

AMERICAN TRADITIONAL MUSIC IN MAX STEINER'S SCORE FOR
GONE WITH THE WIND

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ABSTRACT

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Film composer Max Steiner's score for *Gone with the Wind* (1939) showcases a substantial amount of American traditional music from the nineteenth century. The overwhelming amount of music included in the film has left it neglected in film music studies. My analysis of the traditional music in the soundtrack will demonstrate multiple considerations of how the music works within the film. The first chapter delves into the source of the film, the novel *Gone with the Wind* (1936) by Margaret Mitchell. This discussion includes an analysis of the major musical moments in the novel. The second chapter examines the film production itself, especially the difficulties that Max Steiner and his fellow composers and arrangers working on the film experienced while writing the score. The final chapter investigates the historical and political context of the American traditional songs Steiner included in the soundtrack and how they function within the film.

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INTRODUCTION

In June 1936 author Margaret Mitchell published what became one of the most famous novels in literary history, *Gone with the Wind*. When she began her novel, she set out to write about a subject to which she felt a connection. Growing up in Georgia only 30 years after the Civil War, Mitchell chose her own birthplace and the war as her topics. Her tale of the Civil War and of the society's upheaval because of the war is still a beloved story for many regardless of the time that has passed since its publication. In the portrait of upper class southern farmers that Mitchell creates, she does not ignore the music of the day or the role that music played in daily life in the 1860s. The songs chosen for inclusion by Mitchell were the songs she learned from her mother or songs that were known to be popular during the war.

Three years after the novel was published, Hollywood film producer David O. Selznick oversaw the production of the filmed version of the novel. The film, also titled *Gone with the Wind*, was the most financially successful film for over 70 years. Its soundtrack, however, does not garner the attention of its other contemporary soundtracks. Max Steiner's score for *Gone with the Wind* reigned for decades as the largest score, containing more than three hours of music. Its famous "Tara" theme is recognized by many viewers. Also found in the soundtrack is an extensive amount of preexisting music. Few of the songs that are mentioned in the novel are used in the film.

Steiner's experience with *Gone with the Wind* was difficult, not only because of the length of the project, but also because of the constant and, at times, intrusive supervision of the film's producer David O. Selznick. He sent numerous memos to Steiner not only praising his work on other films whose productions were running concurrently to *Gone with the Wind*, but also criticizing or instructing the composer on how much of the soundtrack should contain

original music. In keeping with his compositional style, Steiner created leitmotives for the characters central to the plot as well as a few of the relationships between the characters, and manipulated the music's tonal and harmonic structure and melodic content to reflect the moment in the narrative.

The accounts of the soundtrack's creation are found in the numerous memos by Selznick. Some of his memos were published in 1972 by film historian Rudy Behlmer.¹ All of his memos are kept in the Selznick Collection of the Film Archives at the Harry Ransom Research Center on the campus of the University of Texas-Austin. Multiple memos were sent to the staff working on the film regarding the style of soundtrack that Selznick imagined. Included in these memos are details such as Selznick's choice for composer, Max Steiner, and the demands from Selznick that the majority of the soundtrack feature Civil War era music. Conductor scores for each of the film cues found on the soundtrack are also contained in the Selznick Collection at the University of Texas-Austin.

Steiner's sketches for the film's soundtrack are found at the Max Steiner Archives in the Film Music Archives, located in the Harold B. Lee Library on the campus of Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Nathan Platte unearthed new evidence from these sketches showing that Steiner did not write as much of the score as previously thought.² Also in the Steiner Archives is Steiner's unpublished autobiography, *Notes to You*.³ He has little to say regarding *Gone with the Wind*, but it does provide a lengthy discussion of his scoring process.

¹ Rudy Behlmer, ed., *Memo from David O. Selznick* (New York: Viking Press, 1972).

² This information is found in his dissertation. See Nathan Platte, "Musical Collaboration in the Films of the David O. Selznick, 1932-1957" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 124-134.

³ Max Steiner, *Notes To You: An Unpublished Autobiography* (unpublished autobiography, Steiner Archives, Film Music Archives, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, UT).

This thesis seeks to examine Steiner's usage of preexisting music in the score for *Gone with the Wind*. In chapter one, the Mitchell's original novel is discussed. I discuss the plot, the characters, and the music mentioned in the novel. Chapter two then describes the transfer of *Gone with the Wind* from book to film. Selznick's control over of the aspects of the film is examined, as well as the working environment that his control created for the crew, including Steiner and his musical team. Lastly, I investigate what preexisting music Steiner used and the manner in which he used it. I argue that Steiner's usage of American traditional music helps to enhance the narrative plot of the film.

By examining the novel and its music, the genesis of the film, and the final soundtrack, we find that Steiner used some of the songs used in Mitchell's novel, added other songs of the period, and used the combined total of these songs to assist in the narrative of the film. With this film Steiner accomplished what he repeatedly stated was his goal as a film composer: to act as an aide to the narrative and to help the audience understand the story unfolding in front of them. He did this, in part, through the use of a considerable amount of preexisting American traditional music.

CHAPTER ONE: MARGARET MITCHELL AND HER “GREAT AMERICAN NOVEL”

I. Margaret Mitchell in the Shadows of War

An examination of the early life of author Margaret Mitchell (1900-1949) shows that writing and history were prevalent facets of her life at an early age. Surrounded by the ruins and survivors of the Civil War (1861-1865), Mitchell found all the inspiration she needed to create the backdrop of her greatest work, *Gone with the Wind* (1936).⁴

Margaret Mitchell was born in November 1900 in Atlanta, Georgia, to Eugene Mitchell, a lawyer and amateur historian, and Maybelle Stephens Mitchell, a suffrage leader. She joined older brother Stephens, who would go on to be a Harvard-trained lawyer and amateur historian.⁵ Mitchell’s family lived in Georgia during the Civil War. Her maternal grandparents’ home had not been burned by Union General William Tecumseh Sherman on his march through Jonesboro, Georgia, a neighboring town of Atlanta. According to Finis Farr, who worked on Mitchell’s biography with Stephens Mitchell, the home of her maternal grandparents had been used by both the Union and Confederate Armies as a hospital.⁶ Stephens Mitchell reported to Farr that Margaret Mitchell wrote stories as a young child: “Margaret told stories and wrote them, and wrote and produced her own plays with the children around, but so do probably the majority of children.”⁷

⁴ Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York: Macmillan, 1936). This first edition was the edition used for this thesis.

⁵ According to Mitchell biographer Elizabeth Hanson, Stephens Mitchell was active in the Atlanta Historical Society. See Elizabeth I. Hanson, *Margaret Mitchell* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1991), 49.

⁶ Finis Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta: The Author of “Gone with the Wind”* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1965), 13.

⁷ Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta*, 14. After *Gone with the Wind* was published, Mitchell received a congratulatory letter from author Thomas Dixon, who praised the novel as the “great American novel.” She replied with an apology for dramatizing one of his novels when she was a child. She was in mid-performance when her copyright-lawyer father informed her of her crime. See Richard Harwell, “A

Mitchell recalled later in life that when she was a young child, her family would call on friends and the entertainment at these social gatherings consisted of many retellings of stories of the Civil War, beginning her education on the war early in life.⁸ These stories were often supplemented by a Confederate veteran who frequently rode horses with Mitchell when she was a child. Mitchell said that the veteran would usually manage to find at least one other veteran to ride with them and they would argue over whose unit was more successful in battle.⁹ Unfortunately, these afternoon horse rides resulted in Mitchell suffering leg injuries that would haunt her later in life.

Mitchell attended Smith College for her freshman year of college. Her mother died in 1919 after contracting influenza while nursing victims with the disease, and she immediately returned home to Atlanta to run the Mitchell household. A disastrous marriage to a man known as “Red” Upshaw followed in 1922. After just a few months, Mitchell found herself physically abused by Upshaw who then abandoned her. In December 1922 Mitchell secured her first professional writing job, serving as a feature writer for the Sunday magazine published by the *Atlanta Journal*. While working there, she was courted by John Marsh whom she married in 1925. Coincidentally, Marsh was Upshaw’s best man when Upshaw married Mitchell.¹⁰

In 1926 Mitchell’s childhood leg injuries made her unable to walk without extreme pain. Mitchell retired from the *Journal* and started furiously reading stacks of books Marsh would

Striking Resemblance to a Masterpiece: *Gone with the Wind* in 1936” in *Recasting: “Gone with the Wind” in American Culture*, ed. Darden Asbury Pryon (Miami, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1983), 40.

⁸ Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta*, 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰ The events and people in Mitchell’s life between 1919 and 1922 have been commented on by scholars because of their similarities to aspects of the novel. This is addressed in section three of this chapter.

bring home from the local library. Stephens Mitchell stated that during the late 1920s he even saw his sister read several medical accounts of the Civil War.

Mitchell began writing *Gone with the Wind* in 1926 and completed the draft in 1929. Between 1929 and 1936, when the novel was published, Mitchell edited her manuscript numerous times. She kept the giant collection of pages in manila envelopes that were packed away in the closet once she realized that visitors found that the plentiful piles of envelopes worked well as chairs. In 1936 Harry Lantham from Macmillan Publishing Company's home office in New York City was told by a friend of Mitchell's, who worked in Macmillan's Atlanta office, that Mitchell was preparing an interesting novel. Mitchell initially refused to let Lantham read it. She quickly changed her mind, however, and gave him the draft while he visited Atlanta. Lantham was on a train back to New York when Mitchell sent him a telegram saying she made a mistake and wanted her manuscript returned. Lantham asked to finish reading it before he returned it.¹¹

The manuscript was not returned and Mitchell agreed to publish the book. Had the manuscript been returned to Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* might never have become a staple of American popular culture. Before the novel was published, however, Mitchell and Lantham decided to change the name of the lead character from Pansy to Scarlett.¹² She also asked Lantham to let her take the Ku Klux Klan out of the novel, but Lantham refused.¹³ On June 30, 1936, Mitchell's 1,037-page-long epic was published and quickly became a bestseller.

¹¹ Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta*, 91-95.

¹² *Ibid.*, 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 109.

II. Synopsis

Mitchell opens her novel at the O'Hara family plantation, called Tara, in Clayton County, which is located in northern Georgia. Sitting on Tara's porch are Scarlett O'Hara, the oldest daughter of the plantation's owner, Gerald, and two of her many suitors, twins Brent and Stuart Tarleton. The boys are eagerly awaiting word on whether President Lincoln would declare war against the Confederate States of America (C. S. A.), a group of southern states, including Georgia, that seceded from the Union. Scarlett regarded this topic of conversation as boring and unnecessary. All of the season's social events had been dominated by talk of war which, in Scarlett's opinion, ruined the events. When she stopped the war talk, the boys discussed the barbeque being held at a neighboring plantation, called Twelve Oaks, the next day. The hosts of the barbeque were the Wilkes family, including Ashley Wilkes, whom Scarlett secretly loved. The Tarleton boys alerted Scarlett that they heard Ashley would announce his engagement to his cousin Melanie Hamilton of Atlanta at the barbeque. Scarlett dismissed the boys and formulated a plan to win Ashley from Melanie and even planned their elopement.

Scarlett cornered Ashley in the library of Twelve Oaks during the barbeque. She poured out her feelings for him, but Ashley refused to leave Melanie. To spite him, Scarlett agreed to marry Charles Hamilton, Melanie's brother, and the beau of Ashley's sister Honey Wilkes.¹⁴ Later in the day, Lincoln declared war on the C. S. A. the day of the barbeque and most of the men left the barbeque to enlist, including Charles. He died a few months later in South Carolina from pneumonia and never saw combat. Glad to be rid of a husband she did not love, Scarlett would never be rid of Charles's memory as she gave birth to his son, Wade, several months after Charles's death.

¹⁴ Ashley and Melanie were married within days of Scarlett and Charles's wedding.

Scarlett went into a state of mourning, which was a cultural convention of the time, and mourning meant that Scarlett had to forego any social activities—including her favorites, dancing and parties—and wear black clothing for years. Depressed at her circumstances in life, she and Wade went to visit Melanie and her Aunt Pitty Pat in Atlanta. Scarlett immediately fell in love with the small but active city. In Atlanta, Scarlett was informed that, as any young lady was to do, she would be joining other women in the local military hospitals nursing wounded soldiers.

A bazaar was being planned to raise funds for the Confederacy and the hospital in which Scarlett worked was going to host a booth. Just before the bazaar was to begin, Scarlett learned that the girls who were to work the booth were called away. Scarlett, under the guise of patriotism, jumped at the chance to work the booth.

At the bazaar Scarlett is reintroduced to a dashing southerner named Rhett Butler, who happened to be hiding in the library at the barbeque when Ashley and Scarlett had their fateful meeting. An auction was held at the bazaar allowing the men to bid on the woman with whom they would like to dance the “Virginia Reel,” a popular couples’ dance. Defying cultural convention, Rhett bid \$150 in gold to dance with Scarlett, who was still in mourning. Everyone at the bazaar was shocked, but that did not stop her from dancing with Rhett.

Scarlett and Wade’s visit to Atlanta lasted longer and longer. One Christmas, Ashley returned for a short furlough. Scarlett planned again to beg Ashley to leave Melanie and marry her. But as he prepared to leave, Ashley asked Scarlett to promise to care for Melanie while he was gone. Scarlett agreed and Ashley left. Scarlett’s promise came to a head the next September when Melanie went into labor with her first child, Beau, just as General Sherman’s army was about to march into the city.

Once Beau arrived, Scarlett was determined to leave the city. She sent her slave Prissy to find Rhett and get him to send his horse and carriage to evacuate Melanie and the baby. Rhett's horse and carriage were confiscated by the Army, but he managed to steal a rickety wagon and a horse that was past its prime. He collected all the occupants left in the house and drove through the city out to McDonough Road where he deserted them to join the Confederate military in the final days of the war.

Scarlett continued on and drove the wagon towards Tara and Twelve Oaks. Ashley's childhood home had been burned to the ground by Yankee troops. Tara, thankfully, had not been burned but had been ransacked for anything the Yankees could possibly use. When Scarlett arrived, she also found her family in shambles. Her sisters, Careen and Suellen, had been terribly ill with typhoid fever, but were beginning to recover. Ellen, Scarlett's beloved mother, however, was not so lucky. She had nursed a neighbor girl who had typhoid along with her own daughters. Ellen contracted the illness and died the night before Scarlett arrived at Tara. Mammy, the head house slave, assumed the mother-like role in Scarlett's life after Ellen's death. Gerald, Scarlett's father, was unable to deal with the loss and no longer functioned completely in reality. Scarlett learned from him that Tara had not been burned because the Yankees had used it as headquarters, and that a Yankee doctor had been kind enough to come and care for the three sick women.

Still a teenager, Scarlett was now the head of a fledgling plantation with no food, no cotton, no candles for light, and only three slaves. Scarlett was now the person who had to pick cotton and begin to rebuild the finances of Tara. The Yankees returned to Tara and tried to commandeer what they could find. During this visit from the Yankees, an officer allowed Wade to keep his father's sword, which contained pieces of gold. A young Yankee soldier was so upset

he secretly set fire to Tara's kitchen. Melanie and Scarlett were able to put it out and escaped injury.

While Scarlett rebuilt the plantation, Melanie nursed wounded soldiers who passed by Tara. A one-legged soldier with a horrific case of pneumonia, Will Benteen, stayed on after his recovery to repay Scarlett and Melanie for nursing him back to health. He returned from a business trip to Jonesboro, the nearest town, to inform Scarlett that the taxes on Tara had been raised to \$300. While Scarlett devised a way to get the money, Jonas Wilkerson, Tara's former overseer, made an unwelcomed visit. Scarlett never liked Wilkerson and now hated him even more because he was a Yankee. Moreover, his new wife was the neighbor girl who had the typhoid fever that killed Ellen. Wilkerson assumed that Scarlett would not be able to secure the tax money and offered to buy Tara. After throwing a handful of dirt in his face in response, Scarlett made a new dress out of her mother's green velvet curtains and was quickly on her way to Atlanta hoping to secure the money from Rhett Butler. Rhett, however, was in a Yankee jail and could not get access to his money. On the way back from the jail to Aunt Pitty Pat's house, Scarlett ran into Frank Kennedy.

Frank had grown up at a plantation near Tara and was the beau of Scarlett's sister Suellen. After serving in the war, Frank went to Atlanta to build a general store so that he could earn some money before marrying Suellen. He made the grave mistake of telling Scarlett how much money he had saved thus far, and Scarlett quickly moved to attract Frank. After telling him Suellen had grown tired of waiting and taken another beau—which was a lie—she married Frank Kennedy and they moved in with Aunt Pitty Pat.

Using Frank's savings, Scarlett sent the tax money to Tara but increasingly wanted to take over the finances of Frank's store. She blamed the hardships she had suffered during and

after the war on not having enough money. Determined to never be in that position again, she became increasingly present in Frank's business dealings. In that time, women were not supposed to worry about such things, and Frank became convinced that if Scarlett had another child, she would forget about business. That did not happen. Unfortunately for Frank, after giving birth to Ella, Scarlett returned to her prized possessions, two lumber mills in the dangerous part of Atlanta.

One night on her way back home from the mills, Scarlett was attacked by a freed slave. When she returned home to tell the story, Frank sent her to stay with Melanie, who moved her family next door, and disappeared with Ashley to a political meeting. Scarlett was joined at Melanie's house by women coming to sew. Scarlett prodded to know why the men had left all the women at Melanie's and why everyone was so tense. Archie, a Confederate veteran staying with the Wilkes family, finally broke down and told Scarlett that Frank and Ashley were members of the Ku Klux Klan and had gone to retaliate for Scarlett's attack. Once the retaliation was over, Rhett came to Ashley's rescue by giving him an alibi for the retaliation. The Yankees had heard there would be retaliation and waited there to arrest any Klan members. While everyone tended to an injured Ashley, who was feigning drunkenness to fool the Yankees, Rhett informed Scarlett that Frank had been shot during the retaliation and was dead.¹⁵

Not long after Frank's funeral, Rhett proposed marriage to Scarlett, and she accepted. They honeymooned in New Orleans and built an enormous mansion in Atlanta. Scarlett never gave up her mills and even installed Ashley as manager of one of them. One day she was dispatched to keep him at the mill he managed while Melanie and India, Ashley's other sister, prepared the Wilkes home for Ashley's birthday party. Ashley lamented how his life had

¹⁵ Mitchell never reveals what Ashley or Frank did at the retaliation, rather she just tells of the injuries they received during the event.

changed in unimaginable ways and Scarlett ended up in his embrace. They were caught in this adulterous position by India. Rhett heard of the discovery and forced Scarlett to appear in her most low-cut and outrageously-colored gown at Ashley's party by herself. When she returned, Rhett was drunk. After an argument, Rhett carried her upstairs and raped her.

Scarlett had her third and last child, a girl named Bonnie. Rhett simply adored her and he was determined to restore his reputation so that no luxury could be denied to Bonnie. He detested the fact that Scarlett still ran a business, which hurt her reputation. One day Bonnie wanted to go jumping with her horse and, ignoring Rhett and Scarlett's pleas to not jump so high, she was killed when her horse stopped suddenly and threw her across the yard.

Mourning the death of her favorite child, Scarlett returned to Tara for a short visit. She was called back to Atlanta by a letter from Rhett that Melanie was on her deathbed. She rushed back to Atlanta in time to speak to Melanie one last time. After she left Melanie's room, she spoke to Ashley. As Ashley spoke of how lost he would be without Melanie, Scarlett suddenly realized that she had not loved Ashley's true personality. He was weak and lost and she did not have much patience for people with those qualities. She began to understand that it was Rhett whom she actually loved and ran the five blocks to her mansion to confess her feelings to Rhett. He would not listen and left their home with his suitcase, intending to come back only often enough to not make Scarlett the subject of terrible rumors. She was determined to get Rhett back. Scarlett decided she would return to Tara to formulate a plan to win his affections. Mitchell ends the novel here allowing readers to draw their own conclusions as to the outcome of Scarlett and Rhett's relationship.¹⁶

¹⁶ The Mitchell estate allowed one sequel, *Scarlett*, written by Alexandra Ripley. It was published in 1991.

III. Characters

Although there are over twenty characters in Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*, the entire plot revolves around five main characters: Scarlett, Ashley, Melanie, Rhett, and Mammy. These five characters are intertwined together from the very beginning of the novel and, in one way or another, stay together through the entire story.

Mammy is the head house slave at Tara. She was with the family since before Scarlett's birth and also served as a mother figure for Scarlett, especially after Ellen's death. She was one of the few slaves who stayed to work for the O'Hara family after the Yankees pillaged Tara for the first time. Mammy was not afraid of referring to freed slaves and runaway slaves in derogatory ways since she saw them as abandoning their duties and showing no respect for the families that had previously owned them.¹⁷ Mammy was familiar with Scarlett's proclivity for scheming and often rebuked her for her actions, showing that she was one of the few people Scarlett could not melt with her charm. Scarlett, however, was comforted multiple times by Mammy's presence, often referencing the sound of the creaking floor boards heard when the hefty weight of Mammy moving through the house in a positive way.

Ashley was Scarlett's first love. He was a dashing young neighbor who was well read and had even travelled to Europe. The Ashley that Scarlett saw and loved, however, was not his actual personality. She saw a soldier who went to war because it was his duty, not because he wanted to fight like other gallant Southern men.¹⁸ After the war, Ashley was scared of the changes in his life. He had to work, which he had never been prepared to do as a member of the

¹⁷ Mitchell creates in her novel the notion of a caste system within the slave system. Mammy refuses to pick cotton stating that she was a house slave, not a field hand. She also scolds the driver of a carriage in Atlanta and calls him a derogatory name until he states that he still serves his master.

¹⁸ When the war talk commenced at the Twelve Oaks barbeque, Ashley was one of the few not bubbling with enthusiasm over the idea of war with the Yankees.

upper class. He did not have the same drive as Scarlett. When a person did not have the same determination as Scarlett, it frustrated her. She did not see this side of Ashley, however, until the end of the novel.

Rhett was a kindred soul to Scarlett. They saw things in a very similar fashion. Both were realists, except when it came to love. Most southerners in the novel wanted war and thought that the Confederate forces would dispose of the Yankees in the blink of an eye. Before war was even declared, Rhett warned of the south's lack of manufacturing—which meant a limited supply of cannons and ammunition—and that the north would form a large blockade to starve the south of all the materials it imported. Rhett was, of course, correct. His ability to see things as they were also allowed him to understand Ashley's character long before Scarlett did. This was one reason why Rhett would get frustrated with Scarlett's decades-long admiration of Ashley.

Rhett's background gave him a murky reputation. A native of Charleston, South Carolina, Rhett was not allowed in his family's home. He took a girl out in his carriage without a chaperone and did not return at a decent hour, causing not only his but also her reputation to be ruined. He also was a noted blockade runner, maneuvering around various blockades to sell southern wares in Europe. Once the Civil War started, Rhett was running Yankee blockades and became friends with some Yankee officers in order to get around the blockades. This angered the Confederates who knew of these friendships. The activities in which he participated while a blockade runner were kept secret, which did not help his reputation. His friendship with the head of a prostitution house also caused him to be shunned. As the years passed, he grew to admire those who were not judgmental of others, especially Melanie.

Melanie saw the best in everyone, no matter how much they might have wronged her. She adored Scarlett for sheltering her while Ashley was at war, and whether or not she knew how

many times Scarlett tried to steal Ashley away, she never faulted Scarlett. At the end of the novel, Scarlett learned that Melanie was not as naïve about the people around her when Melanie told her to care for Ashley on her deathbed. Scarlett knew that Melanie would only insinuate that Ashley was perfect other than wonderful on her deathbed.

Melanie was also the victim her frail body. She was much stronger than her body allowed. When a Yankee deserter arrived at Tara, Melanie was hardly able to move, but somehow managed to come down the stairs with Charles's sword to assist Scarlett in defending Tara.¹⁹ She was always caring for others. When she stayed at Tara while Ashley was at war she helped nurse and tend to wounded soldiers and allowed them to stay the night if they so needed. She continued her unending service to others once she moved into her own home with Ashley and Beau. In fact, part of the cause of her fatal miscarriage was the many hours she spent comforting Rhett, Scarlett, and Mammy after Bonnie's death.

The main character of the novel is Scarlett, who begins the story as the belle of the county. Almost every boy in the county was infatuated with her, and she knew it.²⁰ While she seemed at times charming and genial, she was more often than not cold, calculating, and extremely manipulative. She was always cooking up plans to get what she wanted, no matter what it cost or whom it hurt. The most extreme example of her manipulation was her wrangling of Frank Kennedy away from Suellen.

Even if society did not approve of her actions, which it frequently did not, that never stopped Scarlett. For example, she moved quickly to find any excuse to go to the bazaar although she was in mourning. Her most blatant bucking of societal trends was her open business behavior

¹⁹ Her assistance was not needed as Scarlett shot the deserter.

²⁰ She openly admits to sitting away from the rest of the guests at the Twelve Oaks barbeque so as to not be restrained by a table, which allows only a limited number of men to sit by her.

when she effectively took over Frank's store and later bought two lumber mills. She became the subject of city-wide gossip when she could be seen selling lumber on the streets of Atlanta. She held on to those mills for as long as she could, until her equally conniving husband Rhett tricked her into selling them to Ashley.²¹

Scarlett was motivated to gain as much wealth as possible because of how little she had in the last years of the war and the first years of Reconstruction. In her mind, those with the money made the rules, as this was true before the war when Scarlett was a member of the upper class. What she never seemed to realize in the second half of the novel is that no matter how much money she had, she always seemed to run into substantial problems, proving that money does not always equal happiness. Scarlett never, however, gave up because of these mounting problems. Margaret Mitchell said that her novel was about "gumption," which she gave in great supply to Scarlett.²²

Biographers and scholars have noticed that several of the characters in the book echo people or situations from Mitchell's life. Mitchell biographer Finis Farr writes that Mitchell's father "went into shock when his wife died, and made a slow recovery" upon the death of Mitchell's mother during the flu epidemic of 1919.²³ This is the same way that Gerald reacts to Ellen's death. Coincidentally, Farr also mentions that Mrs. Mitchell was nursing others when she became ill with the flu; Ellen died of typhoid fever by nursing three girls who also had it.²⁴

Elizabeth Hanson, another Mitchell biographer, points out the similarities between Mitchell's first husband, Red Upshaw, and the character of Rhett: "Red Upshaw offered

²¹ Rhett loaned Melanie the money to have Ashley buy the mills from Scarlett. When Scarlett asked how Ashley suddenly had the funds to buy mills, Rhett lied and told her that Ashley had an acquaintance that recently died and left him a small inheritance.

²² Margaret Mitchell, "Margaret Mitchell," in *"Gone with the Wind" as Book and Film*, 38.

²³ Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta*, 44.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

everything Rhett Butler promised as a husband—intense sexual energy, substantial financial support at a time when most southern men of the upper class were struggling to maintain their standard of living, and social and personal risk for the women loved them.”²⁵

Also commented on are the perceived connections between Scarlett and Mitchell. Ralph McGill, a fellow newspaper writer in Atlanta who knew Mitchell, wrote in 1962 that “Scarlett O’Hara emphatically was not an autobiographical character. But Peggy [Mitchell’s nickname] was a part of Scarlett. She was harum-scarum and rebellious, but intensely feminist.”²⁶ Farr adds: “In this only she resembled Scarlett O’Hara: each was determined to come through a bad time. Scarlett’s was ruin and starvation, Margaret’s was exploding success.”²⁷ After the publishing of her novel, Mitchell had a difficult time adjusting to the instant fame. She rarely went out in the community and, especially during the long production of the film, preferred to remain out of the public eye.

IV. Reception of *Gone with the Wind*

Gone with the Wind was published on June 30, 1936 and became a bestseller. This was quite an accomplishment as the book was quite expensive and was published during the Great Depression.²⁸ The novel produced mixed reviews. Some critics praised its narrative qualities calling it the best Civil War novel written. Others lambasted the author’s pro-south presentation and racist view of black characters, calling it “an effective argument against according the Negro

²⁵ Elizabeth I. Hanson, *Margaret Mitchell*, 33. Upshaw and Mitchell were married only a few months before he abandoned her.

²⁶ Ralph McGill, “Little Women, Big Book: The Mysterious Margaret Mitchell,” in “*Gone with the Wind*” as *Book and Film*, 65.

²⁷ Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta*, 153-4. Mitchell had difficulty adjusting to the incredible fame that came her way immediately after *Gone with the Wind* was published in 1936.

²⁸ According to critic Malcolm Crowley, the book cost \$3 in 1936. The inflation calculator provided by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, shows that the book would cost \$47.09 in 2010. <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl> (accessed August 7, 2010).

his citizenship rights and privileges and sings Hallelujah for white supremacy.”²⁹ Readers even sent countless letters to Mitchell detailing their experiences with the work, praising her many times for writing a story to which the reader could relate.³⁰

One of the most enthusiastic reviews was from Samuel Tupper, Jr., writing for the *Atlanta Journal* in June 1936:

This is not poetry or philosophy or fine writing—it is life. Reflection is not absent, but it is subordinated to the powerful story, which is startling in the casual skill with which interest is maintained through so many pages. Not many modern books leave the reader so breathless to know what is coming next. It is not too much to say that *Gone with the Wind* is among the most powerful and original novels in American literature.³¹

Another positive review came from historian Henry Steele Commager, who reviewed the book for the *New York Herald Tribune Books* in July 1936. Commager wrote:

What is remarkable about this book, however, is not the philosophy, so explicitly set forth, or even the historical authenticity of it all, but the richness of texture, the narrative vigor, the sweep and abundance and generosity of incident and of drama, piled up with carelessness and even with abandon, the ability to create characters and give them animation and reality.³²

Unfortunately, Commager—although a historian—seems to have been distracted by the narrative. As many other critics pointed out after the novel was published, the history of the south, the Reconstruction era, and race relations of the time were not depicted with complete accuracy.

²⁹ George S. Schuyler, quoted in Ruth Elizabeth Burks, “*Gone with the Wind*: Black and White in Technicolor,” *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 21 (2004): 53.

³⁰ Mitchell had many of her personal documents burned upon her death in 1949. The letters that survive dealing with *Gone with the Wind* have been published. See *Margaret Mitchell’s “Gone with the Wind” Letters, 1936-1949*, ed. Richard Harwell (New York: Macmillan), 1976.

³¹ Samuel Tupper, Jr., review of *Gone with the Wind*, by Margaret Mitchell, reprinted in “*Gone with the Wind as Book and Film*,” 16-17.

³² Henry Steele Commager, review of *Gone with the Wind*, in *Recasting: “Gone with the Wind” in American Culture*, 12.

Malcolm Crowley, of the *New Republic*, wrote a review that is dominated by the numerous press releases he cites. The press releases were sent by the Macmillan Publishing Company, the publishers of the novel, and cited sales figures of the novel. Crowley wrote that Mitchell was the author that established the plantation legend to its fullest, leading to many stereotypes regarding the south, such as “the white-columned house sleeping under its trees among the cotton fields; the band of faithful retainers, including two that quaintly resemble Aunt Jemima and Old Black Joe; the white-haired massa bathing in mint juleps; the heroine with her seventeen-inch waist.”³³ Literature scholar Helen Taylor, for her 1989 study entitled *Scarlett’s Women*, requested responses to the novel and film from readers in her native Britain as well as a few United States locations.³⁴ British readers told her that they took the whole story to be fiction—including the portrayal of the south and with portrayal of race.³⁵ Mitchell’s presentation of race in the novel bothered many readers and critics arguably more than any other aspect of the novel.

The angered critics charged that Margaret Mitchell, while writing an entertaining narrative, wrote a somewhat inaccurate historical novel. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Mitchell was surrounded and steeped in Civil War history and folklore. There are many accurate details, such as the date Sherman marched into Atlanta. What many critics and readers seem to take exception with is how she portrays the upper class and the class’s relationship with slaves. A complication of this issue is the perception of truth, which was a problem for domestic readers. As historian Robert E. May states, “Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone with the Wind*, prior to *Roots*, had

³³ Malcolm Crowley, review of *Gone with the Wind*, by Margaret Mitchell, reprinted in *Recasting: “Gone with the Wind” in American Culture*, 19.

³⁴ Helen Taylor, *Scarlett’s Women: “Gone with the Wind” and Its Female Fans* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 207.

a greater bearing upon the American public's perception of the Old South, the Civil War, and Reconstruction—a crucial period in the American past—than any other single piece of literature or media.”³⁶ Readers took the story and, more importantly, the society that Mitchell puts forward to be the truth. One of Taylor's respondents testified that after praising the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1950s in her American elementary school, she was given a more complete history of the Ku Klux Klan by her teacher. The respondent was mortified at her historical error as she took events presented in the novel to be the truth.³⁷

Mitchell portrayed the south as containing plantation owners who were kind to their slaves and, in some cases, treating them as members of the family.³⁸ This can be juxtaposed against an example of the treatment of slaves by Andrew Jackson, who would go on to become the seventh president of the United States. In 1810, Jackson offered a \$50 cash reward for the capture of one of his runaway slaves. The ad also offered an additional \$10 for every hundred lashes the captor gave the slave up to three hundred lashes.³⁹ While many who read these accounts now sincerely hope that there were tender moments like the ones described between Scarlett and Mammy occurring frequently, to believe that those close relationships were the norm would be a misinformed judgment. Robert May goes further to state that Mitchell's slave characters most likely represent “her own paternalistic misjudgment of the black personality, but

³⁶ Robert E. May, “*Gone with the Wind* as Southern History: A Reappraisal,” *The Southern Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 51.

³⁷ Taylor, *Scarlett's Women*, 180.

³⁸ When Scarlett returns to Tara and finds Ellen dead, she rejoices at the sight of Mammy, who acts as a surrogate mother.

³⁹ “The Hermitage - Home of President Andrew Jackson,” http://www.thehermitage.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=36&Itemid=49 (accessed June 29, 2010). “The Hermitage” was the plantation home of President Jackson and has now been turned into a museum. The website contains an image of the ad offering the reward as well as information and pictures of some of the slaves owned by President Jackson. He was in charge of a government attempting to negotiate the legality and morality of slavery, even though he owned slaves, without the letting the country succumb to civil war.

her portrayal so much differs from the historiography of the ‘peculiar institution’ that it must be dismissed as distortion and simplification of the worst order.”⁴⁰ Film critic Molly Haskell comments on Mitchell’s portrayal of race saying, “Yes, Mitchell is guilty of portraying slavery with a happy face and is not particularly enlightened by contemporary lights.”⁴¹ Haskell goes on to point out that Mitchell portrays the poor white family, the Slatterys—one of whom becomes Jonas Wilkerson’s wife—as being “far more lazy, noxious, and parasitic than Negroes.”⁴² Many of Taylor’s respondents agreed, stating that Mitchell could not have written the novel of the same fashion in contemporary times [the 1980s] with regards to race.⁴³

An extension of the issue of race is Mitchell’s inclusion of the Ku Klux Klan.⁴⁴ The racist group, which is now categorized as a terrorist organization, was portrayed in the novel as being a group that protected upper class women from supposedly out-of-control freed slaves. Scarlett detests the Klan—not for their violent actions, but because the Yankees would arrest Klan members, including Frank Kennedy, her then-husband, and Ashley Wilkes.

In Mitchell’s novel, a Confederate veteran staying with the Wilkes family interrupts the sewing circle taking place the night after Scarlett’s attack at Shantytown stating that the Klan members had gone to Shantytown to kill the person who attacked Scarlett. He blames her for riding through a dangerous part of town without protection after having been warned several times not to drive her own carriage through the area by herself. When Rhett returns with an injured Ashley, having created an alibi for him, he does not speak of exactly what actions were used in the Klan retaliation against those in Shantytown.

⁴⁰ May, “*Gone with the Wind* as Southern History,” 54.

⁴¹ Molly Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear: “Gone with the Wind” Revisited* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 209.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴³ Taylor, *Scarlett’s Women*, 192.

⁴⁴ A short history of the Klan can be found in chapter two.

The Klan had hit their largest membership and amount of influence less than a decade before the publishing of the novel. With Mitchell leaving out the violence that normally comprised Klan actions, many readers feared that others would view the Klan in this distorted way, which could possibly lead to a growth in membership and influence.⁴⁵ Mitchell apparently did not fear any retaliation from the Klan for Scarlett's dislike of the organization. In the letters that survive she seems to paint the Klan as a defender of the voting booth.⁴⁶ When questioned about the Klan in one letter, Mitchell replied that she did not do research on the Klan as everything she wrote about the group was common knowledge to southerners.⁴⁷ Moreover, her main concern regarding criticism was whether or not southern readers would accept the book.⁴⁸

Even in present-day criticism, the issue of race comes to the forefront. As readers and movie viewers revisit *Gone with the Wind*, the racism becomes even more striking, as modern audiences, especially those in the United States, are viewing the film or reading the book in a post-Civil Rights and desegregated era. In the end, what Mitchell gives us is a somewhat historically-accurate novel detailing one woman's journey from a seemingly happy life to the extreme opposite. Included in both the good and bad situations of Scarlett's journey is music.

⁴⁵ Concerns of this nature did not disappear as time passed after the book's publishing. As we will see later, Hollywood producer David O. Selznick received complaints about the film's production fearing the rise of the Klan after the release of the film.

⁴⁶ Margaret Mitchell to Ruth Tallman, letter, July 30, 1937, in *Margaret Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind" Letters, 1936-1949*, ed. Richard Harwell (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 162.

⁴⁷ Mitchell to Stanley F. Horn, letter, March 20, 1939, in *Margaret Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind" Letters*, 263.

⁴⁸ The collection of letters edited by Harwell contains several letters to multiple individuals to whom Mitchell voices her anxiety at the reaction of southern readers. See Mitchell to Paul Jordan-Smith, letter, May 27, 1936, and Mitchell to Herschel Brickell, letter, October 9, 1936, in *Margaret Mitchell's "Gone With the Wind" Letters*, 7, 74.

V. Musical Life in the Civil War Era

Scholar Caroline Moseley has observed that music was prevalent in everyday life in the Civil War era.⁴⁹ The songs made popular during the war period were passed along for the public through song sheets, songsters, and broadsides. Broadsides were single sheets with the lyrics of a song and no music, while songsters were small pocket-sized books of lyrics of songs, again with no music.⁵⁰ Musicologist Richard Crawford separates the music of the Civil War era into three categories: classical, popular, and traditional.⁵¹

Very important to Civil War era musical life was military music. That subject is, as famed conductor Frederick Fennel wrote, the most neglected research topic of the war.⁵² Interest in the topic has, thankfully, grown steadily in the years since Fennel's remark, especially the consideration of band and military music. Brass bands existed before the Civil War, usually serving as civic bands during civic functions. Many bands enlisted and became regimental bands.

The regimental bands on both the Union and Confederate sides served three purposes: to provide signals, sustain morale amongst the troops, and lend an air of formality to ceremonial occasions.⁵³ To provide the signals and sustain morale, the bands had to move right along with the different military units. For example, music scholar Bruce C. Kelley wrote that at the Battle of Chancellorsville in Virginia, the band accompanying the Fourteenth Connecticut Regiment

⁴⁹ Caroline Moseley, "Irrepressible Conflict: Differences Between Northern and Southern Songs in the Civil War," *Journal of Popular Culture* 25 (Fall 1991): 48.

⁵⁰ Richard Crawford, *A History of America's Musical Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 230-31. See also Ray B. Browne and Lawrence A. Kreiser, Jr., *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 119-20. Only sheet music (not song sheets) contained printed music.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 229. The music that will be the focus of this thesis falls under the categories of popular and traditional.

⁵² Frederick Fennel, "The Civil War: Its Music and its Sounds, Part I," *Journal of Band Research* 4 (Spring 1968): 36.

⁵³ Browne and Kreiser, Jr., *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 122.

played Union tunes such as “The Star Spangled Banner” when Union forces attacked Stonewall Jackson’s Confederate troops.⁵⁴

Confederate General Robert E. Lee is quoted as saying that a military should have music.⁵⁵ He even relied on music outside of the regimental bands. According to an anecdote related in the documentary *The Civil War* by Ken Burns, Lee instructed his men to sing “Maryland, My Maryland,” a pro-south song that encouraged Maryland citizens to revolt against the Union after a bloody battle in Baltimore, to help entice the residents of Maryland to rise up against the Union.⁵⁶ One soldier that answered to Lee was General J. E. B. Stuart, who was known for his love of music. In fact, the song “Join the Cavalry” is associated with Stuart and his unit.⁵⁷ According to ethnomusicologist Stephen Cornelius, Sam Sweeney, the brother of Joe Sweeney, who was considered the first legendary banjo player in the United States, accompanied Stuart’s unit as a banjo player.⁵⁸

As early as 1861, the Federal government was reorganizing the Union regiments and the bands they contained. According to musicologist Ken Olson, General Order No. 15, issued on May 4, 1861, stated that companies could have between 83 and 101 members. Of those members, only two were to be musicians. For regiments, which were a great deal larger than companies, the roster could number between 865 and 1,010 members. Two musicians were to be categorized as “principal drummers” and twenty-four musicians were to be used for a military

⁵⁴ Brian C. Kelley, “‘Old Times There Are Not Forgotten’: An Overview of Music of the Civil War Era,” in *Bugle Resounding: Music and Musicians of the Civil War Era*, ed. Bruce C. Kelley and Mark A. Snell (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 25.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁶ Ken Burns, *The Civil War*, Episode Three, 5 DVDs, (Washington, DC: PBS, 1989). The attempt to gain the support of Maryland residents did not work.

⁵⁷ This song is specifically mentioned as being sung at a party in the novel as “If You Want to Have Fun, Jine the Cavalry.”

⁵⁸ Stephen H. Cornelius, *Music of the Civil War Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 94.

band.⁵⁹ When the musicians were not fulfilling their musical duties, they were to assist the doctors and surgeons with the wounded, or they were to join their fellow soldiers in arms on the front.⁶⁰

As many studies of the war and its soldiers mention, the age of enlistment was often ignored due to the continued need for soldiers. Drummer boys as young as nine were enlisting early in the war.⁶¹ At just the age of seventeen, George Ives put together a volunteer band that was partnered with the First Connecticut Artillery. According to Olson, the famed Union General Ulysses S. Grant told President Lincoln the band was the best in the Northern army.⁶²

As previously mentioned, when exploring the studies of the Civil War, one can find that music was an important aspect of life. We have already seen Confederate Generals J. E. B. Stuart and Robert E. Lee's use of music. General William T. Sherman, who is mentioned in *Gone with the Wind*, had his bands march through Atlanta after he captured the city.⁶³ A diary from the Confederate General John B. Gordon stated that he watched the Union reinforcements for the Battle of Antietam in Maryland accompanied by their band which encouraged them with "marshal" music.⁶⁴ When the Emancipation Proclamation took effect in 1863, freed slaves were now able to serve in the Union army. When a commander of a black unit unfurled the American flag for his soldiers, it is reported that the soldiers broke into song at the joy of being free.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Kenneth E. Olson, *Music and Musket: Bands and Bandsmen of the American Civil War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 70-71.

⁶⁰ William Carter White, *A History of Military Music in America*, 2nd reprint (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 68.

⁶¹ Ken Burns, *The Civil War*, Episode Two, 1989.

⁶² Olson, *Music and Musket*, 83. George Ives was the father of American composer Charles Ives.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁶⁴ General John B. Gordon (C. S. A.), quoted in *The Civil War*, Episode Three, 1989.

⁶⁵ Burns, *The Civil War*, Episode Three, 1989.

Ken Burns's documentary on the Civil War discusses the use of music in episode four, "Simply Murder." Music was used in various camps and soldiers stated that the music made them appear happier than they were, as they were suffering from years away from their homes and loved ones. The documentary's narrator mentions a soldier, whose name is never given, who recalled the enjoyable concerts given by a person named "Gilmore" in his camp. It can be deduced that the soldier is referring to the band of the 24th Regiment of Massachusetts which was led by famed bandmaster Patrick S. Gilmore.⁶⁶ According to Burns's documentary, the Confederate military preferred songs such as "Dixie" and "Bonnie Blue Flag," and the Union soldiers apparently preferred more sentimental music, such as "Just Before the Battle, Mother," "When This Cruel War Is Over," and "Lorena," a song loved on both sides.⁶⁷

Music in the homes of Americans seems to echo the notion of European *Hausmusik* during the nineteenth century. The rise of the middle class produced a desire for a genteel and refined society. The addition of pianos in the parlors of the middle class homes of the United States added to the idea of the refined bourgeois environment.⁶⁸ With what can be considered a mixture of patriotism and a desire for a respectable reputation, music was being bought to be played in the home. The music that has become known to generations after the war reflects, as Crawford states, the personalities of those in the home.

Some of the most famous pieces being sung in the home were sentimental songs about loved ones at the front, loved ones who were not going to come home from the front, and love songs. These songs bore the signs of the influence of music from the British Isles, especially Ireland. Musicologist H. Wiley Hitchcock states that a collection of songs by Irish poet Thomas

⁶⁶ Ibid, Episode Four, 1989.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Except for "Just Before the Battle, Mother," the other songs mentioned were mentioned in the novel and used in the soundtrack to the film. They will be discussed in chapter three.

⁶⁸ Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 236.

Moore, called *Irish Melodies*, was extremely important for the development of the American sentimental song.⁶⁹ Music used for these purposes during the war was used in the soundtrack to the film and will be discussed in chapter three.

Many of the love songs that were well-loved during the war were written by Stephen Foster, a Pennsylvania-born composer and lyricist who was the most famous composer of popular music of the war. Foster's sentimental songs were about "love, beauty, and contentment."⁷⁰ Many of his songs that achieved fame in the 1860s were actually written much earlier. "Open Thy Lattice Love," Foster's first published song, was written in 1844 and "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair" dated to 1854. As stated earlier, the popularity of songs written many years before the war was not uncommon, according to Caroline Moseley. She attests that the songs sung by Americans in the 1860s were, "parlor songs dating from the 1830s, 40s, and 50s..., minstrel show songs of the 1840s and 50s, the traditional songs of the Afro-American slaves, and the traditional songs of the Anglo-American immigrants."⁷¹ Besides his love songs, Foster made his name as a composer of minstrel songs.

Minstrel songs were, according to Richard Crawford, a "sentimental" portrayal of the slaves, rather than anything that could be called realistic. They relied on dialect and Foster's minstrel songs often talked of returning home, such as "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home."⁷² Brown and Kreiser also state that the previously mentioned songs as well as Foster's hits "Old Black Joe," "Camptown Races," and "Massa's in the Cold Ground," paint the south as "a land of sunshine, nostalgia, contented whites, and loyal, happy-go-lucky slaves—the

⁶⁹ H. Wiley Hitchcock, with a final chapter by Kyle Gann, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000), 131.

⁷⁰ Brown and Kreiser, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 121.

⁷¹ Moseley, "Irrepressible Conflict," 46.

⁷² Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 253.

common themes of many minstrel show songs.”⁷³ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, that pleasant portrayal of slaves’ lives—both in song and in Mitchell’s novel—was inaccurate.

“Dixie” was arguably the most famous minstrel song. It was written by Daniel Decatur Emmett in 1859. He served as a fife player in the United States Army before the war and supported the Union cause. Even though he wrote the song for northern audiences, it became the theme song of the south quickly.⁷⁴ The song was even played at Jefferson Davis’s inauguration as the Provisional President of the Confederate States of America.⁷⁵

It is this musical environment that Mitchell alluded to in her novel. Scarlett and her household were members of the upper class, a refined bourgeoisie. It is only expected that the O’Haras, the Wilkses, and other characters from *Gone with the Wind* would be presented in this musical context.

VI. Music in the Novel

Margaret Mitchell mentions twenty-two pieces of music into her novel.⁷⁶ Many of these songs are mentioned just in passing, but even then, they show the importance of music in the novel. Two of her surviving letters state that the songs she chose for the novel were songs her mother sang to her as a child.⁷⁷ The songs fall into the following categories: Irish, classical, sentimental, patriotic, minstrel, African American spiritual, and seasonal. More songs fit into the sentimental and patriotic categories than any other, which can be explained by the previously

⁷³ Brown and Kreiser, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 121-22.

⁷⁴ Olson, *Music and Musket*, 86.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 126. See also Ken Burns, *The Civil War*, Episode One, 1989.

⁷⁶ Only six of these songs are also used in the film. See the Appendix A of this thesis for a full list of the songs used in the novel.

⁷⁷ See Mitchell to Julia Collier Harris, letter, April 28, 1936, and Mitchell to Webster B. Otis, letter, April 20, 1940, in *Margaret Mitchell’s “Gone with the Wind” Letters*, 3-4, 301-2.

stated statement by Moseley regarding popular music during the 1860s.⁷⁸ The three Irish songs, “Peg in the Low-backed Car,” “The Wearin’ o’ the Green,” and “Lament for Robert Emmett” are all sung by or in the presence of Gerald O’Hara, Scarlett’s Irish-born father. The lone classical work was *The Bohemian Girl*, an opera written by Michael Balfe in 1843.⁷⁹ In the novel, the local musical society, of which Melanie Hamilton Wilkes is a member, had recently performed the work. During Ashley’s Christmas leave, “Hark the Herald Angels Sing” is heard. The spiritual “Go Down Moses” is sung by the slaves as they march to go dig trenches for the Confederate troops and is used in the same situation in the film.

One of the major musical scenes in the novel is deleted in the film. Also, music is inserted into a separate scene that does not have music in the novel. The musical scene present in the novel, but deleted in the film, is the dinner party attended by Rhett, Scarlett, Melanie, Aunt Pitty Pat, and the Meades roughly midway through the novel. In this scene, Scarlett serenades the group from a piano in the parlor.

The songs that are most prominent in the novel—and also used in the film—are: “My Old Kentucky Home,” “When This Cruel War Is Over,” “Bonnie Blue Flag,” and “Dixie.” “My Old Kentucky Home” is a minstrel song, “When This Cruel War Is Over” is a sentimental song, and “Bonnie Blue Flag” and “Dixie,” although originally a minstrel song, were considered the two anthems of the south. I will be restricting my conversation to these four songs as they are carried into the film.

“My Old Kentucky Home” was written in 1853 by Stephen Foster, inspired, according to Foster’s biographer Ken Emerson, by the cabin in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, a controversial novel by

⁷⁸ Moseley has written that sentimental songs were popular in the 1860s, in addition to the popular songs from the previous few decades. See Caroline Moseley, “Irrepressible Conflict,” 48.

⁷⁹ Judith Tick and Paul Beaudoin, eds., *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), 218n. The opera is mentioned only by its title in the novel.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, published in the 1852.⁸⁰ Foster did not include any direct references to the novel and also did not write the song in dialect, as many of his minstrel songs appear. It is the third verse of the song that attracts the attention of Mitchell:

The head must bow and the back will have to bend, / Wherever the darkey may go;
A few more days, and the trouble will all end / In the field where the sugarcanes grow.
A few more days for to tote the weary load, / No matter 'twill never be light,
A few more days till we totter on the road, / Then my old Kentucky Home, good-night.⁸¹

On one occasion, Scarlett hears Prissy singing the third line of the third verse and Mitchell writes that Scarlett was “frightened” of what the “weary load” might entail in the future.⁸² When Scarlett remembers the third verse of the song later in the story, she cannot think of the entire verse. When she finally remembers it, the words “no matter 'twill never be light” make Scarlett’s heart sink.⁸³

“When This Cruel War Is Over,” also called “Weeping Sad and Lonely,” is introduced to readers during the bazaar scene. Scarlett is dancing with Rhett as he sings the song to her. As he points out to her, the song was composed in the north for northern audiences. The song did become popular in the south after one lyric was changed so that the word “blue” became “gray.”⁸⁴ The lyrics, written by Charles C. Sawyer, are from the point of view of the girlfriend or wife left at home while her beloved soldier is at the front. The original Union version is as follows:

Dearest love, do you remember, / When we last did meet,
How you told me that you loved me, / Kneeling at my feet?
Oh! how proud you stood before me / In your suit of blue,

⁸⁰ Stowe wrote her novel to be from the anti-slavery point of view, however, her slave characters created negative stereotypes for blacks that sometimes overshadow the anti-slavery view.

⁸¹ Stephen Foster, *Stephen Foster Song Book*, ed. Richard Jackson (New York: Dover, 1974), 71.

⁸² Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind*, 349.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 170. The Union Army’s uniform was blue, and the Confederate’s—when they could muster a uniform—was gray.

When you vowed to me and country / Ever to be true?
 Chorus:
 Weeping sad and lonely, / Hopes and fears how vain!
 When this cruel war is over, / Praying that we meet again!

When Suellen and Frank became engaged, Suellen sang the song. This demonstrates her longing for the end of the war, when she would get married.⁸⁵ The song was so depressing that the Federal troops were forbidden from hearing or singing it as it was “destructive to morale.”⁸⁶ The Federal troops, however, were not the only people forbidden from singing songs that were partisan.

Readers of *Gone with the Wind* will note that the two anthems of the south, “Dixie” and “Bonnie Blue Flag,” were forbidden by the Union troops occupying Atlanta because of their southern patriotic message. “They regulated how, when and where they must dump their garbage,” Mitchell writes in the novel. “They decided what songs the daughters and wives of ex-Confederates could sing, so that the singing of ‘Dixie’ or ‘Bonnie Blue Flag’ became an offense only a little less serious than treason.”⁸⁷ Daniel Emmett, the composer of “Dixie,” intended for the song to poke fun at the slaves with his lyrics, especially through the presence of dialect. What the lyrics came to represent was, instead, a nostalgic homeland. Paradoxically, “Dixie” became the song most associated with the south:

I wish I was in de land ob cotton, Old times dar am not forgotten
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
 In Dixie Land whar I was born in, Early on one frosty mornin’,
 Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
 Chorus: Den I wish I was Dixie, Hooray! Hooray!
 In Dixie Land I’ll take my stand, To lib and die in Dixie,
 Away, Away, Away down south in Dixie,

⁸⁵ Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind*, 220.

⁸⁶ Burns, *The Civil War*, Episode Four, 1989.

⁸⁷ Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind*, 653.

Away, Away, Away down south in Dixie.⁸⁸

What the Southerners loved about “Bonnie Blue Flag,” the other anthem of the south, was the chorus: “Hurrah! Hurrah! For Southern rights Hurrah! Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.” The song worked so well in stirring up Confederate sympathizers, that Union General Benjamin Butler banned the song in New Orleans, where he was located at the time, and anyone caught singing it had to pay a fine of \$25.⁸⁹ Harry Macarthy wrote the lyrics in 1861 and set them to an old Irish folk song called “The Irish Jaunting Car.” While Macarthy was quite patriotic when it came to his entertainment—he was a stage performer known as the “Arkansas Comedian.” When it came to acting on that patriotism, the “Arkansas Comedian” ran from duty. Born in England, when conscription was ordered in 1864, Macarthy fled to Pennsylvania, part of the Union, and claimed he was not a United States citizen.⁹⁰

Mitchell features “Bonnie Blue Flag” at the bazaar just before the first occurrence of “When This Cruel War Is Over.” She describes the listeners as having “goose bumps break out on the bare arms and cold chills of deeply felt emotion to fly down spines” as the chorus is sung at the bazaar.⁹¹ The song also served as the inspiration for the name of Rhett and Scarlett’s daughter. A comment was made as to how blue the child’s eyes were and Rhett unofficially named her “Bonnie Blue Butler.”

James Randall, a native of Maryland living in Louisiana, wrote a poem in 1861 hoping that the residents of his former state would rebel against the Union. “Maryland, My Maryland” was set later to the traditional German Christmas carol “O Tannenbaum,” or “O Christmas Tree.”

⁸⁸ Daniel Emmett, “Dixie’s Land,” in *Songs of the Civil War*, ed. Irwin Silber (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 59-61. Those who grew up in the post-Elvis will most likely remember this song as the opening of his famous medley “American Trilogy.”

⁸⁹ Brown and Kreiser, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 124.

⁹⁰ Moseley, “Irrepressible Conflict,” 46.

⁹¹ Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind*, 170.

The song was not as popular in the south as “Dixie” or “Bonnie Blue Flag,” but it was still considered an anthem of the south. In Mitchell’s novel, the Confederate soldiers attempting to retreat from the Union soldiers about to enter Atlanta sang “Maryland, My Maryland” as they walked down the street.

One of the most hated songs in Georgia was “Marching Through Georgia.” Henry Clay Work’s song was written in 1865, just months after General Sherman’s march from the border of Georgia and Tennessee to Savannah, a town on the coast of Georgia. Rhett tells Scarlett that if Atlanta falls during the war, the south will lose. The march of Sherman through the state was the final nail in Atlanta’s coffin. The war ended not long after this march, in mid-1865.⁹² Rhett sings the song as he returns with a supposedly drunk Ashley after the retaliation by the Klan. This song has a much more prominent status in the film, as we will see.

Mitchell’s novel, controversial in its day for the portrayal of the south and slaves, contained several songs of the Civil War period. The music she includes fits into the types that scholars identify as popular during the time, mainly minstrel songs, patriotic songs, and sentimental songs. It is interesting that, as mentioned previously, Steiner only used six of the songs included in the novel. To understand how the music will shift from how it is presented in the novel to how it is used in the film, we must now turn to the film’s production history and the social environment in which it developed.

⁹² Joanne Freeman, “Time Line of The Civil War, 1865,” www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/cwphtml/tl1865.html (accessed August 7, 2010).

CHAPTER TWO: “THE GREATEST FILM EVER MADE”: TRANSFORMING *GONE WITH THE WIND* TO FILM

I. Pre-Production

The production process of the film *Gone with the Wind* (1939) went slowly and was hindered, in part, by the hands-on producing style of producer David O. Selznick (1902-1965). An examination of the lengthy and sometimes tedious genesis will establish how difficult the working environment was on composer Max Steiner (1888-1971). It will also show that Selznick not only held the reins of the production tightly when it came to scripts, costumes, and other visual aspects of the film, but that he also sought to exert as much control as possible over the musical aspects of the film.

In May 1936 Kay Brown, Story Editor in the New York office of Selznick International Pictures, suggested to her boss, David O. Selznick, that he purchase the rights to a yet unpublished book, called *Gone with the Wind*, by first-time author Margaret Mitchell. In a memo dated May 25, 1936, Selznick told Brown that he was skeptical about buying the rights at that time. In addition to the fact that the book had not been released yet—it would be the following month—Selznick could foresee casting issues, based on the book’s synopsis he had read. As the head of an independent movie studio, he had few actors under contract. In addition, he knew he had no actress capable of playing the role of Scarlett.⁹³ Selznick’s hesitancy, however, did not persist much longer.

⁹³ Selznick to Kay Brown, memorandum, May 25, 1936, in *Memo from David O. Selznick*, ed. Rudy Behlmer (New York: Viking Press, 1972), 142-3. Behlmer published a portion of Selznick’s memos that are contained in the David O. Selznick Archive, Harry Ransome Research Center, University of Texas-Austin, Austin, Texas.

The next day Selznick sent a memo to Kay Brown saying, “The more I think about it, the more I feel there is an excellent picture in it [the novel].”⁹⁴ In the same memo, Selznick suggested that Brown try to convince Merian C. Cooper, Vice-President of Selznick International and Executive Producer for Pioneer Pictures, and John “Jock” Whitney (1904-1982), President of Pioneer Pictures and Chairman of the Board of Selznick International, to attempt to secure Gary Cooper for the role of Rhett.⁹⁵ Selznick’s first proposal for the pairing of Rhett and Scarlett was Clark Gable and Joan Crawford.⁹⁶ Selznick also pondered casting Tallulah Bankhead as Scarlett and Errol Flynn or Ronald Colman as Rhett.⁹⁷ Bankhead, however, was dropped after a screen test ignited fears that she would not be able to portray the young Scarlett, who was sixteen at the beginning of the novel.⁹⁸

To begin production, however, Selznick needed to build his behind-the-camera team. His first task was to make the novel, which numbered 1,037 pages, into a workable screenplay. In September 1936, Selznick attempted to bring playwright Sidney Howard (1891-1939) to Los Angeles to begin the screenplay. A small argument ensued as Howard did not want to leave his farm in Massachusetts, and Selznick wanted Howard to accompany Selznick’s choice for director, George Cukor (1899-1983), on a research trip to the south.⁹⁹

Cukor, the first contract employee with Selznick International, had worked previously with Selznick on *Little Women* (1933) and *David Copperfield* (1935). He was set to begin work on *Gone with the Wind* in August 1936. As evidenced by a memo to Kay Brown dated

⁹⁴ Selznick to Brown, memorandum, May 26, 1936, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 143.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Selznick to Whitney, memorandum, December 24, 1936, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 147. See also memos to Brown dated May 26 and 28, 1936, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 143-4.

⁹⁸ Selznick to Whitney, memorandum, December 24, 1936, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 147. Bankhead was born in 1902 and was in her late thirties when production on *Gone with the Wind* began.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 143-6. Howard wrote the first draft of the screenplay in Massachusetts.

September 29, 1936, Selznick was seeking Cukor's opinions on production aspects early in the production process.¹⁰⁰

Howard had completed a 50-page "treatment" of the novel in December 1936.¹⁰¹ The beginning of 1937 found Cukor, Selznick, and Howard still trying to work the epic novel into a screenplay. In a memo dated January 6, 1937, Selznick alerted Howard that he was prepared to produce a picture "that will be extremely long in any case, perhaps as much as 14,000 feet."¹⁰² Selznick was referring to the amount of film that would be on the film reels. Rudy Behlmer, the editor of Selznick's memos, notes that 14,000 feet of film would be a film lasting roughly two hours and thirty-five minutes.¹⁰³ Howard's first sketches of the screenplay were already being critiqued by Cukor and Selznick in January 1937. The previously mentioned memo from January 6 outlines page by page which changes Selznick wanted to see in the screenplay.¹⁰⁴ Howard's first draft of the screenplay was delivered to Selznick in February 1937, and it was the equivalent of a 5½-hour-long film.

Early in the process of molding the novel into a working screenplay, Selznick had to deal with the storyline that involved the Ku Klux Klan in Mitchell's novel. He needed to handle the Klan very carefully. As a Jew, he proclaimed himself to be sensitive to the prejudices of minorities, yet did not understand why referring to African Americans as "n—s" was an

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 145.

¹⁰¹ David Thomson, writer, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," *Gone with the Wind*, 4 DVDs (Atlanta, GA: Turner Entertainment Co., 2004). The documentary was made in 1988 and features interviews with members of Selznick's staff, the film crew, and diaries and writings from cast and crew members who have passed away.

¹⁰² Selznick to Sidney Howard, memorandum, January 6, 1937, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 148-53.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 148n.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 148. Selznick made so many changes that the memo is four pages long in the original edition of *Memo from David O. Selznick*.

offensive act.¹⁰⁵ Haskell quotes Selznick biographer Ron Haver who stated that Selznick held a typically “liberal” view of African Americans in the 1930s. According to Haver, this view meant that others were to treat African Americans with “dignity,” but they were also to be reminded of their lower place.¹⁰⁶ The issue of race and the Klan in the novel caused the most concern in critics after it was announced the novel would be turned into a film. The novel portrayed the Klan, especially after Scarlett’s attack in Shantytown, as the protector of white southern women, not mentioning the violence and murders that were frequently committed on African Americans.¹⁰⁷ Selznick found he had to deal with the issue of the Klan as early as 1937.¹⁰⁸

II. The Ku Klux Klan

The Klan, also referred to as the KKK, has had three incarnations in American history: 1867-71, 1915-44, and 1954-present day.¹⁰⁹ It began in Tennessee in the wake of the Civil War.¹¹⁰ The first targets of the Klan were African Americans, but eventually the targets became almost all minorities, including the Jewish, Catholic, and immigrant populations. With the passage of the 1867 Reconstruction Act, freed slaves received the right to vote. The governments of the southern states swung from under the control of the Democrats, the party favored by the pre-Civil War southern middle and upper classes, to the opposite political stance as the Republicans took over.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Molly Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear: “Gone with the Wind” Revisited* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 202.

¹⁰⁶ Ron Haver, quoted in Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 202.

¹⁰⁷ When Mitchell signed the contract to publish her book, she tried to change the scene to remove the Klan, but the publisher refused.

¹⁰⁸ Selznick to Howard, memorandum, January 6, 1937, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 149.

¹⁰⁹ Most important for this study is the second Klan that existed from 1915-44.

¹¹⁰ David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 8-9. Ironically, its original founders had only meant it to be a fraternal organization.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

The state of the Klan in the late 1930s, during the second period, was not as active as it was in the Civil War days, or even in the 1920s, but it was still somewhat active in the south. Its new focus was to end any threat from Communism and labor unions in the United States. What many feared about *Gone with the Wind* in relation to the Klan was a repeat of the events following the 1915 release of Griffith's film *Birth of a Nation*. Next to an ad in an Atlanta newspaper, where the film had opened, was an ad for the Klan. *Birth of a Nation* presented a romanticized portrayal of the Klan as the protector of white women as well as the defender against what they saw to be the decline of the white, American-born, Protestant population.¹¹² Regarding this portrayal, Melvin Tolson, a critic, is quoted in 1936 as saying that *Birth of a Nation* "was such a barefaced lie that a moron could see through it."¹¹³ Unfortunately, President Woodrow Wilson screened it at the White House and proclaimed its content to be true. After that the movie was believed by most audiences to be a true portrayal of the Klan.¹¹⁴ By 1921, the Klan had grown to number 100,000, and it hit one of its most politically powerful and violent periods in the 1920s.¹¹⁵

In 1929 one of the worst economic disasters occurred in New York City when the stock market crashed, spurring the start of the Great Depression. Klan membership tumbled as the Depression continued. Historian David M. Chalmers points out that there were still areas of Klan activity, mainly "New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kentucky, California, Virginia, Florida, and Georgia."¹¹⁶ After President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office, the Klan began rallying around their call to keep the Constitution

¹¹² Ibid., 30.

¹¹³ Melvin Tolson, quoted in Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 210.

¹¹⁴ President Woodrow Wilson, quoted in "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004. The President later rescinded his remarks.

¹¹⁵ Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 33.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 305.

from being corrupted by the liberal Democratic Party. Of particular importance to the Klan were the labor unions then perceived to be aligned with the Democrats.¹¹⁷ In their fight against the unions, Florida was a hot spot of violence. The Klan was present at union meetings and strikes, and even violently tortured a union leader.¹¹⁸ By the time of the release of *Gone with the Wind*, in 1939, the Klan was active mostly away from Hollywood and functioned at a minimal membership; still, a resurgence of the Klan after the release of the film was feared.

Selznick had to have been concerned about the film's audience and profits, especially since he needed to recoup the astronomical budget for the film. It was being made just over 70 years after Emancipation, which meant the children and grandchildren of slaves would be potential audience members. Eventually, Selznick found that with a relatively easy stroke, the Klan could be eliminated from the screenplay without significantly altering the plot.¹¹⁹ What also figured into his decisions concerning the portrayal of race in the film were the Production Code Administration's censorship rules. The code did not allow miscegenation, which the Shantytown attack sequence implies in the novel.¹²⁰ To comply with the censors' rules, Selznick switched the roles in the scene. In the film, the freed slave holds the horse while a white man attacks Scarlett.

As seen in chapter one, after the novel's publication in 1936, many were concerned about the social repercussions of a literal adaptation of the novel to film. Selznick had to balance two very important issues during the production of *Gone with the Wind*: historical accuracy and social sensitivity. Historical accuracy of the Civil War south unfortunately must involve the

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 306, 312.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 311-12.

¹¹⁹ Selznick simply removed all references to the Klan. Those who read the book before seeing the film were able to infer that Ashley and Frank were participating in a Klan raid through the context of the novel's narrative. Those who did not read the novel first viewed the retaliation as a husband protecting his wife's honor.

¹²⁰ Leonard J. Leff, "David Selznick's *Gone with the Wind*: 'The Negro Problem,'" *The Georgia Review* 28 (Spring 1984): 147.

offensive and discriminating sides of southern history. Also, with a potential audience that would contain Confederate veterans, Union veterans, freed slaves, and the descendents of veterans and slaves, it stood to reason Selznick's film would anger and offend many.

Selznick ran into more resistance to the film from Union veteran organizations. They accused Selznick and his team of attempting to rewrite American history.¹²¹ Because the novel told a romanticized version of life in pre-Civil War Georgia and glorified the Confederacy, the organizations felt the need to boycott and speak out against the film. Selznick was under so much pressure that he requested that Wilbur Kurtz, a historian used in an advisory role on the film, prepare answers for the most common protests. Selznick even went so far as to have the name of the Yankee soldier killed by Scarlett at Tara changed from "Yankee Cavalryman" to "Yankee Deserter" so that the Union veteran organizations would not complain.¹²² The extent of the protests against *Gone with the Wind* was even felt by Margaret Mitchell, who sent a letter to Selznick claiming she was being misquoted in literature that promoted a ban of the film.¹²³

III. Casting the Film

While the adaptation was being written, Selznick still needed to focus on the immense task of casting the film. The list of possible candidates for the roles of Rhett and Scarlett grew significantly in 1937, although they remained uncast for another year. The contest for which actress would play Scarlett became a national pastime. Talent searches were held throughout the country, both by Selznick International and local entities. Back in Hollywood, Selznick considered Bette Davis, Paulette Goddard, Katharine Hepburn, Loretta Young, Ann Sheridan, and the Hollywood new-comer Lana Turner as Scarlett, in addition to his initial choice, Joan

¹²¹ Selznick saved an entire file of protest letters and cards that are intact in the Selznick Archives, DSC, 187:4.

¹²² Selznick to Calvert, memorandum, November 6, 1939, DSC, 188:4.

¹²³ Mitchell to Selznick, letter, April 13, 1938, DSC, 188:4.

Crawford.¹²⁴ Selznick also began looking for actors to portray some of the supporting roles. For Ashley, Scarlett's long-time love interest, Leslie Howard, Jeffery Lynn, and Melvyn Douglas were mentioned.¹²⁵ Acting legend Lionel Barrymore was tested for the role of Dr. Meade, one of the doctors that Scarlett and Melanie work for at the hospital in Atlanta.¹²⁶ Judy Garland, under contract for MGM, was in the running for the role of Careen, one of Scarlett's sisters.¹²⁷ Being considered for Melanie, Ashley's wife and Scarlett's sister-in-law, were Janet Gaynor, Ann Dvorak, and Olivia de Havilland.¹²⁸ Hepburn was dropped from the running because of several recent box office flops.

On April 1, 1937 Sidney Howard reported to Los Angeles, California to begin the process of editing and cutting the screenplay. Unfortunately, Selznick was in the throes of producing *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1937) and was not ready to start rewrites. Sidney Howard waited in Los Angeles for five weeks until Selznick was finally ready to commence with the process. By August, the second draft of the screenplay was finished, and it was fifteen pages longer than the original. Financially, Selznick was already seeing his budget soar. By June 4, 1938 he had spent \$400,000 on rights to the book, salaries, and writers and yet there was no script to shoot.¹²⁹

The first major cast signing came in August 1938 when Clark Gable was lent to Selznick from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios (MGM). Included in the Gable deal were the distribution rights. While MGM, run by Selznick's father-in-law Louis B. Mayer, originally offered to buy

¹²⁴ Selznick to George Cukor, Daniel O'Shea, Henry Ginsberg, and Marcella Rabwin, memoranda, October 21, 1938 and November 18, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 173, 176-79.

¹²⁵ Selznick to O'Shea, memorandum, October 14, 1937, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 157. See also memo dated November 18, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 178.

¹²⁶ Selznick to O'Shea, memorandum, November 26, 1937, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 158.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 158. In 1938, Garland was cast in the film that would make her a star, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939).

¹²⁸ Selznick to O'Shea, memorandum, November 18, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 177-79.

¹²⁹ David Thomson, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004. Selznick's original budget for the film was \$1.5 million.

the entire production of *Gone with the Wind*, the eventual agreement was a compromise. Jock Whitney would give extra funds to Selznick, and MGM would give not only the services of Gable but also \$1.25 million in exchange for MGM's parent company, Lowe's Incorporated, to distribute the picture. MGM would also receive 50 percent of the profits for seven years.¹³⁰ Gable did not want to play Rhett because he had been in a period picture, *Parnell* (1937), that flopped at the box office. Louis Mayer persuaded Gable to do the picture by offering a sum of \$50,000 to be given to Gable's then-wife for a divorce, so that Gable would be able to marry his current love, actress Carol Lombard.¹³¹

In an August 1938 memo, Selznick finally pinned down a date to begin shooting: "Please continue uninterruptedly on your work on this picture, which will definitely start in production between November 15 and January 15, the exact date to be determined at the latest during the month of October."¹³² Production started on December 10, 1938 when the scene depicting the burning of Atlanta was shot. Coincidentally, Myron Selznick, David's brother and a powerful Hollywood agent, happened to stop by the filming of the burning Atlanta scene with two of his newest clients, actors Lawrence Olivier and Vivien Leigh.¹³³ Two days later, David O. Selznick wrote his wife Irene Mayer Selznick that Leigh was "the dark horse" for the role of Scarlett.¹³⁴ In fact, he went so far as to narrow the list of possibilities to Paulette Goddard, Jean Arthur, Joan

¹³⁰ Behlmer, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 163n. Selznick immediately sent out a memo to department heads at Selznick International that the picture would be released as a Selznick International picture even though MGM was distributing it. See Selznick to all Selznick International Department Heads, August 26, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 164. This film was billed as a Selznick International Pictures film.

¹³¹ David Thomson, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹³² Selznick to all Selznick International Department Heads, memorandum, August 26, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 164.

¹³³ Selznick to Irene Selznick, letter, December 12, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 188.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 188.

Bennett, and Vivien Leigh.¹³⁵ By the time Leigh was cast, a total of thirty-two actresses had tested for that role.¹³⁶

On January 13, 1939, Selznick announced to the press that he had his cast for *Gone with the Wind*. Scarlett would be played by Vivien Leigh, Rhett by Clark Gable, Ashley by Leslie Howard, and Melanie by Olivia de Havilland.¹³⁷ Leslie Howard, like Gable, had to be convinced to take the role of Ashley. He was aware he was much older than the part called for, and at first refused. Selznick offered him a chance to produce an upcoming Selznick International picture in exchange for taking the role. He agreed and later served as producer and starred in *Intermezzo: A Love Story* (1939) alongside a then-unknown Swedish actress, Ingrid Bergman. It was now three years after Selznick had bought the rights to the novel and he was finally able to begin filming. Unfortunately, it did not take long for obstacles to complicate the process.

IV. Production

Principal photography began on January 26, 1939. Shooting, however, did not progress as quickly as was hoped. After the first ten days of shooting, there were only twenty-three minutes of film, ten minutes of which needed to be reshot.¹³⁸ In a memo dated February 8, 1939 Selznick strongly encouraged Cukor to let him see each scene during rehearsal before it was filmed. From the tone of Selznick's memo, it seems likely there had been some disagreements already over the scenes.¹³⁹ Whitney was notified less than a week later that Selznick was going to release a statement to the press announcing the departure of Cukor from *Gone with the Wind*.¹⁴⁰ A lengthy

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Selznick to Brown, Oscar Serlin, Richard Wallace, William H. Wright, memoranda, February 3, 1937 and February 17, 1938, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 154, 159.

¹³⁷ David Thomson, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹³⁸ Ray Klune, quoted in "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹³⁹ Selznick to Cukor, memorandum, February 8, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 197.

¹⁴⁰ Selznick to Whitney, memorandum, February 13, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 198.

footnote by Rudy Behlmer in his edition of Selznick's memos provides further information regarding the swift departure. Behlmer states that while there is no direct reason for it mentioned in any of Selznick's files, some of the most widely accepted reasons were that MGM thought the film was taking too long, and that Clarke Gable had become frustrated with Cukor's focus on the lead female actors.¹⁴¹ To complicate things even further, Cukor blamed the script as the cause of many of the difficulties. Selznick was essentially rewriting the script himself, which meant Cukor was insulting the producer's abilities.¹⁴²

Production was halted while the search for a new director immediately commenced. Behlmer notes that directors under consideration were Robert Z. Leonard, Jack Conway, King Vidor, and Victor Fleming, all under contract with MGM. On Valentine's Day 1939, Victor Fleming—who was a friend of Gable's—was removed from his current project, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), and signed a contract to finish *Gone with the Wind*.¹⁴³ He reported three days later.¹⁴⁴ Because Fleming had a similar negative opinion as Cukor regarding the script, Selznick brought in Ben Hecht to assist with the continuous rewrites.¹⁴⁵ The production resumed on March 1, 1939.¹⁴⁶ Problems with the film continued into March, this time concerning the coloring of shots on camera. Selznick felt that the color did not match the vivid colors on production designer

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 198n. Cukor had a reputation as a “women's director,” which made Gable uncomfortable. Cukor was known as being a better director with domestic scenes than action scenes, and having a better working relationship with actresses than their male counterparts. Olivia de Havilland's interview contained on the fourth DVD of the 2004 Collector's Edition of *Gone with the Wind* provides her personal recollection of Cukor's dismissal and the effect it had on her as well as Vivien Leigh. Interview with Olivia de Havilland, *Gone with the Wind*, 4 DVDs (Atlanta, GA: Turner Entertainment Co., 2004.).

¹⁴² Susan Myrick, quoted in “The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*,” 2004. See also Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 163.

¹⁴³ Behlmer, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 199n.

¹⁴⁴ David Thomson, “The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*,” 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. See also Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 165.

¹⁴⁶ Behlmer, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 199n.

William Cameron Menzies's storyboards, and even fired the head cameraman on March 11, 1939.¹⁴⁷

By the end of March 1939, Selznick realized he was running short on money again as the picture continued to climb well past its original estimated budget. MGM refused to loan any more money, as did Whitney's investors. Finally, Whitney and his sister issued a check to Selznick for the completion of the film and to cover the budgets of two upcoming Selznick International Pictures, *Intermezzo: A Love Story* and *Rebecca* (1940), Alfred Hitchcock's first Hollywood film.¹⁴⁸

Around this time Selznick turned his attention to the film's music. He already had ideas about what style of music he wanted. In a memo on March 8, 1939 Selznick told Henry Ginsberg, Vice-President and General Manager of Selznick International, that he wanted a composer to be chosen sooner rather than later so that the composer could research the appropriate music heard during the Civil War. Selznick's first choice was the composer Max Steiner.¹⁴⁹ In the same memo Selznick instructed the music director at Selznick International, Lou Forbes, to approach Leo Forbstein, music director at Warner Brothers where Steiner was under contract, to secure Steiner's services.¹⁵⁰ Steiner and Selznick had collaborated several times in the early 1930s, including the films *King Kong* (1933) and *Little Women* (1933), when both were under contract with RKO Studios.

¹⁴⁷ Because of the use of Technicolor, Selznick wanted the colors on film to match the color patterns Menzies created for his storyboards. Menzies's work on the film was a first for Hollywood and the term "production designer" had to be invented for him. He was awarded a "Special Award" at the 1939 Oscars since the Academy did not have a category for production designers.

¹⁴⁸ David Thomson, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹⁴⁹ Selznick to Ginsberg, memorandum, March 8, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 213.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 213.

In April 1939 Sidney Howard was persuaded to come back to do more rewrites for the script. The new screenplay could not get very far as Victor Fleming was near exhaustion. Ginsberg and Daniel O'Shea, another Vice-President of Selznick International, received a memo on April 14 in which Selznick questioned Fleming's physical ability to finish the production.¹⁵¹ Fleming took a small break from the film and official press releases reported a nervous breakdown was the reason. Selznick's executive assistant, Marcella Rabwin, later suggested in a documentary on the making of the film that Fleming's absence was in actuality a "punishment" for Selznick. His presence on the set and his numerous unsolicited directions frustrated Fleming, and publically undermined his authority as director.¹⁵² MGM sent director Sam Wood to carry on in Fleming's absence.

Two weeks later Fleming returned to the production and it was determined that both directors would work on the film to speed along the production process. At one point in mid-1939, there were six units shooting scenes at the same time.¹⁵³ Even though Steiner was not working on the film yet, receipts from the Selznick files show that the music department was buying sheet music as early as May 1939 so that it would be available for Steiner the day he started on the picture.¹⁵⁴

In August 1939 the focus on Steiner's progress with the score was momentarily overlooked because of the difficulty in securing the music for the preview. When they approached Warner Brothers for stock music, Forbes and film editor Hal Kern were told that

¹⁵¹ Selznick to Ginsberg and O'Shea, April 14, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 208. Selznick and Fleming both received medications to help them function during production. See "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹⁵² Marcella Rabwin, quoted in "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ All music receipts are in the music budgets contained in the files of the Selznick Archives, DSC, 3667:13.

loaning out music would break musician union rules. Ginsberg was able to clarify the situation for Selznick. He issued a memo to Selznick on August 14, 1939 that Warner Brothers was incorrect and for preview purposes Kern and Forbes had access to any stock music from any of the Hollywood studios.¹⁵⁵

V. *Gone with the Wind*, the Great Depression, and World War II

Gone with the Wind was in post-production when, on September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland, which provoked World War II.¹⁵⁶ Marcella Rabwin recalls that the production staff on *Gone with the Wind* was so involved in attempting to complete the picture that they felt as if the events in Europe were in another world.¹⁵⁷ Haskell points out that most of Hollywood had not become “overshadowed” by World War II and the persecution of the Jews.¹⁵⁸

Film historian Ina Rae Hark describes how the Great Depression did not impact Hollywood as quickly as it did the lives of everyday Americans in the introduction to her book *American Cinema of the 1930s: Themes and Variations*.¹⁵⁹ According to Hark, more tickets were sold in 1930 than any other year in motion picture history, but the industry was severely hit by a lack of ticket sales for the next three years.¹⁶⁰ This did not stop the bosses at MGM from charging significantly higher ticket prices for *Gone with the Wind*. They were convinced that there was so much demand for the film that audience members would be willing to pay even as much as double the price of a ticket for another show to see *Gone with the Wind*, and they were

¹⁵⁵ Selznick to Ginsberg and O’Shea, memorandum, August 14, 1939, DSC, 187:4. See also memo from Ginsberg to Selznick dated August 14, 1939, DSC, 187:4.

¹⁵⁶ The United States would remain militarily uninvolved until December 7, 1941 when the Japanese military forces attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. The next day, President Roosevelt formally asked Congress to declare war.

¹⁵⁷ Marcella Rabwin, quoted in “The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*,” 2004.

¹⁵⁸ Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 188.

¹⁵⁹ Ina Rae Hark, Introduction to *American Cinema in the 1930s: Themes and Variations*, ed. Ina Rae Hark (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 6.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

somewhat correct. Many readers and viewers identified with the characters, which made them more inclined to spend the higher amount of money to read or see the movie.

The audience's ability to relate to characters in *Gone with the Wind* because of their shared circumstances, such as lack of food and provisions or loved ones off at war, is recorded not only in preview audience questionnaires but also in a study by feminism scholar Helen Taylor in her 1989 study *Scarlett's Women*.¹⁶¹ Being able to sympathize with the characters no doubt made audience members more apt to spend what little money they had to see the film.

On September 9, 1939 Selznick and Kern arrived in Riverside, California for a secret preview of *Gone with the Wind*. Kern and his editing team had managed to cut 500,000 feet of footage to a 20,000-foot-long film.¹⁶² At the preview, the name of the film was not announced to the audience but as the title came across the screen, witnesses say wild cheering erupted.¹⁶³ Questionnaires were issued to preview audience members and returned with raving reviews. The four-hour length did not seem to bother the audience members, although they did suggest that there be no additional features, such as cartoons or newsreels, offered with the film. More important to this study is the connection that formed between the characters in the film and those sitting in the theater. Haskell states,

According to the cards of the preview audience, almost all saw the movie as a reflection of their own experience. To these viewers *Gone with the Wind* was both escape and parallel: a story of struggle and survival during a national catastrophe, but at a romantic remove. For still others, it was a reminder of a war just past, the loss of lovers, husbands, and brothers in the Great War [World War I]. And it fell eerily in the shadow of a war to come.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Helen Taylor, *Scarlett's Women: "Gone with the Wind" and Its Female Fans* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

¹⁶² David Thomson, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 11. The cast of *Gone with the Wind* would be affected by the events of the war as well. Leslie Howard, a British veteran of World War I, enlisted during World War II and died serving in the British Air Force in 1945.

Historian Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. points out that many pictures frequently whisked audiences off to other locations during the Great Depression, inferring that films with exotic locations served as a distraction for audiences.¹⁶⁵ It also explains partly why audiences clamored to see *Gone with the Wind*. Audience members were able to sympathize with Scarlett and Melanie in their struggle against the Yankees, but because the film was set away from the homes of most audience members and took place in the previous century, the audience did not have to personally feel all of Scarlett's hardships and received a small reprieve from the shared burdens.¹⁶⁶ Even though the film relates events in American history, the distance in time helped to not put such a burden on the audience.

In addition to the film allowing audiences to relate to the financial hardships suffered by Scarlett and Melanie in post-war Georgia, the film put onscreen the anxiety and sorrow felt by many after World War I. Those who survived World War I undoubtedly understood the genuine reaction Scarlett had to seeing a large number of her friends listed on the Gettysburg death lists. Another similarity is found in the amount of fear felt by Scarlett and the audiences. Scarlett feared retaliation and attacks by the Yankees while audience members nervously watched European developments in the early days of World War II. As historian James J. Lorence notes, the "awareness" of the Hollywood film industry was not reflected in the speed with which the

¹⁶⁵ Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., "Film as Politics/Film as Business: The Blaxploitation of the Plantation," in *Hollywood as Mirror: Changing Views of "Outsiders" and "Enemies" in American Movies*, ed. Robert Brent Toplin (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 1. Campbell cites several films from the 1930s set in the south that act in the same manner as *Gone with the Wind*, such as *Jezebel* (1938) and *Mississippi* (1935).

¹⁶⁶ As the film was released internationally, there would be a very small population that would identify the film as being set in their backyard. Also, films like *Gone with the Wind* allowed audiences to relate to the circumstances, but by putting these circumstances in locations that were far away from almost all the American and all of the international audiences allowed them some sort of respite from their own circumstances. If the audiences were to feel downtrodden when leaving the movies, they were unlikely to return, which would cause the studios to lose revenue.

industry began making political films that focused on elements of fascism, democracy, or the Nazis. Rather, the film industry took years to reflect the “escalation of world conflict in the late 1930s.”¹⁶⁷

Hollywood’s lack of speed in responding to international political situations did not stop audiences from responding to the tale of Scarlett O’Hara. As mentioned in chapter one, Helen Taylor solicited reflections from readers in her native Britain as well as readers from a few places in the United States during the 1980s in her study on the personal reactions to the novel and film. The economic effects of war and the depression, however, caused many to have to wait years before learning of Scarlett’s adventures. Many British respondents commented that with England already involved in World War II when the film was released there, many had to wait until the war ended to see it because of high ticket prices.¹⁶⁸ Those that could afford to see it sometimes retold the tale for co-workers or friends who could not afford the high prices. One respondent wrote Taylor telling her that she worked in a factory during the war and her co-worker was able to see the film. Each night she would recall parts of the film for the respondent, who learned the film’s story in installments.¹⁶⁹

VI. Completing the Music

Selznick had two major hurdles left in his path. One of the hurdles was the punch line of the film, due to objection to the word “damn,” and the other was a lack of music ready to be used in the soundtrack. Selznick felt that the Rhett’s famous final line, “Frankly, my dear, I don’t give a damn,” was so important that he was ready to go to battle with the Production Code Office in

¹⁶⁷ James J. Lorence, “The Foreign Policy of Hollywood’: Interventionist Sentiment in the American Film, 1938-1941,” in *Hollywood as Mirror: Changing Views of “Outsiders” and “Enemies” in American Movies*, ed. Robert Brent Toplin (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 96.

¹⁶⁸ Helen Taylor, *Scarlett’s Women*, 25.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 33-4.

Hollywood so that “damn” could be included. Selznick attempted other endings for the line, but felt that the most impact could be made with keeping the line intact. He responded to the Production Code Office’s initial refusal by giving an official definition of the word from the dictionary, saying that the word was a vulgarism, not a curse word.¹⁷⁰

On the musical front, Steiner was nowhere near finished with the soundtrack. Selznick’s executive assistant, Marcella Rabwin, testifies in the *Gone with the Wind* documentary to Selznick’s view of the importance of the music in *Gone with the Wind*: “The music was, in Mr. Selznick’s opinion, one of the principal stars of the picture. But he made a mistake in not preparing it sooner.”¹⁷¹ Steiner had roughly four months to write three hours of music. Just as he did with the rest of his production members, Selznick sent numerous memos to the Music Department critiquing Steiner’s music.

Selznick sent one such memo on October 9, 1939 to both Steiner and Forbes praising the composer and music director for the score for *Intermezzo*, which Steiner was also writing in late 1939. Later in the memo Selznick made his main point. He wanted the music for *Gone with the Wind* to be heavily dominated by music of the Civil War period and, in his opinion, there was too much original music in the score. Both Forbes and Steiner were to answer to Selznick after discussing the apparent changes that were to be made to the music.¹⁷² Later in his career, Steiner told film music historian Tony Thomas that he preferred to not use preexisting music because it was too distracting. He explained by relating a personal example. He was at a movie with his wife and a Strauss waltz was in the score. A pair of viewers sitting in front of the Steiners began arguing in an attempt to figure out exactly which Strauss waltz was being heard. As a result, all

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. For more problems with the censors, see Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 209.

¹⁷¹ Marcella Rabwin, “The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*,” 2004.

¹⁷² Selznick to Forbes and Steiner, memorandum, October 9, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 240.

four people missed the climactic scene of the film because of this argument.¹⁷³ To Steiner, too much recognizable music took the audience's attention away from the narrative, which explains why his first attempts at the score were refused for not having enough preexisting music.

On October 10, 1939 Selznick sent a memo to Kern and Forbes that each cue for the score should be played for Selznick prior to it being orchestrated and recorded. Composer and orchestrator Hugo Friedhofer testified as to how upset Steiner would get when producers wanted musical changes: "I know I would still have the sound of Max Steiner's screams resounding in my ears in the event that there had been any, because there's nothing he hated more than having to go back and do something over."¹⁷⁴

Steiner continued with his work and still was not progressing fast enough for Selznick's approval. Selznick sent a memo to Jock Whitney dated November 9, 1939 which stated that Steiner said he could not meet the deadlines. Selznick assured Whitney that Steiner always finished on time, no matter how many times he said he could not.¹⁷⁵ Selznick did, however, take action to ensure the picture would not be delayed if Steiner had not been able to complete the music. In the same memo from November 9, Selznick told Whitney he had engaged two other composers to help Steiner complete the picture—Franz Waxman and Herbert Stothart.¹⁷⁶

Waxman was known for his score to *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935) for Universal Studios and was going to write the score for *Rebecca*, a picture scheduled for release in 1940 by Selznick

¹⁷³ Tony Thomas, *Film Score: The View from the Podium* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1979), 80-81.

¹⁷⁴ Hugo Friedhofer, interview by Irene Kahn Atkins, *Hugo Friedhofer: The Best Years of His Life*, ed. Linda Danly (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 60.

¹⁷⁵ Selznick to Whitney, memorandum, November 9, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 253.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 253.

International.¹⁷⁷ Stothart, a native Georgian, was under contract with MGM and had written the score for *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Stothart was scheduled to begin working for Selznick within days of the November 9 memo, but was ultimately not used for the picture. According to Selznick, Stothart was not used because the score was suddenly progressing quickly. Whitney received a memo from Selznick dated November 13 explaining how this happened:

Stothart had a few drinks on Saturday night, apparently, and did a lot of loose talking about how he was going to fix up Max's work. In case you don't know it, the musicians out here are even more jealous of each other. The result was that within ten minutes it was back to Max [Steiner], and he was in a rage. However, Max, spurred on by the Stothart episode, really went to town, and the result is that by tomorrow we will have considerably more than half the picture scored.¹⁷⁸

Steiner and Forbes continued to have issues with Selznick's critiques of the music as the scoring process continued. After Steiner wrote the music to the sequence of shots announcing Sherman's arrival in Atlanta, Selznick sent a memo dated November 28, 1939 in which he criticized the music from the sequence because he did not like the way Steiner used the song "Marching Through Georgia." In an incredible show of courage, Forbes responded with a memo containing two quotes, shown below, from previously sent Selznick memos, including a portion of the November 28 memo:

From DOS [David O. Selznick] 11-28 "Once again Mr. Forbes and Mr. Steiner have let slide an opportunity we asked for, which was to really bring home 'Marching Through Georgia' under the Sherman title. We hear a few bars of it distorted, and that's all, and unless we are listening carefully for it, we would have no recognition of it."

From DOS 11-18 "Under no circumstances use any patriotic American music with the possible exception of 'Marching Through Georgia,' the strain of which—you might consider having it off key—could recur through the other effects and music."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ "The Prayer" and "Charley's Death" from the film *His Brother's Wife* (1936), written by Franz Waxman, are also in the score of *Gone with the Wind*.

¹⁷⁸ Selznick to Whitney, memorandum, November 13, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 255.

¹⁷⁹ Forbes to Selznick, memorandum, November 29, 1939, DSC, 1237:3. [Forbes's emphasis] "DOS" are the initials of David O. Selznick. His memos frequently were signed by just his initials.

Forbes responded in such a manner because, as the quotes show, Steiner had written the music exactly the way Selznick had requested.

This is a prime example of the unintended consequences of Selznick's control over all aspects of the film. He was producing three different films at the same time, but insisted on approving of all decisions made on the films. His determination to have every detail of *Gone with the Wind* done to his satisfaction created a disorganized production. Since every idea, decision, and change had to go through one channel, it is not surprising that Selznick forgot what he previously ordered. Unfortunately, that left Steiner and Forbes at a standstill until Selznick made up his mind.¹⁸⁰ Steiner's altered version of "Marching Through Georgia" appears in the sequence in the final cut of the film. Forbes was not the only member of the music department feeling the pressure of the premiere deadline. Selznick International Vice-President Daniel O'Shea sent a memo to Selznick on December 1, 1939 that no music budget could be calculated due to Steiner's tardiness on the score. He also warned Selznick not to question Steiner as he had become quite frazzled with his workload.¹⁸¹

Selznick was still ordering rewrites on the soundtrack in late November and the following month Hal Kern reported that, "At 7 this morning [December 4, 1939], all the GWTW music was completed," unless Selznick was to order any further rewrites.¹⁸² Friedhofer also complained about the issues of composing so much music in such a short amount of time:

It is the usual thing that everybody steals time from the composer. In the first place, there's been a delay in the starting date, perhaps. There've been script changes. Then comes retakes, and going over schedule on shooting, and all these imponderables which

¹⁸⁰ There are multiple reports of Selznick's interference with different departments causing problems with the production, especially with his directors. See "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004 and Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 161-165.

¹⁸¹ O'Shea to Selznick, memorandum, December 1, 1939, DSC, 1237:3.

¹⁸² Daily memorandum to staff, December 4, 1939, DSC, 1237:3. Steiner completed recording the score on December 6, 1939, according to notes in Selznick's files (DSC 3667:17).

nobody figures on. But they never *extend* time, regardless. The schedule is set up and that is it.¹⁸³

As the December 15, 1939 premiere neared, the executives at Selznick International got a clearer picture as to why Steiner was working so slowly. Selznick discovered when reading an issue of *Variety Magazine* that Warner Brothers had just released a new picture, *Four Wives*, with music by Max Steiner. The lending contract between Warner Brothers and Selznick International, according to a Selznick memo, allowed for Steiner to write the score for the Warner Brothers picture *We Are Not Alone* (1939). Just weeks after the contract was signed, Warner Brothers attempted to change the contract to include *Four Wives*, Selznick stated, but he refused and the original agreement was enforced. Selznick was enraged at the costs that Selznick International incurred because of overtime pay for the musicians who were working almost around the clock to complete the soundtrack on time—a predicament the studio found itself in because of the time Steiner spent on a film that was not agreed upon in the lending contract.¹⁸⁴

The time that Steiner had used to write the score for *Four Wives* was supposed to have been spent on *Gone with the Wind*, and Selznick was furious. Just days before the premiere in Atlanta, Selznick again sent an angry memo to O’Shea raging against Warner Brothers.¹⁸⁵ According to his memoirs, Steiner was asked by Leo Forbstein, his boss at Warner Brothers, to score a ten-minute symphonic work for the score of *Four Wives* while he was working on the score for *Gone with the Wind*. According to Steiner, it was published as *Symphony Moderne*.¹⁸⁶ Selznick eventually found out just how much time Steiner spent on *Four Wives*. He sent a memo

¹⁸³ Friedhofer, quoted in *Hugo Friedhofer*, 64. [Friedhofer’s emphasis]

¹⁸⁴ Selznick to O’Shea, memorandum, December 6, 1939, DSC, 1237:3.

¹⁸⁵ Selznick to O’Shea, memorandum, December 11, 1939, DSC, 1237:3.

¹⁸⁶ Max Steiner, *Notes to You: An Unpublished Autobiography*, Max Steiner Archives, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 146-147. *Symphony Moderne* was published in 1940 by the Remick Music Corporation.

to O'Shea stating that Steiner spent a week on *Four Wives* and that Warner Brothers had taken Steiner's name off the film. Selznick immediately suspected that Warner Brothers removed Steiner's credit from the film to cover up their borrowing of his services when he was supposed to be unavailable.¹⁸⁷

Steiner eventually finished composing and recording the score on December 6, 1939 leaving the editors just nine days to dub the film and prepare it for its December 15 premiere. Studio records show that Steiner began his work on *Gone with the Wind* on August 21, 1939. He worked on the film until September 23, when he returned to Warner Brothers. He returned to *Gone with the Wind* on October 16 and finished composing the film on December 2, 1939.¹⁸⁸ In addition to the small piece for *Four Wives* and *Gone with the Wind*, he was also composing the score to *Intermezzo: A Love Story* at the same time.

To complete his large workload in just over four months, Steiner not only relied on medications but also on well over a dozen extra composers, arrangers, and orchestrators.¹⁸⁹ Hugo Friedhofer, Heinz Roehmeld, Joseph Nussbaum, and Adolph Deutsch were used as composers and arrangers for the score. Another team of orchestrators also assisted, including: Albert Malotte, Maurice de Packh, Reginald Bassett, Bernard Kaun, Darol Rice, Dudley Chambers, Arthur Kay, George Bassman, Cecil Copping, and Leo Arnaud. So many musicians were involved that some of the pages on the conductor's scores were signed "Steiner and Co."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Selznick to O'Shea, memorandum, December 6, 1939, DSC, 1237:3.

¹⁸⁸ The dates can be found on an unsigned sheet of paper in the Selznick Archives at the University of Texas, DSC, 3667:17.

¹⁸⁹ Stephen Handzo, "The Golden Age of Film Music," *Cineaste* 21 (1995): 49. A list of the personnel responsible for the film, compiled from Nathan Platte's dissertation and studio contracts held in the Selznick Archives, can be found in the Appendix B of this thesis. See Nathan R. Platte, "Musical Collaboration in the Films of David O. Selznick, 1932-1957" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010).

¹⁹⁰ An example is the conductor's score to Reel 12, Part 1, DSC, 4009:6. Nathan Platte's dissertation includes the most thorough and up-to-date discussion on the behind-the-scenes collaboration among all

Steiner conducted each cue from a conductor's score that was neatly written in a copyist's hand. Some of his sketches, held at the Steiner Archives at Brigham Young University (BYU) in Provo, Utah, can be difficult at times to navigate due to the abandoned melodies, marginalia, and thematic ideas scattered across the pages. Some of the final conductor's scores have leitmotives labeled.¹⁹¹ Even with the very deliberate notation on the conductor's scores, it is easy to get lost in a sea of accidentals. Steiner strongly relied on the idea of thematic transformation, or the mutation of themes, to reflect the changing moods and narrative line of the film. For example, although a cue would start in a particular key signature, he rarely changed the key signatures as the music modulated to another key. Instead, he relied on accidentals as the tonal shifts took over to reflect the narrative. When he did rely on preexisting songs, Steiner used copies of the originals as models. These copies can be found in both the sketches and the conductor's scores. The originals show just the melody with no harmonization.

The conductor's scores for the entire soundtrack are formatted in four staves which show only the melody and the barest harmonies. At different points in the score, harp or celeste parts were most likely added after the score was finished as the parts appear in a different color pencil. There is one score for each individual cue which bears the reel with which the music corresponds. (For example, the first cue after the main titles is labeled as "Reel 1, Part 3." It is the labeling of the Tarleton twins' leitmotive that tells the viewer that they are dealing with the

the musical parties involved with *Gone with the Wind*. Also, Steiner's sketches can be found at the Max Steiner Archives, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹⁹¹ Each cue had its own individual score. Steiner followed in the Wagnerian tradition of assigning leitmotives to important characters and relationships. He wrote over a dozen leitmotives for *Gone with the Wind*.

opening scene in the film.) The score and/or parts for every cue heard in the film can be found at the Selznick Archives.¹⁹²

When the day for the premiere finally arrived, Atlanta, Georgia looked like a southern version of Hollywood. Ironically, this was Selznick's first trip to the south. It was a three-day event featuring parades, Hollywood stars, political dignitaries, and balls. Not all the stars of the film, however, attended. At the request of Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, the African-American members of the cast were not allowed to appear for fear of racial incidents.¹⁹³

VII. Reception

Reviews of the film do not mention the soundtrack, but Steiner and Selznick attempted to sell the soundtrack to CBS Records in early December 1939; however, CBS refused.¹⁹⁴

Soundtracks were not made for commercial sale at this time. This practice started in the 1940s and 1950s. An unusual occurrence for this film was the write-up Steiner received from music critic and musicologist Bruno David Ussher. Steiner's music for *Gone with the Wind* was featured in a series of pamphlets that Ussher wrote discussing film music in the late 1930s. The pamphlet on *Gone with the Wind* is not necessarily a scholarly article, but it does delve into the musical details of the soundtrack.¹⁹⁵ Ussher discussed not only Steiner's scoring style, but also the preexisting music used in the score. Steiner even drew out the leitmotives for Ussher and those sketches appear in the pamphlet.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² The conductor's cores and parts for the soundtrack are located in the Selznick Archives, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas, boxes 4002-4015.

¹⁹³ Haskell, *Frankly, My Dear*, 213.

¹⁹⁴ Selznick to William S. Paley, Chairman of the Board of CBS, letter, December 6, 1939, *Memo from David O. Selznick*, 261.

¹⁹⁵ The perceived intended audience for the pamphlet was most likely not music scholars, but rather fans of film or music in order to entice interest in the film.

¹⁹⁶ The pamphlet, entitled "Max Steiner Establishes Another Film Record: His Score for *Gone with the Wind* Described and Illustrated with Motifs" is available in its entirety from the Margaret Harrick Library

At the 12th Academy Awards, held in January 1940, *Gone with the Wind* was honored with over a dozen nominations, one of which was for Steiner's score in the Best Original Score category.¹⁹⁷ The production garnered wins in several categories, but Steiner's score lost to Herbert Stothart's score for *The Wizard of Oz*.¹⁹⁸ Steiner, who won the 1935 Oscar for Best Original Score for his work on John Ford's *The Informer*, was bitter for decades after Stothart's win. In Steiner's memoirs, the only mention of *Gone with the Wind* is his comments that Stothart should not have been in the Best Original Score category since many songs from *The Wizard of Oz* were written by Harold Arlen.¹⁹⁹ The most notable wins went to Vivien Leigh for Best Actress, Selznick for Best Picture and, most importantly, Hattie McDaniel (Mammy) who became the first African American Oscar winner in history. McDaniel, after her tearful acceptance speech, had to return to her table, away from the other white members of the cast. The film did so well at the Oscars that host Bob Hope referred to the ceremony as a "benefit for David Selznick."²⁰⁰ Selznick also received the Irwin Thalburg Lifetime Achievement Award at the ceremony.

The production team encountered multiple musical scenes, which helped to create the southern Civil War era setting. These scenes contained military bands, which were common during the Civil War era, or orchestras that were pictured onscreen. The first major musical

of the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences. It was reprinted in Richard Harwell's "*Gone with the Wind*" as *Book and Film*; however, the reprinted version does not have the illustrated motives in this volume. Richard Harwell, ed., "*Gone with the Wind*" as *Book and Film* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 160-69. Ussher was educated in Germany and England before receiving his doctorate in music from the University of Southern California (USC). He lectured on aesthetics, criticism of music, and symphonic literature at USC while also serving as a music critic for the *Los Angeles Times*. In the 1930s, he also provided program notes for concerts at the Hollywood Bowl.

¹⁹⁷ At the time, there were two categories for scores: best original score and best scoring. The best scoring category was for film scores which featured little if any original music.

¹⁹⁸ Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Oscar Award Nominees and Winners Database, <http://www.oscars.org/research-preservation/resources-databases/> (accessed June 24, 2010).

¹⁹⁹ Steiner, *Notes for You*, 148.

²⁰⁰ Bob Hope, "The Making of a Legend: *Gone with the Wind*," 2004.

scene in the novel is the bazaar. At the bazaar, an orchestra is present and begins by playing the popular tune “Lorena.” Then they suddenly stop and begin playing one of the most famous tunes of the confederacy, “Bonnie Blue Flag.” This is the first of many times that Mitchell will even put the lyrics in the novel’s dialogue.²⁰¹ Later in the bazaar, the orchestra plays “Johnny Booker, He’p dis N——!” After the dance auction, the orchestra plays the most famous song in the Confederacy, “Dixie.” Later while Rhett and Scarlett are dancing, he sings the song “When This Cruel War Is Over” to her, where again lyrics are woven into the dialogue.

In the film’s bazaar scene, “Lorena” is never heard. The orchestra, instead, plays “Bonnie Blue Flag” and “Dixie.” The “Virginia Reel” that the auction winners dance to is actually a medley of the Irish folk songs “Irish Washerwoman” and “Gary Owen.” Neither of these Irish folksongs are mentioned in the novel.

The next scene featuring a lot of music in the novel is not included in the film. Scarlett and Melanie played a piano at Aunt Pitty Pat’s after a dinner party. In the novel, Scarlett played “Somebody’s Darling,” “Jackets of Grey,” and “My Old Kentucky Home” in this scene.

The film inserts music into two scenes that do not include music in the novel. The first is when all of Atlanta is at the newspaper office waiting for casualty lists. A military band is near the office and plays “Dixie,” “When This Cruel War Is Over,” and “When Johnny Comes Marching Home.” The military band appears again at the train depot when Ashley returns for his Christmas leave playing “Bonnie Blue Flag.”

In Mitchell’s telling of the day Scarlett ran away from the hospital, the slaves were singing “Go Down Moses” as they marched to dig trenches for the Confederate army. In another

²⁰¹ Rhett, Prissy, and Scarlett all sing at certain points in the novel.

marching scene from the novel, the Confederates retreated from Atlanta singing “Maryland, My Maryland.” The Confederates are not seen singing in the film during their retreat.

The next chapter will discuss the preexisting music in the film, its political and social contexts, and how Steiner used the songs in the score.

CHAPTER THREE: PREEXISTING MUSIC IN *GONE WITH THE WIND* (1939)

I. Max Steiner and His Style

Max Steiner was considered one of the top film composers in Hollywood in 1939. He was known as the “Dean of film music” and was one of several film composers who were born and musically trained in Europe.²⁰² His childhood in Vienna, Austria, exposed him to music at an early age. His grandfather, Maximilian, ran the Theater an der Wien, which premiered many operettas by Johann Strauss, Jr. Steiner’s father Gabor developed an amusement park in Vienna and also invented the famous Riesenrad ferris wheel. The family was also connected to Richard Strauss, who was Max’s godfather. At the tender age of fourteen, Steiner wrote his first large-scale work, an opera titled *The Beautiful Greek Girl*.

At just fifteen years of age, in 1903, Steiner entered the Vienna Imperial Academy of Music, where he studied with Felix Weingartner and Gustav Mahler. He completed the four-year curriculum in just one. After graduation, Steiner went on to conduct opera companies throughout Europe and even journeyed to Russia for an opera tour. He arrived in New York City after the

²⁰² Alfred Newman (Twentieth-Century Fox) was the only prominent American composer in Hollywood at the time. Franz Waxman (MGM and WB) was from Germany, Branislau Kaper (MGM) came from Poland, Miklós Rózsa (MGM) came from Hungary, Dimitri Tiomkin was from Russia, and both Steiner and Erich Wolfgang Korngold (WB) were from Vienna, Austria. Kathryn Kalinak, “Music as Narrative structure in Hollywood Film” (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1982), 52. Hollywood film music at the time strongly resembled, due to the background of the prominent composers in the industry, the Germanic tradition of classical music. The typical major-studio score featured the following: mostly tonal music, with composers possibly going as far as Wagnerian or Mahlerian tonality for dramatic scenes, lush string orchestrations, music that was melodically driven (especially for composers relying on leitmotives), and thick textures when possible (some composers had to write for as few as a dozen musicians). For more descriptions of Hollywood film music in the 1930s, see Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (London, UK: BFI, 1987); Royal S. Brown, *Undertones and Overtones: Reading Film Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Roy Prendergast, *Film Music: A Neglected Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992).

outbreak of World War I.²⁰³ He worked as an orchestrator, arranger, and conductor on Broadway until 1929 when he was summoned to Hollywood as an orchestrator.

By 1931 Steiner was working at Radio-Keith Orpheum (RKO) Studios, in the studio's music department.²⁰⁴ Only one year later Steiner was named head of the music department at RKO. The following year, 1933, he wrote a watershed score for the film *King Kong* (1933). Film music scholar Mervyn Cooke describes Steiner's score for *King Kong* as being

universally acknowledged as his most important achievement, one that almost single-handedly marked the coming-of-age of nondiegetic film music: it established a style and technique of scoring that was not only much imitated during the Golden Age, but continues to be reflected in mainstream narrative scoring practices in the present day.²⁰⁵

The score's large amount of original music and inclusion of leitmotives and mickey-mousing, a practice that synchronized music to the action onscreen, helped Steiner establish his own personal style early in the sound era.

Steiner felt that music should serve what is now known as a narrative function.²⁰⁶ As Kalinak explains, when music first appeared in sound films it either worked to go along with the image onscreen, therefore enhancing the narrative of the film, or it went against the image, which drew the audience's attention away from the narrative.²⁰⁷ By the time Steiner began composing for films, he firmly sided with those that believed music should run with the film and not against

²⁰³ Steiner was in England at the time the war began and was declared an enemy alien. Through his friendship with the Duke of Westminster, he was able to leave the country and arrived in the U.S. in 1914. For a concise telling of Steiner's life, see Kate Daubney, *Max Steiner's "Now, Voyager": A Film Score Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000). Steiner wrote an autobiography, titled *Notes to You*, but it was never published. The manuscript is at the Brigham Young University (BYU) Film Music Archives, Arts and Communications Collection of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

²⁰⁴ Included in Roy Prendergast's volume on film music is a helpful chart that clearly illustrates the hierarchy of a studio music department in the 1930s. See Roy Prendergast, *Film Music: A Neglected Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 37.

²⁰⁵ Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2008), 88.

²⁰⁶ See Kalinak, Chapter Two of "Music as Narrative Function in Hollywood Film" for a further discussion on music as a narrative-functioning aspect of film.

²⁰⁷ Kalinak, "Music as Narrative Structure in Hollywood Film," 22.

it. One way that Steiner kept the score cohesive while enhancing the narrative was to use leitmotives.

Steiner is quoted in an interview with the *New York Times* referring to the use of leitmotives in his score for *The Informer* (1935): “Every character should have a theme. In *The Informer* we used a theme to identify Victor McLaglen [Gypo]. A blind man could have sat in a theater and known when Gypo was on the screen. Music aids audiences in keeping characters straight in their minds.”²⁰⁸ In *Gone with the Wind*, Steiner uses over a dozen leitmotives to represent the characters and, in a few cases, the relationships among the characters.²⁰⁹

Steiner’s style also features a controversial technique that film scholar Tony Thomas described as “catching things musically.”²¹⁰ This catching is referred to as “mickey-mousing” in film music scholarship, and describes the synchronization of the music to the action onscreen.²¹¹ Steiner was frequently criticized for mickey-mousing, but he attributed his first Oscar win, to this technique. In *Notes to You*, Steiner described how he spent days working with a prop man making sure that a leaky water pipe would drip in time with the music, an idea he credits as the cue that won him the Academy Award.²¹²

Steiner’s personal scoring routine started when he sat down to score a film. First, he viewed the film—preferably after it was edited—by himself and decided what he would like to

²⁰⁸ Max Steiner, quoted in Kalinak, “Music as Narrative Structure in Hollywood Film,” 63. Steiner won his first Oscar for the score for *The Informer*.

²⁰⁹ See William Darby and Jack Du Bois, *American Film Music: Major Composers, Techniques, Trends, 1915-1990* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1990) for reproductions of the leitmotives.

²¹⁰ Tony Thomas, *Music for the Movies* (South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1973), 113.

²¹¹ Mickey-mousing got its name because the technique was frequently used in early Mickey Mouse cartoons. See Irwin Bazelon, *Knowing the Score: Notes on Film Music* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975), 24-25 for information on the caveats of mickey-mousing. Kate Daubney writes specifically on Steiner’s usage of mickey-mousing in *Max Steiner’s “Now, Voyager, 27-29*.

²¹² Max Steiner, *Notes to You: An Unpublished Autobiography*, Film Music Archives, Arts and Communications Collection of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (BYU), Provo, UT, 131-32.

do with the score. Then he viewed it again, this time with the director and possibly the producer. They would all discuss what the content of the score should resemble. The third viewing of the film followed and this time Steiner would have the film run reel by reel. The music editor would work with Steiner to assist him in deciding where the music cues would start and stop. The music editor then took over and provided Steiner with a timed cue sheet where each scene that required music was timed into minutes and seconds. Steiner would then write and record the music using a click track, a device similar to a metronome that allowed Steiner to match the music to the precise frame in which it was heard. This tool enabled Steiner to become a prolific user of the mickey-mousing technique.²¹³

In addition to the use of leitmotives and mickey-mousing, Steiner resorted to post-Wagnerian harmonies, lyrical lines, and at times, the inclusion of preexisting music. Film music scholar Kate Daubney states that Steiner used preexisting music in his non-diegetic score as well as in diegetic situations when, either it was mentioned in the film's narrative, or he had been advised to include it, or he felt that music would work well with the plot. In the case of *Gone with the Wind*, Selznick told him to use preexisting music in the film.²¹⁴ This is the part of the soundtrack on which I will focus.

II. Preexisting Music Overview

Steiner used a substantial amount of preexisting music in *Gone with the Wind*. He did not restrict the preexisting music to just music from the Civil War era. The "Bridal March" from Wagner's opera *Lohengrin* (1850) was used non-diegetically to allude to Scarlett and Rhett's

²¹³ Steiner's scoring process is described in multiple sources. See Max Steiner, *Notes to You*, 195-200. See also Tony Thomas, *Film Score: The View from the Podium* (South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1979), 78-81.

²¹⁴ See chapter two discussion of the scoring process of the film for memos from Selznick to Steiner directing that more preexisting music be used in the score.

marriage. “Stars of the Summer Night,” with words by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and music by Isaac Baker Woodbury, a prolific although relatively unknown composer, is used again in the underscoring, without lyrics, for Rhett and Scarlett’s honeymoon in New Orleans. “For He’s a Jolly Good Fellow” is sung to Ashley at his birthday—this time diegetically—and “London Bridge is Falling Down” accompanies Rhett and Bonnie on their trip to London non-diegetically. Stephen Foster’s “Under the Willow She Sleeps” is featured non-diegetically after Mammy’s first appearance. “Sweet and Low,” with words by Longfellow and music by J. Barnby, contains text that specifically wishes that the singer’s child keep sleeping. It is heard non-diegetically with no lyrics, as Scarlett meanders through sleeping girls taking their afternoon naps at the Twelve Oaks barbeque. The “Chicken Reel” is heard as Uncle Peter chases a rooster through Aunt Pitty Pat’s back yard for Christmas dinner. Also at Christmas, “Hark! The Herald Angels Sing!” is heard in the non-diegetic underscore during Christmas dinner at Aunt Pitty Pat’s house. The spiritual “Go Down Moses” is heard when the slaves are sent ahead of the Confederate army to dig trenches so that the Confederates could make one last defense of Atlanta. Most of these songs are used for practical reasons, such as Uncle Peter’s chasing of chicken being accompanied by the “Chicken Reel” and “London Bridge” being used in a scene set in that city.

As previously mentioned, Steiner inserted many preexisting songs in the score because Selznick specifically requested them. The following table contains the remaining preexisting songs used in the film.

Table 1: Preexisting traditional music used in *Gone with the Wind* (in chronological order)²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Ace Collins, *Songs Sung in Red, White, and Blue: The Stories Behind America’s Best-Loved Patriotic Songs* (New York: HarperResource, 2003); Stephen Collins Foster, *The Music of Stephen Collins Foster: A Critical Edition*, eds. Steven Saunders and Deane L. Root (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1990); Irwin Silber ed., *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Stephen C. Foster, *Stephen C. Foster Song Book*, ed. Richard Jackson (New York: Dover, 1974); Vera Brodsky

Song	Composer/Lyricist	Year	Sample of Lyrics
“Yankee Doodle”	Unknown	18th Century	“Yankee Doodle, keep it up. Yankee Doodle dandy, Mind the music and the steps and with the girls be handy.”
“Deep River”	Unknown	Unknown	“Oh, don’t you want to go to that promised land? That land where all is peace?”
“Lou’siana Belle”	Stephen Foster	1847	“Lou’siana is dat good old state where massa used to dwell. He used to own a pretty yellow gal, she was de Louisiana Belle.”
“Ben Bolt”	Nelson Kneass / Thomas Dunn English	1848	“Oh she wept with delight when he gave her a smile, and trembled with fear at his frown.”
“Dolly Day”	Stephen Foster	1850	“Oh Dolly Day looks so gay, I run all round and round, to hear her fairy footsteps play as comes o’er de ground.”
“Old Folks at Home” (also known as “Swanee River”)	Stephen Foster	1851	“Way down upon de Swanee ribber, far, far, away, Dere’s wha my heart is turning ebber, dere’s wha de old folks stay.”
“Ring de Banjo”	Stephen Foster	1851	“Early in de morning ob a lubly summer day; My massa send me warning he’d like to hear me play.”
“Massa’s in de Cold Ground”	Stephen Foster	1852	“Where de ivy am a creeping o’er de grassy mound, Dare old massa am asleeping, sleeping in de cold, cold ground.”
“My Old Kentucky Home”	Stephen Foster	1853	“A few more days for to tote the weary load, no matter ‘twill never be light, a few more days till we totter on the road, then my old Kentucky home, goodnight!”
“Dixie”	Daniel Decatur Emmett	1859	“I wish I was in de land ob cotton, old time dar am not forgotten, look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.”
“Bonnie Blue Flag”	Harry McCarthy / Traditional Irish	1861	“Hurrah! Hurrah! For Southern rights, hurrah! Hurrah for the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.”
“Maryland, My Maryland”	James Randall / Traditional	1861	“The despot’s heel is on thy shore, Maryland, my Maryland!”

Lawrence, *Music for Patriots, Politicians, and Presidents: Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), Special Collections of the University of Pennsylvania Library, www.library.upenn.edu/collections/rbm/keffer/Kneass.html (accessed July 18, 2010).

“The Cavaliers of Dixie”	Benjamin F. Porter	1861	“Ye Cavaliers of Dixie! Though dark the tempest lower, What arms will bear the tyrant’s chains what dastard heart will cower?”
“Battle Hymn of the Republic”	Julia Ward Howe	1862	“In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, with a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me.”
“Taps”	General Daniel Butterfield	1862	Military Bugle Call
“Katy Bell” (sometimes listed in Civil War song collections as “Katie Belle”)	Stephen Foster	1863	“Going down the shady dell where the honeysuckles grow, I met lovely Katy bell with her dimpled cheeks aglow.”
“When This Cruel War Is Over” (also known as “Weeping Sad and Lonely”)	Charles Sawyer / Henry Tucker	1863	“Weeping sad and lonely, hopes and fears how vain! When this cruel war is over, praying that we meet again.”
“Tramp, Tramp, Tramp”	George F. Root / Traditional	1863-4	“Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! The boys are marching; cheer up comrades, they will come.”
“When Johnny Comes Marching Home”	Patrick S. Gilmore / Traditional	1864	“When Johnny comes marching home again, hurrah! Hurrah! We’ll give him a hearty welcome then, hurrah! Hurrah!”
“Marching Through Georgia”	Henry Clay Work	1865	“Hurrah! Hurrah! We bring the jubilee! Hurrah! Hurrah! The flag that makes you free! So we sang the chorus from Atlanta to the sea, while we were marching through Georgia!”

III. Stephen Foster and *Gone with the Wind*

Of the twenty songs listed in the table, seven were written by American composer Stephen Collins Foster (1826-1864), the most famous composer of American popular songs from the 1830s through the 1860s.²¹⁶ Foster was born in what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and

²¹⁶ As we saw in chapter one, the popular music of the Civil War consisted of parlor and minstrel songs from the 1830s through 1850s. Stephen Foster’s output consists of exactly those genres of music.

took a liking to music early in his life. As a child, he taught himself how to play the flute.²¹⁷ Foster's biographer Ken Emerson claims that Foster performed blackface minstrelsy with a group of young neighborhood friends, although fellow Foster scholar Deane L. Root points out that this amateur exposure to minstrelsy did not continue into a substantial amount of experience with professional minstrel groups.²¹⁸ Even though he had a limited amount of personal experience with minstrelsy, he was still exposed to what minstrelsy entailed.

Foster's minstrel songs spark inquiries into his personal and familial political beliefs, especially regarding slavery. His father, William, ran for numerous political offices but was not very successful.²¹⁹ The family also had servants, however, Emerson points out that the servants were not slaves.²²⁰ Stephen Foster was a Democrat and did not agree with slavery, but never took action as an abolitionist, earning him the label "doughface" from author Walt Whitman.²²¹ While he may not have been an active abolitionist, some of the songs written by Foster were seen late in the nineteenth century as elevating black behavior, rather than defaming it. As Root notes, Foster's song "Nelly Was a Lady" (1849) was the first song that called a black woman a lady and portrayed a black couple as a loving and functional couple.²²² "My Old Kentucky Home, Good-night!" (1850), while still a minstrel song, was not written in dialect. That song allowed Foster to

²¹⁷ Deane L. Root, "Stephen C. Foster" in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed June 3, 2010).

²¹⁸ Ken Emerson, *Doo-dah! Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 55. Root, "Stephen Foster," *Grove Music Online*.

²¹⁹ Emerson discusses these events in chapters one, two, and three of *Doo-dah!*. Before Stephen was born, William served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. He was elected as a Federal party member. Emerson, *Doo-dah!*, 25. Later in life, William Foster also served as mayor of Alleghany City, PA. See Emerson, *Doo-dah!*, 84.

²²⁰ Emerson, *Doo-dah!*, 36.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 191. A doughface was someone from the north not vehemently against slavery or the south's cause.

²²² Root, "Stephen Foster," *Grove Music Online* (accessed June 3, 2010).

finally balance the purer style of parlor song, which Foster preferred to write, with the minstrel song that provided most of his income.²²³

One such minstrel song used in the soundtrack to *Gone with the Wind* is Foster's "Lou'siana Belle," written in 1847. The viewers first hear the song in the second scene in the movie, at the barbeque held at Twelve Oaks, where it acts as the first part of a three-part medley of Foster tunes played during the barbeque.²²⁴ No words to the song are presented in the film, rather it is heard in the underscore as Scarlett enters the main house at Twelve Oaks. No orchestra is seen, although one would expect an orchestra to be present. It seems as if an orchestra is in the corner of the main hall and the camera does not pan wide enough to see it. Steiner scores the entire medley for string orchestra and banjo. The inclusion of the banjo gives the song a more informal sound, which matches the locale. The audience is reminded that the characters live in rural Georgia, as opposed to a more populated metropolis that would hold more formal gatherings.

It was a good decision to leave out the lyrics to "Lou'siana Belle," as they were considered to be explicit in Foster's day. According to Emerson, the sexual innuendo found in the chorus could only be written by Foster, a white man, under the guise of blackface. White gentlemen were not to speak in that manner.²²⁵ The chorus states: "Oh! Belle don't you tell, don't tell Massa, don't you Belle, / Oh! Belle, de Lou'siana Belle, I's gwine to marry you, Lou'siana Belle."²²⁶ The singer begs Belle to not tell the master about something, which is never

²²³ Emerson, *Doo-dah!*, 195. Foster made most of his money with minstrel songs, but lamented how he did not like writing in the minstrel format in a letter to Edwin P. Christy. See Root, "Stephen Foster," *Grove Music Online*.

²²⁴ The sequence containing the entire medley begins at 17:53.

²²⁵ Emerson, *Doo-dah!*, 105.

²²⁶ Stephen Foster, "Lou'siana Belle," in *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music*, www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/sm2html/sm2home.html (accessed August 8, 2010).

specifically named, and concludes with the promise of marriage. Emerson's view is that this infers that a premarital tryst took place, which would not have been acceptable in the society of that time. The discussion of such topics was not acceptable among upper class men, hence Emerson's conclusion that Foster could have only used those lyrics in a minstrel song. The first four measures of the song are shown in Example 1.

The next song in the medley is Foster's song from 1850, "Dolly Day," the first four measures of which are shown in Example 2. According to musicologist Deane L. Root, Foster frequently turned to the genre of ballads and expressed the "sentiment" of missing a loved one or a particular place.²²⁷ Here the singer is, as Root states, longing for his lover, Dolly Day. The song stands as a mixture of balladry and minstrelsy. The minstrelsy of the song is shown by the lyrics in a dialect, not to mention that the singer speaks of his "massa," or master. The lyrics, however, are not as charged as those in "Lou'siana Belle." The lyrics are again not presented in the film. Steiner also does not change the orchestration between "Lou'siana Belle" and "Dolly Day."

The final song in the medley is "Ring de Banjo" (1851), shown in Example 3. As the title hints, the song is again in dialect. Foster returns to charged lyrics in this song, but in a different manner than he did with "Lou'siana Belle." This song tells the story of the slave who has been previously released by his master, but returns. When his master calls for him after his return, the slave goes to the master and kills him. In the final verse, the slave bids goodbye to his significant other explaining that he had to leave when the high tide hit presumably to escape law enforcement. In keeping with the previous two songs, these lyrics were not put in the film and the orchestration remains the same throughout the entire medley. As the scene moves outside for

²²⁷ Root, "Stephen Foster," *Oxford Music Online* (accessed June 3, 2010).

all to eat, the music ends. Steiner's treatment of the songs does not seem to reflect any subject brought up by the lyrics of the three songs. Here they are only used as party music.

Example 1: The opening phrase of Foster's "Lou'siana Belle"²²⁸



Example 2: The opening phrase of Foster's "Dolly Day"²²⁹



Example 3: The opening phrase of the chorus of Foster's "Ring de Banjo"²³⁰



Another Foster song, "Massa's in de Cold Ground," can be read as having multiple meanings.²³¹ This one-verse song tells the mournful story of slaves whose master has just died. The multiple readings of the song are a result of the question of whether the slaves are sincere in their mourning. Morrison Foster, Stephen Foster's brother and keeper of the Foster family papers, is quoted in William W. Austin's volume on Foster's songs as saying that the song is sincere.²³² Morrison Foster stated that his brother was reacting to their father's recent illness. Emerson somewhat embraces this reading of the song, claiming that it was the "flipside" of

²²⁸ Stephen Foster, *Collection of Stephen C. Foster Songs* (Chicago: M. M. Cole, 1939), 24-25.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²³⁰ Stephen Foster, *Stephen Foster Song Book*, ed. Richard Jackson (New York: Dover, 1974), 110-113.

²³¹ The song is sometimes referred to as "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground." According to Emerson, the second "cold" was not added until after the Civil War. See Emerson, *Doo-dah!*, 184.

²³² William W. Austin, "Susannah," "Jennie," and "The Old Folks at Home": *The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 112.

many minstrel songs in that when the master dies and it is the slave, and not the master's family, that mourn that .

Austin counters that reading of the song with a quotation from Harriet Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* where slaves say they grow excited each time they heard the master was growing more ill. When the master died, they placed the heaviest stone on his grave to prevent his spirit from coming back to control them after his death.²³³ Stowe portrayed slaves who rejoiced at their master's demise by doing anything they could to keep him from returning. By juxtaposing Morrison Foster's interpretation with the attitudes of slaves who were overjoyed at the death of their master, one could read "Massa's in de Cold Ground" as being a sarcastic and insincere picture of grief.

Steiner uses the song, without its lyrics, in his underscore. Played by the celeste, it shows the lack of sincere emotion in Scarlett's supposed mourning of Charles's death early in their marriage.²³⁴ As mentioned in chapter one, the cultural conventions of mourning meant that Scarlett could not go to parties, dance, or have any semblance of a social life. Steiner inserts a small portion of the melody in the underscore while Scarlett tries on colorful hats that she knows she cannot wear in public, showing that she is not fooling anyone with her attempt at mourning.

Another Foster song found in the film is "My Old Kentucky Home" (1852). The song is also found in the novel, although the chorus, which bears the title of the song, is not heard in the film or seen in the novel. Mitchell instead focuses on the third verse, specifically the third line:

The head must bow and the back will have to bed, / Wherever the darkey may go:
A few more days, and the trouble all will end / In the field where the sugarcane grow,
A few more days for to tote the weary load, / No matter 'twill never be light,
A few more days till we totter down the road, / Then my old Kentucky home, good night.

²³³ Harriet Beecher Stowe, reprinted in, William W. Austin, "Susannah," "Jeanie," and "The Old Folks at Home": *The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His Time to Ours*, 112.

²³⁴ This cue begins at 35:58.

This song is tied to one of Scarlett's slaves, Prissy. She only sings the third line, in a *cappella* style, as she returns from attempting to get a doctor to come to Aunt Pitty Pat's house to deliver Melanie's baby.²³⁵ This particular segment of the melody is displayed in Example 4. Later in the film, it is heard non-diegetically after Prissy is sent to get Rhett, his horse, and his buggy to evacuate the household in the wake of Sherman's arrival in Atlanta.²³⁶ Steiner inserts the melody that accompanies the words "to tote the weary load." He enhances Scarlett's longing to go home by putting the song in a scene where Scarlett will literally start to fight Rhett to be able to return to Tara. He also uses it in a somewhat humorous manner in the scene as well. The humor lies in Steiner's insertion of the melody that accompanies the words "to tote the weary load" in the underscore as Prissy is busily throwing belongings into a large trunk, which will be part of the heavy load carried to Tara.²³⁷

Example 4: The melody of "My Old Kentucky Home" sung by Prissy in *Gone with the Wind*²³⁸



The most prevalent of Foster's songs used in the film is "Katy Bell," written in 1863.²³⁹ There is a distinct connection between this song and Scarlett. Scarlett's birth name is Katie Scarlett O'Hara and she is the character tied to the song that bears her name. Steiner's usage of "Katy Bell" is striking, as it accompanies Scarlett more often in the first half-hour of the film than her own leitmotive does, starting with the first scene of the film. Her leitmotive does not

²³⁵ This cue begins at 1:13:55.

²³⁶ The melody can be difficult to hear as the shells are loudly exploding.

²³⁷ This cue begins at 1:22:05.

²³⁸ Foster, *Stephen Foster Song Book*, 68-71.

²³⁹ Sometimes this song's title is spelled "Katie Belle." Foster did not write the lyrics for this song. They were written by George Cooper, his writing partner during the last few years of his life.

appear until she meets Frank Kennedy on the steps of the main hall of Twelve Oaks at the barbeque. For those listeners not familiar with the song, it is easy to mistake “Katy Bell,” which is shown in Example 5, as Scarlett’s leitmotif.

Example 5: First phrase of Foster’s “Katy Bell”²⁴⁰



What is even more striking about this song is how Steiner suddenly stops using it. It is never heard again after Scarlett marries Charles Hamilton. Therefore, Steiner used the song to signify Scarlett as a child. Once she marries, she is considered an adult and is suddenly forced to grow up, especially after Charles dies. Throughout the rest of the film, Steiner uses Scarlett’s leitmotif as her lone musical signifier.

Another Pittsburg-based composer who can be heard in the score is Nelson Kneass. He lived in Pittsburgh at the same time as Foster. Kneass set a poem by Thomas Dunn English called “Ben Bolt” to music. The song became very popular and it can be heard when Scarlett sings it on the morning after the rape by Rhett.²⁴¹ She sings it *a cappella* and only sings the second and third lines: “Oh she wept with delight when he gave her a smile, and trembled with fear at his frown.” This can be seen as a response to the previous night’s event. Rhett grew angry at Scarlett and when she attempted to leave the dining room, his hands enwrapped her head and she was both exhilarated and frightened at his brute strength.

²⁴⁰ Foster, *Collection of Stephen C. Foster Songs*, 85.

²⁴¹ She sings the song at 3:18:00. This occurs in the famous scene where Rhett carries Scarlett up their staircase.

Foster and his music have endured for well over 150 years. Songs like “Oh Susanna” are still taught in schools around the world.²⁴² It is undoubtedly their popularity that led Steiner to choose them for the soundtrack.

IV. Traditional Songs in *Gone with the Wind*

The remaining songs in Table One are associated with one, or in some cases both, sides of the Civil War. Many Confederate songs were actually Northern songs with new and appropriate-for-the-south lyrics.²⁴³ Several of these songs are used by Steiner in a diegetic function.

Seven scenes in the film feature diegetic music, or music whose source can be seen onscreen. The following table shows these diegetic scenes with their cues and the songs heard:

Table 2: Scenes with Diegetic Music in *Gone with the Wind*

Scene	Film Cues	Music
The bazaar	38:06	“Maryland, My Maryland,” “Irish Washerwoman,” and “Gerry Owen”
Outside the newspaper office	48:44	“Dixie,” “When This Cruel Is Over,” and “When Johnny Comes Marching Home”
Soldiers return for Christmas furlough	52:06	“Bonnie Blue Flag”
Prissy walking	1:13:55	“My Old Kentucky Home”
Jonas Wilkerson and the carpetbagger ride down the road	1:57:03	“Marching Through Georgia”
Scarlett and Mammy walk through Atlanta	2:18:33	“Old Folks at Home”
The morning after Scarlett’s rape	3:18:00	“Ben Bolt”

²⁴² Root, “Stephen Foster,” *Grove Music Online*.

²⁴³ Moseley, “Irrepressible Conflict,” 46.

As seen before, in the scene occurring at the newspaper office, a military band is present onscreen. Military bands were a common entity during the war. One of the most important responsibilities of the bands was to boost morale, which was the intent of the band shown in the film. In the newspaper office scene, the bandleader and his wife are the first to receive the news their son has died in the war. The bandleader turns to his band and they immediately burst into arguably the most popular southern song, “Dixie,” shown in Example 6.²⁴⁴ By using “Dixie” here, Steiner is attempting to give the military wind band the ability to raise the patriotic fervor of the Confederates, in spite of the great losses of the Battle of Gettysburg. He is attempting to enhance the narrative of the plot in this scene. Besides the diegetic appearance in the newspaper office scene, the song is used several times in non-diegetic fashion.

Example 6: The opening strain of “Dixie” by Daniel Decatur Emmett²⁴⁵



One of the song’s most prominent appearances is at the close of the main titles sequence. As intertitles with text prepare the audience for the world into which they will enter, the music transitions from “Tara’s theme” to the melody of “Dixie” being sung by a choir. A banjo is even added to the orchestration to enhance the southern flavor of the song. Then a solo violin repeats the melody as the action opens on Scarlett and the Tarleton twins on Tara’s porch. The tempo of “Dixie” in the main title sequence is quite slow, which adds to the grandeur of the environment that Selznick was trying to recreate. The upper register of the solo violin reflects the

²⁴⁴ This cue begins at 49:45. The songs in this scene are performed consecutively with no break.

²⁴⁵ Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War*, 59-61.

sentimentality towards a lifestyle and place that were soon going to die a violent death. The change in tempo and the additional instrumentation represent Steiner's intention to mold the song to the narrative of the film.

The next song heard in the newspaper office scene is "When This Cruel War Is Over," which serves as a prime example of a song that was so popular it was sung in the south, even though it was composed for the north. Written in 1863 the song, shown in Example 7, became an enormous hit and quickly moved south, where the lyrics were slightly changed to reflect the southern point of view.²⁴⁶ Not nearly as boisterous as "Dixie," "When This Cruel War Is Over" expresses the longing of those at home for their loved ones on the front. With the positioning of this song immediately after "Dixie," Steiner portrays the feelings of war, patriotism, and grief. Because the same military wind band plays this while still stationed outside the newspaper office, the onscreen audience—most of whom just read they lost a loved one at war—is first called to continue cheering on their brave men at the front, then they collectively yearn for the war to end. Steiner enhances the narrative by helping to musically express what the film's viewers can imagine the characters feel. The large number of losses leave those at home hoping that their remaining loved ones will return home.²⁴⁷

Example 7: The first four measures of "When This Cruel War Is Over"²⁴⁸



The last song presented by Steiner at the newspaper office is "When Johnny Comes Marching Home." Written by Irish-born Patrick Gilmore, the song was composed while he was

²⁴⁶ This song is also discussed in chapter one.

²⁴⁷ The chorus to this song is shown in table one.

²⁴⁸ Silber, *Songs of the Civil War*, 124-26.

served as a military bandleader in the Union Army. Like “When This Cruel War Is Over,” the song was intended for a northern audience, but it also became quite popular in the south. This song serves as a bridge between the emotions behind “Dixie” and “When This Cruel War Is Over.” “When Johnny Comes Marching Home” is an uptempo song, similar to “Dixie,” and never infers that the soldier comes home for any reason other than that the soldier’s army won the war. Each of the four verses ends with the line “And we’ll all feel gay when Johnny comes marching home.” The lyrics also tell of the celebrations that will happen once the soldier comes home. For example, the second verse reads:

The old church bell will peel with joy,
 Hurrah! Hurrah!
 To welcome home our darling boy,
 Hurrah! Hurrah!
 The village lads and lassies say
 With roses they will strew the way
 And we’ll feel gay when Johnny comes marching home.²⁴⁹

The lyrics suggest an encouraging and patriotic feeling of those singing the song. The lyrics show that the singers expect the soldier to come home alive. The yearning for the return of the loved one at the front is the prevailing sentiment of “When This Cruel War Is Over.” By including both the patriotism and the yearning for the soldiers to return, “When Johnny Comes Marching Home” serves as a connector between the patriotic song “Dixie” and the more sentimental parlor ballad “When This Cruel War Is Over.”

In addition to its use in the diegetic score during the newspaper office scene, Steiner inserted “When Johnny Comes Marching Home” in the non-diegetic score just after Rhett tells Scarlett about the Battle of Gettysburg. The opening melody of the song can be seen in Example

²⁴⁹ Patrick Gilmore, “When Johnny Comes Marching Home,” in *“Sound Off!” Soldier Songs from “Yankee Doodle” to “Parley Voo,”* ed., Edward Arthur Dolph, arr. Philip Egner (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1929), 357-59.

8. The audiences viewing the film in the United States almost certainly knew how bloody the battle was and how devastating it was to the south's cause. If they did not, Selznick inserted an intertitle to tell them. This is the first thing seen on the screen as the newspaper office opens at roughly 48:44 through the film. Accompanying the text is a mass of sound comprised of unison low strings and woodwinds while the low brass slowly play clashing notes until the horns and trombones begin the tune of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home." It is much slower than the rendition that would be featured in the diegetic presentation of the song.²⁵⁰

Example 8: The opening phrase of Gilmore's "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again"²⁵¹



The text displayed on the intertitle is: "Hushed and grim, Atlanta turned painful eyes toward the far-away town of Gettysburg...and a page of history waited for three days while two nations came to death grips on the farm lands of Pennsylvania..." Behind the text, a large crowd has gathered to receive the casualty lists from the battle. As the text disappears from the screen and the large crowd is now featured on the screen, Steiner changes the chord of the third measure of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again." In the example shown above, the chord implied in measure three is a B-flat major chord, the song's tonic. Steiner's change would make the chord a B-flat minor chord. This small modal change helps to enhance the tension the scene. The

²⁵⁰ The diegetic version of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" is played by the military wind band at roughly 120 beats per minute. The version in the underscoring that opens that scene is played by the horns and trombones at more than half that speed. This rendition of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" begins at 48:53.

²⁵¹ Dolph, "Sound Off!" *Soldier Songs from "Yankee Doodle" to "Parley Voo,"* 357-59.

song's sudden move to minor surprises audiences leaving them unsure of what is about to happen.

Another prominent scene featuring diegetic music is when the soldiers return home for a short Christmas furlough. The same military band featured at the newspaper office scene also appears here, but this time a child is conducting the band.²⁵² The band is playing “Bonnie Blue Flag,” a very popular song in the south, written by Harry Macarthy. Its opening measures are depicted in Example 9. There are soldiers running around the band members on the train platform attempting to find their families while the band plays. Aside from its popularity during the war, another reason for its inclusion in the film was the name of Rhett and Scarlett’s child. Steiner scholar Kate Daubney states that Steiner would often insert a song in the score if its name was stated in the dialogue.²⁵³ For example, when Melanie visits Rhett and Scarlett after the birth of their daughter, she remarks that the child’s eyes are as blue as the “bonnie blue flag.” Rhett immediately changes the child’s name to Bonnie Blue Butler. Whether or not Steiner knew of the song prior to the film is not known; however, the song is on a list of the most popular southern songs that was provided for Lou Forbes, the Selznick International music director, by the Selznick International Research department.²⁵⁴

Example 9: The opening of the chorus of “Bonnie Blue Flag”²⁵⁵



²⁵² This scene occurs at 56:15 in the film.

²⁵³ Kate Daubney, *Max Steiner's "Now, Voyager"*, 24.

²⁵⁴ Steiner might have run across the song in preparation to scoring the film *Little Women* (RKO, 1933), which is also set during the Civil War. Howard Kurtz was a historian from Georgia who served as a consultant on the film and provided some information on the song. Notes on the song list exist showing that Kurtz said to not use “Marching Through Georgia” as it would receive a negative reaction. See Leone to Forbes, memorandum, March 9, 1939, DSC, 3667:16.

²⁵⁵ Silber, *Songs of the Civil War*, 65-67.

Steiner uses another Confederate song during the bazaar scene for a dual purpose. One of the songs heard at the bazaar, just before the “Virginia Reel,” is the song “Maryland, My Maryland.”²⁵⁶ Although the music is presented diegetically, with an orchestra whose players are slaves, the lyrics are not heard. The absence of lyrics could lead to some confusion of the song with the source of its melody, the German Christmas carol “O Tannenbaum,” or “O Christmas Tree.” One reason for its inclusion in this scene is that the song lyrics take a pro-south stance. Another is the song’s time signature. The bazaar scene features a lot of dancing, and with its triple meter, “Maryland, My Maryland” acts as a waltz for the dancers, while still providing a sense of patriotism. This song no doubt also erased part of the compositional strain on Steiner and his team by having a very well-known tune be used for a scene that called for music.

Steiner returned to the plethora of songs written by Stephen Foster for a short cue needed for the scene where Scarlett and Mammy are walking through Reconstruction-era Atlanta after attempting to get the tax money for Tara from the imprisoned Rhett.²⁵⁷ The streets are lined with carpetbaggers who comment on Scarlett’s clothing and inform the newly freed slaves about the Reconstruction Act.²⁵⁸ Further down the street are several dancers performing a soft-shoe dance to Foster’s “Old Folks at Home,” making the appearance of this song diegetic. Mixed in the circle of dancers are two men, one playing a harmonica, and the other playing the bones.²⁵⁹ This song was over a decade old by the time being depicted in the film. It was one of Foster’s most popular songs and it was very possible that many people in Atlanta after the war knew the song.

²⁵⁶ “Maryland, My Maryland” begins at 40:08.

²⁵⁷ This scene occurs at 2:18:33 through the film.

²⁵⁸ The Reconstruction Act dates to 1867.

²⁵⁹ The bones were often just that—animal bones—played between the fingers as a percussion instrument.

This songs helps to give the audiences an idea of public behavior of the 1860s as it presented as semi-public performance. Musicians and dancers were not afraid to play or dance in the streets.

Prior to Ashley's birthday party, near the end of the film, Scarlett is sent to make sure he did not return to his home before it was time for the party to begin. Faintly in the underscore, the strings play an old hymn, "Deep River."²⁶⁰ The lyrics of "Deep River" speak of the singer trying to find peace.²⁶¹ One line of the song reads, "Oh, don't you want to go to that promised land? That land where all is peace?" In the scene Ashley and Scarlett talk and the viewer learns that Ashley has no peace about his life and the turn it has taken since the war. Although the lyrics are not heard in the film, Steiner's use of the song helps to enhance the narrative. Ashley is looking for a sense peace like he had before the war, and like the singer of "Deep River," is experiencing the same longing for the end of a difficult journey.

"Marching Through Georgia" makes multiple appearances in the film in both diegetic and non-diegetic fashion. In one diegetic sequence, a carpetbagger is riding in a carriage with Jonas Wilkerson, the former overseer of Tara and, now, a hated Yankee.²⁶² The carriage is surrounded by Confederate soldiers who now must walk home. One soldier collapses in front of the carriage and when asked for assistance, Jonas Wilkerson refuses to help any Confederates. All the while, the carpetbagger is sitting next to Wilkerson singing the chorus to "Marching Through Georgia" while riding in a buggy through a sea of weak and wounded Confederate soldiers. The chorus is "Hurrah! Hurrah! We bring the jubilee! Hurrah! Hurrah! The flag that makes you free! So we sang the chorus from Atlanta to the sea, while we were marching through Georgia!" The use of that song at that point in the plot is interesting and symbolic of the

²⁶⁰ This scene begins at 1:20:36.

²⁶¹ These lines can be found in table one.

²⁶² This scene begins at 1:57:24.

transition occurring in Georgia. The song refers to Yankee General Sherman's historic march through the state of Georgia, from the border to the seaside town of Savannah. Now it was the Yankee businessmen and politicians that were marching through Georgia. The Yankees were controlling the military, the public safety, and would soon control the government.²⁶³ It is as if the carpetbagger is announcing the beginning of the newest march through Georgia.

“Marching Through Georgia” is also used at the opening of the second half of the film.²⁶⁴ In what David O. Selznick referred to in his memos as the “Sherman title,” the presence of Sherman is announced to the audience through an intertitle. The screen is emblazoned with images of marching men and fiery explosions. This is the sequence mentioned in chapter two that caused Selznick International music director Lou Forbes to respond to Selznick's memo with quotations from previous Selznick memos. (Selznick had issued a memo criticizing Steiner's scoring the Sherman title and Forbes responded with a quote from a previous memo from Selznick telling Steiner how he wanted the title scored.) Steiner did as directed and received the critical memo in response. An analysis of the scene shows that Forbes won the argument about the distortion of the melody, which he needed to do. “Marching Through Georgia” is in a major key and has a spritely tempo. To put a song with those qualities with a visual image of marching men and fire balls would most likely confuse the audience—or make them suspect that the situation in Georgia was not as bad as it was in reality. In the end, the song appears in a “distorted way,” as Selznick called it. Example 10 is an example of the original version of the song:

²⁶³ This is demonstrated in the scene when Scarlett and Mammy go to Atlanta to secure the tax money for Tara. A man stands on a platform telling newly freed slaves that the slaves' “friends” were giving them forty acres, a mule, and the right to vote. The slaves, however, were to vote with their “friends.”

²⁶⁴ The second half of the film begins at roughly 1:50:00.

Example 11: First four measures of “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp”²⁶⁷



Steiner then turns to the original intent of the song during the scene where Scarlett learns the Yankees are coming for Atlanta. “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp” can barely be heard in the underscoring as Scarlett bounds up the stairs, only to find out that Melanie has begun the childbirth process and they cannot evacuate the city. Here Steiner enhances the narrative by musically reminding the audience that the Yankees are about to trample the city.²⁶⁸

Steiner’s use of the tune “Yankee Doodle” also serves as a musical reminder for the audience. It is heard at 2:08:27 in the film just after the famous paddock scene where Scarlett attempts to steal Ashley away for the final time. The tune is scored in the underscoring for woodwinds in the key of B minor with a flat seventh to end the third measure. By changing the tonality to minor and adding a lowered note to the scale, Steiner gives a musical message to the audience that Wilkerson is not a welcome guest at Tara.²⁶⁹ As Gerald chases Wilkerson off the premises of Tara, the first two measures of “Yankee Doodle” are quoted again as Wilkerson’s face flashes across the screen. This time the trumpets provide the non-diegetic melody in B-flat minor. Steiner is setting the audience up for what looks to be a fight between Gerald and Wilkerson, who is nervously trying to get the horses to go even faster. Unfortunately, while attempting to jump a fence to catch up to Wilkerson’s carriage, Gerald is thrown from his horse and is killed.

²⁶⁷ Silber, *Songs of the Civil War*, 35-37.

²⁶⁸ The first two measures of the melody of the chorus are heard faintly in the horns.

²⁶⁹ The other two scenes in which Wilkerson appears, do not include the song “Yankee Doodle,” which keeps the song from becoming his leitmotif.

Another song used by Steiner and his compositional team to symbolize the Yankees is “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” It is only heard non-diegetically, without lyrics, during the scene depicting Melanie, Scarlett, Prissy, and Beau’s escape from Atlanta, beginning around 1:23:00. It is played by the low brass as Rhett fends off people trying to steal the horse and buggy that carries Scarlett and her companions. “Battle Hymn” is positioned against “Dixie” which is used in this scene to signal the south. The usage of “Battle Hymn” helps to enforce the narrative when considered against opposing usage of “Dixie.” One can see that Steiner and his team are musically depicting the actual and physical battle taking place.

The composition team, however, uses harmonic changes to show that both sides are in a violent fight. The songs are not presented in major keys, which is the mode in which both “Battle Hymn” and “Dixie” originate, but are instead altered to reflect the chaos the viewer sees onscreen. For example, one particular strain of “Battle Hymn” from this scene has the tonal center of D-flat, however, the major tonality is lost because the seventh- and sixth-scale degrees are raised.²⁷⁰ “Dixie” begins in D minor, instead of Emmett’s original key in major. In the third measure of the cue, instead of resolving to the fifth-scale degree, as the original does, the melody jumps to a flatted sixth scale degree, which comes as a surprise. All of this creates a sense of musical confusion because there is no substantial anchor with regards to the harmonic structure of the cue. With the transformation of the melodies, Steiner and his compositional team reflect the chaos and uncertainty of Scarlett and her companions’ quick evacuation of Atlanta.

A little-known Confederate song, “The Cavaliers of Dixie,” written in 1861 by Benjamin F. Porter, speaks to the chivalry of the gentlemen of the south. The first time the audience hears it, the song is faintly heard non-diegetically in the Twelve Oaks barbeque scene at the beginning

²⁷⁰ The low brass plays the opening three notes as: D-flat, C-natural, and B-natural. To attain the correct intervals for the original tonality of the song, the first three notes should be: D-flat, C-flat, and B-flat.

of the movie.²⁷¹ Charles Hamilton is challenging Rhett as to the success that the south will have in the war. As most Confederates thought at the time, they expected the south to quickly dispose of the Yankee invasion and resume their way of life. To believe otherwise was to behave in an ungentlemanly way, which meant that the man possessed no chivalry. Later, as Rhett helps Scarlett and the others escape, they suddenly move through a swarm of Confederate soldiers, some not even able to walk. In between the non-diegetic statements of “Dixie,” “The Cavaliers of Dixie” is heard in the strings as Rhett and Scarlett recall how the young Confederates were so confident in their abilities to beat the Yankees quickly. The soldiers in front of them, however, showed that this was not the case.²⁷² They were barely able to walk, had tattered clothes, and were unkempt in their appearance, which would have been unacceptable before the war. Also, the soldiers were not the victors as they declared they would be before the war, but rather, were running from the winning army. The first time “The Cavaliers of Dixie” is heard, the instrumentation is for a brass choir. This seems to hint at the idea of a military band, as the instrumentation is a noticeable deviation from the string-dominated score surrounding it. In both instances, Steiner is calling to mind a character quality that the south cherished in the nineteenth century, chivalry.

One of the most recognizable melodies used in the film is “Taps,” a military bugle call. Originally the title “Taps” was given to the final bugle call of the day signaling the soldiers to go to sleep.²⁷³ The version modern audiences know as “Taps” was written by General Butterfield, a Union commander, in 1862. The call began being attached to funerals or memorial services

²⁷¹ This scene occurs at 27:48.

²⁷² This scene occurs at 1:26:00.

²⁷³ Melissa Nikolatsopoulos, e-mail message to the author, May 25, 2010. Nikolatsopoulos is a trumpeter trained by the U.S. Army to sound “Taps.”

during the same year.²⁷⁴ As time passed, the call became more and more associated with death, especially the death of members of the military, and it is this sentiment that Steiner expresses with his usage of “Taps” in the film.

One of the most direct statements of “Taps” occurs when the letter announcing Charles’s death is pictured on the screen.²⁷⁵ Charles was a soldier when he died, therefore, Steiner musically signals his death by using the call used at military funerals non-diegetically. The most striking occurrence of “Taps” occurs during the famous crane shot at the train depot.²⁷⁶ Scarlett has gone to the train depot to find Dr. Meade for Beau’s birth and she is greeted by what seems to like an unending sea of injured soldiers. As Scarlett’s walking pace slows, the camera begins to pan out and the audiences must come to grips with the large amount of carnage that the war had caused. The audience has to watch Scarlett do the same. To accompany the visually stunning shot, Steiner put two preexisting songs over each other: while the strings play “Maryland, My Maryland” a few beats per minute slower than the usual tempo of the song, the trumpets, scored in unison, sound “Taps.” The majestic feeling that the music creates, by using crescendos during the cue, enhances the massive amount of injuries seen on the screen.

Should Steiner have not included “Taps” in this scene, the audience might have been confused. As mentioned previously, the melody of “Maryland, My Maryland” is that of “O Tannenbaum.” Not knowing that the melody is shared by both songs, the audience might wonder why “O Christmas Tree” is in the middle of the scene. But with “Taps” being sounded over “Maryland, My Maryland,” the meaning of the scene and the progress of the war become very easy to understand—the south is dead.

²⁷⁴ Collins, *Songs Sung in Red, White, and Blue*, 170-71.

²⁷⁵ This scene occurs at 35:42.

²⁷⁶ The crane shot occurs at 1:15:19. The scene is sometimes called the crane scene because a construction crane was needed to raise the camera high enough in the air to capture the breadth of the scene.

Steiner's use of preexisting music in this film is astounding. He is able to bring together almost two dozen pieces of preexisting music and use them all as a way to connect the audience with the narrative. At times he would weave a song into the underscore because it had a direct reference to the plot, such as when "Taps" is used after Charles's death. At other times Steiner reminds the audience about characters with his musical choices, such as when "Massa's in de Cold Ground" appears to musically remind viewers Scarlett never mourned Charles.

The greatest task that Steiner assisted with was to musically represent the plot.²⁷⁷ Not only does he insert preexisting music to help the audience understand the scene, such as the usage of "Taps" during the crane scene, but he even takes the liberty of changing the tonality, tempo, or rhythms to suit the situation. This echoes the musical device known as thematic transformation, which was a popular compositional technique in the nineteenth century where themes were manipulated to reflect the narrative.²⁷⁸ The dueling of "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Dixie" in the escape from Atlanta scene is a musical representation of the war. The songs are not in their original keys, or even in the correct modes, so that the audience is able to perceive the danger in the scene. In the main title credits, the speed of "Dixie" is very slow to establish the easy and laid back lifestyle of the south before the war. With this score, Steiner was able to even further establish his style and, as he preferred to do, give the audience a musical guide through the plot.

²⁷⁷ For a discussion of Steiner's emphasis of the narrative through the characters' leitmotives, see Margarita Fernández de Sevilla Martín-Aldo, "La eficacia de lo obvio: La música de *Lo Que el Viento se Llevó*," *Archivos da la filmoteca; revista de estudios historicos sobre la imagen* (1992): 138-48 and William Darby and Jack DuBois, *American Film Music*, 59-64.

²⁷⁸ Hugh Macdonald, "Transformation, Thematic," *Grove Music Online* in *Oxford Music Online*, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.maurice.bgsu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/28269> (accessed August 8, 2010).

V. Conclusion

Max Steiner's score for *Gone with the Wind* has become a prime example of his style. In it he featured leitmotives, which he then transforms to reflect the narrative of the film.

Throughout his career, he consistently stated that film music's role was to support the plot of the film. One way that he is able to do this is through the use of over a dozen preexisting songs, especially American traditional songs. Many composers in Hollywood at the time utilized similar compositional tools as Steiner to help emphasize the plot, such as leitmotives or preexisting music. What makes Steiner's score for *Gone with the Wind* admirable is that he had little time to study the content and origins of the songs. Because he began working on the project in August 1939, and Lou Forbes started securing preexisting music as early as May 1936, Steiner was not able to have a substantial amount of time to understand the songs available to him. Also, the working environment in which he and his team functioned was strenuous, to say the least. He and a team of over a dozen composers, arrangers, and orchestrators worked for roughly four months on three hours of music. In addition to this assignment, Steiner was also scoring *Intermezzo* and wrote *Symphony Moderne* for Warner Brothers. The sheer amount of music required for these projects and the time limit that he had created a difficult task for the composer.

Yet Steiner's score remains coherent in the face of the chaos behind the scenes because he continued to utilize the same functions for his preexisting music. These songs remind audience members of characters, musically comment on the scene pictured onscreen, or give a musical representation of the state of the plot at every moment in the film's narrative. He and his team strove to compose music that reflected the narrative of the film at all times. For these reasons, Steiner's score for *Gone with the Wind* stands as a primary example of film music that

enhances a film's narrative and adheres to the tradition that we associate with classical Hollywood soundtracks.

APPENDIX A

List of preexisting songs used in the novel *Gone with the Wind*

1. "Peg in the Low-backed Car"
2. "Lament for Robert Emmett"
3. "The Wearin' o' the Green"
4. "The Bugles Sang Truce"
5. "Your Letter Came, but Came Too Late"
6. "If You Want to Have a Good Time, Jine the Cavalry"
7. "Lorena"
8. "Bonnie Blue Flag"
9. "Johnny Booker, He'p dis N—r!"
10. "Dixie"
11. "When This Cruel War Is Over"
12. "When the Dew is on the Blossom"
13. "Oh, Lawd, Ladies, Don't Mind Stephen!"
14. "Somebody's Darling"
15. "Jackets of Gray"
16. "My Old Kentucky Home"
17. "Go Down Moses"
18. "Maryland, My Maryland"
19. "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing!"
20. "Old Dan Tucker"
21. *The Bohemian Girl* (opera)
22. "Marching Through Georgia"

APPENDIX B

Personnel used by the Selznick International Music Department for the soundtrack to *Gone with the Wind* (1939). This list is derived from the dissertation of Nathan Platte, "Musical Collaboration in the Films of David O. Selznick, 1932-1957," and personal research conducted at the Selznick Archives at the University of Texas-Austin.

1. David O. Selznick, producer
2. Lou Forbes, music director
3. Max Steiner, composer
4. Albert Malotte, orchestrator
5. Dudley Chambers, orchestrator
6. Darol A. Rice, orchestrator
7. Heinz Roehmeld, composer and orchestrator
8. Bernard Kaun, orchestrator
9. Joseph Nussbaum, orchestrator
10. R. H. Bassett, orchestrator
11. George Bassman, orchestrator
12. Franz Waxman, wrote cues for another film borrowed for *Gone with the Wind*
13. Ruth Leone, researcher
14. Maurice De Packh, orchestrator
15. Adolph Deutsch, composer and orchestrator
16. Hugo Friedhofer, composer and orchestrator
17. Arthur Kay, orchestrator
18. Leo Arnaud, orchestrator
19. Cecil Copping, orchestrator
20. Hal Kern, film editor
21. Jay (Jock) Whitney, Chairman of the Board of Selznick International Pictures
22. William Axt, composer of stock music

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