August 2020

What Do You Mean I Have to Stay Home?: Considering the Chamber Music of Three Female Composers at the Turn of the 20th Century

Jennifer Martin
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

WHAT DO YOU MEAN I HAVE TO STAY HOME?: CONSIDERING THE CHAMBER MUSIC OF THREE FEMALE COMPOSERS AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

by

Jennifer Martin

A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Music

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

August 2020

ABSTRACT

WHAT DO YOU MEAN I HAVE TO STAY HOME?: CONSIDERING THE CHAMBER MUSIC OF THREE FEMALE COMPOSERS AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

by

Jennifer Martin

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2020
Under the Supervision of Professor Gillian Rodger, PhD

This thesis examines how early twentieth century composers Amy Beach, Rebecca Clarke, and Ruth Crawford Seeger made careers for themselves as composers of chamber music during a time of great change. The thesis will examine the cultural expectations for women, the music scenes that each composer was surrounded with, the role of chamber music particularly as a medium, and how these women chose to pursue a career in composition despite the social prohibitions relating to women and work in this period. In the thesis, the string compositions of each composer depict how the women used the compositional techniques that they were educated in and their influences.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Taking on two master's degrees at once is a challenge to navigate. Writing this thesis, and finishing both degrees, during a pandemic is truly something else. The last few years have been difficult and confusing, but it has also been an experience that I would not change for the world.

To the people who acknowledged my voice and allowed me to express it, thank you.

This thesis is dedicated to my twin brother, Tiller, who kept nagging me to get the thesis done.

Introduction

The lives of Rebecca Clarke, Amy Beach, and Ruth Crawford Seeger show the trajectories that women took as they pursued careers in music. Their lives also reflect the impact of the cultural standards to which they, along with other women, were subject throughout their lives in the music that they composed and the opportunities that were granted, or not granted, to them because of their gender. This thesis will examine the ways in which Amy Beach, Rebecca Clarke, and Ruth Crawford Seeger's career trajectories as composers were impacted by the cultural standards that were set in place while they were living.

Intentions with Thesis & Literature Review

The introduction will contain an overview of the intentions of the thesis, along with a brief summary of the literature upon which I based the thesis. The literature review is broken up into sections related to the cultural standards in place, chamber music performances and their audiences, literature on women composers, and the literature on each composer surrounding their lives and their chamber works. The first chapter then gives a broader cultural context to the case studies regarding the expectations for women in this period, especially those related to marriage and family and to chamber music. I will also examine the most likely career trajectories for female musicians and composers in the context of performance, composition, and patronage, which were the three most likely careers a woman could have in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

"The Hard Case of the Woman Composer" is a letter that Ethel Smyth wrote for *The Musical Times* in 1928. In this article, Smyth advocates for the woman composer to be treated as

an equal to her male counterpoints.[1] Melissa de Graff's "Documenting Music in the New Deal: The New York Composers' Forum Concerts, 1935-1940" dissertation examines the music that was performed in New York City during the second half of the 1930s. Among the composers being performed during this concert series were Ruth Crawford Seeger and Amy Beach.[2] Another source about the culture that women lived in is Donna Parsons' dissertation, "Their Voices Sing True and Clear: British Women Musicians and Their Literary Counterparts, 1860-1920." The cultural standards set in place proscribed how women participated in music. For example, one reason why women were not encouraged to pursue music was due to the fact that women were expected to take care of the children at home. However, Judith Tick's "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in Musical Life, 1870-1900," Carol Neul-Bates's chapter "Women's Orchestras in the U.S., 1925-45," and Gregory Luce's "British Viola Repertoire in the Early Twentieth Century" dissertation outline how women were starting to emerge as professional musicians and composers starting in the early twentieth century by joining women orchestras and organizations dedicated to women composers and performers.[3] Gavin Campbell's article "Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900-1925," looks at how women struggled to find a balance between wanting a career in music and the ability to raise a family because of the politics of being a woman.[4]

[1] Ethel Smyth, "The Hard Case of the Woman Composer," *The Musical Times* 69, no 1026 (1928): 736.

[2] Melissa de Graff, "Documenting Music in the New Deal: The New York Composers' Forum Concerts, 1935-1940" (PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 2006), viii.

[3] Judith Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in Musical Life, 1870-1900," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* edited by Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 339; Carol Neul-Bates, "Women's Orchestras in the U.S., 1925-45," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 349; Gregory Luce, "British Viola Repertoire in the Early Twentieth Century" (DMA dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 2015).

[4] Gavin Campbell, "Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900-1925," *American Music* 21, no 4 (2003): 447.

Jeannie Pool's article "American's Women Composers: Up from the Footnotes" looks at how women were not examined by music scholars as much until the twentieth century due to their gender.[5] Meanwhile, Laura Seddon's dissertation, "The Instrumental Music of British Women Composers in the Early Twentieth-Century" is an interesting document containing information about the cultural and social context British composers lived and wrote music in. Seddon also looks at how women participated in chamber music.[6] Carol Neul-Bates also gives a list of source readings for female composers from the Baroque era to the modern era in her anthology *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present.* The idea being presented in the *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* is that the source readings provide context into the lives of the female composers.

There is a small amount of research focused on how women could make a living as a composer and about women composers in music history. The literature mainly suggests that composition is a male-dominated field. This is further documented in Nancy B. Reich's chapter, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class" in Ruth Solie's *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship,* where Reich examines how women and men were treated differently in terms of composition and music.[7] Jill Halstead's anthology of essays on female composers, *The Woman Composer: Creativity and the Gendered Politics of Musical Composition,* examines different facets of the woman composer question and the various answers to that question. One chapter that was helpful was "Tradition and Genre" which broke

[5] Jeannie Pool, "American's Women Composers: Up from the Footnotes," *Music Educators Journal* 65, no 5 (1979): 28.

[6] Laura Seddon, "Women and Chamber Music," in "The Instrumental Music of British Women Composers in the Early Twentieth Century" (PhD dissertation, The City University London, 2011), 51-70.

[7] Nancy B. Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class" in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* ed. Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 136.

down the female and male spheres into a table that had been adapted from a work by Jennifer Post.[8] However, Anna Peak shows in her dissertation, "The Music of the Spheres: Music and the Gendered Mind in Nineteenth Century Britain" that women were generally thought as not being suited for music composition due to their gender.[9] This is confirmed by the fact that, when asked to name the composers that they knew of, some people were not able to name one single woman composer.[10] It is also reflected in Derek Scott's article on the politics of Victorian music aesthetics, where the differences between men and women in music are outlined.[11] However, Baker affirms how vital it is that composers, and music majors in general, learn about female composers in textbooks so that they are encouraged to pursue careers in music, which was confirmed by a study showing that more college textbooks were including women composers in their books.[12]

Chamber music is one of the most popular musical genres. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women were most likely to write in that model due to its connections in the domestic sphere. Some works that give insight into the music performed in Britain are the articles "Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain" by Christina Bashford and "Performing National Identity During the English Musical Renaissance" by Ceri Owen. Bashford examines what "chamber music" meant and how people perceived music making, and Owen looks at how folk music enhanced the national identity of

---

[8] Jennifer Post, "Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions," in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* ed. S. Cook and Judy Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 39; quoted in J. Halstead, "Tradition and Genre," in *The Woman Composer: Creativity and the Gendered Politics of Musical Composition* ed. Jill Halstead (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 174.

[9] Anna Peak, "The Music of the Spheres: Music and the Gendered Mind in Nineteenth Century Britain" (PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010), 3.

[10] Gordon Graham, "Women in Music," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 40, no 1 (2000): 103.

[11] Derek Scott, "The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics," *The Journal of Royal Musical Association* 119, no 1 (1994): 93.

[12] Vicki Baker, "Inclusion of Women Composers in College Music History Textbooks," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 25, no 1 (2003): 11-12.

English music.[13] Some useful sources about the Boston music scene included Michael Broyles's "Music and Class Structure in Antebellum Boston" article that looks at how and why Boston was the epicenter of the music scene in the twentieth century and Juiling Hsu's dissertation "Piano Chamber Music of the Second New England School: A Study Guide," which gives insight into the piano chamber music that had been composed by several New England composers, including Amy Beach's Trio in G Minor, and the musical genres that were in place before the turn of the twentieth century.[14] The music being performed in London and Boston was heavily influenced by the European musical style. The European influence is seen in its implementation of the parlor genre, a genre which Ruth Solie and Petra Meyer-Frazier observe as a mostly feminine genre because of how women held parlor concerts in their parlors.[15] In New York, the chamber music that was being performed in the chamber music concerts during the 1930s represented the contemporary music that people were writing during the cultural revival.[16] The audience for these settings for the concerts were typically concertgoers and professional musicians, though the art gradually shifted toward the amateur and middle-class musicians and concertgoers as the mid-nineteenth century went on as music started becoming more widespread with the technological advances in music publishing.[17]

---

[13] Christina Bashford, "Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no 2 (2010): 294; and Ceri Owen, "Performing National Identity During the English Musical Renaissance," *Twentieth-Century Music* 13, no 1 (2016): 80.

[14] Michael Broyles, "Music and Class Structure in Antebellum Boston," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no. 3 (1991): 451-493; Juiling Hsu, "American Musical Traditions Prior to the Second New England School," in "Piano Chamber Music of the Second New England School: A Study Guide" (DMA dissertation, Arizona State University, 2012), 1-5.

[15] Ruth Solie, "Gender, Genre, and the Parlor Piano," *The Wordsworth Circle* 25, no 1 (1994): 54; Petra Meyer-Frazier, "Music, Novels, and Women: Nineteenth-Century Prescriptions for an Ideal Life," *Women & Music* 10 (2006): 47.

[16] De Graff, 25.

[17] Marie Sumner Lott, "Audience and Style in Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music, c. 1830-1880" (PhD dissertation, Eastman School of Music, 2008), 1; Marie Sumner Lott, "'Iron Hand with a Velvet Glove?': String Quartet Performance in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Musicological Research* 25 (2006): 263-264.

In the Amy Beach (1867–1944) case study, I will examine the career trajectory she ultimately chose. After looking at her biography, I want to examine three string pieces that she composed, a Trio and two String Quartets, and analyze when in her life they were composed and why she composed them. After looking at the compositions, I plan to look at how Beach's life was influenced by the cultural and social expectations that she was expected to maintain and whether or not she had benefitted from those expectations

Jeanell Wise Brown's *Amy Beach and Her Chamber Music: Biography, Documents, Music* examines Amy Beach's life with documents from the University of New Hampshire's Special Collections Department and the Library of Congress.[18] Hung's "The Violin Sonata of Amy Beach" dissertation gives contextual background on the nature of Beach's performance career.[19] Laurel Verissimo's "Amy Beach: Her Life, Times, Music" is another thesis on Amy Beach's life and music. This biography documents Amy Beach's life from the perspective of her success in composition in a time when women were not normally successfully able to carry public musical careers while raising a family at the same time.[20] Amy Beach herself explains why she decided to become a composer in her chapter, "Amy Beach, composer, on 'Why I Chose my Profession'" in Judith Tick and Paul Beaudon's *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion.*[21] Beach chose to compose because the music "flowed out of her."[22]

Beach's chamber music has been documented in several articles and theses. *"Why Amy Beach Succeeded as a Composer: The Early Years"* is an article by Adrienne Fried Block that

[18] Jeanell Wise Brown, "Amy Beach and her Chamber Music: Biography, Documents, Music" (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1993), 4 & 18.

[19] Yu-Hsien Judy Hung, "The Violin Sonata of Amy Beach" (DMA dissertation, Louisiana State University, 2005), 3.

[20] Laurel Verissimo, "Amy Beach: Her Life, Times, Music" (Master's thesis, San Jose State University, 1993), 15.

[21] Amy Beach, "Amy Beach, composer, on 'Why I Chose my Profession,'" in *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion* eds. Judith Tick and Paul Beaudon (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 324.

[22] Ibid.

takes a look at the early years of Amy Beach's composition career.[23] Felicia Piscitelli's *The Chamber Music of Mrs. H. H. A. Beach* looks at Amy Beach's chamber music as a whole. Piscitelli found that her style was "late-romantic" with "occasional uses of impressionistic or other modern sonorities."[24] Anna Alfeld's thesis "Unsung Songs: Self-Borrowing in Amy Beach's Instrumental Compositions" looks at the techniques Beach used for her compositions and examines the influences on Amy Beach's music. Some of the influences noted in Alfeld are Romantic composers Franz Schubert and Johannes Brahms, which further points to how Amy Beach's musical generation still based their compositions off the classical European musical models.[25] Adrienne Fried Block's article, "Amy Beach's Music on Native American Themes" and Alfeld's thesis both touch upon the fact that Beach had used themes from Native American songs because she believed that they were "native to America"[26] for five of her songs.[27] Blunsom studies the art song genre that Beach often composed in and how her career was being established in a time of great change in the United States.[28] Blunsom also notes how Beach was able to maintain a professional career because of her husband's support and desire for her to compose music.[29]

Tammie Walker's thesis "The Quintet for Piano and Strings, Op. 67 by Amy Beach: An Historical and Analytical Investigation" gives insight into the social and domestic influences that surrounded Beach's 1909 work, Quintet for Piano and Strings, Op. 67, noting that it received

---

[23] Adrienne Fried Block, "Why Amy Beach Succeeded as a Composer: The Early Years," *Current Musicology* 36 (1983): 41.

[24] Felicia Piscitelli, "The Chamber Music of Mrs. H. H. A. Beach (1867-1944)" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1983), 9.

[25] Anna Alfeld, "Unsung Songs: Self-Borrowing in Amy Beach's Instrumental Compositions" (Master's thesis, University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music, 2008), 5-6.

[26] Ibid, 7.

[27] Block, "Amy Beach's Music on Native American Themes," *American Music* 8, no. 2 (1990): 141.

[28] Laurie Blunsom, "Gender, Genre and Professionalism: The Songs of Clara Rogers, Helen Hopekirk, Amy Beach, Margaret Lang and Mabel Davis, 1880-1925" (PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 1999), 11.

[29] Ibid, 50.

favorable reviews.[30] This also shows the obstacles American female composers faced when paving a career path for themselves. Eugene Gates' dissertation, "The Woman Composer Question: Four Case Studies from the Romantic Era," analyzes Amy Beach's works in a case study.[31] Gates also examines the circumstances that women in music had to face in the Romantic Era as well as in the beginning of the twentieth century.[32] David Wright's "A Lady, She Wrote Music Nonetheless: Beach, a Lady who Wrote Music*"* article, a book review of Adrienne Fried Block's *Amy Beach: Passionate Victorian*, depicts the reception that Amy Beach's music received. Wright also notes that Beach was only allowed to perform "one or two charity performances per year."[33] The Amy Beach chapter in Diane Jezic's *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found* explains that Beach's music "is usually assigned a place in the late-nineteenth and turn-of-the-century 'Boston' or 'New England School," which was "further dominated by European compositions and models."[34] This reaffirms that Beach had used the same musical models as her male composer counterpoints and how she was influenced by their styles. Another area where Beach uses the same inspirations as male composers is her use of nature; Beach used a bird song as the basis for one of her songs.[35]

The Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979) case study will present her biography in focusing on her education and how she made a life out of performing after her father disowned her. I also want to look at the reason why she only wrote one "pure" string quartet in her life and other

[30] Tammie Walker, "The Quintet for Piano and Strings, Op. 67 by Amy Beach: An Historical and Analytical Investigation" (DMA dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001), 3.

[31] Eugene Gates, "Mrs. H. H. A. Beach: American Symphonist", in "The Woman Composer Question: Four Case Studies from the Romantic Era" (EdD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1992), 168-193.

[32] Gates, 9.

[33] David Wright, "A Lady, She Wrote Music Nonetheless: Beach, a Lady who Wrote Music," *New York Times* (1998): AR23.

[34] Diane Jezic, "Amy Marcy Cheney Beach," in *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found* edited by Diane Jezic (New York, NY: The Feminist Press, 1988), 150.

[35] Denise Von Glahn, "American Women and the Nature of Identity," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no 2 (2016): 402.

chamber works that she had focused on. I would also like to analyze how her training as a violist influenced her compositions. After looking at the compositions that she wrote, I want to see if Clarke had benefitted from the cultural and societal expectations that were in place at the time that she was composing her chamber music in the United States and in England.

A helpful biographical source for Rebecca Clarke is Liane Curtis's book *A Rebecca Clarke Reader. A Rebecca Clarke Reader* is a collection of documents from Rebecca Clarke that examines her life and music.[36] Curtis also includes an interview that Clarke had with radio host Robert Sherman about how she came up with the male pseudonym Anthony Trent.[37] The chapter on Rebecca Clarke in Emma Cifrino's thesis, "'Tentative and Feminine': Viola Sonatas by British Women," examines her life as an English violist and composer. Cifrino also notes that Clarke composed chamber music for strings and songs during the latter half of her composition career.[38] Both the anthology of sources and Emma Cifrino's thesis show the influence of the British music movement in Rebecca Clarke's music.

As a violist who spent most of her life playing chamber music, Clarke helped make substantial changes to the viola repertoire and change how viola pedagogy was taught. Julia Bullard's "The Viola and Piano Music of Rebecca Clarke" is one example of looking at some of the folk songs that Clarke based her composition techniques on in her early pieces.[39] Eva Gerard's "Women's Contribution to Viola Music and Pedagogy in the Twentieth Century:

---

[36] Marin Jacobson's dissertation, "Stylistic Development in the Choral Music of Rebecca Clarke" (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 2011), 18, notes that there was a copyright battle between Curtis and Clarke's nephew Christopher Jackson over Curtis's use of unpublished materials that had come from the estate, which led to the first edition getting pulled from the bookshelves at the end of 2004; the book was then printed in a second edition in 2005.

[37] Liane Curtis, "Robert Sherman Interviews Rebecca Clarke About Herself," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 172.

[38] Emma Cifrino, "'Tentative and Feminine': Viola Sonatas by British Women" (Master's thesis, Bowling Green State University, 2016), 5.

[39] Julia Bullard, "Early Works: The Lullabies of 1909 and 1913," in "The Viola and Piano Music of Rebecca Clarke" (DMA dissertation, University of Georgia, 2000), 20.

Rebecca Clarke, Lillian Fuchs, and Rosemary Glyde" thesis focuses on Clarke's viola music and how her music contributed to the viola repertoire by analyzing Clarke's "Morpheus" piece, as well as how the viola came to prominence during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[40]

When scholars consider Rebecca Clarke's compositions, they generally discuss her general output and the styles that she used. Calum MacDonald's *Rebecca Clarke's Chamber Music* is an article that examines Clarke's musical output.[41] Marin Jacobson's thesis "Stylistic Development in the Choral Music of Rebecca Clarke" looks at how Clarke's musical style was able to be applied to her choral music and notes that Clarke loved chamber music.[42] Seeing the works that Clarke composed reveals that Clarke mainly wrote chamber works, which could be further related to the fact that chamber music was typically a genre in which women could fully participate in as a musician and as a composer. A review by Elaine Fine places Clarke's "Poem" as a string quartet that was supposed to be a movement for a string quartet, while Curtis reviews six Clarke pieces, including Clarke's "Daybreak," which was a setting of the poem "Daybreak" by John Donne.

In the final case study on Ruth Crawford Seeger (1901–1953), I plan to examine Ruth Crawford Seeger's life and career as she traveled around Europe and the United States. I especially want to look at the techniques she used in the String Quartet 1931, as well as her Suite No. 2 for Strings and Piano. After looking at the String Quartet and the Suite for Strings and Piano, I plan to analyze how, and why, Crawford Seeger was able to compose with fellow modernist composers when this feat would have been impossible to do so thirty years earlier, when Rebecca Clarke and Amy Beach were beginning their careers.

---

[40] Eva Gerard, "Women's Contributions to Viola Music and Pedagogy in the Twentieth Century: Rebecca Clarke, Lillian Fuchs, and Rosemary Glyde," (DMA dissertation, The City University of New York, 2019), 57; 7.

[41] Calum MacDonald, "Rebecca Clarke's Chamber Music," *Tempo* no. 160 (1983):15-26.

[42] Jacobson, 59.

Much of the literature about Ruth Crawford Seeger examines her impact on post-tonal music and on the avant-garde genre. Matilda Gaume's *Ruth Crawford Seeger: Her Life and Works* is a biography of Ruth Crawford Seeger. It breaks up her life into segments according to where she was living at the time. This work gives great insight into the composition techniques Crawford Seeger used in her "String Quartet 1931."[43] Judith Tick's *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* explores Crawford's identity as an American composer as the world started to shift its view on what American music was and how women could compose music.[44] Two documents that give insight into Crawford Seeger's composition methods that were then used in the String Quartet 1931 are Juanita Karpf's thesis, "Tradition and Experimentation: An Analytical Study of Two Diaphonic Suites by Ruth Crawford (1901-1953)" and Nancy Yunhwa Rao's chapter, "Ruth Crawford's Imprint on Contemporary Music" in Ralph Allen and Ellie Hisama's *Ruth Crawford Seeger's Worlds: Innovation and Tradition in Twentieth-Century America.* Karpf's study looks at how Crawford Seeger was influenced to stay with traditional composition techniques but also enhance those techniques with serialism and how she was influenced by post-tonal music, along with noting how "the use of 'diaphonic' for the title of her Suites implied a blend of innovation and tradition," while Rao looks at how Crawford Seeger used the techniques in her quartet.[45] Ruth Crawford Seeger's partnership with Charles Seeger, and their relationship and marriage, is documented in Rao's "Partnership in

[43] Matilda Gaume, "String Quartet, 1931," in "Ruth Crawford Seeger: Her Life and Works" (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1973), 177-196.

[44] Judith Tick, "An 'American Woman Pianist,'" in *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 19.

[45] Juanita Karpf, "Tradition and Experimentation: An Analytical Study of Two Diaphonic Suites by Ruth Crawford (1901-1953)" (DMA dissertation, University of Georgia, 1992), 12; Nancy Yunhwa Rao, "Ruth Crawford's Imprint on Contemporary Composition," in *Ruth Crawford Seeger's Worlds: Innovation and Tradition in Twentieth-Century American Music* edited by Ralph Allen and Ellie Hisama (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 111.

Modern Music: Charles Seeger and Ruth Crawford, 1929-31" article.[46] Emily Chua's thesis, "Social and Domestic Influences in Ruth Crawford Seeger's Music," observes the social and cultural context behind Crawford Seeger's music. Chua also talks about how Crawford Seeger struggled with having to decide between having a family and having a musical career.[47]

Ellie Hisama's "Gender, Politics, and Modernist Music: Analyses of Five Compositions by Ruth Crawford (1901-1953) and Marion Bauer (1887-1955)" is a dissertation looking at two of Ruth Crawford Seeger's pieces along with fellow modernist composer Marion Bauer, with whom Crawford Seeger had been friends with. The thesis also touches upon how Charles Seeger had not wanted to accept her as a student because he did not take female students[48] and her String Quartet 1931 was a mirror of her being excluded from musical activities because of her gender.[49] The Ruth Crawford Seeger chapter in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* gives some insight into why Crawford Seeger started, and then stopped, composing music through some letters that were for friends and family. However, she wrote to Edgar Varèse about wanting to return to music composition.[50] Another article about Ruth Crawford Seeger and Amy Beach examines their lives and the circumstances both composers faced.[51]

One gap in the literature concerns the effect of cultural standards in career paths in music for women in this period. Several theses, dissertations, and books mentioned above were written

---

[46] Nancy Yunhwa Rao, "Partnership in Modern Music: Charles Seeger and Ruth Crawford, 1929-31," *American Music* 15, no 3 (1995): 353.

[47] Emily Chua, "Social and Domestic Influences in Ruth Crawford Seeger's Music" (DMA dissertation, University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music, 2002), 90.

[48] Ellie Hisama, "Gender, Politics, and Modernist Music: Analyses of Five Compositions by Ruth Crawford (1901-1953) and Marion Bauer (1887-1955)" (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1996), 23.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Carol Neul-Bates, "Ruth Crawford Seeger," in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* edited by Carol Neul-Bates (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 308.

[51] Jennifer Swinger Thomas, "Two American Composers of the Twentieth Century: Amy Cheney Beach & Ruth Crawford Seeger," *Journal of American Culture* 5, no 4 (1982): 27.

in the 1980s or 1990s. While the literature in question is, indeed, useful for this thesis, the fact is that there has been little recent scholarship about the impact of the societal stereotypes and cultural standards in music careers. Recent scholarship does not truly concentrate on what the career trajectories for women in music were; instead, it is mostly about the theory behind the pieces that the composers created. This thesis aims to close this gap by examining the literature through the view of how cultural standards forced women to choose between raising their family and pursuing a musical career, and how changes to these standards may be seen through an examination of the music and careers of female composers of two different generations active from the late-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

There are so many avenues to which this thesis could have taken, including the role of sexuality in music and how politics can be written into compositions. While some of the theses and books represent information on the latter subject of politics and music, I only aim to use the topic of gender and music in the perceptions of women composers. For the purpose of this thesis, I aim to focus primarily on the role of gender in how music composition is thought of as a career and how women were, or were not, able to make a career as composers. I will also use "female composer" and "women composer" interchangeably while talking about the group of composers.

Context: What Expectations did Women have to Follow?

Cultural Expectations

The cultural expectations of gender roles during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries were based in the cultural standards that upheld them. These cultural standards dictated what people were supposed to accomplish and the activities they were able to engage in. Music was one of the most debated topics. These cultural expectations were inspired by traits that women were apparently supposed to uphold, which were to depend on a male figure, find pleasure in domestic life, and to be emotional.[52] These expectations were upheld through advertisements and pictures of women performing in music or doing domestic activities in several magazines such as the *Godey's Lady Book* and in newspapers such as the New York Times.[53] Respectable women were expected to be accompanied everywhere, although by the mid-nineteenth century, as these restrictions relaxed a little, the matinee performance was designed so that women could attend performances of operas or orchestra concerts in the nineteenth century without having to have someone to supervise them.[54] The cultural expectations that were in place were divided into the following categories: marriage and family, education, and roles in music.

[52] Paula Gillett, "Music and 'Woman's Mission' in Late-Victorian Philanthropy," in *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: "Encroaching on all Man's Privilege"* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 33.

[53] Julia Koza, "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830-1877," *The Musical Quarterly* 75, no 2 (1991): 103; Block, "Matinee Mania, or the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City," *19th-Century Music* 31, no 3 (2008): 194.

[54] Block, "Matinee Mania, or the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City," 193.

Marriage/Family

During the nineteenth century, women were typically expected to marry and to bear children. Women were also expected to stay at home with their children. The act of being a mother meant that women were busy caring for children, cleaning the house, and doing other motherly duties, which limited the time that they could have dedicated to pursuing musical activities or other activities that might have carried them outside of the home. This was a struggle that women dealt with, especially if the husband was against the woman having a career in music.[55] However, there were still women who were able to have a family or marriage and a career in music, even if the two did not happen at the same time.

Education

The educational opportunities open to women started to increase with the implementation of conservatories and colleges in the 1800s. While British women were allowed to pursue musical studies in conservatories or in the woman's colleges, they were not encouraged to pursue music composition. For example, women were not able to gain access to music composition courses because those courses were for men only.[56] The music courses for men were based in the belief that only men were able to create music, while women were best suited to interpreting those creations. This was supported by how men were able to take longer courses in theory, while women were able to take slightly shorter versions of the same course.[57] Additionally, since men were the only people who were able to teach music professionally, women were expected to

[55] Campbell, 447.

[56] Nancy B. Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* ed. Ruth A. Sorlie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 136.

[57] Ibid, 135.

teach music inside of the home.[58] This led to women in England being more likely to go to school to gain a teaching certificate and to focus their musical studies on the piano, voice, or the violin.[59] Meanwhile, in the United States, composers often went abroad for their education to learn from the great European composers; composers such as Aaron Copland attested that the composers in the United States needed a national conservatory that was based in the European model of training so that they would no longer need to go abroad to Europe for their musical studies.[60] One such composer who went to Europe to study with European composers was John Paine, who studied in Berlin with Carl Haupt.[61]

Music/Composition Roles

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, chamber music was defined as the higher class of music composition.[62] Musicians who participated in chamber music performances were grouped in either the amateur or professional groups.[63] In Britain, the string quartet served as the heart of the chamber music genre.[64] Chamber music was also performed in the private sphere because of the woman's domestic setting.[65] British women were excluded from performing in chamber groups until the latter half of the nineteenth century, while American women were excluded from orchestral ensembles until 1904.[66]

---

[58] Koza, "Music Instruction in the Nineteenth Century: Views from *'Godey's Lady's Book*,*'* 1830-77," *Journal of Research In Music Education* 38, no 4 (1990): 247.

[59] Reich, 135; quoted in Parsons, 9.

[60] Aaron Copland, "What Europe Means to the Aspiring Composer," *Musical America,* 3 January 1925, pp. 15; quoted in Mary DuPree, "The Failure of American Music," *The Journal of Musicology* 2, no 3 (1983): 308-309.

[61] Hsu, 7.

[62] Judith Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Life, 1870-1900," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* edited by Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 337.

[63] See page 26 for a discussion of professional and amateur musicians.

[64] Bashford, 293.

[65] Ibid, 300; Post, "Erasing the Boundaries," 39.

[66] Ibid, 309; Tick, 343.

Women and men were typically separated into their own spheres. As seen in the table there were several differences between the two sexes.

Table 1: Access to Musical Life[67]

Men's Sphere	Women's Sphere
Work outside home	Work inside home
Limited family contact	Strong family contact
Group orientation	Solitary or limited
	Small-group interaction
Resulting in Freedom	*Resulting in Restriction*
Social	Social
Repertoire	Repertoire
Musical medium	Musical medium
Domination	*Subordination*
In an ensemble	In an ensemble
Decisions about music	Decisions about music
Integration	Segregation

The use of separate spheres has also been described in works about chamber music such as Anna Peak and Laurie Blunsom's dissertations that describe chamber music as being coded as feminine, and like women, being most suitable for the domestic sphere.[68] These spheres were

[67] Jennifer Post, "Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions," in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* ed. S. Cook and Judy Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 39; quoted in Halstead 174.

[68] Peak, 3; Blunsom, 4.

also significant as it determined what men and women were capable of achieving in music, though it also clarified how people believed that women were seen as not being capable of composing music.[69] The categories of feminine music versus masculine music often meant that if women composers were to imitate their male counterpoints, they would be seen as an insult to their own gender.[70] Despite these expectations, the ways that women participated in music were varied. For instance, women were more likely to participate in performance and patronage because at that time, "women have played very little part in [music] composition."[71]

There were several ways that women could be involved in music performance during this period. Women performers, however, were most likely to be amateur performers instead of professional musicians due to the notion that women could not be too skilled at music. To counter this presumption, women started forming their own orchestras and organizations in the 1870s.[72] One of the most notable women's orchestras was the Women's Symphony Orchestra in Chicago, which was one of the longest running women's orchestra that was started to help American women be able to train for orchestral careers.[73] The orchestra was notable for its programming of music by female composers and by American composers such as Amy Beach and Hazel Felman.[74]

During the nineteenth century, women who performed music on non-keyboard instruments in the United States were seen in a favorable light.[75] However, instrument selection

[69] Scott, 93.
[70] Ibid, 114.
[71] Cynthia Barr & Ralph Locke, "Music patronage as a female-centered cultural process," in *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists Since 1860* edited by Ralph Locke & Cynthia Barr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1.
[72] Tick, 329.
[73] Linda Dempf, "The Women's Symphony Orchestra of Chicago," *Notes* 62, no 4 (2006): 858 & 864.
[74] Ibid, 863.
[75] Lynn Hizer-Jenkins, "Instruments and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Music Making," *NACWPI Journal* 44, no 3 (1996): 5.

was also gendered according to the present stereotypes. For example, women were typically seen as playing piano or stringed instruments, while men played brass and wind instruments. Meanwhile, in London, the piano, violin. and cello were instruments that were also the most popular instruments that women could teach lessons in during the nineteenth century.[76] The European model influenced how people were able to learn instruments.

The audiences of these chamber music performances were typically in the middle- to upper-classes.[77] Chamber music was a sign of wealth and leisure as it was associated with the upper-class.[78] As the nineteenth century progressed, the audience of the performance shifted to the middle-class as more ensembles and performers started to perform outside of the home with the induction of public venues.[79]

During the twentieth century, the number of women who were patrons of the arts, and music, was increasing with the growth of women's organizations. One of the women organizations during that time was the Society for Women Musicians in London. This society provided opportunities where women composers to meet and where it also helped develop the genre of chamber music.[80] Patronage was thought of as a suitable public profession for women because it allowed women to be active in music while staying within the confines of their prescribed roles.[81] However, there were issues with using the word "patron" to describe the woman's work because of its patriarchal roots.[82] Other terms such as "volunteer" and "activist"

[76] Gillett, "Music and 'Woman's Mission' in Late-Victorian Philanthropy," 34.
[77] Lott, 263.
[78] Bashford, 303.
[79] Barr & Locke, "Patronage—and women—in America's Musical Life: An Overview of a Changing Scene," in *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists Since 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 26.
[80] Seddon, 71.
[81] Blunsom, 16.
[82] Ralph Locke, "Paradoxes of the Woman Music Patron in America," *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no 4 (1994): 802.

also described the work of these women, but they also do not fully fit the duties women held.[83] Because the duties of a patron were often associated with money, women who served as patrons during this time were in the upper-middle class.[84]

In music composition, the composer was a person who wrote music. Because females were not thought of as composers, they used male pseudonyms so that people would listen to, or be able to publish, their music.[85] The fact that the “fake name” brought more attention to their pieces than if they had used their own names shows the public’s preference for male composers. Females mainly used pseudonyms for the composer’s so that they would be able to publish their pieces and not be rejected by biased publishers. People did not believe that women could compose outside of their homes, for they believed that women should treat music "as an accompaniment to other essential, usually domestic, activities."[86] In other words, women were expected to worry about their duties inside the home rather than outside the home.

The limited female participation in music during this time, other than as a domestic activity for them, was because "music has never been marked out as an individual event for women, as it has been for men."[87] In other words, women have never really been encouraged to pursue music as a solo career because public performance challenged the notion that women belonged in the domestic sphere.[88] While women were allowed to listen to and perform art music, they were only allowed to do those activities in the home.[89] One other possible reasoning for women not being encouraged to compose is that women have been seen as the "interpreter" rather than the composer. For example, while Clara Schumann composed music, she primarily

[83] Ibid.
[84] Barr & Locke, 4.
[85] Gillett, “Music as a Profession for Women,” 226.
[86] Halstead, 174.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Campbell, 450.
[89] Barr & Locke, 2.

chose to interpret the music of other composers. Schumann is regarded as one of the few female composers who can be named among all of the existing composers.[90] As Chicago music critic George Upton stated, "she will always be the recipient and interpreter, but there is little hope she will be the creator."[91]

One difficulty that female composers may have had in composing is that women were not supported as composers due to the preconceived notions that they could not compose. When women were in the home, they were so focused on taking care of the house and their children that they were unable to fully play the instruments they were composing on.[92] Clara Schumann was one of the first composers to prove that a woman could compose and raise a household at the same time, thus bringing to light how George Upton's assumption that women could not compose music was incorrect. One reason behind Upton's statement in his book could have possibly been that if women were able to create music, the number of female composers would overpower the number of male composers.[93]

It was difficult for women to make a regular income in music. While this was also true for men, men had more opportunities granted to them. For composers, the revenue came through publications, but composers also needed money to support the composition work. Performing could also bring in income, but, for women, performance opportunities were limited, and women were expected to be amateurs.[94] Despite the financial circumstances that they faced, more than a

[90] Graham, 103-104.

[91] George Upton, "A Classical Formulation of the Theory of Women's Innate Inferiority", in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present,* ed. Carol Neuls-Bates (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 210.

[92] Halstead, 174.

[93] Marcia Citron, "Creativity," in *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 50.

[94] Ibid.

hundred composers who were working in the United States during the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries were female.[95] The most reliable career for women was teaching.[96]

Musical Movements

The Second New England School

The Second New England School was a musical movement that arose during the late nineteenth century and that Amy Beach's music is associated with. Other composers who were associated with the Second New England School were John Paine, Arthur Foote, and Horatio Parker. These composers were part of the movement due to their roots in the Boston area and were also the first to receive international praise for their works.[97] This group of composers were also the first group of American composers to compose symphonic music.[98] In the previous generation of composers, the First New England School, composers had mostly composed vocal music, including hymns and parlor songs.[99].

The parlor genre was popular during a time when performance was moving from an exclusive realm of aristocratic houses to upper-middle-class drawing rooms.[100] It was also typically associated with the woman because of its connection to the home.[101] Parlor songs were able to provide both entertainment and moral teaching within the home.[102] Collections of parlor songs also included American folk tunes.[103]

---

[95] Pool, 31.
[96] Campbell, 450.
[97] Hsu, 4.
[98] Blunsom, 24.
[99] Hsu, 1.
[100] Solie, 54.
[101] Meyer-Frazier: 46.
[102] Blunsom, 13.
[103] Caroline Moseley, "'The Maids of Dear Columbia:' Images of Young Women in Victorian American Parlor Song," *Journal of American Culture* 6, no 1 (1983): 19.

The Boston music scene that the Second New England School was embedded into was seen as revolutionary by America during the nineteenth century for how it incorporated, and established, music education into the schools in the Boston area. Education during that time had been improving with the expansion of public education that also provided more educational opportunities to a larger group of Americans than prior generations.[104] This education also occurred in conservatories that were modeled after the European schools.[105]

The growth of musical opportunities brought awareness to the class divide in the Boston area. Some people saw the symphony as representing an elite musical culture, while the songs that women were allowed to compose thought of as belonging to a more general middle-class culture, fostered by organizations that hosted the singing schools present in the early nineteenth-century.[106] The divide between the classes was apparent with how the upper-middle-class defined their roles with controlling the cultural institutions and determining where those institutions would be placed.[107] Upper-class women in Boston served as anchors to the culture through their daily activities and included cultural events in their activities.[108] Women were able to form connections with other people for their husbands, which then helped the upper-class be able to control the institutions in the city.[109] Female composers during this time were able to pursue their musical activities because they were in the cultural elite; Amy Beach herself was in the cultural elite class due to her marriage to Dr. Henry Harris Aubrey Beach.[110]

[104] Brown, 7.
[105] Blunsom, 29.
[106] Ibid, 21; Broyles, 453.
[107] Blunsom, 25-26.
[108] Ibid, 32.
[109] Ibid, 31.
[110] Ibid, 33.

Chamber music during this period was not as important as symphonies due to the symphony being regarded as the supreme genre to compose in,[111] though people were still composing in that genre. As mentioned earlier, the prominent chamber composers during this time included Amy Beach, Arthur Foote, Edward Alexander MacDowell, and John Paine. Some of the most prominent chamber music genres that composers composed in were the string quartet and the string trio.

During the Second New England School period, the separate spheres for males and females was still in effect with photos that reinforced the images of women in the home in magazines such as the *Godey's Lady's Book* that depicted women performing or teaching music to children.[112] Before the beginning of the Second New England School, women and men followed the preestablished roles in life because of advertising and the commercial work force; for example, newspapers had separate sections for males and females, where the male section would have topics discussed that were about the working force, while the women's section would discuss housekeeping topics.[113] However, at the same time, the job opportunities that started to arise for women would change how they were seen in the public eye.[114] Magazines during this time, such as *Godey's Lady's Book*, also depicted women in music more than men in music, which challenged the narrative that women could not perform music, but upheld the narrative that women were meant to stay at home and could not be professional musicians.[115]

---

[111] Ibid, 12.

[112] Koza, "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830-1877," 103.

[113] Brown, 7-8.

[114] Ibid, 8.

[115] Koza, "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey's Lady's Book,* 1830-1877," 108-109.

British Musical Renaissance

The British Musical Renaissance, which is also known as the English Musical Renaissance, is a movement that brought to light England's musical identity and is also the major musical movement that Rebecca Clarke's music is associated with. The movement itself lasted from 1860 to 1940. The major genres associated with this period were art song, folk music, and chamber music. This period was also during a time when women were starting to experience a loosening of the strict cultural standards of the earlier nineteenth century.[116] People during this time believed that women in music would not be able to get married because of the fact that they performed music.[117] However, with the implementation of the Royal Academy of Music, and as composers started accessing the educational opportunities at the institution, the female composers at the college started feeling like they were taken seriously and could make a living from composing.[118]

Chamber music, as mentioned earlier, was one of the major genres that composers could compose in during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It was one of the few genres that people in the middle-class could bring home to their families.[119] Several female composers were composing chamber music during the early twentieth century.[120] The string quartet was considered to be the most suitable genre for the domestic sphere, and women were shown to have contributed a great amount of music making in that genre during the last quarter of the nineteenth century at around the same time when their education opportunities were starting to increase in England.[121] Another major genre that was important to the British was the parlor

[116] Parsons, 13.
[117] Fuller, 150.
[118] Ibid, 13.
[119] Lott, 3.
[120] Seddon, 18.
[121] Bashford, 294.

music genre. English women would host concerts where composers could hear their performances being composed for the first time and their musician friends or family members could be able to perform.[122]

The class divide during this period was clear with the upper-class funding the presentation of concerts and the middle class serving as the audience for those concerts underwritten by patrons of the arts.[123] At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, professional musicians were regarded as belonging to the lower-class, while the amateur musician was situated in the upper-middle class.[124] However, as more people from the middle- and upper-class became professional musicians, there was more discussions as to how women were defined in the musical world.[125]

Along with establishing a national identity with their music, the British believed in traditional values. The traditional values had emerged in the Victorian era when women were expected to stay at home and to not go out without supervision. This made the act of becoming a concert musician, or having a career in music, near impossible. People also assumed that the women worked outside the home because they were not being cared for financially by a male relative or husband. Despite these biases, women increasingly sought ways to make their own livings during the second half of the nineteenth century.[126] Even though they had to fight, and were told they were too emotional to compose, women still went out into the musical workforce and created music.[127]

[122] Parsons, 13.
[123] Lott, 4.
[124] Fuller, 151.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Lott, 3; Parsons, 25.
[127] Baker, 9.

American Art Music

American Art Music was in the midst of a redefining moment during Ruth Crawford Seeger's life. American art music during this time was difficult to define, for there were several factors in place that made it difficult to distinguish who was considered an American composer versus someone who happened to be composing music in America. Some of the factors were citizenship, how long they had resided in the United States, and the allegiances of American composers.[128] During the 1920s, scholars and composers searched for what would ultimately define the genre "American music."[129] What those scholars found was that along other challenges, composers were not able to have their music performed or get paid to have their music performed, which meant that composers faced financial instability.[130] The lack of passion could have also been because people preferred hearing the music of foreign composers.[131]

Meanwhile, the 1930s were when composers such as Ruth Crawford Seeger were starting to explore the ultra-modernism musical movement. One of the forms that was introduced during the decade was serialism, which Crawford used in her compositions.[132] The Composers Collective was a group of ultramodern composers focused on folk music that included Ruth Crawford Seeger and Charles Seeger.[133]

Chamber music played a huge role in establishing the performance careers of several American musicians. The role of chamber music during this period was relevant in how people were interested, and intrigued by, the string quartet. As interest had emerged in the late

[128] Pool, 28.
[129] DuPree, 303 & 310.
[130] Ibid, 306; Tick, 329.
[131] Catherine Cameron, 16; quoted in Chua, 11.
[132] Jennifer Ashe, "Modernism and Social Consciousness," in "Modernism and Social Consciousness: Seeger, Cowell, Crawford, and the Composers Collective, 1931-36" (DMA dissertation, New England Conservatory of Music, 2006), 9.
[133] Pool, 33; Ashe, 9; Ashe, 2.

nineteenth-century, people were interested in performing chamber music, especially string quartets.[134] There were several amateur performers that performed in chamber groups, though the professional chamber groups were the most studied in previous literature on the chamber music practices of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century string quartets.[135] There was also several pieces of literature focused on chamber music making for multiple types of audiences, including amateurs and professionals.[136]

While composers were still writing chamber pieces, more composers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as John Paine and William Henry Fry were starting to write larger forms of music such as symphonies and masses. Composers were focused on these forms because of the growth of orchestra organizations around the United States, where the musicians would choose to perform what they would perform as based on the European models.[137] Amy Beach, however, was one of the first women composers to successfully compose large-scale compositions, which opened up the opportunities that females had for the types of music that they were able to compose and challenged the notion that males were the only gender that could compose in large forms for public performances. However, it was met with backlash because of the long-standing societal biases against women composing large-scale music.[138]

During this time period, Americans were shifting their beliefs about how women and men were supposed to adhere to the cultural values and standards that were already in place. While people still believed that women were meant to be in the home taking care of their family while men worked, the number of women working in the workforce outside of the home was

[134] Marie Sumner Lott, "'Iron Hand with a Velvet Glove?': String Quartet Performance in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Musicological Research* 25 (2006): 263-264.
[135] Ibid, 264.
[136] Ibid, 265.
[137] Blunsom, 29.
[138] Ibid, 35.

increasing dramatically with the support of the women's movement.[139] However, women were also facing discrimination from male workers due to their gender. Women showed that they were capable of composing music, which was supported by organizations such as the National League of American Pen Women organization. This league supported local women composers in the Washington, DC area during the Great Depression. This organization was sponsored by Eleanor Roosevelt, and it helped women be able to compose music and be able to have their works premiered.[140] However, Ruth Crawford Seeger did not participate in these organizations, probably because the style of the women in the organization was in tonal, as opposed to Crawford Seeger's modern style.[141] Even with some composers not participating in the organizations, the organizations were still a way for women's voices to emerge in the musical world.[142]

[139] Campbell, 447; Verissimo, 2.

[140] Marian Wilson Kimber, "Women Composers at the White House: The National League of American Pen Women and Phyllis Fergus's Advocacy for American Music," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 12, no 4 (2018): 478.

[141] Tick, 86; quoted in Kimber, 478.

[142] Campbell, 448.

Case study: Amy Beach

Biography

Amy Marcy Cheney Beach was an American composer. She started composing when she was four and playing the piano when she was six years old.[143] Beach was seen as a prodigy because she was able to identify what notes were playing on the piano at a young age and started composing music by the age of four.[144] However, her parents did not support her music making when she was younger because they wanted her to have a childhood without the pressure of being a childhood prodigy.[145]

When Beach was seven, her family moved to Boston, where she took piano lessons from local musicians in the area.[146] The only education that Beach was able to obtain in composition was when she took lessons from Junius Welch Hill when she was fourteen years old.[147] Beach gained the rest of her education in music composition through reading books on theory, orchestration, and composition.[148] Beach mainly wanted to compose music because of how the music was a part of her.[149] When she was a teenager, Beach realized that "it had not come to me that there was a choice to be made; that where many people play music, few write music; that

[143] Adrienne Fried Block, "Women in American Music, 1880-1918," in *Women in Music: A History* ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 218; Diane Peacock Jezic, "Amy Marcy Cheney Beach," in *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1988), 147; Gates, 168; Carolyn Treybig, "Amy Beach: An Investigation and Analysis of the Theme and Variations for Flute and String Quartet, Op. 80" (DMA dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1999), 7.

[144] Brown, 13.

[145] Block, "The Child is Mother of the Woman: Amy Beach's New England Upbringing," 124.

[146] Block, "Why Amy Beach Succeeded as a Composer: The Early Years," *Current Musicology* 36 (1983): 43; Hsu, 101; Burnet Tuthill, "Mrs. H. H. A. Beach" *The Musical Quarterly* 26, no 3 (1940): 299.

[147] Walker, 7.

[148] Block, "The Making of a Composer: II," in *Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: The Life and Work of an American Composer, 1867-1944* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 54.

[149] Beach, 324.

creation is higher than interpretation."[150] Clearly Beach had wanted to compose in addition to performing music.

Beach started giving performances while studying piano with her mother. Her first public piano performance was at the A. P. Peck Anniversary Concert in Boston in October 1883, where she played Chopin's Rondo in E-flat and Moscheles' G minor Concerto with the orchestra; the performance was deemed a success.[151] Beach also performed several piano works along with Chopin's Piano Concerto and Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto in D Minor with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Theodore Thomas' Orchestra, respectively.[152] Her performances showed her brilliance as a pianist, and people marveled at the skills she cultivated without receiving European training.[153]

Amy Cheney Beach married Henry Harris Aubrey (H. H. A.) Beach, a doctor in Boston, in a private ceremony when she was eighteen years old.[154] Beach composed music under the name Mrs. H.H.A. Beach instead of using Amy Beach.[155] Beach was told by her husband that, while she would be able to compose music, she could only perform one concert per year; this one performance would often end up being for a charity event, and she would also have to give up any fees.[156] Amy Beach's husband died in 1910, and her mother died the following year. Amy Beach then embarked on several performance tours, and she was able to go to Europe for the first time.[157] The performances during this time were mostly of her own works. One of her first

[150] Block, 124.
[151] Wise, 18.
[152] Ibid, 19.
[153] Gates, 173.
[154] Walker, 9.
[155] Fuller, 57.
[156] Nicole Robinson, "'To the Girl Who Wants to Compose': Amy Beach as a Music Educator" (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 2018), 18; Wright, AR23; Alfeld, 11; Treybig, 13.
[157] Beach, 323.

performances in Europe included her Violin Sonata.[158] During this time, Beach also made several appearances in the White House in support of the National Pen League of American Pen Women. On one of those occasions, her song "Ah! Love But A Day" was included as part of a week-long celebration for her fifty years in music.[159] Beach also served as the president for the Society of American Women Composers and gave presentations and wrote articles.[160] Amy Marcy Cheney Beach passed away on December 27, 1944 in New York City. One of Beach's many accomplishments was that she was one of the first female composers to have a symphony premiered by an American symphony orchestra.[161]

Compositions

Out of the 156 compositions that Amy Beach wrote in her life, fifteen of them, nine of which were published, were chamber works.[162] These chamber works were considered to be "assigned a place in the late-nineteenth and turn-of-the-century 'Boston' or 'New England School," which was "further dominated by European compositions and models."[163] Basically, they showed how the Second New England School was an influence in Beach's music. Beach's chamber works included seven pieces that were for the piano and strings, which also includes six works for the piano and violin.[164]

Her first multi-instrumental chamber piece was a Quintet for Piano and Strings Op. 67 in 1907, which had its premiere by the Hoffman Quartet, with Beach playing the piano, in Boston

[158] Hung, 8.
[159] Kimber, 489 & 502.
[160] Thomas, 29.
[161] Beach, 323.
[162] Jeanell Wise Brown, "Amy Beach and Her Chamber Works: Biography, Documents, Style" (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1993), 100, 256.
[163] Jezic, 150.
[164] Jeanell Wise Brown, *Amy Beach and Her Chamber Music: Biography, Documents, Style* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1994), 360–362; Piscitelli, 11; Treybig, 34.

on February 20, 1908.[165] The second chamber piece was her Themes and Variations, Op. 80, composed in 1920, that is written for a flute and a string quartet.[166] However, she only wrote one string quartet. That quartet was named Quartet for Strings in One Movement, Op. 79 (which was later changed to Op. 89) and was composed in 1929.[167] The last chamber piece that she wrote was the Trio Op. 150, which was composed in 1938. This chronology shows how, as Beach advanced in years, the instrumentations in the chamber works with three or more performers decreased from five performers in 1909 and 1920 to three performers in 1939.[168]

The Theme and Variations for Flute and String Quartet, Op. 80 was composed in 1916 while she was in San Francisco. The piece was dedicated to the Chamber Music Society of San Francisco, and the piece was premiered by flutist Elias Hecht and published by G. Schirmer.[169] The piece is based on Native American tunes, more specifically from the Naviago tribe.[170] The theme of the piece is from a piece by Beach called "An Indian Lullaby" that was originally based on a poem of the same name.[171] Meanwhile, the variations that Beach uses in this piece are the main theme in different meters and altered rhythms between the four instruments, which is similar to Brahms' choice to use fragments of the theme rather than using the whole theme.[172] Beach also uses a "Hungarian" theme in the flute part of the first variation.[173] This piece is also one of three works that Beach wrote for the flute along with other instruments, which made her one of the only New England composers to write for flute and groups of instruments.[174]

---

[165] Treybig, 17.
[166] Victor Rangel-Riberiro and Robert Markel, *Chamber Music: An International Guide to Works and Their Instrumentation* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 1993), 52.
[167] Jezic, 152.
[168] Wise, "Appendix," 262-64; 268.
[169] Ibid, 2 & 42.
[170] Block, "Amy Beach's Music on Native American Themes," *American Music* 8, no 2 (1990): 141.
[171] Treybig, 46; Hung, 27.
[172] Brown, 196.
[173] Piscitelli, 45.
[174] Treybig, 40.

The single string quartet that Beach composed was her Quartet for Strings in One Movement. Beach started composing it in 1917 and completed the work, with a new opus number, in 1929 while she was vacationing in Rome.[175] This piece is one of five chamber works of hers that was never published.[176] The movement uses chromaticism and altered chords.[177] This quartet represents the combination of the newer tonality with chromaticism along with the traditional sonata form.

Beach's Piano Trio, Op. 150 was composed in 1938 while Beach was at the MacDowell Colony, a colony for composers and artists, in Peterborough, New Hampshire.[178] This piano trio was first performed at the MacDowell Club in January 1939 with Beach at the piano, and it was published by The Composers, Inc. that same year.[179] This piece would turn out to be the last chamber work that Beach would compose in her lifetime.[180] The trio was composed during a time where Beach was exploring dissonance and imitation in her works, which she had started to use after going to Europe for the first time in 1915.[181] However, the late-Romantic style in which Beach composed in, as seen in the virtuosic piano part, was considered to be old-fashioned by the time the trio had been composed.[182] Like her earlier Piano Quintet, the trio has three movements, and a slow movement with a scherzo.[183] However, the trio also features equal writing, and importance, for each instrument.[184] Similar to the Themes and Variation featuring a

[175] Ibid, 186.
[176] Brown, 185.
[177] Ibid, 187.
[178] Alfeld, 68.
[179] Hsu, 109; Hung, 34.
[180] Treybig, 23.
[181] Ibid, 40.
[182] Brown, 229-230; Treybig, 40; Amy Beach, *Trio in G Minor* (The Composer's Press, 1939), 1-3.
[183] Treybig, 40.
[184] Hsu, 109.

theme from a past song, the trio has fragments from her song, "Allien" and the piano piece "The Returning Hunter."[185]

These compositions represent a small portion of Beach's compositions that illustrate the various influences Beach had available to her as a self-taught composer. Her string pieces show how she was able to use a thematic development in the multi-movement forms, which reflected the European models by which Beach was likely influenced by.[186] Along with folk songs and Native American songs, Beach was also influenced by nature; one of her songs features a part that was originally depicted by Beach after she heard a bird chirp it.[187] The study of European composers when she was learning composition and orchestration helped her maintain the European model while composing her works, which brought her into the circle of the Second New England School composers. Another way Beach was influenced by the European composers was that she used old material of hers in her newer pieces, such as using two songs in her *Trio* and using the piece for her *Theme and Variations for Flute and String Quartet*.[188]

Amy Beach & Cultural Expectations

The cultural expectations in Beach's period were that women should be married with children and be a housewife who was dependent on her husband for everything. Beach's marriage to H. H. A. Beach was apparently part of her mother's plan for her life, which had also included Beach performing music privately instead of performing in public.[189] Other cultural expectations that were in place were that women were expected to be submissive and humble,

[185] Block, 261; quoted in Alfeld, 67.
[186] Piscitelli, 39.
[187] Von Glahn, 402.
[188] Alfeld, 67.
[189] Hsu, 124.

which was a quality instilled in her by her mother throughout her childhood.[190] Beach's marriage to Dr. H. H. A. Beach can be seen as a traditional relationship. One indication of this was that Beach stopped using her first name for all of her professional engagements and became Mrs. Henry Harris Aubrey (H. H. A.) Beach.[191] However, as previously mentioned, after Dr. Beach, and Beach's mother, had passed away, Beach decided to go on tour and toured around Europe for four years. Beach also went back to using her first name in her professional engagements. Contrary to the expectation that women who married would bear children, Beach and Henry did not have any children together over the course of their twenty-five-year marriage.[192]

During Beach's life, women were working in music in growing numbers. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the number of women working in music increased from 16,010 women to 139,310 women.[193] During this period, women were also enrolling in university music programs at a fast pace, although men were given scholarships to attend these institutions.[194] This came at a time when women were enrolling in universities and being able to start working as teachers, composers, and performers.

Opposition to women working in the public sphere had started diminishing in the 1850s, and women began working as teachers; for example, the women in *Godey's* were likely to be pictured giving lessons to students.[195] However, Beach was never a private teacher because she was married to someone who freed her from the expectation of teaching. Beach believed that

---

[190] Ibid, 115.
[191] Walker, 9.
[192] Ken Smith, "Amy Beach Considered," *Music in Concert* (Nov/Dec 1998): 16; quoted in Walker, 9; Treybig, 18.
[193] Judith Tick, "Women as Professional Musicians in the United States, 1870-1900," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research* (1973): 98; quoted in Walker, 27.
[194] Walker, 28.
[195] Koza, 115.

composers should be able to obtain an education in America. She also thought the composers should find a way to incorporate American folk tunes in their compositions.[196]

Cultural/Generational Differences

In Amy Beach's generation, people felt that women should not be creating music, but it was acceptable for women to perform it, although not at a professional level. Even so, women were also expected to perform while having memorized the music that they were to be performing, which was seen as professional behavior.[197] In this period, it was believed that music could only "be transmuted into great art by intellect," and women were viewed as being unable to do this because they were too emotional.[198] Despite these ideas, and the circumstances against her, Beach never felt like she had been discriminated against for her gender, saying "I may say that I have personally never felt myself handicapped in any way, nor have I encountered prejudice of any sort on account of my being a woman, and I believe that the field for musical composition in America offers exactly the same prospects to young women as to young men composers."[199]

Beach also had advantages due to being raised in Boston, where there was a rich and varied musical life. When she was younger, Beach was sponsored by many of Boston's leading musicians who were in the same social circle as her family because her family had introduced her into their circles by having Beach perform for the musicians and patrons.[200] Beach also had access to a publishing firm; starting in 1885, Beach was able to have several of her compositions

[196] Robinson, v.
[197] Block, "The Child is Mother of the Woman: Amy Beach's New England Upbringing," 122.
[198] Block, "The Making of a Composer: I," 40.
[199] Edwin Hughes, 14; quoted in Walker, 33.
[200] Block, "Why Amy Beach Succeeded as a Composer: The Early Years," 43.

published by Arthur Schmidt, who was one of the people watching Beach's musical developments through her public performances.[201] At the time, Schmidt had been publishing art music by American composers to help promote music by American composers.[202] Beach's music was among several other Boston composers whose music Schmidt published. The advantages Beach had while living in Boston could have been attributed to Boston's history with establishing the music education model along with the people who had located to Boston for its musical culture.

Composers that were grouped with Second New England School were associated with composing larger forms of music.[203] Her association with this group of composers explains why Beach was able to compose a mass and a symphony during a time when women were not expected to compose larger scale works or have those works performed in public, and how Beach was also able to have both of those performances performed.[204] In comparison, women were expected to compose songs and piano music. Even though it took three years for the Mass in E-flat Major to be written and performed in public,[205] it is still important to comment on how Beach was able to expand beyond the expectations for the genres being composed by women and started paving a new pathway for female composers.

Attitudes Relating to Women Composers

The attitudes about women composers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were specifically about how women were supposed to participate in music, especially

[201] Ibid, 49; ibid, 54.
[202] Ibid, 55.
[203] Hsu, 3.
[204] Gates, 168.
[205] Hsu, 103.

within the roles of music composition and performance.[206] Women were not generally composing music because there had not been a lot of support.[207] This lack of support was also due to some people believing that women were not capable of training because they would never be able to create noteworthy music.[208] Basically, women composers were working against the cultural impediments and the expected cultural roles.

Amy Beach's husband supported her composition career and helped her achieve a career through financial support and the access to social networks that led to her music being performed.[209] Dr. Beach's financial support, in particular, was how Beach herself was able to afford to compose music.[210] Dr. Beach also encouraged his wife to compose the larger genres instead of sticking to the society approved smaller form of chamber music.[211] However, her husband did not support her performing outside of the home, which supported the notion that women were meant to be inside the home.

Another attitude was that women could not be a composer and a performer at the same time. Beach, meanwhile, wanted to be a composer and a performer because "when I do one kind of work, I shut the other up in a closed room and lock the door, unless I happen to be composing for the piano, in which case there is a connecting link. … this kind of life … one never grows stale, but there is always a continual interest and freshness from the change back and forth."[212] Beach was able to surpass that expectation of women not performing and composing at the same time by becoming the first female pianist to collaborate with the Boston Symphony Orchestra

---

[206] For more details on the attitudes on composers and performers, see pages 16-20
[207] Walker, 32.
[208] Gates, 171.
[209] Walker, 125.
[210] Block, 54.
[211] Walker, 10.
[212] David Ewen, "Mrs. H.H.A. Beach," in *American Composers: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Putnam, 1982), 46; quoted in Treybig 20.

while also keeping her composition career afloat because of how she no longer had a husband who could tell her she could not perform.[213]

Another belief that people had about women composing was that music written by women was supposed to be "graceful and delicate, full of melody, and restricted to the smaller forms of songs and piano music."[214] Quite bluntly, women were not expected to compose larger forms such as symphonies or masses.[215] However, Beach composed a symphony with her Gaelic Symphony in E Minor, which was obviously unusual for that period of time because there were few women in the United States who were composing symphonies during that time. Beach became the first female composer in the United States to have a symphony premiered by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra when her Gaelic Symphony received its premiere in April 1898.[216] However, the reviews Beach's symphony received were sexist; one reviewer said that the symphony was too long, while critic Philip Hale said that her orchestration was an excuse for Beach to be masculine.[217] However, Beach exceeded the expectation of women only composing smaller forms by composing a Mass in E-flat Major in 1886.[218]

One issue that emerges when discussing women composers is the question of how their output was affected by marriage. While composers such as Ruth Crawford Seeger and Rebecca Clarke had decided to limit their composing while they were married, Beach kept composing throughout her marriage because of her husband's support and the support of her mother. Along with supporting Beach's compositions, her mother had played a role in Beach's performance career by starting her on lessons at a younger age. While Beach was unable to perform more than

---

[213] Hsu, 100.
[214] Carol Neul-Bates, *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 223; quoted in Treybig 28.
[215] Treybig, 29.
[216] Walker, 14-15.
[217] Treybig, 28.
[218] Hsu, 103.

once a year, she composed seventy-two opuses during her marriage and one-hundred three opuses from 1910, her husband's death, to 1944, when she would pass away.[219] One interesting note is that Beach composed more large-scale works during her marriage than after her marriage had ended with her husband's passing in 1910.[220] It is also likely that Beach was able to compose as much as she did because the couple never had children together.[221]

As a pianist and composer, Amy Beach accomplished several things in her career. She was supported by a musical upbringing, the Boston musical culture, and the financial support of her husband. However, despite her belief that women and men were equal in their musical training, Beach was traditional in how her performances featured male musicians, with herself at the piano, which also showed how her talent helped her access the musical world that was mostly populated by men.

[219] Walker, 11.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Treybig, 18.

Case Study: Rebecca Clarke

Biography

Rebecca Clarke was born into a musical family in Harrow on August 27, 1886; her mother was a pianist and her father a cellist.[222] Clarke learned how to play the violin with her brother Hans when she was eight years old[223] because her father adored chamber music and wished for the family to perform chamber music together.[224] When she was a teenager, Clarke studied piano, violin, and counterpoint at the Royal Academy of Music.[225] It was at the Royal Academy of Music that Clarke began composing, and one of her first songs, "Shy One," won an award in 1909.[226]

Clarke was withdrawn from the Royal Academy of Music by her father in 1905 because he did not want her to accept a marriage proposal from her composition teacher, Percy Miles; after making her first trip to the United States, Clarke then began studying at the Royal College of Music with Charles Stanford in 1907.[227] While she was at the Royal College of Music, she switched her primary instrument from the violin to the viola. One reasoning behind this switch was because Stanford thought that Clarke playing the viola would allow her the chance to access the inner voices of the orchestra.[228] Clarke, however, claims that the switch of instruments was actually from a childhood memory of listening to Brahms' two pieces for viola and piano.[229] Along with supporting Clarke's switch from violin to viola, Stanford also encouraged Clarke to

---

[222] Christopher Johnson, "Introduction," "Rebecca Clarke, Trio" (1980), 1; cited in Kathleen Shaw, *The Sonata for Viola and Piano by Rebecca Clarke: An Analysis* (Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1994), 6.

[223] Michelle Bennett, "The Virtuosic Violist: Performance Guidelines for Three Compositions for Solo Viola Written in 1919" (PhD dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1995), 55.

[224] Michael Ponder, "Double Talent,": Strad 97, no. 1156 (August 1986): 250, cited in Bennett 55.

[225] Shaw, 5.

[226] Catherine Roma, "Contemporary British Composers," in *Women in Music: A History,* ed. Karin Pendle (Indiana University Press, 2001), 249; Shaw, 8.

[227] Ibid; Luce, 11.

[228] Shaw, 6.

[229] Bennett, 56.

compose instrumental music, which was an indication that professors at the Royal College of Music supported female composers.[230]

Clarke's performing career began when her father kicked her out of her home following an argument in 1911 or 1913 about letters that Clarke had found from his mistress, which caused Clarke to have to withdraw from the Royal College of Music due to the lack of financial support from her parents.[231] Clarke earned a living by performing with chamber groups and, due to her artistry on the viola, with all-male orchestral groups such as the Queens Orchestra.[232]

Clarke traveled between the United States and Europe for several years during the 1910s, and finally settled in New York City in 1916, when Clarke first moved to the United States to develop her composition style and to establish herself as a violist.[233] When she was composing music in America, she used her name instead of using a pseudonym she had used in the past.[234] Once in the United States, she entered her Sonata for Viola and Piano into a competition hosted by Clarke's friend and local patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, which won second place.

During the 1920s and 1930s, for example, she was based in London and performing with various groups there such as the Queens Hall Orchestra and the English Ensemble, which she had also founded.[235] While she was composing some vocal music when she was in London, there were also times in her life when she stopped composing. One theory behind the lapses was that she had fallen in love with two different men.[236] The first lapse occurred when Clarke had an

[230] Gerard, 32; Parsons, 14.
[231] Ibid; Gerard, 45; according to Shaw, 5, there is a possibility that the argument also occurred in 1910; Cifrino, 5.
[232] Ibid, 7; Gerard, 55.
[233] Bennett, 56.
[234] Shaw, 10.
[235] Carlynn Savot, "Rebecca Clarke's Sonata for Viola and Piano: Analytical Perspectives from Feminist Theory" (DMA dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2011), 10.
[236] Shaw, 16.

affair with a married man in the 1930s.[237] After Clarke married her former classmate James Friskin in 1944, she composed only two more pieces, an unpublished work for viola and piano, called "I Bid My Heart Be Still," in 1944 and a piece for voice and piano, "God Made a Tree," in 1954. This brought her composition career to an end and she shifted her focus to supporting James Friskin's piano career.[238] Another reason for the lapses in composing were possibly due to the fact that Clarke believed that she had to devote her entire life to composing.[239] Clarke would spend the rest of her life in New York City, where she would pass away in 1979.[240]

While Clarke dedicated most of her life to her career as a violist and as a composer, she also worked a governess in New Hampshire in 1942 and later became a nanny in New York.[241] Clarke also wrote essays about the viola. In her piece about the viola, the "Viola" article in *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music,* Clarke wrote about how the viola had a dark musical color.[242] Having performed chamber music throughout her life, starting when she was young, the pieces of writing, including her essay named "The History of the Viola in Quartet Writing," show how well-acquainted she was with chamber music and how she believed that it was the highest form of music.[243]

Compositions

Rebecca Clarke's output consisted of chamber works – in fact, as previously mentioned, Clarke composed eighty-three chamber pieces.[244] However, while it says that Clarke composed

---

[237] Savot, 12.
[238] Savot, 12; Bennett, 56; Shaw, 15.
[239] Gerard, 36.
[240] Cifrino, 5; Curtis, 40; Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel, ed. *The Norton/Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (New York: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1995), 119.
[241] Gerard, 35; Cifrino, 5.
[242] Gerard, 57.
[243] Ibid, 97; Gerard, 42; Gerard, 56.
[244] Shaw, 1.

eighty-three pieces, there is a possibility that Clarke actually composed a hundred pieces.[245] Along with writing several pieces for voice and viola, including her 1919 Sonata for Viola and Piano, Clarke's chamber compositions included a piano trio, two separate movements for string quartet, a one-movement string quartet piece called "Poem," and a piece for voice and string quartet called "Daybreak." Her chamber works for string instruments were part of what helped change the repertoire that was available for the viola, and her Viola Sonata is one of the few sonatas in the list of standard repertoire.[246] Her earliest instrumental piece to be published was her Two Pieces for Violin (or viola) and cello.[247] Because Clarke had mainly composed chamber works, they were not discovered until the 1970s after an interview with radio host Robert Sherman was aired.[248]

In general, the chamber works that a composer composed would have possibly "contributed relatively little to the overall output of individual composer's works."[249] However, Clarke's chamber works outnumbered the other types of works she composed.[250] One of those chamber works was her "Trio" for violin, cello, and piano, which was composed in 1921 for the Berkshire Competition sponsored by the Berkshire Festival.[251] The piece was performed by Myra Hess on the piano, Margery Hayward on violin, and May Mukle on cello; as had been the case with her Viola Sonata two years earlier, Clarke's piece received second place.[252] The Trio features string techniques that were similar to those that were used in her Sonata for Viola and

[245] Curtis, 160.
[246] MacDonald, 15-16.
[247] MacDonald, 18.
[248] Savot, 12.
[249] Baron, 301 and Grout, 607; cited in Combs 47.
[250] Shaw, 1.
[251] Savot, 53.
[252] Bryony Jones, "'But Do Not Quite Forget: The Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano (1921) and the Viola Sonata (1919) Compared," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 77.

Piano that had been composed two years earlier.[253] The Trio is also considered to be her masterpiece work for its motifs and imagery with the movements.[254]

Another chamber work is her "Two Movements for String Quartet." The Comodo e amabile was composed in 1924, while the Adagio was composed in 1925.[255] Both movements were inspired by Debussy and Bloch.[256] One notable feature in the quartet is found in Comodo e amabile. At the end of the movement, there is a drastic change in tempo that brings the movement to a close. For the coda, Clarke uses a "molto meno mosso" tempo for the closing coda rather than the original tempo.[257] This drastic tempo change is reminiscent of a tempo change that Brahms used in his Academic Festival Overture where he wrote the coda with a "Maestoso" tempo marking at the end of the piece.

Another notable feature of the quartet can be found in the Adagio section where all parts play a dotted eighth and sixteenth note figure, which is followed by a quarter note tied to a triplet of the same note.[258] This musical motif is similar to one Clarke used in her Trio and is considered to be a tribute to Ernest Bloch.[259] Despite the fact that Clarke spent most of her life playing in string quartets, the “Two Movements for String Quartet” is the only string quartet piece that was published.[260]

Another small string quartet piece, Clarke’s Poem, was composed in 1926, while she was living in London, as a part of what was supposed to be a string quartet.[261] The Poem was

---

[253] Jones, 83; quoted in Savot, 12.
[254] MacDonald, 20-22.
[255] Christopher Johnson, "Editorial Note," Rebecca Clarke, *Two Movements for String Quartet,* ed. Christopher Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Fine, 182.

performed for the first time by the Lydian String Quartet, along with Clarke's Comodo e amabile, at a conference for Rebecca Clarke in 1926.[262] However, Poem also received a performance in Berkeley, CA, in 1993.[263] Meanwhile, her "Daybreak" for voice and string quartet was composed in 1941 as a setting of John Donne's poem "Daybreak."[264]

Clarke's chamber pieces show how Clarke used traditional compositional techniques and found ways to bring new and established compositional techniques into her compositions. One such way that Clarke chose to incorporate the techniques was how Clarke used the traditional three-movement form for her Trio. This tie to the traditional works may represent how Clarke was one of several female composers, such as Amy Beach, who wrote in traditional forms.

As mentioned earlier, Clarke wrote pieces with melodic lines for the viola so that the viola would have more material to perform. One reason for writing such chamber works that included the viola, and had melodic lines for the viola, was because there were no parts for the viola because composers who wrote string quartets often forgot about the viola.[265] This effort to advocate for the viola was effective because it showed the multiple voices of the viola and how those voices are able to emote.[266] Clarke writes that "the viola has a very personal tone of its own, extremely sympathetic, and capable of great possibilities, no one who has heard a player like Mr. Lionel Tertis will deny…"[267] One such example is the long emoting lines with shorter melodic motives that Clarke had written in her Viola Sonata.[268] Clarke had also explored the dark, mournful sound and the upper register of the viola in her piece, *Morpheus,* which she had

---

[262] Curtis, "Rebecca Clarke Conference and Concert," *Sonneck Society Bulletin* 25, no 3 (Boulder, CO: Society for American Music, 1999).

[263] Fine, 182.

[264] Curtis, "Music Reviews: Rebecca Clarke [Six Works]," *Notes – Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 60, no 1 (2003): 283.

[265] Liane Curtis, *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 105.

[266] Bullard, 1.

[267] Curtis, 102.

[268] Ibid, 38.

composed a year before writing the Sonata.[269] Clarke's work also uses cyclic motives in her works, which show how she was influenced by late Classical and Romantic composers Brahms and Beethoven, as well as impressionist composer Claude Debussy.[270] The compositions also show how Clarke had composed the pieces for personal use.[271]

Rebecca Clarke & Cultural Expectations

In Britain during the nineteenth century, music was thought of as a mainly domestic activity.[272] While people in this era also believed that women should be at home caring for their children and husband, it was also an era when educational opportunities began to emerge.[273] However, those same educational opportunities that were emerging for women were often watered downed versions of what men were able to learn in their own composition classes.[274] As the daughter of musicians, Rebecca Clarke believed that she did not need formal certifications in order to perform or teach. Gillett writes that: "while was still a student, her mother … foresaw a time when Rebecca would need to be self-supporting and decided that a diploma was essential. It was not until much later that Clarke learned that her mother had sold a gold watch chain in order to pay the entry fee for the L.R.A.M. examination: 'I got it, though not in a very distinguished class; but to Mama's disappointment never made use of it, for by the time I became a professional I found that respectable musicians did not put such letters after their names.'"[275] This was supported by the notion that middle-class, and upper-class, women were generally expected to be amateur musicians and to not seek out after a career in music because it was a

[269] Gerard, 60.
[270] Jones, 80; Ibid, 38.
[271] Savot, 9.
[272] Parsons, 6.
[273] Ibid, 1.
[274] Reich 135-136; quoted in Parsons, 9.
[275] Rebecca Clarke, "I Had a Father Too," unpublished transcript, 26; quoted in Gillett, 209.

sign of the women, and their families, not being supported by their husbands' careers.[276] However, while Clarke was living in the United States during the 1920s, more women were graduating from conservatories than in prior generations because of the broadened access to education.[277]

Clarke had two lapses in her compositional output, which were stipulated to coincide during times when she was in love with a man.[278] The first man she fell in love with was married at the time.[279] She then married former classmate James Friskin in 1944 and stopped composing so that she could support his piano career.[280] The fact that Clarke got married when she was older was different from other women, like Crawford Seeger, who married their husband at a young age, had children, and stayed at home with their children. Also, similar to Beach, Clarke did not have any children with her husband.[281] Additionally, in England, the act of playing music was a way of women being able to obtain their own marriage because it made them more attractive to men.[282] Clarke's father appears to have held this view; when Clarke expressed that she wanted to perform, he said that he wanted Clarke to play so that she could make a man happy.[283]

Cultural/Generational Differences

As was the case for Beach's generation, Clarke's generation felt that women in music should serve as muses instead of creating music themselves. At the same time, however, more

[276] Gillett, 153.
[277] Neul-Bates, 330.
[278] Shaw, 16.
[279] Michael Ponder, "Rebecca Clarke"; quoted in Daniel Stevens, "Rebecca Clarke: A viola duo transcription of the Prelude, Allegro, and Pastorale" (DMA dissertation, University of North Texas, 2010), 16.
[280] Gerard, 51.
[281] Curtis, "Musicologist Ellen D. Lerner Interviews Rebecca Clarke, 1978 and 1979," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 211.
[282] Parsons, 6.
[283] Clarke, "I had a father too (Or the Mustard Spoon)" (1969-1973), 144; quoted in Gerard, 43.

female composers and musicians were active in both London and the United States. This era was also when women were still viewed as being incapable of making their own decisions and needed the permission of their father, husband, or male relative in order to do what they wanted to do.[284] The fact that Clarke ended up working as a nanny in her later life may reflect the wider social expectation that women were expected to assume motherly roles in society. Similarly, women were more likely to go into teaching due to the limited performing opportunities that were available to them.[285]

Clarke came from the one generation later than Amy Beach, and thus she had different opportunities that were not available to Beach. One such opportunity was the chance to perform with the Queens Hall Orchestra in London, which would have never been able to happen in the United States, though women in the United States started joining and organizing women's orchestras in the 1870s.[286] This showed how women were populating the once male-exclusive musical world.

In the United States, Clarke was also able to participate in competitions that were sponsored by Elizabeth Coolidge, receiving two second place medals for her Viola Sonata in 1919 and her Trio for Violin, Piano, and Cello in 1921. The composition competitions gave her the accessibility to opportunities to have her pieces performed, which was one way that women composers such as Clarke were able to get their music heard. Public performances also led to publication. Unfortunately, publishers were known to be biased against women composers, so, as was the case with most female composers, Clarke used a male pseudonym for some of her pieces.

[284] Parsons, 3.
[285] Gillett, 207.
[286] Gerard, 55; Tick, 329.

During Clarke's generation, there were also more women organizations and orchestras that existed in both Britain and the United States, which gave women the opportunity to perform music and have their music performed along with being able to obtain a job in orchestra administration or music administration. Sponsoring competitions was one way that women around the country were able to publicly show their support for music.[287] As shown by Coolidge's role as a patron, patronage was becoming a respectable career option when Clarke was in the United States because of its intersection between being in a suitable sphere while allowing the woman to be outside of the home.[288]

Some of the organizations active at the time were the Society of Women Composers and the Oxford Ladies Musical Society.[289] Clarke herself participated in women's orchestras during the first decade of the twentieth century. Clarke was also present for the inaugural meeting of the Society of Women Composers in 1911.[290] In the United States, the growing number of women's organizations and orchestras was evident starting in the 1870s. The female orchestras brought to light the double standards that applied to women in music and the prejudices that resulted their exclusion from national orchestras.[291]

However, even with being given greater opportunities to be active in music, Clarke held very traditional views on the role of women in music. In an interview, she expressed how she felt uncomfortable about Ethel Smyth's views of women in music and an encounter she had once had with Smyth where Smyth had complimented Clarke in a way that made Clarke feel embarrassed after the incident had occurred.[292] Clarke did not particularly like Ethel Smyth because Smyth

[287] Barr & Locke, 8.
[288] Blunsom, 16.
[289] Blunsom, 16; Luce, 12.
[290] Curtis, 10.
[291] Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Life, 1870-1900," 329.
[292] Curtis, "Musicologist Ellen D. Lerner Interviews Rebecca Clarke, 1978 and 1979," 207.

loudly complained about how people would not perform her compositions due to her being a woman; Clarke did not feel that she had been discriminated against because of her gender.[293] Ethel Smyth, however, believed that compositions should be accepted the same as men's compositions without anyone complaining about who had composed it.[294] However, Clarke was not a fan of the term "woman composer" and sought to disassociate herself from it.[295] However, despite not liking the label, Clarke believed that women should be on an equal footing with men in music, which she expressed in a letter to Coolidge about an upcoming cello recital.[296] Another way in which Clarke followed a more traditional path was how she turned from music into becoming a nanny in New York. This reflects the pressure on Clarke from her friends and the people around her to become a mother. Despite the pressure, she never had children with her husband.

Attitudes Relating to Women Composers

Clarke's works, consisting of songs and short chamber pieces, were representative of the types of works that women were expected to compose. Women composers were most active in composing small forms because of how those forms were considered to be in the domestic sphere.[297] Like other female composers, Clarke used a male pseudonym for her published works. In an interview with radio host Robert Sherman, Rebecca Clarke explained how she had come up with the pseudonym Anthony Trent while she was trying to figure out which pieces she would like to perform on one of her recitals: "I wanted rather to play another piece I had written, and it

[293] Ibid.
[294] Smyth, 736.
[295] Curtis, 20.
[296] Nancy B. Reich, "Rebecca Clarke: An Uncommon Woman," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 15.
[297] Savot, 54; see page 17 for a table of the male and female spheres.

seemed too silly to put my name down still once more. So I thought I'll invent a name. So I went through the rivers of England until I came across what I thought seemed like a handy surname and I took the name Trent, the river Trent… And I took the first name Anthony because I liked that name."[298] She chose to use a man's name for the compositions because "it seemed natural to do it somehow in those days."[299] During the recital, the piece that had been "composed" by Anthony Trent was better received by the audience than any of the other works written by Clarke on that same program. As Clarke says, "although the piece by Anthony Trent was not particularly good, it had much more attention paid to it than the pieces that I had written, I mean in my own name… which is rather a joke."[300]

Once Clarke moved to America, she established her career using her real name instead of the male pseudonym.[301] In 1919, Clarke entered her Viola Sonata into a competition for the best viola sonata that was sponsored by Coolidge, where the prize for the best sonata was $1,000.[302] Rebecca Clarke's viola sonata ended up in a tie with Ernest Bloch's Viola Sonata. After Coolidge announced that she had selected Bloch's viola sonata as the winner, the jury had wanted to know who had written the other sonata. When it was announced that Rebecca Clarke had written it, one of the jurors commented that Clarke could not have written it because of its passionate nature.[303] Only after it became known that the other sonata had been written by a woman, did people question the validity of Clarke's viola sonata. As Rebecca Clarke states, "And when I had that one whiff of success that I've had in my life, with the Viola Sonata, that

[298] Curtis, 172.
[299] Curtis, "Musicologist Ellen D. Lerner Interviews Rebecca Clarke, 1978 and 1979," 204.
[300] Marianne Kielian-Gilbert, "On Rebecca Clarke's Sonata for Viola and Piano" in *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity, and Music* edited by Elaine Barkin and Lydia Hamessley (Zürich: Carciofoli, 1999), 111.
[301] Shaw, 10.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Shaw, 11.

tying, you know, I think I told you about it, tying with Ernest Bloch…the rumor went around, I hear, that I hadn't written the stuff myself, that somebody had done it for me."[304]

Clarke stopped using the Anthony Trent pseudonym soon after she published her Viola Sonata.[305] However, it is important to note how using the pseudonym allowed her to be able to publish her music without publishers knowing that a woman had composed it.[306] Women composers were still urged to use male pseudonyms for various reasons; Clarke had done so because she did not want to have multiple pieces of hers on one particular program, but some women might have chosen to do so to avoid bias.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Clarke continued to compose music but at a slower pace. During this time, Clarke was living in Europe as a composer and violist; she was primarily composing vocal music, though she also wrote a couple of string pieces.[307] However, after she was stranded in the United States after finishing a concert tour during World War II, the output of her songs ceased with a piece for viola and piano in 1944 and a piece for voice and piano called "God Made a Tree" in 1954.[308] Clarke ceased composing almost entirely after she got married in 1944 and changed her name to Rebecca Clarke Friskin. As mentioned earlier, Clarke later became a nanny in New York.[309] She mentions that she had wanted to return to composition, but she could not.[310] In an interview with Robert Sherman, Clarke also admits that she had stopped composing because she ran out of ideas for compositions.[311]

---

[304] Curtis, 171.
[305] Ibid, 174.
[306] Savot, 55.
[307] Ibid, 10.
[308] Ibid, 12; Luce, 12.
[309] Cifrino, 5.
[310] Curtis, "My Mini-Revival! Clarke Rediscovered – The Interviews and a Program Note," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 158.
[311] Curtis, "Robert Sherman Interviews Rebecca Clarke About Herself," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 176.

The British Musical Renaissance movement with which Clarke's music is most often associated with had a large influence on how female composers, and female musicians, were perceived in Britain. Women wanted to be heard in the musical world and thus sought after getting public recognition by find ways to perform in public.[312] Women composers during this time were also more likely to compose art songs while men were discouraged from composing in this genre.[313] Other genres that were used during the nineteenth century were the sonata, duo, and string quartets, which had been deemed as suitable for women to compose.[314] These genres were also genres in which Clarke often composed in; she has a duo for clarinet and viola, the string quartet pieces that were supposed to be a string quartet, and her Viola Sonata. Clarke also composed several songs. This may have been because Clarke had not wanted to write longer instrumental works, despite being encouraged to do so by her professor at the Royal College of Music, Charles Stanford.[315]

Rebecca Clarke was an extraordinary composer who was working in a man's world. Despite the challenges that she had in establishing her career due to the bias that publishers held against women composers, she was able to write compositions that enhanced the viola repertoire. Clarke also had an extensive performance career as a violist in London, where she was participating in a musical world that was populated by women. Therefore, Clarke believed that women were capable of having professional careers. Clarke also viewed the world as one where men and women were able to participate as equals in music.

---

[312] Parsons, 7.

[313] Curtis, "Rebecca Clarke and the British Musical Renaissance," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 26.

[314] Bashford, 292.

[315] Gerard, 60; Gerard, 32.

Case Study: Ruth Crawford Seeger

Biography

Ruth Crawford Seeger was an American composer who spent time in Europe in the 1930s. Crawford started playing piano when she was a child. She also took up the violin from her older brother.[316] She went to school for a year in Jacksonville, FL before moving to Chicago, where she was eventually able to obtain a bachelors and master's degree at the American Conservatory of Music.[317] She transitioned from performance to composition due to suffering from muscular issues and with support from her theory and composition professors.[318] Crawford Seeger moved to New York in 1929 to study with Charles Seeger; this had been arranged by Henry Cowell.[319] While Seeger initially expressed discomfort at teaching a female, he decided to let her study with him, and taught her about dissonant counterpoint and a linear approach to composition.[320] This act of studying eventually led to a friendship that then turned into a relationship.

In the 1930s, Ruth Crawford traveled to Europe after receiving a Guggenheim fellowship that she won as the first female composer. While she was there, she met the composers Alban Berg, Béla Bartók, and Nadia Boulanger, and learned more about serial music.[321] When she returned to New York, she and Seeger got married in October 1932.[322] Crawford's compositional career was supported and encouraged by her husband, Charles Seeger, who helped her meet

[316] Thomas, 30.
[317] Emily Chua, "Social and Domestic Influences in Ruth Crawford Seeger's Music" (DMA dissertation, University of Cincinnati – Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, 2002), 20.
[318] Sophie Fuller, "Ruth Crawford Seeger: 1901-1953," in *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers* (San Francisco, CA: Pandora, 1994), 93.
[319] Chua, 24.
[320] Ibid, 25.
[321] Rao, 353.
[322] Chua, 29.

other modernist composers and included her as a participant in musicological meetings after they were married. However, Crawford stopped composing when she was in her thirties to take care of her family and opted to write arrangements and other smaller pieces for the rest of her life.[323] Crawford Seeger later became a music educator, teaching in the Washington, DC area. However, she eventually returned to composition for a short time in the 1940s. After writing her last piece, "Suite for Wind Quintet," she passed away from cancer in 1953.

Compositions

Crawford wrote 33 compositions that represented several musical genres; even though she had a relatively small output, her chamber works received the most performances.[324] The works were influenced by her love for folk songs that emerged from her friendship with Carl Sandburg when she was living in Chicago.[325] Crawford Seeger's use of harmonies in her pieces was also influenced by Debussy and Scriabin.[326] One of the works that she composed was her Suite No. 2 for Four Strings and Piano, which was composed in 1929 while she was living in Chicago.[327] The piece was premiered in the home of Blanche Walton in December 1929, and received its first public performance at a Pro Musica modern music concert by the New World Quartet, with pianist Colin McPhee, on March 9, 1930.[328] The piece features several dissonant

[323] Fuller, 93.

[324] Gaume, "Appendix: Catalog of Works," in *Ruth Crawford Seeger: Her Life and Works* (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1971), 243-307; Kate Soper, "Orchestration in the Chamber Works of Ruth Crawford Seeger," *Theory & Practice* 35 (2010): 147.

[325] Gaume, 372.

[326] Ibid, 374.

[327] Chua, 24.

[328] Sharon Mirchandani, "Suite No. 2 for Four Strings and Piano," in "Ruth Crawford Seeger's Five Songs, Suite No. 2, and Three Chants: Representations of America and Explorations of Spirituality" (PhD dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey – New Brunswick, 2007), 159; Tick, 125.

intervals and a nonlyrical melody.[329] This suite has three movements, which is similar to other suites composed at the time.[330]

The most notable string composition that she wrote, that is now one of her most famous pieces, was her String Quartet 1931, which was composed two years after she wrote her Suite for Strings and Piano. This composition was written when she was in Germany and Paris in 1931. The piece was partly influenced by Bela Bartók's String Quartet, which had been composed in 1930.[331] The quartet was first performed by the New World String Quartet at the New School on November 13, 1933.[332] The string quartet has also been recorded several times since its premiere. Crawford also wrote another string quartet, which was left unfinished due to struggling with reconciling the simplicity of folk songs with the dissonance she had used in previous compositions.[333]

The String Quartet 1931 is an extraordinary string quartet because of how it incorporates twentieth-century composition techniques with a formal four-movement scheme.[334] In its first movement, the movement features long-line melodies.[335] The first movement notes that the melodic line has to be heard continuing throughout the movement.[336] Meanwhile, the second movement has a mix of sixteenth notes and sustained notes that are embedded in the sixteenth-note texture or separate from the texture all together.[337] In the third movement, the dynamics are in timed rhythmic patterns; the rhythmic meters change between 3/4, 4/4, and 5/4 throughout the

[329] Matilda Gaume, "Ruth Crawford Seeger," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* edited by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 374.
[330] Mirchandani, 160.
[331] Gaume, 377.
[332] Tick, 185.
[333] Chua, 35.
[334] Karpf, 4.
[335] Gaume, "Ruth Crawford Seeger: Her Life and Works," 188.
[336] Ruth Crawford, *String Quartet 1931* (Bryn Mawr: Merion Music, 1941), 1.
[337] Soper, 155-156.

movement.[338] The timed dynamics can be interpreted in how the performers are able to adjust themselves while in the performance in terms of bowing. Additionally, the high points in the crescendos do not intersect with the other instruments.[339] For example, Crawford Seeger wrote the fourth movement of the quartet in two-point counterpoint instead of single counterpoint; the first violin serves as the first voice, while the remaining three instruments, as the second voice, are muted and in separate octaves.[340] Additionally, the themes of Voice 2 are based on a 10-tone row.[341] This variation of themes can be linked to the 12-tone row that Arnold Schoenberg had invented years before.

The two compositions listed above are notable for how they incorporate certain characteristics of modernistic music. The characteristics of American music are the dissonant intervals, as seen with the inclusion of the double counterpoint and nonlyrical intervals, along with the use of a schematic approach in the fourth movement of her String Quartet.[342] As American music had struggled to gain its own identity during the 1920s and the 1930s, Ruth Crawford Seeger was best known for creating new techniques that composers after her generation could use in their works.

Ruth Crawford Seeger & Cultural Expectations

While Ruth Crawford Seeger wrote several remarkable pieces and was a successful female composer who introduced several new composition techniques a generation before other

[338] Judith Tick, *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 357; Crawford, 12-15.
[339] Ibid, 358.
[340] Ibid, 157; Soper, 154-55.
[341] Ibid, 359.
[342] Rao, 111.

composers would start using them,[343] she was still often shut out of important professional development activities due to her gender. For example, Charles Seeger had told her that she would not be able to be a student of his due to her gender, commenting that he was skeptical about taking on a female student.[344] However, he later conceded and let her study with him at the urging of Henry Cowell.[345] During the period when she was in New York, Crawford Seeger wrote about how she, along with friend and patron Blanche Walton, were shut out of a meeting with a visiting musicologist:

> The musicologists meet. It is decided that I may sit in the next room and hear [Joseph] Yasser [a visiting Russian musicologist] about his new supra scale. Then when I come out for this purpose, I find someone has closed the doors. Blanche is irate, so am I.[346]

In addition to not being able to go to the meeting with Joseph Yasser, along with almost not being able to study with Charles Seeger, Crawford Seeger had almost been shut out of a Guggenheim fellowship because of her gender; yet she was the first female to be awarded that fellowship in composition in 1930.[347] When she was in Europe, though, she struggled with prejudice because she was an American woman who did not have any connections to German publishers.[348]

Other instances of being denied opportunities due to her gender included one of the earliest meetings of the New York Musicological Society. While Charles Seeger was one of the founding members, he would not let Crawford join the meeting because he did not want the society to "be confused with a Woman's Club" because those clubs only talked about music. However, Seeger did allow his wife to sit outside the door and listen in on the New York

---

[343] De Graff, 1.
[344] Gaume, 375.
[345] Hisama, 22; Thomas, 30.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Judith Tick, "Ruth Crawford's 'Spiritual Concept': The Sound-Ideals of an Early American Modernist, 1924-1930," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no 2 (1991): 221.
[348] Chua, 26.

Musicological Society meetings.[349] Crawford Seeger was eventually able to start attending these meetings after she expressed discomfort over her exclusion.[350] Due to living in the Walton home when she was living in New York City, she was able to have access to the same musical resources as the Walton family.

Like other women in her generation, Crawford Seeger struggled with the conflict between raising a family and having a musical career; her marriage with Seeger was a traditional relationship.[351] While Charles Seeger urged her to have a family with him, Crawford Seeger felt that she should still be able to have a career. She wrote:

> It is a question of how much of it [my career] I would be giving up. I shall always write wherever I am. I can write songs, piano pieces, small works. But if one expects to write large works, orchestral works-I feel my life would have to be given only to that. . . . I must discover for myself whether it is a "career" or life that I want. I can have a career and life too, but even though the former will be enriched by the latter, there must be sacrifices. I am beginning to think life is what I want. That it is the richer.[352]

At the time of this entry, Crawford Seeger thought that she would not want to marry anyone and that she wanted to dedicate her whole life to working as a composer. However, her opinion on marriage and family changed after she met, fell in love with, and married Charles Seeger and started a family with him.[353] The struggle between family and career was an issue that women typically faced during their lives.

While Ruth Crawford Seeger accompanied Seeger on his field assignments exploring folk music during the 1930s, she remained at home with her family during the 1940s.[354] She seemed proud of her children.[355] The hiatus Crawford Seeger took from composing music during

---

[349] Tick, 121-122.
[350] Ibid, 122.
[351] Ibid, 97.
[352] Tick, *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music,* 88; quoted in Chua, 90.
[353] Chua, 90.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Neul-Bates, 310.

the 1940s may have been tied to her wanting to spend more time with her family, although this could also have been a reflection of the struggles associated with being a "woman composer" and not having enough time to compose music because of family obligations.[356] While Crawford Seeger's career trajectory turned from composition to teaching music to children during the 1940s, she wrote to composer and friend Edgard Varèse in 1947 that she longed to return to composition in her later life.[357] While she was eventually able to return to composition in the form of writing some short pieces, she was only able to compose for a short period of time. She would pass away shortly after writing her 1952 piece, "Suite for Wind Quintet."[358]

Cultural/Generational Differences

While Crawford Seeger was able to gather with other modernist composers such as Edgar Varèse and was exposed to newer types of music through being married to Charles Seeger and living in Blanche Walton's house, she was still bound to the cultural standards that were engrained in society during that time. This meant that, despite her advantages, she was still not able to participate in certain opportunities due to her gender. However, even with having accepted her role as a female in the world, as mentioned earlier, Crawford Seeger was able to gain equality with the male composers around her, who supported her efforts to create music in a world where people still did not fully support women as composers or professional musicians.

Another notable generational difference was the beginnings of American music along with the rise of modern music. When Crawford Seeger was composing music, American music was influenced by folk songs, Indian music, and African American music, including jazz and

[356] Gaume, 382.
[357] Gaume, 380; Neul-Bates, 308.
[358] Ibid.

ragtime; even with the outside influences of American music, composers did not alter the European models on which their music was based on.[359] However, while the American composers retained the model used by European composers, the use of African American music and other songs was a way that the American composers distinguished themselves and represented their homeland in their music.[360] However, it is important to note that an American composer was hard to define. Some distinctions that were made in 1976 were:

> Americans who have studied abroad (sometimes never to return), those composers born and educated in the United States, and those who are foreign-born but lived or are living in the United States. Factors such as citizenship, length of residency, and the composer's pronounced allegiances must all be taken into consideration.[361]

In other words, there were several factors that had to do with who was classified as an "American" composer. However, American music could also be defined as music-making that occurred in the United States or the types of music that composers in American tried to use as an aesthetic.[362] is closely tied into the history of folk songs in the United States.

Another cultural difference with the emergence of the American music genre was the emergence of folk music. While they were living in Washington, D.C. during the 1930s, Crawford Seeger and Charles Seeger were writing about folk music based on experiments that Charles had undertaken in previous years. These experiments led to Crawford Seeger arranging an anthology of songs called *Twenty-Two American Folk Tunes* for the piano.[363] In 1936 and 1937 she completed over 300 arrangements of folk tunes for another Lomax book, *Our Singing*

---

[359] Chua, 7-9.

[360] Sigrid Kalstrom, "Three Women Composers and Their Works for Viola and Piano: Marion Bauer, Miriam Gideon, and Vivian Fine and the Trajectory of Female Tradition in American Music" (DMA dissertation, University of Hartford, 2018), 2.

[361] Pool, 28.

[362] Charles Hireshi Garrett, "Introduction," in *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 6.

[363] Chua, 33.

Country, while she was working on commissions with Seeger at the same time.[364] This reflected how composers during this decade had started incorporating more American material and folk songs into their music and how folk music enhanced music education.[365] It also showed how Crawford Seeger was becoming more immersed into folk music as she stepped away from composing music.[366]

Another difference between the generations was the modernism musical style. While modern music emerged in the 1910s and 1920s, the "ultramodern" label for composers such as Edgar Varèse, Seeger, and Crawford came out of the composer's urge to reject what they had been taught and to find new approaches to composition.[367] Modern music was also performed in intimate audiences that were open to new music.[368] However, people were not fans of the modern music concerts that were being hosted in New York City during the first half of the 1930s because of how the music was not entertaining.[369]

Another difference between Crawford Seeger's generation and Clarke and Beach's generation was that Crawford Seeger had four children, while the latter two did not have any children. This points to how Crawford Seeger had to balance a music career with taking care of a family, which was one of the many reasons why women were told they were unsuited for a music career. There were times in her life where she chose her family over composing music, such as the 1930s, and times where she tried to return to composition, such as four years before her death from cancer.[370] This is also a reflection of an earlier point on how women struggled to create or perform music because they did not have the time or resources available to dedicate to

[364] Ibid, 36.
[365] Ibid, 38.
[366] Thomas, 31.
[367] Chua, 12; Ashe, 4.
[368] Ashe, 4.
[369] Chua, 81.
[370] Ibid, 39.

music due to having to take care of their family and the house and being reliant on their husband for their financial support.

Attitudes about Female Composers

Society tended to view music as a feminine activity, yet women in music were not accepted as professionals.[371] If women performed music at all, they were expected to sing vocal music or play either the piano or the violin.[372] This was reflected in how Ruth Crawford Seeger's early training as a pianist. Only later, after considerable training in composition, did she transition from wanting to become a concert pianist to a composer. She also composed multiple types of music in small forms, including string quartets and wind quartets, that were not intended for domestic performances. Like several other female composers, Crawford Seeger had a small output of compositions.[373] Crawford Seeger was also living in a time when traditionally female composers were expected to compose smaller forms of music, while males composed the larger forms.[374]

The aforementioned meetings that Crawford Seeger could not attend were also a reflection of how women were not treated equally within the music profession, even though the opportunities Crawford Seeger was able to obtain had expanded. However, Gaume argues that Crawford Seeger had experienced a "minimum of discrimination" because the male composers in her life, including Charles Seeger and Henry Cowell, had supported her talents.[375] The shift Crawford Seeger made from being a performer to a composer to a music teacher might have

[371] Chua, 92.
[372] Gillett, 191.
[373] Gaume, 383.
[374] De Graff, 133.
[375] Gaume, 382.

been due to changing interests within music or wanting to become more immersed in comparative musicology, which would later be called ethnomusicology.[376] Again, though, the shift also be seen as her fulfilling her motherly duties. This might also reflect how there were limited career options for women in music, which included teaching in a school or with playing inside their homes.[377]

One opportunity that was open to Crawford Seeger, but unavailable to Amy Beach or Rebecca Clarke, was the Guggenheim fellowship, which she won in 1930. The fact that she was the first female composer to win this fellowship indicates that people were starting to pay attention to female composers and starting to recognize their talents and the fact that women were able to compose music. This, in addition to the number of concerts that featured performances of music by female composers that were being performed in New York City and around the United States, cemented the presence of women in music. The number of women that were composing and performing during this time had also increased; as mentioned earlier, the number of women performing was at 139,010 in 1900 compared to 16,010 women thirty years earlier.[378] However, while the rise of women composers was talked about, it was left out of textbooks, though there was still material that was being discovered and then made available to the public.[379] Crawford Seeger considered herself to be a woman composer. When she was teaching Vivian Fine, Fine commented that she had gotten a fundamental sense of confidence about being a composer from working with Crawford Seeger.[380]

---

[376] Ashe, 8.
[377] Gillett, 207.
[378] Tick, "Women as Professional Musicians in the United States, 1870-1900," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research* (1973): 98; quoted in Walker, 27.
[379] Pool, 28.
[380] Seddon, 11.

Ruth Crawford Seeger was one of the most innovative modern composers in the early twentieth century. Her music represented a changing time in America's culture surrounding its view of what American art music was. While she had started composing during a time when composers were still using the traditional European models, her composition career ended during the emerging of a new musical generation that was more modern and less constricted to the European models. It is possible to say that her career would not have been possible without the support and guidance of the male modernist composers around her.

Conclusion

This thesis shows how Amy Beach, Rebecca Clarke, and Ruth Crawford Seeger aimed to make composition careers for themselves during a time where women were typically not welcomed to pursue music composition or perform music in public. The thesis looks at how Ruth Crawford Seeger, Amy Beach, and Rebecca Clarke pushed past the cultural and societal boundaries that were set for them in their musical careers but also how they, in their own ways, stayed within the boundaries that were set before them in their personal lives. It also shows how the attitudes towards women in music shifted with the cultural standards that were present in London and the United States and how those shifted over the three generations.

Amy Beach was the first female composer to have a mass and a symphony composed and premiered in the United States. Beach possessed a deep love of music that was supported by local musicians in the Boston area who gave Beach several performance opportunities as well as completing personal study in composition and theory when she was growing up. Even with the opportunities she had, Beach still struggled with her role as a woman composer and performer, especially when her husband told her she had to perform publicly for charity events only once a year. However, Beach composed more music than she ever had when she was married, and she continued to compose even after her husband and mother, her two biggest supporters, had both passed away and she was able to pursue a performance career again. While Beach composed music for professional musicians, she was also not bound by the cultural limits that were placed on women.

Rebecca Clarke was a violist and composer who mostly composed chamber music. Clarke's chamber works and pieces for viola and piano enhanced the viola repertoire. Her Sonata for Viola and Piano is now regarded as one of the few works by a female composer that is a

standard repertoire for the viola.[381] Her education in the United Kingdom, and her subsequent move to the United States during the first World War, enhanced her composition career and gave her several performance opportunities as a violist. Clarke was more traditional in her views of music and in how she did not like the term "woman composer." Rebecca Clarke's music reflected how she created a career for herself in a man's world.

Ruth Crawford Seeger was an accomplished modernist composer who had several opportunities that women before her were not able to have. Crawford Seeger would later see a transition in what American music meant with the amount of folk songs that were being transcribed during the period. With the help of composers Charles Seeger and Henry Cowell, Crawford Seeger was enabled to access multiple disciplines within her life, including that of composing, performing, and education. Like other female composers, though, Crawford Seeger faced a fair amount of discrimination due to her gender that showed up in the form of being excluded from musicology meetings and her almost not being granted opportunities, such as winning the Guggenheim fellowship, which was a first for female composers, and the chance to study with Charles Seeger, who would later become her husband. The chamber pieces that Crawford Seeger wrote had a blend of European models and the newer dissonant chords that were famously associated with the modern music movement. This reflected the musical training she received as well as the advantages, and disadvantages, she had as a female composer. The world that Crawford Seeger lived in represented that women and men could be equal in music, and Crawford Seeger mixed as an equal with the male modernist composers.

The three women all composed music that was rooted in traditional European models. While all three composed string trios and quartets, they all used some variation of the sonata

[381] Cifrino, 1.

form in their works, even if it was not intentionally meant to be a sonata form. The three women also lived in cities that had a cultivated musical style. Both of these cities were also impacted by folk music in their own ways: London used folk music as a branch into defining its own musical voice, while ethnomusicologists in the United States studied folk music as a way of seeing how culture and music shaped the definition of American music.

In the United States, the cultural expectations were similar to those of the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom's expectations were very traditional in that women were expected to marry, have children, and care for the household and children while her husband had a career outside of the home. This similarity could have been due to the influence that Europe, and the United Kingdom in respect, had on American music and culture in general. These influences played a role in the musical forms that were used by American composers, who then intertwined with African American musical forms, Indian folk tunes, and other cultural musical inspirations to shape a distinctive American music. The use of folk tunes was evident in all three women's compositions; Amy Beach used Indian songs in her songs, Rebecca Clarke used British songs in her compositions, and Ruth Crawford Seeger studied folk songs throughout her life because she had a passion for folk songs.

Another cultural expectation was focused on marriage and the role of the woman in that marriage. During Amy Beach's and Rebecca Clarke's time, women were starting to work outside the home. This was relevant in how women were working in music outside of the home starting in the 1870s and how the number of women increased throughout the late nineteenth century into the turn of the twentieth century. However, as women were also expected to be involved in the home and in the social life of their husbands, the time that women had to compose or make music was limited. As women started working outside the home and started composing music in

the public sphere, they changed the narrative of how women were meant to stay at home with the children and the husband working.

The attitudes about female composers were generally that women could not compose music because they were seen as being too emotional. However, the attitude of the female composer shifted as women started gaining the education needed to succeed in music composition and started making connections with other male composers and the people around them. This goes back from when women were making connections with people around their social circles in the Victorian Era, but it also connects to how women had to work almost twice as hard to get their voices heard in the musical world, whereas men only had to write compositions and perform them.

Another attitude about female composers relates to the types of music they were allowed to compose and which types of music they were not allowed to compose. In Amy Beach and Rebecca Clarke's time, women were expected to write art songs and smaller chamber works, but not the larger works such as orchestral symphonies or masses, while men were able to compose larger orchestral works and masses but not the art songs because of the fear of "feminization." However, starting with Amy Beach and throughout Ruth Crawford Seeger's time, women were proving that they could compose symphonies and masses and had those works premiered by several orchestras across the United States. The types of music they were allowed to compose were also affected by their class status; while women composers in Boston were able to compose because of their position in the social elite class, composers in England struggled to have their names recognized and their pieces published due to the prejudices publishers had against female composers.

The generations of Amy Beach, Rebecca Clarke, and Ruth Crawford Seeger experienced the transformation, and emergence, of American music along with the emergence of English music in the British Musical Renaissance. Starting with Beach's generation, women across the United States were starting to go to conservatories and were then able to use their conservatory or university knowledge to make a career for themselves. Meanwhile, Clarke's generation saw the emergence of the English folk song as a defining genre for English music. However, the opportunities they would have would not be so quick to grow. The opportunities that were available to Crawford Seeger during that period had expanded from Amy Beach and Rebecca Clarke's time. For example, Ruth Crawford Seeger was able to go to Europe to study music while she was living in New York City during the 1930s, while Beach had to wait until after her mother and husband passed away to go to Europe for performing music, and Clarke had gone between London and New York City during her life time, but never had the chance to study, or perform, in Europe. However, starting in Beach's time, while composers may not have been able to go to Europe to study with music composers, the opportunities to compose larger forms of music that were not for chamber ensembles was an opportunity that other female composers had not been granted prior to Beach composing her Mass in E-Flat Major in 1886 and its first premiere in 1890.

Another difference between the three generations was how the opinion of female composers shifted. While all three experienced some form of discrimination against them due to their gender, the public opinion of female composers was gradually changing from the previously mentioned opinion that women could not be professional musicians or compose music because of the nature of music to the opinion that women were able to professionally perform music and could compose works that were outside of the chamber music forms. Women

such as Amy Beach were breaking out of the perceived notion that they could only perform or compose in smaller forms of chamber music and expanded what women were capable of composing, while women such as Rebecca Clarke affirmed that women were able to perform music at a professional level. Clarke also viewed music as a world where women and men could be equals.

In the nineteenth century, the chamber music genre represented the female sphere and its limitations on what women were able to accomplish in the musical world. As the turn of the twentieth century came, chamber music became a way for composers to experiment with new musical traditions in an intimate setting and get involved in the spread of new musical ideas by presenting their works for audiences.

The topic of women composers has evolved and shifted drastically since researchers started looking at the topic in the 1970s. This thesis has examined how cultural and societal opinions and values effected women composers and shifted their career trajectories, especially in the cases of Amy Beach, Rebecca Clarke, and Ruth Crawford Seeger. Even with the recent research that has gone into the topic, there is still work that needs to be done. One such avenue of research that could be done would be directed at how circumstances in the twentieth century might have determined the path that women were able to take with music composition, specifically with the chamber music genre in general. While there were several innovations that made twentieth-century chamber music modern, and Ruth Crawford Seeger had several pieces that were seen as innovative, there is more research that could be done about how the genre has been transformed as a whole throughout the century.

Bibliography

Alfeld, Anna. “Unsung Songs: Self-Borrowing in Amy Beach’s Instrumental Compositions.” Master’s thesis, University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music, 2008.

Ashe, Jennifer. “Modernism and Social Consciousness: Seeger, Cowell, Crawford, and the Composers Collective, 1931-36.” DMA dissertation, New England Conservatory of Music, 2006.

Baker, Vicki. “Inclusion of Women Composers in College Music History Textbooks.” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 25, no 1 (2003): 11.

Barr, Cyrilla and Ralph Locke. "Music patronage as a female-centered cultural process." In *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, edited by Ralph Locke and Cyrilla Barr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 1-23.
———. “Patronage—and Women—in America’s Musical Life: An Overview of a Changing Scene.” In *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, edited by Ralph Locke and Cyrilla Barr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 24-53.

Beach, Amy. *Trio in G Minor, Op. 150.* Hollywood, CA: The Composer’s Press, 1939.
———. “Amy Beach, composer, on ‘Why I Chose my Profession.’” In *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion,* edited by Judith Tick and Paul Beaudon. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008, 323-329.

Bennett, Michelle. “The Virtuosic Violist: Performance Guidelines for Three Compositions for Solo Viola Written in 1919.” PhD dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1995, 55.

Block, Adrienne F. “Why Amy Beach Succeeded as a Composer: The Early Years.” *Current Musicology* 36 (1983): 41-59.
———. “Amy Beach’s Music on Native American Themes.” *American Music* 8, no 2 (1990): 141-166.
———. “The Child is Mother of the Woman: Amy Beach’s New England Upbringing.” In *Cecelia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* edited by Susan C. Cook and Judy Tsou. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994, 107-133.
———. *Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: The Life and Work of an American Composer, 1867-1944.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.
———."Women in American Music, 1880-1918." In *Women and Music: A History* edited by Karin Pendle. Second ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001, 218.
———. “Matinee Mania, or the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City.” *19th-Century Music* 31, no 3 (2008): 193-216.

Blunsom, Laurie. “Gender, Genre and Professionalism: The Songs of Clara Rogers, Helen Hopekirk, Amy Beach, Margaret Lang and Mabel Davis, 1880-1925.” PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 1999.

Brown, Jeanell Wise. “Amy Beach and Her Chamber Music: Biography, Documents, Music.” PhD dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1993, 4 and 18.
———. “Catalog of Music.” In *Amy Beach and Her Chamber Music: Biography, Documents, Style.* Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1994, 360-62.

Broyles, Michael. “Music and Class Structure in Antebellum Boston.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no 3 (1991): 451-493.

Bullard, Julia. “The Viola and Piano Music of Rebecca Clarke.” DMA dissertation, University of Georgia, 2000.

Campbell, Gavin. 2003. “Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900-1925.” *American Music* 21, no 4 (2003): 446-473.

Chua, Emily. “Social and Domestic Influences in Ruth Crawford Seeger’s Music.” DMA dissertation, University of Cincinnati – Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, 2002.

Cifrino, Emma. “‘Tentative and Feminine’”: Viola Sonatas by British Women. Master’s thesis, Bowling Green State University, 2006.

Citron, Marcia. “Creativity.” In *Gender and the Musical Canon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 44-79.

Combs, Cortney. “An Historical and Analytical Discussion of Clara Schumann's Piano Trio, Op. 17.” PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2004, 47.

Curtis, Liane. “Rebecca Clarke Conference and Concert.” *Sonneck Society Bulletin* 25, no 3 (1999): 283.
———. “Music Reviews: Rebecca Clarke [Six Works].” *Notes – Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 60, no 1 (2003): 278-285.
———. *A Rebecca Clarke Reader.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.
———. “Rebecca Clarke and the British Musical Renaissance.” In *A Rebecca Clarke Reader.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005, 19-42.

De Graff, Melissa. “Documenting Music in the New Deal: The New York Composers’ Forum Concerts, 1935-1940.” PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 2006.

Dempf, Linda. “The Woman’s Symphony Orchestra of Chicago.” *Notes* 62, no 4 (2006): 857-903.

DuPree, Mary. “The Failure of American Music: The Critical View from the 1920s.” *The Journal of Musicology* 2, no 3 (1983): 303-315.

Fine, Elaine. “Schubert: Quartet 14; Hensel: Quartet in E-flat; Clarke: Poem.” *American Record Guide* 66, no 1 (2003): 182.

Fuller, Sophie. “Ruth Crawford: 1901-1953.” In *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers.* San Francisco, CA: Pandora, 1994, 94.
———. “Women musicians and professionalism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.” In *Music Profession in Britain, 1780-1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity* edited by Rosemary Golding. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018, 149-169.

Garrett, Charles. “Introduction.” In *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Gates, Eugene. “The Woman Composer Question: Four Case Studies from the Romantic Era.” EdD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1992.

Gaume, Matilda. “Ruth Crawford Seeger: Her Life and Works.” PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1973.
———. “Ruth Crawford Seeger.” In *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950 / edited by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986, 374 & 377.
———. *Ruth Crawford Seeger: Memoirs, Memories, Music.* Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1986.

Gerard, Eva. “Women’s Contributions to Viola Repertoire and Pedagogy in the Twentieth Century: Rebecca Clarke, Lillian Fuchs, and Rosemary Glyde.” DMA dissertation, The City University of New York, 2019.

Gillett, Paula. “Music and ‘Woman’s Mission’ in Late-Victorian Philanthropy.” In *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: “Encroaching on all man’s privilege.”* New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000, 33-62.
———. “Music as a Profession for Women.” In *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: “Encroaching on all man’s privilege.”* New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000, 189-227.

Graham, Gordon. “Women in Music.” *British Journal of Aesthetics* 40, no 1 (2000): 103-114.

Halstead, Jill. "Tradition and Genre." In *The Woman Composer: Creativity and the Gendered Politics of Musical Composition* edited by Jill Halstead. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, 171-214.

Hisama, Ellie. “Gender, Politics, and Modernist Music: Analyses of Five Compositions by Ruth Crawford (1901-1953) and Marion Bauer (1887-1955).” PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1996.

Hizer-James, Lynn. “Instruments and Gender in 19th-Century Music-Making.” *NACWPI Journal* 44, no 3 (1996): 4-13.

Hsu, Juiling. “Piano Chamber Music of the Second England School: A Study Guide.” DMA dissertation, Arizona State University, 2012.

Hung, Yu-Hsien Judy. “The Violin Sonata of Amy Beach.” DMA dissertation, Louisiana State University, 2005.

Jacobson, Marin. “Stylistic Development in the Choral Music of Rebecca Clarke.” PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 2011.

Jezic, Diane. “Amy Marcy Cheney Beach (1886-1944): US Symphonist.” In *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found.* New York: The Feminist Press, 1988, 147 and 152.

Johnson, Christopher. “Editorial Note,” in Rebecca Clarke Two Movements for String Quartet. Edited by Christopher Johnson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
———. Rebecca Clarke Two Movements for String Quartet edited by Christopher Johnson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Jones, Bryony. “But Do Not Quite Forget: The Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano (1921) and the Viola Sonata (1919) Compared.” In *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005, 79-99.

Kalstrom, Sigrid. “Three Women Composers and Their Works for Viola and Piano: Marion Bauer, Miriam Gideon, and Vivian Fine and the Trajectory of Female Tradition in American Music.” DMA dissertation, University of Hartford, 2018.

Karpf, Juanita. “Tradition and Experimentation: An Analytical Study of Two Diaphonic Suites by Ruth Crawford (1901-1953).” DMA dissertation, University of Georgia, 1992.

Kielian-Gilbert, Marianne. "On Rebecca Clarke's Sonata for Viola and Piano." In *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity, and Music* edited by Elaine Barkin and Lydia Hamessley. Zürich: Carciofoli, 1999, 71-113.

Kimber, Marian Wilson. “Women Composers at the White House: The National League of Pen American Women and Phyllis Fergus’s Advocacy for American Music.” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 12, no 4 (2008): 447-507.

Koza, Julia. “Music Instruction in the Nineteenth-Century: Views from *‘Godey’s Lady Book,’* 1830-77.” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 34, no 3 (1990): 245-257.
———. “Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey’s Lady Book*, 1830-1877.” *The Musical Quarterly* 75, no 2 (1991): 103-129.

Locke, Ralph. “Paradoxes of the Woman Patron in America.” *The Musical Times* 78, no 4 (1994): 798-825.

Lott, Marie Sumner. “‘Iron Hand with a Velvet Glove?’: String Quartet Performance in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries.” *Journal of Musicological Research* 25 (2006): 263-289.
———. “Audience and Style in Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music, c. 1830-1880.” PhD dissertation, Eastman School of Music, 2008.

Luce, Gregory. “British Viola Repertoire of the First Half of the Twentieth Century.” DMA dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2015.

MacDonald, Calum. “Rebecca Clarke’s Chamber Music.” *Tempo* 160 (1983): 15-26.

MacDonald, Claudia. "Critical Perception and the Woman Composer: Early Reception of Piano Concertos by Clara Wieck Schumann and Amy Beach," *Current Musicology* 55 (1993): 24-55.

Meyer-Frazier, Petra. “Music, Novels, and Women: Nineteenth-Century Prescriptions for an Ideal Life.” *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 10 (2006): 45-59.

Mirchandani, Sharon. “Ruth Crawford Seeger’s Five Songs, Suite No. 2, and Chants: Representations of America and Explorations of Spirituality.” PhD dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey, 1997.

Moseley, Caroline. “‘The Maids of Dear Columbia’: Images of Young Women in Victorian American Parlor Song.” *Journal of American Culture* 6, no 1 (1983): 18-31.

Neul-Bates, Carol. “Women’s Orchestras in the U.S., 1925-45.” In *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987, 349-369.

———. “Ruth Crawford Seeger.” In *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* ed. Carol Neul-Bates. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1995, 308.

Owen, Ceri. “Performing National Identity During the English Musical Renaissance.” *Twentieth-Century Music* 13, no 1 (2016): 77-107.

Parsons, Donna. “Their Voices Sing Loud and True: British Women Musicians and Their Literary Counterpoints, 1860-1920.” PhD dissertation, The University of Iowa, 2001.

Peak, Anna. “The Music and the Spheres: Music and the Gendered Mind in Nineteenth-Century Britain.” PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010.

Piscitelli, Felicia. “The Chamber Music of Mrs. H. H. A. Beach (1867-1944).” Master’s thesis, University of New Mexico, 1983.

Pool, Jeannie. “American’s Women Composers: Up from the Footnotes.” *Music Educators Journal* 65 no 5 (1979): 28-41.

Post, Jennifer. “Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions.” In *Cecelia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* ed. Susan Cook and Judy Tsou. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994, 35-51.

Rangel-Riberiro, Victor, and Robert Markel. *Chamber Music: An International Guide to Works and Their Instrumentation.* New York, NY: Facts on File, 1993, 52.

Rao, Nancy Yunhwa. "Partnership in Modern Music: Charles Seeger and Ruth Crawford, 1929-31." *American Music* 15 no 3 (1997): 352-380.

———. "Ruth Crawford's Imprint on Contemporary Composition." In *Ruth Crawford Seeger's Worlds: Innovation and Tradition in Twentieth-Century American Music* edited by Ray Allen and Ellie Hisama. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007, 110-147.

Reich, Nancy B. "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class." In *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship,* ed. Ruth A. Solie. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 136.

———. "Rebecca Clarke: An Uncommon Woman." In *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* edited by Liane Curtis. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005, 10-17.

Robinson, Nicole. "'To the Girl Who Wants to Compose': Amy Beach as a Music Educator." Master's thesis, Florida State University, 2018.

Roma, Catherine. "Contemporary British Composers." In *Women in Music: A History,* ed. Karin Pendle. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001, 249.

Sadie, Julie Anne and Rhian Samuel, ed. *The Norton/Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*. New York: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1995.

Savot, Carlynn. "Rebecca Clarke's Sonata for Viola and Piano: Analytical Perspectives from Feminist Theory." DMA dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2011.

Scott, Derek. "The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119 no 1 (1994): 91-114.

Seddon, Laura. "The Instrumental Music of British Women Composers in the Early Twentieth Century." PhD dissertation, The City University London, 2011.

Shaw, Kathleen. "The Sonata for Viola and Piano by Rebecca Clarke: An Analysis." Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1994.

Smyth, Ethel. "The Hard Case of the Woman Composer." *The Musical Times* 69 no 1026 (1928): 736.

Solie, Ruth. "Gender, Genre, and the Parlor Piano." *The Wordsworth Circle* 25 no 1 (1994): 53-56.

Soper, Kate. "Orchestration in the Chamber Works of Ruth Crawford Seeger." *Theory & Practice* 55 (2010): 147-167.

Stevens, Daniel. “Rebecca Clarke: A Viola Duo Transcription of the Prelude, Allegro, and Pastorale.” DMA dissertation, University of North Texas, 2010.

Thomas, Jennifer Swinger. “Two American Composers of the Twentieth Century: Amy Cheney Beach & Ruth Crawford Seeger.” *Journal of American Culture* 5 no 4 (1982): 27-33.

Tick, Judith. “Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in Musical Life, 1870-1900.” In *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* edited by Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987, 325-348.

———. “Ruth Crawford’s ‘Spiritual Concept’: The Sound-Ideals of an Early American Modernist, 1924-1930.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 no 2 (1991): 221-261.

———. “An ‘American Woman Pianist.’” In *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer’s Search for American Music.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 19.

———. “One West 68th Street.” *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer’s Search for American Music.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 125.

———. “‘In Europe One Can Work Too!’” In *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer’s Search for American Music.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 157.

———. "Homecoming." In *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer’s Search for American Music.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 185.

———. “Appendix A.” In *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer’s Search for American Music.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, 357-359.

Treybig, Carolyn. “Amy Beach: An Investigation and Analysis of the Theme and Variations for Flute and String Quartet, Op. 80.” DMA dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1999.

Tuthill, Burnet. “Mrs. H. H. A. Beach.” *The Musical Quarterly,* 26 no 3 (1940): 297-310.

Upton, George. "A Classical Formulation of the Theory of Women's Innate Inferiority", in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present,* edited by Carol Neuls-Bates. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996, 210.

Verissimo, Laurel. “Amy Beach: Her Life, Times and Music.” Master’s thesis, San Jose State University, 1993.

Von Glahn, Denise. “American Women and the Nature of Identity.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 no 2 (2011): 399-403.

Walker, Tammie. “The Quintet for Piano and Strings, Op. 67 by Amy Beach: An Historical and Analytical Investigation.” DMA dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001.

Whitesitt, Linda. "The Role of Women Impresarios in American Concert Life, 1871-1933," *American Music*, 7 no 2 (1989): 159-180.

Wright, David. A Lady, She Wrote Music Nonetheless: Beach, a Lady who Wrote Music," *New York Times* (1998), AR23.