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DOCUMENTING THE ZENITH OF WOMEN SONG COMPOSERS: A DATABASE OF SONGS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, CA. 1890–1930

By Christopher Reynolds

The purpose of this article is to call attention to a database devoted to women composers and songwriters, and to point to a few of the historical issues that this database makes it possible to investigate. The focus is women who composed songs between roughly 1890 and 1930, and who published them in the United States, Great Britain, and in the far-flung countries of the British Commonwealth. Because the database accounts for where a song was published rather than the nationality of the composer, it includes a few women like Cécile Chaminade, who published substantially in London and in the United States, and Maria Grever, a Mexican who lived and worked for many years in New York City. The database is a companion to my still-expanding collection of songs by women, which now contains nearly 5,000 songs and song publications, more than 3,400 of which are housed in the Special Collections Department of Shields Library at the University of California, Davis.[1]

When I set out in the early 1990s to document how numerous and significant women songwriters were, I had little idea about the scope of the project I had undertaken. Now, twenty years later, my database has grown steadily to more than 15,500 entries of songs and song publications by 1,607 women composers and songwriters who published songs in North

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1. The database is available for downloading at http://n2t.net/ark:/13030/m5br8stc. It will be updated periodically. The Christopher A. Reynolds Collection of Women's Song, 1800–1950, is housed in Special Collections, Shields Library, UC Davis. It also contains a few letters by Amy Marcy Beach, Virginia Gabriel, and Kate Vannah, and original manuscripts of Elinor Remick Warren and Amy Worth. According to OCLC WorldCat, many of the songs in my collection are not present in any other library. A finding aid is available at http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt1t1nf085/. For the moment the songs have not been digitized. Queries to request research copies of individual songs may be directed to Special Collections at: speccoll@ucdavis.edu. I am grateful to Judith Tick for her comments on this article, to Michael Colby for his efforts to catalog the collection, and to Daryl Morrison, head of Special Collections, and her staff for years of support. (Web sites accessed 20 February 2013)

America and in Great Britain and its empire between 1890 and 1930. I initially chose these particular years because my own experience as a collector suggested that they captured the zenith of women's activities as songwriters, at least in the United States and Great Britain, a zenith not rivaled until the emergence of women singer-songwriters of popular music in the 1970s and 1980s. The titles I have compiled come from several sources: from my own collection; from sheet music in the extensive and cataloged collection of the British Library, both from the sheets themselves and the songs advertised on the covers of individual songs; from songs contained in the bibliography of Adrienne Fried Block and Carol Neuls-Bates, and from specialized studies of such composers as Alice Barnett, Marion Bauer, Amy Cheney Beach (Mrs. H. H. A. Beach), Cécile Chaminade, Lily Strickland, and Elinor Remick Warren.[2] Copyright records and Internet resources, including a decade of monitoring the heavy daily traffic of sheet-music sales on eBay, have yielded others. Table 1 shows the balance of the leading British and American publishing houses, and the quantities of songs they published during these decades. (The tables I cite are found in the appendix to this article.)

If a woman published songs between the years 1890 and 1930, I have included all of her songs in the database, regardless of when they were written and published. This means that for women active during these decades who also wrote before 1890 (such as Elizabeth Philp and Mrs. Joseph F. Knapp), the database lists songs published as early as the 1850s and 1860s, while for those who had just begun to publish in the years before 1930 (as did Elinor Remick Warren, Mana Zucca, and Mabel Wayne), there are songs listed from as late as the 1950s and 1960s. For the purposes of the database, my aim has been to gain an idea of how many songs were published in the central decades, but also to make it possible to trace the individual careers of women who published during this period. I have included children's songs only if the composers also wrote songs for adults.

2. Adrienne Fried Block and Carol Neuls-Bates, eds., *Women in American Music: A Bibliography of Music and Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979); Susan Kathleen Smith, "The Art Songs of Alice Barnett" (D.A. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1996); Peggy Horrocks, "The Solo Vocal Repertoire of Marion Bauer with Selected Stylistic Analyses" (D.M.A. diss., University of Nebraska–Lincoln, 1994); Jeanell Wise Brown, *Amy Beach and Her Chamber Music: Biography, Documents, Style*, Composers of North America, 16 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1994); Marcia Citron, *Cécile Chaminade: A Bio-bibliography*, Bio-bibliographies in Music, 15 (New York: Greenwood, 1988); Ann Whitworth Howe, *Lily Strickland: South Carolina's Gift to American Music* ([Charleston?], SC: Published for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission by R. L. Bryan, 1970); Virginia Bortin, *Elinor Remick Warren: Her Life and Her Music*, Composers of North America, 5 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1987); Laurie Katharine Blunsom, "Gender, Genre and Professionalism: The Songs of Clara Rogers, Helen Hopekirk, Amy Beach, Margaret Lang, and Mabel Daniels, 1880–1925" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1999). I also consulted Miriam Stewart-Green, *Women Composers: A Checklist of Works for the Solo Voice* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980).

The database allows us to document the extraordinary rise and decline of women song composers that occurred in the years before and after the First World War. One can glimpse the decrease in songs by women that occurred in the 1920s in the bibliography of Block and Neuls-Bates. For the years 1870–1920 they compiled 542 titles as opposed to 232 published between 1920 and 1950. However, based on the songs present in my database, table 2 makes explicit the sustained increase and precipitous decrease in songs published during these four central decades. Beginning with eighty-six new titles in 1890, the annual totals of new songs and song publications rose to a peak of 512 in 1910, before tapering off to 131 in 1930. This astonishing increase took place in an environment that saw women entering musical occupations with equally impressive gains. As Judith Tick discovered, in the 1890 U.S. Census there were 62,000 women employed as music teachers, a number that had grown in 1910 to nearly 140,000.[3] But the expansion of opportunities for women took place at a time when several related musical endeavors prospered: "touring attractions, song publishing, and piano sales each rose in the 1890s and reached their peak around 1910."[4]

On the upward swing, there is for the most part a steady increase, with two exceptions. The total of new songs published by women more than doubled from 1891 to 1892, growing from 73 songs to 154. This dramatic rise likely resulted from Congress passing the Chace Act, also known as the International Copyright Act of 1891, which allowed British and American writers to receive royalties for sales in the other country. Writing in Boston in 1900 or shortly before, Rupert Hughes observed that one music publisher had seen compositions by women grow from "only one-tenth of his manuscripts a few years ago" to "more than two-thirds."[5] This publisher could have been either Arthur Schmidt or Oliver Ditson, both Bostonians, both of whom increased the number of songs by women that they published in the 1890s as shown in table 3 (this table accounts only for songs and therefore is just one part of their publishing efforts). Although over the central decades encompassed by this survey, Schmidt published considerably more songs by women than did Ditson—536 as opposed to 327 in my list—I am inclined to think that this quote stems from Oliver Ditson, given the substantially greater increase in the

3. Judith Tick, "Women as Professional Musicians in the United States, 1870–1900," *Anuario interamericano de investigación musical* 9 (1973): 95–133 at 98.

4. Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow*, Refiguring American Music (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 38.

5. Rupert Hughes, *Contemporary American Composers* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1900), 425. Similarly, "The percentage of women in The New York Manuscript Society, a professional composers' organization, doubled between 1892 and 1898," Tick, "Women as Professional Musicians," 105.

number of songs he published by women in the 1890s, and by his retrenchment in the last years of this decade and the years that followed.

Legal and commercial events may also explain the large jump between 1906 and 1907, when the total of new songs vaulted from 351 to 479. It is clear from comparing British publishers to American that this increase was substantially an American phenomenon. The most active British publishers (those included in table 1) increased their output from seventy new songs to eighty-seven, while their American counterparts jumped from 92 to 155. In August 1907 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of Macy's Department Store allowing them, together with Jerome Remick, to sell sheet music at discounted rates; to counter this development, many other publishers banded together to found American Music Stores, which then went into operation from coast to coast.[6] Perhaps spurred by the resultant sharp drop in the price of sheet music, women songwriters published well over 400 new songs per year from 1907 to the outbreak of war in 1914. The slight recovery at the end of the war soon gave way in the face of societal changes in entertainment patterns.

Aside from the immediate impact of World War I on the market for such songs in England, the decline in the 1920s stems from the replacement of the piano by the phonograph and (later) radio as the source of music in the home, especially after World War I, and in the 1920s to the advent of "talkies." The negative effect of these technological changes on publishing houses is well recognized. This forty-year arc of rising and falling numbers of songs published must certainly exist for male songwriters as well, because these societal changes affected songwriters in general, especially in light of the number of music publishers that went out of business in these years, and the concurrent decline in the sales of pianos (piano construction in the United States peaked at about 370,000 in 1910 and fell to 120,000 in 1930).[7] Nevertheless, since male songwriters had easier access to Broadway theaters and Hollywood film studios, the narrowing of publication opportunities likely had a more severe impact on women songwriters.

This list suggests how many songs were written by women during this period, but it is by no means comprehensive. There are doubtless more songs yet to be listed by some of the most eminent women I have included. For example, according to her obituary in the *New York Times*,

6. See Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years*, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3:418–20.

7. These figures are given by James Parakilas in *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene, 2002), 311. Among many others, see Brian Dolan, *Inventing Entertainment: The Player Piano and the Origins of an American Musical Industry* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 157. He cites U.S. Census figures that show a 51 percent drop in piano sales from 1923 to 1927, from 541,000 to 225,000.

Vaughn De Leath composed "more than 500" songs, yet the database accounts for only fifty-four; similarly, the *New York Times* obituary for Anita Owen describes her as the composer of 200 works, of which I list eighty-one. Because this pattern exists for many more women—Alicia Adélaïde Needham allegedly wrote over 600 (I have encountered 103) and María Grever 850 (I list 84 titles)—either these women published only a fraction of their songs, or they published many in very limited numbers, which have yet to be cataloged in any library or appear for sale on the Internet in the past ten years.[8] The former is the likelier explanation. The possibility that the obituaries are exaggerating the totals also exists, but I find that also less probable than songs written but left unpublished. In the case of Vaughn De Leath, she reportedly wrote music for her long-running radio show every week.

My database does not include songs that were composed and recorded but not published. This decision privileges data about publication over that of composition, and therefore allows the database to document more accurately the rise and fall of music publishing. Radio performance, recordings, and films initiate a new chapter in the story of how composers distributed their music, both for men and women. But the gain in greater accuracy about publishing comes at a cost of excluding many jazz songs written by African American women, most notably Bessie Smith. That music publishing was an option that strongly favored white women is thus also made clear in my data. African Americans include Lovie Austin, Lucile Marie Handy (W. C. Handy's daughter), Alberta Nichols, and Mamie Williams; and African British only Montague Ring and Gwendolen Coleridge Taylor (Samuel Coleridge Taylor's daughter). Hispanic women are even less well represented: only María Grever and the Californian, Francisca Vallejo, the granddaughter of General Vallejo.

Other obstacles for achieving a comprehensive list of songs by women include the practice of some composers publishing under names that used gender-obscuring initials: E. L. Ashford, H. B. Blanke, and C. S. Briggs were women; C. W. Krogmann (Carrie Williams Krogmann) was a man, Paul Ducelle. A few women published under male pseudonyms, including Donald Crichton and Stanley Dickson (two of May Brahe's personae), Guy d'Hardelot (Helen Rhodes), Francisco di Nogero (Emilie Frances Bauer), Montague Ring (Amanda Christina Elizabeth Aldridge)

8. The obituary for Anita Owen appeared in the *New York Times* on 26 October 1932; that for Vaughn De Leath was printed on 29 May 1942. For the totals on Needham, see Sophie Fuller and John R. Gardner, "Needham, Alicia Adélaïde"; for those on Grever, see Robert Stevenson, "Grever, María," both in *Grove Music Online*. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 20 February 2013).

and Clayton Thomas (Salome Thomas Cade). I have attempted to eliminate the men who published under women's names such as Dorothy Lee and Jane Hathaway (two of J. S. Zamecnik's prolific personae), Mary Earl (Robert "Bobo" King), and Lilian Ray (John Neat), though almost certainly some remain undetected. While there was doubtless nothing but self-interest in the decision of these men to publish under women's names, their success, like that of Alice Hawthorne (Septimus Winner) before them, may have enhanced the sense among amateur women that publishing was a respectable and achievable pursuit.[9] There are hundreds if not thousands of women not included in the database who self-published one or two songs. Even so, of the 1,607 women I have recorded, fully 570 of them are present by virtue of having published just one song.

At the other end of the professional spectrum, the thirty composers with the best representation have at least eighty songs or song collections listed in the database. Liza Lehmann tops the list with 334. In the totals for the thirty most prolific women shown in table 4, I have counted cycles and collections of songs as well as the individual songs within the cycles.[10] The balance of nationalities is strikingly and disproportionately even. Of the top twenty composers, ten are women active in Britain and ten in North America, a proportion that, because the population of the United Kingdom as a whole was dwarfed by that of the United States, suggests that British women composers were at least twice as common as their American counterparts in these years. In 1920 the population of the United States was approximately 106 million and growing, while that of the U.K. was about 43 million and stagnant.

Although the American and British markets had many songs that were published only in one country or the other, a significant number of songs were issued in both. British singers seemingly embraced all varieties of songs by American women. One of the early beneficiaries of the 1891 change in copyright laws, Hattie Starr published "Little Alabama Coon" with Willis Woodward in New York in 1893, and then again with Charles Sheard two years later in London; her answer to this global hit, "A Little Lou'siana Coon," appeared subsequently in 1901 both with Hamilton S. Gordon in New York and with Francis, Day & Hunter, Ltd., in London. The impact of Carrie Jacobs Bond extended to the far

9. Songs composed by men but published under women's names likely fooled most people, most of the time. Indeed, even Isaac Goldberg listed Mary Earl among the women who had succeeded in his segment on "Women in Tin Pan Alley" (first published in 1930); see Isaac Goldberg, *Tin Pan Alley: A Chronicle of American Popular Music*, with intro. by George Gershwin, and supplement "From Sweet and Swing to Rock 'n' Roll" by Edward Jablonski (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), 99.

10. Teresa Del Riego is also likely the "T. D. R." who composed "To Lesbia"; if so, the database contains 188 titles by her.

reaches of the British Empire, as did that of Broadway and film songwriters such as Mabel Wayne and Vee Lawnhurst. Some measure of this eastward traffic might be indicated in the extensive holdings of songs by American women that exist in the British Library.[11] In the reverse direction, the volume of exported songs was no less formidable; Frances Allitsen, Liza Lehmann, and Maude Valerie White, to name three of many, wrote songs that became standards in homes, churches, and concert halls across the United States. And Cécile Chaminade's popularity on both sides of the Atlantic is well documented, but in some cases British singers, working from their Enoch & Sons editions, sang different translations than did Americans who used the editions of G. Schirmer. Thus "Tu me dirais" was sung in Eugene Oudin's translation in England as "I Would Believe!," and in the United States as "If Thou Dost Say" in the translation of Schirmer's literary editor, Theodore Baker.

American and British publication practices differ significantly regarding the possibilities for self-publishing. Especially for the women who wrote only a song or two, they—or their husbands or fathers—frequently published their own songs. In the United States not only women in large cities but also many in small towns throughout the country regularly published a song or two, women such as Vera Hoff Wade in Harpster, Ohio, Annie Christian Russell in Alexander City, Alabama, and one African American, Hattie Eslinger in Wichita, Kansas. Sometimes, as with Mrs. Luta B. Sullivan in Anderson, South Carolina, they wrote lyrics as well as music and also designed the cover. In a few notable cases this self-reliant spirit extended well beyond a handful of songs to the founding of their own publishing companies, as it did for two remarkable and prolific women from Chicago: Carrie Jacobs Bond (Carrie Jacobs Bond & Son) and her predecessor in music and business, Anita Owen (The Wabash Music Co.). Both women wrote the music and lyrics for many best-sellers, painted floral pictures for their covers and made considerable fortunes (figs. 1 & 2).

In contrast, British women who wrote just one or two songs rarely published their own efforts, while the major composers never did. The occasional songwriters usually brought out their songs with established presses, as exemplified by Olive Cunningham Brown, who placed "Christian Soul, Be Ever Ready" with Shattinger Publishers in 1916, and Nita O'Sullivan Bearer, whose "Love's Faded Rose" appeared with Enoch & Sons in 1920. American household songwriters became particularly

11. Another explanation for the size of the collection of American songs in the British Library is that American publishers routinely sent copies of songs to their British affiliates, and that these affiliates then eventually donated their songs to the British Library.

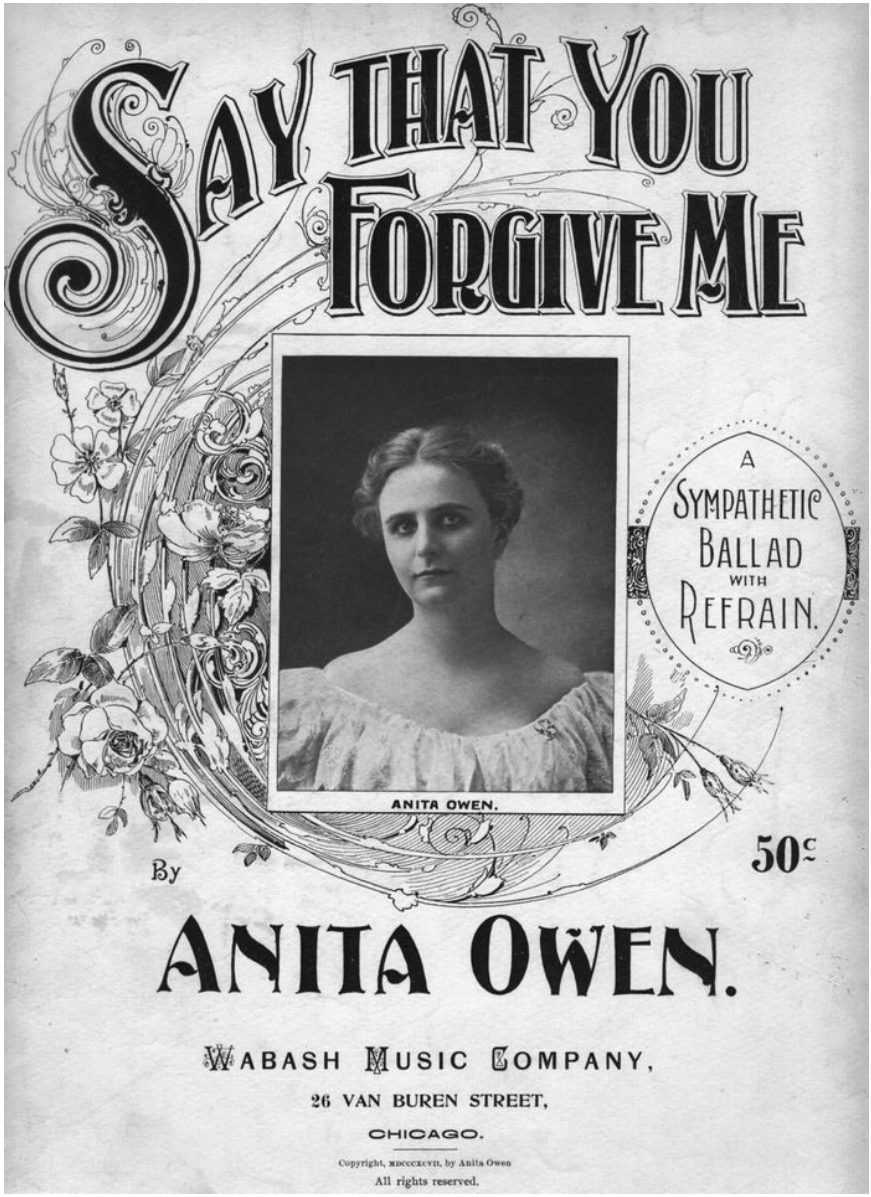


Fig. 1. Cover of Anita Owen's "Say That You Forgive Me" from 1897, published by her company, the Wabash Music Company of Chicago. She designed the cover.

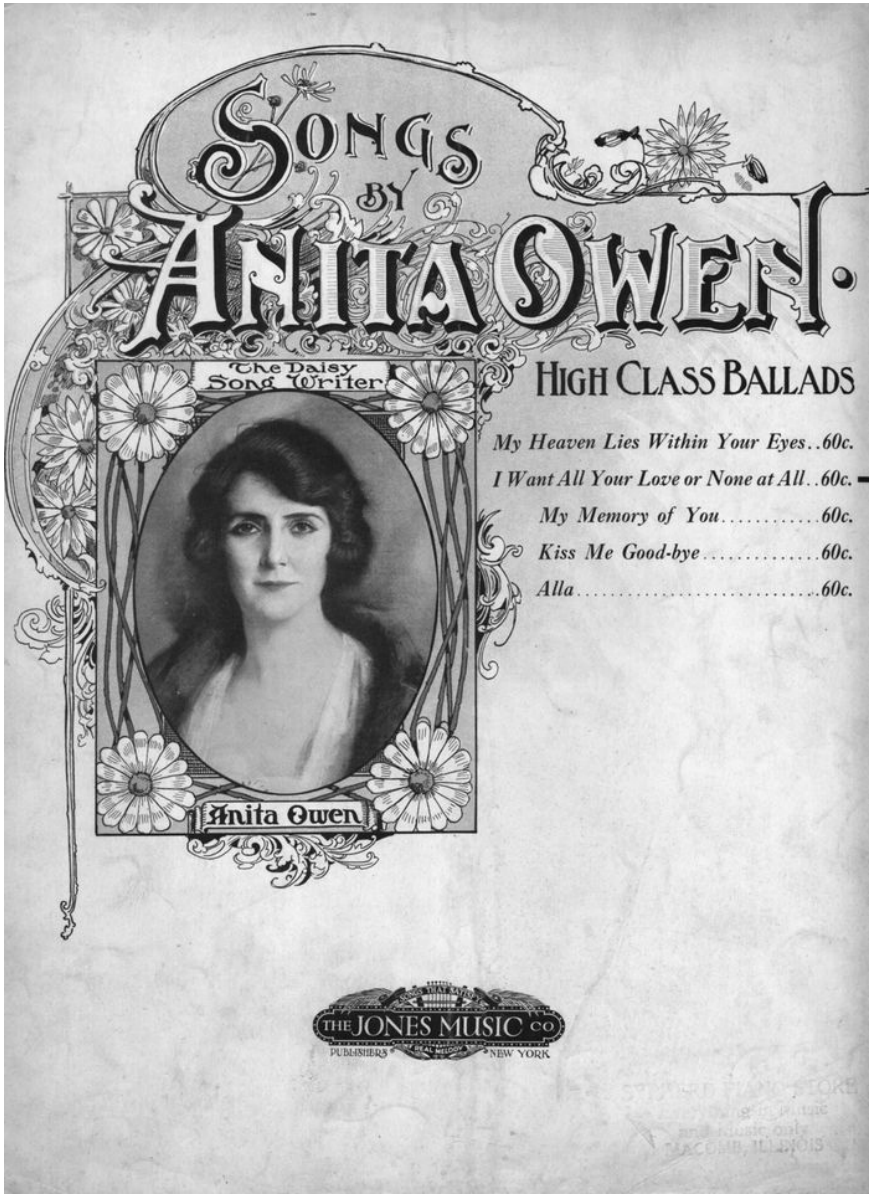


Fig. 2. Cover of Anita Owen's "I Want All Your Love or None At All" from 1920, published by The Jones Music Co., founded by her husband Dr. Arthur J. Jones to publish her last songs. She wrote words and music, and probably designed the cover.

active in 1918, writing exhortatory ballads like Clare Cox Keith's "Over the Top With Old Glory," or Bessie L. Keene's "Keep the Home Together Mother" to cheer on the American entrance into Europe's war. Yearly totals of songs by women who are recorded in the database with just one or two songs spiked at sixty-three songs in 1918. The totals of such amateur efforts published from 1915 to 1920 provide a context for this peak: 32, 34, 43, 63, 42, and 29. Women all over the country saw music as one way of making a patriotic contribution.

This database offers opportunities to investigate many questions about women songwriters. The accompanying file "Music Publishers" provides details about the identities of the publishers, including the city and state, and it takes note of all instances of self-publishing. A history of self-publishing does not begin with Carrie Jacobs Bond, however successful she became. This was a practice that many Americans had turned to before Bond for the same reasons that motivated her: financial necessity and lack of access to an established New York firm (in her case she was a widowed single mother). Whether this was a course more likely to be chosen by women is doubtful; the first songwriter-publisher of this era was probably Will Rossiter (who signed his songs W. R. Williams), like Bond and Owen, also in Chicago.[12] For women in small towns, this practice is an important manifestation of the do-it-yourself strain in American music and art in general, and a precursor of what is occurring today with self-postings of young musicians to YouTube.

In conjunction with the database, the list of music publishers makes it feasible to scrutinize the song data regionally and compare the output of, say, women in California to those in Chicago, or Boston to New York, or the U.S. to England, or to isolate the output of women in rural and small-town environments. From the dates of publication one can compare the longevity of the more important composers. Teresa Del Riego, for example, published her last song fifty-nine years after her first, an endurance record almost matched by Mrs. H. H. A. Beach, with fifty-seven years of publishing. But most of the important women were far less persistent, and not all women published consistently. For an undetermined number of women, the patterns of publication imply a time-out-for-motherhood approach. This seems the best explanation for Fanny Snow Knowlton (1859–1926), active in the 1890s and 1920s, and for Amy Worth (1888–1967), whose songs appeared in the 1920s and 1950s. Under her maiden name, Grace Le Boy (1890–1983) steadily published

12. Charles K. Harris in Milwaukee began publishing his songs in 1892. Many of the Tin Pan Alley songwriter-publishers then followed, among them, Harry Von Tilzer and Joseph Stern. See Sanjek, *American Popular Music*, 3:321–22; Laurence Bergreen, *As Thousands Cheer: The Life of Irving Berlin* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996), 37.

forty-nine songs with her partner Gus Kahn from 1907 to 1917, and then after a break to have two children, another sporadic dozen as Grace Le Boy Kahn from 1927 to 1951.

For some women whose musically productive years spanned World War I, the disruptive consequences of the war can be documented, especially for women in Great Britain: F. Elvira Gambogi did not publish songs between 1914 and 1923; Marie Horne likewise ceased between 1914 and 1924; and Amy Elise Horrocks, who began publishing her sixty-three songs in 1890, abruptly brought her impressive songwriting career to a halt in 1914, about forty-seven years old. Cécile Chaminade, who lived until 1944, had the same reaction, publishing her last new song, "L'anneau du soldat" in 1916. Although this response is less evident in the United States, the composer-playwright Clare Kummer issued no new songs between 1916 and 1920, and E. L. Ashford stopped between 1914 and 1918. This suggests that a comparison of the songs that women composed before, during, and after the war might reveal other signs of the war's impact. Caro Roma and Helen Hopekirk are two who appear to take a turn towards religious texts.

The database provides a tool for studying the evolving connections between poetry and musical styles in this period. The preferred poets for this time are as follows, with numbers of settings by women in parentheses: Edward Lockton (109), Harold Simpson (106), Edward Teschemacher (96), Frederick E. Weatherly (92), Robert Browning (84), Heinrich Heine (81), Elizabeth Barrett Browning (79), Alfred Tennyson (75), and Clifton Bingham (73). This list is far less clustered in its distribution than it looks, since two of the three most popular poets, Lockton and Teschemacher, were in fact the same person, one who allegedly wrote 2,300 texts for songs and ballads; and yet, symptomatic of the work that remains to be begun on songs of this period, a search of RILM and JSTOR identifies not a single scholarly article in which he is even mentioned. In an action that was typical for people with Germanic names in wartime England, Teschemacher legally changed his name to Lockton on 10 November 1914.[13] Because his poetry has yet to be studied, we are far from grasping his appeal, and particularly from being able to assess why it was that his appeal did not cross the Atlantic, why among women songwriters it remained entirely limited to British composers (however popular their songs were in the United States). Guy d'Hardelot set

13. This was announced in the *London Gazette*, 13 November 1914. The Anglicization of Germanic names was common because of the anti-German passions that began with the entry of England into the war. Teschemacher was born in Islington, London, in January 1876, the son and grandson of eminent chemists also named Edward Frederick Teschemacher. He died on 16 May 1940, having written texts for approximately 2,300 songs and ballads, according to his obituary in the *New York Times*, 17 May 1940.

eighteen of his texts including "Because," Dorothy Forster nineteen, and Maude Craske Day twenty-three.

Remarkably, for the living British poets there seems to have been an exclusivity clause in whatever agreement songwriters reached with their poets. In his entire career Teschemacher/Lockton had only one of his poems set by two women: whether from a spirit of competition or in a public display of friendship, Guy d'Hardelot and Teresa Del Riego both composed music for "Roses of Forgiveness" and published their songs with Chappell in 1913. For the poems of Simpson, Weatherly, and Bingham, none was set by more than one woman; in contrast, multiple women set individual poems of the Brownings, Heine, and Tennyson. Most popular by far, and on both sides of the Atlantic, were Francis Bourdillon's "The Night Has a Thousand Eyes" (set by eleven women between 1893 and 1927) and Robert Browning's "The Year's at the Spring" (set by ten women between 1885 and 1936).

With regard to the poets set most frequently, women composers often had different tastes after the war than before. Of the eighty-one settings of Heine, for example, only one happened after 1914, a cessation doubtless linked to Heine's nationality. But all settings of Clifton Bingham fall between 1883 and 1913, the year of his death; the same pattern exists for settings of Robert Burns, with only five of sixty-one coming after 1914, and for Elizabeth Barrett Browning, with only five of seventy-nine happening after 1914 (her brother retained his popularity for women songwriters longer, with fifty-two songs before 1914 and thirty-two after). Because of his change of names, the situation for Teschemacher/Lockton is unique. The poems by Teschemacher appeared in songs before and during the war (1898–1916, with a few later), those by Lockton afterwards (one in 1914, three in 1915, and then many until 1941). The implications of this shift in the texts that women chose to set indicate how virulent anti-German feelings were during the war: not only did the poet find it desirable to change his name, women composers quickly stopped setting texts by a poet with a Germanic name.

More broadly, changes in contemporary poetry that followed World War I, changes such as the move away from regular rhyming and metric patterns, likely also contributed to the declining numbers of art songs written in the 1920s. The ways in which modernist musical styles deemphasized lyrical melodies and consonant (if chromatic) harmonies worked in favor of instrumental and against vocal music.[14] While many

14. See Anthony Lien, "Against the Grain: Modernism and the American Art Song, 1900 to 1950" (Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Davis, 2002). Lien persuasively documents the decline in not only the publication of art songs in the first half of the twentieth century but also in song composition, especially among males who composed in modernist styles. In chapter 8, Lien examines multiple reasons why American male composers of art music "abandoned the art song in large numbers" (p. 325).

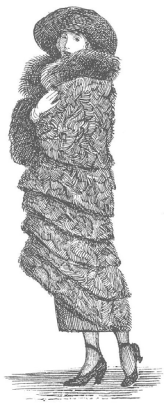
male composers of art music from World War I onward turned away from song composition, this was less the case for women, as evident in the songs of Marion Bauer, Rebecca Clarke, Mary Carr Moore, Evelyn Sharpe, and Elinor Remick Warren, among others. Nevertheless, the women present in this database during the 1920s seem not to be composers of art songs to the extent evident in the prewar decades. Ruth Crawford is, for instance, absent altogether. Her *Five Songs to Poems by Carl Sandburg*, although composed in 1929, are her only songs for voice and piano, and they were not published until 1990. Potentially the hardest hit by the decline in demand for songs were those women who occupied the middle of the stylistic spectrum, women like Carrie Jacobs Bond and Caro Roma in the United States, and Alicia Adélaïde Needham and Florence Aylward in Great Britain. Aylward composed only ten of her 138 songs after 1919, even though she lived until 1950. Both the sentimental musical and poetic styles that had fed their successes before the 1920s fell out of favor.

The movement in the 1920s seems also to be away from British composers to American. But any assessment of popularity cannot work simply from the numbers in the database, because numbers of compositions would have to be supplemented with some sense of how wide a distribution the songs had, whether (and how often) they were performed in public, and whether (and by whom) they were recorded. Eleanor Everest Freer ranks high on the list of most prolific composers, with an impressive 154 songs and song publications, but she does not belong in the company of the musical minds who follow her, composers such as Chaminade, Beach, and Allitsen. Indeed, because she published largely with W. A. Kaun Music in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Freer's impact cannot begin to compare with some of the women who composed many fewer songs, but songs that were published in far larger quantities by a leading firm in New York or London. Among the many significant women not included in the top thirty (table 4) are Ann Ronell (59), composer of hits such as "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf"; Marion Bauer (43), whose songs and lieder appeared primarily with G. Schirmer (New York), A. P. Schmidt (Boston), and Eulenburg (Leipzig); and Pearl Curran (42), whose hugely popular sacred and sentimental art songs such as "Life" were performed regularly and widely by the top singers of the day, including Caruso.

The best composers among these women composed some of the iconic pieces of their generation and the generations that followed: Guy d'Hardelot's setting of Teschemacher's "Because" (1902) has been sung at weddings and other occasions for a century, and by operatic stars from Caruso to Carreras; Amy Woodforde-Finden's setting of Laurence Hope's "Kashimiri Song" ("Pale Hands I Loved") has been sung in concert halls,

worked into films, and recorded as recently as 2006 by Julian Lloyd Webber. Hattie Starr's long popular hit, "Somebody Loves Me" (1893; recorded in 1912 and 1922), arguably inspired Gershwin's "Somebody Loves Me" (1924), both in music and text.[15] These and thousands of other songs were commercially successful and artistically sophisticated, assessments that are warranted whether we are talking about the popular hits of Hattie Starr or Vaughn De Leath, the sentimental middlebrow parlor songs of Guy d'Hardelot or Carrie Jacobs Bond, or the culturally ambitious art songs of Liza Lehmann and Maude Valerie White. The cultural and musical significance of Bond is both substantial and still awaiting a thorough scholarly evaluation.[16]

The questions about women's songs and songwriting are numerous and consequential. Although much has been done in the past forty years to demonstrate again and again that Mrs. H. H. A. Beach was not an isolated figure, the view from standard history texts has broadened but little. If my database of women's songs helps to demonstrate why these four decades might be considered a period of unprecedented musical efflorescence for women composers and songwriters, the data about these women, their poets, and their publishers may also assist in a study of how the patterns of songwriting and publishing in this period of war and technological advances have implications for the evolution of musical taste in general.



15. Sophie Braslau recorded three takes of Starr's "Somebody Loves Me" on 24 May 1922, and issued them as Victor 66084, Gramophone 2-3709, and Victor 556. Starr had renewed the copyright for the song on 5 January 1921.

16. There is a master's thesis by Phyllis Ruth Bruce, "From Rags to Roses: The Life and Works of Carrie Jacobs-Bond, an American Composer" (M.A. thesis: Wesleyan University, 1980). And in historical fiction there is Max Morath's, *I Love You Truly: A Biographical Novel Based on the Life of Carrie Jacobs Bond* (New York: iUniverse, 2008).

APPENDIX

Table 1. The leading publishers of songs by women, 1890–1930, according to number of songs listed in the database. This includes publishers with at least 200 song publications during these decades.

Publisher	Number of Songs
Boosey & Co. (London)	794
Chappell & Co. (London)	789
G. Schirmer (New York)	781
Arthur P. Schmidt (Boston)	536
M. Witmark & Sons (New York)	485
Enoch & Sons (London)	363
Clayton F. Summy (Chicago)	341
Oliver Ditson Publishing Co. (Boston)	327
Jerome H. Remick (Detroit; New York)	309
John Church Co., Inc. (Cincinnati; New York)	297
J. B. Cramer & Co., Ltd. (London)	234

Table 2. Number of women's songs published each year, 1890–1930. The figures are based on the 15,500 entries in the database. Approximate dates signified by "ca." are not counted. The numbers do include duplicate listings that occur when cycles or sets of songs have separate entries for the individual songs and also the set as a whole.

Year of pub.	No. of first-time publications	Year of pub.	No. of first-time publications
1890	86	1910	512
1891	73	1911	405
1892	154	1912	445
1893	163	1913	484
1894	183	1914	469
1895	235	1915	334
1896	214	1916	355
1897	277	1917	375
1898	234	1918	439
1899	242	1919	400
1900	258	1920	410
1901	262	1921	379
1902	291	1922	375
1903	279	1923	317
1904	287	1924	286
1905	319	1925	249
1906	351	1926	193
1907	479	1927	261
1908	426	1928	188
1909	447	1929	181
		1930	131

Table 3. Comparison of songs in the database published by Arthur Schmidt and Oliver Ditson in Boston, G. Schirmer in New York, and Chappell and Boosey in London, 1890–1900

Year	Schmidt	Ditson	Schirmer	Chappell	Boosey
1890	7	1	1	5	17
1891	13	2	0	2	15
1892	13	3	3	4	18
1893	25	15	5	7	21
1894	12	6	4	7	12
1895	13	19	5	22	17
1896	3	31	0	11	25
1897	10	37	14	20	31
1898	10	5	10	19	18
1899	13	5	3	24	21
1900	28	8	0	26	27

Table 4. The top thirty women song composers, 1890–1930

Composer	Number of Entries	Nationality
Liza Lehmann	334	UK
Lily Strickland	309	USA
Maude Valerie White	233	UK
Carrie Jacobs Bond	194	USA
Teresa Del Riego	187	UK
Mana Zucca	169	USA
Eleanor Everest Freer	154	USA
Mary Turner Salter	152	USA
Cécile Chaminade	150	FR/UK
Mrs. H. H. A. Beach	146	USA
Frances Allitsen	143	UK
Florence Alyward	138	UK
May H. Brahe	137	AUS/UK
Jessie L. Gaynor	130	USA
Guy D'Hardelot	130	FR/UK
Margaret Ruthven Lang	127	USA
Caro Roma	120	USA
Amy Woodforde Finden	117	UK
Mabel Wayne	113	USA
Dorothy Forster	107	UK
Alicia Adélaïde Needham	103	UK/IRE
Kathleen Lockhart Manning	98	USA
Kate Vannah	92	USA
Gena Branscombe	91	CDN/USA
Evelyn Sharpe	89	UK
María Grever	84	MEX/USA
Alma Sanders	83	USA
Clara Edwards	81	USA
Clare Kummer	81	USA
Anita Owen	81	USA

ABSTRACT

This article calls attention to a database devoted to women composers and songwriters and points to a few of the historical issues that this database makes it possible to investigate. The focus is women who composed songs between roughly 1890 and 1930, and who published in the United States, Great Britain, and the British Commonwealth. The database contains more than 15,500 entries of songs and song publications by 1,607 women who wrote in all styles (including classical, popular, and a range of styles in between). The database documents the extraordinary rise and decline of women song composers that occurred in the years before and after the First World War, to identify the leading composers and the most popular poets, and to discuss differences in the careers of American and British women songwriters. Among these was the propensity for American women to self-publish, not only successful women such as Anita Owen and Carrie Jacobs Bond, but also hundreds of amateurs who published just one or two songs. The thirty women with the best representation have at least eighty songs or song collections. At the top of the list are Liza Lehmann (with 334 songs and cycles), Lily Strickland (309), Maude Valerie White (233), and Carrie Jacobs Bond (194). World War I affected women composers deeply, reducing productivity and even ending some careers as songwriters. The database also makes it possible to study shifts in the poetry women chose to set before and after the war.