FROM BUTCH CASSIDY TO JOSEY WALES: MASCULINITY IN THE NEW HOLLYWOOD WESTERN

L.PARRY

MA by RESEARCH

2023

From Butch Cassidy to Josey Wales: Masculinity in the New Hollywood Western

Luke Parry

Word Count: 32,762

A thesis submitted to The University of Gloucestershire in accordance with the requirements of the degree of MA by Research in the School of Creative Arts.

August 2023

Abstract

This thesis examines the representation of masculinity within the Western genre, during the New Hollywood era. Three films from this time are studied individually through textual analysis, in order to assess their portrayal of the masculinity in the Western hero.

Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid (Hill, 1969) and *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (Altman, 1971) symbolise the genre's broadening of masculine representation during this time. However, the third case study, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (Eastwood, 1976), offers a return to a more classical representation at the end of New Hollywood

The analysis focuses on the male protagonist in each film, and the way in which his masculinity is portrayed through a number of devices such as cinematography, characterisation, and costume. His masculine identity is then compared to the 'Old Hollywood', conventional Western hero.

New Hollywood is evaluated as a key moment in the history of Hollywood, in which a more diverse range of character types were represented in the mainstream. By analysing these three film texts, this thesis uses the Western genre to evaluate the impact that the New Hollywood period had upon representations of masculinity in American cinema.

The results of this analysis present the period as a time in which the diversification of male representation was prevalent. Rather than a revolutionary switch between 'classical' and 'modern' portrayals of the Western hero, New Hollywood symbolised a creative freedom to experiment with the representation of this archetype.

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed:

Typed name: Luke Parry

Date: August 2023

DOI 10.46289/7DB2K3L4

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I am very grateful for the constant support and insightful feedback of my supervisors, Tracy and Justin, throughout the whole process. Their guidance has allowed me to finish with a thesis I am really happy with.

I am also really thankful for the help of Tlyssa, not just for her proofreading, but for her endless encouragement throughout the two years.

Finally, I would like to thank my Mum for her support not just during my MA, but all the way through my education.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The Western is a film genre which seems to be able to adapt to whatever is happening in the wider Hollywood industry. “Each generation gets precisely the Western it needs” is the way that Mexal (2010, p.72) describes this phenomenon, as the genre adapts its archetypes and iconography in order to resonate with contemporary audiences.

Mexal appears to be of the view that this adaptation is something that all genres are able to perform, as they are able to “conform so effortlessly to any historical moment” (p.72). However, Nelson (2015, p.61) sees the Western as a uniquely powerful “vehicle for grappling with the ideological and political tensions of the day”, due to the genre’s inherent relationship with the history of the United States.

The adjustment that this research will be concerned with is the one which occurred during the ‘New Hollywood’ era. Krämer (2006), defines the term ‘New Hollywood’ as a description of the period between 1967 and 1976 in Hollywood history, and King (2004), suggests that this is the common way in which the era is defined. They describe the way that the vast majority of research categorises New Hollywood as “a brief window of opportunity running from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, when adventurous new cinema emerged, linking the traditions of classical Hollywood genre filmmaking with the stylistic innovations of European art cinema” (p.20). Despite Krämer’s suggested timeframe, a broader periodisation will be used in this research to define New Hollywood, acknowledging the importance of counter-cultural Westerns which bridged the gap between the classical and New Hollywood periods.

These definitions will be used in order to classify which films will be considered as part of New Hollywood era, in terms of their release date and their ideological, and technical content. The ‘New Hollywood’ cinema, was an era in which it seemed like Hollywood studios had made the decision that the “inmates were allowed to run free” (Kirshner, 2012, p.4). A group of inexperienced, yet innovative filmmakers, were offered unprecedented levels of creative freedom.

This period of American filmmaking history has been subject to a huge amount of analysis, scrutiny, and reflection in the decades following its conclusion. One sentiment that is widespread in the discussion of the New Hollywood era is its position as a ‘transformational’ time. A key moment towards the beginning of the New Hollywood period, was *Time*’s issue in December 1967, which declared that *Bonnie and Clyde* (Penn, 1967) signalled “the beginning of a new era in American film history” (Krämer and Tzioumakis, 2018, p.xiii).

This description of New Hollywood’s emergence in mainstream cinema as a new beginning is still prevalent in analysis in the twenty-first century. Berliner (2010, p.4) believes the

period to be “Hollywood’s most significant formal transformation since the conversion to sound film and is the defining period separating the storytelling modes of the studio era and contemporary Hollywood”. He is not alone in this characterisation, with many studies of the New Hollywood era considering it to be a revolutionary time in American cinema history (Krämer and Tzioumakis, 2018). Changes to the way Hollywood produced narratives, as well as how the industry represented social issues, have led scholars to consider this time as one of rebirth.

However, despite New Hollywood’s development of various representations on screen, the Western hero continued to be portrayed as a white character. This can be viewed as one of the issues of the New Hollywood era, with the continuation of golden age Hollywood’s racial inequality, especially in the Western genre. Therefore, as this research aims to assess the prominent New Hollywood Western texts, it can be most accurately classified as an analysis of white masculine identity in the period. Whilst the study of non-white masculinity during this time is crucial to a wider understanding of New Hollywood, this research will focus on the Western hero as a symbol of hegemonic masculinity. This is an important focus, as it allows the research to analyse the way in which the shift in masculine representation which occurred during New Hollywood impacted the archetypal American masculine hero.

The following research therefore assesses white masculinity as a central theme within the Western genre. Specifically, it will consider New Hollywood, with Westerns of this period being assessed in terms of their masculine representation. Krämer and Tzioumakis warn that “one has to be very cautious about making claims concerning fundamental breaks and turning points in American film history” (p.xvi), and that points to the importance of this research as a reassessment of an often-simplified time within Hollywood.

In order to make this assessment, three Western films from the New Hollywood period will be analysed. The first of these, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (Eastwood, 1976) was released at the climax of the era, and perhaps suggests that there were limits to the period’s ability to transform representations of masculinity. The other two films *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (Hill, 1969) and *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (Altman, 1971) exemplify the way in which New Hollywood was able to push boundaries and defy conventional portrayals of the Western hero. Together, these films will be discussed in order to create a more rounded, and balanced view of the history of masculine representations throughout the whole New Hollywood era.

The Western Genre: Definitions

The Western film has been subject to a range of discussion throughout its history. However, the genre itself has been difficult to define. Varner (2009) attempts to reach a definition,

describing the three elements which are usually important in labelling a film as a Western. These are the Western moment, myth, and place. Firstly, the Western moment refers to:

> that barely existent time in U.S. history after the Civil War ended in 1865 when the country turned its attention westward and began the final process of settling the rest of the country. The U.S. Census Bureau determined that by 1890 the West had been settled, so most Westerns take place sometime between 1865 and 1890 (p.xxi).

Varner however does not see the exact date of a film's setting as completely indicative of whether it is or is not a Western. This is because the majority of Westerns "never indicate a historical date. Many indicate dates well before 1865 or well after 1890, some after the turn of the 20th century" (p.xxi). This therefore indicates that the Western moment is more of a loose time frame, yet still one which can roughly define a film as a Western.

More important to Varner, is the concept that Western films must "base their narratives on the Western myth, which refers to the accumulated stories, customs, codes of behavior, and traditions developed in movies and fiction from the beginning of the genre to the present" (Varner, 2009, p.xxiii).

Furthermore, the setting of the film is clearly of importance, and Varner explains that "a Western would not be a Western if it was not located in a specific locale. The place that unifies all Westerns is usually considered the trans-Mississippi Western United States. Classic Westerns focused on the high plains regions of the West or such majestic areas as Monument Valley" (p.xxvii). This definition therefore represents how narrow the term 'Western' can be defined as. For Varner, the Western is a cross section in time, place, and mythology within American history.

However, there are alternative definitions which have attempted to broaden this concept of the Western place. For example, Folsom (1967) feels that the consensus idea of the Western place is an "arbitrary geographical definition" which is "if anything too conservative" (p.198) due to its elimination of "Missouri and the western part of Minnesota, both favorite localities for the operations of the real life-as well as the motion picture- Jesse James" (p.198-199). Cawelti (2014) appears to echo Folsom's lack of specificity in terms of setting, by describing the Western as most clearly defined by the "symbolic landscape in which it takes place and the influence this landscape has on the characters and actions of the hero" (p.193). Once again, it is not a specific location within the United States which is important, rather that the setting fits the mythology and iconography of the Western (this could be expansive open plains, or the small rural town).

What is also noticeable about Cawelti's definition is its foregrounding of the hero. They suggest that the landscape has an important "influence" on the hero's character. This

implies that the Western is defined by its hero's relationship to the world around them. Warshow's (1962) characterisation of the genre would seem to agree with Cawelti's sentiments. The influential Western film analysis of Warshow also sees the Western hero (or the "Westerner") as crucial in defining the genre. For Warshow, the "two most successful creations of American movies are the gangster and the Westerner: men with guns." (1962, p.105). Lusted (2003, p.16) explains that "Warshow views the landscape of the Western as inherently male, a dramatic space in which the Westerner, the man of the West, is the American ideal, representing an archetypal American national identity. Warshow's Westerner is a man complete and self-contained, at ease with himself in the knowledge of the complex world about him". Warshow foregrounds the hero as the key element that defines a Western.

Varner's definition does have the advantage of specificity over many others. For example, the American Film Institute (AFI) "defines "western" as a genre of films set in the American West that embodies the spirit, the struggle and the demise of the new frontier." (AFI, 2023). Whilst this does illustrate elements of the "Western myth" Varner discusses, it does not attempt to attach any kind of time frame, or specific location, to the definition.

These definitions were considered when determining the way in which this research will define the genre. All of the theories seemed to pinpoint different elements that are crucial to the Western. Therefore, this research adopts a combination of definitions of the Western film genre. This will include Varner's definition of the Western myth, whilst allowing for a broader range of locations as discussed by Folsom and Cawelti, and recognising the significance of the Western hero.

The Western Genre: History

The history of the Western goes back to the very beginning of cinema as a medium (Blanco-Herrero, Rodríguez- Contreras, and Gutiérrez-San-Miguel, 2021), playing a large role in the genesis of the American film industry at the start of the twentieth century. The genre emerged as American film production's answer to its inability to conquer a domestic market that had been a challenge for motion picture manufacturers in 1907 (Anderson, 1979).

At the beginning of the silent film era, there had been an "insufficient quantity of American motion pictures" (Anderson, 1979, p.21), with European imports controlling film exhibition in the States. However, between 1907 and 1911, the Western became recognisable as the first uniquely American product of the emerging film industry, making use of the American West as the perfect scenery for on-location shooting, which would become a convention of the genre. In 1910, a fifth of the films produced by American manufacturers were Westerns (Anderson, 1979), as the genre began to grow into a "consistent money-making, distinctly American form of motion picture entertainment" (p.26). American cinema was provided

with a clear solution to the dominance of the European production companies, and consequently produced a film genre that would go on to produce American production companies with dependable box-office results for large periods of the following century. Therefore, despite its incredibly precise defining features, the Western has always provided American cinema with a way of representing and debating its own mythology. Lusted (2003) describes the way in which "the Western film was from the outset a creation of American Cinema" (p.11). This makes the Western the first truly American introduction to the film industry, and this could be the reason for the genre's ability to resonate with audiences throughout multiple different periods of political upheaval, and social unrest. It was the genre made to represent American mythology, so it is no surprise that it is the genre that is most often used to interrogate and challenge this mythology.

However, whilst the genre may date back to the early years of Hollywood, it was "not until the 1970s that sustained critical debate about the Western developed, and academic research came even later, in the 1990s" (Lusted, 2003, p.12). The start of this debate did begin slightly earlier however, as the first books of Western criticism appeared in the 1960s. It was these books which "opened up terms of debate about the meaning of the Western and its relations to both the period in which Westerns are set and the period of their production." (p.23). This began the discussion of the Western as an American genre, which is crucial to the cinematic representation of American culture and history on screen.

Hamilton (2016) explains the way in which the Western film genre interacts with American culture through its 'hyper-linear' approach to historical representation. They argue that "film makes explicit, obvious and immediate the links between past action and present reality, for the purpose of illustrating historical continuity and/or discontinuity between both temporalities", and that "Westerns may be seen as a prime vehicle to facilitate this process as they are inherently historical and deeply rooted in ideological conceptualizations of both the self and the nation" (p.3).

This suggests that the Western genre represents the past as a reflection of the present, with filmmakers returning to the frontier in order to symbolise and perhaps criticise the way that American culture and politics is progressing in a contemporary setting. Hamilton explains that there are three ways in which Westerns can generate a relationship between the past and the present.

Firstly, there are films which represent a positive continuity, "in which the past is represented in such a way as to illustrate a positive, socially reaffirming connection with the present, which encourages the audience to feel comfortable in their heritage and to use this as inspiration to construct a meaningful future" (Hamilton, 2016, p.4). This sentiment is echoed by White (2019), who explains that some Westerns offer American audiences a trip

“back to a more comforting (imagined) position of ideological certainty” (p.5), allowing escapism from the complicated cultural debates of contemporary times.

The second relationship is described as discontinuity, which is a more cautionary approach, “whereby we are shown that, although the past and present may have certain parallels, these will not and should not continue, and the audience is therefore encouraged to shape the future in a different way” (p.4). Finally, the third relationship is that of negative continuity, in which “there are parallels between the past and the present, which is undesirable, yet it is also seemingly unavoidable, as any avenue to effect real change is unclear” (p.5).

Hamilton therefore explains the three ways in which Western films can interact with both America’s past and America’s present. This research will focus on an era in which the final relationship, negative continuity, is the most prevalent. More specifically, this study will investigate the way in which masculinity is represented in the Westerns that were produced in the New Hollywood era.

New Hollywood

First of all, it is important to define and contextualise the period of negative continuity-dominated filmmaking, with which this study is most interested. The historical context which led to the New Hollywood era, can be traced back as far as the 1940s, and the ‘Paramount Case’. This was a key shift in the history of Hollywood production, with the Supreme Court ruling in 1948 that meant the end of vertical integration, which “had been the cornerstone of the Hollywood studio system since the 1920s” (Krämer, 2006, p.21). In order to prevent monopolies, the Supreme Court decided that film production, distribution, and exhibition could not be controlled by the same company, a decision that would force the Hollywood film industry to completely transform the way they operated.

However, the Supreme Court ruling was not the only challenge that Hollywood studios faced in the 1940s and 1950s, with television beginning to offer strong opposition to the control that cinema had upon the entertainment industry. This coincided with an already rapidly falling average weekly cinema attendance, and whilst television did not cause the decline, it certainly helped to sustain it (Krämer, 2006).

These challenges led executives to the decision to change the way they produced films. Hollywood studios opted to produce a small amount of expensive films, relying on these blockbusters for financial success (Krämer, 2006). This system operated until *Bonnie and Clyde* (Penn, 1967) offered studio executives a much more efficient, and less risky way of producing films. This symbolised the counter-cultural cinema of New Hollywood shifting into

the mainstream. Furthermore, Penn's unexpected hit showed studios that it was possible to produce "serious films that would draw millions of young viewers to the box office and turn huge financial profits" (Friedman, 2019, p.37).

Another key factor that led to the arrival of this of boundary-pushing film culture in Hollywood was the changes of personnel in key roles within the industry. Firstly, in 1966, Jack Valenti became the new president of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). This is a significant change, as he decided to introduce a new film censorship system, which removed many of the previous restrictions upon film content, "because it allowed for the possibility that particularly challenging films could be released with the label 'suggested for mature audiences'" (Krämer, 2006, p.48). Krämer explains that this change in censorship "fatally weakened" the production code, which had been introduced in 1930 in order to ensure that "that all films were basically suitable for all audiences, including children, and that, furthermore, film screenings would not provoke public controversy" (p.47). However, Valenti's new system allowed for films to be classified as solely appropriate for mature audiences. Therefore, filmmakers had a higher degree of creative freedom, allowing them to make films with adult themes without fear of being censored.

An additional influence that led to a more adult mainstream cinema was the shift towards a new generation of filmmakers in Hollywood. Younger directors, actors, and writers who were much more in touch with the younger generation's feeling of political disillusionment that had been rising ever since the beginning of the Vietnam war. The second half of the 1960s saw the main Hollywood directors shift from one generation into another (Krämer, 2006). The "studio generation- born between the mid 1890s and the late 1910s, had spent all their working lives being employed by major Hollywood studios" (Krämer, 2006, p.83). Naturally, this meant that they were somewhat out of touch with the social issues that affected the new generation of cinemagoers.

The younger filmmakers were "better educated than the studio generation", mainly "more liberal than their predecessors" and "placed a higher value on the realistic depiction of contemporary American society and considered themselves to be social commentators and artists as well as entertainers" (Krämer, 2006, p.84). Therefore, the newer generation of socially and politically conscious creatives in Hollywood were better placed to produce the films that attracted mass appeal amongst the generation that were "entering their cinemagoing age (15-25) during this period" (Krämer, 2006, p.87). Young audiences in the New Hollywood era were attracted to films which "mirrored increasingly liberal attitudes towards sex, race and ethnicity as well as a widespread fascination, and anxieties about, violence, while inverting the growing egalitarian attitudes towards gender." (Krämer, 2006, p.87), and therefore younger, more politically educated and interested directors began to dominate the Hollywood market.

As this generation shift occurred, a wave of innovative films began to be produced, which attempted to tackle social issues that had previously been left to foreign cinemas or art house releases. Filmmakers looked to rebel against the processes of classical Hollywood filmmaking, launching "a rebellion against the aesthetic status quo, which mirrored the political protests of the time against the Establishment." (Lopate, 2019, p.174).

These external and industrial factors all came together to signal the beginning of the New Hollywood era, with studios becoming more accepting of filmmakers who wanted to create films that questioned long-standing conventions and ideologies within mainstream American cinema. This meant that films being produced within Hollywood began to seek to represent a more politically and socially challenging account of life in postwar America. Horwath (2004) explains the way in which this shift towards a more politically active cinematic culture within Hollywood was very much a product of a more interrogative population. They argue that the more that the "liberal consensus in American society was coming unstuck", the more the "generally accepted "realism" of American television and Hollywood films seemed open for debate." (p.12). Audiences and filmmakers alike began to interrogate American mythologies. Whilst every film from this era cannot be considered 'realistic' in terms of plot, there became an expectation within this period that films in Hollywood should tell some kind of, at least thematic, truth about American culture.

The pursuit of thematic realism naturally led to a filmmaking culture that seemed to welcome more transgression of traditional American culture and values, with a change in attitude within Hollywood which saw a number of "mainstream hits breaking long-established taboos" (Krämer, 2006, p.49), yet still managing to receive box office and critical success. In fact, it can be said that the most successful films of this period told "stories about deep divisions in American society, between institutions, professions, ethnicities, races, classes and generations" (p.36). Kirshner (2012) explains that this transformation of Hollywood filmmaking culture brought the "possibility of a truly adult cinema" (p.5), which produced films that "often had a political text, and even more commonly a political subtext, especially with regard to gender, class, race, and the relationship between individuals and (corrupt or flawed) institutions" (p.21).

Arguably for the first time, Hollywood was making films that attempted to address, or at the very least acknowledge, the political dissidence within the United States. Filmmakers looked to break down stereotypes, and shift from archetypal and conventional representations, to a much more realistic and balanced portrayal of American life.

These cultural and industrial shifts in Hollywood led to many films that dealt with serious themes. Films like *In the Heat of the Night* (Jewison 1967), tackled the issue of racism, and racial injustice in the south. Paul Mazursky's *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* (1969) looked to

comment on the effects of the sexual revolution. Furthermore, films like *Serpico* (Lumet 1973) and *The Parallax View* (Pakula 1974) investigated the mistrust many people felt towards traditional American institutions. In this sense, New Hollywood signalled the beginning of discussion of serious topics in mainstream American cinema from a socially progressive point of view. Conservative viewpoints had been the norm within Hollywood, but this era symbolised the beginning of a dialogue surrounding American culture from a more critical, socially progressive position.

Masculinity in Film

Debates surrounding masculinity in cinema were ignited most recognisably by Neale's 'Masculinity as Spectacle: Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema' (1983), which saw the topic as underrepresented in film scholarship. He noted the lack of investigation that screen portrayals of masculine identity receive, stating that "masculinity has been identified as a structuring norm in relation both to images of women and gay men. It has to that extent been profoundly problematised, rendered visible. But it has rarely been discussed and analysed as such." (p.2). The analysis of cinematic masculinity has developed from the point at which Neale made this assessment. This research focuses on the New Hollywood era's representation of masculinity, more precisely within the period's contributions to the Western film genre. Applying the research that has developed in the forty years since Neale's original text, this thesis will reflect upon the way the New Hollywood Western dealt with masculine identity.

Neale suggests that whilst "women are investigated, men are tested. Masculinity, as an ideal, at least, is implicitly known. Femininity is, by contrast, a mystery. This is one of the reasons why the representation of masculinity, both inside and outside the cinema, has been so rarely discussed." (p.16). This lack of analysis is something that could be considered as a conscious invisibility, with men avoiding any inspection or interrogation in terms of gender by refusing to analyse themselves as gendered within media texts. This would continue the lack of a necessity for masculinity to change (Reeser, 2015). However, Neale's writing was a key moment in the evolution of the study of masculinity in both the subject of film, and gender studies.

The landscape of masculine analysis within film studies has certainly shifted in the period between Neale's writing and today, and the "rise of gender studies and queer theories has led to masculinity being considered as another culturally constructed element" (Blanco-Herrero, Rodríguez- Contreras, and Gutiérrez-San-Miguel, 2021, p.4). This means that masculinity has been analysed, and seen as an "identity… produced by societies" (Gürkan and Serttaş, 2017, p.402) rather than something fixed and natural as previously accepted.

The type of masculinity that is considered to be the most dominant within society is 'hegemonic masculinity'. This was a concept that is mostly attributed to the research of sociologist R.W. Connell (Reeser, 2015), and refers to the "type of masculinity the dominant group performs" (Cheng, 1999, p.297), which is considered to be the "defining gender performance of Euro-American males" (p.298).

It is now generally accepted that it is "conceptually more accurate to speak of masculinity and femininity in the plural-that is, masculinities and femininities, rather than their singular essentialist form" (Cheng, 1999, p.296). In studies of masculinities there has been a "move away from masculinity as singular toward a focus on multiple masculinities" (Reeser, 2015, p.11). This meant that as different elements of masculinity started to be recognised and scrutinised, scholars began to treat masculinity as plural, whilst acknowledging the way it tends maintain characteristics such as homophobia, power, and dominance over women (Reeser, 2015).

The concept of plural masculinity has developed in the two decades following Cheng's work, with modern studies of the subject even considering hegemonic masculinity as plural. This notion is summarised by Al-Jbouri and Pomerantz (2020), who explain that due to "its shifting contexts, hegemonic masculinity cannot be a singular gender practice, but is always plural. Hegemonic masculinities thus refer to certain socially valorized masculinities that embody the dominant characteristics and notions of acceptable gender performance within a given culture or group" (p.47).

These assessments and analyses of masculinity as a plural, has meant a general acceptance that "masculinities change over time, and that certain historical moments are more stressful for men than others" (Reeser, 2015, p.20). This often became referred to as the concept of 'masculinity in crisis', a term which "became a ubiquitous buzz-phrase in media and critical discourse, habitually cast to encompass virtually any moment where definitions of maleness were contested, renegotiated, or simply made visible" (Peberdy, 2011, p.4-5). Despite the often sensationalist approach to the idea that masculinity was 'in crisis', Reeser (2015) explains that "other scholars viewed masculinity as always, in a certain sense, in a state of crisis and considered that labelling a given period as a crisis assumes that there are other periods when masculinity is somehow free of anxiety or crisis." (p.20). Therefore, it is more accurate to consider masculinity as an evolving term which encompasses a wide range of gender identities, rather than something that is periodically falling into a time of crisis. This is the approach that both gender and film studies have taken towards the consideration of masculinity, with scholars understanding the need to discuss it as a developing and evolving concept.

Ever since the increase in research into the area, the Western has played an important role within film studies for the consideration of masculine representation, and scholarship surrounding gender and the genre has focused upon the issues of masculine desire and display (Matheson, 2020). The explanation for this emphasis is deep rooted with the conventions and archetypes of the Western. Johnson (1993) suggests that no place has been so consistently identified with maleness-particularly white maleness-as the region imagined as the American West" (p.495).

Despite the prevalence of this kind of dominant maleness within fiction set in the American west, the setting has also been a place of disturbed and challenged gender conventions (Johnson, 1993), in which "competing notions of manhood played out in encounters among ethnic and racial cultures, classes, and genders" (McCall, 2001, p.7).

The following research looks to assess the ways in which the Western films of the New Hollywood period interact with the history of masculinity within the genre. The changes in attitude towards representation and gender identity within the New Hollywood era meant that masculinity was portrayed in a variety of ways. Issues of masculinity was a key theme in many of the most ground-breaking New Hollywood films, with the notion of male "bonding, sometimes combined with intense male rivalry and conflict" (Krämer, 2006, p.34) central to their plots. New Hollywood films were critical of the men they represented, and it is "possible to summarize the men as losers, fools, brutes, cowards and thieves. Especially as compared with the studio era, the New Hollywood portrayed men in a harsh and negative light" (Kirshner, 2012, p.87).

The Western can be seen as "one of the most masculine and stereotypical of film genres." (Blanco-Herrero, Rodríguez- Contreras, and Gutiérrez-San-Miguel, 2021**,** p.1), with its dominant male heroes played by actors like John Wayne, whose work in the genre made him "an icon that transcended Hollywood- a symbol of rugged pioneers in the Old West" (Roberts and Olson, 1997, p.vii). This transcendence makes him the most recognisable characterisation of the Western's masculine representation.

The stereotypical and classical nature of the Western genre in a general sense meant that it was "the genre deemed most in need of radical intervention" (Arthur, 2003, p.18), during the New Hollywood era. Therefore, it is important to consider the way in which the innovative New Hollywood attitudes towards masculine representation affected the genre which had previously been recognised as the most tightly linked in ideology to a more classical period of Hollywood filmmaking.

This research focuses on the impact that this had on the character of the male hero within the New Hollywood Western. The concept of a hero as a cinematic archetype is something that was highly questioned and challenged by filmmakers in New Hollywood. These were

“not movies that worshiped heroes to the contrary, this was a cinema that insisted on their imperfection: women and men, flawed, anxious, despaired, and, often, losing” (Kirshner, 2012, p.87). This was certainly linked to the previously mentioned attitude towards realism which many filmmakers of the time sought to represent. Their heroes were not omnipotent beings, which audiences were meant to idolise, but rather, as Kirshner explains, “compromised and compromising adults struggling with their own private fears while attempting to navigate the uncharted waters of the period’s ongoing fundamental reassessment of intimate interpersonal relationships” (p.101).

A recognisable trend within New Hollywood films was the concept of a hero who, unlike the heroes of the classical Hollywood era, lacks motives. The journey of characters in the periods before New Hollywood had been based on the assumption of the “usefulness of positive action”, meaning that “whatever the problem, one could do something about it, and even eventually solve it.” (Elsaesser, 1975, p.281). Alternatively, New Hollywood heroes questioned this assumption, with either a lack of ability to achieve their goals, or simply no tangible goals to attain. This representation of the male hero throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s meant that “The figure of the loser would quickly come to dominate American filmmaking” (Hendershot, 2019, p.86), as more realistic masculine identities were represented on screen. New Hollywood men were often “crazily out-of-control types or horny, sexually inexperienced boy-men” (Lopate, 2019, p.168).

All of the thematic and ideological shifts that occurred during the New Hollywood era had an impact upon the Western films of the period. Many Westerns of the era “challenged the properties of the genre internally by introducing a counter-culture perspective on historical Western themes” (Dunne, 1996, p.16). These films began to be referred to as the ‘revisionist Western’, which became popular, as a “thriving seventies sub-genre that lent itself almost irresistibly well to reassessments of America in the context of Vietnam.” (Kirshner, 2012, p.111). These were films which would “challenge America by reinterpreting its mythology” (p.75). Issues began to take on symbolisation within the sub-genre. Kirshner offers examples of this, explaining how the:

> conquest of the frontier could be reinterpreted as American imperial expansionism; the bittersweet march of "civilization" from east to west could become the advance of voracious capitalism (with its economic and environmental exploitation); and the suppression of the savage Indians could be retold as a genocidal project that offered direct parallels both to the Vietnam War and to smoldering racial issues at home (p.111).

It is the Westerns of this era, and of this ideological standpoint, with which this research is focused. They were a key element of the New Hollywood moment in American filmmaking history. In 1966, many films were made which can be retrospectively seen as a pre-cursor to

the case study Westerns this research focuses on. Monte Hellman's Westerns from that year (often described as 'Acid Westerns'), *The Shooting* and *Ride in the Whirlwind*, offered a clear insight into the countercultural style of filmmaking that Hollywood would be dominated by over the next decade. The Western continued to be key to the period's connection with cinematic counterculture, with New Hollywood icons such as Arthur Penn and Peter Fonda directing Westerns (*Little Big Man* was Penn's entry to the genre in 1970, with Fonda directing *The Hired Hand* the following year). It could even be argued that the counter-cultural Hollywood Western can be traced back as far as the fifties. A cycle of pro-Indian Westerns including *Broken Arrow* (Daves, 1950), *Apache* (Aldrich, 1954), and *White Feather* (Webb, 1955) serve as allegories for racial conflict and injustice in post-war period America (Neale, 1998). These therefore serve as pre-cursors to the allegorical, and culturally critical Westerns of the sixties and seventies.

The Fordian Hero

Appearing at number fifteen on the *Sight and Sound* critics 'Greatest Films of all Time' list in 2022, *The Searchers* is perhaps the classical Western with the most lasting critical legacy. Over the sixty years since its release, it has developed a position as an icon of the Western genre. Therefore, it is clear that John Ford's style of Western filmmaking still has a place in critical discussions of the genre. Furthermore, his presentation of the Western hero remains an icon of the Western genre. In collaboration with John Wayne, Ford set out the blue print for the Hollywood cowboy on screen, in characters which pushed the actor into stardom throughout the forties and fifties. Wayne went on to have successful performances as a Western hero in films by other directors, most notably Howard Hawks. However, it was his performances in Ford's Westerns which both set out the hero's archetype (in the case of *Stagecoach* in 1939), and took the character to its highest critical reception (with *The Searchers*). In this sense, it seems most appropriate to analyse the Fordian portrayal of the Western hero as the most influential in characterising the classical Hollywood Western hero.

The first key characteristic that exemplifies the masculine identity of the Fordian hero is his commitment to a moral code. In the Fordian Western, the hero figure can be seen as "the frontier equivalent of a chivalric knight. This man lives by a generally unverbalized code" (Jewell, 2007, p.198). Gallagher (1983) further analyses this aspect of this character, suggesting that the character type "represents his culture more purely" (p.79). In addition, Gallagher explains that as "a good badman, his actions may entail self-redemption; as a priest or savior" (p.79).

This heroic code also demands that the protagonist acts in a particular way. An important element of this is the hero's obligation to demonstrate a sense of loyalty to their community (Vahdani, 2018). It is important that he supports those around him. He is required to show a sense of responsibility for those in his community. This usually leads to the hero holding the

position of authority within the group. Gallagher (1986, p.336) explains that "Fordian heroes tend to act as surrogates", often taking the role of a leader, or more precisely a father figure within the community. As the most traditionally masculine character within the community, Ford's hero must take on the "physical, emotional, and psychological" burdens which are expected of "men who… fulfil traditional masculine roles" (Peek, 1998, p.74). Therefore, this code demands that the protagonist show strength whilst those weaker around them do not need to. He must show leadership, protecting those who cannot protect themselves whilst providing a father figure to the community in which he lives. An example of a Wayne character who fulfils this part of the code is Ethan Edwards in *The Searchers*. Despite not immediately being trusted as a leader, he eventually demonstrates that he has the understanding to take control of the group's planning. He "demonstrates the strength, individualism, authority, and leadership expected of the western hero" (Miller, 1996, p.37), as he begins to influence and control the group.

Furthermore, when he and Martin Pawley end up searching for Debbie together, he develops into somewhat of a father figure to Martin. This relationship is tense and at times hostile, with Ethan's racist attitudes causing friction between them. However, Wayne's character ends up putting Martin in his will, symbolising the way in which he has become the only family he has left. He teaches his adopted son lessons of war, protects him from attack, and although Martin never really accepts him, the narrative relationship between them can certainly be seen as a flawed father-son dynamic.

Another key element of the code is the hero's need to seek vengeance upon those who have done him, or his community, wrong. Sparks (1996) suggests that one of the "main aims of the Western is to dignify its heroes by imposing tragic fates upon them" (p.352), which they must then avenge. Ford's heroes often have a tragedy in their past which they must put right. Both *Stagecoach* and *The Searchers* offer Wayne's character the chance to punish those who have wronged them. In the former, "the Ringo Kid (John Wayne) pursues the men who murdered his family" (Palmer, 2011, p.77). In the decades that followed, this became a typical character-building moment, in which the Wayne character was forced, by his own code, to achieve a kind of retribution for the pain that he has suffered. In the latter, Wayne's character must avenge the death of his family once again. This concept of vengeance often comes with a theme of purity. Gallagher (1986) explains that the Fordian hero must "purify the world: right a wrong, restore honor, purge disease, avenge crime, purify law, up-hold ideals" (p.336). This suggests that the hero is a representation of virtue within Ford's west. His role within the narrative is to return the world to the innocent place it had been before. In this sense, Wayne's characters often act as the purifier of the west. His on-screen persona has "has come to stand for a particular kind of American, one who takes no guff and fights for what he knows is right, which often appears to be what is best for America as well" (Sickels, 2008, p.164). Therefore, the hero of a Ford Western is almost required to have a desire for retribution.

This hero code is a part of the nostalgic tone which is often present in John Ford's cinema. He was a director whose films often grieved the past (Rohdie, 2001), and the hero can often be considered a representation of the kind of honour and integrity which Ford felt had been left behind. His films often offer evidence of his "belief in the value of tradition" (Wood, 1971, p.13). His heroes were often the characters who proved this value, by sticking to their code, and standing up for American ideals in a world which has been damaged. This nostalgia was not presented simplistically however, and Wood (1971) argues that Ford "is always at his greatest as an artist when he (or his material) can allow his central traditionalist values to be challenged without being radically undermined" (p.11). Ford was not simply presenting a hero with a code and suggesting that he has the answer to any problem facing America. Ethan's character in *The Searchers* is certainly not a straightforwardly heroic character, but rather an unsympathetic and unlikable anti-hero. His hatred has clouded his ability to connect with anyone around him, and Ethan symbolises the way that the hero's code can be a flawed concept, influenced by prejudice, and the blind desire to get back at people rather than generate positivity in a community. In this way, the ideals of Ford's hero can often be challenged, especially in the way that his desire to demonstrate masculinity even in ways which are not beneficial to those around him. Despite this, Ford would continue to present this kind of protagonist. This could be interpreted as confirmation of Wood's analysis that Ford looked to ensure that the values of his hero were not completely undermined. Despite the flaws in his code, Ford's continued representation of the traditional hero suggests that he is necessary in a world which needs hegemonic masculinity to protect, and avenge the community.

The typical hero's identity in Ford's west is also closely linked to the concept of the West as the wilderness. He is more often than not a wanderer, who is most comfortable when travelling across the wild space of the American west. Cortese (1976) explains that in the same way as "the in the Camelot of England or the age of the Samurai of Japan, the American West has assumed the status of an heroic past" (p.122). The Fordian protagonist is the character who is able to present himself as the hero of this mythic space. He "comes out of the wilderness, rights wrongs, and goes on his way." (Gallagher, 1986, p.226). *The Searchers* is perhaps the most obvious examination of this theme that Ford ever produced. The film opens with a male chorus singing a series of questions: "What makes a man wander? What makes a man to roam?" (Peek, 1998, p.73) which sets the tone for the film's hero, a "man between worlds" (p.75). Ethan receives a hero's welcome when he returns from the wilderness into his brother's home. His family are frantic to hear about the adventures he has had during the war. However, throughout the film he reveals to those near him just how brutal he is, killing without remorse and even pointing a gun at his own niece. This is a key feature of the Western hero, who "must be somewhat savage in order to secure and defend civilization" (Redding, 2007, p.317). This savagery usually ends with the acceptance that the hero cannot ever stay within the civilisation that he has saved. Winkler

(2003) summarises this issue within *The Searchers* explaining that:

> although he can take Debbie back to white society, Ethan cannot himself return to civilization. In the film's famous last shot, a door silently closes on him as he walks back into the wilderness alone. The moment signifies that Ethan's usefulness to society has come to an end. He was instrumental in eliminating, by use of force, an outward threat to society, but there is no place for him in a community now at peace (p.598).

This encapsulates the way that Ethan is tied to the Western wilderness as a mythic space. His archetype can save people from the savagery, but only by returning to savagery himself, further expanding the idea of the Fordian hero as what Gallagher (1983) describes as a "good badman" (p.79). Wayne's character is rejected by those who he has saved, and at the end, Ethan returns to a wilderness that he had initially been reluctant to leave (Miller, 1996). Gallagher (1986) explains that Ford's heroes are "lonely; isolation and self-exclusion are the prices they pay" (p.336). Therefore, the hero's inescapable desire to roam the west is a key feature of the character.

Ford's heroes often symbolise the power of masculine individualism, in juxtaposition to the civilisations or corporations which oppose their way of life. Travelling around a Western frontier which "promotes individualism" (Redding, 2007, p.315), the Fordian hero becomes a representation of the strength of hegemonic masculinity. He is not a member of a posse who requires backup, but is often going into battle alone. This is another element of Wayne's character which is symbolised by his entrance and exit from *The Searchers*. Ethan "rides in on horseback at the film's opening and rides off alone at the end, emblematic of the ideology of individualism" (Smith, 1999, p.57). His loneliness at both ends of the plot implies that he needs no support, and has the power to define his own journey through the frontier. Wayne's persona is built upon this relentless and larger-than-life individualism (Redding, 2007, p.317) which so often defined his Western characters. Wayne's characters display the ability to fight their own battles, in a way which is traditional of masculine hero characters. This has become a strong feature of the John Wayne hero archetype, who we "expect to see…in an imperious posture, dominating…just as he dominated the good and bad guys in *Stagecoach*" (Peek, 2003, p.213). The Fordian hero is able to demonstrate traditionally masculine ability in both the way he defeats his enemies, and leads his community. He is a symbol of masculine, individualist power.

This individualism often extends to a dislike for any kind of institution that tries to limit or prevent his freedom. The typical Westerner "fears and distrusts federal authority" (Redding, 2007, p.315), and this is a clear feature of the heroes in Ford's west. Ethan's mocking of the army is a representation of this attitude. The archetype is built upon a masculine hero who has the freedom to live life as an individualist.

The following research will analyse the ways in which the three chosen case studies interacted with the Fordian Western hero, either by deviating from it or by conforming to it. *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* will be analysed as a representation of the outlaw outliving his time, as well as the film's emphasis on humour and male buddy-relationships. *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* will be assessed as a representation of the emasculated Western hero, whose manhood has been challenged by shifting gender roles and increased corporate power. Finally, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* will be discussed as a return to the Fordian Western, with a more typically masculine protagonist, in a way that suggests the New Hollywood period did not introduce permanent change.

These films will then be contextualised, as the New Hollywood era itself is analysed. This research aims to assess whether New Hollywood can be seen as a transformative moment in the history of American cinema, in which masculine representations changed completely, or whether they simply diversified. By analysing these three films in terms of their Western hero and the way that he symbolises different character types within both classical or counter-cultural cinema, this research aims to make broader conclusions about a much-discussed period in the history of Hollywood.

Methodology

When constructing a methodology, there are two main elements that must be determined by the researcher. This section will break down the process that led to the selection of methodological approaches that were implemented throughout this research. Firstly, the method by which the three case studies were selected for analysis will be assessed, along with the reasons for the choice of this particular sampling process. This will be followed by a description of the type of analysis that was carried out on the case studies, with a discussion of this analytical methodology's suitability within the context of the broader aims of this research.

Within this process, case study selection is the primary assignment of the researcher (Seawright and Gerring, 2008). This research is a qualitative investigation of a nine-year period within Hollywood history (the New Hollywood era). Therefore, it was important to select specific examples of films from that period which would serve as texts to be analysed. In order to select these case studies, a sampling process was required. Ishak and Bakar (2014) explain that the "primary purpose of sampling for a qualitative researcher is to collect specific cases, events, or actions that can clarify or deepen the researchers understanding about the phenomenon under study" (p.29), and this was an important part of the construction of this research.

There are many ways in which a researcher can conduct a case selection or sampling process. The method that this research used is most commonly referred to as 'purposive sampling'. This describes a sampling style in which "subjects are selected by the investigator to meet a specific purpose" (Panacek and Thompson, 2007, p.76). It is a "nonrandom technique" which involves "the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses" (Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim, 2016, p.2). When regarding case studies, this process comprises of the selection of case studies (in this case films) which represent strong examples of the phenomenon with which the research is interested. Purposive sampling (often also labelled 'judgement sampling') allows a researcher to include "cases or participants in the sample because they believe that they warrant inclusion" and because of this, it is perfectly suited for the design of exploratory research (Tahderdoorst, 2016). The concern with this style of sampling would be that it does not force a researcher to select the case studies objectively. A researcher could just choose which ever options suit a pre-determined argument they have already decided upon. However, in order to avoid this issue, the case studies in this research were chosen to represent a wide range of masculine representation. This means that they all offer a different interpretation of the New Hollywood Western hero, and therefore do not all suit the same argument. This allowed the research to assess a range of portrayals of masculinity within the New Hollywood film.

Purposive, or judgement, sampling, was therefore considered to be the most appropriate selection process for this research. Both *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, and *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* were included because they represent strong examples of the way the New Hollywood era portrayed masculinity in transgressive and nontypical ways. George Roy Hill's 1969 film is an assessment of the Western Hero as an outdated archetype, both in the American frontier and the Hollywood film. This was therefore an ideal case study for analysis of New Hollywood's re-assessment of the American myth. Altman's first Western pities its Western hero, and emasculates him under the pressure of corporate greed, and the rise of stronger female representation. This film therefore represents the extent to which New Hollywood films were willing to challenge the norms of masculinity in their protagonists. *The Outlaw Josey Wales* was selected for analysis due to it offering an alternative interpretation of the era, presenting a more conventional representation of the masculine Western hero that could have been found in just about any other period in Hollywood history. This film's release at the end of the era challenges the notion of New Hollywood as a time in which representations of masculinity shifted completely. The case study selection process can consequently be described as purposive, with the three film texts being chosen for analysis due to the qualities they possess.

The case study offers the researcher the capability to conduct detailed analysis of a subject, through specific examples. This was chosen as an appropriate method for this research, as it was important to assess New Hollywood films individually, to analyse the ways that they represented masculinity. The limitation of the case study as a methodology is the way that it encourages a researcher to focus on the specific subject without broader analysis. To avoid this issue, three case studies have been chosen to represent different elements of the New Hollywood, allowing for a thorough assessment of multiple aspects of the period. In addition, each of the film's industrial context will be examined, in order to assess the way in which the film interacts with broader Hollywood shifts.

After the three case studies had been chosen, the next decision that was required for the research was the selection of a method of analysis. The main phenomenon that this research is investigating is the representation of masculinity, thus the style of methodology used would have to be appropriate for analysing representations in media texts. This term, representation, "connects to a long tradition of work within humanities-orientated screen, media, literary, and cultural studies that addresses the ways that social groups are depicted in popular media", and is a key part of the way in which researchers analyse texts (Carr, 2019, p.708). Mikos (2013) describes the importance of this type of research, stating that "analysing content and representation in films has a particular status", as it is "important for understanding the processes governing the meaningful construction of the social world… film texts correspond to societal structures, through which relations of dominance and

power also become manifest in texts. This is where film texts' ideological components lie." (p.414). It is therefore important to select a methodological approach which can accurately assess the representations within this research's case studies. *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* will be discussed first, followed by *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*. Finally, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* will be assessed as a counter-point to the first two films. This allows for an examination of the New Hollywood era which considers its more unconventional portrayals of Western masculinity. This will then be compared to the period's classical and traditionally masculine representation, which suggests that the period lacked significant, permanent development.

The approach that was selected for this research was textual analysis. This is defined by Smith (2017) as:

> a method of study utilized by researchers to examine messages as they appear through a variety of mediums. The data generated for textual analysis can come from documents, films, newspapers, paintings, web pages, and so forth. These forms of data serve as the "texts" under study and are used to assess the meanings, values, and messages being sent through them (p.1).

Textual analysis has "become a favored method for many cultural scholars who are interested in investigating media content" (Fürsich, 2009, p.239). McKee (2001) agrees with this sentiment, describing it as the "central methodology of Cultural Studies" (p.138.). This shows the value of textual analysis as a tool for analysing elements of media texts, such as representation. The method "allows the researcher to discern latent meaning, but also implicit patterns, assumptions and omissions of a text." (Fürsich, 2009, p.241), and this has allowed it to become a crucial system of film research and analysis.

Mulvey (2005) explains the importance of textual analysis within the history of film studies, stating that because textual analysis "prioritised mise-en-scène and the formal language of cinema", it was an "antidote to traditions of film criticism that invested importance in high-cultural, more literary-based, values." (p.228). Textual analysis allows for an analysis of film texts in a way that understands their nature as a visual art-form, and therefore can support the study of cinema more than other methods are able to. Mulvey explains that "textual analysis itself involves stretching out the cinematic image to allow space and time for associative thought, reflection on resonance and connotation, the identification of visual clues, the interpretation of cinematic form and style" (p.231). This further explains that textual analysis is a method that works perfectly for the analysis of cinematic and visual data, and that makes it the most appropriate methodology for this research.

However, as Ifversen (2003) explains, there are different ways in which a researcher can approach textual analysis:

> Some are more contextualist, others more formalist. Some approaches tend to work at a micro-level, where the role and meaning of the singular text becomes important. Other approaches are oriented towards a macro-level where many texts are studied in order to make wide-ranging claims about a certain period or a certain society (p.68).

The selection of an approach to textual analysis therefore depends upon what the researcher is intending to find out about a film text. This research involves the study of film texts in relation to what they represent within a particular era. This would therefore be more conducive to what Ifversen describes as "macro-level" textual analysis, as it involves close analysis of a film text, but also requires this analysis to be related to the environment of its release. Fürsich (2009) defines this as a combination of both textual analysis, and "contextual studies of the condition of its production on several points: the institutional, systemic and personal production level." (p.242). They further explain the advantages of this type of research method, describing how it "provides important contextual information for textual critics and helps explain the possible scope of the texts under investigation". It also "avoids mistakes by researchers who criticize limited discursive strategies within media content instead of limitations of production" (p.242).

Therefore, textual analysis was chosen as the most suitable methodology for the analysis of the three selected case studies. A variety of textual elements including characterisation, costume, cinematography, and performance will be analysed. However, the research's interest in the New Hollywood era as a whole meant that this textual analysis could not be completely limited to a micro-level. This meant that a more contextual (or 'macro') style would be adopted, allowing for both an analysis of the representation of masculinity within the texts, and a period-wide investigation which looks to investigate why these representations may have occurred at this particular time.

Chapter One - Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid

Upon the release of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (Hill) in 1969, Chicago Sun-Times critic Roger Ebert criticised the film for being "too cute", claiming it "never gets up the nerve, by God, to admit it's a Western". This condemnation in itself suggests that Hill's film strays further from the conventions of its genre than the Fordian Western tended to. *Butch Cassidy* is a film which fits comfortably within the category of New Hollywood. Horton (2010) describes the film as a "parody and a reaffirmation of the spirit of the West", which "creates a dialectical tension between, on the one hand, the comic and the conventional codes of the Western, and on the other the combination of the historical Butch and Sundance with the contemporary late 1960s sensibilities." (p.67). The film can therefore be viewed as a film which fits within the counter-cultural movements of the time of its release.

One way in which this is evident is with the film's cast. The stars of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* represent the form of stardom and star persona that is most closely linked with the New Hollywood period. Firstly, the film's most notable star (at the time of its release) was Paul Newman. Despite making his name in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with Academy Award nominations for his performances in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (Brooks, 1958) and *The Hustler* (Rossen, 1961), Newman transitioned into New Hollywood smoothly. Although before the official beginning of the New Hollywood era, his performance in *Hud* (Ritt, 1963) showed his ability to represent sympathetic characters who challenged authority (Baker, 2006). This continued throughout the decade, with Newman playing similarly likeable 'outlaws' in *Hombre* (Ritt, 1967), *Cool Hand Luke* (Rosenberg, 1967), and finally *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*.

The second character of the film's title was played by another actor that has become synonymous with the spirit of Hollywood acting during this period, Robert Redford. Much less established than Newman, Redford's persona was cemented by *Butch Cassidy*. Before playing the Sundance Kid, Redford's most notable role was in Arthur Penn's *The Chase* in 1966. A film which (pre-New Hollywood) shared many of the counter-cultural sensibilities which would hit the mainstream with *Bonnie and Clyde* the following year. These two performances in the sixties both "solidified a new synthesis of his outlaw and the existing golden-boy images" (Cagle, 2010, p.46), setting himself up as a counter-cultural Hollywood star. His role as the Sundance Kid "established his persona as a western outlaw, an image that Redford has consistently been identified with and that he himself embraces" (Leonelli, 2007, p.26). The performance allowed Redford to become a key part of the New Hollywood mainstream, as he moved into stardom in the 1970s.

The films only significant female character, Etta Place, is also played by another icon of the New Hollywood era, Katharine Ross. She had started her acting career with another

Western, in a supporting role alongside James Stewart in *Shenandoah* (McLagen, 1965). Two years later her performance as Elaine Robinson in *The Graduate* (Nichols, 1967) led to industry-wide recognition, with a nomination for best supporting actress at the Academy Awards, and a Golden Globe win for 'Best New Starring Actress'. This meant that like Newman, she was already a prominent player in the Hollywood of the late sixties. In February 1969, she was one of the many actors described by Time Magazine as part of a new wave of performers in Hollywood. The "article suggests these actors are rejecting movie stardom and adopting an anti-Hollywood, that is, anti-star, stance" (Czach, 2013, p.106). She therefore became a part of the counter-culture that many of her films came to symbolise.

The film's stars therefore certainly suited the anti-authoritarian, and counter-typical Western genre sensibilities that the film embodied. *Butch Cassidy* was not made from the Fordian Western mould, and the film's transgressions of the genre's conventions almost led to it not being produced at all. It was, in fact, the film's representation of its outlaw heroes which caused the most disagreement amongst studio executives behind the scenes, with the main issue being screenwriter William Goldman's decision that Butch and Sundance would run from their pursuers, rather than fight back. Nelson (2015, p.66) describes that (as Goldman recalls) "this narrative twist was met with consternation by one producer, who said he would buy Goldman's script only if the ending were changed to have the duo stand and fight". Nelson then goes on to suggest that this "unnamed producer's unwillingness to countenance a Western hero running from a fight suggests that *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* is distinct from earlier Westerns", and this distinction can be seen within the film's representation of masculinity.

Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid follows its titular characters as they try to get away from a 'super-posse' of contract killers. The film, "based on actual characters and events, follows the two bandits of the title, Butch (Paul Newman), the brains, and the Sundance Kid (Robert Redford), the gunslinger, through their bumbling criminal career, which culminates with their exile in Bolivia" (Hamilton, 2016, p.1). Hill's film represents its outlaw heroes as men out of time (both literally and metaphorically), as they flee the American West with Sundance's partner Etta Place. Hill's film uses recognised notions and contentions of the Western film, before satirising them (Horton, 2010), offering a commentary on both the American past, and the history of the most American of all the film genres.

The result is a film which was massively successful, generating huge box-office success and winning four Oscars (Hamilton, 2016). Among these Oscar wins was a success for Goldman, in the best original screenplay category. This therefore represents the way in which the film not only embodied the spirit of counter-culture in a way that audiences enjoyed, but also managed to present a critically successful commentary on the Western.

This chapter will analyse the way in which *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* represents a nuanced, progressive, and counter-typical form of masculinity. Three over-arching themes of this representation will be examined individually, along with textual analysis of a key scene (or scenes) for each topic of discussion.

The Last of the Western Outlaws

The first theme which impacts upon the lead character's masculinity is their portrayal as late outlaws. In many ways, the counter-typical masculine representation in *Butch Cassidy* comes from the fact that Butch and Sundance *are* typical Western outlaw anti-heroes. Butch is a smooth-talking, witty leader, and Sundance is a fast-shooting quiet type. However, despite falling into the same archetypes as characters that could be found in a John Ford Western, they are not able to hold onto the same kind of stoic, secure masculine identity that their characters would have in the past.

This is partly because in Hill's Western, they are represented as "relics of a bygone, heroic time in which their unreconstructed 'frontiersman' masculinity posed no problems, because there was no community or society for their individualism to threaten" (Baker, 2006, p.134). The film is set in the late 1890s, which places Butch and Sundance as ""late" Western outlaws" (Bishop, 2021, p.69), and this further explains Baker's point. The masculine archetype that the characters represent, would have been a stable position earlier in the century. They could have continued bank robbing, remaining in a powerful position as feared outlaws in the American West. However, they simply outlived the West (Baker, 2006), leaving themselves outdated, and without an identity in a time in which they do not belong.

This theme is prevalent right from the beginning of the film, particularly in the sequences which introduce the character of Butch Cassidy. He may be a typical Western archetype, but Newman's character does not get the kind of heroic (or anti-heroic) entrance that John Wayne, or Clint Eastwood may receive. He fades onto the screen, in close-up, as he looks out of a window. The following sequences continues to follow Cassidy's face, as he looks up at the brick buildings that surround him. In a shot which evokes the ending of *The Searchers*, Butch walks towards the doorway of the bank. Unlike Wayne's character, however, Butch enters the doorway, and finds himself in a dark room that is being closed up for the night. The vault is secured, locks are slammed shut, and the shutters are closed, removing almost all natural night from the scene. As he turns to leave, Butch speaks for the first time in the film, asking the security guard "what happened to the old bank? It was beautiful", "people kept robbing it" he answers. These two lines of dialogue perfectly summarise this theme within the film. Butch walks around in confusion as the world around him is changing, but it is people like him who have forced this change. His robbing of banks has led to increases in security, as the civilised world of the late nineteenth century began to root out old Western

outlaws like Butch. The film's introduction of his character "foreshadows the difficulties both will face as they attempt to use their nineteenth-century frontier robber ethics and techniques against twentieth-century technology and efficiency" (Horton, 2010, p.69). This sentiment is echoed by Hamilton (2016) who describes the way in which the "increasing alienation of men is also demonstrated through their relationships with technology, which is represented in the film in the forms of rail, bicycle, dynamite and gun" (p.183). This is a concept that is foregrounded right from the start.

Butch is shrunken by the tall buildings that surround him, as civilisation and increased security close in on his way of life, leaving him as a remnant of a time that has adjusted to the existence of people like him. This clearly restricts Butch's ability to portray the archetypical masculine character within the Western. Therefore, despite the fact that Butch and Sundance display typically masculine signifiers (Pheasant-Kelly, 2013), through their character type, the introduction shows their lack of real agency in the modern world. Butch saunters around the town, scanning around as things move on by. He does not have the power to rob the new bank, and so is left (at least in his opening scene) to watch on, as times change around him.

Butch and Sundance's lack of ability to thrive as outlaws in the new world of technology and security in America comes to its climax later in the film. The decision is made that the only way they can maintain their way of life is to travel to South America (Leonelli, 2007). In other words, the advances in security has meant that they no longer belong in the American West, they are forced out of the part of the world that used to represent their way of life. The film's representation of changing times is not a positive one, and this theme will be analysed later in this chapter. The pair are being chased by a 'super-posse', for much of the film. The group never tire, lose their trail, or fall for the tricks that Butch uses to get away from them. "Who are those guys?" becomes a comically repeated phrase, used by both Butch and Sundance. The answer to which is not explicitly answered for a while, as the posse chasing them are only ever shown from extreme long shots. Most of the time, they are just small dots in the far distance, moving as one large group. Butch begins to get frustrated at their commitment to discipline, complaining that "they don't even break formation. Do something!". Hamilton argues that the super-posse are "portrayed as mechanized: they are represented as shadowy figures, without a true identity or relationships with each other, divorced from their function in pursuing the gang" (2016, p.191). The posse is therefore not presented as a group of human beings, desperate to catch the outlaws, but more as a concept. It is possible to suggest that for much of the film, the posse is used as a symbol for the times that are catching up to Butch and Sundance. The lead characters are being tracked down and chased by new technologies, security systems, and lawmen, that this time they are not able to get away from, no matter how hard they try. The changing times never slow down, even as they spread across the open plains (that one

day they will conquer). Butch and Sundance eventually realise that the West is no longer their world, but it is owned by civilisation, and modernity, concepts which the super-posse represent.

Butch and Sundance are therefore forced to flee with Etta to Bolivia, in an effort to maintain their way of life. This change in scenery does work, as they are able to outthink and outrun a much less advanced law system, with slower and more predictable lawmen. This, for a while, gives the group a new lease of life, as even Etta joins in with the bank heists. The montage of the trio's robberies in Bolivia is accompanied by a joyful theme, as they all seem to regain the happiness that they all once had in America. However, it could be argued that despite their return to form as outlaws, "rather than regaining a form of hegemony, their experiences act only to further impress their alienation and increasing irrelevance in a modernizing world" (Hamilton, 2016, p.180).

Leonelli (2007) suggests that Butch and Sundance are "not traditional western heroes like John Wayne or Gary Cooper, who would feel an obligation to stay and fight" (p.28). This further solidifies the notion that despite their archetypically masculine abilities and attitudes as outlaws, they cannot truly represent the ideal of hegemonic masculinity that had previously been dominant within the Western genre. This style of masculinity is not able to flourish in the film's West. Therefore, in order to survive, Butch and Sundance have to run away, and thus still suffering from a blow to traditional notions of heroic masculinity. In this way, it can be argued that *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* uses the changing of the times to represent the typical form of masculinity as something that is unsustainable, and outdated in the changing world in which the film is set.

Hamilton (2016) argues that this theme represents a hyper-linear link between masculinity in the times of the old west, and when the film was released, describing the way in which:

> Men's gender is often rendered complex by changing social conditions; social conditions that are represented in such a way as to speak to both the represented past and the present of the filmic release. Such a hyper-linear historical connection assists audiences in understanding the origins of their own social issues, founded as they are in an American patriarchal ideology and frontier experiences (p.206).

The film therefore serves as a symbol for the struggles of men in late 1960s America, and represents the way in which notions of conventional and hegemonic masculinity has always caused issues for men throughout history, as they try and fit the often-unattainable standards of manhood.

The film does not represent the changing times as something entirely positive. Instead, Hill's

Western is incredibly nostalgic, romanticising the times of the Old West. The film certainly does "deal with the disappearance of the Old West" (Krämer, 2006, p.31), but often in a way that is more interested in what has been lost by the advances of technology, rather than what has been gained by restricting the work of outlaws like Butch and Sundance. This romanticism is not about the old west, but seems instead to be a nostalgic take on the history of the Western genre within cinema. There are various parts of the film that seem to symbolise this theme, most noticeably the title sequences, which show the story of Butch and Sundance, in the style of a silent film. In opening the film in this way, the filmmaker foregrounds their "nostalgia for the romantic days of the old West and their awareness of the outlaws' lore as a legend in the making" (Leonelli, 2007, p.29) by evoking films like *The Great Train Robbery* (Porter, 1903). Both the credits sequence and the film's opening scenes are "shot in sepia by cinematographer Conrad Hall to create a feeling of a faded photograph" (Horton, 2010, p.69). Horton further explains that this opening is "not only a version of the Butch and Sundance story, but also a film about film and about the images and myths that can be generated by the media. For this reason, the opening sequences are a key to the whole work." (p.67).

Horton also describes a scene that screenwriter William Goldman had written, but was later cut from the film, in which Butch, Sundance, and Etta travel to a Bolivian cinema. The film that they watch turns out to be a representation of their own deaths as "[l]egend and life come into sharp contrast and focus as this somber foreshadowing flickers across the screen." (p.71). The footage of this deleted scene was still used however, as the silent film style scenes at the very start of the film. This recurring theme within Hill's Western, and Goldman's script, is therefore the idea that the mythology of the American West is unconditionally linked to the history of American cinema.

This theme of cinematic Western mythology is also represented in the film's self-awareness, and the self-awareness that the characters within the film seem to have. Various lines of dialogue within the film seem to almost suggest that the characters understand their own mythology as characters within the Western genre. Butch at one point confides in Sundance, telling him that when he was a kid "I always thought I was gonna grow up to be a hero". This represents Butch's lack of satisfaction at the way his life has turned out, but also his awareness that he is playing a role within a story that has always existed in American cinema. Goldman's screenplay is a large part of the film's success in representing this theme, with Butch's dialogue often offering the audience a window into his psychology as the failed hero. The characters are clear that they are performing, and this is evident when they visit a friend who happens to be a sheriff. They tie him up as they prepare to leave, giving the impression that he has been treated brutally (Horton, 2010). They are not brutal outlaws that treat people badly out of enjoyment, or just to get their own way. Butch and Sundance are almost reluctant in tying up the sheriff, who is actually the one that suggests that they do it. This foregrounds the idea that their role as masculine outlaw heroes is not

natural, but something that is performative. The characters' self-awareness is most directly references in a scene in which Etta tells them she will join them with Bolivia under one condition. She says that the one thing she will not do is watch them die, "I'll miss that scene if you don't mind", she states. This speech centres around the idea that "even their deaths will be performances" (Horton, 2010, p.70), as they play the role of the mythic outlaw in American cinema. This implies that they will fight to their death (as they eventually do), not because they are heroic, but because they are performing a heroic role.

The masculinity of the Western hero is therefore represented as something that is not real, but a mythic concept that has been perpetuated through performances within the American Western genre. This could be considered in terms of the work on gender performance by Judith Butler. This theory suggests that "performance is effected with the strategic aim of maintaining gender within its binary frame" (Butler, 1988, p.525). Analysed in this way, both Butch and Sundance aim to perform the role of traditionally masculine characters, in order to fit into perceived ideals of hegemonic masculinity. Newman and Redford are playing characters that are self-aware about their own mythology, they perform as traditionally masculine Western anti-heroes, in the same way that Wayne and Eastwood do, the only difference is, the characters played by the latter are not aware that they are performing, the role comes easily to them. It could therefore be suggested that despite Hill's romanticism of the Western film, his characterisation of the Western protagonist is much more real. Fordian Westerns represent the Western legend, whilst *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* represents people, *performing* as the Western legend.

The legend is what is heroic, not the reality. This concept can be considered a recurring theme throughout the New Hollywood period, with films like *Bonnie and Clyde* focused on the romance and nostalgia of American mythology. This theme of legendary status being more powerful than reality is also prevalent throughout *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*. At the beginning of the film, the characters that interact with Butch and Sundance react in a way that reveals their place within the filmic world as legendary outlaws. The engineer on a train they rob is delighted at the opportunity he is getting to meet them, and therefore "stands aside without resistance so that he can watch the famous Hole in the Wall Gang in action" (Horton, 2010, p.70). Similarly, at the start of the film Sundance is involved in a heated altercation during a card game when he is accused of cheating. The first shot we get of his opponent's face is when Butch calls his friend by his name. "Once the name "Sundance" is mentioned, the opponent becomes terrified, as he learns who he is facing" (p.69-70), Horton explains. These two instances then suggest that the thing that is effective for Butch and Sundance is not their abilities, but their reputation as myths of the old West. Throughout *Butch Cassidy*, the legend that the protagonists represent is much more effective than the reality of the characters (Horton, 2010). This links to the idea that the film is a representation of the way in which the mythology and legend of Western outlaws has become a key part of America's cinematic history.

These themes of reflection, self-awareness, and the characters position as relics in the emergence of the modern West, can all be seen as metaphors for what was happening to the Western genre within late sixties Hollywood. Butch and Sundance are both aware that they are no longer able to perform the roles of masculine identity that the Western protagonists in earlier films in the genre's history were able to. In New Hollywood, the Western was no longer as powerful as a genre. Three Westerns that were released in Hollywood in 1969, all deal with this concept of the outlaw as an aging symbol of heroism in the middle of the changes brought about by New Hollywood. Along with *Butch Cassidy*, *The Wild Bunch* (Peckinpah, 1969), and *True Grit* (Hathaway, 1969) both also represent the Westerner as an aging relic. This shows the place that the traditionally masculine Western hero (or anti-hero), had within this changing film industry. Much like Butch and Sundance in 1899, the Western mythic hero had become outdated amongst the industry's new style of hero. Characters like Ben Braddock in *The Graduate* (Nichols, 1967) symbolise Hollywood's change of direction in this period, shifting away from mythological, traditionally masculine men, towards a new style of complex, realistic, heroic identity. This is, perhaps paradoxically, the reason that the title characters within *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* struggle to hold on to the masculine identity they would have one had.

Masculinity in The Buddy Western

Another key element of Butch and Sundance's counter-typical masculinity, is their relationship with each other. This is one theme of *Butch Cassidy* which can be considered as typical of the 'New Hollywood' film. In fact, many of the most successful, popular, and iconic films of the period "focused on friendships and partnerships between men" (Krämer, 2006, p.13). This thematic focus became more prominent than it had been before, following the release of *Butch Cassidy*, with films like *Midnight Cowboy* (Schlesinger, 1969), *The Godfather* (Coppola, 1972), and *Dog Day Afternoon* (Lumet, 1975), foregrounding the bonds between male characters (Krämer, 2006). *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* is therefore one of the films that can be placed into the category of a 'buddy movie'. Critics even considered Hill's film as the one which "heralded the beginning" of the buddy movie, "a genre linked both to action and comedy" (Alfonso and Frago, 2014, p.2) which became even more popular throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. The buddy movie genre has its roots in "the classic team comedies of Laurel and Hardy, Abbott and Costello, and Hope and Crosby but truly matured in the 1970s" (Abbott, 2009, p.73). These narratives almost always focus their gender representations on a relationship between two men, and therefore can be considered as essential investigations of male friendship and its effect upon masculine identity.

The film's representation of male friendship is one that feels incredibly natural, and the two leads work perfectly together as outlaw-buddy protagonists. Part of the reason for this chemistry is perhaps the relationship between the actors themselves. On the film's set,

“Robert Redford and Paul Newman would form an enduring friendship” (Leonelli, 2007, p.27-28) that makes its way into their performances. In this way, the film represents an incredibly endearing and likeable portrayal of masculine friendship. This friendship would be popular, and would be repeated in *The Sting* (Hill, 1973) in which Newman and Redford had a similar on-screen dynamic.

Peter Fonda’s *The Hired Hand* (1971) similarly represents a friendship between two men. However, unlike *Butch* Cassidy’s leads, the characters played Peter Fonda and Warren Oates seem to stick together as a duo more out of a sense of loyalty, and belonging. Fonda’s Harry Collings tries to return to his wife, leaving his friend Arch to fend for himself, but in the end, he is unable to fit in anywhere other than on the open plains with his partner. Whilst this film does share similarities with *Butch Cassidy*, the relationship between the two male characters is much less warm. This warmth between Butch and Sundance is crucial to the film’s style, and is the element which “attracted Redford to the role, and also made the film a success with the public” (Leonelli, 2007, p.28).

This friendship is built on the trust that Butch and Sundance have for each other, and it is this trust which allows them to share their vulnerabilities and weaknesses together. In this sense, the bond that the protagonists share together can be seen as in contrast to the expectations of hegemonic masculinity (Hamilton, 2016). Easthope (1992) explains that “the two men form a pair of opposites. Cassidy is reason, ideas, quick talk, sociability, the pleasure principle; Sundance is body, action, not given to words, isolated, the reality principle.” (p.89). Given this description, it would be fair to assume that Butch is the brains, and Easthope confirms that “Sundance, though he hides it well, is stupid”. Despite this, Butch is hardly the kind of stereotypically masculine leader of men that one may expect given his confidence.

For much of the film, Butch acts as an unsure, anxious character, who constantly asks Sundance for reassurance despite being the one who comes up with all of the group’s plans. “What if they don’t follow the horse?” Butch asks, as the pair run from the super-posse. Butch is often presented as nervous about his own decision making, constantly asking Sundance what will happen if his own plan goes wrong, “you’re the brains Butch you’ll think of something” is Sundance’s reply on this occasion. This characterisation perhaps comes from anecdotal descriptions of the real outlaw pairing. Jameson (2012, p.3) explains that “when acquaintances and contemporaries of Cassidy were asked to describe him” one of those used commonly was “intelligent”. In this sense, it is unsurprising that he is represented as the more thoughtful and considered of the two protagonists. However, what is unexpected is the sense of anxiety he displays about the decisions he has made. This is a reversal of ‘the brains’ character archetype that is often found in male friendships on screen. Most commonly, ‘the brains’ is the character that has the most self-belief. He is the

thinker of the pair, who can be trusted to remain calm in tough situations, whilst the hot-headed, less educated, more emotional character is in need of reassurance. This blurring of traditional character types symbolises the vulnerability and instability present within Butch's masculinity. The events of the film cause him to question his own ability, even as the leader of a legendary gang, to make big decisions.

The most direct, and memorable expression of vulnerability and weakness between the pair occurs when Butch decides that they both must jump from the top of a cliff into a river. In this sequence, the two have been surrounded by the posse. They are positioned, both physically and metaphorically, with their backs to the wall. During this moment, Butch and Sundance are always shot together in a two-shot, emphasising their closeness as they face this conflict. Butch comes up with another one of his plans, suggesting that they jump into the water below. Sundance is against this, insisting they should fight. The pair argue until Sundance finally reveals that he cannot swim. This is the first time that Sundance has expressed directly any kind of weakness. He has been presented as a legendary gunfighter, whose name alone is enough to frighten enemies into submission. However, now he is vulnerable, and afraid. The tension of this moment is only broken by Butch's laughter. Sundance then summons the bravery to jump, and he and Butch run off the edge, holding onto the same belt. This sequence demonstrates the trust the two feel for one and other. Sundance, in many ways an archetype of masculine mythology, is able to open up to his friend and express his fears.

This presents another way in which *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* uses the theme of male friendship to subvert masculine gender expectations within the Western genre. Hamilton (2016) summarises the concept, by stating that the "most fundamental way in which demasculinization is demonstrated is through the relationship between men" (p.190), and this concept of demasculinisation can certainly be seen in the way which Butch and Sundance are represented.

Another way in which the film's representation of male friendship is unconventional is the way that it presents a romantic arrangement that is "in stark contrast to the Fordian western", by transforming the "usual glorification of marriage into an ambiguous love triangle" (Alfonso and Frago, 2014, p.9). This refers to the way in which Butch and Sundance "effectively "share" a girlfriend" (Pheasant-Kelly, 2013, p.142). She seems to symbolise the differences in Butch and Sundance's personalities, with both sides appealing to Etta. Malone (2015) summarises this, explaining that "Ross wants Redford as a lover and Newman as a friend" (p.142).

It could be argued that Etta's role in the film is simply as a signifier of Butch and Sundance's sexuality. Pheasant-Kelly further explains this point when discussing the famous scene in

which Butch and Etta ride a bicycle together, which is concluded by a conversation between Butch and Sundance that confirms that Etta is 'Sundance's woman'. The sequences could therefore be analysed as one that was only included "as reassurance for the spectator that the men's relationship is homosocial rather than homoerotic." (Pheasant Kelly, 2013, p.156). As a sub-genre that focuses on the relationship between two men, the buddy film often contains a homosexual and homosocial subtext, which is almost always denied (Buckman, 2010), and in this way *Butch Cassidy* could be seen to be using Etta's character as a denial of these implications.

This would seem to imply that Etta's role within the film is not of great importance, except for establishing the lead characters' heterosexuality. *Butch Cassidy* has faced a fair amount of criticism for its representation of women, having been "dismissed as a serious critique of the period because of the perception that it privileges inter-male friendships while marginalizing women" (Hamilton, 2016, p.181). Scholars are in agreement that Etta's position is secondary to the duo of Butch and Sundance (Gehring, 1999). Despite this, it can be argued that Etta's role in the love triangle (as well as the role of women in the film) serves to highlight what would be considered by hegemonic structures to be the weakness of many forms of masculinity in a modernising Western frontier. Hamilton (2016) discusses the way in which the film "presents women within a broader network of patriarchal structures, as self-consciously aware of the impact of gender and gender performance in their lives" (p.183). Furthermore, Hamilton explains further the role of women in the film, suggesting that:

> The diversity of women's roles and representations- a school teacher, a prostitute, saloon owner and grandmother- demonstrates the diversity of women's roles and power bases. In this way the gendered dislocation experiences by the masculinities in the film can be viewed within the prism of broader gender upheaval caused by feminist movements and women's growing calls for empowerment in its many forms. This is connected, hyper-linearly, to the production context where women's rights movements, sexual liberation, second wave feminism, and women's increasing participation in the work force and tertiary education, all acted to destabilize traditional gender binaries and cause a fundamental re-evaluation of the power bases of white, hegemonic masculinity (p.183).

The film uses the more secure, and increasingly stable positions of women within society to juxtapose the struggles of masculinities that the male protagonists face. *Butch Cassidy*'s female characters have managed to adapt to the increasingly commercialised, capitalist society that has seen the end of the old west. Contrastingly, male characters like Butch and Sundance have had to battle with their gender identity, and this now means that masculinity is being challenged in the film much more than femininity. In this way, it can be

argued that Hill's film represents women in strong contrast to the film's uncertain, unstable men.

Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid therefore uses male relationships, in various ways, to represent masculinity as vulnerable. Butch and Sundance have formed a strong bond in which they are both able to break traditionally masculine structures, expressing weaknesses and showing emotional understanding for one and another. This relationship also transcends the traditional marriage that the Western of the Golden Age had glorified. The love triangle shows the diversity in the film's masculine identities, and juxtaposes the stability of women in the modern workforce, with men's inability to adapt to the death of the frontier.

Humour and Western Masculinity

The third way in which the film subverts expectations of masculine representation is through its use of humour. In the eight years following the release of *Butch Cassidy*, George Roy Hill would go on to make one more film with both Newman and Redford (*The Sting*), and another with just Newman (*Slap Shot*, 1977). Although neither of these films were Westerns, they did share more similarities with this film than just the cast. All three of Hill's collaborations with Newman can be described as parodies, using humour to subvert expectations within established genres. However, these three films (especially *Butch Cassidy* and *The Sting*) cannot be defined as purely a comedy-Western, or a comedy-crime film. Gehring (1999, p.80) explains that "*Butch Cassidy* is both an extension of the rich Western parody tradition examined extensively in this chapter, and a peek ahead at the increasingly layered, multifaceted spoof movie of modern cinema (since 1960)". This highlights the idea that the film is not purely a parody, but a film that uses humour in order the make a commentary upon the conventions of the Western genre. This concept is supported by Cawelti's assessment of the ways genres can be transformed. One of these forms of generic imagination is "humorous burlesque" (Cawelti, 2003, p.259), which can certainly be assessed as the way in which *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* interacts with its genre.

The film's use of humour was unconventional and confused studio executives due to the way it fused comedy with action, featuring a humorous tone (Alfonso and Frago, 2014). The main source of the humour within the film is through the main characters, particularly Butch. He can be described as "a loveable outlaw who never killed anyone, and preferred to use his brain and his sense of humor to get his way" (Leonelli, 2007, p.28-29). Butch uses his wit to avoid having to kill, and this places him as a more harmless, and therefore likeable representation of the outlaw anti-hero.

Far from limited to Butch, the use of humour often manifests itself as banter between the two lead characters. The use of banter is "used so much and so often as a form of male

exchange, it is so widespread and powerful, both in life and its fictional representation, that it must be considered an example of masculine style." (Easthope, 1992, p.87). This could imply that humour is a symbol of hegemonic masculinity, as a conventional element of a traditionally masculine bond between male characters. However, in *Butch Cassidy*, the protagonists' banter "reveals close sympathy for each other's weaknesses" (Easthope, 1992, p.89). They are not using banter to mock each other, or to attack each other's weaknesses, but more as a representation of their closeness. This is most apparent during the final scenes, and the final shoot out contains some of the film's most memorable dialogue (Pheasant-Kelly, 2013). The banter between them continues as they are slowly surrounded by the Bolivian army. The sequence comes to a climax when they are trapped in a small room, blooded and wounded, with hundreds of guns waiting for them to emerge. The final scene begins with a high-angle shot, with Butch and Sundance slumped together in the corner. "I've got a great idea of where we should go next" says Butch. He has repeatedly come up with ideas that have got the pair into trouble, so the use of this line at the end of an unsuccessful battle is a clear example of humour being used to cut the tension in the film, something which occurs often throughout. Often, these displays of banter "emerge when the two are under threat, providing ways of communicating anxiety to each other without appearing afraid (thus avoiding compromises to their masculinity). The use of humor to mitigate fear and mediate friendship occurs in a number of scenes." (Pheasant-Kelly, 2013, p.157).

Sundance completely disregards Butch initially, firmly stating that he "don't ever wanna hear another one of your ideas". Butch agrees, as Sundance begins to bandage some of his friend's wounds. As the camera closes in to present them in a two-shot, Australia is revealed as Butch's new idea. Although initially dismissive, Sundance is eventually convinced once again by another of Butch's plans.

This exchange, although played for laughs, highlights the strong bond between them. Despite the repeated evidence that his plans never work, Sundance still trusts Butch. This use of humour presents the way in which both of the characters "are doomed: partly by the changing West in which banks get harder to rob, mainly by their refusal to grow up, submit to the symbolic father" (Easthope, 1992, p.89-90). They are child-like both in their refusal to learn from their mistakes, and their use of humour. Butch and Sundance continue to joke about things even up to the final line of the film. Butch asks if Sundance had seen Lefors (a notoriously tough lawman who had been part of the super-posse) outside. When Sundance says no, Butch replies "oh good, for a moment there I thought we were in trouble" before the pair run out to their death. This final line uses humour to symbolise the characters' lack of awareness for the trouble they were in. They refused to change to adapt to the times, they refused to take things more seriously, and they refused to see the weaknesses in their partners'. Their refusal to conform to the stoic, serious, adult representation of adult hegemonic masculinity meant that they could never fit in as conventional Western outlaws.

The film represents them as far from the ruthlessly quiet killers that are usually Western anti-heroes, instead, they are likeable, naïve, and child-like. In this way, they were doomed from the start.

Hamilton (2016) argues that the use of humour in *Butch Cassidy* creates "a sense of nihilism" which illustrates the "failure of hegemonic masculinity and American patriarchal institutions to stimulate meaningful lives and communities" (p.178). Particularly, this analysis focuses on the gang as a whole, and how they represent the failure of traditional masculinity in forming successful social groups. Butch's 'Hole in the Wall Gang' are presented as "constantly in competition with each other and largely incompetent" (p.190). This can be seen most obviously in their first scene together as a group, when Butch and Sundance return, and the others in the group believe that Butch must duel with Logan to decide who is the leader of the gang. This sets up the typical Western duel, but, as with most conventions of the genre, the film subverts expectations. Hamilton describes the way in which:

> Butch responds by paying lip service to patriarchal notions of a 'fair fight' but ultimately confuses Logan and unchivalrously kicks him in the groin. This exchange sets a subversive tone which demonstrates that masculine groups do not exist in 'natural' harmonious ways; rather these groups are regulated through a violence that relates little to justice, quality leadership or superior skills (p.190-191).

This suggests that whilst this scene is a comedic subversion of expectations (with the film's hero using a low-blow to win a duel) it can also be analysed as a critique of the conventional patriarchal and masculine structures that scenes like this in Westerns of the past have normalised and romanticised. In traditional Western gangs (often symbols of hegemonic, masculine groups within society), these scenes would be about honour, and conventional notions of fighting fair. However, this scene seems to imply that patriarchal structures do not work in a way which demonstrates fairness, with hegemonic masculinity actually surviving as a dominant group within society due to its ability to do whatever it can to 'win'. This represents the violence that is inherent within masculine groups. Hamilton therefore goes on to explain that "rather than the comedic elements of the film being seem as naturally pro-social they can also be seen, conversely, as a gender critique that undermines patriarchy's claims to natural dominance" (2016, p.194).

It is therefore clear that the film's use of humour, both in the banter between Butch and Sundance and the subversion of genre expectations, represents weaknesses both in the lead characters' ability to conform to the expectations hegemonic masculinity, and in dominant masculinity itself. More than an attempt to spoof the Western, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* represents a critique of the way in which masculinity operates within the genre.

This film's lead characters stand in stark contrast to the Fordian hero. Where Ford's heroes are able to develop the skills they need to achieve their aim, Butch and Sundance find themselves powerless. *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* shows the way in which many New Hollywood films symbolised the struggles of masculinity that were occurring in American society, offering men with alternative lead characters that they can identify with. In other words, Hill's film represents an example of the broadening of masculinities within the New Hollywood era.

Chapter Two - McCabe & Mrs. Miller

During the New Hollywood period, genre revisionism was among the most popular concepts in both European and American cinema (Arthur, 2003). Filmmakers looked to pick apart the established conventions of genres, adjusting them for an evolving Hollywood culture. It can be argued that "the American director most clearly identified with the revisionist ethos is Robert Altman" (Arthur, 2003, p.18). In the seventies, his filmmaking purpose seemed to be "the deconstruction of many of the classic Hollywood genres, from the backstage musical to the war film to the detective mystery to the Western" (Nelson, 2015, p.138). Most of his early work consisted of the breaking down of generic expectations, and his unconventional war film *M*A*S*H* (Altman, 1970) launched his career within mainstream cinema. A satire of America's war culture, *M*A*S*H* "helped to define New Hollywood cinema" (Sterritt, 2019, p.69), receiving five Academy Award nominations, pushing Altman into mainstream popularity.

With *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*, in 1971, Altman made his first foray into the cinematic Western genre. However, the foundations of the filmmaker's interest in the genre can be dated back to his time directing television. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Altman directed over one-hundred episodes of series' such as *Bonanza* (NBC, 1959-73) and *Sugarfoot* (ABC, 1957-61). This was the period in which "Altman honed his technical and creative skills whilst immersing himself in many of the genres- the western, the war story, the private-eye yarn- that he would later revisit and revise in prototypical New Hollywood fashion" (Sterritt, 2019, p.72). During his time as a television Western director, Altman was "sensing and feeling his way through the genre while familiarizing himself with its conventions and formulae" (Teo, 2015, p.255). This meant that Altman had first-hand experience of the 'typical' Western genre format. He had directed films which contained the genre's conventions, and therefore, when he got to make his first feature in the genre, "he knew precisely what to do and how to manipulate the form's elements." (p.255). The first-hand experience of the Western conventions allowed Altman to truly understand them from the filmmaker's perspective, making it easier for him to unpick them in *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*.

The disregard for the tropes of the classical Hollywood Western has led to critical assessments which describe it as an "anti-Western", "an effort to show the West as it might have been, not as it was traditionally portrayed-and as always for Altman, to shatter as many comforting myths as possible along the way." (Kirshner, 2012, p.112). As with all of his films, Altman used the generic structures to make assessments of American culture. With *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*, he used genre to "comment on the inevitability of history to enact change" (Boyer, 2014, p.8), analysing the fabric of American mythology at the end of a historically symbolic period in the country's evolution. The film is based on Edward Naughton's novel *McCabe* (1959). However, Altman's Western "shares only two things with its nominal source… the male protagonist's name and the idea of a climactic gunfight"

(Merrill, 1996, p.127). Therefore, the story and the genre revisionism can be attributed to the work of those involved in the film.

Altman's leading actors were, much like the stars of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, already linked to the developments of the New Hollywood era. Warren Beatty began his career in heartthrob star roles in romantic films such as Elia Kazan's *Splendor in the Grass* (1961), before adjusting his image as he transitioned into roles as outlaws in the late sixties (Cage, 2010). This transition began with his first collaboration Arthur Penn, in one of the director's 'Pre-New Hollywood films', *Mickey One* (1965), in which Beatty played a comedian on the run from the mob. However, he first became associated with the outlaw character on a grand scale following his performance as Clyde Barrow in Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967). This role as the counter-cultural and anti-establishment outlaw placed him in the perfect position to play Altman's unconventional anti-hero.

The other half of the film's title, Mrs. Miller, was played by Julie Christie. In a similar way to Beatty, she had become associated with the cinematic representation of the countercultural changes of 1960s society. However, this had predominantly been based in British cinema. Christie's entry into stardom is explained by Gibson (2017) as a result of:

> the particular part she plays in Billy Liar and her subsequent, sharply contrasting role as the manipulative heroine of Darling two years later. Somehow, these two very different characters served to complement one another in the popular imagination, for in these two films, she seemed to epitomize in very different ways the much discussed new modernity of Britain, to embody perceived contemporary changes in sexual behavior (p.136).

These roles in *Billy Liar* (Schlesinger, 1963) and *Darling* (Schlesinger, 1965) were followed by the performance that catapulted her into worldwide stardom, as Lara Antipova in David Lean's *Doctor Zhivago* (1965). After the release of her first Hollywood epic, New York City based magazine *Newsweek* featured her on their cover, labelling her the "new darling of movies" (Gibson, 2017, p.136). The following year however, she was back in her home country, in another anti-establishment role as both Clarisse and Linda Montag in François Truffaut's adaptation of *Fahrenheit 451* (1966). Her performance once again cemented her image as a star of the counter-cultural period that filmmaking was entering into. This meant that she was similarly associated to the kind of cultural shift as *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*'s other lead actor.

Despite the film's position as a flop at the box office (Bapis, 2008), it has "maintained a critical status in academic studies and allows an important statement about the parameters of discourse at the time" (p.1), representing the lengths that the New Hollywood period would reach in terms of representing diverse masculine identities in mainstream film.

This chapter will examine the way that Altman represents masculinity within his first 'anti' Western film. The focus of this chapter will be the way in which the film emasculates its main male protagonist. Firstly, this will be discussed in terms of McCabe's position as an unconventional portrayal of the Fordian Western hero, and the way that his masculinity is challenged through his lack of traditionally masculine ability. Although McCabe does achieve a kind of heroism in the final shootout, he is much more of an underdog throughout than a traditional Fordian hero. Furthermore, the theme of emasculation in the film will be investigated in terms of gender roles involving the two titular characters, with a focus upon the way McCabe is undermined and out-thought by Mrs. Miller. Finally, the theme of emasculation will be assessed in terms of capitalism, and the way in which McCabe is unable to compete with the corporation that wish to take his property from him. *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* operates as a more direct representation of the diversification of masculine identities within the New Hollywood Western film than the other two case studies. Altman's filmmaking embodied the spirit of exploration that New Hollywood symbolised more consistently than almost any of the other directors of the generation (Sterritt, 2019), and this is perhaps most evident in his first Western. McCabe as a character could be seen as the antithesis of the Fordian Western hero, with Altman challenging the myth of American masculinity in the Western genre.

The Unheroic Western Hero

McCabe is presented throughout the film as in many ways the opposite of what audiences would expect as the Fordian archetypal Western protagonist. This is just one example of the way in which the director's "desire to unsettle our expectations of what constitutes a 'proper' Western is apparent from the beginning" (Arthur, 2003, p.19). The opening scene has been analysed as a display of cinematic convention breaking over the past fifty years. McCabe slowly rides towards the town of Presbyterian Church, as Leonard Cohen's *Stranger Song* plays over the opening credits. It is an unhurried opening, which sets the sombre tone that the rest of the film adopts. This tone is set both by the music, but also the cinematography, as the camera "pans across the terrain, lingering on the trees before McCabe is even revealed; when he does come into view, he is depicted from a high angle, making him appear diminutive against the expanse of forest" (Glickstein, 2018, p.4). This is the first device that Altman uses in the film to represent his protagonist in a way which a dominant, hegemonically masculine society would perceive to be weak. Self (2007) further describes the unheroic nature of McCabe's introduction, explaining the way that he:

> slumps in the saddle as his horse and packhorse slowly pick their way along a faint trail against the steady moaning of the wind and the song. The camera tracks their progress as they approach a stately church steeple rising from the fir-lined mountain

> slopes, and the lyrics describe “that kind of man… who is reaching for the sky just to surrender” (p.1).

Self’s analysis of the combination of the song lyrics and McCabe’s posture perfectly highlights the way that Altman depicts his lead character. He is not shown to be purposeful, or in control of the direction that he is taking. The high angle presents him as exposed in the middle of the trees, he is not someone that the members of the town would initially be wary of. McCabe’s demeanour is much more defensive than offensive, and this is symbolised mainly by the large coat which protects almost all of his body from the outside. Self describes the way that the film’s “bearded and frock-coated hero hardly resembles the figure of John Wayne or Gary Cooper” (p.5), with McCabe’s appearance making clear indications about the kind of hero (or antihero) he is going to become.

Glickstein (2018) summarises the effect of this first sequence, suggesting that it “stands in stark contrast to the kinds of establishing shots that introduced viewers to John Wayne some decades earlier. Where the traditional western hero was characterized by his infallible machismo, McCabe is vulnerable” (p.4). McCabe was therefore placed at odds to the Fordian hero right from the outset, with his lack of traditional masculinity established from before the audience even got a chance to see his face. One is able to see a clear contrast between this opening and, for example, the way in which John Wayne’s character is introduced in *Stagecoach* (Ford, 1939). Wayne’s Ringo Kid character is, right from his first shot, presented as the typical Western archetype of masculinity. His first action is to stop a stagecoach in its tracks, just by standing in front of it and telling the owners to stop. He is cut into the scene, sharply stopping the movement of the stagecoach, and demonstrating his ability to control and demand from other characters. He spins his rifle in another display of masculinity, before the camera zooms in on his stern face. This displays the complete opposite of the unconventional masculine representation found in *McCabe*. The difference in power, agency, and confidence is clear for any observer to see. It is in this way that McCabe’s introduction sets the tone for his unconventional characterisation within the rest of the film.

The other way in which this opening is uncharacteristic of the genre is in its representation of the Western setting. As McCabe heads towards the town, the area he is riding through is not the wide, open expanse associated with the American West, but instead a rather “desolate landscape” (Taş Öz and Erensoy, 2020, p.3844). The use of this unconventional setting was another way that Altman subverted the audience’s expectations of the Western genre, replacing the open plains of John Ford Westerns with the closed, cold, restrictive woodlands in which the town is set. By shooting “on location in the Northwest near the Washington-State-Canada border… Altman drove home that the West was also about the cold and uninviting surrounding experienced by many but generally absent from iconic imagery in American popular culture” (Bapis, 2008. p.132).

Altman's direction also subverts expectations by not offering the audience a clear establishing shot which sets up the layout of Presbyterian Church as a location. Vilmos Zsigmond's cinematography "tends to obscure rather than establish diegetic space at the beginning of scenes promotes a sense of confusion that the labyrinthine set encourages" meaning that the "viewer can hardly map the geographic relationships of buildings and communities in the space of the story" (Self, 2002, p.94). This is another breaking of convention, in a genre which usually establishes diegetic space early on, offering audiences a clear view of the iconic setting. By removing the audience's awareness of the town's layout, the film's setting feels even more restrictive, confusing, and overall unfamiliar.

Kirshner (2012) further explains the nature of the setting, as "cold, trash-strewn, and rainy; his destination, a dark, threadbare bar-flophouse, is littered with desperate alcoholics." (p.112). However, Kirshner also touches upon the way in which this setting interacts with the implications of McCabe's past, explaining that "this is also the kind of one-horse town that offers an opportunity for the entrepreneurial McCabe, who sets out to bring whoring and gambling to the slowly developing, mining settlement." (p.112). It could be argued that by setting the film in such an uninviting, and difficult area of America, the audience is invited to speculate as to why McCabe has chosen to start his business there. The setting could be interpreted as an implication that this is the only place that he has left. McCabe is forced to pick such a small, unattractive town because this is the only place in which he can demand any power. With his lack of traditionally masculine character traits, he would be unable to gain any respect in a busier town, full of individuals who had seen John Wayne-like figures before and would realise he does not measure up. Therefore, he had to go to the very end of the frontier, to find a population that would still be impressed by him. In this way, Altman's town does not only represent an unconventional setting for a Western film, but also offers insight into the film's 'hero'. Miller (2020) further describes the setting, explaining the way in which the:

> [s]weeping landscapes full of vibrant color and gritty grays are animated by icons and antiheroes, strangers, and stereotypes, all struggling to negotiate their authenticity, make their mark, find their place. Altman's West offers the chance of a lifetime for those with vision and foresight, but devastation for the weak or foolhardy (p.59).

In other words, this setting is the place in which all of the outcasts from the Old West have been forced. The traditional Westerns of the golden era would have omitted these characters from their narratives, and this has forced them to a place in which no Fordian Western would ever have been set. This offers McCabe a chance to become a leader, and to gain respect from a population of undesirable characters. The opening shots therefore represent him as a vulnerable, uncertain character, who has been forced to the very fringes

of frontier life, perhaps because he has been found out everywhere else.

This sets up McCabe as a Western protagonist without the necessary masculinity to succeed in the mythic American west. This theme is built upon as we continue to learn about McCabe's character throughout the rest of the film's narrative. As he enters the bar to meet with the locals, he becomes "quickly established as an iconic man of the Old West, a committed individualist who will build his fortune on the foundations of opportunity, hard work, and innate smarts." (Kirshner, 2012, p.112). The film "follows conventions here by giving him no specific history other than to suggest, through Sheehan's suspicions, that he may be the infamous gunfighter Pudgy McCabe." (Engle, 2013, p.219). This means that much like Butch and Sundance, amongst the community he has entered into, McCabe has a reputation as someone to be feared. However, this reputation as a man worthy of trepidation is soon undercut, and it is not long until we realise that "John McCabe is a gambler with a gunfighter's reputation" (Self, 2007, p.1). Through his inability to complete the finance books, and his general lack of self-awareness, it becomes clear that McCabe is, unlike his reputation would suggest, not a particularly intelligent individual (Kirshner, 2012). Nelson (2015) echoes this sentiment, explaining that Altman's main tactic of revisionism in *McCabe & Mrs. Miller "*is to make the mythical hero an idiot" (p.138). This lack of intelligence manifests itself in McCabe's lack of common sense. Unlike the usual worldly Westerner, he is naïve. He never expects complications, and fails to react appropriately when they inevitably arrive.

The incompetence of the film's hero is what drives the narrative forwards. The "trudging, muttering McCabe character" (Patterson and Farber, 1997, p.47) is constantly talking to himself, claiming that he has poetry in him, and failing to negotiate with the powerful forces from outside of the town who wish to buy him out (Thomson, 2019). This failure of negotiation presents his lack of awareness, anyone with any kind of intelligence (Mrs Miller, Sears and Hollander, Butler) sees straight through him. One way in which this is presented is through different characters' reactions to his use of humour. This is an element of his character that Engle (2013) analyses thoroughly, describing how:

> McCabe's raucous one-liners at first appear to be the evidence of an appealing wit. But Altman exposes them later in the film as being drawn from a store of well rehearsed jokes which McCabe uses to distance from people. When Sears and Hollander arrive and tell McCabe they want to buy him out, he recognizes them immediately as adversaries. He tries to get control over them by repeating his line about the frog. Sears responds in a noticeably different way than Sheehan (p.224).

McCabe is unable to convince these outsiders of his intelligence in the same way that he was with Sheehan, a member of the small town's population. This supports the idea that McCabe has been pushed into a fringe community, in order to find individuals who will see

him as an intelligent person with a wise outlook on life. As soon as outsiders arrive, McCabe meets the same resistance that he was implicitly fleeing from at the beginning of the film. We see that his sense of humour is "a mask behind which he is constantly engaged in attempts to disarm and control others." (Engle, 2013, p.224). These masks are easily seen through by outsiders, too, as expressed in Mrs Miller's advice to him that "if you want to make like you're such a fancy dude, you ought to wear something besides that cheap Jockey Club cologne". Engle further expands that this criticism not only "give us evidence that McCabe is a posturer, using masks to keep his distance from others, but he also undercuts the character by exposing McCabe's failure to use the masks successfully." (p.224).

The incompetence of McCabe's character becomes more and more important as the hired killers arrive to assassinate him at the will of the Shaughnessy corporation whose offer he had previously turned down (for the purchase of his businesses and property). The ending sequences bring the theme of his lack of heroism together, as he becomes "a hero trying too late to emerge" (Miller, 2020, p.65). In this sequence, at the end, McCabe's life is in danger. His lack of awareness and competence as a negotiator has left him in a three versus one fight, and he is forced to become the hero that he has demonstrated he is not equipped to become, or else he will be killed. Kirshner (2012) describes this sequence, explaining that "McCabe is on his own; and he is no John Wayne, confronting his would-be killers on Main Street. There is no Main Street, and he wouldn't have a chance in such a showdown anyway. Instead the killers fan out, and a deadly game of hide-and-seek ensues." (p.113). Once again, this sequence is therefore uncharacteristic of a final Western shootout. McCabe sneaks around, hiding in a way that Wayne or Eastwood never would. The result ends up being what the audience have come to expect from this anti-Western too, with McCabe sneaking around to kill two of his opponents, before playing possum, lying shot on the floor and killing Butler by surprising him. This kind of victory is not something that John Wayne's characters would ever have imagined. It is also a shallow victory in narrative terms too, as "McCabe dies alone in the snow, a strong rebuke of mythic frontier heroism" (Nelson, 2015, p.139).

Despite the unconventional nature of this final battle, many have argued that McCabe does find a kind of heroism during this shootout sequence. In the midst of a fierce snowstorm, McCabe performs well, battling until the end (Kirshner, 2012). Teo (2015) supports this idea, suggesting that by killing all three of his opponents, McCabe "actually rises to the occasion of being a hero" (p.261). Teo then goes on to further analyse the heroism that McCabe manages to find within himself, explaining that:

> McCabe does achieve a heroic stature precisely because Altman portrays him as un-heroic, which is to say that he is not the same kind of hero that we commonly see in traditional Westerns starring such actors as John Wayne, Randolph Scott and Gary

> Cooper, all of whom mostly affirm the manly code of the West and generally survive climactic gun battles (p.262).

This analysis perfectly encapsulates the way that McCabe's underdog status makes him a heroic figure by the end of the film. He may not be masculine in the conventional Western genre's narrow definition, but he is still able to perform the functions of a Western hero, in his own way. Therefore "the antiheroic depiction of McCabe echoes the images of aimless, powerless, resistant little guys in *The Graduate* (1967), *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), *They Shoot Horses Don't They?* (1969), *Little Big Man* (1970)" (Self, 2007, p.9), with Altman providing audiences with a further broadening of masculine representations within the Western genre. This broadening is in line with *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, and also with various other representations of masculinity that were emerging during this period in Hollywood. Teo (2015) summarises this point, arguing that "Altman's major contribution to the Western is, therefore, his influential creation of a particular kind of antihero… McCabe is an *alternative* heroic type, set up in contrast to the prototypes created by the classic Hollywood Westerns." (p.260). In this way, the representation of McCabe as an unheroic Western hero, portrays the widening of masculine identities that occurred during the New Hollywood era.

Challenged Masculinity and Mrs. Miller

Another way in which Altman's Western subverts the genres expectations is through the way Mrs. Miller, the film's central female character, challenges the masculinity of McCabe. This is not the story of a woman in terms of a man, or a man's narrative that happens to include a woman, but rather the film offers her the same position of importance as that of McCabe. The first way in which this is noticeable is the film's title. As previously mentioned, Naughton's book on which the film is based is simply titled *McCabe*. However, Altman's decision to add Mrs Miller's name to the title means that the film "follows the western tradition of focusing on a male protagonist, but extends the tradition by giving nearly equal emphasis to the main female character" (Sterritt, 2019, p.75). This extension makes an attempt to centralise the role of Constance Miller, implying that the film is more of an exploration of their relationship and partnership, as they work together to run the brothel. The decision made *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* "one of the few films that self-consciously placed women squarely in the center of traditional narratives about men" (Bapis, 2008, p.10).

This develops as Miller begins to assert her dominance over McCabe. From the very first business conversation they have, in the restaurant, we see that she is able to present many of the traditional conventions that would usually be reserved for the male characters in Western films. McCabe watches, stunned, as she eats her food within a few seconds of them sitting down. She displays her lack of interest in acting in a way that would be considered polite, and her use of traditionally manly language is shocking to McCabe as he

becomes a captive audience to her (Bapis, 2008). He is somewhat impressed by her displays of masculinity, both her eating style, and in the way she "tells him quite bluntly that he has neither the practical knowledge of hygiene necessary to prevent disease, nor the psychological insight necessary to deal with the emotional idiosyncrasies of prostitutes" (Engle, 2013, p.225). This leads him to agree to let her run the brothel.

The next section of the plot is dedicated to a battle for managerial supremacy between the two title characters. McCabe, as the man, felt that it was natural that he would accede to a higher position in the hierarchy of power. In fact, it could be argued that this was the only way in which he could represent a position of traditional masculinity within the narrative. Cheng (1999) explains that managerial hegemonic masculinity is a "popular form of domination, for it allows some individuals to dominate others without having to be physically larger and/or stronger." (p.299). This could suggest that with McCabe's lack of traditionally masculine attributes (strength, intelligence, bravery) the only way that he could ascend to a role of hegemonic masculine dominance is to be in charge of people, in a management role. However, his lack of masculinity is still an issue, as Mrs Miller begins to emasculate him, and take more and more of his responsibility and power away. The battle for power leads to questions from the locals, and McCabe "becomes defensive and arrogant as he later spars with the men about who is in charge. The more successful Julie Christie's character becomes, the more exaggeratedly male Beatty's appears." (Bapis, 2008, p.136). Miller is therefore perceived by McCabe as a threat to his masculinity, as she displays more business acumen, intelligence, and leadership qualities. In this way, the film "elevates the woman to a place of parity in the narrative, even as it demotes the male, who has historically stood at the center of the form" (Self, 2007, p.5), and this further presents Altman's willingness for breaking the traditional expectations of gender within the Western genre.

Even more unconventional, is the way that Mrs Miller is represented in her role within the brothel. Self (2007) describes the way that her character "renegotiates the most venerable of all the western stories, the captivity narrative, casting the trade of prostitution as her confinement and white men as her captors" (p.5). Expectation would dictate that sex workers in Western films are powerless, and controlled by men. *McCabe* reverses this expectation, by representing her as a tough, practical, and pragmatic woman (Teo, 2015). The portrayal of Mrs Miller's pragmatism is in direct juxtaposition for the unaware, deluded, ineffective McCabe character. Whilst he dreams of rejecting the company and surviving the following attacks, she encourages McCabe "to make a deal with the Company or, failing that, to leave town—that is, to take the position of the survivor." She is "a strong and realistic woman; her considered evaluation of the circumstances and available options is worthy of attention. And Mrs. Miller's position, as her end-of-film opium retreat suggests, is that of the survivor." (Graebner, 2011, p.69-70). The concept of Mrs Miller as a survivor

completely flips the expected gender portrayals within the genre. McCabe is not able to display a rugged determination to survive whatever the bleak setting can throw at him, but Mrs Miller is. Bapis (2008) best summarises this analysis, suggesting that the film:

> questions traditional and gendered spheres by awarding Mrs. Miller a pragmatic resourcefulness typically reserved for men. The film creates a capable woman for its central character in a genre about men… Constance's leadership gives her the chance to speak confidently for equal treatment. She is an agent in this narrative. It is her business to protect and manage women (p.139).

This represents the way that Constance Miller almost replaces the male protagonist in her representation as the more traditionally masculine character. She is the character who protects women, shows leadership, and offers resourcefulness, traits that usually would have been displayed by the Western's male hero.

Mrs Miller's pragmatism, in line with conventionally masculine representations, involves a lack of emotion. However, unlike when male characters are presented as calculated and cold, Mrs Miller's practical outlook seems to undermine the very values that are often glorified within the golden age Western. For example, "when a new girl joins the house, Mrs. Miller compares the job to marriage; except better because you get paid for it." (Taş Öz and Erensoy, 2020, p.3844). Miller is therefore shown to be cynical of the institutions that American society sees as traditional. Making a comparison between sex work and marriage is a symbol of this film's determination to break down the structure of values that the traditional Western film has been a part of normalising in American society. By making a woman the centre of this pragmatic reassessment of civilisation, Altman further displays his willingness to question the dominance of hegemonic masculinity. Throughout *McCabe* we are "given the impression that sex and money are the basis of civilization, and not love – at least not one dictated by patriarchy". This can be considered "a metaphor on Altman's behalf in portraying America itself and the values it has begun to uphold. In this system, it is difficult to love and be loved and instead, there is only self-interest that people hold dear" (Taş Öz and Erensoy, 2020, p.3845). Mrs Miller is an embodiment of the truth of the patriarchal society, with her pragmatism, survival instincts, and also in her preference for money over the love that McCabe clearly has for her. Whenever he tries to open up to her about his feelings, she reminds him of the transactional, financial aspects of their relationship. He is not able to compliment her without her making it clear that he needs to pay for any kind of physical intimacy. Therefore, Miller can be seen as a representation of the way that Altman sees American culture.

Mrs Miller's characterisation has a clear relationship with the advancements of feminism at the time of the film's release. She is a complicated, nuanced character who is not simply

reduced to a love-interest to the Western hero. Despite her reservations about marriage, and organised relationships with men, she is not an uncaring character. She looks after the women in her brothel, and even shows care for an anxious McCabe, stroking his hair when he becomes worried that his life is in danger. Altman grew up with women (Altman and Thomson, 2006) and perhaps due to this he has spent a lot of his career making films which focus on their point of view - *Images* (1972), *3 Women* (1977), and *Come Back to the 5 & Dime, Jimmy Dean, Jimmy Dean* (1982) to name just a few. Therefore, Mrs Miller's representation is much more nuanced than that of a pragmatic realist who uses McCabe for money. As the film develops, she seems to become more and more emotionally involved with him, and even cries at the thought of him getting into a physical altercation with the hitmen. Throughout the film, her attitude does seem to soften, as she realises that she does care for McCabe. This could imply that whilst she does embody a transactional relationship to love and sex that can be considered in line with Altman's interpretation of patriarchal society, she does not have the stoicism or lack of emotion that is associated with hegemonic masculinity.

Along with this interpretation, the representation of women in the film seems to be demonstrative of the rise in the feminist movement in the United States in the early 1970s. A story of a female character ascending to authority at the expense of an ineffective male is certainly something that fits in the societal context of the time. Bapis explains that while "many men newly rejected conventional assumptions about manhood in the early 1970s, women turned to larger contest over authority and legitimacy" (2008, p.129). Feminism as a movement in the United States was becoming much more significant. Bapis (2008) further expands on the impact this had on the film by explaining that by "the time *McCabe* was in production, radical advocacy for women's equal opportunity had made significant progress in mainstream arenas" (p.129), furthermore, when "*McCabe* hit theatres across the country following its release in 1971, the feminist movement to date developed its widest exposure and most dynamic influence." (p.129). The film coincided with a rise in feminism which undoubtedly influenced the characterisation of Mrs. Miller. This context perhaps explains the filmmaker's interest in representing a small community that becomes governed and maintained by a female character.

Bapis suggests that "imagining a woman in stories traditionally dominated by male characters, it was hoped, would change the status of women by showing what female authority would be like" (2008, p.136). This concept can be seen throughout the film, but particularly in a scene in which the new workers for the brothel bathe as a group. Altman's trademark technique of overlapping dialogue provides what Boyer (2014) describes as a "melange of female voices" (p.7) that "establishes a utopia like that of the final scene in the classical film" (p.8). This scene portrays an all-female environment, in which the women are enjoying themselves. This is represented in stark contrast to the early all-male scenes, which are characterised by quiet conversations, misunderstandings, and crude insults. As the film

continues, the “brothel blossoms and happens to be the only place in the film that is not unhappy.” (Taş Öz and Erensoy, 2020, p.3844). The women celebrate each other’s birthdays, and seem to have a great time together. As the town grows, “we recognize that Mrs. Miller’s sporting house, with all its imported finery, hygiene, business organization, and genuine Seattle whores, is the true source and symbol of community spirit.” (Engle, 2013, p.220).

As Mrs Miller ascends further up the town’s hierarchy, this happiness seems to translate onto the men, who play music and slide around on the ice together. This scene contrasts earlier examples of socialisation between male characters, representing a much higher level of harmony. This could be analysed as an effort by Altman to present a society led not by the structures developed by hegemonic masculinity, but by women.

Therefore, the representation of female characters, in particular Mrs Miller, as strong, practical, and able to develop harmonious communities is a clear criticism of the dominance of masculinity in American society. Altman represents women as much more capable of generating a society that serves the needs of the people in it, ensuring everyone is safe. This capability emasculates McCabe, who concedes power to the much more business-savvy Mrs Miller. In this way, *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* represents a gender dynamic which is the antithesis of what is usually expected within the Western genre.

Capitalism and Masculinity

The third way in which McCabe’s masculinity is challenged is through his interactions with the forces of capitalism. The film represents business and enterprise in two ways. Firstly, through McCabe’s individual efforts to build property in the town, and secondly through the corporation which tries to buy it from him, before attempting to take it by force. The film presents the battle between the individual and the corporation (Patterson and Farber, 1977) in a capitalist society, with McCabe becoming emasculated by the unstoppable power of the corporation. Before they arrive, McCabe himself is the film’s primary representation of American capitalism. Although he is not presented as a particularly impressive businessman, he “displays a cockiness and apparent self-confidence which marks him as separate from if not above the other characters. He is the harbinger of social progress.” (Engle, 2013, p.219). Despite not being portrayed as particularly sinister, it is still clear that “McCabe is a symbol of capitalism as well, improving the conditions of Presbyterian Church only for self-interest” (Boyer, 2014, p.3). This places him, at least within the small community, in a position of hegemony, as the individual businessman bringing about development.

However, when the town begins to see the results of McCabe & Mrs. Miller’s success, two agents from the Harrison Shaughnessy Mining Company arrive from Bearpaw. This becomes

McCabe's downfall, as his lack of maturity and skills of negotiation cause them to leave. However, "McCabe does not realise that the high-powered capitalists are… making him an offer he cannot refuse" (Sterritt, 2019, p.75), and they send three hired killers to take his property by force. This can be analysed as McCabe, much like Butch and Sundance, not understanding the opposition he is up against. He is also a man of another time, a time of small-businesses - the time with which many associate the expansion of the American West's. Altman's film revises these celebrations of individual enterprise and small-town capitalism, suggesting that it "was not small farmers or independent stakeholders who "made" the West, but large corporations, the federal state, and turn-of-the-century industrialization." (Self, 2007, p.8). This kind of anti-romanticism is one of the main aims of the film, and by reducing the role of the individual to that of a powerless middle-man, Altman perfectly rebukes audience's preconceptions of westward expansion. The emasculation of McCabe was essential for Altman, in representing the previously glamorised role of the individual capitalists as both self-serving and unsuccessful, unable to prevent large corporations from taking their property.

McCabe & Mrs. Miller proposes that "the real mechanism of westward expansion" was "not vigorous masculinity, but capitalist brutality" (Glickstein, 2018, p.4), and while the frontier was typically imagined as the centre of Euro-American masculinity, this film defines a shift - the brutality of nature reveals this fantasy as a sham (Glickstein, 2018). Much like in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, as the West began to expand, the individual's sense of rugged, traditional masculinity was replaced by a fear of the brutalism of the powerful corporation. The corporate capitalists themselves (embodies by the negotiators) are represented as cold, and ruthless. Graebner (2011) explains this concept in relation to the agents' decision to give up on negotiations with McCabe:

> This exchange is especially chilling in the way it suggests Sears's quick and easy acceptance of what amounts to a death sentence for McCabe, and in how it reinforces the shallowness of the two men as they move casually from death to the perils of diarrhea. Sears and Hollander are not evil at the core, and they lack the ideological motivation and the defined self- interest — we have no idea what they stand to gain from the McCabe negotiations—that would make McCabe's death vital to them (p.64).

This analysis summarises the way that the film represents the capitalists as emotionless, and yet utterly determined to get whatever they want. They see the killing of McCabe as a business decision, and have no regard for human life. Following their decision to leave, the three gunmen arrive to murder McCabe. These gunmen serve as symbols of the violence involved in capitalism, but they also "serve to comment on the logical conclusion of conventional violence portrayed in countless Westerns. Through them, the film challenges the accepted association of firearms with masculinity" (Bapis, 2008, p.141). In this sense,

the bounty hunters act as the traditional villains in the Western. They are intimidating, they kill for no reason, and they show no mercy. However, they are not a band of outlaws, Butler is no Liberty Valance. He is a well-spoken Englishman, performed by Surrey-born Hugh Millais in his first on-screen role. This contradiction forms the base of Altman's metaphor, with the corporation replacing the traditional villain in the Western film, showing the same levels of violence and ruthlessness. The film suggests that "the real violence in American society is still the destructive forces of international corporations." (Bapis, 2008, p.142). The town becomes a symbol of Altman's view of American society in the twentieth-century, transitioning "from a tight-knit community to one controlled by the external force of the corporation" (Boyer, 2014, p.4).

Alongside this representation of capitalism as the true violence in American society, McCabe & Mrs. Miller represents the hero of the old west as powerless in comparison to the corporations expanding across the country. The traditionally masculine individual of Ford's West has become emasculated by the large companies that are determined to make his profit their own. Graebner (2011) summarises this theme within the film, suggesting that:

> It isn't that McCabe isn't capable of being the last man standing; he is that, if only barely. But even if that were to happen, without McCabe dying in the process, the Company — all-powerful and unscrupulous — would still be there, and the community would again shrink in fear (p.69).

Therefore, the inevitability of the company has caused the traditional outlaw hero to lose all of his power, leaving characters like McCabe trapped and unable to escape the expansion of capitalism. This is another way in which Altman's anti-Western challenges the traditional representations of both American masculinity, and American society.

McCabe & Mrs. Miller represents a fractured kind of masculine identity, lacking the power of the Fordian hero. McCabe is emasculated by his lack of intelligence, by Mrs Miller, and by his inability to stand up against a large corporation. This film therefore demonstrates that New Hollywood cinema did represent a nuanced example of the Western hero, offering a reassessment of the archetype to reflect the changing American attitudes towards the concept of heroism (Self, 2007). In this way, McCabe is much closer to the characters of Butch and Sundance in terms of masculinity, than the traditional Fordian hero. Like Hill's protagonists, McCabe finds himself pushed out of the world that the Western hero once dominated. He possesses none of the skills of a traditional Western hero. This reversal of masculine norms in the Western is perhaps the clearest example of the way genre conventions were being defied during this time. Altman's Western therefore exemplifies the New Hollywood period at its most revisionist. The following chapter will discuss a film which presents the conclusion of the period, and a return to the conventions that Altman had

subverted. Whilst McCabe is unable to develop the skills of Ford's heroes, the next chapter will present a New Hollywood hero who was able to transform into this archetype.

Chapter Three - *The Outlaw Josey Wales* and the Fordian Hero

The previous chapters focused on examples of New Hollywood Western films that challenged conventions in terms of the masculine hero. This chapter's focus is on the latter stages of the period, and a time in which challenges to the norm were becoming less prevalent. This analysis will focus on *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, as a film which symbolises this concept of the Western hero returning to the classical form of masculine identity.

As well as being the year that *The Outlaw Josey Wales* was released, 1976 marks America's bicentennial year. This time is characterised as one of "economic 'stagflation', Presidential instability and the continuing reverberations from Watergate and Vietnam" (Panay, 2002, p.32), and this is something that is reflected in Eastwood's film. Furthermore, 1976 represents the final year of the New Hollywood era. From this point, "the tide in Hollywood and in the nation began to turn in favor of a different cinematic and political culture" (Kirshner and Lewis, 2019, p.6). It is therefore possible to consider the films released in 1976 to be representations of the climax and endpoint of this period in Hollywood history.

This chapter will examine all of these contextual factors, and analyse *The Outlaw Josey Wales* as a product of the end of the New Hollywood era, produced in a post-Nixon and post-Vietnam America. Nelson (2015, p.133) argues that in many Eastwood films the hero is "avenging wrongs from earlier Western movies". In this way, the film can be seen as the reclamation of American values, after a period in which the hegemonic and traditional representations of masculinity had been challenged by films such as those discussed in earlier chapters. The film will therefore be discussed in relation to the classical Western hero, as Eastwood's protagonist in many ways offers a modernised version of this archetype, responding to both the cultural and industrial context of the film's release.

Eastwood's films are consistently considered in terms of the way they represent male characters. This is perhaps because the majority of his films are explorations of the concept (Bolton, 2018). *The Outlaw Josey Wales* can certainly be considered as an example of this aspect of Eastwood's career. Therefore, this chapter will look to investigate the way in which Eastwood's representation of masculinity in *The Outlaw Josey Wales* is indicative of wider changes and developments in the portrayal of manhood in New Hollywood cinema. This will be related to Josey Wales' character archetype, as a return to the classical Western hero, after the shifts that had been made by films like *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid and McCabe & Mrs. Miller*.

The first parallel between the film's protagonist and the classical Western hero can be found in the persona of its star, and director. Western films are most often "populated by recognisable stars… whose reel and real personas have appeared inextricably bound within the genre" (Hamilton, 2016, p.52). In this way, Clint Eastwood is associated with the Western genre to such an extent that only John Wayne, or Gary Cooper, could possibly

compare. The genre has been a constant throughout his career. From "his seven seasons (1959-1966) as Rowdy Yates on television's Rawhide and his spaghetti Western days with Sergio Leone to the late-career acclaim surrounding *Unforgiven* (1992), Eastwood has, as actor and director, increasingly left his mark upon the screen Western." (Erisman, 2000, p.129). His first directorial foray into the Western genre came in the form of *High Plains Drifter* (1973), his second role as director after his 1971 thriller *Play Misty for Me*. He then continued his career as a director away from the Western, before returning to the genre three years later with *The Outlaw Josey Wales*. These early Westerns can be seen as the time in which he first established "his mastery of the mythic Western and… his understanding of all that the myth entails for its hero." (Erisman, 2000, p.129). In this way, Eastwood symbolises the Western in a way which the stars of the previous case studies did not.

The Outlaw Josey Wales centres around the title character's search for revenge, after his wife and son are murdered. Set in the time of the American Civil war, Josey Wales seeks vengeance on the Union Soldiers who killed his family. The protagonist joins the confederate army before refusing to surrender his weapons at the end of the war. As his fellow soldiers are handing their guns over to the Redlegs[1] (led by Captain Terrill), Wales fights back and kills a number of the pro-union men. This puts a price on his head, and Josey Wales flees to Texas. As he travels across the country, he is joined by a number of other characters that society has left behind. Josey Wales ends up in a position of the leader of this band of outsiders, who all help to fight back against his pursuers. This presents Wales as a typical Eastwood anti-hero, who like many other protagonists in the director's cinema can be described as a "mysterious loner who is defined by tragedy and loss and is motivated by violence and a desire for vengeance" (Frye, 2023, p.67).

The Fordian hero will be discussed as the classical form of Western protagonist, with the character of Josey Wales being compared to this archetype. The collaboration of John Ford and John Wayne in the classical Western will be of particular interest to this section, due to the legacy of this character type in American cinema history. Wayne's persona, developed through his appearances in Ford's Westerns, has become the icon of traditional American masculinity, and the conventions of this type of masculine identity will be analysed. Wayne's portrayals of the typically masculine hero in Ford's cinema will be referenced, with his performance *The Searchers* (1956) of particular attention, due to its lasting critical legacy.

This archetypal characterisation of the masculine hero in the Western genre will then be compared to Eastwood's Josey Wales. The ways in which Eastwood's protagonist conforms to the conventions of the classical Western hero in terms of masculine identity will be

[1] A band of the Union Army who operated in the Kansas Territory. Raised by abolitionist senator James K. Lane, the Redlegs were one of a number of guerrilla militias operating in border areas (Bell and Arnold, 2011).

discussed. This will be followed by an analysis of the film's context, in order to understand why a return to the classical style of Western hero may have occurred at the end of the New Hollywood era. The differences between Josey Wales and Ford's typical hero character will then be assessed, as well as the possible explanations for these differences. Finally, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* will be contextualised as a film which returns to the classical Hollywood style of masculine representation, despite being produced during New Hollywood.

Josey Wales as the Fordian Hero

The character of Josey Wales can be considered as a continuation of the previously discussed Fordian hero archetype. Decades after John Wayne had established himself as the central performer of on-screen Western masculine heroism, Eastwood managed to establish himself as "a classical protagonist in the heroic tradition of John Wayne" (Beard, 2000, p.68). *The Outlaw Josey Wales* is one of the first films in which Eastwood's persona was generated. He became recognisable as a classically masculine Western hero, symbolising the American mythology and ideology in a way that only Wayne previously could. It has often been considered to be a revival of the Western myth (Jackson, 2022), which returns the genre to the area of American mythology with which it had previously been associated. This association with the traditional Western was referenced even by critics and filmmakers at the time, with Orson Welles proclaiming that *The Outlaw Josey Wales* belongs with "the great Westerns of Ford and Hawks" (Cited in Carter, 2023, p.xv). The influence of, in particular, John Ford, can be seen throughout Eastwood's Western.

The first way in which this can be seen as Fordian, is through the way that family is a central theme throughout. This is especially relevant in terms of the way family interacts with the characterisation of the protagonist. The importance of family in the film is represented from the very first scene. Josey is presented as a family man very clearly at the beginning of the film (Beard, 2000). The film starts with him and his son working the land, before Josey's wife calls for the child to come in. Set in the middle of a woods, this opening sequence quickly establishes Josey as performing the 'father' role in the family. He is also introduced alongside his family - his son and wife - which instantly prioritises this element of his life. His ability to perform manual tasks on the farm with his son similarly establishes his role in the family as the traditionally hegemonic father. Wales' work on the farm also suggests to the audience that he is the family's main breadwinner. This was a function of masculinity that is now considered to be outdated, but was once considered by sociologists (such as Talcott Parsons) to be central to the father's role in the traditional family (Johansson, 2011).

He is out in the garden, whilst his wife is in the house calling for her son to come in and get cleaned up. These opening moments introduce the Wales family's gender dynamics as traditional and classical in terms of the Western genre. This representation can be viewed as a traditionally Fordian introduction due to its foregrounding of family. Gallagher (1983)

explains that in Ford's Westerns, "the family, almost always depicted as an isolated pocket of existential security, as a refuge from loneliness." (p.79). Introduced in a rural setting, Eastwood's character is completely alone with his family at the beginning of the film. They are not living in a town or a city, but are completely isolated together as a small community in the country. This analysis is supported by Budd's assertion that in "the Westerns of John Ford, civilization is embodied primarily in the family and the community" (1976, p.62). Eastwood's film therefore adopts a Fordian representation of the family, as a small community which embodies a positive portrayal of American community.

After this community is destroyed by the Redlegs who kill his wife and son, Josey Wales continues to end up in relationships and communities in which he assumes the role of the father, or protector, of the other characters. The first of these is with the young character who flees with him, Jamie. As the two seek to avoid their pursuers, Josey teaches Jamie how to hide, gives him practical advice, and leads them across the open plains towards freedom. This becomes a father-son relationship as they travel together, which is something that Beard (2000) sees as a symbol of a shift in the on-screen persona of Eastwood, a "bridge between his Man With No Name transcendent separateness and prosocial care for others which would ultimately place him in the role of the father or father-substitute" (p.68-69).

This dynamic lasts until Jamie dies. This mirrors the start of the film, in which Josey was unable to save his actual son. The deaths of both his family and Jamie are represented as tragedies, as traditional American family relationships are ended by ruthless villains, that the individual (Wales) is powerless to defend against. His family's death is particularly violent and brutal, with Josey bloodied on the floor, massively outnumbered as he watches his home burn down. Both this scene and the death of Jamie leave Wales as a typical Fordian hero, a "wanderer through open space, exploring his tense relationship with the settled community through movement and drifting" (Meeuf, 2013, p.43).

He is not alone for much longer however, as once again he ends up in the position of a protective figure. As he continues to flee, Josey Wales eventually develops a new, family-like, isolated community. This group is comprised of Lone Watie, an elderly, native American man, Little Moonlight (a young Navajo woman), an elderly woman (Sarah Turner) and her granddaughter - Wales' love interest - Laura Lee. As the more physically able man in the group, Josey Wales assumes the position of the traditionally masculine hero, leading the group as the journey through America.

This unlikely community is in keeping with the traditions of the Fordian Western, according to Meeuf (2013), who explains that "as has often been discussed in the ample criticism of Ford's work, his westerns gravitated toward issues of community and family, especially communities and families created through exile, migration, and settlement." (p.43). This describes the new community in the second half of *The Outlaw Josey Wales* perfectly, as the

group has been put together through a run of coincidences. For instance, Laura Lee and her grandmother are rescued by Wales and Moonlight, when a group try and attack them. They are travelling together trying to find the land that Turner's son owned. This symbolises the way in which the group can be seen as a collection of different individuals looking to migrate, flee, or settle somewhere in a world which is hostile towards them. In this way, the new community at the end of *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, and the lead character's position as the traditionally masculine leader of it, conforms to the Fordian Western tradition. Beard (2000) further expands upon this concept, suggesting that the:

> male leader of a community becomes its metaphorical father, particularly in a patriarchal society, and Eastwood is rather pointedly this kind of metaphorical father in a number of his films (for example, *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, *Bronco Billy*, *Heartbreak Ridge* and *White Hunter, Black Heart*). Here, the persona acts as a patriarchal saviour to a group of individuals or a community as a masculine role-model for younger males, either in a professional capacity or within a more personal context (p.69).

Beard's analysis seems to explain two different aspects of Wales' journey towards revenge. Firstly, he is the role model for Jamie, before becoming a patriarchal saviour to the group towards the end. This epitomises the way in which the theme of family highlights Josey Wales' position as the traditionally masculine Fordian Western hero throughout Eastwood's film.

The protagonist of the film also seems to follow a code which is very reminiscent of the one followed by Ford's heroes. His non-verbal code is built on his desperation to avenge the death of his family, but also on his willingness to defend those in need. This is seen first when he looks after a dying Jamie, but also when he saves Sarah Turner and Laura Lee. He has no obligation to protect them, but makes the decision to. This is clear evidence that his character holds a moral code similar to that of a typical John Wayne character. The combination of moral obligation and masculine identity is a Ford-inspired theme which Eastwood has revisited to in many of his films across his career. Cornell (2009) describes the way in which:

> Eastwood's films work with those fragmented symbols that remain in order to engage masculinity with the most profound moral and ethical issues facing us today. Over and over again he returns us to that simple question: what does it mean to live a life as a good man in a complex and violent world? (p.ix).

Josey Wales represents morality in an immoral world, in the same way as John Wayne represents purity in his depiction of the archetype. Despite being an outlaw, pushed to the fringes of civilisation, Ford's hero follows a code of honour which places him on the side of

'right'. He represents an individual's ability to stand up against tyranny, sticking on the side of righteousness. This is a narrative and character style which can be seen throughout the history of classical Hollywood filmmaking. *The Outlaw Josey Wales* represents the ability of an underdog champion to prove himself as mightier than an immoral oppressor and rescue the weak. Therefore, this film offered late seventies audiences a Western hero which is in the Fordian mould.

The final way in which *The Outlaw Josey Wales* can be considered to be a Fordian Western in its filmmaking style, and the way that this style is deployed to represent the hero, and his masculinity. Firstly, the film's direction is much more classical in its style than the other New Hollywood Western films. New Hollywood can be considered as a period of more stylised Hollywood Westerns, with filmmakers such as George Roy Hill and Robert Altman typifying this shift, as discussed in the previous case studies. However, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* returns the genre to "the Fordian and Hawksian (i.e., classical) mode of stylistic economy, where choices of mise-en-scène and montage become more or less invisible- that is, not pronounced in an exaggerated or self-reflexive manner" (Bandy and Stoehr, 2012, p.249).

This symbolises the way in which Eastwood looked to the genre's past for inspiration, rather than the revisionist trends of the New Hollywood era. Whilst Hill and Altman looked to reinvent the genre, Eastwood looked to bring it back to its classical period. This is mirrored in the way that Josey Wales' character is a more classically masculine hero than Butch, Sundance, and McCabe. Furthermore, Eastwood's performance highlights Josey Wales position the character as a traditionally masculine hero. Smith (2003) explains that:

> Wales is constructed as a particular presence by the movie's stress on his repeated habits and tics. Particularly, there, his habit of repeating the same phrases in several different situations and his penchant for spitting out chewed tobacco bespeak two parts of his masculinity—his reticence in the face of emotional situations and his ruggedness (p.11).

Rugged and emotionless masculinity is something which is strongly associated with Fordian performances, and Smith's description could easily be confused for many of John Wayne's characters. Eastwood often makes use of the typically masculine tendencies inherent in the Western genre (Roberts, 1997), representing the Western hero in an archetypically masculine manner. In these ways, it is clear that Eastwood's *The Outlaw Josey Wales* represents a Western hero in the mould of John Wayne in Ford's cinema. This style of protagonist is a turn away from the developments in Western masculine representation that had been made throughout the New Hollywood era.

Josey Wales in Context

This celebration of the classical Western representation of masculinity is in synchronicity

with wider social shifts in mid-to-late seventies America. The first of these can be categorised as a reaction to the end of the Vietnam war. By the time *The Outlaw Josey Wales* was released in 1976, the frontier myth had been tarnished by the American involvement in Vietnam (Lowndes, 2002), with concepts of American heroism being strongly damaged. The film explores the idea of war leaving a lasting psychological impact upon those involved. Eastwood's film "makes a powerful statement about the lasting trauma of war for people on both sides of the battle lines, regardless of which side wins." (Cornell, 2009, p.139). Cornell highlights the war's impact upon the film, explaining that the film "was released in theaters shortly after the end of the Vietnam War when our country was just starting to realize the full devastation of that war not only in Vietnam but also one in the profound traumas of the young American soldiers who fought for the United States." (p.139). Hoberman (2019) further expands on the way in which the social context impacts the film's content, describing the film as "not only Eastwood's bicentennial election year movie… but his-post-Watergate, post-Vietnam statement as well" (p.157-158). Eastwood was clearly motivated by the divisive political climate of the mid-seventies. *The Outlaw Josey Wales* can be considered as his artistic expression of the discontent he, and many Americans, felt at this time.

The film was released in a "period of so called economic 'stagflation', Presidential instability and the continuing reverberations from Watergate and Vietnam" (Panay, 2002, p.32). With the opening presenting an ordinary, rural family being torn apart by violence, the film emphasises the impact war can have on the lives of innocent people (Haspel, 2005). This is a theme that can be considered directly linked to perceptions of the United States' involvement in the Vietnam war. *The Outlaw Josey Wales* can therefore be viewed as a result of its context, and traumatic time in American history in which it was made. It is possible to suggest that this moment in Eastwood's career "marked the actor's transition from spaghetti westerns to more serious films" (Carter, 2023, p.xv) which attempted to represent the lasting effects of the trauma of war on a population.

This trauma was one of the factors which led to a rise in the 'New Right' in American politics. This movement grew steadily throughout the decade, but reached its peak when Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980, calling for a return to the past (Bennett, 1988). The New Right, despite the name, can be most accurately categorised as a return to previously championed conservative concepts of individualism, and anti-Government intervention. Himmelstein (1990) explains that the "most striking characteristic of the New Right was its continuity with the older conservative movement in leadership and ideology as well as to a large extent in strategy and rhetoric. …Differences between the New Right and the Old Right were usually superficial" (p.85). Therefore, the New Right is a movement and ideology which functioned on the re-introduction of concepts of the power of the American individual.

Parallels can be drawn between the conservative movement in America re-introducing previously championed ideologies, and Eastwood returning to the classical Hollywood, Fordian, representation of the Western hero - both of which involve the celebration of the American individualist. In this context, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* can be viewed as a product of the emerging New Right in American society. Lowndes (2002) supports this concept, suggesting that the film symbolises a "shift in American politics from liberal and left distrust of government as a result of Watergate and Vietnam toward a more right-wing antigovernment sentiment" (p.243). The film represents a "valorized image of the victimized white American who wreaks vengeance on an authoritarian state—an appealing trope for the emergent New Right" (p.238).

Josey Wales can certainly be seen as a symbol of the 'New Right' Western hero. He is an individualist, who chooses to trust his own instincts, showing a strong suspicion towards authority (Bandy and Stoehr, 2012). This can be seen from early in the film, when he refuses to hand in his weapons and surrender. The Fordian hero is not afraid to be fighting on his own against a stronger opponent, and this is evident in the way Josey Wales attacks an army, despite the mounted machine guns they have prepared. Erisman (2000) investigates this concept further, suggesting that behind "Wales's recognition and rejection of needlessness is, once again, a discernable and highly personal moral code. In a world of hypocrisy and randomness, all that endures is self-trust and one's own sense of right. That self-trust, in turn, awakens others to the individual's integrity" (p.133). Wales' strict following of the code therefore highlights his position as an individualist, and suggests that his position in the film is a symbol of the individual's power against the state.

Furthermore, Wales represents the anti-statist sentiments that grew in the New Right movement, and the "cause Wales fights for is not that of a government, or a country, or a people." (Nelson, 2015, p.135). Wales is fighting against an army which supports the American state, a state that the New Right felt had let the people down during the years of Nixon, Watergate, and Vietnam. The film is therefore a strong critique of the state. The government in the film "represents the destruction of the family unit", and "in rebelling against a system that destroys both his home and his livelihood, Wales does only what is necessary to ensure his own survival and that of others" (Elce, 2016, p.66). This is a narrative type which has been prevalent throughout history, and Elce explains that "*The Outlaw Josey Wales* belongs to a rich tradition of ethical antistatism from Robin Hood to *The Hunger Games*, in which lone characters take on a hostile state in order to improve the lives of others" (p.66). In this way, the film's hero can be seen as an archetypal underdog, fighting against oppression. This is indicative of the way that the New Right championed individual success against a state in which they did not trust.

Moreover, 1976 being America's bicentennial year is significant to the production of Eastwood's film. Capozzola (2004) describes a sense of nostalgia that arose in American

culture throughout this year, explaining that "the bicentennial return to the past was part and parcel of the "search for self" that characterized much of 1970s culture, as Americans responded to a world that they believed had been disrupted" (p.39). This nostalgia is also explained as a way of helping Americans "negotiate the tensions they felt between their local and their national identities. It could also operate as a retreat into the private realm of the family and the community and a rejection of the divisiveness of political life in the period" (p.38). The film can therefore be seen as a representation of a kind of Western hero that may offer comfort to audiences who were disillusioned with the America of the seventies.

The Outlaw Josey Wales could also be assessed as a rejection of the New Hollywood's representation of American life. Whilst other films in the Western genre changed to fit the rest of the period's trends, Eastwood's film serves as a defence of the old ways. With an array of Hollywood films offering a vulnerable, defeated American protagonist, who has been weakened by the events of the sixties and seventies, Josey Wales offers a Western hero who is emboldened by the injustices he has faced. Nelson (2015) sees this concept as a theme throughout Eastwood's films, suggesting that his protagonists are often avenging the perceived wrongs which appeared in previous Western movies. This transtextual reading would support the idea that Josey Wales is a return to the classical hero, rejecting the New Hollywood's portrayal of what is often considered a weakened masculinity in favour of a nostalgic male hero of the New Right. The film offers audiences a much more positive hero character, and White (2019) explains that "Eastwood's film is about Josey's journey back to a position where he can, again, believe in the possibility of a better world." (p.139). This is far removed from the doomed, nihilist anti-heroes that can be seen throughout the New Hollywood era.

In this sense, Josey Wales can be considered as a symbol of what Susan Jeffords (1989) described as the remasculinization of America, following the Vietnam War. One of the key themes of this analysis is American popular culture's attempt to portray the individual American as having been let down by bureaucracy. This allowed the male American soldier to reclaim his position as a war hero, blaming the mistakes of the government and those in charge, for the failures (Jeffords, 1989). This is a further example of the anti-statist, pro-individualism that Josey Wales symbolises, representing the beginning of a remasculinization of the American hero.

This rejection of the New Hollywood style can be seen most obviously with the film's ending. Josey is able to defeat his family's killers, in an ending in which the power of the Western hero is celebrated. The film's ending is much more hopeful, for example, than the ending of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, or *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*. Beard (2000) describes the way in which the film's conclusion serves to "assert again the classical order: a

problem is solved, difficulties are overcome, the narrative ends in wholeness with the protagonist in command of the scene having acted successfully on behalf of the community." (p.74-75). Perhaps due to America's failures in Vietnam, the New Hollywood period is often characterised by its unhappy endings, which do not see the protagonists complete their goals. *Chinatown* (Polanski, 1974), a defining release of the era, ends with a sequence which highlights the powerlessness of the individual, and this is a key theme of the New Hollywood cinema. Another popular example of this is *Easy Rider* (Hopper, 1969), which "ends with both Wyatt and the flag lying bloodied and burning, the American Dream a corpse along with the hero, left on the side of the road as the credits roll over them" (Roberts, 1997, p.55). This exemplifies the way in which New Hollywood tended to deny their protagonists any kind of positive resolution, and in doing so tapped into the contradictions and failures of the American myth. The New Hollywood cinema was mainly concerned with the 'truth' of the American Dream, and the characters who failed to achieve it. This concept is best explained by Elsaesser (1975) who discusses the idea of the "pathos of failure" in New Hollywood cinema. Heroes of this period are usually unable to reach their goal, and in this way, *The Outlaw Josey Wales* represents a rejection of the conventions of the New Hollywood era.

The Fordian Hero in New Hollywood

An alternative reading of *The Outlaw Josey Wales* would view the film as a combination of a number of generic styles, including the classical and New Hollywood Westerns. This is a viewpoint held by Roger Ebert, who described the film was "as if "Jeremiah Johnson" were crossed with "Stagecoach"" in his review in 1976. The assessment of *The Outlaw Josey Wales* as a fusion of various Western styles has been supported by a number of other critics. Hoberman (2019) describes the film as an "ambitious synthesis of the classic Fordian western with the "dirty" last sixties and even the counterculture westerns" (p.157-158). This analysis is further expanded, as Hoberman describes the way in which the film unites the various opposing sectors of the anti-government movement. They explain that:

> by virtue of his charisma, Clint Eastwood's unreconciled, largely unsmiling Confederate soldier unites Native Americans and white settlers, a hippie chick among them, in a sort of ad hoc commune dedicated to doing one's own thing and resisting the corrupt federal government (p.157).

This analysis of the film seems to suggest that the Wales character is more than a Fordian hero who protects the weak, but a symbol of unity. His character is able to bring together characters who have been made to feel disillusioned, and despite their differences they join together and fight back. This reading of *The Outlaw Josey Wales* suggests that it is much more in tune with the countercultural sentiments often associated with New Hollywood

cinema, but offers a combination of characters that includes a Fordian hero. The theme of unity and togetherness is one that has often been considered central of the film. Haspel (2005) argues that "part of the reason for the enduring appeal of The Outlaw Josey Wales is the way in which it emphasizes the theme of reconciliation" (p.166). This focus on different groups with different experiences, symbolises an American society reuniting after the difficult experiences of the last decade. More than a representation of the New Right, Haspel sees the film as "an argument for tolerance and understanding across the boundaries of race and region" (p.166). In this way, it is the unification of ideas in an America that had been divided.

However, this interpretation is weakened by the film's centralising of Josey Wales as the heroic saviour. The unification is then tied to Wales as the traditionally masculine hero who leads the group, perhaps undermining the concept of equality between white males and minority groups. If the film represented a joint effort between the various members of the group, then it could be viewed as an argument for equality and unity in a time of division in American society. Although, by returning to a classical, and traditional style of group hierarchy which foregrounds the masculine hero as the father character, the film reduces the impact of this message. It could be interpreted as a presentation of the limits of the search for unity, highlighting the way in which hegemonic masculinity dominates power structures. Even if there is unity amongst the group, it is still a masculine protagonist who assumes the leadership role.

Haspel's interpretation of *The Outlaw Josey Wales* as celebration of unity across divides in society, suggests that the film has what Hamilton (2016) describes as a relationship of *discontinuity* with the history it presents. This refers to a film in which "we are shown that, although the past and present may have certain parallels, these will not and should not continue" (p.4). These kinds of Westerns unpick the history of the American West, drawing critical connections with contemporary America. This relationship with American history is most often found in the more optimistic Westerns, which are willing to challenge the American myth, but also offer audiences a positive ending which suggests that the country can change for the better. The example Hamilton offers is *Buck and the Preacher* (Poitier, 1972), which "provided a representation of the African American voice in the West and connected this to Civil Rights issues and the emerging 'Blaxploitation' genre" (p.4).

However, another interpretation could see *The Outlaw Josey Wales* as having a relationship of *positive continuity* with the past. Hamilton (2016) uses this term to refer to films in which the past "is represented in such a way as to illustrate a positive, socially reaffirming connection with the present" (p.4). This is once again a more optimistic way of historic, cinematic representations. Eastwood's film could be considered as a part of this category due to its nostalgic undertones, and the way it glorifies the West's ability to promote the power of the hegemonic masculine hero. Hamilton's example of positive continuity is *The*

Magnificent Seven (Sturges, 1960), which presents "a group of men with specialized skills" who "rediscover and assert their dominant hegemonic masculinities" (p.4). Josey Wales can be considered in a similar way, rediscovering his ability to perform the role of a masculine hero after the tragedy he suffers, and asserting his dominance throughout the narrative. Therefore, despite its focus on the trauma that America had suffered throughout the Vietnam war, the film's representation of a man rediscovering his power would suggest a relationship of positive continuity with the past. Eastwood's film draws parallels between two times in which masculinity was damaged, but suggests that in both times, the strength of the individual Western hero was enough to recover.

The film also conforms to what Jeffords describes as the "cultural debriding" (1988, p.525), which occurred throughout the popular culture of the United States following the Vietnam war. This debriding manifested itself in the removal of all characteristics which in any way associated the individual American male to the country's loss in the war. Jeffords believed that this process had reached its conclusion slightly less than a decade after Eastwood's film, when films like *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (Cosmatos, 1985) attributed the blame for the failure not with the American individual, but with American institutions, intelligence agencies, and Governments. *The Outlaw Josey Wales* can certainly be seen as a film that supports this sentiment. This concept, combined with the film's 'new-right' sensibilities, could suggest that the film is a return to the classical Western, in its regeneration and celebration of the power of hegemonic masculinity.

A reassessment of the film's opening could interpret Wales as a New Hollywood-style protagonist, who throughout the film manages to transform himself into a Wayne-like hero. The first time we see him in a combat situation, he is defeated, meaning he starts the film as a defeated character, who has been beaten down by an oppressive regime. This opening could almost be the ending of a New Hollywood film, in which the hero is not able to save his family, and is left bloodied and alone. By starting the film with a physical defeat, Josey Wales' masculinity is immediately challenged, as he is not able to protect his family. However, the film then presents Josey Wales' recovery and return to the Fordian masculine ideals, as he finds a new community that he must protect. Josey Wales travels on a physical journey which symbolises a spiritual pursuit (Roberts, 1997) as he tries to avenge the death of his family, whilst also trying to stop his new community from meeting the same fate. He could then be seen metaphorically as the New Hollywood hero learning to deal with defeat in a more traditionally masculine way, debriding (as Jeffords suggests) all of the weaknesses of the New Hollywood hero.

The previous chapters offer ways that New Hollywood representations of masculinity *did* differ from those in the classical Hollywood era. These examples of the Western hero contrasted from the more traditional portrayal in Eastwood's film, and present the ways in which the genre's ideology towards the masculine hero shifted during this era. Whilst *The*

Outlaw Josey Wales did represent a return to a more classical form of Western film, the films that were explored in the previous chapters suggest that New Hollywood was a period of much more diverse masculine representation.

Conclusion - Western Heroes in New Hollywood

After considering the three case studies on their own, it is important to assess the way they compare to wider trends within (New) Hollywood filmmaking. Each protagonist seems to offer a different aspect of masculine representation during the period. This section will analyse whether or not each character is a typical hero of the New Hollywood era, and what their masculine identity suggests about the time period's wider importance in the context of Hollywood history.

It could be suggested that *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* subverts the expectations of masculinity, in a way which was common of the counter-culturally minded New Hollywood period. The film's characters "behaved like urban youngsters of the time" (Alfonso and Frago, 2014, p.2), with anti-establishment attitudes which allowed the film to be a quintessential example of sixties counterculture chic, a West Coast western in every sense, reflecting the politics and values of the era" (Hughes, 2007, p.191).

The film's link between the challenges faced by masculinity both in the cinematic West and the American culture of the late 1960s is what Hamilton (2016) describes as a "negative hyper-linear connection" which:

> emphasizes the continued problems experienced by men at a personal level when they aspire to hegemonic masculinities that are inevitably changeable and unachievable. At a broader level this negative continuity illustrates the social problems that arise from enforcing these standards and, further, the destructive consequences of a patriarchy that privileges interventionism as a way of proving and maintaining a national identity (p.180).

Butch and Sundance's inability to adapt to a changing American society offers "audiences a past whose issues they can intimately identify with" (Hamilton, 2016, p.193). Therefore, the film's representation of masculinity is not in line with the typical Hollywood Western film. Instead, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* represent a New Hollywood interpretation of the archetypal outlaw Western protagonist.

In a similar way to *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* represents a variation in the style of masculine character. Furthermore, it can also be suggested that this variation shares a similar hyper-linear relationship to developments in American masculinity in the 1970s. Hamilton (2016) uses this term as a way of illustrating film's ability to "facilitate a temporal 'jump' from the audience's own time (the time of the filmic release), back to an earlier temporal period for the purpose of establishing an *exemplary* link between the past and the present" (p.2-3). This is something that is clear to see in McCabe

& Mrs. Miller, with various links to the audience's time being made. Altman's use of the Western "marked a synchronic representation of the counterculture" (Teo, 2015, p.260) of the 1970s, following the spirit of revisionism that had been present in other mediums and genres. This manifests itself in a number of themes throughout the film, including "the fragmentation of American community; the image of women in film and the film's understanding of and contribution to second-wave feminism and to the captivity narrative; the western hero; changing concepts of masculinity" (Graebner, 2011, p.59).

Self (2007) further explains the way that, *McCabe* "actively participates in the discourse of resistance and change everywhere apparent in American culture at the beginning of the 1970s" (p.102). The popular postwar concept of America as a heroic force for good in the world had quickly been replaced with a more realistic and cynical view of the country. This was particularly the case following the public's discovery of secret bombing campaign in Cambodia that had occurred from 1969 to 1970. The "May Day march on Washington brought half a million demonstrators to the Capitol" (Self, 2007, p.110) and provided more reason for a strong reassessment of America as a country. This began to manifest itself in terms of masculine identity, with a strong reimagining of the traditionally heroic archetypes in American culture. The film's representation of masculinity symbolises its "antiheroic stance" (Self, 2007, p.113). It presents the way in which the "selfless individual gunman or cowboy or sheriff who defends the powerless townspeople against the forces of evil has become the antihero" (p.113). The film both criticises the character of McCabe, and sympathises with him for his lack of traditionally masculine ability. This symbolises the changes in the way the Western hero was viewed in society, relating to the "developing crisis in traditionally masculine narratives of power and control" (Self, 2007, p.9).

Therefore, *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* represents a fractured kind of masculine identity, lacking the power of the Fordian hero. McCabe is emasculated by his lack of intelligence, by Mrs Miller, and by his inability to stand up against a large corporation. This film therefore demonstrates that New Hollywood cinema did represent a nuanced example of the Western hero, offering a reassessment of the archetype to "reflect a wide range of changing American attitudes towards heroism" (Self, 2007, p.4). Altman's Western therefore exemplifies the New Hollywood period at its most revisionist.

One interpretation of the final case study could see Josey Wales as the New Hollywood protagonist who *becomes* the Fordian hero after the death of his family, fighting back in a way that would be expected from the classical Western lead character. This would seem to support Nelson's (2015) analysis of the film as a transtextual revenge story of a character righting the wrongs from previous films within the genre. Wales could represent the return of the Fordian hero, who had been transformed into a less powerful character throughout the New Hollywood period. In this way, the film can be seen as similar to a number of Eastwood's Westerns, as a fusion of both traditional and unconventional components of the

genre (Bandy and Stoehr, 2012). However, this interpretation would still see Wales' character as a rejection of the New Hollywood Western hero. Eastwood's protagonist manages to overcome the defeat at the start, rebuilding his masculinity and achieving success at the end of the film. The fusion of classical and New Hollywood styles of masculine representation is a way of viewing the film, but New Hollywood masculinity is only really presented in order to juxtapose it with the more honourable, and more powerful, Fordian masculinity. In this way, it is tough to say that *The Outlaw Josey Wales* truly represents masculinity similarly to other Westerns of the New Hollywood era.

The Outlaw Josey Wales could therefore be seen as evidence that New Hollywood was not a transformative period in Western masculine representation. One could argue that if the earlier (late sixties and early seventies) Westerns of the era were so seminal in their portrayal of the Western hero, why does a film from the end of the period appear to be an updated version of a classical Hollywood representation. This viewpoint would suggest that New Hollywood's representation of masculinity was therefore less revolutionary than is often argued.

This would be supported when assessing the other notably classical Western from the same year, *The Shootist* (Siegel, 1976). Starring John Wayne in his last performance, the film focuses on the later years of the Western hero, who has become old but is still willing to fight for what he believes. This film represents clear evidence of the nostalgia for the Western of the past, by making the stardom of Wayne, and audience's memories of him as a Western hero, central to the narrative. *The Shootist* "openly conflates fictional character and real-life Hollywood star: the film opens with a clever montage of clips culled from John Wayne's vast Western filmography". These clips are "chronological, which allows the audience to witness Wayne aging and letting us remember his "greatness" by citing his entire body of work" (Cloutier, 2012, p.114). This shows that Hollywood filmmakers were much more willing to bring the Western back to its classical era, playing on the nostalgia of the icons of this period. These films therefore symbolise the way in which the Fordian hero was not replaced during New Hollywood, and perhaps therefore offer a rejection of the period as a transformative time, in which complex masculine representations replaced the more simplistic portrayals of the decades before.

The return to a more classical representation of masculinity in Hollywood is further indicated by analysis of the male hero in the 1980s, following the end of New Hollywood. As the Reagan era began, American audiences began to be drawn towards films that presented men as larger than life action heroes. Susan Jeffords characterises the films of this era, as "spectacular narratives about characters who stand for individualism, liberty, militarism, and mythic heroism" (1994, p.16). This encapsulates the shift in American masculinity on screen, following the end of the New Hollywood period.

When examining these films, it is clear that the New Hollywood era represented a shift in the variety of masculine Western heroes. *The Outlaw Josey Wales* symbolises a nostalgia for the Fordian West, with Eastwood's character evolving from a beaten man to a father-figure who protects his unlikely new family. *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* presents outlaws getting by on reputation only, whilst the world around them has changed beyond recognition. *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* emasculates its hero, as he struggles to compete with his female partner and ruthless corporate greed.

The social context of all three films are clear influences on the way in which they represent their Western hero. In *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, two counter-culturally coded outlaws are shut down by the ruthlessness of the big-businesses that want rid of them. McCabe is faced with a similar conflict, and is also weakened by his inability to dominate an intelligent, world-weary woman, who symbolises the rise in feminism in seventies America. In *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, the characters are suffering the trauma of a war that has challenged their national myth, much like the war in Vietnam. The ever-changing climate of mid-twentieth century America clearly had a similarly crucial part to play in the thematic and symbolic content of all three of the case studies.

Another seemingly common theme, is that the Hollywood Western hero is struggling to perform his expected role. The contrast lies in the way the films represent this struggle. In *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* and *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*, the protagonist is powerless. Butch, Sundance, and McCabe all end up forced away from the traditional frontier of the American Western hero. Butch and Sundance flee to Bolivia, whilst McCabe starts the film in Washington, having presumably run out of possibilities elsewhere. The new frontier does not offer any of them much long-term success, however. All three of the typically New Hollywood Western heroes meet grim ends, unable to fight back any longer. These representations speak to the Vietnam war-induced disillusionment with the American myth. A more positive outlook was adopted by Eastwood. Although still wounded by the Vietnam war, the American myth is still seen positively in *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, with a nostalgia for the individualism of the Fordian hero visible throughout. For Eastwood's hero, the bleakness of contemporary American society was the fault of the state. By forming small communities led by the resurgent American hero, there could be a return to the ideals of Ford's West.

The contrast between these attitudes make it clear that the New Hollywood's impact on the Western genre masculine representation was not a complete revolution. It cannot be said that during the New Hollywood period, the Western hero completely converted from a Fordian hero to what a society of hegemonic masculinity would consider to be a weaker, if perhaps more realistic, kind of man. The Westerns of this time did not simply transform from what could be viewed as a cliché or outdated view of masculinity to a more

progressive, realistic portrayal. It is much more accurate to assess the impact of New Hollywood as a widening of the kinds of masculinity that can be found in the genre.

This widening of masculine representation can be seen throughout the period's Western films. Whilst films such as *The Wild Bunch* (1969), *True Grit* (Hathaway, 1969), *Little Big Man* (Penn, 1970), *Jeremiah Johnson* (Pollack, 1972), and *The Shootist* (Siegel, 1976) all share a time period, they all represent the Western hero in different ways. The John Wayne performances throughout the era remained true to the classical Hollywood archetype he had helped to solidify in American cinema history. Meanwhile, performances by Dustin Hoffman and Robert Redford helped to push the boundaries of the genre, establishing new kinds of Western hero.

By pluralising the masculine identities that can be found in Western heroes, this period has clearly left its mark on the genre. Whilst the classical Western hero did not disappear, he was joined in the genre by a broader range of other masculine identities. It is also much less unexpected for a Western to challenge concepts of traditional masculinity. Although not a Hollywood film, the success of Jane Campion's *The Power of the Dog* (2021) represents the continuation of this kind of approach to the representation of masculinity within the Western myth.

This broadening of masculine identities in the Hollywood protagonist was not limited to the Western genre. Parallels can be drawn between the way that Wayne's Westerner was replaced by a new kind of hero, and the way in which Bogart's archetype was revised in the detective film. Elliot Gould's performance as Phillip Marlowe in *The Long Goodbye* (Altman, 1973) stands in stark contrast to Bogarts portrayal in *The Big Sleep* (Hawks, 1946). This change is echoed by Donald Sutherland in *Klute* (Pakula, 1971) and Jack Nicholson in *Chinatown* (Polanksi, 1974), who both also represent the struggle of another archetypal Hollywood lead-man to assert the dominance and authority he had in the classical era. The broadening of masculine identities in the detective film shows that the changes that were analysed in the New Hollywood Western were consistent throughout the period. Filmmakers were much more willing to represent protagonists who undermined the expectations of audiences, and challenged notions of the American hero.

New Hollywood therefore generated a wider range of masculine identities than any period in American cinema had previously achieved. This research, with its focus upon the Western hero, has assessed the way in which the period broadened the range of one masculine archetype. Further research of the other pluralised masculine identities during the New Hollywood could also focus on the broader ways in which these changes occurred. New Hollywood's diversification of Black masculinity, for example, would certainly be an intriguing area for investigation. An assessment of films like *In the Heat of the Night* could

explore whether or not the pluralisation of masculine identities reached across all ethnicities, or whether it was solely a result of New Hollywood's representation of white masculinity.

Overall, these films can be viewed as evidence of a turning point in American film history. Characters like Butch, Sundance, and McCabe would have struggled to find a lead role in Western story in previous eras. However, the traditional hero was still able to find a place in this period, and Josey Wales is evidence of this. The New Hollywood era represented a broadening of masculine identities in the Western genre, allowing a variety of heroes to make their mark on America's cinematic West.

Filmography

Aldrich, R (1954) *Apache*. USA: United Artists
Altman, R (1970) *M*A*S*H*. USA: Twentieth Century Fox
Altman, R (1971) *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*. USA: Warner Bros.
Altman, R (1972) *Images*. UK, USA: Hemdale Film Distributors and Columbia Pictures
Altman, R (1973) *The Long Goodbye*. USA: United Artists
Altman, R (1977) *3 Women*. USA: Twentieth Century Fox
Altman, R (1982) *Come Back to the 5 & Dime, Jimmy Dean, Jimmy Dean*. USA: Cinecom International Films
Brooks, R (1958) *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*. USA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
Campion, J (2021) *The Power of the Dog*. New Zealand, UK, Canada, Australia: Netflix and Transmission Films
Coppola, F.F. (1972) *The Godfather*. USA: Paramount Pictures
Cosmatos, G.P. (1985) *Rambo: First Blood Part II*. USA: Tri-Star Pictures and Thorn EMI Screen Entertainment.
Daves, D. (1950) *Broken Arrow*. USA: Twentieth Century Fox
Eastwood, C (1971) *Play Misty for Me*. USA: Universal Pictures
Eastwood, C (1973) *High Plains Drifter*. USA: Universal Pictures
Eastwood, C (1976) *The Outlaw Josey Wales*. USA: Warner Bros.
Fonda, P (1971) *The Hired Hand*. USA: Universal Studios
Ford, J (1939) *Stagecoach*. USA: United Artists
Ford, J (1956) *The Searchers*. USA: Warner Bros.
Hathaway, H (1969) *True Grit*. USA: Paramount Pictures
Hawks, H (1946) *The Big Sleep*. USA: Warner Bros.
Hellman, M (1966) *Ride in the Whirlwind*. USA: Jack H. Harris Enterprises and Favorite Films
Hellman, M (1966) *The Shooting*. USA: Jack H. Harris Enterprises and Favorite Films
Hill, G.R (1969) *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*. USA: Twentieth-Century Fox
Hill, G.R (1973) *The Sting*. USA: Universal Pictures
Hill, G.R (1977) *Slap Shot*. USA: Universal Pictures
Hopper, D (1969) *Easy Rider*. USA: Columbia Pictures
Jewison, N (1967) *In the Heat of the Night*. USA: United Artists
Kazan, E (1961) *Splendor in the Grass*. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures
Lean, D (1965) *Doctor Zhivago*. UK, USA, Italy: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
Lumet, S (1973) *Serpico*. USA: Paramount Pictures and Columbia Pictures
Lumet, S (1975) *Dog Day Afternoon*. USA: Warner Bros.
Mazursky, P (1969) *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice*. USA: Columbia Pictures
McLaglen, A.V. (1965) *Shenandoah*. USA: Universal Pictures
Nichols, M (1967) *The Graduate*. USA: Embassy Pictures and United Artists
Pakula, A.J. (1971) *Klute*. USA: Warner Bros

Pakula, A.J. (1974) *The Parallax View*. USA: Paramount Pictures
Peckinpah, S (1969) *The Wild Bunch*. USA: Warner Bros.- Seven Arts
Penn, A (1965) *Mickey One*. USA: Columbia Pictures
Penn, A (1966) *The Chase*. USA: Columbia Pictures
Penn, A (1967) *Bonnie and Clyde*. USA: Warner Bros.- Seven Arts
Penn, A (1970) *Little Big Man*. USA: National General Pictures
Poitier, S (1972) *Buck and the Preacher*. USA: Columbia Pictures
Polanski, R (1974) *Chinatown*. USA: Paramount Pictures
Pollack, S (1969) *They Shoot Horses Don't They?*. USA: Cinerama Releasing Corporation
Pollack, S (1972) *Jeremiah Johnson*. USA: Warner Bros.
Porter, E.S. (1903) *The Great Train Robbery*. USA: Edison Manufacturing Company
Ritt, M (1963) *Hud*. USA: Paramount Pictures
Ritt, M (1967) *Hombre*. USA: Twentieth-Century Fox
Rosenberg, S (1967) *Cool Hand Luke*. USA: Warner Bros.- Seven Arts
Rossen, R (1961) *The Hustler*: USA: Twentieth-Century Fox
Schlesinger, J (1963) *Billy Liar*. UK: Anglo-Amalgamated Film Distributors and Warner-Pathé
Schlesinger, J (1965) *Darling*. UK: Anglo Amalgamated.
Schlesinger, J (1969) *Midnight Cowboy*. USA: United Artists
Siegel, D (1976) *The Shootist*. USA: Paramount Pictures and Dino De Laurentiis Company
Srutges, J (1960) *The Magnificent Seven*. USA: United Artists
Truffaut, F (1966) *Fahrenheit 451*. UK: Rank Film Distributors
Webb, R.D. (1956) *White Feather*. USA: Twentieth Century Fox

Bibliography

Abbott, S (2009) *Angel*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Alfonso, E and Frago, M (2014) 'the Adventure Screenplay in William Goldman: the playful and the ironic in Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid and The Princess Bride' in *Communication and Society*. 27(4). Pp. 1-15. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Marta-Frago/publication/282655505_The_adventure_screenplay_in_William_Goldman_the_playful_and_the_ironic_in_Butch_Cassidy_and_the_Sundance_Kid_and_The_Princess_Bride/links/56164a5208ae37cfe408abf4/The-adventure-screenplay-in-William-Goldman-the-playful-and-the-ironic-in-Butch-Cassidy-and-the-Sundance-Kid-and-The-Princess-Bride.pdf (Accessed 05/07/23).

Al-Jbouri, E and Pomerantz, S (2020) 'A New Kind of Monster, Cowboy, and Crusader? Gender Hegemony and Flows of Masculinity in Pixar Animated Films' in *Boyhood Studies*. 13(1). Pp.43-63 Available at: https://doi.org/10.3167/bhs.2020.130104 (Accessed 06/01/23).

Altman, R and Thomson, D (2006) *Altman on Altman*. London: Faber and Faber.

American Film Institute (2023) *AFI's Top 10.* Available at: https://www.afi.com/afis-10-top-10/ (Accessed 08/01/23).

Anderson, R (1979) 'The Role of the Western Film Genre in Industry Competition, 1907-1911' in *Journal of the University Film Association*. 31(2). pp. 19-27. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20687472 (Accessed 15/12/22).

Arthur, P (2003) 'How the West Was Spun: McCabe & Mrs. Miller and Genre Revisionism' in *Cinéaste*. 28(3). Cineaste Publishers, Inc. Pp.18-20. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41689601 (Accessed 12/12/22).

Baker, B (2006) *Masculinity in Fiction and Film: Representing Men in Popular Genres 1945–2000*. London and New York: Continuum.

Bapis, E.M. (2008) *Camera and Action: American Film as Agent of Social Change, 1965-1975*. Jefferson, North Carolina and London: MacFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers.

Bandy, M.L. and Stoehr, K (2012) *Ride, Boldly Ride: The Evolution of the American Western*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beard, W (2000) *Persistence of Double Vision: Essays on Clint Eastwood*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press.

Bell, W.F. and Arnold, J.R. (2011) 'Guerrilla Warfare' in Arnold, J.R. and Wiener, R (eds.) *American Civil War: The Essential Reference Guide*. Santa Barbara California: ABC-CLIO.

Bennett, D.H. (1988) *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press.

Berliner, T (2010) *Hollywood Incoherent: Narration in Seventies Cinema*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bishop, D (2021) *The Presence of the Past: Temporal Experience and the New Hollywood Soundtrack*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blanco-Herrero, D, Rodríguez- Contreras, L, And Gutiérrez-San-Miguel, B (2021) 'New Forms of masculinity in Western films: The end of the Marlboro Man?' in *Communication & Society*. 34(2). Pp. 1-14. Available at: https://doi.org/10.15581/003.34.2.1-14 (Accessed 12/12/22).

Bolton, L (2018) '"You Ain't Ugly like Me: It's Just That We Both Got Scars": Women in Eastwood's Films' in Friedman, L.D. and Desser, D (eds.) *Tough Ain't Enough: New Perspectives on The Films of Clint Eastwood*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Pp. 134-151.

Boyer, T (2014) 'McCabe & Mrs. Miller: Genre, Voice and Virtual History' in *Kino: The Western Undergraduate Journal of Film Studies*. 5(1). Available at: https://ojs.lib.uwo.ca/index.php/kino/article/download/6286/5048/. (Accessed 10/01/23).

Buckman, A.R. (2010) 'Triangulated Desire in *Angel* and *Buffy*' in Waggoner, E.B. (ed.) *Sexual Rhetoric in the Works of Joss Whedon*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc. Pp.48-92.

Budd, M (1976) 'A Home in the Wilderness: Visual Imagery in John Ford's Westerns' in *Cinema Journal.* 16(1). Pp. 62-75. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1225450 (Accessed 18/02/23).

Butler, J (1988) 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory' in *Theatre Journal*. 40(4). Pp. 519-531. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3207893 (Accessed 05/06/23).

Cagle, C (2010) 'Robert Redford and Warren Beatty: Consensus Stars for a Post-Consensus Age' in Morrison, J (ed) *Hollywood Reborn: Movie Stars of the 1970s*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Pp.39-60.

Capozzola, C (2004) '"It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country": Celebrating the Bicentennial in an Age of Limits' in Bailey, B and Farber, D (eds.) *America in the Seventies*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. Pp. 29-49.

Carr, D (2019) 'Methodology, Representation, and Games' in *Games and Culture.* 14(7-8). Pp. 707-723. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1555412017728641 (Accessed 06/01/23).

Carter, D.T. (2023) *Unmasking the Klansman: The Double Life of Asa and Forrest Carter*. Athens, Georgia: NewSouth Books and University of Georgia Press.

Cawelti, J. G. (2003) 'Chinatown & Generic Transformation in Recent American Films' in Grant, B. K. (ed.) *Film Genre Reader III*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 243-261.

Cawelti, J.G. (2014) *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Cheng, C (1999) 'Marginalized Masculinities and Hegemonic Masculinity: An Introduction' in *Journal of Men's Studies.* 7(3) Pp. 295-315. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.3149/jms.0703.295. (Accessed 15/12/22).

Cloutier, J.C. (2012) 'A Country for Old Men: "Unforgiven", "The Shootist", and the Post-Heyday Western.' In *Cinema Journal*. 51(4) Pp.110-129. Available at: https://www.researchingthewest.com/uploads/4/4/1/0/4410259/a_country_for_old_men.pdf (Accessed 22/04/22).

Cornell, D (2009) *Clint Eastwood and Issues of American Masculinity*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Cortese, J (1976) 'Myth and Anti-Myth: The Western Hero of the Fifties' in *SubStance*. 5(15). Pp. 122-132. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3684066.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A583b0b47f63d5d744abf6123b35b6846&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1 (Accessed 30/04/23).

Czach, L (2013) 'The Transnational Career of Geneviève Bujold' in Meeuf, R and Raphael, R (eds.) *Transnational Stardom: International Celebrity in Film and Popular Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp.95-114.

Dunne, M (1996) ‘Dialogizing the Formula Western: “Hearts of the West”’ in *Film Criticism*. 20(3). Allegheny College. Pp. 15-23 Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44018851 (Accessed 11/12/22).

Easthope, A (1992) *What a Man’s Gotta Do: The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Ebert, R (1969) ‘Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid’ in *Chicago Sun-Times*. Available at: https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/butch-cassidy-and-the-sundance-kid-1969 (Accessed 01/02/23).

Ebert, R (1976) ‘The Outlaw Josey Wales’ in *Chicago Sun-Times*. Available at: https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-outlaw-josey-wales-1976 (Accessed 26/04/23).

Elce, E.B. (2016) ‘”Dyin’ ain’t much of a livin”: The Ethics of Rebellion in *The Outlaw Josey Wales*’ in *English Studies in Canada*. 42(3-4). Pp. 65-79. Available at: https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/79/article/663377/summary (Accessed 16/03/23).

Elsaesser, T (1975) ‘The Pathos of Failure: American Films in the 1970s: Notes on the Unmotivated Hero’ in Elsaesser, T, King, N, and Horwath, A (eds) (2004) *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. pp. 279-292.

Engle, G (2013) ‘McCabe and Mrs. Miller: Robert Altman’s Anti-Western’ in Edgerton, G.R. and Marsden, M.T. (eds.) *Westerns: The Essential ‘Journal of Popular Film & Television’ Collection*. London: Routledge. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203723760-26/mccabe-mrs-miller-robert-altman-anti-western-gary-engle. (Accessed 13/01/22).

Etikan, I, Musa, S.A., and Alkassim, R.S. (2016) ‘Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling’ in *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics.* 5(1). Pp. 1-4. Available at: doi:10.11648/j.ajtas.20160501.11 (Accessed 09/01/23).

Erisman, F (2000) ‘Clint Eastwood’s Western Films and the Evolving Mythic Hero’ in *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*. 6(2). Pp. 129-143. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41274100 (Accessed 20/03/23).

Folsom, J.K. (1967) ‘”Western” Themes and Western Films’ in *Western American Literature*. 2(3). University of Nebraska Press. Pp.195-203. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43017231(Accessed 05/01/23).

Friedman, L.D. (2019) *Bonnie and Clyde*. London: Bloomsbury.

Frye, S (2023) Unguessed Kinships: Naturalism and the Geography of Hope in Cormac McCarthy. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

Fürsich, E (2009) 'In Defense of Textual Analysis: Restoring a Challenged Method for Journalism and Media Studies' in *Journalism Studies.* 10(2). Pp. 238-252. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700802374050 (Accessed 09/01/23).

Gallagher, T (1983) 'Looking Homeward- in Vain: The Family in American Film' in *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* .16 (1-2). Pp.71-81. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/24780387 (Accessed 16/04/23).

Gallagher, T (1986) *John Ford: The Man and His Films*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

Gehring, W.D. (1999) *Parody as Film Genre: "Never Give a Saga an Even Break"*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Gibson, P.C. (2017) 'The Fashioning of Julie Christie and the Mythologizing of "Swinging London": Changing Images in Sixties Britain' in Paulicelli, E, Stutesman, D, and Wallenberg, L (eds.) *Film, Fashion, and the 1960s*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp. 135-148.

Glickstein, A (2018) 'New Sensory Frontiers: Cinesthetic Sensation in *Aguirre* and *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* in *Cinema History III: 1960-1990* (Paper 2). Available at: https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/d8-em5s-rr68. (Accessed 10/02/23).

Graebner, W (2011) 'The Company's Coming: The Hero, the Survivor, and the Victim in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*. In Armstrong, R (ed) *Robert Altman: Critical Essays*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. Pp. 59-76.

Gürkan, H and Serttaş, A (2017) 'The Representation of Masculinity in Cinema and on Television: An Analysis of Fictional Male Characters' in *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies.* 2(2). Pp. 402-408. Available at: https://doi.org/10.26417/ejms.v5i1.p402-408 (Accessed 05/01/23).

Hamilton, E (2016) *Masculinities in American Western Films: A Hyper-Linear History*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Haspel, P (2005) 'Studies in Outlawry: The Strange Career of Josey Wales' in *Quarterly Review of Film and Video.* 22(2). Pp. 155-167. Available at:

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10509200590461864?journalCode=gqrf20 (Accessed 11/04/23).

Himmelstein, J.L (1990) *To The Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Hoberman, J (2019) 'The Spirit of '76: Travis, Rocky, and Jimmy Carter' in Kirshner, J and Lewis, J (eds) *When the Movies Mattered: The New Hollywood Revisited*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. Pp. 149-163.

Horton, A (2010) *The Films of George Roy Hill* (Revised Edition). Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc.

Horwath, A (2004) 'The Impure Cinema: New Hollywood 1967-1976' in Elsaesser, T, King, N, and Horwath, A (ed) *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp.9-18.

Hughes, H (2007) *Stagecoach to Tombstone: The Filmgoers' Guide to the Great Westerns*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Ifversen, J. (2003) "Text, Discourse, Concept: Approaches to Textual Analysis", *Kontur,* 7(1), pp. 60 – 69. Available at: https://kontur.au.dk/fileadmin/www.kontur.au.dk/OLD_ISSUES/pdf/kontur_07/jan_ifversen.pdf (Accessed: 17/01/22).

Ishak, N.M. and Bakar, A.Y.A (2014) 'Sampling Frame for Case Study: Challenges and Conditions' in *World Journal of Education,* 4(3). Pp. 29-235. Available at: doi:10.5430/wje.v4n3p29 (Accessed 09/01/23).

Jackson, L.P. (2022) *Hold It Real Still: Clint Eastwood, Race, and the Cinema of the American West.* Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Jameson, W.C. (2012) *Butch Cassidy: Beyond the Grave*. Lanham, Maryland: Taylor Trade Publishing.

Jewell, R.B. (2007) *The Golden Age of Cinema: Hollywood 1929-1945*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Jeffords, S. (1988) ‘Debriding Vietnam: The Resurrection of the White American Male’ in *Feminist Studies* 14(3). Pp. 525-543. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3178063 (Accessed 18/01/24)

Jeffords, S. (1989) *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Jeffords, S. (1994) *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Johansson, T (2011) ‘The Conundrum of Fatherhood- Theoretical Explorations’ in *International Journal of Sociology and the Family* 37(2). Pp. 227-242. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23028811.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ad3156cf4f61505af3a3d513716c62d9c&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator= (Accessed 12/05/23)

Johnson, S.L. (1993) ‘”A Memory Sweet to Soldiers”: The Significance of Gender in the History of the “American West”’ in *Western Historical Quarterly.* 24(4). Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 495-517 Available at: https://doi.org/10.2307/970703 (Accessed 18/12/22)

Kirshner, J (2012) *Hollywood’s Last Golden Age: Politics, Society, and the Seventies Film in America*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Kirshner and Lewis, J and Lewis, J (2019) *When the Movies Mattered: The New Hollywood Revisited*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press

Krämer, P (2006) *The New Hollywood: From Bonnie and Clyde to Star Wars.* New York: Columbia University Press. (Short Cuts Series)

Krämer, P and Tzioumakis, Y (2018) ‘Introduction’ in Krämer, P and Tzioumakis, Y (eds.) *The Hollywood Renaissance: Revisiting American Cinema’s Most Celebrated Era*. New York: Bloomsbury. Pp. xiii-xxvii

Leonelli, E (2007) *Robert Redford and the American West*. Philadelphia: Xlibris

Lopate, P (2019) ‘CODA: What “Golden Age”? : A Dissenting Opinion’ Carter’ in Kirshner, J and Lewis, J (eds) *When the Movies Mattered: The New Hollywood Revisited*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. Pp. 164-175

Lowndes, J.E. (2002) 'Unstable Antistatism: The Left, the Right, and *The Outlaw Josey Wales*' in *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society.* 16(2). Pp. 237-253. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20020161 (Accessed 17/01/23)

Lusted, D (2003) *The Western*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Malone, A (2015) *Hollywood's Second Sex: The Treatment of Women in the Film Industry, 1900-1999*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc.

Matheson, S (2020) *Women in the Western*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Mckee, A (2001) 'A Beginner's Guide to Textual Analysis' in *Metro Magazine: Media & Education Magazine* (No. 127/128). Pp.138-149. Available at: https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.734106894568202 (Accessed 06/01/23).

Meeuf, R (2013) John Wayne's World: Transnational Masculinity in the Fifties. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Merrill, R (1996) 'The Art of Adaptation: Lawrence Kasdan's *The Accidental Tourist*' in Lupack, T.B. (ed.) *Vision/Re-Vision: Adapting Contemporary American Fiction by Women to Film*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press. Pp. 127-144.

Mexal, S.J (2010) 'Two Ways To Yuma: Locke, Liberalism, and Western Masculinity in *3:10 to Yuma*' in McMahon, J.L and Csaki, B.S (eds) *The Philosophy of the Western*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. Pp.69-86.

Mikos, L (2013) '28: Analaysis of Film' Chapter in Flick, U (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd. Pp.409-42.

Miller, C.J (2020) 'Where White Men Dream Out Loud: Robert Altman's West' in Broughton, L (ed) *Reframing Cult Westerns: From The Magnificent Seven to The Hateful Eight*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing. Pp. 59-72.

Miller, G (1996) 'The Death of the Western Hero: Martin Ritt's "Hud" and "Hombre"' in *Film Criticism*. 20(3). Pp. 34-51. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44018853. (Accessed 10/05/23).

Mulvey, L (2005) "Repetition and return: textual analysis and Douglas Sirk in the twenty-first century" in Gibbs, J. and Pye, D. (eds) *Style and Meaning: Studies in the detailed analysis of Film.* Manchester: University Press. pp. 228–243.

Naughton, E (1959) *McCabe*. New York: Macmillan.

Neale, S (1983) 'Masculinity as Spectacle: Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema' in *Screen* 24(6). Pp. 2-17. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/24.6.2 (Accessed 12/12/22).

Neale, S (1998) 'Vanishing Americans: Racial and Ethnic Issues in the Interpretation and Context of Post-war 'Pro-Indian' Westerns' in Buscombe, E and Pearson, R.E. (eds.) *Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western*. London: British Film Institute. Pp. 8-28.

Nelson, A.P. (2015) *Still in the Saddle: The Hollywood Western, 1969- 1980*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Palmer, L (2011) 'The Road to Lordsburg: Rural Masculinity in *Supernatural*' in Abbott, S and Lavery, D (eds.) *TV Goes to Hell: An Unofficial Road Map of Supernatural*. Toronto, Ontario: ECW Press. Pp. 77-89.

Panacek, E.A and Thompson, C.B. (2007) 'Sampling Methods: Selecting Your Subjects' in *Air Medical Journal*. 26(2). Pp. 75-78. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amj.2007.01.001 (Accessed 09/01/23).

Panay, A (2002) 'The Outlaw Josey Wales and the Frontier Myth of Development' in *Media Education Journal*. 1(32). Pp. 31-38. Avaliable at: https://rke.abertay.ac.uk/en/publications/the-outlaw-josey-wales-and-the-frontier-myth-of-development (Accessed 10/04/23).

Patterson, P and Farber, M (1977) 'Beyond the New Wave I: Kitchen Without Kitsch' in *Film Comment* 13(6). New York: Film Society of Lincoln Center. Pp. 47-50. Available at: https://www.proquest.com/docview/210270514. (Accessed 13/02/23).

Peberdy, D (2011) *Masculinity and Film Performance: Male Angst in Contemporary American Cinema*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peek, W.C. (1998) '*Cherchez La Femme*: *The Searchers*, *Vertigo*, and Masculinity in Post-Kinsey America' in *Journal of American Culture*. 21(2) Pp.73-87. Available at: https://www.proquest.com/docview/200609667?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true (Accessed 13/05/23).

Peek, W.C. (2003) 'The Romance of Competence: Rethinking Masculinity in the Western' in *Journal of Popular Film & Television*. 30(4). Pp.206-219 Available at: https://web-s-ebscohost-com.glos.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=bbf7c665-b314-4767-8a55-

42c5ead49337%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#db=f3h&AN=9105778 (Accessed 10/05/23).

Pheasant-Kelly, F (2013) 'Outlaws, Buddies, and Lovers: The Sexual Politics of *Calamity Jane* and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*' in Matheson, S (eds) *Love in Western Film and Television*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 141-160.

Redding, A (2007) 'Frontier Mythologies: Savagery and Civilization in Frederick Jackson Turner and John Ford' in *Literature/Film Quarterly*. 35(4). Pp. 313-322. Available at: https://www.proquest.com/openview/8fa5c8f4434b9241471a0fe7852783f5/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=5938 (Accessed 05/05/23).

Reeser, T.W. (2015) 'Concepts of Masculinity and Masculinity Studies' in Horlacher, S (eds) *Configuring Masculinity in Theory and Literary Practice*. Leiden: BRILL. Pp. 11-38.

Roberts, S (1997) 'Western Meets Eastwood: Genre and Gender on the road' in Cohan, S and Hark, I.R. (eds.) *The Road Movie Book*. London and New York: Routledge

Roberts, R and Olson, J.S. (1997) *John Wayne: American*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

Rohdie, S (2001) *Promised Lands: Cinema, Geography, Modernism*. London: British Film Institute

Seawright, J and Gerring, J (2008) 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options' in *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2). Pp. 294-308. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912907313077 (Accessed 09/01/23)

Self, R.T. (2002) *Robert Altman's Subliminal Reality*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Self, R.T (2007) *Robert Altman's McCabe and Mrs. Miller*: Reframing the American West. Kansas: Kansas University Press.

Sickels, R.C. (2008) 'Beyond the Blessings of Civilisation: John Ford's *Stagecoach* and the Myth of the Western frontier' in Connelly, M.C. and Stoehr, K.L. (2008) *John Ford in Focus: Essays on the Filmmaker's Life and Work*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, Inc. Publishers. Pp.142-152

Smith, A.B. (1999) 'The Nationalization of the Catholic Imagination: The Westerns of John Ford' in *U.S. Catholic Historian*. 17 (3). Pp. 51-66. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/25154682 (Accessed 12/05/23)

Smith, J.A. (2017) 'Textual Analysis' in *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication Research Methods*. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Pp. 1-7.

Smith, P (2003) *Clint Eastwood: A Cultural Production.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sparks, R (1996) 'Masculinity and Heroism in the Hollywood 'Blockbuster': The Culture Industry and Contemporary Images of Crime and Law Enforcement in *British Journal of Criminology*. 36(3). Pp. 348-360. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Richard-Sparks/publication/31165528_Masculinity_and_Heroism_in_the_Hollywood_%27Blockbuster%27_The_Culture_Industry_and_Contemporary_Images_of_Crime_and_Law_Enforcement/links/5a16a0930f7e9be37f940e5c/Masculinity-and-Heroism-in-the-Hollywood-Blockbuster-The-Culture-Industry-and-Contemporary-Images-of-Crime-and-Law-Enforcement.pdf (Accessed 20/04/23).

Sterritt, D (2019) 'Chapter 4- Robert Altman: Documentaries, Dreamscapes, and Dialogic Cinema' in Kirshner, J and Lewis, J (2019) (eds.) *When the Movies Mattered: The New Hollywood Revisited*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. Pp. 69-85.

Tahderdoorst, H. (2016) "Sampling Methods in Research Methodology; How to Choose a Sampling Technique for Research", *International Journal of Academic Research in Management,* 5(2), pp. 18 – 27. Available at: doi:10.2139/ssrn.3205035. (Accessed 09/01/23).

Tahmahkera, D (2022) *Cinematic Comanches: The Lone Range in the Media Borderlands*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Taş Öz, P. and Erensoy, S.F. (2020) "Looking At Robert Altman's Cinema Through An Anti-Hollywood Perspective", *OPUS International Journal of Society Researches,* 16(31), pp. 3837 – 2852. Available at: https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/opus/issue/57675/811929. (Accessed 10/03/22).

Teo, S (2015) 'Altman and the Western, or a Hollywood Director's History Lesson of the American West' in Danks, A (ed) *A Companion to Robert Altman* (First Edition). Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Pp. 254-273.

Thomson, D (2019) ‘The Parallax View: Why Trust Anyone?’ in Kirshner, J and Lewis, J (eds.) *When the Movies Mattered: The New Hollywood Revisited*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. Pp. 101-114.

Vahdani, A (2018) *The Hero and the Grave: The Theme of Death in the Films of John Ford, Akira Kurosawa and Sergio Leone*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers.

Varner, P (2008) *Historical Dictionary of Westerns in Cinema*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow
Press, Inc.

Warshow R (1962) ‘The Westerner’ in Warshow, R. and Cavell, S. (2001) *The Immediate Experience: Movies, Comics, Theatre, and Other Aspects of Popular Culture*. New York: Doubleday. Pp.105 – 124.

White, J (2019) *The Contemporary Western: An American Genre Post 9-11.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Winkler, W.M. (2003) ‘*Illiad* and John Ford’s *The Searchers*’ in *Gaia: Revue interdisciplinaire sur la Grèce Archaïque* (No.7). Pp. 593-599. Available at: https://www.persee.fr/doc/gaia_1287-3349_2003_num_7_1_1452 (Accessed 10/05/23).

Wood, R (1971) ‘Shall we Gather at the River? The Late Films of John Ford’ in *Film Comment*. 7(3). Pp. 8-17. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43752832 (Accessed 09/05/23).