government installed highly skilled secret service agents to infiltrate the opposing party, because tactical and circumstantial information about the enemy was of great value to strategists and commanders, for obvious reasons. These secret agents were almost always civilians employed by the government (thus hosted in the government protagonist group) and not soldiers, simply because soldiers were drilled to fight and were generally considered to be unsuitable for espionage operations (Olsen 2006, chapter 16).

chapter on social attitude towards race representation in film.<sup>26</sup> Although slavery was a formative part of the Civil War, Hollywood continuously under-represented this part of history.

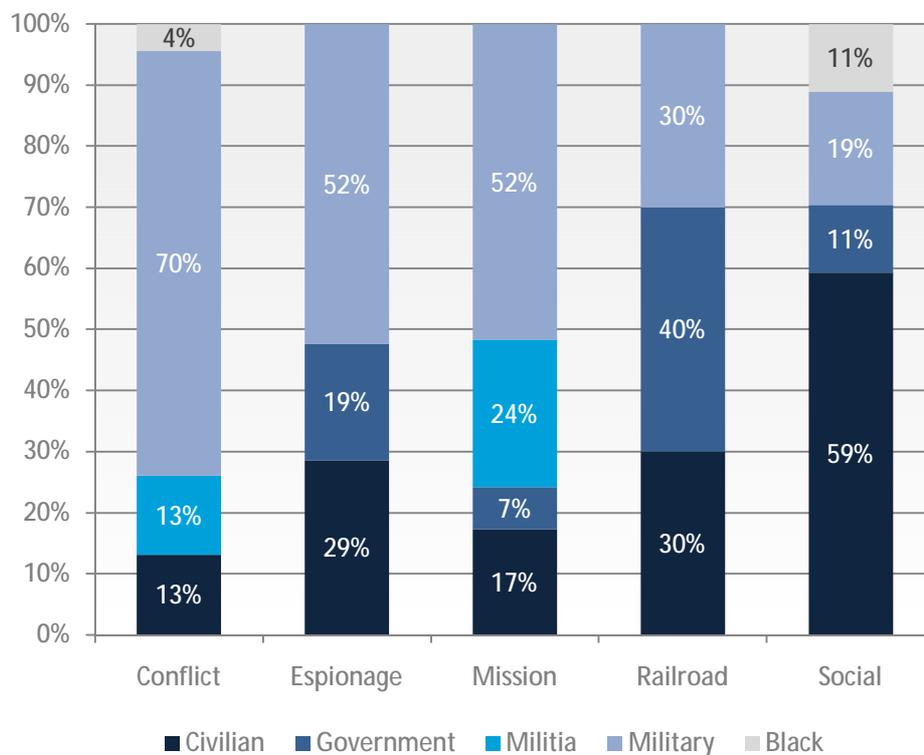


FIGURE 2.10 - PRIMARY PROTAGONIST GROUPING PER THEME AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF THEME ENTRIES

The share of civilian protagonists in both ‘conflict’ and ‘mission’ films is rather small, as illustrated above (13% and 17%, respectively). In ‘espionage’ and ‘railroad’ films, however, civilians claim a bigger share, at the expense of military as well as governmental characters. This is remarkable, since one would expect that these two protagonist groups would feature heavily in the ‘espionage’ (government agents and soldiers both running intelligence lines) and ‘railroad’ (soldiers protecting the infrastructure, government officials regulating rail traffic) themes.

### Political ideologies

Civil War movies are, even more than movies about the colonization of the West, subject to taking a stand: blue or grey? The writers, directors and producers all took a stand. A continuous ‘check’ of the moral truth of the film being made.

<sup>26</sup> Benschhoff 2004, Part II, ch. 3.

Especially productions with a political overtone – i.e. war movies – will forever undergo this hyper-subjective monitoring by its creators (and, subsequently, its audience).

To analyze which party in the War was featured most frequently, a comparison was made between productions with a mostly pro-North predilection, a mostly pro-South predilection and productions which seemingly tried to equally expose both parties. This resulted in the graph below.

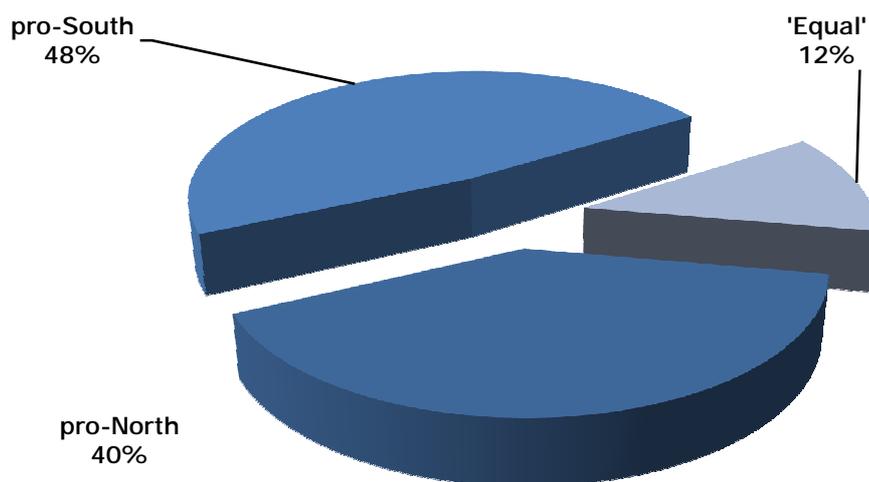


FIGURE 2.11 - POLITICAL VIEWPOINT AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS

The relatively low number (11 out of 90, equaling 12%) of Civil War films that have been made without either a pro-Northern or a pro-Southern focus, probably verifies that Hollywood filmmakers were much more inclined to choose either the North or the South as their film's preferred 'ideological' perspective. Obviously, since not all films in the corpus have been watched, the analyses have been made using only the available synopses, which makes it hard, if not impossible, to elaborate on this hypothesis. This is unfortunate, because it takes an analysis such as this to confirm Hollywood's reticent attitude towards on-screen Civil War politics. Trying to portray the conflict equally from both sides is much more 'dangerous' than choosing one of either parties, because it requires a huge investment of rational preparation to achieve it. Politics cannot be avoided when choosing this 'equal' perspective.

The division between 'Union-friendly' and 'Confederacy-friendly' productions is not equal, as seen in figure 2.11. However, a mere difference of eight percent obviously doesn't allow a firm conclusion like "Hollywood was

supportive of the Northern cause,” or vice versa; the situation is much more intricate.

As early film theatres were primarily concentrated in the urbanized areas of the North, Southern accessibility to Hollywood produce was low. In the early 1910s, Southern audiences began to voice their dissatisfaction over what they must have perceived as a dishonest representation of history. A reader of film periodical *Moving Picture Magazine* wrote to its editors: “Why do all the Civil War movies have the northern army come out ahead?”<sup>27</sup>

An erroneous remark, because, in addition to the fact that relatively few films featuring Northern protagonists were released, the North simply did win the war. This reader’s observation signifies the Southern perspective on the proceedings of the 1860s.<sup>28 29</sup> By this time (early twentieth century), many southerners still believed that a) the North started the war in 1860 by sending 75,000 troops into Confederate states and b) the South actually won the war by a wide margin.

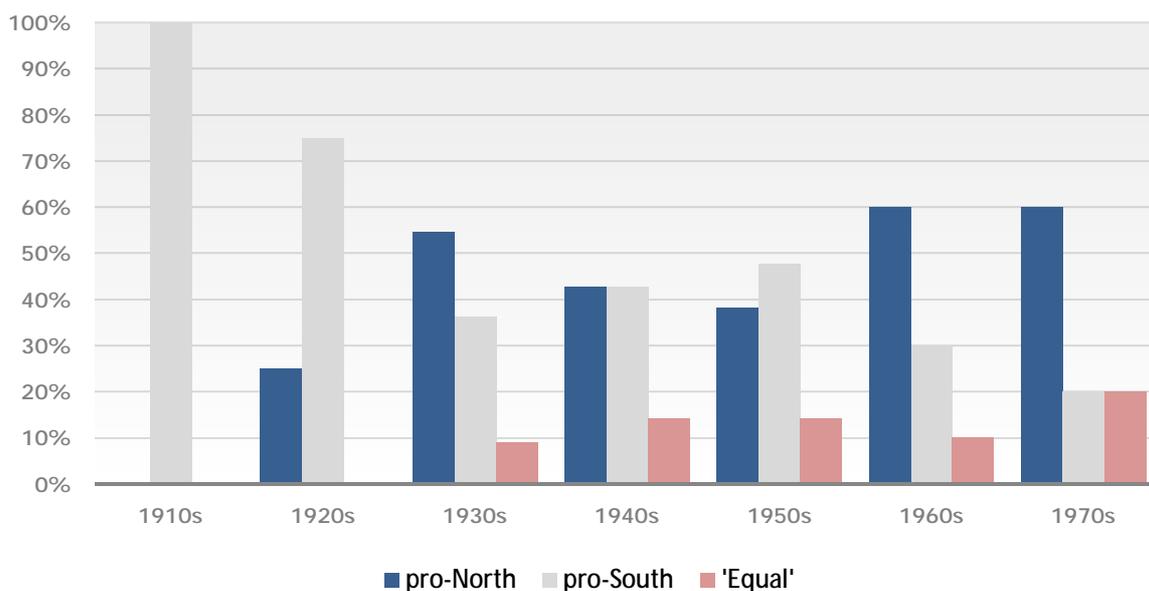


FIGURE 2.12 - POLITICAL VIEWPOINT AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER DECADE (1910 - 1979)

When we add the element of time to our analysis, interestingly enough, the data do not support the facts above. As seen in figure 2.12, the 1910s produced an output of solely ‘pro-Southern’ titles. The scale starts to balance out from the twenties onwards, as almost one-fourth of films produced from 1920 to 1929

<sup>27</sup> Chadwick 2002, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> Olsen 2006, p. 250-270.

<sup>29</sup> Morris Jr. 2007, p. 269-275.

show a pro-Northern perspective, opposed to about 75% pro-Southern productions. Film producers apparently realized that they didn't satisfy Northern audiences by solely programming 'Southern' films and started to adjust their output accordingly. The growing racial and ethnic problem that rose in mostly Northern cities in the twenties and thirties, and the implementation of the Hays Code, ordered the start of a slow turnaround in uneven silver screen representation of the Civil War. 'Pro-Northern' movies were being produced more frequently, while pro-Southern production numbers steadily decreased. By the end of the 1960s, 60% of all Civil War films was pro-North, against 30% pro-South.

### 3. Advancing and retiring: 'western' cinema

#### Numbers from the Frontier

To define in what way Hollywood has portrayed the American Civil War and its related subjects and concerns, an equivalent set of films had to be researched to enable any useful comparisons and analyses. Not only a dataset related by geographical essence ("both set in what is now called the USA"), but actually related on similar topics and sharing common sensitivities. Films concerning the colonization of the West proved to be the only usable counterweight to compare the Civil War dataset to. The western genre in its broadest sense, and all the films therein, is inapplicable in this context, because it literally is too expansive. As we will see further on, the majority of films that (depending on the definition) can be labeled as a western, are unusable in the context of this thesis.<sup>30</sup>

Because the goal of this thesis is to present an elaborate examination of Civil War cinema, subsequent analysis of the western dataset will be somewhat more concise.

Estimates of the total number of westerns produced in the twentieth century run up to 8,000,<sup>31</sup> but the number varies a lot, most likely due to differing definitions and the in-/exclusion of TV-series and -movies. However, for this thesis 4,289 titles have been studied, a list that was compiled using Pitts (1986), Fenin and Everson (1977) and Mitchell (1996). The list was assembled by studying literature on the western genre (although not all authors applied the same characterization of the term), and selecting titles according to the criteria stated in chapter 1.

In order to restrict this research to films with a primarily socio-political focus, all films dealing with one of the topics below had to be excluded from the final selection:

- Cattle management and related phenomena (cattle driving, rustling and trade)
- Outlawed bandits and/or gangs
- General life in boomtowns (including gambling-related crime)
- Gold and oil prospecting

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<sup>30</sup> Although several films that could be qualified as a western are also included in the data corpus.

<sup>31</sup> Simmon 2003, p. xiv.

Only movies dealing with issues relevant to the factual expansion of the Frontier were incorporated. Issues such as:

- Settlers and settling
- Retaining claimed land
- Government induced westward expansion
- Implementation of law and administration of justice
- Treatment of Native Americans

After all, these issues played a fundamental role in the formation of the American West, both politically and socially, and are therefore an appropriate comparative frame to put up against the collected Civil War data.

As was the case with Civil War films, and for the same reasons, all productions shorter than 45 minutes were discarded. Almost one thousand titles that were made for television were excluded as well, since televised entertainment would have expanded the scope of this thesis enormously.

A small number of horrors and fantasies (about 1%) were rejected, considering their limited sociopolitical interest.

By far the biggest portion of discarded films were cattle-related productions (films primarily dealing with the tradition of livestock farming, without noticing bigger socio-political processes): over 41% of all films studied. A huge number, especially considering the 466 titles (11%) that were eventually selected to be included in the dataset.

It is interesting to note that the romantic genre, which was so prominent among the studied Civil War films, was always, without exception, closely intertwined with the cattle business, by means of the 'cowboy'.

Another 12% of the films dealt with oil and gold prospecting and were rejected on that basis. Although prospecting played an important role in some parts of the Frontier, it was a small-scale, mostly regional affair, particularly influenced by waves of mania, which lured men onto the plains or into the mountains.<sup>32</sup> However, industrial endeavors are included in the dataset, since their larger scope had a bigger and more lasting effect on the process of westward expansion.

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<sup>32</sup> Deverell 2004, p. 94

A mere 2% of the 4,289 films were either (partially) non-fiction or had a historical perspective (films featuring contemporary characters referencing the colonization of the West). Both types were labeled 'other' and discarded.

The selection process eventually provided a data set of 466 titles that met the stated criteria. For clarity's sake, all these 466 films will from now on be referred to as 'westerns'.

Shorts (< 45 minutes)	430	10%
Produced for television	958	22%
Theme/genre: horror / fantasy	44	1%
Theme: cattle (rustling)	1768	41%
Theme: prospecting (oil/gold)	524	12%
Other	99	2%
Meeting requirements	466	11%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4289</b>	

FIGURE 3.1 - DIVISION BY TYPE OF FILM OF ALL WESTERN FILMS RESEARCHED

As figure 3.2 shows, the western genre enjoyed a period of success in the 1950s and a short revival from the mid-1960s onwards, following a dip in the early 1960s. The Second World War left its mark on this genre as well, causing a drop of total production output in the early 1940s. The industry-controlled (but government-supervised) Bureau of Motion Pictures stated that World War II was "everybody's War,"<sup>33</sup> which was most certainly true for the types of movies Hollywood released during the first half of the forties. Although many American families were actually better off during these years when compared to the economically harsh Crisis years, cinema attendance didn't profit from this financial improvement. Hollywood – with the Bureau of Motion Pictures as major source of stimulation – refocused their production to more 'war friendly' titles, thus ingesting the marketplace with produce not 'validated' by the audience. Propaganda films were used to increase public consensus on the War, causing Hollywood productions to lose almost six percent of its audience from 1939 onwards.<sup>34</sup> In this light it is remarkable that the western was not at all able to retain its success by falling more than 35% over the course of the War (when comparing 1939 output to 1945 output). People were more interested in homely stories, family tales and happy endings, than in conflict-based movies.<sup>35</sup> Due to

<sup>33</sup> Koppes en Black 1987, p. 143.

<sup>34</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, USGPO 1975, p. 400.

<sup>35</sup> Koppes & Black 1987, p. 160-161.

the very low number of Civil War films that were released during these years, a clean comparison over this period with the Civil War dataset is not possible.

However, the increase in the number of productions from 1965 onwards is also noticeable in the Civil War dataset. This short-lived revival – probably caused by amplified Hollywood marketing, which was battling television to reclaim its position as prime supplier of screen entertainment – did slightly change the general tone of the western: less military involvement and more civil interference (for more on thematic division, see below).

As is the case with the Civil War dataset, the very small number of westerns released after 1980, makes the inclusion of those titles in the overviews by percentage (as presented further on), disproportionate.

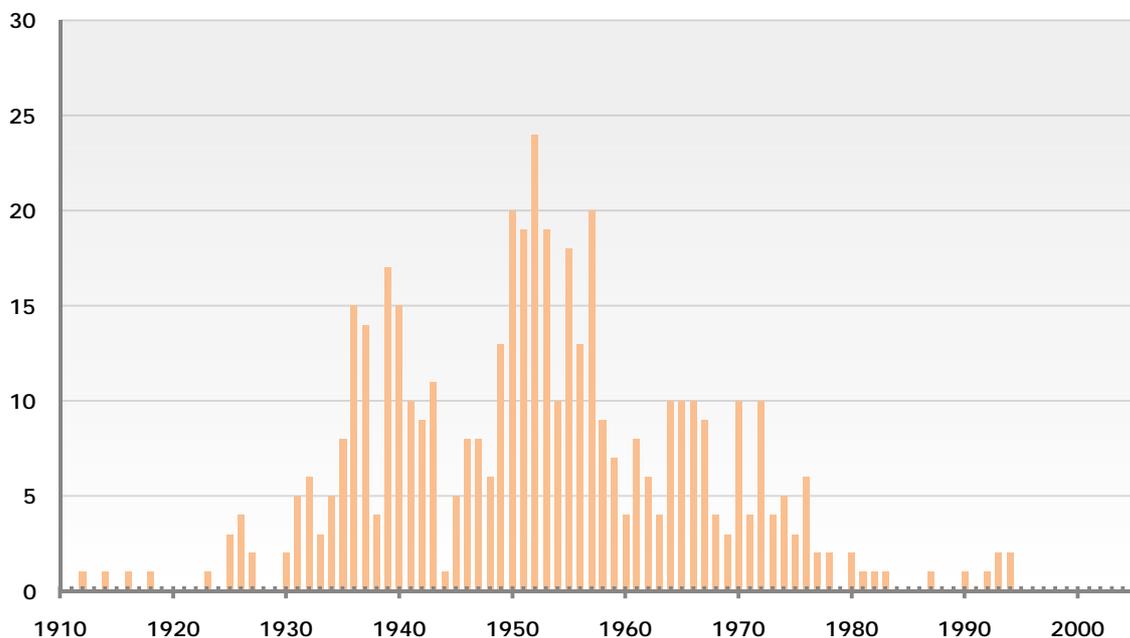


FIGURE 3.2 - TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER YEAR (1910 - 2005)

## Natives and naiveté

Hollywood has been an influential agent by supporting, possibly even constructing, the world's view on Native Americans as members of a backward savage community.<sup>36</sup> However, from the early fifties onwards a couple of films were released depicting Native Americans in a considerate fashion. One could subsequently presume (considering all social and governmental efforts during the sixties to maintain a certain peaceful racial equilibrium<sup>37</sup>) that the on-screen

<sup>36</sup> Prats 2002, p. 220.

<sup>37</sup> Benschhoff 2004, p. 84.

image of the Native American would gradually be adjusted towards a somewhat more revisionist representation. Unfortunately, this was all but true, as illustrated by Spencer Tracy's opening monologue in *HOW THE WEST WAS WON* (1961): "[the West had to be] won from nature and primitive man."<sup>38</sup> These words were undoubtedly based on fact, according to the characters in the movie. But the ignorance with which these words characterized the Native American peoples, shows that Hollywood kept refraining from a more considerate vision, which only a few filmmakers (and studios) dared to show. While the process of revisionism was taking place, a great part of overall Hollywood output kept focusing on Native Americans as 'the ultimate bad guys'.<sup>39</sup> This view is supported by the data below.

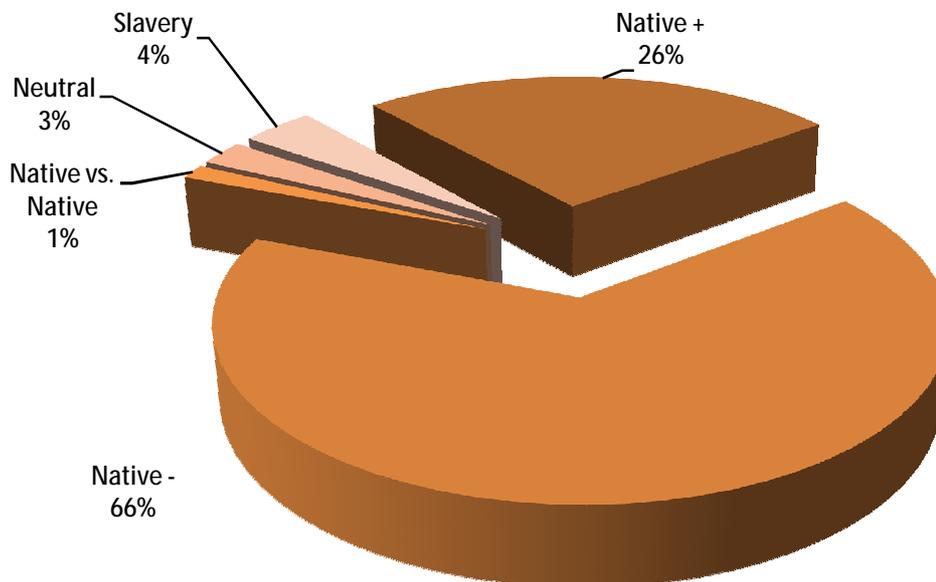


FIGURE 3.3 – DIFFERENT WAYS OF PORTRAYING NATIVE AMERICANS (AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS DEALING WITH NATIVE AMERICANS AND/OR SLAVES)

Of all westerns included in the dataset, 39% featured Native Americans (and/or enslaved African Americans). Figure 3.3 shows that Native Americans were portrayed as adversaries in 66% of these films. Only a quarter of the titles (26%) depict them as protagonists. The disproportionate amount of films with a Native American antagonist clearly illustrates that a large part of Hollywood filmmakers decided to tell their stories from a white man's perspective, taking a restrained attitude towards showing racial issues in a more historically 'honest' way.

<sup>38</sup> *HOW THE WEST WAS WON* Blu-ray (EAN 7-321906-210847) time code 0:08:14.

<sup>39</sup> Benschhoff 2004, p. 104.

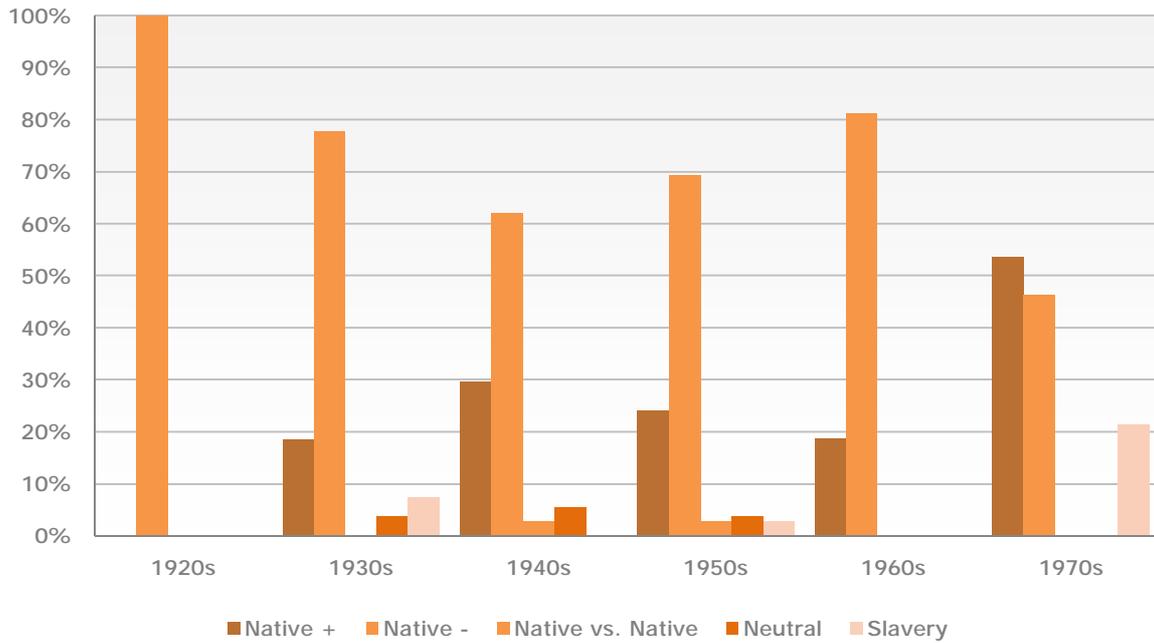


FIGURE 3.4 - PORTRAYAL OF NATIVE AMERICANS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF 'WESTERNS'

Although figure 3.4 supports this assumption, we do see a big shift in this ratio over the years. Especially in the 1940s and 1970s, we see an increase in the number of films with a positive attitude towards Indians. Slavery is, albeit only modestly present during the thirties, forties and fifties, completely absent in the sixties – a pattern we also see in the presence of African Americans in Civil War cinema. This is in tune with the advent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its application in the following years.<sup>40</sup> This piece of legislation outlawed the most important forms of discrimination against African Americans, aiming at eventual banishment of all racial segregation.

### Genres and themes

Just like Civil War films, westerns are divisible into the same set of genres we used in the previous chapter – with the addition of the musical, which was not used in Civil War cinema. This makes the number of parameters in the genre parameter subgroup a bit different: 3 in the Civil War dataset against 4 in the 'western' dataset.

The majority of all 466 films in the corpus is divided between the action/adventure and the drama genres; comedies and musicals only claim a

<sup>40</sup> Capozzi 2006, p. 15-54.

small percentage. Unlike films portraying the Civil War, we see a majority of films in the action/adventure genre (55%), while dramas take up over two fifths (41%) of the dataset.

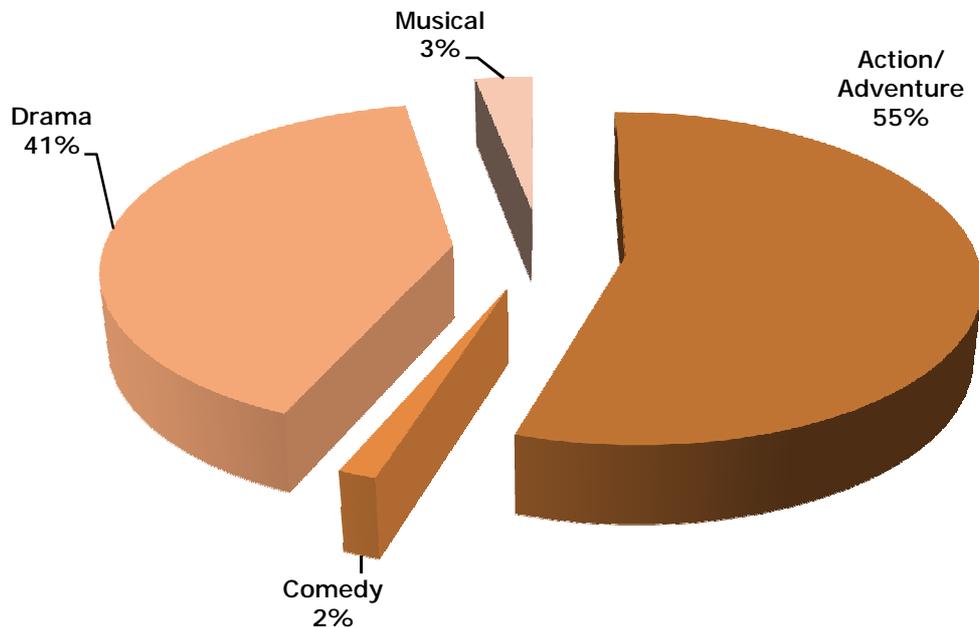


FIGURE 3.5 - GENRE DIVISION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS

This is an interesting ratio, as the western is presumed to primarily be an action/adventure genre, an assumption supported by Jon Tuska in his extensive analysis of the genre.<sup>41</sup> One could presume that a much larger share than 55% of all westerns would be occupied by action/adventures. The fact that our statistics do not conform to this, could have something to do with the fact that this research centers primarily on movies with a sociopolitical focus, thereby locking out many action-related productions – the typical ‘cowboy movies’ if you will.

Seven themes are distinguishable within the ‘western’ parameter subgroup ‘theme’, as seen in figure 3.6. Of course these divisions are not mutually exclusive, as a film focusing on settlers may, for instance, involve Native Americans as well. The partitions were made based on the most prevalent narrative theme in each movie.

The three ‘social’ topics, ‘settling’ (10%), ‘maintaining’ (15%) and ‘commercial’ (7%), basically belong to a common thematic group, but are differentiated to show their mutual proportions. People landing on the

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<sup>41</sup> Tuska 1985, p. 3-35.

uncultivated lands of the Frontier, aiming to build a new life on alien territory, are called 'settlers'. Films in this theme depict this process of travelling to, arriving or actually settling at a new homestead. 'Maintaining' is the theme that includes all films showing the course directly following the act of settling down: staying put, trying to make a living and fending off intruders, robbers, Indians or capitalists. This last group – capitalists – comprises all entrepreneurs (oil barons, land owners, industrialists) trying to expand their businesses. Films portraying these capitalist endeavors are labeled 'commercial'.

Like the Civil War genre, films about the railroads are also present, since the construction of the tracks that linked the civilized part of the country to the Frontier, was of great importance to the progression and success of the colonists. Seven percent of all westerns in the dataset featured the railroads as its main theme.

Films about the army (i.e. depicting military life and/or combat on the Frontier) are also present and are entitled accordingly, while taking up 11%.

The 'natives' theme shows conflicts and confrontations with or involving Indians and form the biggest share: 33 %.

As the colonization of the West was accompanied by the implementation of law and jurisdiction in the newly claimed areas, movies showing this process are also present: the 'law' theme comprises 15% of all films.

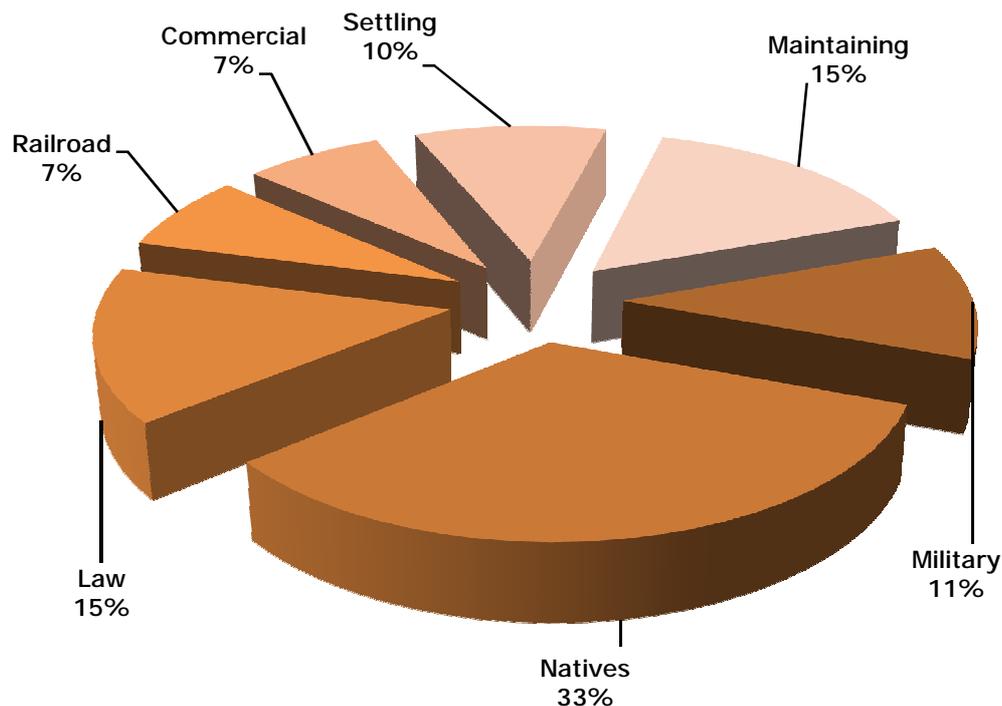


FIGURE 3.6 - THEMATIC DIVISION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS

While the division of themes in figure 3.6 only shows a percentage of the total number of films, a closer investigation of the individual decades reveals a different pattern, as seen in figure 3.7 (because of the low number of productions from the 1920s – 15 compared to 121 during the 1930s – the percentages from this decade are not suitable for comparison).

What's immediately striking is a steady increase of the 'native' theme over the years. Within a 50 year span (from the thirties up to the seventies), this share more than doubled at the expense of the other themes.

While the overall differences between the thirties and forties are not that big, it is obvious that the military theme never was overly represented and in fact its numbers slightly decreased during the forties, before modestly peaking in the 1950s and 60s. The social themes, and especially the commercial theme, fared rather well and steady over the decades – although particularly the settling theme shows a small decline from the thirties onwards.

After the years of the Second World War, several themes swapped places. Military films became popular again, a pattern we also observed in Civil War cinema, while films about industrialists and settlers fell back significantly. And although these 'social' themes more or less retain their presence during the sixties, the main thematic focus of the western shifts towards the Native American. Racial issues, being highly topical in society during the fifties, sixties

and seventies, apparently formed no obstruction for a frequent portrayal of the Native American throughout this period. On the contrary, when compared to the data presented in figure 3.4, it is safe to say that the increase of Native American themes, starting in the 1940s, converges with an increasingly positive approach of the position and role of the Native American during the colonization of the West.

The gradually diminishing interest in the 'railroad' theme is obvious in both the western and the Civil War datasets. With the ever-increasing popularity of 'modern' means of transportation (privately owned cars, low-cost airlines) from the late 1940s onwards, the railroad must have become less and less interesting, resulting in a total output of only 3% in the seventies and a total absence in the 1980s.

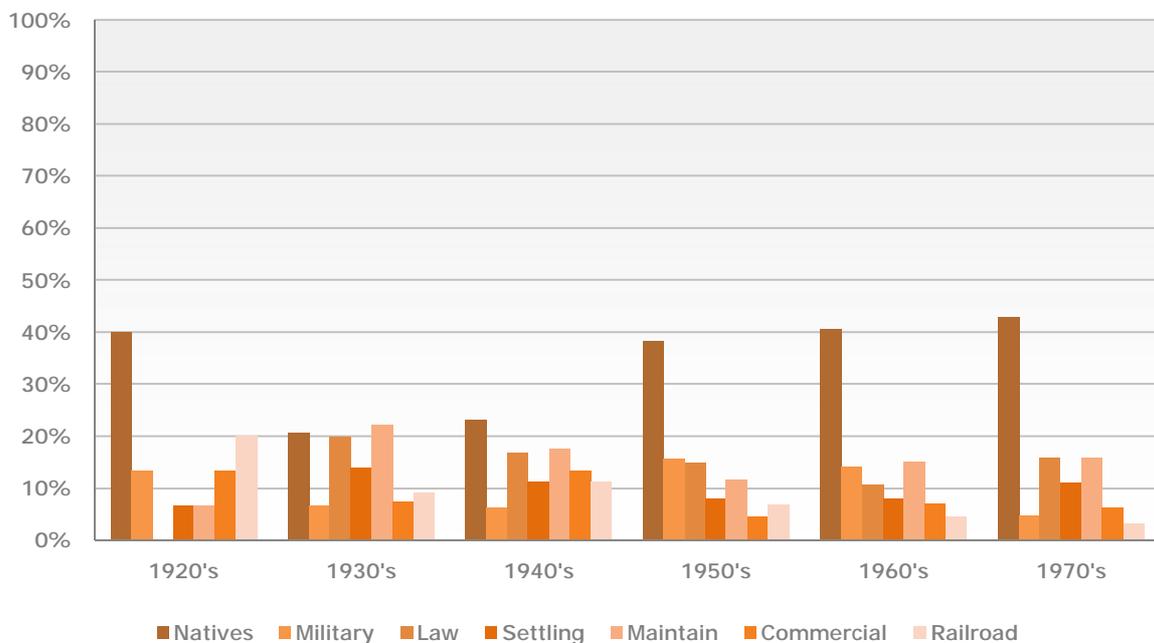


FIGURE 3.7 - THEMATIC DIVISION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER DECADE (1920 - 1979)

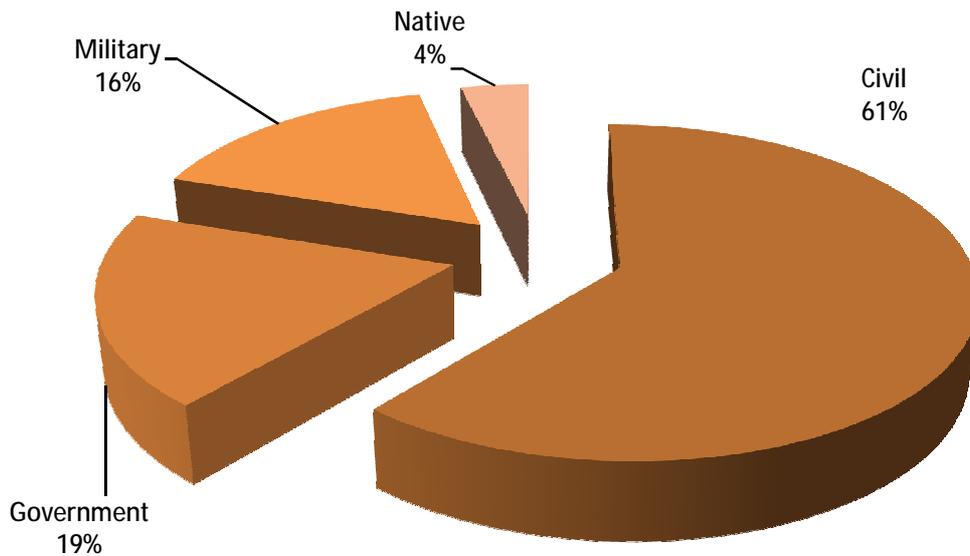
### Protagonist grouping

Similar to the way the Civil War dataset was divided, 'western' films were clustered based on the social group to which their main protagonists belonged. Unlike Civil War films, only four parameters could be defined in the western parameter subgroup 'protagonist grouping'. Because the Civil War was fought by both soldiers and militia, with the latter forming a rather large faction, it was necessary to separate the independent fighters from the paid forces. In the West however, no militia was present nor needed (of course there were civilians

performing army-like operations, but never in an semi-organized union, thus making a separate parameter in the western dataset superfluous).

The often mentioned 'cowboy' features heavily in our dataset of real westerns. The cowboy in its truest sense is a civilian, coping with the surroundings and external influences. The specific deeds of these characters are not relevant, as long as they operate from within this 'civilian' social context. Considering this, cowboys are included in the civil protagonist group, thereby putting its share at 61% of all westerns.

Figure 3.8 shows that the volume of both government and military protagonist groups do not follow the ratio of the division based on theme. In other words, only 11% of all westerns feature themes regarding the implementation of law, while 19% of all westerns feature government agents or lawmen as main characters. This asymmetry can be explained by the usage of these themes. After all, not all films concerning lawmen have to feature actual jurisdiction. A film about the building of the Pacific Railroad, for instance, may very well have featured a government representative but would still have been filed under the 'railroad' theme. The same goes for military themed films: stories featuring a soldier as its main protagonist may very well be primarily about Indian attacks, thus making the Native American theme most applicable. After all, the thematic division was made based on the preeminent sociopolitical context of the narrative, while the protagonist groupings was designed using the social background of the main protagonist.



3.8 - PRIMARY PROTAGONIST GROUPING AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS

From the 1930s onwards, the Native American protagonist was marching on a steady pace to claim an increasingly bigger share, gaining a few percent points every year, before settling at about 10% by the end of the seventies (as figure 3.9 shows) – still a fairly small number. Government and military shares gradually decline, giving the ‘civil’ protagonists (families, lone rangers) progressively more breathing space.

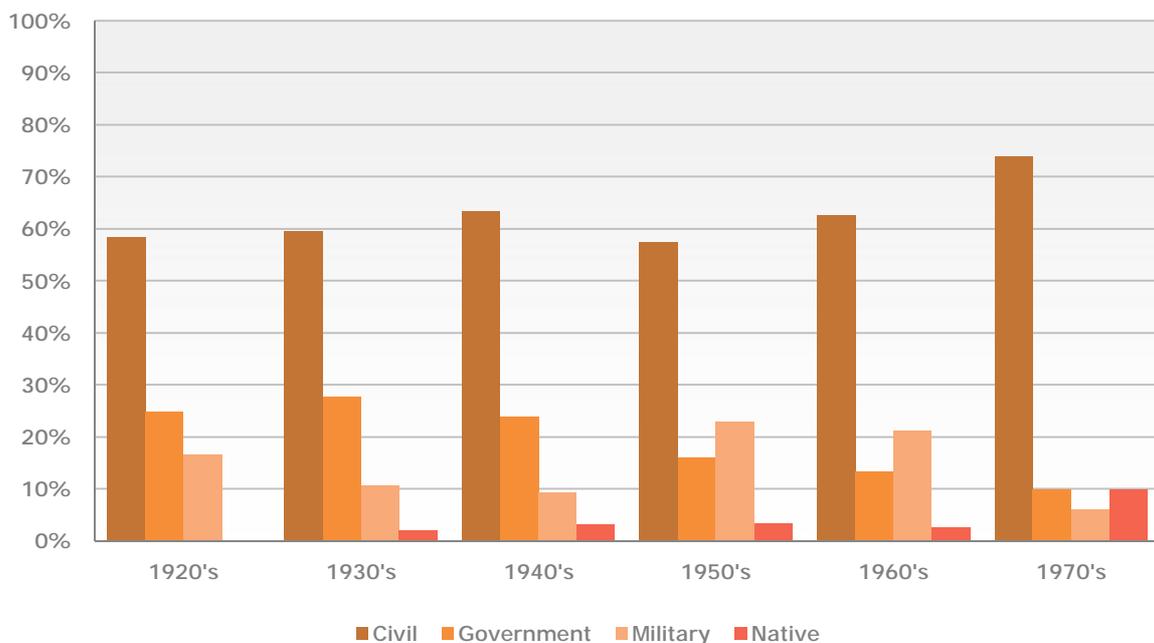


FIGURE 3.9 - PRIMARY PROTAGONIST GROUPING AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER DECADE (1910 - 1979)

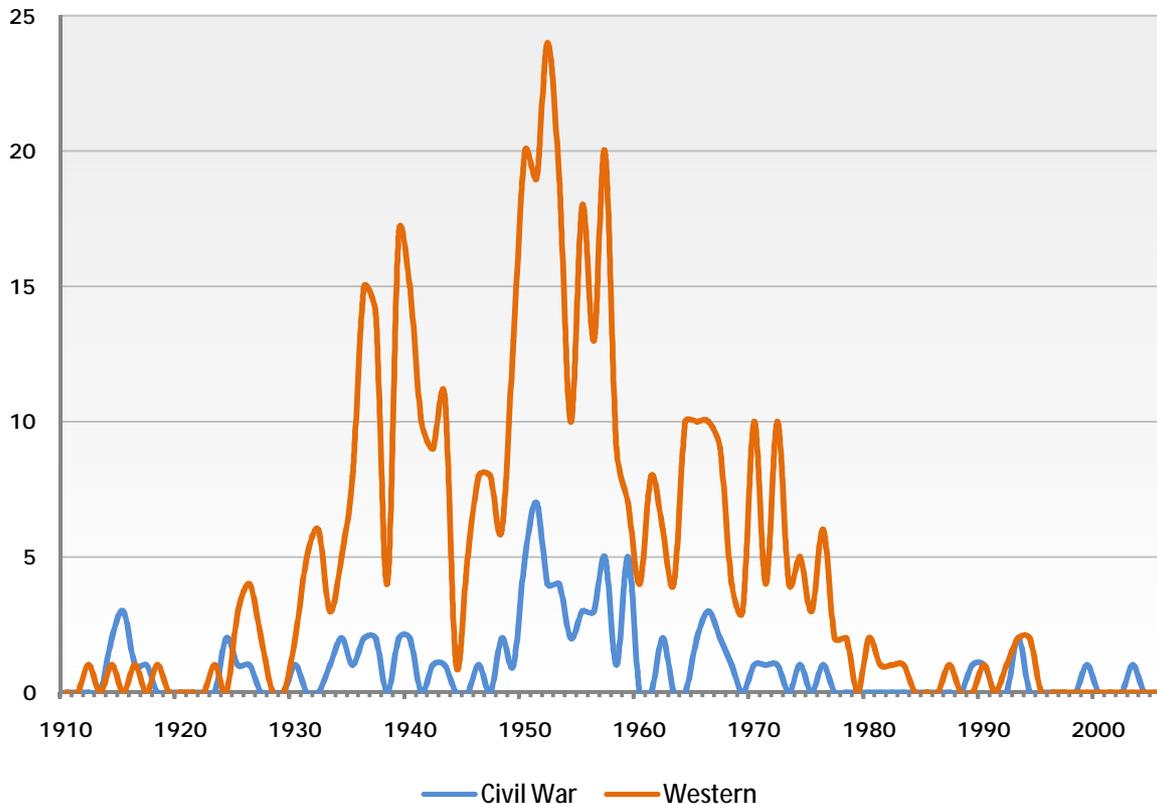
It is safe to conclude that a firm majority of all westerns show conflicts between Indian Americans and civilians, whereas in most cases the Native American provides the antagonistic force. However, the cradle of these depictions lies in the mythical West, not the historical West. Most racially induced clashes on the Frontier involved the military<sup>42</sup> something that is not proved by this dataset. The approach Hollywood took in depicting this part of US history was mostly 'mythical', usually disregarding historical social proportions and sustaining a polarized view on ethnicity until well into the second half of the twentieth century.

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<sup>42</sup> Deverell 2004, p. 147-8.

## 4. All quiet on the Western Frontier

### Conclusions



4.1 - TOTAL NUMBER OF PRODUCTIONS PER YEAR (1910 - 2005)

The initial question posed in this thesis – ‘How many films have been made concerning the Civil War, in comparison to other major historical events?’ – is, after we correct ‘other major historical events’ to ‘the colonization of the West’, not hard to answer. As we have seen, a lot more westerns than Civil War films have been released from 1920 to 2005; 466 and 90 titles, respectively. There are two possible explanations to this difference. First of all, the western relates to a period that is ‘safer’ to depict. The colonization of the West wasn’t a time of large scale internal conflict. It was not a war as such, but rather an elongated period of migration, progression and interpersonal conflict. The Civil War on the other hand, was all but this. It was a massive conflict in which all battles, scuffles and riots took place under the banner of one of two vast political movements. The data presented above have proven that it is hard to tell a story set during the Civil War, without affronting one of either parties. This may have caused a certain lack of interest in the subject by Hollywood filmmakers. The

Civil War was not an attractive period to depict, as 'western' topics were much less potentially offensive.

Secondly, the Civil War was a rather 'penetrating' occurrence. It afflicted the majority of American citizens, in all ranks and classes, and was well documented on all these levels. Legislators wrote their history of the advancement of unification or separation, commanders documented the movements of their troops and losses, while civilians used diaries and prose to describe social life during the War.

What happened on the Western Frontier, actually happened in a fairly restricted geographical region, over a long period of time. The resonance into general American society was big – after all, new land was constantly being taken to expand the country – but the influence on daily life was relatively small. Only the people in the West, their relatives and government representatives, were truly influenced by the advancing Frontier. This makes the colonization of the West a much more abstract period, a lot less 'penetrating'. And on top of that: the entire immigration and development comprehended much less documented events. Documented (and therefore 'usable' or 'recognizable') events during the War were much more concentrated, more frequent and often larger in scale (more people involved), making the Civil War a much more condense period.

Portraying the abstract, much less defined colonization of the West was therefore a lot easier, as literal references to specific historical circumstances were more difficult to make. In representing the Civil War on-screen, filmmakers risked touching upon or addressing actual events, which was, as shown above, exactly what they were trying to avoid. Overall, Hollywood was not interested in the historical War, and explicitly tried to stay away from referencing it literally.

Both the Civil War and the colonization of the West contributed a great deal to a remodeling of the U.S. political landscape, state-wise as well as federal. The Civil War resulted in a newly designed national government and Constitution (including the abolishment of slavery in all states), while the extending Frontier added enormous tracts of land to U.S. territory and led to the implementation of law in the new areas (as well as a thorough revision of regional and national legislation). In other words, sociopolitical development played a major role in both historical events.

The resonance of these proceedings into both types of cinema is very different. Films about the Civil War often implicitly featured political affairs – given that the War was a politically induced affair per definition – but political positions and voices were, if at all, mostly featured laterally. The way in which (socio)political sensitivities were portrayed, revealed a certain hesitance with Hollywood filmmakers. Until well into the 1950s, no battlefield combat was shown on screen in a visceral way. And slavery – which arguably was the main cause of the War – was never shown in any Civil War film as chief thematic element – at all. Of course several films referenced slavery laterally, but the complete absence of *slavery-focused* films in Civil War cinema validates that Hollywood was reticent in depicting this essential part of the War. Instead, filmmakers primarily opted to indeed use the conflict as a backdrop for their adventures and freeman-related stories. The mechanics and motivations of the War were mostly ignored in on-screen representations, even though a clear political ideology (the North or the South) was clear in a large majority of films.

The role of sociopolitics in the development of the West was shown in an entirely different way. The historical attitude towards Native Americans and the occasionally muddled implementation of jurisdiction didn't seem to provoke any hesitance in showing these factors in full articulacy. On the contrary, the discrimination of Native Americans was very often a major factor in constructing 'western' narratives (regardless of the 'side' filmmakers took: having their protagonists fight with or against Native Americans). Historical sociopolitical notions about the colonization of the West, at first glance at least equal in intensity to those about the Civil War, were depicted much more frequent and undisguised in westerns than in Civil War cinema.

The Civil War possibly was a kettle too hot to handle, unless using a thick cloth to cover the heat.

The dominating genres in both Civil War and 'western' cinema were drama and action/adventure. The majority of Civil War films (almost sixty percent) was a drama, while only two fifths were action/adventure films. In the 'western' dataset, this division is almost the exact opposite. In general, there is no significant difference in the distribution of genres between the two datasets, although the bulk of Civil War dramas supports the assumption above: Civil War films are less intensely concerned with the representation of sociopolitical

sensitivities, because, even in the drama genre, sixty percent of all dramas feature militaristic themes (when adding the numbers of films in the 'conflict', 'mission' and 'espionage' themes, as seen in figure 2.7). In other words, almost two thirds of all Civil War dramas are concerned with themes charged with potential conflict. Just over thirty percent (31 out of 90 films) of the Civil War dataset referenced the military aspects of the War, without showing any physical action.<sup>43 44</sup> An interesting conclusion when you realize that the Civil War was a period of substantial corporal and material damage. Also, no film with a predominant political or governmental theme was released. This supports the presumption that these aspects were of low interest to Hollywood filmmakers.

In designing the thematic division for both datasets, an attempt was made to construct both divisions as identically as possible. However, it proved to be difficult to align all thematic parameters, because – although the Civil War and the colonization of the West are comparable on many grounds – both events obviously did not share the *exact* same sensibilities. This is noticeable in the social and military spectra, especially. Because of the militaristic nature of the Civil War, a subdivision within the military range was required. Not all military-related operations, processes and conflicts that were present in Civil War films, could be condensed into one single thematic division. The same applies to social developments during the colonization of the West. However, the main concept behind the division in this parameter subgroup remained intact, namely five major parameters, or themes: 'social' (particularized for the 'western' dataset), 'military' (particularized for the Civil War dataset), 'racial' (not present in the Civil War dataset), 'governmental' (also not present in the Civil War dataset) and 'railroad'.

As mentioned earlier, the Civil War dataset is completely void of any major thematic reference to slavery or political repression of African Americans, while films featuring the colonization of the West do have topics regarding Native Americans at their thematic core.

Military themes are present in both datasets, although a lot less in the 'western' dataset, with a major increase of titles in this division after World War II; military themes enjoyed a steady presence in the decades before the 1940s,

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<sup>43</sup> Using the definition of the drama genre as suggested by Grodal (1997).

<sup>44</sup> Of the 90 titles in the Civil War dataset, 56% is a drama, and of these 50 films, 60% features a military theme (18% 'conflict'; 20% 'mission'; 22% 'espionage'), resulting in 30 titles.

but it is not until the 1950s that these themes claim a considerably larger share. Whether this has to do with social sensitivities following the Second World War could be the subject for subsequent research, but we have to acknowledge that this growth may not be coincidental.

At first sight, it seems contradictory that almost half of all Civil War films features a military protagonist, while the amount of films actually portraying military physical conflict is comparatively low (20% is a 'conflict' film). However, films within the 'mission' and 'espionage' themes may very well feature military protagonists, while only referencing the military aspects of the War in a lateral way. A 'mission' film may indeed just show a soldier on a mission, whereas this mission does not necessarily have to be purely militaristic by nature. The same applies to 'espionage' films, whereas the participation of civilians in this division is relatively high (almost one-thirds).

African American and governmental protagonists are featured rather frequently (in 16% of all Civil War titles, although only in 'conflict' and 'social' films), when considering that no film in the Civil War dataset has a thematic focus on either slavery or legislative affairs. The presence of African American protagonists in non-slavery themed films, can be explained by the fact that these films feature freed slaves, which makes the element of former slavery subsidiary to, for instance, the military pursuit of the Northern cause (as shown in *GLORY*, 1989). The same applies to governmental protagonists: although 19% of all 'espionage' films feature a governmental main character (for instance *THE MAN BEHIND THE GUN*, 1952), they do not encompass enough legislative elements to justify a thematic classification as 'governmental'.

The protagonist grouping in the 'western' dataset is much 'clearer', in that it follows the thematic division more closely. 'Civil' protagonists account for a 61% share, which corresponds to the thematic distribution pretty well: 32% in 'social' themes and 33% in 'native' films, which adds up to 65% in total. The fact that only 4% of all westerns feature a Native American protagonist, while 33% of all westerns have a Native American thematic focus, is significant. Although Hollywood filmmakers were much less restrained in showing sociopolitical sensitivities in westerns than in Civil War films, their depressing imaging of Native Americans is evident.

## Final words

Regarding themes and characterizations, the Civil War was treated and depicted rather differently than the colonization of the West. This can partially be explained by the slightly different subject matter at the core of both events (the Civil War was, literally, a war, while the colonization of the West was a process of migration). Another major explanation however, is the dissimilar interpretation of both events. One could argue that the Civil War was predominantly shown as major social (not sociopolitical or even political) event within a militaristic environment. After all, active military interference was not shown very frequently – only 20% are ‘conflict’ films – while references to the military were represented more often, in 47% of all films. The essence of the militaristic nature of the conflict is very often suggested, but hardly ever shown.

The colonization of the West on the other hand, was predominantly portrayed as a mere ‘context’ in which topics like starting life anew and fighting common enemies (the Native American peoples) were set. It was as if the West indeed provided the geographical backdrop, while Hollywood tried to have cinematically ‘appealing’ situations and plots outshine the historical social proportions. As mentioned earlier, the Frontier was not a place where hostile natives formed the greatest threat, it was life itself that provided the biggest challenge.

In short, the quintessential elements of both events were visible in their respective Hollywood representations, but very often just laterally, and in a loosely interpreted way. The Civil War was a politically and racially charged conflict, but mostly shown from a public (or if you will, ‘civilian’) perspective with marginal references to physical military conflict. The colonization of the West was an event primarily featuring civilians, but was re-interpreted as an ‘adventurous’ affair.

Hollywood filmmakers repeatedly chose to show the Civil War in a ‘safe’ and evasive way, which reflects their attitude towards the War. Especially in the first half of the last century, socially precarious topics were structurally avoided. This process of re-interpreting has played a major role in the formation of a mystified Hollywood history of the Civil War.

Famous Civil War historian and survivor Ambrose Bierce once supposedly wrote: “God alone knows the future, but only a historian can alter the past,” a

true analogy to the essence of this research. The Civil War, much more so than the colonization of the West, proved to be a difficult subject to capture on-screen. Mostly because of the potentially offsetting themes, but also because the matter was still too close to its primary audience: the American people.

### Looking further: future research

Further research could provide a more lucid and more definite insight in the position of Civil War cinema within the history of film in general, and the development of Hollywood in particular. Statistical analysis of films dealing with, for instance, the Second World War or the Vietnam War – although they were rejected as ‘counterbalance’ in this thesis due to limited compliance – may provide useful information about the way in which Hollywood has dealt with more recent (sociopolitical) conflicts. The inclusion of films shorter than 45 minutes could also offer insights into early Hollywood output regarding the Civil War. The earliest films that were made about the War were shorts, and may have had a different approach to the subject. A comprehensive impression of short films has never been published.

The development of cinema attendance in the forties would be another interesting way to support the assumptions in this thesis. It could indeed be possible that especially Civil War films suffered from US wartime activities. After all, having US soldiers die at the hands of other US soldiers may not have been the socially bonding type of film that people desired in the 1940s.

To provide the assumptions in this thesis with a basic commercial framework, and thereby providing an audience perspective on the matter, research could be carried out to define the profitability of Civil War films, while looking at attendance figures and production and marketing budgets. Because of the restricted scope of this study, no proper calculations on actual public interest could be made.

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## Appendix I: dataset Civil War films

Title	Year	Mins	Color	Genre	Fact	PROTAGONIST					POLITICS			RACIAL		THEME				
						Civil	Govern	Military	Militia	BlatProt	CW N+	CW S+	CW /	Black +	Black -	Conflict	Miss	Soc	Espion	RR
Dan	1914	60	BW	D				x		x										
Battle of Shiloh, The	1914	45	BW	D	x	x		x				x				x				
Sam Davis: The Hero of Tennessee	1915	55	BW	D	x			x				x		x						x
Coward, The	1915	60	BW	D				x				x								x
Birth of a Nation, The	1915	170	BW	D		x						x			x					x
According to the Cod	1916	60	BW	D		x						x								x
Those Without Sin	1917	60	BW	D		x		x				x								x
Warrens of Virginia, The	1924	70	BW	D		x		x				x								x
Barbara Frietche	1924	90	BW	D		x		x				x					x			
Pony Express, The	1925	90	BW	D				x				x								x
General Custer at Little Big Horn	1926	60	BW	D				x				x					x			
Only the Brave	1930	71	BW	D				x				x								x
Treason	1933	57	BW	D		x						x								x
Operator 13	1934	86	BW	D								x			x					x
Carolina	1934	95	BW	D		x						x								x
So Red the Rose	1935	90	BW	D		x		x				x								x
Trailin West	1936	59	BW	D				x				x								x
General Spanky	1936	73	BW	C								x								x
Wells Fargo	1937	94	BW	A/A		x						x								x
Western Gold	1937	60	BW	A/A				x				x								x
Gone with the Wind	1939	238	C	D		x						x								x
Southward Ho!	1939	54	BW	D		x	x	x												x
Man from Dakota, The	1940	74	BW	A/A				x				x								x
Colorado	1940	54	BW	D								x								x
Tennessee Johnson	1942	100	BW	D	x	x														x
California Joe	1943	55	BW	A/A				x				x								x
Renegade Girl	1946	65	BW	A/A																x
Southern Yankee, A	1948	90	BW	C		x														x
Tap Roots	1948	109	C	D		x														x
South of St. Louis	1949	88	C	D				x												x
Outriders, The	1950	93	C	A/A																x
Devil's Doorway	1950	84	D	A/A		x		x												x
Stars in My Crown	1950	89	BW	D		x														x
Rocky Mountain	1950	83	BW	A/A				x	x											x
Two Flags West	1950	92	BW	A/A				x												x
Silver Canyon	1951	70	BW	A/A				x												x
Redhead and the Cowboy, The	1951	82	BW	A/A				x												x
Golden Girl	1951	108	C	D																x
Tall Target, The	1951	78	BW	D		x	x													x
Last Outpost, The	1951	88	C	D				x												x
Red Badge of Courage, The	1951	69	BW	A/A				x												x
Drums in the Deep South	1951	87	C	D				x												x
Man Behind the Gun, The	1952	82	C	D	x	x														x
Bushwackers, The	1952	70	BW	A/A		x														x



## Appendix II: dataset 'western' films

Title	Year	Mins	Color	Genre	Fact	PROTAGONIST				RACIAL					THEME						
						Civil	Govern	rot	Military	IndProt	Ind +	Ind -	Ind_Ind	Ind /	RacSla	Nativ	Milit	Law	Settling	Maintain	Comm
Custer's Last Fight	1912	55	BW	A/A					x						x	x					
Strongheart	1914	45	BW	D		x					x				x						
Deserter, The	1916	59	BW	A/A					x		x				x	x					
Heart of Wetona, The	1918	69	BW	D		x					x				x						
Secret of the Pueblo, The	1923	55	BW	A/A		x					x				x						
Blood and Steel	1925	60	BW	A/A		x													x	x	
Daughter of the Sioux, A	1925	55	BW	A/A			x	x			x				x	x					
Pony Express, The	1925	90	BW	D			x														x
Buffalo Bill on the U.P. Trail	1926	60	BW	A/A	x	x													x	x	
Daniel Boone Thru the Wilderness	1926	60	BW	D	x	x					x				x			x			
Devil Horse, The	1926	50	BW	A/A		x					x				x						
General Custer at Little Big Horn	1926	60	BW	D					x		x				x	x					
Last Trail, The	1927	58	BW	A/A		x	x												x		
Sitting Bull at the Spirit Lake Massacre	1927	72	BW	D		x					x				x						
Big Trail, The	1930	110	BW	D		x															x
Only the Brave	1930	71	BW	D		x											x				
Cimarron	1931	131	BW	D		x												x	x	x	
Freighters of Destiny	1931	60	BW	A/A		x												x			x
Kid from Arizona, The	1931	55	BW	A/A			x				x				x						
Massacre	1931	70	BW	A/A			x				x				x						
Squaw Man, The	1931	106	BW	D		x				x	x				x			x			
Beyond the Rockies	1932	60	BW	D			x	x									x				
End of the Trail	1932	60	BW	D		x					x	x			x						
Fourth Horseman, The	1932	63	BW	D		x													x	x	
Law and Order	1932	80	BW	A/A			x										x				
Texas Pioneers	1932	58	BW	A/A					x							x	x				
White Eagle	1932	60	BW	A/A		x					x				x		x				
Man from Monterey, The	1933	57	BW	D		x													x		
Phantom Thunderbolt	1933	63	BW	A/A		x											x				x
Treason	1933	57	BW	D		x													x		
Cowboy Holiday	1934	57	BW	A/A		x											x				
Demon for Trouble, A	1934	58	BW	D		x													x	x	
Operator 13	1934	86	BW	D		x											x				
Wagon Wheels	1934	57	BW	A/A		x						x			x			x			
Wheels of Destiny	1934	64	BW	A/A		x						x			x		x	x			
Alias John Law	1935	54	C	A/A		x												x			
Bar 20 Rides Again	1935	54	BW	D		x											x				
Border Guns	1935	55	BW	A/A		x											x		x		
Crimson Trail, The	1935	56	BW	D			x													x	
Cyclone of the Saddle	1935	53	BW	A/A		x	x					x			x			x			
Riding Wild	1935	57	BW	D		x	x												x	x	
Silver Bullet, The	1935	53	BW	A/A			x										x				
Wolf Riders	1935	56	BW	D			x					x			x						
Ambush Valley	1936	57	BW	A/A		x												x			
Border Menace	1936	55	BW	D		x													x	x	











Guns of Fort Petticoat	1957	82	C	A/A			x			x				x	x				
Gunsight Ridge	1957	85	BW	A/A		x											x		
Naked in the Sun	1957	88	C	A/A	x					x		x					x		
Oklahoman, The	1957	73	C	D	x				x					x		x			x
Pawnee	1957	80	C	D				x	x					x					
Revolt at Fort Laramie	1957	72	BW	A/A			x			x				x	x				
Ride a Violent Mile	1957	79	BW	A/A			x								x				
Ride Out for Revenge	1957	79	BW	A/A		x				x				x					
Run of the Arrow	1957	85	C	D		x				x				x					
Shoot-Out at Medicine Bend	1957	87	BW	A/A	x					x				x					x
Trooper Hook	1957	82	BW	D	x					x				x					
War Dru,s	1957	75	C	A/A			x			x				x	x				
Ambush at Cimarron Pass	1958	70	BW	A/A	x					x				x					
Big Country, The	1958	156	C	D	x												x		x
Blood Arrow	1958	78	BW	D	x					x				x					
Fort Bowie	1958	80	BW	D			x			x				x	x				
Fort Massacre	1958	80	C	A/A			x			x				x	x				
Man or Gun	1958	79	BW	D	x														x
Oregon Passage	1958	82	C	A/A	x					x	x			x					
Seven Angry Men	1958	90	BW	D	x	x							x				x		
Wild Heritage	1958	78	C	D	x													x	
Escape from Red Rock	1959	79	BW	A/A	x					x				x			x		
Escort West	1959	75	BW	A/A	x					x				x					
Gunfight at Dodge City, The	1959	81	C	A/A		x												x	
Horse Soldiers, The	1959	119	C	A/A			x										x		
Legend of Tom Dooley	1959	79	BW	A/A	x														x
Westbound	1959	72	C	A/A		x	x									x			x
Yellowstone Kelly	1959	91	C	A/A	x					x				x					
Cimarron	1960	140	C	D	x													x	x
Five Bold Women	1960	82	C	A/A	x					x				x			x		
Guns of the Timberland	1960	91	C	D	x	x												x	x
Walk Tall	1960	60	C	D			x			x				x	x	x			
Canadians, The	1961	85	C	D	x					x				x					
Comancheros, The	1961	107	C	A/A			x			x				x	x				
Deadly Companions, The	1961	90	C	D	x					x				x					
Frontier Uprising	1961	68	BW	A/A	x	x				x				x			x		x
Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come, The	1961	108	C	D	x														x
Purple Hills, The	1961	61	C	A/A	x					x				x					
Savage Guns, The	1961	83	C	D	x														x
Two Rode Together	1961	109	C	A/A	x					x				x					x
Buffalo Gun	1962	72	BW	C		x				x				x					
Geronimo	1962	101	C	A/A			x	x	x					x	x				
How the West Was Won	1962	162	C	D	x													x	x
Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, The	1962	122	BW	D		x												x	
Sergeants 3	1962	112	C	A/A	x					x				x				x	
Wild Westerners, The	1962	70	C	A/A	x					x				x					
Black Gold	1963	76	BW	D	x														x
California	1963	86	BW	D	x		x												x
Cattle King	1963	88	C	D	x	x	x												x
Young Guns of Texas	1963	78	C	A/A			x			x				x	x				
Apache Rifles	1964	92	C	A/A	x					x				x					x
Blood on the Arrow	1964	91	C	A/A	x					x				x					
Buffalo Bill	1964	95	C	A/A	x		x	x		x				x	x				



