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Songsters and Film Scores: Civil War Music and American Memory

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Moreland Hills, Ohio, United States

B.A. American Culture, University of Michigan, 2014

Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

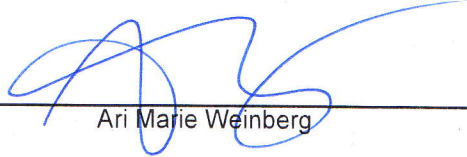
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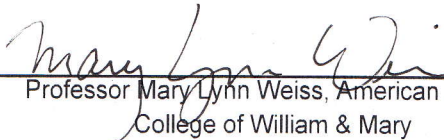
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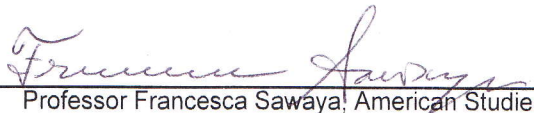


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ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of two separate essays both concerned with affect, memory, and music of the Civil War. The first examines the production, use, and purpose of a booklet called *The Soldier's Friend*, with an emphasis on the mission of its producer, the United States Sanitary Commission and the needs of the readers of the booklet. In addition, I highlight the explicit connections that the organization made in this document between health and music by bringing cultural and psychological theories to the study of music. While many scholars have emphasized the ubiquity and importance of music during the War (and during the greater nineteenth century), a thorough discussion of the importance of songsters is mostly missing from the narrative. My paper ultimately provides an initial insight into the prominence of songsters in American culture by tying together methods from multiple disciplines.

In my second essay, I argue that Max Steiner's film score in *Gone with the Wind* aids Rhett Butler's transition from a renegade man to a southern gentleman. His transformation carries with it messages and memories of the Lost Cause, most notably through Civil War melodies. Ultimately, I conclude that affect, music, and memory are intricately tied in the production of and actualization of southern, white, masculinity.

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Introduction

This thesis, entitled *Songsters and Film Scores: Civil War Music and American Memory*, comprises two shorter essays: *The Soldier's Friend: The United States Sanitary Commission and its Mission, in Music* and *The Death of a Child, The Death of a Cause: Max Steiner's Film Score and the Lost Cause in Gone with the Wind*. While situated in two different periods, each piece examines the relationship between music, identity, affect, and memory.

My first essay, *The Soldier's Friend*, examines a booklet with the same title written by the United States Sanitary Commission in 1864. *The Soldier's Friend* is unique in that it contains two seemingly disconnected sections, one containing practical information (i.e. medical advice, addresses) and the other a songster. The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) benefitted from the production of the songster both as a marketing tool as well as a document which portrayed their values. Civilians and soldiers who received the pamphlets at all USSC branches were given the opportunity to learn about the ways that resources and Christianity could carry all of those participating in the Civil War (at home or on the field) through to the end. I posit that by examining *The Soldier's Friend*, scholars gain insight into the relevance of songsters in American culture, but also discover new dimensions of the affective role of the Civil War music in American memory.

To accomplish my goals, I incorporate traditional Civil War cultural histories, musicology, primary sources from the period, and affect theory. I place

myself in conversation with scholars like Drew Gilpin Faust and Chandra Manning who examine the role of death and slavery in the war, respectively. I also engage in conversations concerning what constitutes a songster, and how expansive or specific that definition might be. I utilize histories of benevolence, such as those presented by Lori Ginzberg and Judith Ann Geisberg to situate *The Soldier's Friend* within its context, as well as affect and memory studies to explore what users of the songster might have felt.

My second essay, *The Death of a Child, The Death of a Cause* picks up where my first leaves off. It also engages with affect theory, but adjusts to the medium and zeitgeist. Like *The Soldier's Friend*, this essay focuses on rhetoric of the Civil War, but instead it examines its impact within film scores. While the entirety of *Gone with the Wind's* film score contains affectively powerful representations of Civil War melodies, I noticed the relationship between these tunes and Rhett Butler's character development. In the film, Rhett transforms from a renegade man to a proponent of the Lost Cause—it becomes especially evident by the end of the film when his daughter, Bonnie Blue Butler dies and all Civil War melodies cease. I posit that Max Steiner's film score incorporates Civil War melodies with deep emotional baggage to support Rhett's character arc. Furthermore, the audience's association with the melodies amplifies the action on screen, leading to a highly affective space; in these spaces, white audience members are carried back to the Old South, a space which represents affirmations of white supremacy. The popularity of the film reflects the viewers' absorption into the ideological world of the film. The characters and systems that

represent the romantic Old South fall in the film, but the sympathy garnered by the film's tragedy only feeds into longing and reverie for the past.

In this essay, I expand on my examinations of affect by adding film theory. I engage in debates concerning the use value of different film theory terms like diegetic/nondiegetic. I look to the discussion between Claudia Gorbman, Irwin Bazelon and Anahid Kassabian to determine which terms tie best with affect theory. In addition, I explore critical race theory to more fully understand the constructions of Rhett's race and gender. I challenge the terms of Joel Williamson's contentious article "Was Rhett Butler Black?," and track Grace Elizabeth Hale's connections between fear and racial violence to parse out the interconnected worlds of identity, affect, and racial hierarchy. In this essay, I work to demonstrate the importance of subconscious music in film scores as important builders of memory and identity.

Between both of my essays, I connect a medium of music with identity construction and affect theory. I add to scholarship concerning the Civil War by bringing these theories into an academic discussion that emphasizes more traditional historical methods. Instead, I assert the importance of emotional affects on historical constructions of events and the memories that linger beyond them. It is in these locations of memory formation that lie the keys to understanding constructions of identity that cause societal stagnation or change. And in the case of the Civil War, these memories have left us with statues, flags, hierarchies and arguments that remain central to conceptions of who gets to be American and whose memories become fact.

Utilizing affect theory brings risks and rewards. I define affect theory as a methodological framework (based in feminist and Marxist theory) that examines structures of emotion. I am concerned in my analyses less with the emotional states of individuals than the affective environments which they and their memories live. For some, the risks of affect theory weigh out the rewards; this theoretical framework carries with it both the risks of psychological and structural analysis. Structurally grounded studies carry the risks associated with assigning large-scale trends to groups to the experiences of individuals. In addition, any analysis of the emotional/affective experiences of historic subjects brings its own controversies: is it actually possible to determine the emotional or affective experiences of historic peoples who do not directly express these views themselves?

I ascribe to the sociological perspective that broad analyses are necessary for understanding large-scale problems like racism, sexism, and discrimination. When structural analysis meets with affect, a new opportunity emerges for understanding collective emotional as well as the influences of structures on the creation and maintenance of communal feelings. For instance, by the end of the Civil War, most communities felt and expressed a sense of exhaustion; while some individuals might have demonstrated other emotions, the overwhelming sense of exhaustion can be found in most any primary sources from the era. Affect theory allows for this type of analysis; what structural factors lead to such exhaustion? How did communities demonstrate and respond to communal emotional experiences? Which structures contributed to these feelings? Were

these influences intentional? My thesis is based on these questions and assumptions; I believe the risks are worth the benefits. What follows is an experiment. What are the overall affects of a moment and how do they last or change over time?

The Civil War provides a perfect entry into these questions. It is a well-documented, highly-studied event with a variety of historical explorations. In addition, many scholars (and enthusiasts) have explored the many meanings of *Gone with the Wind*. Both the film and the book have been explored for their literary, historical, political, and social value. By working with an event and media representation of it that are well-known and acknowledged, I can build on an extant and strong foundation. I hope that my essays provide a fresh and needed perspective on *Gone with the Wind* (the film), the Civil War, and music of the Civil War era.

The Soldier's Friend: The United States Sanitary Commission and its Mission, in Music

The United States Sanitary Commission, a civilian philanthropic organization founded in 1861, was created with the express purpose of examining and improving the sanitary conditions in soldier camps during the American Civil War. At the start, the Sanitary Commission researched disease and maintained itself through a highly specialized administrative machine that collected funds and produced medical research. By the end of the War, however, the organization, which Jean Waters Thomas ties to the eventual formation of the Red Cross, had been transformed into an aid organization that provided material resources to injured and sick soldiers as well as their families.¹ In 1864, the Sanitary Commission began to produce and distribute a booklet called *The Soldiers Friend* that was a combination of informational medical pamphlet and songster. In this paper, I examine the production, use, and purpose of this songster, with an emphasis on the mission of the United States Sanitary Commission and the needs of the readers of this booklet. In addition, I will highlight the explicit connections that the organization made in this document between health and music.

By utilizing cultural histories of the American Civil War, affect theory, and primary sources from the Sanitary Commission itself (including *The Soldier's Friend* and a bi-weekly bulletin that the Commission published between 1863 and 1865), I bring cultural and psychological theories to the study of music. During

¹ Jean Waters Tomas, "Music of the Great Sanitary Fairs: Culture and Charity in the American Civil War," 7.

the Civil War, music and the formation of ideology worked in tandem; to understand the value systems placed upon Civil War soldiers, one needs to look no further than the music they consumed. While many scholars have emphasized the ubiquity and importance of music during the War (and during the greater nineteenth century), a thorough discussion of the importance of songsters is mostly missing from the narrative. My paper ultimately provides an initial insight into the prominence of songsters in American culture by bringing together methods from multiple disciplines.

Definitions

Scholars disagree on the definition of a songster.² A workable definition is a combination of those used by Norm Cohen and Kirsten M. Schultz, with some additions. Cohen describes a songster as a book of song lyrics lacking musical notation. He believes that if a songster contains musical notation, it is a songbook, which easily compares to sheet music. In turn, hymn books only include lyrics and meter while songsters typically only contain lyrics, and potentially melodic guides (i.e. airs and contrafacta).³ Therefore I add that a songster consists primarily of lyrics, and lacks staves and notes. The understanding ?? of meter was common, especially from church life, and required little to no experience with sheet music reading. Providing meter notations made music usable. While some scholars, such as Kristen Shultz

² Norm Cohen, in his introduction to *American Secular Songsters Published Between 1860 and 1899* describes these disagreements in detail. Some points of contention include length of a songster, size, the limit to how much musical notation can be present, etc.

³ In the introduction to *American Secular Songsters*.

describe a songster as “a printed collection of secular song lyrics,” tunes included in songsters crossed the boundary between secular and sacred in the nineteenth century.⁴ A more inclusive definition states that a songster is any collection of song lyrics which calls itself a songster (on the title paper or another location) or lacks an explicit definition and maintains the majority of characteristics of songsters, including their size, price, purpose and general mode of distribution.

Typical songsters were small (the size of a breast pocket or smaller), inexpensive (ten cents per unit), and produced with low-quality paper and ink. Often, songsters have interesting cover art or covers made of colored paper. For example, the Beadle’s Dime Songster *The Vacant Chair* has cover art reflecting the title song; a lonely mother and father crouch over an empty chair mourning. A table on the background holds soldier’s materials and a Bible. The cover paper is orange.⁵ Others have plain covers, like *The Soldier’s Friend*. This songster has a cover of off-white paper that only contains the title and publishing information.⁶ Sometimes a songster focuses on a specific topic, or at the very least advertises a popular song within it. *The Vacant Chair* dime songster, for example, uses the title song and cover art as a marketing tool to passersby who might want to purchase it.

⁴ For more on definitions of secular, refer to Michael Warner’s entry “Secularism” in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Warner describes the transitions of its meaning in American culture over time; secularism is a concept that was broadly accepted by both religious and nonreligious communities in America throughout the nineteenth-century. For some, secularity actually had the potential to purify one’s Christian practice. Depending on who used it, the word had a multiplicity of meanings. For the USSC, while it is unclear, it seems that secularity was important for them especially for tying together religious and nonreligious aid in order to reach higher spiritual attainment.

⁵ Beadle and Company, *Beadle’s Dime Song Book The Vacant Chair: Popular, Comic and Sentimental Songs* (New York: Beadle and Company, 1864).

⁶ United States Sanitary Commission, *The Soldier’s Friend* (Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins, 1865).

Scholars also debate the mode of distribution for songsters and how they might have been used. The pure ubiquity of music in the nineteenth century created a culture of mass consumption. In fact, during that time, songsters filled a gap in the market missed by sheet music. While sheet music required musical training, instruments to play, and extra income, a songster only required basic literacy skills (or a literate friend), a voice, and smaller amounts of money. While many people learned music for free (by listening, or learning from friends), nineteenth century consumers played music so frequently that new lyrics provided fresh opportunities to sing something new. Songsters offered a portable, inexpensive medium for literate or semi-literate people to learn music without the financial or temporal strains of musical training. In addition, illiterate people could participate in songster use by sharing with literate friends. David M. Henkin describes how dime novels and newspapers were often shared by the working-class via forming monetary pools and purchasing/sharing the objects together, and they purchased them in common locations like newsstands and dry goods stores.⁷ As songsters came at a similar price and style to the dime novel, and were printed by the same companies (i.e. Beadle and Co.), I posit that songsters were shared in the same communities and purchased in the same locations. By the time of the Civil War, middle- and working-class Americans knew of and collected songsters. Their inexpensive and portable size made them useful for soldiers. Because songsters had low prices, those purchasing them could rotate their stock with the times, as songsters changed content according

⁷ Henkin, David M, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 3.

to the popularity of tunes and events. Due to the flexibility of a songster, ubiquity of music in the nineteenth century, and the popularity of songsters more broadly, it makes sense that the United States Sanitary Commission would produce one.

The Civil War Context

In *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* Drew Gilpin Faust argues that the American Civil War changed nineteenth-century Americans' perceptions of death, and ultimately that these changes transformed the United States into what Frederick Law Olmsted called the "republic of suffering."⁸ Faust explains that before the Civil War, Americans commonly witnessed death of youth and the elderly, yet, during wartime, death began to take young men either through disease or injury, so much so that soldiers called it "a harvest of death."⁹ During the Civil War death became so common among soldiers and civilians that feelings of loss "became commonplace," a bonding force among American people.¹⁰ Between 1861 and 1865, 620,000 soldiers died; more soldiers died during the Civil War than those in the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War combined.¹¹ Many soldiers died from battle, but even more died of disease—without germ theory, soldiers and the medical care providers who aided them spread infections widely. The fact that 995 out of 1,000 soldiers

⁸ Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), xiii.

⁹ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xiii.

¹⁰ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xiii.

¹¹ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xi.

experienced diarrhea and dysentery regularly exemplifies the consistency and severity of unsanitary conditions.¹²

Faust notes that in this era of inexplicable suffering, meanings of race, citizenship and nationhood changed drastically for Americans. She proves her thesis by examining what she calls the work of death. She defines this work as, “the duties of soldiers to fight, kill and die, but at the same time invoking battle’s consequences: its slaughter, its suffering, and devastation.”¹³ Dying soldiers and their living compatriots had to contend with the meanings of survival and death away from home where they could no longer rely on their immediate families for a “good death.” Instead, soldiers and their religious leaders and health providers created their own surrogates; songs from and photographs of family consoled soldiers.¹⁴

In her book, *What this Cruel War was Over*, Chandra Manning examines how both Northern and Southern communities understood the purpose of the war and how their perspectives changed throughout the war. By centralizing slavery as the key social reason for the Civil War, Manning gives insight into the relationship between morality, soldiers, and death. Manning provides an alternative to Faust’s framework about death by focusing on the influence of politics on this understanding. In her effort to explain why white, black, Christian/non-Christian, immigrant/native, freed people, and northern/southern soldiers fought, she exposes the ways that slavery altered soldiers’

¹²Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 4.

¹³Faust, *This Republic of Suffering* xiv

¹⁴Faust, *This Republic of Suffering* 11.

comprehension of their own mortality. While her analyses of the South prove interesting, her understanding of northern reasons for fighting and dying prove especially useful; Manning moves outside of sentimental meanings of death by adding to Reid Mitchell's scholarship on honor, duty, and manhood and James McPherson's work on freedom, equality and the American Revolution. She notes that Union soldiers felt a deep connection to government, philanthropy and country that prevented disillusionment.¹⁵ Throughout the war, Union soldiers consoled themselves by fighting to maintain the Union and, by the end, to free the enslaved. Manning marks how tenets of slavery directly contrasted with northern moral frameworks; Union soldiers reasoned that all the death and destruction of wartime came due to complicity in slavery.¹⁶ And throughout the war, northern soldiers turned to the discourse of philanthropy as a source of inspiration (i.e. inherent humanity, self-determination).¹⁷ Other scholars, like Gerald F. Linderman and Steven E. Woodworth in their texts *Embattled Courage* and *While God is Marching On*, respectively, support Manning's claims that Civil War soldiers understood the war as punishment for the sins of slavery.¹⁸

Faust, Manning, Woodworth, Linderman, McPherson, and Mitchell all address soldiers' experiences of suffering and the ways that the soldiers contended. Soldiers and their families were disoriented by the reality of wartime and the widespread destruction of the era. In this environment of pain and

¹⁵ Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over*, 54.

¹⁶ Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over*, 113.

¹⁷ Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over*, 70.

¹⁸ Woodworth adds an important addition to this scholarship in that he focuses on the role of religion in the Civil War. Read his text for more information on Christian revivals, Christian religious practice during the war, and personal experiences of soldiers in their spirituality.

confusion, civilians across the country began to help in however they could, forming charitable organizations and volunteering their time and resources. One of the best-known of these organizations, the United States Sanitary Commission, came to be in this environment.

The United States Sanitary Commission

The United States Sanitary Commission formed after a the philosophy of philanthropy was in transition; Robert H. Brenner defines philanthropic efforts during the Civil War as broad philanthropy, namely an all-encompassing system of benevolence which included givers/doers, advocates/administrators and associations in its definition.¹⁹ It is in this environment that the organizers, like those in the United States Sanitary Commission drastically changed their understanding of the people they served; Wendy Gamber, in her article “Antebellum Reform: Salvation, Self-Control and Social Transformation,” notes these shifts and their implications upon Christian morality. Before the Civil War, philanthropic organizations focused on social issues, seeing drunks, sexually promiscuous people, and the poor as free-agents responsible for their own salvation.²⁰ Gamber notes that while these movements seem complex and contradictory to the contemporary reader, reformers saw no contradiction between self-improvement and their work.²¹ Coming from the Christian revivals of the 1850s, Christian reform movements focused on individual character as the cause of one’s life situation (and their future success or failure in heaven); while

¹⁹ Brenner, Robert H. *The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War Era.*, xii.

²⁰ Gamber “Antebellum Reform: Slavation, Self-Control and Social Transformation,” 129.

²¹ Gamber “Antebellum Reform: Slavation, Self-Control and Social Transformation,” 129.

much was at stake, reformers believed that with the right knowledge, the needy would change, hence ending poverty and immorality forever.²² By the Civil War, however, these perspectives changed; reformers prioritized organizational efficiency and science over sentimental character changes. And through that process, reformers began to separate their own self-improvement from that of those they served.²³ In this same period, women's organizations were consolidated and taken over by men.²⁴ From this shift emerged the United States Sanitary Commission.

The United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) began via the efforts of the Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR) in New York City, an aid organization dedicated to supporting Union soldiers; in May, 1861, the WCAR partnered with New York city officials and medical professionals, and this group of leaders presented their support and ideas to the government. This movement was characterized by the "independent reform activism"²⁵ defined by Judith Ann Giesberg in her book *Civil War Sisterhood*; essentially, Giesberg describes how independent people, primarily women, formed benevolent organizations addressing societal issues. These grassroots communities provided immeasurable hours of work, materials and finances to various causes, and eventually, to the Civil War. Women, especially, gave time, resources and

²² Gamber "Antebellum Reform: Slavery, Self-Control and Social Transformation," 132.

²³ Gamber, "Antebellum Reform: Slavery, Self-Control and Social Transformation," 153.

²⁴ Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 19

²⁵ Giesberg, Judith Ann, *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 6.

expertise to the USSC throughout its duration. The women provided on-the-ground, local work which was organized and documented by men.

The efforts of the WCAR and others grew from grassroots efforts to create a government-supported administration. By June, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln approved a proposal from the Secretary of War asking for the formation of the organization suggested by the WCAR, which would examine and promote “the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces”; it was called the United States Sanitary Commission, and began by electing its leadership. The former vice president of the WCAR, the Unitarian minister Henry W. Bellows, became the president, and other well-known elites of the period joined the board including, George Templeton Strong and Frederick Law Olmsted, famous for their work in law and architecture, respectively. As the organization blossomed, the USSC adopted an executive administrative structure which included the executive board, various committees, branches, and departments. The developing structure included previously established organizations, like the WCAR that absorbed into the system as one of the USSC auxiliary women’s branches, and new ones, such as Homes and Lodges, which sheltered and provided medical care for soldiers.²⁶ This extensive bureaucratic structure created the node from which material and financial resources trickled down to local efforts.

Initially, the USSC focused efforts on research and medical provisions for sanitation in war camps. One aspect of this included news-sharing through

²⁶ The New York Public Library, “United States Sanitary Commission Records”

published “circulars, broadsides, pamphlets, and publications,”²⁷ including the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, a twice-monthly newspaper published in Philadelphia, and various articles and reports describing medical findings. However, due to the severe pressures of wartime, the USSC experienced a speedy transition from a research organization to a more material and legal practical aid organization. The USSC began to provide material relief, such as food, medical supplies, shelter; legal services for disabled, injured or impoverished soldiers and their families including connections to claim agencies and hospital directories, which ensured that soldiers received their pensions and that anyone who inquired could find lost loved ones. As death tolls rose, the USSC collected, identified, and buried the dead. Even still, the USSC managed to continue publications throughout the war including the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin* and the object of this study, *The Soldier’s Friend*. These documents provided a variety of opportunities for the USSC to fundraise. Throughout the war, fundraising remained a high priority for members of the organization; between 1861 and 1866, the USSC raised a total of \$4,942,048.99.²⁸ These monies were spread across the various material and functional needs of the organization including purchasing medical materials, paying wages to USSC workers, and providing necessary funds for practical objects like artificial limbs, railroad tickets, and food shipments.

²⁷ “United States Sanitary Commission Records”

²⁸ Charles Janeway Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission, Being the General Report of Its Work During the War of the Rebellion*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866).; The United States Sanitary Commission, *Soldiers Friend*, 17.

Practical Uses of *The Soldier's Friend*

Typically, scholars highlight the scientific, militaristic, and logical focus of the USSC. Undoubtedly, these aspects of the USSC remain important even today, as their wartime medical organizational practices influenced the founding and function of the Red Cross. However, the USSC also relied on ideology to promote and maintain its messages. Publishing *The Soldier's Friend* songster provided a platform for the USSC to promote both its services and ideas.²⁹ Most clearly, the USSC understood the popularity and prevalence of songsters, hymn books, and religious tracts in army camps; USSC employees and volunteers interacted with soldiers on a daily basis, and likely witnessed their use. By providing important information in a format that would capture a soldier's attention, USSC members could use the songster as a mouthpiece for their organization by simply getting a copy into a soldier's hands. An advertisement for *The Soldier's Friend* in the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, January 1, 1865 edition describes the songster as the size of a "breast pocket" including "beautiful hymns, elected from various collections, miscellaneous and patriotic pieces, which will be read, sung and enjoyed while the war lasts."³⁰ Although the author never explicitly defines *The Soldier's Friend* as a songster, the description of its size and use implies that it is one.

²⁹ My copy of *The Soldier's Friend* comes from the Center for Popular Music, but a quick WorldCat search revealed a copy of the songster located at over 70 institutions across the United States including the Virginia Historical Society, George Mason's Fenwick Library, University of Maryland libraries, John Hopkins libraries, the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Tale, New York Academy of Medicine, etc.

³⁰ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin (1863-1865.): Three Volumes in One*, (New York: [Unknown], 1866), 939.

To ensure broad distribution of *The Soldier's Friend*, USSC publishers sent it to all branches of the USSC to ensure that it was “distributed among men of the army and navy.”³¹ Through “Homes and Lodges,” where injured and ill soldiers rested and recovered, to major travel ports where soldiers passed between battles, the USSC intended to spread the songster to anyone who would take it. Since the USSC served all Union (and some imprisoned Confederate) soldiers, the audience would have been mixed in race, age, religion, and social class. An *Atlantic Monthly* report, reprinted in the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin* April 15, 1865 issue, describes two distinct wards in a USSC Home: one white, one non-white. In the non-white ward, the author describes seeing black soldiers interact with written materials: “from bed to bed...you see in their hand primers, spelling-books, and Bibles...”³² While the author does not explicitly mention songsters, he does describe active singing among the soldiers, black and white, inside of the Home while healing. The author intended to garner support for the Abolitionist cause and the USSC, and described these instances, although peppered with scientific racism, as a political and marketing tool. In any case, it does expose the use of paper materials, religious and secular, across races in the Homes and Lodges.

Furthermore, the USSC expanded its audience outside of those who interacted directly with the organization by sending *The Soldier's Friend* to auxiliary aid organizations and other medical care facilities. A January 1, 1865 advertisement in the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin* describes how members

³¹ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 939.

³² U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 1130.

of the USSC intended to supply the songster to other aid organizations to help them fundraise: “it is proposed to supply the ‘Aid Societies’ auxiliary of the Sanitary Commission, with the number of copies they may be able to sell, and have the proceeds of such sales appropriate to replenish their various treasuries.”³³ Donating *The Soldier’s Friend* to these organizations provided multiple benefits: the USSC could spread its message to a broader audience, but also network with and support societies with parallel goals. Sharing the songster with hospitals provided similar benefits. In the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, a letter from Rev. J. Shrigley, Chaplain of the U.S.A General Hospital in Philadelphia describes the success of *The Soldier’s Friend* and asks for more copies to share in the hospital. He states “While [*The Soldier’s Friend*] gives every soldier valuable information, it likewise tends to the cultivation of his religious faculties...This collection of hymns is decidedly the best yet published for the army and navy.”³⁴ Rev. Shrigley simultaneously praises the religious and practical effects of *The Soldier’s Friend*; this combination of practicality and ideology fits perfectly within the USSC’s religious mission “Practical Christianity.”³⁵

The term “Practical Christianity” is from an eponymous article, written by Rev. J. A. Anderson in the January 1, 1865 edition of the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin*. The minister defended the values and purposes of the USSC, including its focus on material and medical aid. Leaders of the United

³³ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 939.

³⁴ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 915.

³⁵ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 915.

States Christian Commission, an aid organization promoting evangelical Christianity criticized the USSC's focus on material over spiritual aid. The minister responded to such criticisms by asking "Is such work as 'Christian,' in the sight of the full-hearted father, as the distribution of tracts?"³⁶ This particular question refers to the practical aid mission of the USSC—Rev. J.A. Anderson points to physical aid missions as equally important, if not more important and more Christian than the spread of doctrine. His response demonstrates the function of "Practical Christianity;" Essentially, its believers assert that material and practical aid provides spiritual fulfillment for those who give aid and those who receive it alike.³⁷ Through "Practical Christianity," one could both believe in and participate in science while maintaining their Christian values.

For the USSC, non-sectarian Christianity remained key to its success as an organization, and in the spread of their resources—in several articles of the *U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, various contributors defend the USSC from accusations of secularity (primarily Unitarianism since the president was Unitarian). For instance, in an entry from January 15, 1865, titled "Unitarian Tracts," an unnamed author works to dispel rumors that the USSC dispersed Unitarian tracts. The author states:

It is well known, that while the U.S. Sanitary Commission is a Christian institution, it is not sectarian...it recognizes the fact, that our army is composed of men of all shades of religious belief, and that it would be unjust to the people to allow itself to be used as a means to advocate sectarian dogmas.³⁸

³⁶ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 915.

³⁷ There exists a broad scholarship on the distribution of Christian tracts. Woodworth's aforementioned book outlines the work of religious organizations like The Christian Commission and the tracts they distributed.

³⁸ U.S. Sanitary Commission, *United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, 945.

In essence, the author recognizes that by remaining non-sectarian, the USSC was able to cast a broader net and catch a larger number of interested bodies who could provide fundraising dollars, opportunities for cross-collaboration, and aid in the formation of a universal body of Americans who could unite under the flag.

Interestingly, this balance of practicality and non-sectarian Christianity defined *The Soldier's Friend*—this booklet balanced practical medical information along with music that highlighted Christian values, as well as values of nationhood and a unified country. Faust and other scholars contend that as the war continued, people of the United States tired of fighting and sought a point of agreement. The sheer numbers of the dead led to bonding over services for the dead, what Faust describes as, “national community for the reunited states, a constituency all could willingly serve.”³⁹ The Sanitary Commission actively participated in this culture by providing practical death services, but also through the provision of a songster, which could be used for burial—it was common for soldiers to pray or sing hymns over their dying comrades during battle.⁴⁰ Likely, members of the USSC understood the potential of *The Soldier's Friend* to provide comfort for soldiers, both those in their dying moments, and those praying for fallen comrades, family, friends, and others contending with death.

In addition, the word “friend” in the songster’s title carries special weight; it has a long and complicated history. In her book *Perfecting Friendship: Politics*

³⁹ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 269.

⁴⁰ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 77.

and Affiliation in Early American Literature, Ivy Schweitzer describes the importance of friendship as a tool for social organization. While her book focuses on the application of friendship in literature in the eighteenth-century, Schweitzer's general concept applies: friendship has raced, gendered, and political meanings. Schweitzer explores friendship as discourse and demonstrates how early American authors tapped into discourses about friendship beginning in the classical era. Essentially, Schweitzer describes the history of friendship in America as a democratizing process; in theory, friendship implies equality, democratization, and allegiance. Though now associated with feminine connection, friendship was historically an essential aspect of relationships between men. Friendship was seen the most intimate and important relationship one could have, as it was chosen based on mutual values, not status.

By naming the booklet *The Soldier's Friend*, the author calls upon the long history of values of friendship in America. The title evokes a sense of companionship, equality and loyalty with its readers. By being a friend to the soldiers, *The Soldier's Friend* brings together men from all ranks. Its title insinuates equality, democracy, and allegiance among all the soldiers who used it. *The Soldier's Friend* is a title that insinuates trust, as well as a source of equal values. It perfectly into the non-secular focus of the USSC—both friendship and non-secularity draw on universalism. Ultimately, the title implies that *The Soldier's Friend* is a companion that anyone can trust.

Affect Theory

Affect theory provides an important framework for understanding the experiences of Civil War soldiers and their need for a songster like *The Soldier's Friend*. Studying emotions and affects proves especially important because of the politics and social implications. In their introduction to their collection *Doing Emotions History*, Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns work through the complexities of and importance of using emotions history. First, Matt and Stearns emphasize how emotions shape public realities; emotions lead to behaviors that impact all facets of life.⁴¹ In fact, Matt and Stearns have high confidence in the potential that comes from doing emotions histories: "By studying feelings, historians are uncovering the worldviews and the most fundamental assumptions about life, culture and personality that people in the past carried in their heads."⁴² Emotions have both shaped history and have a history of their own. Matt and Stearns point to the function of emotions in history: culture shapes emotions and vice versa, emotions create and maintain valuation systems (like race, class, and gender), and emotions influence daily practice.⁴³ By incorporating histories of emotions into this work, a deeper understanding of how soldiers and their families survived such terror emerges.

One way to explore the importance of emotions to history includes affect theory. Alexis Shotwell describes implicit understanding in comparison to its

⁴¹ Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns, *Doing Emotions History* (University of Illinois, Press, 2014), 1.

⁴² Matt and Stearns, *Doing Emotions History*, 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

opposite: “propositional knowledge.”⁴⁴ Propositional knowledge, she explains, depicts the things we can describe, “make claims” for and “test,”⁴⁵ such as objects and statistics. In contrast, she defines implicit knowledge as that which “cannot be or [is] not spoken,”⁴⁶ a force that “names our background, taken-for-granted understanding of being in the world: the implicit is what provides the conditions for things to make sense to us...[and it] provides the framework through which it is possible to form propositions and also to evaluate them as true or false.”⁴⁷ She claims that we utilize implicit understanding in order to situate ourselves in our environments and also to respond effectively to concrete issues or encounters. In many ways, implicit knowledge is perceptive, rather than logical, but can always be learned: it can be “practical, skill based,” “somatic or bodily,” “potentially propositional, but currently implicit,” or “affective or emotional.”⁴⁸ Through her example, Shotwell highlights how even what seems like the simplest experience contains within it complex and multi-faceted forms of understanding the world.

William Ian Miller, in his work *The Anatomy of Disgust*, expands upon emotional and affective knowledge. While Miller focuses specifically on disgust, his theories connect morality, the self, science, and logic. This combination of morality, science, and logic proves especially important in understanding the process of nineteenth-century philanthropic organizations like the USSC. Miller

⁴⁴ Shotwell, *Knowing Otherwise*, ix.

⁴⁵ Shotwell *Knowing Otherwise*, ix.

⁴⁶ Shotwell, *Knowing Otherwise*, ix.

⁴⁷ Shotwell, *Knowing Otherwise*, x-xi.

⁴⁸ Shotwell, *Knowing Otherwise*, xi.

describes the ways that his work in affect theory directly challenges his contemporary academic climate: he claims that the majority of scholars avoid exploring the meanings of negative affect, like disgust due to its status as a “lowly passion”, and instead focus on emotions which support western narratives of “self-interest,” like the “quest for power” or love.⁴⁹ In addition, Miller posits that studies of disgust are necessary in moral philosophy, as understanding “moral judgment seems almost to demand the idiom of disgust.”⁵⁰ He believes that nineteenth-century discourses of science and logic have moved the conversation away from the very nuanced “psychological (and by extension, moral)” discourse;⁵¹ he therefore chooses to model his work after scholars and texts he admires, such as Robert Burton’s *The Anatomy of Melancholy* and Erving Goffman’s micro-political theory.⁵² Miller provides a definition of emotions in general. He describes how emotions are defined by “social and cultural paradigms” which determine how and when feelings should be felt and shown, that they are “richly social, cultural and linguistic phenomena” and can evoke a need for action. Emotions, he also claims, help humans describe our personalities and relate to our environments.”⁵³

One such relationship to emotions and the environment stems from the sentimental and nostalgic. While a broad literature addressing the sentimental exists, June Howard summarizes it beautifully in her entry on sentiment in

⁴⁹ Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), xi.

⁵⁰ Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, xi.

⁵¹ Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, xii.

⁵² Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, xii.

⁵³ Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 8.

Keywords in American Cultural Studies. As abovementioned by Miller, Matt and Stearns, Howard also points to the important relationship between emotions and history. "Sentiment," however, has a special relationship to culture and society. Howard describes how sentiment "marks the recognition that feelings are social and historical," that such feelings are structured and shared, and ultimately that sentimental feelings highlight the connection between subjective experience and public realities.⁵⁴ The word sentimentality sparks mass scholarly debate, especially since sentimentality has multiple meanings and uses. However, Howards assertion that sentimentality is an emotion infused into thought, it is an affective response which ties emotion to society.⁵⁵

The sentimental has a long and intertwined history that is geographically and contextually specific. Howard begins in eighteenth-century America, noting that the sentimental is related to empathy and moral improvement.⁵⁶ That meaning carried into the nineteenth-century where sentiment became indicative of one's ability to feel sympathy, human connections, and a tie to ethnics and domesticity. The difficulty comes when looking at the tension between the words and expectations of sentimentality and reality; while nineteenth-century sentimentality preached domestic achievement and empathy for others, it was also based in materiality and social hierarchies. Emotions quickly became tied to personal objects, and feelings of sentimentality became important for determining

⁵⁴ June Howard, "Sentiment," in *Keywords in American Cultural Studies*, ed. Burgett, Bruce, Glenn Hendle (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 213.

⁵⁵ Howard, "Sentiment," 213.

⁵⁶ Howard, "Sentiment," 214.

who was deserving of rights and resources. For example, upper class whites utilized sentimentality to look down on non-whites and the poor.⁵⁷

Part of the tension around using the word sentiment and studying its functions comes from a period of dismissal in academia. However, Howard highlights, there has been a revival, especially by feminist scholars who were interested in looking at the relationship between sentiment as an indicator of historic women's values as well as an oppressive and force. I assert that exploring sentiment proves an edgy, yet worthwhile venture, especially when the function and meaning of sentiment for the communities who felt it is balanced with its oppressive possibilities. As it applies to *The Soldier's Friend*, the USSC, and Civil War soldiers, sentiment permeated their lives and their music. Sentiment drowns *The Soldier's Friend* from every angle. Understanding it as an cultural and social affective event rather than an individual experience one allows for a deeper analysis of soldiers' lives and the intentions of the USSC.

Between Shotwell's definition of implicit understanding, Miller's analysis of emotions, Matt and Stearns exploration of emotional history, and Howard's definition of sentiment a useful affect framework emerges: though scholars cannot measure implicit understandings, efforts to uncover them prove fruitful in complicating the emotional experience of historic people. The gruesome nature of wartime during the Civil War forced soldiers to commit acts of violence which directly contrasted with their morality. In looking at the music provided to them through *The Soldier's Friend* and the affect associated with the pieces provides

⁵⁷ Howard, "Sentiment," 216.

insight into soldiers' implicit understandings. Themes within the music actively appeals to the vast influence of sentiment on the soldiers' lives. How did *The Soldier's Friend* utilize sentiment to assert beliefs around morality, religion and masculinity? How did USSC organizers feel about soldiers' behavior? How did they aim to adjust or affirm it? By reading between the lines, and working through the format of and maintaining a critical eye on *The Soldier's Friend*, I aim to explicate soldiers' and charitable doers' experience of sentiment and the ways that these individuals tried to make sense of their terrifying and tragic worlds.

Content of The Soldier's Friend

The Soldier's Friend is pocket-sized, eggshell white, and adheres to the expectations of a typical songster with a bold lettered title taking up approximately two-thirds of the cover space. The front cover has typical stock border designs around the perimeter, including two plain filled lines, one thicker than the other, and an elongated diamond design with small figures inside each diamond. The back cover is blank. At 128 pages in length, the *Soldiers Friend* appears from the outside to be an average songster, without calling itself a songster.

Understanding the content within the *Soldier's Friend* is vital for discerning how the songs and hymns reflect values of the USSC. The long list of sections in the appendix of *The Soldier's Friend* can be categorized more simply into the purposes each of them serves: tools and documents, Christian doctrine, correspondences, addresses to soldiers, addresses to all interested parties, and music. Tools and documents sections describe the process in which soldiers

could obtain necessary resources such as artificial limbs. Christian doctrine sections contain various prayers, such as The Lord's Prayer. Correspondences document correspondence between different important leaders in the USSC and the content demonstrates the efforts different leaders took to care for soldiers (such as ensuring the dispense of pensions). Addresses to soldiers are small articles written with important messages to soldiers. For example, "Warning to Soldiers" describes all of the dangers of drinking, gambling and engaging in extramarital sex. Addresses to all interested parties describe the values of the USSC and encourage readers to either donate to the cause, or make use of the resources the USSC provides. Lastly, the music sections are made of up three sections: (hymns, miscellaneous, and patriotic). Altogether, the three sections contain 98 hymns/songs.

As scholars like Faust and Manning make clear, soldiers of the Civil War often felt separated from their families, disenchanting with the wartime experience, and wearied of fighting, surviving, suffering, and dying. The USSC provided practical details to remind the soldiers of available services, yes, but these details also helped to reconnect them to the community. Consistent references to family members, community sacrifices and available resources contradicted soldiers' belief that folks at home profited off their suffering, left them to die, and no longer cared about them. This information was meant to act as a reminder to soldiers that they had more to live for than abolition and the nation. One example comes from "To Our Soldiers and Sailors," a section dedicated to

eliciting sentimental feelings about home and to uplift the soldiers by reminding them of their families, friends and fellowmen:

...the U.S. Sanitary Commission. Many of you have derived advantage from it, if you have been sick or wounded....Its direct and tangible results are many thousand lives saved, an incalculable amount of suffering relieved or mitigated...What the People have thus done for their soldiers will long be held in honorable remembrance as a magnificent National act, not only of humanity and charity, but of Patriotism also... it has materially strengthened the National Forces, [and] contributed to the success of the National cause...⁵⁸

The above excerpt from “To Our Soldiers and Sailors” reminds soldiers and sailors alike of the difficult work done by civilians at home. Here, the author describes how the nation will remember soldiers for risking their lives for the union, but also that the efforts civilians made from home deserve recognition. Those donating time, materials and effort toward the aid organizations through the USSC will be remembered for their “humanity and charity,” “Patriotism,” and involvement in the “National cause.” These messages of course help the USSC in legitimizing the volunteers in their efforts, and promoting the merits of those providing further time and resources. The author appeals to sentimental values like patriotism, humanity, charity and nationalism to appeal to the reader. In addition, the USSC author who wrote this section understood that most people in the United States living through the Civil War recognized it as a historical moment. Participating as soldier or volunteer called for hard work, but the work would be remembered for all time; each person participated in a cause imbued with sentiment. This section reminds the reader that their efforts inspired others

⁵⁸ United States Sanitary Commission, *The Soldier's Friend*, 10.

to continue fighting and that the communal commitment to enforcing sentimental values brought everyone together.

In addition, compilers of *The Soldier's Friend* intended to keep soldiers as moral as possible, even away from home. Reminders of Christian, domestic values and references to sentimental values, the author of *The Soldier's Friend* simultaneously addressed disillusionment and isolation soldiers felt while also asserting morality onto them. Like a good "friend," the USSC reminds its readership of the moral values one should hold and the human connection that abiding to them promises.

One piece in the medical portion of *The Soldier's Friend*, "Warnings to Soldiers," exemplifies the complicated relationship between the soldier's experience and the morality of affect. A portion of the text reads:

1. Beware of persons offering to help you, unless you are sure they belong to some responsible relief association. The camps, and especially the cities, railway stations, cars and boats are full of *pretended friends* of soldiers, and there are hundreds of soldiers robbed every week by these impostors...
3. Beware of unauthorized men who desire to take you to claim agents. They are not to be trusted...
5. Beware of restaurants and saloons. The government at the Rests, and the Sanitary Commission at its Homes and Lodges will give you all the food you need. At the saloons, soldiers are very often, by being induced to take a single glass of beer, drugged and taken from them. Beware of all liquor shops!⁵⁹

Soldiers encountered many temptations outside of masculine, Christian expectations. With more advanced weapons and lack of resources men were forced to break their moral codes; men shot to kill, stole for sustenance and

⁵⁹ *The Soldier's Friend*, 35.

partook in excessive drinking which came into direct tension with domestic and sentimental values. The first paragraph of “Warnings to Soldiers” describes some of the ways that soldiers might be taken advantage of during wartime in order to scare them out of participating in immoral/risky behaviors. The author of “Warnings to Soldiers” reminds soldiers of the dangers that will come in the way of the men as they travel along the road (including being drugged and robbed). While the author likely exaggerated what actually happened to soldiers, many were taken advantage of by people trying to profit off of the war. Instead of taking risks, the author emphasizes that soldiers can take another road—the USSC provided food so soldiers could avoid saloons or restaurants (and hence, alcohol). As soldiers’ “friend,” the USSC stood in contrast to a cold and terrifying world. It is known that many soldiers did drink during wartime due to the difficulties of their lives or simply for enjoyment. But the USSC, aware of such behavior, at least attempted to curb it in their Christian image.

This section implies another meaning as well; By appealing to soldiers via the image of friendship (and therefore trust), the USSC asserted moral values onto their readership and reminded them of sentimentality and the home. The language of the above warnings, names the advantage-takers as “*pretended friends*” and “impostors.” Such definitions remove blame from the consequences of soldiers’ mistakes while at the same time condemning their personal irresponsibility. For example, soldiers are not depicted as simple and innocent bystanders. By drinking, for example, soldiers are not only doing something immoral, but they also disappoint those who care about them. While the saloon

“induce[d]” soldiers to take a beer (morally condemnable and irresponsible behavior), the soldiers are blamed for putting themselves in problematic situations (i.e. getting drugged and stolen from). The author describes how the USSC provides food for soldiers to subtly admonish them—the writer understands that soldiers attend saloons for alcohol, not food. But, by writing to soldiers in what seems to be an unassuming tone, simultaneously takes the position of a friend while also asserting moralistic and sentimental values.

This duality between trusted friend and sentimental parent carries into the music of *The Soldier's Friend*. Looking at music as both secular and religious in *The Soldier's Friend* shows the affective power of sentiment. While hymns proved practical in providing opportunities for soldiers to experience the “good death,” the songs, poems turned into tunes, and hymns provided a platform to further explore the consequences of wartime and ways to express emotions and sentiments throughout. *The Soldier's Friend* actively combats the feelings of disillusionment and disappointment that Faust and Manning allude to in their cultural histories of the Civil War.

Both the devotional and miscellaneous songs have meter descriptions and numbered verses, much like a traditional hymn book. Meter is marked with abbreviations like C.M. (common meter), L.M. (long meter), and so forth. Unlike the typical songster which relies on common knowledge or the label “air” to identify tunes, the hymn sections of the *Soldier's Friend* use meter to hint at potential melodies useful for singing the songs for those who might not know the hymn. So long as a soldier or reader knew a tune written in a given meter, they

could sing the hymn text. In addition, the *Soldiers Friend* ends with an index of first lines, which is also usually found in hymn books—again, unlike songsters, which contain a table of contents with the titles of the works and the appropriate page numbers. At a first glance the music of the *Soldier's Friend*, one might label it as a hymn book.

Nonetheless, closer inspection discloses a more complex organization. First, the patriotic music section lacks meter notation and verse numbering. Instead, the songs only have titles and lyrics, with the assumption that readers could easily recall the melodies since they were so well-known. In addition, the hymn selections come from an impressive variety of denominational roots—the hymns' authors hail from London, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States; they were of different genders and were born in different time periods (ranging from the late eighteenth century through the contemporary years of the songster), some were famous, and others difficult to identify. The hymns originated from fifteen identifiable religious backgrounds: Calvinist, Congregational, Evangelical, Methodist, Baptist, Anglican, Moravian, Presbyterian, Catholic, Unitarian, Quaker, Lutheran, Non-Conformist and Dutch Reformed. While the songster does not provide the names of the authors, first line searches on Hymnary.org, reveal religious writers like Isaac Watts, Charlotte Elliot, Charles Wesley, primarily secular writers like Henry W. Longfellow, and academics such as William Cutter, and William B. O. Peabody.⁶⁰ Such a variety in the songster

⁶⁰ An interesting point of inquiry would be to look at the relationship between Charlotte Elliot's music, the ambiguous female author of *The Soldier's Friend*, and the general role of women in the production of song lyrics throughout the nineteenth century. During this period, women often contributed to the proliferation of music by writing new lyrics (often seen in binder's volumes). An

deserves attention, specifically because the popular songster always contained music from a variety of sources, even when organized by topic or repertory. usually from different authors or sources, and because of the attempts made by the USSC to avoid sectarian leanings. The variety itself suggests both the breadth of religious understanding held by the unknown compiler, and her cultural knowledge of the era: variety in religious content, and the inclusion of works written by secular authors opened the potential audience for *The Soldiers Friend*.⁶¹ But, the unknown compiler, unintentionally or not, also managed to maintain the promise of the USSC to provide universal Christian content for its readership. In addition, the unknown compiler provided a breadth of sentimental pieces intended to remind the soldier of their homes and values.⁶²

The music within the songster both suits the moralistic intentions of USSC and also helps to combat the terrifying experiences and affects of wartime. To take one example:

Friends Separated for a Season

Friend after friend departs:
Who hath not lost a friend?
There is no union here of hearts,
That finds not here an end:
Were this frail world our only rest,
Living or dying, none were blest.

Beyond the flight of time,
Beyond this vale of death,
There surely is some blessed clime,

interesting study could emerge from a closer inspection of the Elliot pieces and women's music of the mid-to-late nineteenth century more broadly.

⁶¹ Though we do not know who the author was, she is described as a woman in advertisements which describe her in *The Soldier's Friend*.

⁶² Two hymn books seem to be primary inspirations for this one, though it cannot be confirmed. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and *The Invalid's Hymn Book* contain a large majority of the hymns provided in the songster.

Where life is not a breath;
Nor life's affections transient fire,
Whose sparks fly upward to expire!

There is a world above,
Where parting is unknown;
A whole eternity of love,
Form'd for the good alone;
And faith beholds the dying here,
Translated to that happier sphere.

Thus star by star declines,
Till all are pass'd away,
As morning high and higher shines,
To pure and perfect day;
Nor sink those stars in empty night,
They hide themselves in heaven's own light.⁶³ (94)

While the songster itself does not provide the author's name, the words of this hymn come from a poem developed into a hymn by James Montgomery (b. November 4, 1771, d. April 30, 1954), a Scottish Moravian minister. Montgomery went to Fulneck Seminary where he trained to become a minister and a poet—he published a series of poetry books before his first hymnal. However, he became a prolific hymn writer, producing over 400 hymns, with 100 still in use in the present day. Montgomery wrote this poem-turned hymn in 1824, published it in his poetry books, and then used it in his first hymn book in 1853. And while the hymn's popularity in printing peaked in the 1850 and 1860s, this hymn was printed in small numbers throughout the 1950s.⁶⁴ Nineteenth-century users of *The Soldiers friend* would have been familiar with Montgomery's work, especially if they were church-goers or poetry readers.

⁶³ The United States Sanitary Commission, *The Soldier's Friend*, 94.

⁶⁴ Hymnary.org provides data which demonstrates how frequently a hymn was printed over time. According to the website, "Friends Separated for a Season" was published throughout the 1950s, with about 15 or so books per year.

If not, however, the tune, placed in the miscellaneous portion of *The Soldier's Friend*, contains several context clues borrowed from the hymn book tradition to make it more accessible. Meter, for example was part of common parlance; symbols like L.M. for long meter, or S.M. or S.M.H for short meter helped a reader understand the rhythmic structure of the piece. Furthermore, readers knew common melodies of each meter, and could therefore mix and match lyrics with familiar melodies. "Friends Separated for a Season" is marked as S.H.M. meter, or short meter, which is a complex meter(a 668688 syllabic structure). Hymnary.org describes how "Friend after friend departs" was sung most often to the tunes of Bath (Cooke), Departure, and Contemplation (50% of the time).⁶⁵ As a complex meter, variations of the hymn provide different time signatures as guides, the song was passed down in the oral tradition. Hence, regardless of the time signature or key, A song like "Friends separated for a season" could be easily taught and learned.

Since users need not worry about how to sing the song, the lyrics become the focus. The lyrics of "Friend after friend departs" reflect the importance of affective sentimentality and nostalgia in the process of comforting soldiers and their families during the horrors and insecurities of wartime. While it was originally written in 1824, nineteenth-century individuals remade it to be relevant in the context of the Civil War. By delving into the lyrics, it is possible to attempt at entering the minds of their readers. While both anxiety and sentimentality are

⁶⁵ On the same webpage, hymnary.org provides information describing the most frequent tunes associated with a given hymnal text. About 50% of all publications containing "Friend after friend departs" use Bath, Contemplation and Departure.

evident throughout the entirety of the song, the first verse reflects anxiety and longing and the third sentimentality most clearly. The first verse addresses the confusion, fear, and longing an individual might feel during wartime.

Friend after friend departs:
Who hath not lost a friend?
There is no union here of hearts,
That finds not here an end:
Were this frail world our only rest,
Living or dying, none were blest.

The first lines “Friend after friend departs:/ Who hath not lost a friend?” reveals a common experience, but also prepares the reader for the affective impacts of the song. The lyrics reflect a genuine sadness and sense of defeat, “Were this frail world our only rest,/ Living or dying, none were blest.” Whether survivor or victim, this song explicitly describes, a constant sense of endless suffering and torture engulfed all Americans. In this case, affective nostalgia acts as a form of remembrance for simpler times, times without fear and unlivable conditions. No one, was “blest.” Instead all suffered.

There is a world above,
Where parting is unknown;
A whole eternity of love,
Form'd for the good alone;
And faith beholds the dying here,
Translated to that happier sphere.

Furthermore, the emotional impacts of the moment and in the song, grow in this sentimental verse. After expressing all the pain and suffering present in the physical world, the lyrics turn to heaven, a location for emotional refuge. Instead of being torn from one's friends in death, they instead find a place “Where parting

is unknown;/ A whole eternity of love,/ Form'd for the good alone;.” Love, goodness and joy fill this sentimental world. A musical and spiritual world that removes the reader from their inexplicable suffering. Faith would bring the reader to “that happier sphere,” away from the blood, guts, disease and mass murder of wartime.

A simpler example, the English poet Charlotte Elliot’s “Come to Me” is written in long meter, where each line is made up of eight syllabic beats. The hymn is written in strophic form, where each verse is sung to the same melody:

Come to Me

With tearful eyes I look around,
Life seems a dark and stormy sea;
Yet ‘midst the gloom I hear a sound,
A heavenly whisper, “Come to Me.”

It tells me of a place of rest—
It tells me where my soul may flee;
O! to the weary, faint, oppressed,
How sweet the bidding, “Come to Me.”

When nature shudders, loth to part
From all I love, enjoy and see;
When a faint chill steals o’er my heart,
A sweet voice utters, “Come to Me.”

Come, for all else must fail and die;
Earth is no resting-place for thee;
Heavenward direct thy weeping eye,
I am thy portion, “Come to Me.”⁶⁶

While Charlotte Elliot (b. March 18, 1789, d. September 22, 1871) is not well-known to contemporary audiences, she produced a number of poems which

⁶⁶ *The Soldier’s Friend*, 45.

were used for hymns and psalms that still exist in modern hymn books. She came from a religious family; her grandfather and brothers were active in the Anglican church. Elliot was preoccupied with cleansing herself of sin before becoming a Christian, but after a visit with the preacher, Cesar Malan of Switzerland, she realized that she could come to the faith as she was. Ill and depressed, Elliot found inspiration in her last years by writing religious poetry, her most famous piece being “Just As I Am.” Throughout her lifetime, Elliot wrote about 150 hymns and poems, the majority of which were published anonymously.⁶⁷

“Come to Me” expresses much of the difficulties that Elliot experienced in her life, especially as related to her doubts of her worthiness as a Christian. In addition, “Come to Me” contains sentimental depictions of Elliot’s (and the reader’s) relationship to God. For example, Elliot describes God as “A sweet voice,” and “a heavenly whisper.” The hymn describes how God can deliver comfort to the suffering: when Elliot felt that life was a “stormy sea,” that she was “weary, faint, oppressed,” she believed that comfort and “rest” would come in heaven. The hymn concludes with Elliot’s plea for God to come to her, as she gazes “Heavenward.” Ultimately, Elliot expressed her understanding that earthly suffering will lead to a peaceful death.

The overall sentiment in the hymn, one of resignation to God for comfort, fits with the suffering that soldiers and their families experienced during the Civil

⁶⁷ All of this information comes from a summary of *Dr. Julians Hymnology* and “Who wrote our Hymns” by Christopher Knapp written by STEM Publishing. According to Hymnary.org, a number of her hymns turned up in a hymn book called *The Invalid’s Hymn Book*.

War. As abovementioned, by 1864, an affective sense of resignation and hopes for the end of the war descended upon the United States. The exhaustion, fear, sadness, and suffering reflected in “Come to Me,” matches the affective environment of this period. By utilizing this hymn, the readers could imagine peace through resignation to God, just like Elliot did in her words.

Conclusion

Through a combination of music and information, the USSC spread their messages via *The Soldier's Friend*. Providing practical information alongside emotionally healing language informed Practical Christian forms of thought and well as the sentimental values of the period. Sentimentalism and practicality together could ultimately provide the necessary energy, healing and resources to push Union members forward throughout the duration of the war. In addition, the USSC benefitted from distributing the pamphlet economically and in spreading knowledge about their existence. Civilians and soldiers who received the pamphlets at all USSC branches were given the opportunity to learn about the ways that resources and relationships could carry all of those participating in the Civil War (at home or on the field) through to the end. While the organization terminated shortly after the Civil War ended, the frameworks remained and informed the future of military and United States governmental medical aid programming. This military organization provides important insight into music and medicine of the Civil War period. Ultimately, the impacts of sentiment, friendship and practical Christianity continued after the war, and remain important in

present-day discourses around it. The Lost Cause stemmed from such sentimental language and memories. The following essay, *The Death of a Child, The Death of a Cause: Max Steiner's Film Score and the Lost Cause in Gone with the Wind*, looks directly at these impacts. The film *Gone with the Wind*, is a culmination of many years of memorialization of the Civil War. It was also formed with a direct dedication to appealing to sentimentalism and memory. Civil War melodies, like the ones found in *The Soldier's Friend*, inform and propel the score of *Gone with the Wind* and made it the classic it is.

The Death of a Child, The Death of a Cause: Max Steiner's Film Score and the Lost Cause in Gone with the Wind

The film version of *Gone with the Wind* has captivated audiences since its release in 1939. Molly Haskell, in her book *Frankly, My Dear* describes how in the wake of the Great Depression, the film simultaneously provided “both escape and parallel: a story of struggle and survival during national catastrophe, but a romantic remove.”⁶⁸ This combination of “struggle” and “romantic remove” in the film creates especially powerful magnetism for its viewers— audience members, contemporary and historic, have been able to “discover” themselves in the film, which Haskell claims allows a “remaking [of] the film according to the zeitgeist.”⁶⁹ Hence, at any point since its debut, the audience has applied *Gone with the Wind* to its historic moment and for its needs. At its release, the film reminded a considerable number of viewers about World War I.⁷⁰ And, by seeing a film that contended with issues of the Civil War, audience members related to realities of wartime: hunger, poverty, death, and untimely romance. Even now, *Gone with the Wind* maintains a stronghold in the American imaginary.

Scholar Jack Temple Kirby aptly describes the film as, “another generation’s *Birth of a Nation*,” highlighting the ways viewers experience the strong rhetoric of the film without critical reflection on the stereotypes presented in it.⁷¹ I take that provocative comparison further, suggesting that *Gone with the Wind*, like *Birth of a Nation*, addresses massive changes concerning race in its

⁶⁸ Molly Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 11.

⁶⁹ Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 17.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷¹ Jack Temple Kirby, *Media Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (University of Georgia Press, 2004), 72.

moment and provides a sensational escape for its white audience. *Birth of a Nation* addressed issues of Reconstruction, and through his 1915 film, D.W. Griffith portrayed his dream of reuniting north and south via white supremacy. In comparison, Mitchell's book turned to film, *Gone with the Wind*, came into being on the eve of World War II, during the apex of Jim Crow segregation. The coming war, and the remaining devastation of the Great Depression reinvigorated the draw of the Lost Cause—a dream of maintaining memories of and returning to the ways of the Old South. Through scenes of celebration, instances of death and loss, and images of vast despair among the bourgeoisie of the South, *Gone with the Wind* provided an open platform for downtrodden White people to imagine America in its prime again. For proponents of Lost Cause ideology, these scenes of excitement, victory, loss, and failure provided a space to identify with and legitimize their beliefs in racial essentialism. While *Gone with the Wind* begins with glorious scenery and portrayals of racial harmony among masters and slaves, the war drastically changes and mutilates civil society. Through repeated imagery of Confederate valor and tragedy, Lost Cause sympathizers see the antebellum South dwindle into dust as both their physical and ideological worlds change forever. And via this destruction, their Lost Cause is formed. The characters and systems that represent the romantic Old South seem to fall in the film, but the sympathy garnered by the film's tragedy only feeds into longing and reverie for the past. Hence, the imagery transferred from Margaret Mitchell's mind onto the characters of her novel and perfumed the film adaptation with dreams of the Old South.

Background

Music and Memory

Memory of the Civil War, in part, fuels this obsession with a draw to the Lost Cause. David W. Blight describes the “eternal life” of The Lost Cause in American culture, emphasizing how the Confederacy is remembered as a “unique southern experiment in independence and preservation of slave society,” a rebellion with powerful rhetoric and intrigue.⁷² The American obsession with images of the Confederacy, such as its flag, soldiers, and music, have helped to maintain a continued fascination with it.⁷³ And certainly, a primary birthplace of the curiosity comes from the lingering meanings of Civil War music into the twentieth century.

Christian McWhirter describes how ubiquitous music was for nineteenth-century Americans. Civilians on both sides of the war:

...did more than simply learn and listen to songs...In some cases, music became a weapon for the weaponless and allowed politically and militarily helpless civilians to express themselves in a powerful way without inviting harsh punishment. Music proved to be a valuable cultural tool for civilians, and they used it effectively and often.⁷⁴

In particular, Confederate civilians used music to psychologically irritate Union soldiers and simultaneously uplift the Confederates and their cause. These musical battles created such an uproar that soldiers would smash parlor pianos

⁷² Fitzhugh W. Brundage, *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 349.

⁷³ Brundage, *Where These Memories Grow*, 349.

⁷⁴ Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 84.

of Confederate women—one need not look far in a Confederate journal or scrapbook to encounter these stories of resistance.

The meaning of these songs as resistance carried through Reconstruction and into the twentieth century. McWhirter describes how at the turn of the twentieth century, proponents of Lost Cause ideology encountered a tension between the resistance music which formulated and maintained Confederate identity and their outdated lyrics: while the melodies of Confederate music reminded Lost Cause enthusiasts of an honorable antebellum South, the lyrics of these tunes often contradicted the memory. Memorialists then “refashion[ed] the songs...The end result [sic] a musical canon...” heard in film scores like *Gone with the Wind*.⁷⁵ The film contains extensive repetition and use of popular song tunes from the Civil War associated primarily with the Confederacy. “Dixie,” and “Maryland, My Maryland,” for example, play behind images of Southern life. In the scenes of dances, enlistment, moments of romance, and instances of death, variations of these tunes blossom out of the film score, and emphasize yearning for and respect for the past. For example, “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” the flag song of the Confederacy, remains one of the best-remembered tunes of the war. While it has gone through many iterations, (as was common in the nineteenth century), two verses continue to highlight ideologies of the Lost Cause that remained in the memory of viewers of *Gone with the Wind* in 1939, and even continue today:

We are a band of brothers
And native to the soil,
Fighting for the property,
We gained by honest toil;
And when our rights were threatened,

⁷⁵ McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, 196.

The cry rose near and far—
“Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag
That bears a single star!”

...

Then here’s to our confederacy,
Strong we are and brave;
Like Patriots of old we’ll fight
Our heritage to save.
And rather than submit to shame,
To die we would prefer;
So cheer for the Bonnie Blue Flag
That bears a single star.

The first verse above often begins the song, and the latter ends it. Both verses focus on Southern rights. All of those in the Confederacy are “a band of brothers,” who fight for their community and their “native... soil” which was “gained by honest toil.” The Confederates see themselves as tied to a land that they worked for and should defend, so, they “cry” when threatened. This strong reaction to land and rights demonstrates the ideologies represented by the “Bonnie Blue Flag.” The confederate insistence upon being native to the land establishes the ways that Confederates saw their land, property (including slaves) and location as vital to their identities. In addition, they imply that their ownership of the land legitimizes their own choices of how to use it (i.e. plantations).

The final verse of “The Bonnie Blue Flag” focuses on one of the major ideologies that eventually came to frame The Lost Cause: that, the South will be remembered as “Strong” and “Brave,” and that its soldiers fought honorably like the “Patriots” of the American Revolution. This comparison uplifts the confederacy into a revolutionary, honorable heritage, worthy of protection and

celebration. That death is preferable to feeling any sense of shame or loss concerning southern life and pride.

These highly emotive lyrics come with a cost; the romanticism is woven into the melody and seeps into the musical canon.⁷⁶ Even though post-Civil War musicians typically used melodic (non-lyrical) iterations of the “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” the memory associated within the lyrics remained, and many used the melody to remember the Old South/Lost Cause, or to uplift Southerners by reminding them of their rebellious heritage. Using these impactful tunes provides an opportunity for the performers, like film score musicians, to do ideologically powerful work. With these melodies, film scores can, as Haskell reminds us, carry a listener into a revisionist view of the past.

“The Bonnie Blue Flag” appeared consistently in different ceremonies throughout the early twentieth century, especially in representations of Civil War soldiers or the Confederate South. By that point, however, most people had (forgotten the words). What remained was the connection to the Civil War. Much like the song “Dixie” which continued to be played at football in the South, “The Bonnie Blue Flag” holds a special place in stories of southern pride and southern culture lost. In *Gone with the Wind*, “The Bonnie Blue Flag” appears in the film score multiple times—primarily in moments associated with Rhett’s and Scarlett’s daughter, Bonnie Blue Butler. When the audience enters her playroom, the

⁷⁶ The combination of the worlds “musical” and “cannon” create new meanings when used together. When I utilize the phrase musical cannon, I am describing music becomes ubiquitous and essential in the history of music in a specific place or time. In this case, the melodies of the Civil War have become extremely important in American culture; whether they are heard in commercials, at football games, or on children’s music albums, the melodies permeate American popular culture.

viewers hear the song twinkling on her music box. This is no accident. Max Steiner understood the power of memory in film scores, and as he created it he intentionally formed an opportunity for the audience to connect Bonnie Blue with her family and her southern roots. Basic tenets of film theory explain the ideological work of film scores and provides important points of connection between sound, image and memory.

Film and Affect Theory

Typically, analyses of *Gone with the Wind's* film score focus on the use of leitmotifs in the construction of characters. I choose to add to analyses outside of the leitmotifs, and instead focus on musical quotations, references, and new melodies that equally construct the environment and emotive power of the film.⁷⁷ Film theory is broad, multifaceted, and complex. I do not engage with film theories of psychoanalysis, but dance around them by providing perspectives that directly or indirectly engage with affect, memory, and meanings constructed by film scores.

In academic discussions about film music, Claudia Gorbman's *Unheard Melodies* provides a preliminary framework from which to understand the ways film scores interact with music and affect the viewer. She takes root in and expands upon Theodore W. Adorno's and Hans Eisler's theories on film, such as those in their collaborative text *Composing for the Films*; Adorno and Eisler

⁷⁷ For more on leitmotifs, read Kelly J. Otter's dissertation and Just London's "Leitmotifs and Musical Reference in the Classical Film Score" from *Music and Cinema*. Otter's dissertation focuses more directly on *Gone with the Wind*, while London provides a quick and dirty history of leitmotifs.

emphasize that film has its own narrative and logical development—namely that it does not simply fall into the abyss of aesthetics. Gorbman marks the various forms of film development/narrative through the film score, specifically noting its subtextual importance. She describes seven ways scores can function in a given film. Four of the most helpful for my analysis include:⁷⁸

1. Invisibility: the technical formation of nondiegetic sound must remain invisible to the viewer (i.e. no visible orchestra while orchestral music plays)⁷⁹
2. Inaudibility: Music should be heard unconsciously, especially when played underneath a dialogue or a visual scene (i.e. it is secondary to these primary narrative tools)
3. Signifier of emotion: the soundtrack can set/emphasize emotive moments in the film, but it is primarily signifier of emotion in itself.
4. Unity: repetitions of melodies/etc. helps to maintain the narrative

Each of these rules helps to make audible how a film score both passively and actively influences the experience of the viewer; when the film score becomes less legible, it does its most intensive work. Gorbman's theory marks the emotional and affective importance of the film score without explicitly naming it. Each theoretical category emphasizes the semiotic value of the film score over

⁷⁸ Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies*, 73.

⁷⁹ For more on the diegetic and nondiegetic debate, read David Neumeyer's "Diegetic/Nondiegetic: A Theoretical Model."

the aesthetic, which alters the lens of analysis from the beauty of the film score to its use in constructing narrative and emotion.⁸⁰

Scholars like Irwin Bazelon support Gorbman's theories on the affective power of music, but add a psychological component; Bazelon expands the conversation by describing the ways that a film score can enhance or detract from a film-viewer's experience by either aiding in a comprehensive understanding narrative-association (i.e. leitmotifs) and physiological processes. Bazelon essentially acts as a bridge between film theory and psychology by connecting film theory to common methods in social sciences. Furthermore, his work opens a discussion about the influence of psychology on the film-goer's experience. Annabel J. Cohen's "Film Music: Perspectives from Cognitive Psychology" adeptly weaves together the influential concepts of film theory and cognitive psychology—Cohen posits that film scores serve several purposes in the construction of a film's narrative. First, the film score constructs a psychological continuity of reality, most notably by adding meaning and interpretation, and suspending any disbelief.⁸¹ Without explicitly stating it, Cohen participates in affect theory discourse: she adds the "Congruence-Associationist Framework," a theory describing the overall experience of seeing live action films. This theory implies that film music proves most affective when a scene would be ambiguous without it by defining meanings and emotions.⁸² And

⁸⁰ Gorbman is also involved in a film theory debate about the place of the film score in its relationship to film itself. The following scholars view the film score as secondary or even subservient to the visual action on screen: Bordwell, Staiger, Thompson *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, Eisler *Rebel in Music*, etc.

⁸¹ Cohen, "Film Music: Perspectives from Cognitive Psychology," 361.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 364; Essentially, this happens because viewers at first perceive the sound and visual separately, but after leaving the film, they connect the two together. This fusion makes a

ultimately, the undoing of ambiguity has the potential to remove an individual viewer's need for reality.⁸³ In essence, film scores guide a film's narrative, and by doing so, hold the attention of the viewer and overtake them with total seduction. A fully captivated viewer can become more easily absorbed into the ideological workings of a film.

In her work, *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Cotemporary Hollywood Film Music*, Anahid Kassabian interferes with binaristic and rigid film score theories noting that they are based on scholars' expectations on how films should sound and look rather than their actual functions. She directly opposes assumptions that popular culture (including popular films) come from an oppressive and standardized industry.⁸⁴ While she finds Gorbman's theories useful, she takes issue with them in that Gorbman's analytical framework only describes the function of film scores, and does not take into account the confluence of it with aspects of a film's production.⁸⁵ Kassabian also asserts her perspective into the diegetic versus nondiegetic debate, stating that this particular theory becomes problematic when applied to film scores because it puts the visuals before the sound, especially given the influence of sound on the construction of spatial relations.⁸⁶ To address these concerns, Kassabian suggests using the term "source scoring," which describes the kinds of film music

meaningful whole out of the elements of film, enhancing the impact of the story than the aspects would on their own.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 367; These theories of psychology are not the same as psychoanalysis in film theory. While they overlap, they have distinct purposes and dialogues in the academic world. Other notable scholars like Brown (*Overtones and Undertones*) also describe this important relationship between film and sound. Brown describes how sound and image work together as a team.

⁸⁴ Like Gorbman, Kassabian's work directly confronts Adorno/Eisler

⁸⁵ Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 40.

⁸⁶ Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 42.

which fall between diegetic and nondiegetic functions.⁸⁷ She looks into allusion, quotation and leitmotif in the score as important to tying a particular melody into the zeitgeist. Kassabian describes music that lacks that relationship as “one-time music,” which appears, as the wording suggests, only once.⁸⁸ She forces the reader to wonder about the relationship between viewer attentiveness in relation to the film score and evocative interpretations and affective meaning. All of these concepts fit within a more flexible approach to understanding film music: identification (character, place, object, situation, idea, plot i.e. through leitmotif), mood, and commentary/counter mood that are all sociohistorically significant.⁸⁹ Each of these aspects can be applied to any film without restricting it to any theory.

These film theories prove useful in understanding the ways that rhetoric seeps into film and as if through osmosis, into the minds of the viewer. I utilize pieces of each presented theory to deconstruct *Gone with the Wind*. Kassabian’s critiques on the binaristic nature of film studies theories (i.e. diegetic/nondiegetic music) have convinced me that many of the extant frameworks in film theory are too strict. Her revisions, including the terms “source music” and “one time music” prove useful, but do not give specific-enough guidelines. Gorbman’s seven components of film scores bolster her theories and make the work of film music more legible. Cohen’s and Bazelon’s psychological accounts prove just how tied the human experience of film viewing is to psychological response. I ascribe to

⁸⁷ Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 46.

⁸⁸ Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 51.

⁸⁹ Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 56.

their assertions that film scores do the psychological work of suspending disbelief. I then add to these works by exemplifying how ideas are disseminated in films like *Gone with the Wind*.

In her book *Strains of Utopia*, Caryl Flinn describes the concurrent threads of “utopia” and “subjectivity” present in film scores.⁹⁰ While viewers can become lost in the “utopia” that film scores seem to create, Flinn highlights the ways that these scores do not, in fact, transcend the zeitgeist to which they belongs. Film scores, Flinn believes, reflect the culture and message of their time, place, and creators. She credits the score of *Gone with the Wind* with exceptional rhetorical power. In the early prewar scenes, it establishes the grandeur of the antebellum South; later, it provocatively recalls it, suggesting not only a homesickness for the period but a strength through the sense of identity the past seemed to offer.⁹¹ In this wave-like ride of emotion, the film crescendos into the glory of war and “recalls it” in a tragic decrescendo when the world of the antebellum South vanishes. And, in these moments, identity formation (gender, race, and class) become most visible.

Critical Race Theory

While most race theory sources that address *Gone with the Wind* focus on the book, questions about the role of race in the development of each character prove applicable to the film as well. In her seminal text *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South 1890-1940*, Grace Elizabeth Hale claims that

⁹⁰ Flinn, *Strains of Utopia*, 11

⁹¹ Flinn, *Strains of Utopia*, 108

like other white southerners of her time, Margaret Mitchell focused on issues of whiteness and social class in her work. For Hale, characters like Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler are simply "white southerners on the make, hustling and scrambling and starving."⁹² Even though Mitchell saw her book as a revisionist challenge to romantic images of the Old South, Hale points to the ways that Mitchell's work legitimized those very images at the same time.⁹³ Hale highlights how Mitchell fits within the context of the segregated south and how Mitchell ignored black people and their contributions to society, even "eras[ing]" them.⁹⁴ In turn, the few black characters developed in the film lack any sense of "subjectivity."⁹⁵ Hale points to this racial dynamic in the film as "a representation of representations" of blackness, worse than the plantation myths that came before it.⁹⁶ Hale posits that overall, Mitchell's work rewrites middle class whites into the antebellum narrative at the expense of black people and the characters that represent them.

While her analysis of segregation proves useful, scholars Joel Williamson and Carol Regester critique Hale for her limited perspective on Margaret Mitchell and her book *Gone with the Wind*. Williamson in his piece "How Black was Rhett Butler?", points to Rhett as an expression of blackness in Mitchell's writing. Williamson postulates that Rhett Butler fulfills expectations of blackness through the stereotype of the "black beast rapist." In the essay, Williamson describes four

⁹² Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South 1890-1940* (New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 1998), 260.

⁹³ Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 260.

⁹⁴ Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 265.

⁹⁵ Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 265.

⁹⁶ Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 265.

spaces where Rhett's blackness becomes particularly apparent: "his coloring...his attitudes and behaviors in matters of work and sex."⁹⁷ Rhett fulfills descriptions of the stereotypical "hipster-trickster," the unemployed black man, and the "Stackolee," a black man so bad that the devil decided to expel him from hell.⁹⁸ Ultimately Rhett stays within what Williamson calls the "grey zone," semi-immoral liminal spaces, to obtain his wealth.⁹⁹ Regester agrees with this description but adds that *Gone with the Wind* not only highlights blackness, but expresses desire for it through Scarlett and Rhett. Rhett's experiences with imprisonment, suffering via the loss of two children and Melanie, align him with expectations of stereotypical blackness, and his witty banter, cool and calm disposition, "hypersexuality," and "uncompromising and nonconformist...rebellious spirit" place him in an outsider status like that of a black man.¹⁰⁰ Rhett's refusal to align with the southern masculinity to which he was born via many avenues (like failing out of West Point) make him simultaneously unacceptable to civil society but impossible to get rid of; his Huguenot ancestry keeps him in a high status position in his community.

Regester, Williamson, and Hale all present controversial, yet fascinating suggestions concerning racial representations in *Gone with the Wind*. Margaret Mitchell can both apply characteristics of the "black beast rapist" to Rhett Butler without actually imagining him as black; by using characteristics of stereotyped

⁹⁷ Joel Williamson, "How Black was Rhett Butler?" in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, edited by Numan V. Bartley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 97.

⁹⁸ Williamson, "How Black was Rhett Butler?," 98.

⁹⁹ Williamson, "How Black was Rhett Butler?," 99.

¹⁰⁰ Charlene Regester "I Will Carry Your Guilty Secret to My Grave' Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler as Embodiments of Blackness" in *New Approaches to Gone with the Wind* edited by James A. Crank (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 175-177.

blackness, Mitchell emphasizes his ungentlemanliness. The qualities associated with high society find their opposite in outsiders black or white. Instead of associating Rhett with blackness, as he has too much agency (as Hale notes), we can instead enter Mitchell's mind and discern her perspective on impropriety for southern men. And besides, can Rhett really be black if he participates in the white masculine world? When he defends his wife by killing innocent black men, when he joins the cause, when he defends confederates, is he not ascribing to expectations of white, southern masculinity?

By looking to theories about race, class, masculinity, music and film scores, one can construct a more holistic understanding of the ways that ideologies come together within *Gone with the Wind*. First, film scores act as a space with extremely high rhetorical potential, and these spaces are emphasized by the composer, Max Steiner. The ideas of the Civil War South, for instance, cannot be separated from the emotions Max Steiner tries to promote. Connections between the film characters and historical tunes combine to carry viewers back into the world of the Old South. This visit to the past comes with social understandings of the moment, including ideas of race and masculinity. Rhett Butler provides the perfect locus in the film for all these ideas.

The Film

The audience first learns about Rhett from other characters including Scarlett's friend at the Hamilton plantation and the various male guests at the house. These representations of Rhett provide a starting point of comparison

between Rhett's gentlemanly behavior by the end of the film and his inappropriate, slimy representation at the start of the film. Initially, most of the characters focus on his negative reputation and remark on any inappropriate behavior on his end as unsurprising. Both the women and men of the south disapprove of his behavior and note that he does not fit in within their society.

Rhett is first introduced when Scarlett and her friend Kathleen gossip about Rhett as they walk up the staircase for nap time. Kathleen explains why the stranger, Rhett stares at them:

Scarlett: Kathleen, who's that?

Kathleen: Who?

Scarlett: That man looking at us and smiling, the nasty dog!

Kathleen: My dear, don't you know? That's Rhett Butler; he's from Charleston. He has the most terrible reputation.

[Camera zooms in on Rhett's smile at Scarlett and Kathleen]

Scarlett: He looks as if, as if, he knows what I look like without my shimmy [chemise].

Kathleen:...he's had to spend most of his time up North because his parents won't even speak to him. He was expelled from West Point, he's so fast...and then, there's that business about that girl he wouldn't marry...

Scarlett: Tell, tell!

Kathleen: He took her buggy riding in the late afternoon, without a chaperone, and then, and then, he refused to marry her!

[The women whisper to one another inaudibly]

Kathleen: No, but she was ruined just the same.

One of the first aspects that the scene highlights is Rhett's sexuality. When the camera zooms in on Rhett smiling at Scarlett and Kathleen he appears sexy, yet untouchable, with greased back hair and a woozy smile. Kathleen remembers a woman that Rhett took on a "buggy ride in the late afternoon" but, "refused to

marry her” afterwards. Socially this is an extremely inappropriate move.

Interestingly, this dialogue points to his inability to stay within the norms of proper gentlemanly behavior. Meanwhile, Rhett’s theme plays. It has a steady, yet appealing melody that disappears into the background, especially when the camera zooms onto Rhett’s face. It is invisible (i.e. does not reflect literal sound in the scene), inaudible, and narrative, as leitmotifs often are. It is an absolute example of Kassabian’s “source scoring” in that this melody cues to the viewer that Rhett is nearby.

His inappropriate behavior extends to the men in the community as well.

The first scene in which Rhett speaks demonstrates his renegade position:

Random guy: One southerner can lick 20 yankees.

Random guy: Gentlemen can always fight better than rabble.

Mr. O’Hara: Now, gentlemen. Mr. Butler has been up North, I hear. Don’t you agree with us, Mr. Butler?

Rhett: I think it’s hard winning a war with words, gentlemen. I mean... there’s not a cannon factory in the whole South.

Charles: “What difference does that make, sir, to a gentleman?

Rhett: I’m afraid it’s going to make a great difference to a great many gentlemen, sir.

Charles: Are you hinting, Mr. Butler, that the Yankees can lick us?

Rhett: No, I’m not hinting. I am stating very plainly that the Yankees are better equipped than we. They’ve got factories, shipyards, coal mines, and a fleet to bottle up our harbors and starve us to death. All we’ve got in cotton, and slaves, and... arrogance.

Charles: I refuse to listen to any renegade talk!

Rhett: I’m sorry if the truth offends you.

Charles: Apologies aren’t enough, sir. I hear you were turned out of West Point, Rhett Butler, and that you aren’t received by a decent family in Charleston, not even your own.

[Charles stares angrily and Rhett]

Rhett: I apologize again for all of my shortcomings.

One can discover from this scene that Rhett actively disagrees with popular confederate discourse about the upcoming war. Unlike the other men in the room, Rhett focuses on logic and profit instead southern pride and masculinity. When Mr. O'Hara asks Rhett what he believes is going to happen during the Civil War if it begins, Rhett replies that "it's hard to win a war with words gentlemen. I mean there's not a cannon Factory in the whole South." This statement demonstrates that Rhett understands that the south is preparing for war with rhetoric and lacks the logical necessities of it, including resources, finances, and industry. Essentially, Rhett notes that the south cannot win and would benefit from avoiding battle—slaves, cotton and arrogance cannot compete with material necessities, like cannon factories and guns. This drastic difference in ideology between Charles Hamilton, a proper southern gentleman from a high-class family, and Rhett Butler, a renegade, demonstrates just how disparate their ideas are. And Rhett's isolation from the Confederate gentleman in the room is highlighted by his physical separation and difference in the room. He wears darker, more decorated clothing and stands away from the crowd throughout the scene. When he speaks, the camera cuts to a view of his face.

The lack of music in the scene only emphasizes the battle of masculinities. Charles and Rhett stare one another down at the end of the dialogue, but Charles takes it far more seriously than Rhett does. The silence has affective and rhetorical power all its own. While throughout the film, the score adds an air of whimsy or fantasy or heightens a specific mood, in this moment, the silence

heightens the tension between Rhett and all the men in the room. The face-off becomes increasingly serious the longer the silence remains.

The combination of these two scenes establishes Rhett's nonconventional approach to masculinity. In the plantation community, his behaviors are immoral, improper and simply offensive. But, his behavior changes as the film continues.

After the death of Scarlett's first husband, Charles Hamilton, Scarlett leaves Tara to visit Melanie Wilkes. While there, both women participate in a large fundraising celebration for a military hospital in Atlanta. This is the first major moment in the film where Rhett Butler questions his commitment to logic and self-benefit over the ideology of the south. Upbeat dance music plays from a visible band until Doctor Mead interrupts with announcements. He states the arrival of, "that most daring of all blockade runners...none other than our friend from Charleston, Captain Rhett Butler!" This introduction of Rhett Butler features two different camera angles, one from the perspective of an audience member viewing Dr. Mead's announcement, and the other from behind him, looking out into the crowd. This dual filming presents to the viewer both a sense of being in the crowd while also viewing the crowd; a complex relationship to the film whereby the viewer is and is not present. When viewing the announcement from the perspective of the audience, the viewer is placed directly into the audience, and hence into the excitement of the fundraising dance. The viewer becomes one of the supporters themselves. This expert filming choice overwhelms the viewer with total seduction—a moment that actively suspends their disbelief and takes them directly into the scene.

On the other hand, the camera view looking onto the audience allows the viewer to get a sense of the total environment. The viewer can see from the floor a framed image titled “Our President” with a picture of Confederate General Lee, the president of the confederacy, the bonnie blue flag, a young well-dressed bugle boy, small confederate flags, and a band made up of entirely of black players. The image from the ground not only places the viewer into the dance itself, but also into the cause at its height: Dr. Mead has just announced General Lee’s push of the Union army up through Virginia, the crowd is cheering, and Rhett is about to enter. Immediately before seeing his face, the viewer is inundated with pro-Confederate imagery. The bugle boy, the flags, the picture of the confederate president and an all-black band present an idealized image of the South before the war. There was honor, as made clear by the beautiful decor and methodical presentation of an honorable gentleman in the room. There was valor, as presented by the bugle boy in his war attire shining in the light. And, ultimately there was racial hierarchy, as demonstrated by the background band, which gives a sense of local color. Race relations remain in the background, just like the band members do, and everyone on screen keeps their place. The affective celebratory and carefree mood of the white characters then impacts the film-viewers; they, too, can exist in a world of celebration and stability.

From the stage, the room looks large, colorful and enchanting—banners, flags, southern belles in puffy frocks, gentleman in confederate war attire, lanterns and lights decorate the room. The faces create an endless sea of white. Well-adorned southern ladies in brightly-colored dresses, each matched with a gentleman,

create the front row. But as the view goes farther back in the room, the endless sea of faces reminds the viewer that the cause had large numbers of honorable and elite supporters. The traditionalism and beauty visible here set up an air of romance and honor for the viewer to become absorbed into before Rhett even enters the scene. These images of Southern pride are intermixed with music coming from the band. What Gorbman might refer to as a diegetic sound source, functions in the complex manner than Kassabian mentions; while is performed on screen, the band music serves as a source of ideological and narrative structure that interacts intimately with the on-screen action. In addition, when the camera view shifts away from the band itself, the music from the band drifts into the background and functions in a more subconscious manner.

Throughout the scene, Rhett remains separated from most the crowd—primarily, he interacts with Melanie and Scarlett. In tandem with a camera shot of Rhett Butler bowing to the audience upon entry, the film score begins to swell with a smooth, dance-like rendition of the tune “Maryland, My Maryland,” a popular song of the confederacy, and current state song of Maryland. The melody is played legato on violin with a stress on the second beat, like traditional dance music of the era. But, in this moment, the film score shifts from sound supporting the (literal) scene to ethereal, narrative music (source music). It moves into the background while also evoking the memory of “Maryland, My Maryland,” a pro-confederate defense song. It both actively suits the rhetoric of the coming scene and whispers behind it; a subconscious reminder of the powers of confederate loyalty, then demonstrated by Melanie. The lyrics of “Maryland, My Maryland,” describe the

horrors of union occupation. This emotional baggage suits a scene where the characters on-screen are working to fundraise and aid the confederacy in its very survival.

The emotive version of the tune plays throughout an interaction between Melanie Wilkes, Scarlett O'Hara, Rhett Butler, and an unnamed confederate soldier.

Confederate Soldier: Ladies, the confederacy asks for your jewelry in support of our noble cause.

Scarlett: We're not wearing any, we're in mourning.

Rhett: Wait, [*Rhett hands gold cigar box to the man*] On behalf of Mrs. Wilkes and Mrs. Hamilton.

Melanie: A moment, please,

Confederate Soldier: But that's your wedding ring ma'am

Melanie: It may help my husband more, off my finger.

Rhett: That was a very beautiful thing to do, Mrs. Wilkes.

Rhett and Scarlett initially react to the soldier with little emotion. Scarlett, in a mildly agitated tone informs the soldier of her and Melanie's mourning. Rhett then curtly replies to the gentleman, giving him the gold cigar box. While the same volume, tempo and melody of "Maryland, My Maryland" continues, a major moment of contrast comes. Melanie offers her wedding ring, telling the soldier "A moment, please," with a deeply saddened look on her face—the camera cuts into the interaction between Melanie, Rhett and the soldier. While Rhett remains in the background, his immediate and strong emotive response are clear. His forehead wrinkles, his brow furrows, and his head bows downward toward Melanie and she

drops her ring into the basket. Rhett then changes his body position from facing the camera to facing Melanie. It is here that he states his admiration for her actions. When the moment is interrupted by Scarlett's offer to also give her wedding ring to the cause Rhett's face almost immediately shifts from one of deep and conflicting emotion to one of playfulness. That moment deserves recognition. Rhett notices Melanie's sacrifice and her choice impacts him to the core; his change in body language and tone implies deep admiration for Melanie. In addition, the continued lilt of "Maryland, My Maryland" which plays until Melanie leaves connects Melanie, a woman considered exemplary of Old Southern femininity, to song of dedication to the South. The emotional connection between the audience's memory of the Civil War and the melody emphasizes Melanie's selflessness and Scarlett's selfishness. Rhett's admiration of Melanie demonstrates his changing position, which is confirmed by a letter he sends her after the dance stating:

The Confederacy may need the lifeblood of its men, but not the heart's blood of its women. I hereby redeem your ring and return it herewith. When I return from Paris, I shall take the liberty of calling in person to express my admiration for a very great lady.

The juxtaposition of Rhett's reaction to Melanie's decision to give her ring with his decision to return her wedding ring demonstrates several notable aspects of Rhett's struggle with the Cause: first, it is gentlemanly for him to protect Melanie, the absolute example of southern womanhood and charm, and to acknowledge her "heart's blood" as equal to the "lifeblood" of southern men. Next, the interaction had serious emotional impacts on him. He directly calls Melanie a "very great lady" who he admires. It appears that this moment presents a true opportunity for

change in him, a moment where Rhett could return to his gentlemanly roots. He shows genuine respect for a southern woman, and dignifies himself with a proper invitation to her home. In addition, Rhett's very gendered and sentimental language (namely, "heart's blood" and lifeblood) emphasizes the depth of Rhett's emotional changes. In this, and through his generous action, Rhett transitions himself toward confederate gentlemanliness. In addition, such a sweet action captures the hearts of the viewers who have begun to admire and connect to Melanie, a constantly sweet and wonderful character in the face of constant scandal and selfishness from others. Furthermore, Melanie elicits a sense of nostalgia for the viewer; she represents everything a southern woman was remembered to be.

However, the following scene remains in tension with Rhett's genuine admiration for someone so dedicated to the southern cause. Rhett and Scarlett begin a flirtatious dialogue and the tune of "Lorena" begins to play. At this point in the scene, the film score has transitioned entirely into a subconscious space. Rather than serving literally as a dance piece, it instead concocts a sense of romantic love situated in the past. "Lorena," a popular civil war era tune which also eventually became associated with the south and the confederacy, chronicles the separation of two lovers. The song, full of imagery of pain and missing a woman's touch, suits the interaction between Rhett and Scarlett; Rhett holds Scarlett dear to his heart after separation. Beyond that, however, the song held special significance for soldiers who were taken away from their loved ones. This romantic rendition of "Lorena" during the fundraising scene likely held emotional weight for

a viewer who understood the tune. During it, the viewer is reminded of emotional stories of the war, sacrifice, and heartache. As the song played, Scarlett and Rhett discussed together Rhett's involvement with the war, which works in direct tension with the meaning of the melody.

Scarlett: Oh I guess I'd be very unpatriotic to hate one of the great heroes of the war. I do declare, I was surprised to find out that you were such a noble character.

Rhett: I can't bear to take advantage of your little girl ideas, Miss O'Hara. I am neither noble nor heroic.

Scarlett: But you are a blockade runner...

Rhett: For profit. And profit only.

Scarlett: Are you trying to tell me you don't believe in the cause?

Rhett: I believe in Rhett Butler. He's the only cause I know. The rest doesn't mean much to me.

Rhett describes his position as a blockade runner with both an air of humor and honesty. When he tells Scarlett of her "little girl ideas" and describes himself as "neither noble nor heroic," Rhett smiles and leans casually toward Scarlett. However, once he fully reaches his position, his face changes into a straighter expression and his tone changes onto an informative and factual one. In a quick and angry way, Rhett informs Scarlett of his real intention: profit.

But this scene comes into direct contrast with Rhett's interaction with Melanie as well as the music playing in the background. How is it that his external expression and internal feelings can be in such tension with one another toward the cause? At this point in the film, Rhett is contending with a duality; he does not

want to fulfill his duties as a southern gentleman, yet. He sees the cause as emotional and ideological, and he understands that the fight provides him opportunities for profit. But, if profit is his main goal, then why would he go to the effort to return Melanie's ring? It appears that Rhett's past and his present come to a point of tension; a contrast which only highlights the sexual tension between Rhett and Scarlett. While Rhett's birthright is to fulfill white southern manhood, his logical decision is to avoid it. As the audience watches Rhett struggle with the duality of what he believes is necessary/logical and the emotional impact of Southern discourse, his confusion mirrors that of the audience. How does one deal with a world that no longer functions around the Old South and the Lost Cause? Rhett provides a clear example of how to handle it—when he can no longer deny the southern masculine upbringing of his past, he abandons logic/profit and trades into the cause.

Later in the film, Rhett's conversion moves forward almost immediately. Scholar Ben Railton fittingly describes the Rhett's reactions during the scenes of Atlanta burning: "he certainly does not seem to enjoy witnessing that destruction firsthand."¹⁰¹ This dislike seems to catalyze drastic change. As the war carries on, Rhett begins to change into a man of the Cause. The Old South he knew slips further from his grasp—Atlanta catches fire, increasing numbers of soldiers die, and people he knows begin to change around him. The film takes on a red-orange hue, bright like fire, and Rhett and Scarlett, with Prissy, Melanie, and

¹⁰¹ Ben Railton "What Else Could a Southern Gentleman Do?": Quentin Compson, Rhett Butler, and Miscegenation" From *The Southern Literary Journal* 35 (university of North Carolina Press, 2003), 52.

Melanie's newborn baby Beau in the back, ride in a cart toward Tara. The film score plays music, long, extended, overlapping and repeated notes to the beat of a slow walk, a noble funeral march. Rhett tells Scarlett, "Take a good look my dear. It's a historic moment. You can tell you grandchildren how you saw the Old South disappear." Scarlett and Rhett peer behind them and the camera zooms toward a line of walking, dirt-covered, injured soldiers. As the music moves up in the musical scale, a soldier falls to the ground with a soft moan, and an older gentleman picks him up. In this moment, the Old South symbolically falls. Scarlett and Rhett watch scores of men who dreamed of a quick end to the war walk weakly and slowly alongside them. The music rises up the scale further, giving a strong sense of reverie before Rhett begins to speak again. The audience begins to see an opportunity for mourning alongside the Confederate soldiers who pathetically die and struggle throughout the scene.

Rhett: They were going to lick the Yankees in a month. Those poor gallant fools.

Scarlett: They make me sick, all of them. Getting us all into this mess with their swaggering and boasting.

Rhett: That's the way I felt once about their swaggering and boasting.

Scarlett: Oh, Rhett. I am so glad you aren't with the army. You can be proud now, proud that you've been smarter than all of them.

Rhett: I'm not so proud.

While Scarlett and Rhett talk to one another, the film score continues with its general pattern of repeated, elongated notes on a slow, upward climb on the scale. During this time, Rhett recognizes the failure of the soldiers around him. He acknowledges "Those poor gallant fools" who "were going to lick the yankees

in a month.” As his statement highlights, Rhett recognizes the soldiers as both “gallant” and “fools,” that these soldiers he initially refused to join have honor, even if they did not make logical decisions. The music in this moment supports the “gallant” aspect of Rhett’s statement. The upward notes provide a sense of honor as the soldiers walk by. When Scarlett critiques the soldiers for beginning the war in the first place, with their “swaggering and boasting,” Rhett’s conversion exposes itself. He tells her, “That’s the way I felt once about their swaggering and boasting.” Rhett implies that though he once felt the same way as Scarlett, his ideas have changed. He no longer aligns with the belief that the soldiers are simply illogical men working senselessly for an ideological cause. These lines alongside the film score show that perhaps this honor and Southern gallantry had something to offer in the first place. As Scarlett tells Rhett that he should be proud for his intelligence, the music shifts immediately from the peaceful, funeral-march vibe to a lower dramatic note, sustained.

This process continues alongside the music. The film score seems to express both the emotions Rhett and the community—the war is ending and the soldiers begin returning home. Yet, the score hits moments of tension when Rhett says “I’m not so proud.” With a look of deep pain on his face, and a strong whip of the horse, the film score falls, and with it, so do Rhett’s emotions. It becomes clear that Rhett feels a sense of guilt about his lack of participation in the war, as the Old South disappears. As he says at the beginning of the scene, Rhett recognizes this as a historical moment, one which also impacts him emotionally and mentally. When he tells Scarlett “Take a good look my dear. It’s a historic

moment. You can tell you grandchildren how you saw the Old South disappear” he demonstrates his recognition that the Old South is gone. He knows the moment will change his and Scarlett’s world forever. The guilt and anger present in the score mark a moment where Rhett determines that he needs to change his ways. His society, the one which has always provided him with a position of power, slips away from him. His white southern manhood might never be the same.

The following scene between Rhett and Scarlett exposes more clearly Rhett’s inner thoughts, and marks his decision to act and join the (almost) Lost Cause. Still lit in bright reds and oranges, the background shows dark plumes of smoke rising into the air and bare trees around the hill they’re driving up. As soon as Rhett takes Scarlett to the top of the hill, and tells her that he is leaving, the score rises to a celebratory note:

Scarlett: You’re what? Rhett, where are you going?

Rhett: I’m going, my dear, to join the army.

Scarlett: Oh Rhett, you’re joking. I could kill you for scaring me so.

Rhett: I’m very serious, Scarlett. I’m going to join up with our brave lads in grey.

Scarlett: But they’re running away—

Rhett: Aw no, they’ll turn and make a last stand if I know anything about them, and when they do, I’ll be with them. I’m a little late, but better late than...

The honorific notes of the film score tarry alongside Rhett’s confident leap off the cart. Rhett begins gathering his things without much thought as he explains to Scarlett his plans to do what he needs to.

The film score then takes on a darker note, leaning into a deep oboe part which reaches its lowest point when Rhett confesses why he might be joining the Cause:

Scarlett: Rhett, you must be joking!

Rhett: Selfish to the end, aren't you? Thinking only of your own precious hide with never a thought for the noble cause.

Scarlett: Rhett, how could you do this to me, and why should you go now, after it's all over when I need you? Why? Why?"

Rhett: Why? Maybe it's because I've always had a weakness for lost causes, once they're really lost. Or maybe, maybe I'm ashamed of myself. Who knows?

The camera focuses on the discussion between Rhett and Scarlett until Rhett explains his reasons behind choosing to fight. During this banter, the red light of fire shines directly onto Rhett's face, highlighting his facial expressions. In a factual manner, Rhett first points out Scarlett's selfishness for wanting him to stay home. This line is interesting especially in contrast to Rhett's earlier statements about his role as a blockade runner. Before seeing the devastation of war, Rhett determines that the only cause he cares for is his own, "Rhett Butler." But afterward, he determines that his state of mind is no longer just logical, but also selfish. The camera zooms onto Rhett's face as he explains to Scarlett, "Maybe it's because I've always had a weakness for lost causes, once they're really lost. Or maybe, maybe I'm ashamed of myself. Who knows?" Regardless of the reason, Rhett chooses to join the cause. Perhaps he is "ashamed" for not fulfilling his duties as a white southern man, or maybe now that his cause is

“really lost” he feels the need to defend it. As the cause increasingly becomes lost, Rhett converts to it more stringently. By literally joining the cause he’s avoided the entire film, Rhett asserts himself into the society which he first circumvented and scorned. By joining, the Lost Cause enters his blood and he returns to his white southern gentlemanly roots. This Moment in the film highlights Rhett as a hero instead of marking him as a fool like the other soldiers at the beginning of the film. Everything becomes much more serious for the audience and for the characters in the film when the south is really, truly, being lost. And the audience receives the call.

By the end of the war, it becomes clear that Rhett has fully converted to The Lost Cause. This can best be seen in the relationship he has with his daughter, Bonnie Blue Butler. Williamson agrees that the most drastic moment where Rhett acts outside of expectations of blackness comes with the birth of his daughter. Williamson describes how Rhett decides to change: “All of this changes when Bonnie is born. Rhett wants to be respectable for her sake, and again, he knows exactly how to do it”—he will fight and die for the Lost Cause and his daughter.¹⁰² It is important to note the two most emotional points in her lifespan: her birth and her death. Throughout the film, Civil War tunes peak and bubble to the surface, reminding the viewer of, the point in the film at which these popular and emotive tunes end generates a provocative silence.

The song “The Bonnie Blue Flag” twinkles out of Bonnie Blue Butler’s music box in her playroom as Rhett explains that he and Bonnie are going to

¹⁰² Williamson, “How Black is Rhett Butler?,” 99.

leave for “fairyland,” London. Amidst the growing tension between Scarlett and Rhett due to Scarlett’s refusal to act in accordance with social rules of the elite south, the music demonstrates the one last hope for the maintenance of antebellum southern belief: Bonnie Blue. Named after the song and always dressed in blue frocks with white detailing, Bonnie represents the pride and society of the antebellum South. And when she dies from a horseback riding incident, the Old South dies with her. This child, who represents the ideals of the Old South cannot survive in the shifting world around her tainted by Reconstruction. It is here that the memory of the Lost Cause makes one of its most explicit appearances—in the birth and death of Bonnie Blue, and in turn, the loss of hope for life to ever return to the fantastical world of old. Even after the war ends, Atlanta is gone and the south must rebuild itself, the audience and Rhett both find happiness in Bonnie Blue’s birth. She is a fresh opportunity to reshape the future, and after all of the devastation. And Rhett is called to maintain what is familiar and dear to him.

After all that occurred in the beginning of the film, Bonnie Blue Butler’s birth carries special significance for both the characters in the film and the audience members who witness it. Before Bonnie receives her name, the audience gains a sense of the meaning of this baby for Rhett. As he coos over Bonnie and carries her around, Rhett describes his wishes for her: “I’m gonna send her to the best...schools in Charleston... And she’ll be received by the best families in the South... and when it comes time for her to marry—Well—She’ll be a little princess...” Rhett dreams of molding his daughter into a proper southern girl,

and eventually a successful southern lady in the framework of the Old South. Rhett hopes to have Bonnie educated at “the best...schools in Charleston,” a city he associates with southern gentility. He yearns for her to “be received by the best families in the South” even though after the Civil War those “best families” may have lost their fortunes. And last, he dreams of her “be[ing] a little princess” at her wedding, like the youthful and beautiful princess-like belles of the South before the war. Rhett designates his daughter as the vessel through which his dreams of the Old South can come into fruition, and the baby represents for the audience one last strand of the antebellum South. If she can go to the best southern schools, interact with the best families, and present herself as a beautiful bride, perhaps some of the ways of high society from before the war can remain.

When Melanie comes by to meet the baby, Bonnie acquires her name. When Melanie arrives, Scarlett jokes about Rhett’s obsession with the child’s bright blue eyes. In friendly jest, Melanie retorts, “As blue as the Bonnie Blue Flag.” In that short moment, a powerful realization rushes over Rhett who responds in excitement: “That’s it! That’s what we’ll call her! Bonnie Blue Butler!” With this name, not only does Bonnie come as a vessel through which the characters can formulate the archetypal southern lady, but also her very existence comes a constant reminder of the Confederacy and their flag anthem “The Bonnie Blue Flag.” With every introduction, Bonnie Blue reminds who she meets of the flag, and promotes southern pride and nationalism, even though the Confederacy lost the war. She fulfills her duty as a southern woman before she

can even talk, living in part to promote the Lost Cause. She almost becomes the flag, as through the remainder of the film, Bonnie wears blue frocks with white detailing. In name and in presentation, she reminds all passers-by of the antebellum south, and for Rhett, she continues to hold special importance even after her death. Rhett forms her into a living symbol of the Lost Cause.

After a series of tragic events between Rhett and Scarlett, including an accidental miscarriage, Rhett attempts to reconcile with Scarlett. Amidst the arguing, Bonnie jumps with her horse, falls and breaks her neck. Almost as quickly as Bonnie begins to blossom, she disappears. She lays limp in Rhett's arms, in deep blue velvet, appearing like a tattered flag after battle. His flag, his daughter, his cause, has died. The severity of Rhett's loss becomes evident in the process of his mourning. Mammy calls Melanie over for help and describes Rhett's behavior. When he discovered that Bonnie died from a broken neck, Rhett, "lock hisself in de nuss'ry wid Miss Bonnie an' he did' open de do' even when Scarlett beat on it an' hollered her him. An' dat's de way it's been fer two days..." and all the while, Rhett refuses to bury Bonnie because in life she was afraid of the dark. At that moment, Melanie, who has come over to help agrees "he has lost his mind." When Melanie convinces Rhett to open the door for her, the audience captures a glance at a sweaty, angry, and overall disturbed looking Rhett. The loss of Rhett's dream, the last representation of the unaltered Old South dies. And this loss causes Rhett so much pain it drives him to insanity. It is after these scenes that the civil war music entirely disappears.

Not long after, Melanie also dies. After her funeral, interactions between Scarlett and Ashley spark again that deep sense of loss for Rhett. He believes he has lost not only his beloved flag and daughter, Bonnie Blue, but also his wife. Scarlett rushes home to reconcile with Rhett, but in a decisive manner Rhett explains his reasons for leaving. He states, "As long as there was Bonnie there was a chance we might be happy. I like to think that Bonnie was you, a little girl again, before the war and poverty had done things to you. She was so like you...When she went, she took everything." Bonnie, Rhett's last hope for the beauty and grandeur of the antebellum South, last representation of a southern belle, dies and takes everything away from Rhett. She represented the Old South, the Confederacy, and with her death, the girl named after the Confederate flag song takes away all remaining hope for life as it was before the Civil War. Her tragic death for Rhett calcifies his newfound understanding that his world has forever changed, and for the audience, the romance of *Gone with the Wind* blurs. Here the Cause becomes Lost, and the film calls the audience to save it. Bonnie's birth represented for Rhett, a man who interacted with the upper echelon of the antebellum south, a chance for the continuation of southern civil society. However, Bonnie, a child named after a flag of a failed rebellion, "The Bonnie Blue Flag" could never survive in her changed world. With her death, the audience encounters the end of all Civil War tunes in *Gone with the Wind* must reconcile the romantic imagery and music from the beginning of the film with its tragic end.

Conclusion

In this paper I argued that the film score of *Gone with the Wind* supports the Lost Cause and that the score's particular songs addressed the film's audiences in 1939. In *Gone with the Wind*, the memory of the Civil War frames the audience's understanding of Rhett Butler as a renegade, immoral man. As Rhett begins to feel the tension within himself and as he changes, the musical score emphasizes his romantic attachment to his upbringing and to the world from which he came. By the end of the war, Rhett fully joins the cause and tries to replay what he lost at the end of the Civil War through his daughter Bonnie Blue. Through her, the audience remembers the final crumbs of moonlight and magnolias. If Rhett can try to save the Lost Cause, so can anyone watching the film. This is why romantic film scores and ideologies hold extreme power in national memory and national identity formation. By recognizing the ways that the film continues to remain popular, perhaps Americans can self-reflect on our ongoing connection to the past.

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