

Music by Black Women Composers at the American Music Research Center

In a file drawer at the American Music Research Center of the University of Colorado at Boulder lies a treasure trove of documents of an unwritten history. A time capsule of coded messages from the past, it also contains gifts from and for our time, a collection of gems, treats, and surprises awaiting realization in sound.

While some 200 scores and tapes is a small collection as numbers go, this particular collection contains many rarities, works which could previously have been located only here and there like needles in haystacks, one by one. It is probably the only extant collection of music by black women composers as a group, and certainly the only one open to the public. There are other archives of works by individual composers, such as the Florence Price collection at the University of Arkansas Libraries, the Eva Jessye archives at the University of Michigan, and the Philippa Duke Schuyler files at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York. There are also large and small smatterings of music by black women in such places as the Library of Congress, the Azalia Hackley Collection at the Detroit Public Library, the American Music Center in New York, and the James Weldon Johnson Collection in The Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library at Yale University, all of which were important sources for this collection. But none have works by so many black women composers all concentrated in one place.

Why a collection limited to black women composers? My interest in them began in 1987 while considering a piano recital program of music by American women of various times and backgrounds. I realized that I knew of no concert music by African-American women. Music libraries yielded information on a few composers, but hardly any of their music was available. I began the research to locate this music by combing the available reference works¹ and corresponding with libraries, archives, and scholars. A fellowship from the Newberry Library in Chicago in the summer of 1989 enabled me to seek out living composers² as well as several individuals in that city who knew and remembered composers Florence Price, Margaret Bonds, and Nora Holt. In Chicago I also encountered others who had undertaken similar quests.³ This word-of-mouth networking provided many leads to locating composers and works.

By January 1990 I had collected more than enough music to present the first version of a continuously evolving lecture/recital titled "Rediscovered Heritage: The Music of Black Women Composers." The American Music Research Center sponsored this lecture/recital at the University of Colorado, and arranged a reception and exhibit on "Black Women in the Arts" which admirably complemented the music. Their appreciation and respect for the subject convinced me to accept their invitation to house the collected music in the Center. A grant from the University of Colorado made it possible to

continue research in New York at the Schomburg Center, the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, and the American Music Center, and in Washington, D.C., at the Library of Congress. In each of those cities I was also able to interview and obtain music from living composers⁴ and to confer with scholars. This research has resulted in several articles, a book, *Piano Music by Black Women Composers: A Catalog of Solo and Ensemble Works* (Greenwood Press, 1992) and an anthology of music, *Black Women Composers: A Century of Piano Music 1893–1990* (Hildegard Publishing Company, 1992).

But the most important product of the research is the collection of music now housed in the American Music Research Center. Eighty-four composers and songwriters are represented. The music ranges from nineteenth-century parlor sheet music to electronic music of the past decade. A few “coon” songs are present as well as a very few early blues (Lovie Austin’s “Down Hearted Blues,” Ida Cox’s “Lawdy Lawdy Blues”), popular songs, and some jazz.⁵ But for the most part it is “cultivated” music for the parlor, music student, or recital stage. Most of the deceased composers are represented by only one or two pieces, but there is a substantial amount of music by a few such as Amanda Aldridge, Margaret Bonds, Undine Smith Moore, Julia Perry, Florence Price, and Mary Lou Williams.

The bulk of the collection is music in manuscript and print by living composers Regina Harris Baiocchi, Lettie Beckon Alston, Valerie Capers, Jeraldine Saunders Herbison, Betty Jackson King, Tania Léon, Lena Johnson McLin, Dorothy Rudd Moore, Zenobia Powell Perry, Joyce Solomon, and others. Because the collection grew out of my own performing and teaching interests as a pianist, it concentrates on non-vocal piano solo and ensemble literature. No attempt was made to do justice to the immense amount of vocal music by black women composers although there are some songs, choral works, and vocal chamber music.

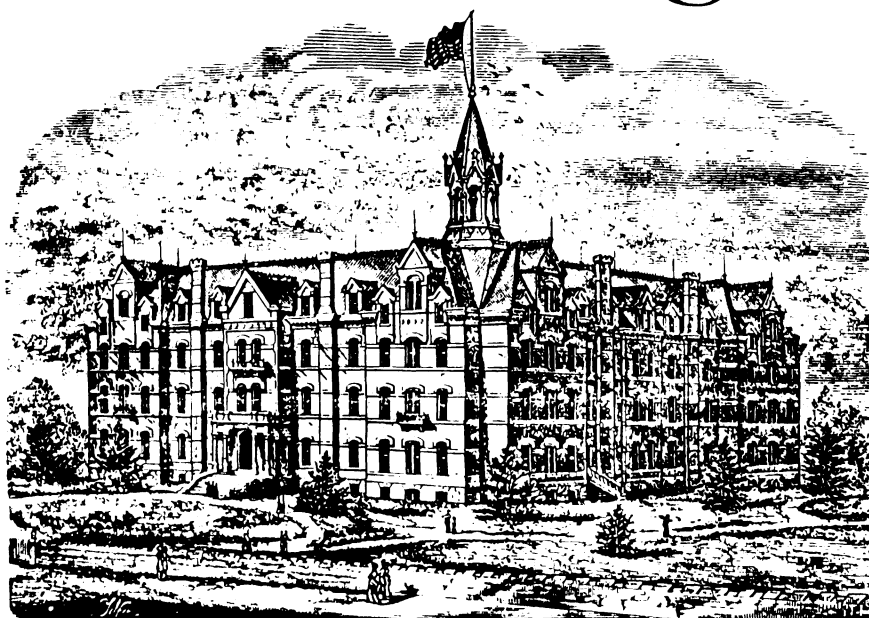
Ample material is here, nevertheless, to form an idea of the size and scope of contributions, and of the musical routes travelled to reach the flourishing state of music by black women that exists today. These scores can provide windows into the past, glimpses of history and of the lives of the women who employed their creative gifts despite prevailing prejudices.

Some representative samples from the collection will provide us with several of these “windows” and an overview of the history of black women composers. I have selected an 1880 choral arrangement of a spiritual by Ella Sheppard, an 1893 parlor piano piece by Estelle Ricketts, an 1898 “coon song” written by Ida Larkins in collaboration with her husband, a 1909 piano solo by Viola Kinney, a 1912 piano concerto by Helen Eugenia Hagan, a 1921 solo piano piece by Nora Holt, a 1932 piano sonata by Florence Price, a 1946 piano prelude by Julia Perry, and a 1972 choral/orchestral work by Margaret Bonds.

The first window is Ella Sheppard’s transcription of the spiritual “O I’m Going to Sing All the Way,” as sung by the Jubilee Singers (Figs. 1 & 2).

MAILED DELIVERED TO THE
MAY 15 1900

SONGS OF THE
Jubilee Singers



— FROM —

FISK UNIVERSITY.

What Kind of Shoes you going to Wear?
Reign, Massa Jesus, Reign.

My Lord's Writing all the Time.
I'm Going to Sing all the Way.
"



CINCINNATI:

Figure 1. Frontispiece of "O I'm Going To Sing All the Way." Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

O I'M GOING TO SING ALL THE WAY

AS SUNG BY THE JUBILEE SINGERS.

Transcribed by _____ * _____ Miss Ella Sheppard.

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system is a piano accompaniment consisting of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The second system contains the vocal melody in a single treble clef staff, with the lyrics "O, I'm going to sing, going to sing, going to" written below it. The third system continues the piano accompaniment and includes the lyrics "Going to sing, going to sing, going to" written below the vocal staff. A "Chorus." marking with a double bar line and repeat sign is placed above the vocal staff at the beginning of the second system. The piano part features a steady bass line with chords and a more active treble line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Copyright, 1880, by J. Church & Co.

3383-3

Figure 2. First page of "O I'm Going To Sing All the Way." Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

It is the earliest actual music credited to a black woman that has been found, and it was located at the Library of Congress. The sheet music was published in 1880 by John Church & Co. in Cincinnati, and it does not claim that Ella Sheppard composed the arrangement, only that she transcribed it.⁶ However, Sheppard was a trained musician who had lived in Cincinnati since childhood, and attended the Cincinnati Conservatory.⁷ She was a skillful musician who was probably responsible for the piano introduction and other features in this arrangement.

Ella Sheppard was the pianist for the Fisk Jubilee Singers of Fisk University, established in 1866 in Nashville, Tennessee. She kept a diary that recorded details of the Fisk Jubilee choir rehearsals and history, including its tours in Europe.⁸ The music students at Fisk began performing locally in 1867 under the direction of Fisk's first music instructor, George L. White, a Union army soldier from upstate New York. In 1871, in order to raise funds for the school, he took them on a concert tour, a daring action at a time when the public was used to Negroes performing only as minstrels. This tour was undertaken by eleven singers with pianist Ella Sheppard and a chaperon. After a shaky start, these living symbols of the success of emancipation began to find responsive audiences. The Fisk Jubilee Singers were soon singing in Europe before audiences of royalty as well as common people, and they became a permanent institution, the prototype for other Negro colleges' fund-raising, spiritual-singing jubilee choirs.

Their concerts included standard classical choir repertory, and "their own music," the spirituals, which they had begun singing informally after rehearsals. It is not known how their concert arrangements of Negro spirituals came about. Their singing of spirituals was described as precise and disciplined, with sudden changes in dynamics, and careful alternation of the parts (Epstein 1990, 62). Ella Sheppard's "transcription" incorporates this alternation of voices, as well as shifts in dynamics, with a "pp" marked over the repeat of the refrain. It provides as authentic a record as we will find of this historic phase of the evolution of the concert spiritual. Spiritual arrangements, as an art form, bear the unmistakable stamp of their composers' styles. They are also the most frequently found genre among the works of black women composers. Such arrangements were written by virtually all of them at one time or another.

Much less is known about Estelle D. Ricketts, the composer of our next sample, "Rippling Spring Waltz," published by her in Philadelphia in 1893.⁹ It is the earliest piano solo by a black woman composer found so far. The piece was registered in the Library of Congress copyright files on February 15, 1893 by Estelle Ricketts, resident of Darby, Pennsylvania (now a suburb of Philadelphia). Her name is mentioned in a Philadelphia publication of the following year, *The Work of the Afro-American Woman*, by Mrs. N.F. Mossell. This book is, among other things, a compendium of the accomplishments of Negro womanhood of that time, a "Who's Who of Negro Women" of 1894. The

women are grouped according to profession, with numerous illustrious careers described in some detail. Not surprisingly, the space allotted to composers is small. One sentence dispatches them: "We have in the line of musical composers, Miss Estelle Ricketts (sic), Miss Bragg, Miss Tillman (sic), Mrs. Yeocum and Mrs. Ella Mossell"¹⁰ (Mossell 1894, 26). The U.S. Census Records of 1890 show a Stella D. Ricketts, almost certainly our composer: black, born in Pennsylvania in July, 1871, living in Darby with her mother, younger brother, and father, who operated a boarding stable. The Records have one more poignant detail: she was the only one in her family who could read and write. No other composition by her has been found.

The score to "Rippling Spring Waltz" has a lovely title cover page in the typical ornate style of late nineteenth-century sheet music (Fig. 3). The music is ladylike and naive in its demure, four-bar melodic phrases and conventional left hand waltz accompaniment. The key of G major is never abandoned in the twelve or so sections, each 8 or 16 bars long. The melodies in each of the sections are different, but most bear a relationship to the opening theme (which returns near the end) in their underlying, stepwise-descending shape. The work displays a fledgling musicality, and is typical of most of the parlor sheet music of its time: the sedate marches, two-steps, and waltzes that graced the parlor piano in every self-respecting middle-class home. Estelle Ricketts' home undoubtedly had one, a cherished symbol of respectability and of aspirations to the finer things in life.

The ubiquitous parlor piano in white middle-class homes was soon to jump to the rhythm of ragtime piano music which swept the country at the turn of the century. One of the predecessors of ragtime was the "coon song" of the 1890s (a song with words catering to white stereotypes of blacks), written by both black and white vaudeville musicians. At least two black husband and wife vaudeville teams wrote and published these songs: Al and Mamie Anderson, and John and Ida Larkins.¹¹ An example by the Larkins, "The Trolley Party in the Sky," illustrates this genre (Figs. 4&5). It was published in New York by Howley, Haviland & Co. in 1898. The cover design is particularly interesting: a trolley car with wings, zooming through the night sky over a city skyline, loaded with stereotypically black conductor and passengers, one waving the American flag (patriotism was a frequent theme of parlor music titles and cover designs). It is dedicated to the famous black vaudeville team of Bert Williams and George Walker. The lyrics juxtapose images of old-fashioned essentials of a good time among the "dark town colored race"; "chicken, melons, pumpkin pie, ham and cabbage dinner" together with the new "twentieth Cent'ry idea" (presumably the trolley car). There are strong overtones of the theme of a better life after death, familiar from spirituals: "something that will take place bye and bye," "all you coons get ready to take that pleasure trip" (on a new-technology-trolley car in place of the more traditional railroad). The music follows the "coon song" norm of a regular oom-pah piano part (divided between the hands), and syncopated vocal line. John and Ida



Figure 3. Frontispiece to "Rippling Spring Waltz." Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.



Figure 4. Frontispiece of "The Trolley Party In the Sky." Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

Chorus.

all you coons get read-y to take that plea-sure trip, I'm

sat-i sfied you can join if you try, It's a

twen-ti - eth Cent 'ry i dea, by the dark town col - ored race, Is the

trol-ley part - y giv - en in the sky. So sky.

Figure 5. Chorus of “The Trolley Party In the Sky.” Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

wrote at least one other published coon song together, “Miss Hazel Brown.” However, when Ida Larkins wrote and published by herself, the tone and style were very different. “Wild Flowers,” her solo piano piece published in 1905 by the Pioneer Music Publishing Company in Chicago, follows the conventional ladylike model of Ricketts’ “Rippling Spring Waltz.”

Hundreds of white women composed solo piano rags during its heyday (1900–1920), but no ragtime pieces by black women have been found from that era.¹² This seems unusual at first thought, considering ragtime’s origins in Negro folk music. However, ragtime music came to flower in the dubious surroundings of cheap cabarets and dance-halls, and middle-class black women wished to distance themselves from such associations during this time of struggle for equality, self-improvement, and respectability.

The next sample illustrates this dissociation. It is a solo piano piece published in Kansas by Western University at Quindaro in 1909 and sold by its Business Course Department. It was composed by a student at the University, Miss L. Viola Kinney, for the Inter-State Literary Society’s Original Music Contest, and bears a title appealing to these sentimental times, “Mother’s Sacrifice.”¹³ (It also paid tribute to an oft-repeated reality.) The cover bears photographs of some of the buildings of this highly-regarded Negro secondary education institution, which began as “Freedmen’s School” in 1857 (Fig. 6). (Quindaro was a haven for escaped and liberated slaves from across the Missouri river.) The school was renamed Western University in 1877 when it was adopted by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and it operated until 1943. It was known as the “Tuskegee Institute of the Mid-West,” thanks in large part to the leadership of its music director, Robert G. Jackson, who taught there from 1903 until his death in 1929 (Buckner 1974, 69). He followed the example of Fisk University and formed the Jackson Jubilee Singers, touring all over the country and recruiting many talented students. A number of well-known women musicians were graduates of the choir: music critic/ singer/ composer Nora Douglas Holt (1885–1974), singer/actress Etta Moten Barnett (b. 1902), and choral director/composer Eva Jessye (1895–1992).

The information on the sheet music tells us that more than one of Professor Jackson’s harmony class students entered the Inter-State Literary Society’s Original Music Contest, held in Omaha, Nebraska: Miss Mable Harding was a winner in 1906, Mr. Claude Minor won in 1908, and Mr. William Lane was first prize winner in 1909. Inside the back cover, we also find confirmation of educated Negroes’ disapproval of ragtime music (Fig. 7). Among a number of interesting answers to the question, “Why Should the Music Composed by Western University Students be Purchased?” one student responded, “Because it shows to the world our appreciation of classical Music in preference to trashy rag-time Music,” a sentiment echoed by other student respondents.

Viola Kinney’s piece demonstrates her mastery of harmony, employing a chord built on the flatted sixth in the third measure of the introduction as well as other chromaticisms. From the home key of F major, the piece modulates

neatly to G minor, then E-flat major, in the two contrasting inner sections. Its graceful melody is embellished on its return, and softly repeated in a lower register by the left hand to bring the piece to a close.

Miss Kinney¹⁴ came from Sedalia, Missouri, and was the daughter of Patrick Kinney, a cook, and his wife Lillian, an employee of the Missouri Pacific Railroad shops. Viola was a student in Professor Jackson's Harmony Class and Choral Society at Western University, and entered her composition in the Inter-State Literary Original Music Contest in December 1908, winning second prize. After graduation, she returned to Sedalia, and in 1911 began a 35-year tenure as teacher of music and English at the "colored" Lincoln High School. She married Frederick Ferguson, an undertaker, in 1918. They separated in 1925 and Viola returned to live in her widowed mother's home. By 1931 she had dropped her married name. No other music by her has been discovered.

The next sample provides a very different view of the history of black women composers, although it is concurrent with Viola Kinney's life in Missouri. The Concerto in C Minor for Piano and Orchestra composed in 1912 by Helen Eugenia Hagan survives in a manuscript two-piano version discovered recently in the files of the Yale University Music Library¹⁵ (Fig. 8). It was the final thesis composition for her Bachelor of Music degree completed at the Yale University School of Music that year and was performed by Hagan with the New Haven Symphony Orchestra at the graduation recital. For her "marked ability in original composition" she was awarded Yale's Samuel Simons Sanford Fellowship for two years' study abroad.¹⁶

This version with the orchestra accompaniment arranged for second piano received a performance by Hagan at Chicago's Orchestra Hall in 1915 at the "Second Annual All Colored Composers' Program" accompanied by Tom Theodore Taylor, a well-known Chicago musician and teacher. The review of the concert in the *Herald* the next day stated, "Of Miss Hagan's talent there can be no question; she should evidently confer much distinction upon her race" (Borowski, 1915). The concerto was performed with orchestra again by Hagan in 1918, with the Philadelphia Concert Orchestra at Parkway Auditorium.¹⁷ Unfortunately, Hagan's orchestrated score has not been found.

The concerto is a one movement work in classic concerto-ritornello form: A B A C A B A, or, as Hagan refers to it, sonata form.¹⁸ The style is in the heroic late-romantic spirit of Liszt or Rachmaninoff, with a virtuoso piano part and an occasional dialogue between orchestra and soloist. The majestic opening theme by the orchestra is interrupted by a bravura gesture from the piano, which then restates the opening theme with florid interpolations. The piano's contrasting lyrical theme in E-flat major returns in C Major in the recapitulation. The C section begins in the key of E major and skillfully develops both themes. In the coda, the orchestra recalls the principal theme in diminution, followed by a bravura piano octave flourish bringing the work to an appropriately climactic ending. The concerto was remembered years later by Yale

“Mother’s Sacrifice”

Composed for
THE INTER-STATE PRIZE WINNER
Dedicated to my dear Mother

*Man. 11, 1909
202677*

THIS latest musical triumph was written by Miss Viola Kinney of Sedalia, Missouri for the Inter-State Literary Original Music Contest held at Omaha, Nebraska, December, 1908. The first prize there was won by Mr. Claude Minor of Lawrence, Kansas, a former student of this same Harmony class. Member of the Harmony class and the Choral Society under the tutorage of Prof. ROBERT G. JACKSON, Director of Musical Department, Western University, Ouidaria, Kansas, Miss Nettie B. Fenny, Assistant Teacher.



WARD HALL



MISS L. VIOLA KINNEY



BOYS' TRADES' HALL



GIRLS' TRADES' HALL



STANLEY HALL

FOR SALE BY
**The Twentieth Century Commercial Society of the
BUSINESS COURSE DEPARTMENT**

Prof. ALBERT ROSS, Director WESTERN UNIVERSITY Miss METTIE A. MALLORY, Asst. Teacher

Price, 30c.

Figure 6. Frontispiece from “Mother’s Sacrifice.” Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

"An Inch of Progress is worth a Yard of Complaint"

WHY Should the Music Composed by Western University Students be Purchased?

SOME ANSWERS BY SUCCESSFUL STUDENTS IN FREE-FOR-ALL ANSWER CONTESTS OF THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY COMMERCIAL SOCIETY

By WILLIAM LANE (Winner 1st Prize)

1. Because the Composer is a Negro student, it will awaken intellect of the other Negro Boys and Girls.
2. Because it shows the wonderful progress of the Negro race since slavery and our possibilities when given a chance to prove our race equal to any other.
3. Because it is first-class music, well enough composed to be played anywhere in the world.
4. Because it is an advertisement which shows to the world that Western University turns out some of the great Negro men and women of the day, which will help to secure more funds to carry on our noble uplifting work.
5. Because it shows the necessity of musical culture in this race, which will cause someone else to realize their ability and produce something equally as good.

By VIOLA KINNEY (Winner 2nd Prize)

1. Students should purchase it because it is a product of our Alma Mater by our fellow students.
2. White people should purchase it because they ought to see what the colored youth is doing, and has done during the few years of liberty of mind as well as body.
3. Negroes should purchase because the composers are of their own race, and their children should have such encouragement.
4. Because they have been prize-winners of every Inter-State Literary Session in which they have entered.
5. Because it shows the Negro in his great Musical Metamorphosis from the rag-time to the nobler, higher tones.

By FANNIE TOLES (Special Mention)

1. Because it encourages others of our race to compose good music.
2. Because we should support the author of such Music so that he may continue to furnish us with the best of Music.
3. Because it shows to the world our appreciation of classical Music in preference to trashy rag-time Music.
4. Because it creates in the heart of the youth of the Race a love and taste for classical Music.
5. Because we should begin and add to a collection of classical Music composed by Negro Authors, and the best Authors of all Nationalities.

Selected here and there from other contestants

- Because it is a nice parlor ornament to beautify your piano, even if you cannot play it.—ALBERTA KERR
 Because it encourages our own students to study Music and write more.—LOU ADA MOORE.
 Because it shows that Western University, though young, is progressing.—DRUCILLA BLANTON.
 Because it is on such fine material, and the expense is high and money is needed to pay the publishers.—DIETTA WILLIAMS.
 Because our own Prof. Vernon established this school and is now Registrar of U. S. Treasury, should inspire us all to buy the Music composed by a student of this wonderful growing school.—ALLIE FREEMAN.
 Because the race as a whole has so few copies of Music from Negro brains as well arranged and none better arranged.—ROSCOE COPELAND.
 Because it will lend encouragement and zeal to other Negro Youth, and create within them a desire to seek out, cultivate and develop the very best that is within them.—IDA HENDERSON.
 Because we should study and compare these compositions with the compositions of other writers.—ETHEL MINOR.
 Because at Western University every deserving student has the whole Western organization behind him to encourage him, bring out his best, and afterwards to push him to deserving success.—EVA B. JONES

OUR FORMER CREATIONS

- 1905 "O, WESTERN U!" By Albert Ross and R. G. Jackson
 1906—"FAREWELL ALMA MATER" By Miss Mable Harding
 1907—"NOCTURNE" By Clyde O. Andrews

HOW WE ARE GROWING

- 1906—25 Responding patrons representing 5 States
 1907—125 Responding patrons representing 15 States
 1908—300 Responding patrons representing 25 States
 1909—Can't we depend upon YOU to join our happy hive?

Figure 7. Back page from "Mother's Sacrifice." Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

University School of Music's Dean David Stanley Smith as "an excellent piece, excellently presented."

Helen Eugenia Hagan¹⁹ was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire around 1893. She was the daughter of Mary Estella Neal Hagan, a pianist, and John A. Hagan, a baritone (Dannett 1966, 140). The family moved to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1895. Helen received her first musical training from her mother and showed early ability, serving as organist of the Dixwell Congregational Church in New Haven when she was nine. From 1906 to 1912 she attended the Yale University School of Music, where she studied composition and orchestration with Horatio Parker and piano with H. Stanley Knight. She was considered a brilliant student, and in 1911 she received the Julia Abigail Lockwood Scholarship for the best examination in pianoforte playing. After graduation, she used her Sanford Fellowship to study in Paris at the Schola Cantorum with Vincent d'Indy. The outbreak of World War I forced her to return to the United States, and for a few years she performed in this country as concert pianist. She returned briefly to France in 1919 to entertain Negro troops.

Although she was widely acclaimed, her concert career lost momentum because of the unfavorable racial climate for concert artists. In 1920 she married Dr. John Taylor Williams and maintained a teaching studio for several years in Morristown, New Jersey, where he had his practice. Later they were divorced, and she attended Columbia University Teachers College, then Georgia State College for Women. She earned a Bachelor of Library Science degree from the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, where she also organized and directed the music department. She taught at several more colleges including Tennessee State College and Bishop College in Marshall, Texas, and finally settled in New York. There she was active as private piano teacher and as organist and choir director at Grace Congregational Church for a number of years before her death in 1964. I spoke with the minister who officiated at her funeral services, and with choir members and former piano students who remembered her well. They were not aware that she had been a composer in her younger years; she rarely spoke of herself. None of her other works, including violin and piano sonatas and a *Theme and Variations in D minor* for piano, have been located.

Another score from this collection of music by black women composers is, like Hagan's concerto, a sole surviving work from the composer's large output. It is the "Negro Dance," Op. 25, No. 1 by Nora Douglas Holt, probably composed in 1917 or 1918.²⁰ It appeared in the first issue of the periodical, *Music and Poetry*, published in January, 1921 by Holt Publishing Company in Chicago (Figs. 9&10). This journal, begun by Nora Holt, survived for one year. It gave news of Negro musicians all over the United States, and as the Contents of this issue indicate, contained articles by well-known musicians such as Roland Hayes and composer Louis Victor Saar, then on the Chicago Musical College faculty.

Maestoso

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the first page of a concerto. The score is written in C minor, 4/4 time, and consists of three systems of staves. The first system includes piano (p) and sforzando (sf) markings. The second system includes a crescendo hairpin. The third system includes mezzo-forte (mf), crescendo (cres.), and acceleration (accel.) markings.

Figure 8. First page of Concerto in C Minor for Piano and Orchestra by Helen Eugenia Hagan. Original in the Yale University Music Library.

Nora Douglas Holt was born in Kansas City, Kansas, the daughter of Gracie Brown and the Reverend Calvin N. Douglas, who was a presiding elder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Dannett 1966, 145). She was given piano lessons at the age of four and sent to private schools. She attended Western University at Quindaro, and was valedictorian of her graduating class.

In 1914 Holt went to Chicago and enrolled in the Chicago Musical College, an institution which attracted a large number of Negro musicians from around the country. She studied harmony, composition, and music history, as well as music criticism with Dr. Felix Borowski, then President of the college and also a critic for Chicago newspapers. During her earliest years in Chicago she took the name Lena James, under which she appeared as the composer of a song "Who Knows"²¹ on the 1915 "All Colored Composers' Program" at Orchestra Hall with Helen Eugenia Hagan, and under which she began her career as music critic for the black *Chicago Defender* in 1917. By 1918 she was Nora Douglas Holt, having become the wife of hotel owner George W. Holt, forty years her senior. That year she also became the first Negro in the United States to receive a master's degree in music. Her thesis composition was an orchestral work, *Rhapsody on Negro Themes*.

By then she had also begun her career as an entertainer, singing at parties in the homes of wealthy Chicagoans. Her husband died in 1921 and after a second brief marriage, she went abroad for the next twelve years, singing at exclusive night clubs and private parties in Paris, Monte Carlo, London, Rome, Shanghai and Tokyo. On her return to the United States, she lived for several years in Los Angeles, finally settling in New York, where she was music critic for the *Amsterdam News* from 1943 to 1956. Her remaining years were occupied with speaking, writing, sponsoring programs by Negro musicians, and serving on numerous committees.

Like Helen Eugenia Hagan, she apparently left composition behind early in her career. She had once seriously pursued this vocation, studying with the Danish composer Thorwald Olterstrom in addition to her work at the Chicago Musical College. She composed some 200 works, including orchestral works, chamber music, and songs. When she departed for Europe she placed all the manuscripts in storage along with her other possessions, and on her return, discovered that they had been stolen.

The one piece that survives through its publication in *Music and Poetry*, the "Negro Dance" Op. 25, no.1, for solo piano, indicates that she was a composer of talent. It is in G major, four pages long, in four strains, A B C A with a coda. Its style is reminiscent of ragtime, with a generally steady left hand accompaniment and syncopated right hand melody. The style is noteworthy because of the disapproval of ragtime expressed earlier at her alma mater, Western University. Nora Holt was to inveigh against jazz for a time when it first appeared, echoing the same objections. The piece's title indicates aspiration to folk authenticity, and it is definitely superior to the average rag. The rhythm is more varied, imitating the juba dance in the introduction and break-

ing stride frequently. The figuration is imaginative and the harmonic treatment sophisticated. The second section in E minor, marked “*agitato*,” develops the motives of the opening sections in an increasingly fragmented way. The third section is in C major, marked “*cantabile*,” then later, “*maestoso*,” and contains the most adventurous harmonic progressions, moving from C major through A minor, F minor, E-flat major, C minor, and A-flat major before cadencing expansively back into C major.

Like Helen Eugenia Hagan and Nora Douglas Holt, Florence Beatrice Price (1887–1953) pursued composition seriously. Unlike them, she received national and international recognition *as a composer*, and remained primarily a composer throughout her life, although she was active and respected as a teacher, organist and pianist. Fortunately, enough of her music has survived to enable us to make a fair assessment of her work.²²

Price composed in a wide variety of genres, everything from large orchestral works to ethnic piano miniatures, some 300 compositions in all. The sample that has been chosen for our “window” is a copy of the manuscript of her 1932 Sonata in E Minor for solo piano, obtained from the Library of Congress Music Division (Fig. 11). The sonata was not published in her lifetime,²³ and the copyright, since expired, was taken out in 1959, after her death. This sample was chosen, from among many works by her in the collection, to highlight her contributions in large classical forms.

Price was born Florence Beatrice Smith in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1887.²⁴ Her father, Dr. James H. Smith, was a dentist and also an amateur novelist, painter and inventor. Her mother, Florence Irene Gulliver Smith, was an elementary school teacher and musician who provided her earliest musical training. By age four Florence was performing in public, and by age eleven she had published one of her own compositions. She graduated as valedictorian of her class at Capitol High School in 1903 and entered Boston’s New England Conservatory of Music. In 1906 she completed her degree in organ performance and piano pedagogy and returned to Little Rock to teach at the Cotton Plant Arkadelphia Academy. After further teaching experience at Shorter College and Clark University, she married attorney Thomas J. Price. She settled in Little Rock to teach and compose, and to start a family of two daughters, Florence Louise and Edith, and a son, Tommy, who died in childhood. In 1926 the family moved to Chicago due to increasing racial violence in Little Rock. She was welcomed by a strong black musical community which has been described by Margaret Bonds, her one-time student:

Our collective security stretched out a hand to visiting artists. . . . when we were pushed for time, every brown-skinned musician in Chicago who could write a note would ‘jump-to’ and help Florence meet her deadline. . . . At one point Miss Price was in such bad financial shape that my mother moved her into our house with her two children in order to relieve her mind of material considerations (Bonds 1967, 192).

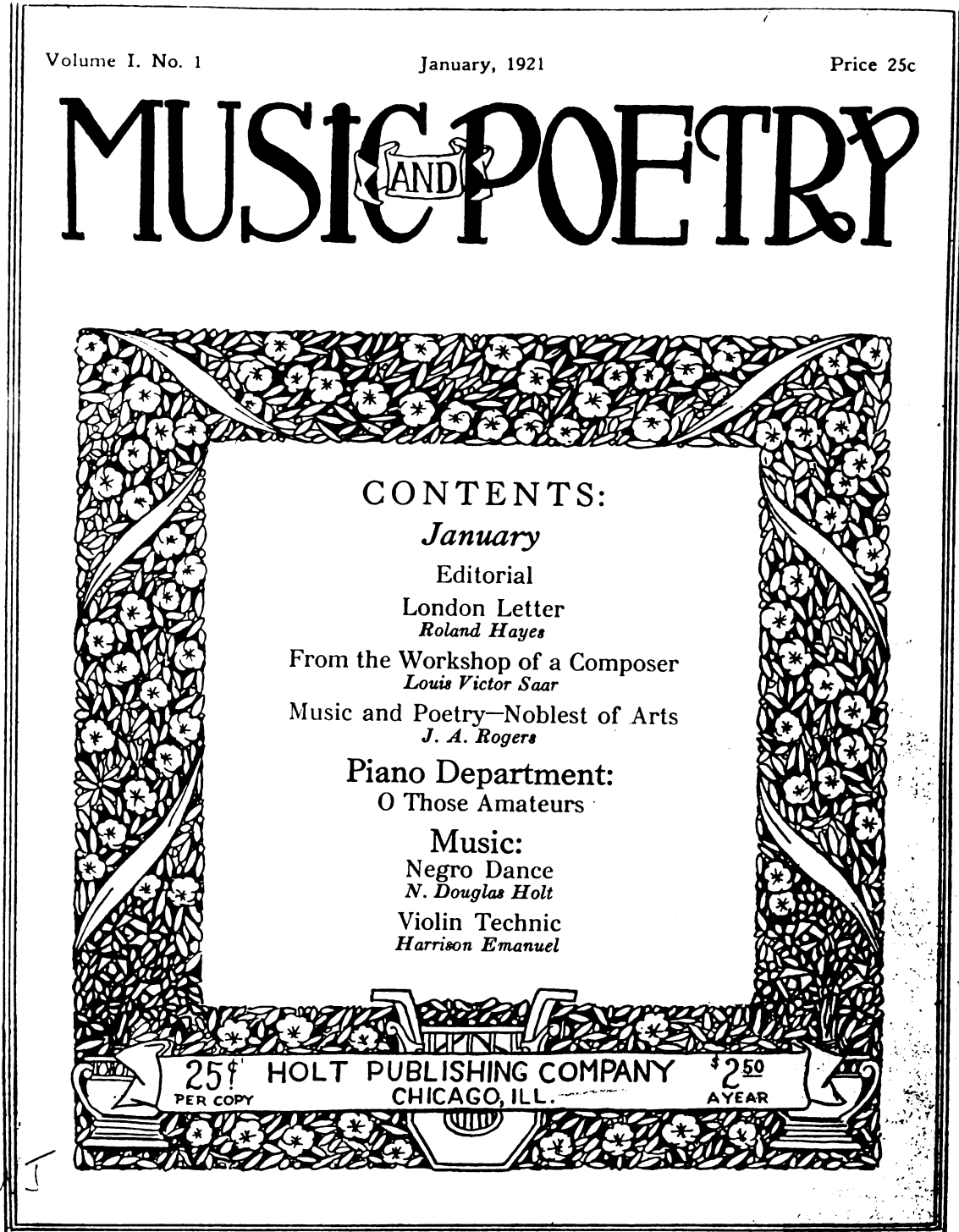


Figure 9. Cover of *Music and Poetry*, January 1921. Original in The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

Negro Dance

Nora

N. DOUGLAS HOLT
Op.25, No.1.

Allegro vivace
p
mp
marcato
cresc
a tempo
cresc
poco
a poco
p agitato

Figure 10. First page of “Negro Dance” by Nora Douglas Holt. Original in The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

Price resumed composition studies at the Chicago Musical College and other music schools, and many of her teaching pieces and songs were published in Chicago. Her Symphony in E Minor won the Rodman Wanamaker Contest in 1932, attracting the attention of Frederick Stock, conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. It was performed at the Chicago World's Fair of 1933, and many of her other works were also heard by visitors to the city. Her orchestral works were subsequently performed in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, and in Manchester, England, where Sir John Barbirolli commissioned a piece by her. Florence Price ranks as one of the pioneer black symphonists, along with William Grant Still and William Dawson, but most of the manuscripts of her large works have been lost, and only a few of her songs are still in print. Marian Anderson frequently performed several of her songs and spiritual arrangements on her concert tours.

The sonata belongs to Price's "E minor phase," dating from the same period as her Symphony in E Minor (1931) and the earlier *Fantasia Negre* (1929) also in E minor. The symphony took First Prize in the Rodman Wanamaker Music Composition Contest in 1932, and the sonata won First Prize in the solo piano division. The sonata illustrates Price's skillful blending of classical techniques with Negro folk idioms. American composers had been encouraged by Antonin Dvořák to create an American national music through the use of native materials, especially Negro folksongs and spirituals. As Dvořák did in his New World Symphony, she avoids using actual folksong material, while recreating their spirit through the use of idiomatic melodic intervals and characteristic rhythms.

The notation of the manuscript reveals a skilled, flowing hand, matching the confidence and sweep of the musical thought. A glance at the first page reveals the breadth and majesty of the introductory phrases. The sonata is some twenty-seven pages long, in three movements marked "Andante-Allegro," "Andante," and "Scherzo: Allegro." The first movement is in sonata-allegro form. The introductory grand gesture is followed by a determined, driving main theme, and the exposition continues with a contrasting lyrical theme in G major marked "Allegretto," passage-work, and a closing theme. A development manipulating materials from theme one leads to the recapitulation, bringing back the lyrical second theme in A major and the closing theme in E minor. These changes in tonal center and mode effect a shift in character: melodies which formerly were straightforward and cheerful are poignant in recall.

The lyrical second movement in C major evokes Negro folk melody with its characteristic gap of the third. The treatment is contrapuntal, and the form is a rondo with two episodes. The last movement is the most extended and virtuosic, combining a large ternary form and a rondo with cakewalk episodes, and culminating in a grandiose coda. Titled "Scherzo," this movement is indeed a prank, a relentlessly long-winded catalogue of lovingly imitated, stereotypical, late-romantic European clichés: Tchaikovsky bravura, lush

Sonata in e minor
for Piano forte

Florence B Price

The image shows the first page of a handwritten musical score for a piano sonata. The score is written on five systems of staves. The first system is empty. The second system begins with the tempo marking 'Andante' and a dynamic marking 'f'. The third system has a dynamic marking 'mp'. The fourth system has a dynamic marking 'ff' and includes the tempo marking 'Allegro' and 'rit.'. The fifth system has a dynamic marking 'ff'. The score is written in E minor and features complex piano textures with many accidentals and dynamic markings.

Figure 11. First page of Sonata in E Minor by Florence Price. Original in the Library of Congress, Music Division.

Rachmaninoff lyricism, with a few Broadway-style build-ups and surprises thrown in.

Besides Florence Price's Sonata in E Minor, the collection also contains her *Fantasia Negre* and some two dozen shorter piano pieces, the *Organ Suite*, *Five Folksongs in Counterpoint* for string quartet, and twenty-three songs and spiritual arrangements.

Our soundings for samples from the history of black women composers, have come, thus far, from every decade since 1880. Those are the years about which we have the least knowledge, and the least music. Except for Florence Price, we are lucky to have even one example to represent each of the few composers whose names have surfaced. From the 1940s on, information about composers and their music gradually become more plentiful, although important contributions by major mid-20th century figures are still missing. Selecting windows from this period becomes more difficult, as there is more to choose from.

A copy of the manuscript of Julia Perry's short "Prelude for Piano" of 1946 was found in the American Music Center in New York, along with other of her better-known and more substantial works (Fig. 12). It was chosen for our survey because it is the only one of her solo piano works to be located, and because it presents a good illustration and distillation of her style.²⁵ She must have thought well of the piece, for, according to this autograph manuscript, she revised it in 1962 and also arranged it for string orchestra.²⁶ Eileen Southern calls Perry "one of the most talented female composers of her generation in the United States" (Southern 1982, 304).

Julia Amanda Perry²⁷ was born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1924 and died in 1979 in Akron, Ohio. Her family moved to Akron during her childhood, and she grew up there, studying piano, violin, and voice in addition to her regular schoolwork. Her father was a physician and amateur pianist, and two older sisters studied violin. She earned both the bachelor's and master's degrees from Westminster Choir College and also studied at the Juilliard School of Music and the Berkshire Music Center in Lenox, Massachusetts, where she was a pupil of Luigi Dallapiccola. She received two Guggenheim Fellowships and spent the 1950s in Europe, studying with Dallapiccola in Florence, Nadia Boulanger in Paris, and at the Accademia Chigiana in Siena, Italy. While in Europe, she organized and conducted a series of concerts for the United States Information Service. After her return to the United States in 1959, she taught briefly at Florida A & M College and Atlanta University. In 1971 she suffered a paralytic stroke and was hospitalized for several years, but she taught herself to write with her left hand and returned to composing before her death in 1979. She composed twelve symphonies, two concertos, four operas and numerous instrumental chamber and solo works, cantatas, songs and choral pieces. A few of her works are available through Peer-Southern Publishing Company. Three of them have been recorded by Composers Recordings, Inc. She is the only black woman included in James Briscoe's *Historical Anthology of Women Composers*.

PRELUDE for PIANO

[arrangement for string orchestra available]

Julia Perry - 1946
revised - 1962

SLOW $\text{♩} = 44$

Sightation
BRAND NO. 1 (12 STAVES)

Litho'd in U.S.A. **PRO ART**

Figure 12. First page of "Prelude for Piano" by Julia Perry. Original in the American Music Center.

“Prelude for Piano” is marked “Slow” (quarter = 44). The melodic and harmonic materials of its brief 29 measures are concentrated to their maximum intensity. They group into three phrases, ten, twelve, and six measures long. Each begins with the same series of falling, hesitating melodic motives: G F G F-sharp G F E-flat C. The widely spaced chords and frequent dissonances create a hollow yearning and gathering tension. The hesitating, halting progress of the piece is further evoked by the awkward, disjunct movement of the chords, and by the gradual and sporadic appearance of eighths, triplets, and cross rhythms in the prevailing quarter- and half-note motion. Both harmony and rhythm evoke a jazz/blues atmosphere.

Other works by Perry in the collection include photocopies of her two concertos for piano and orchestra (full scores), and a few songs and choral works. Her *Homunculus C.F.* for harp and ten percussion instruments (1960), is available from the publisher, Peer-Southern Concert Music.

Our last sample dates from the 1970s: a copy of the manuscript of Margaret Bonds’s last major work, a *Credo* for baritone, soprano, chorus and orchestra (here in a piano reduction) (Fig. 13). This work was performed by the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra under Zubin Mehta in May 1972, shortly after Bonds’s death. We are fortunate to have this score thanks to Albert McNeil of Los Angeles, who was a close associate of Bonds. Only a small part of her prolific output has been located, due in part to her habit of giving her music away.

Margaret Bonds²⁸ was born in Chicago in 1913, and died in Los Angeles in 1972. She was the daughter of Dr. Monroe Majors, a physician and researcher, and Estelle Bonds, a leading Chicago musician. Margaret Bonds has already been quoted on her mother’s role in Florence Price’s history. Through Estelle Bonds’s Sunday afternoon musicales, Margaret met many noted Negro cultural figures: sculptor Richmond Barthe, poet Countee Cullen, singers Roland Hayes, Lillian Evanti, and Abbie Mitchell, composer Will Marion Cook, and others (Green 1983, 140). The rich cultural background she acquired at home provided much of the grist for her own creative process. She writes of these influences in her “Reminiscence”:

Abbie Mitchell, whose mother was a Negro and whose father was a Jew, was one of the great singers of her day. . . . Though she sang Schubert’s “Erl King,” and all of the German Lieder, and the art songs of Debussy and Fauré, in an indescribably beautiful way, she was equally devoted to the music of the American Negro. . . . From her I learned the importance of the marriage between words and music. . . . With Abbie Mitchell, then, I had close analysis of the works of all the composers, and from my mother, I had actual physical contact with all the living composers of African descent.

When composers like Will Marion Cook had an opportunity to present a Negro choir on NBC, I was sent to extract all of his choral parts. . . . Even now, when I write something for a choir and it’s jazzy and bluesy and spiritual and Tchaikovsky all rolled up into one, I laugh to myself, “That is Will Marion Cook” (Bonds 1967, 191-192).

In her youth, Margaret studied composition with Florence Price and William Dawson, and piano with Tom Theodore Taylor. She attended Northwestern University at a time when very few blacks were students there and completed her bachelor's degree in 1933 and master's degree in 1934. She was the first black pianist to perform with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1933 (on the same program with Florence Price's symphony), also performing with the Chicago Women's Symphony the following year, and she continued a long career as solo and duo pianist in the United States and Canada. After briefly opening a school, the Allied Arts Academy, in Chicago during the Depression years, she moved to New York in 1939. There she continued studies at the Juilliard School, studying piano with Djane Herz and composition with Roy Harris, Robert Starer and Walter Gossett. She was married in 1940 to Lawrence Richardson and had a daughter, Djane. She was active as a musician, teacher, and director at several New York institutions, and in 1967 she moved to Los Angeles where she worked at the Inner City Institute and Repertory Theater.

At one point, Bonds submitted one of her songs to Nadia Boulanger, then visiting in New York City. She reported:

Boulanger refused to take me as a student. She said that I "had something" but she didn't quite understand what to do with it. She added, however, that whatever it was I was doing "felt right to her" and that I should continue to do it, but that I shouldn't study with anyone, and I certainly should never study fugue. Recently I had to experiment further, so I wrote a fugue in the Negro idiom in a choral work (Bonds 1967,192).

Bonds's compositions were mostly vocal, including choral works, art songs, popular songs, and musical theater. She collaborated frequently with poet Langston Hughes, resulting in some of her best-known works, the musical *Shakespeare in Harlem*, a cantata *Ballad of the Brown King*, and an art song set, *Three Dream Portraits*. However, she also wrote some solo piano pieces and chamber and orchestral works, notably the *Montgomery Variations* of 1965.

The text of her *Credo* is by W. E. B. DuBois, and the work is in five major sections. The first section in A minor sets the text beginning "I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations." The motive for the words, "I believe in God" reappears frequently throughout the work. The simple block harmonies are set with parallel open fifths and chords in root position. This section encloses two sub-sections. One is a fugal passage in G major with the words, "I believe that all men, black and brown and white, are brothers." The other sub-section is a soprano solo in A major marked "Grazioso," setting the words, "Especially do I believe in the Negro race, in the beauty of its genius."

The second large section is in D minor, marked "Declamando" and scored for basses and baritones. It sets the words, "I believe in pride of race and lin-

eage and self, in pride of self so deep as to scorn injustice to other selves.” The third section continues in D minor and is marked “Very Dry-Tempo giusto.” It is scored for five parts. The words “I believe in the devil and his angels, who wantonly work to narrow opportunity” are set in rapid, syllabic movement of parallel diminished seventh chords in very close harmony, with frequent chromatic melodic intervals.

The fourth section is labeled in the score in large letters, “Darkwater,” implying a division of the whole work into two main parts, “Credo” and “Darkwater.” It is scored for sopranos and altos, thus balancing the second section for men’s voices. It is in F major, marked “Andante,” and is written in close harmony gospel style to the words, “I believe in the Prince of Peace.” A more agitated middle section for full chorus sets the words beginning “I believe that war is murder.”

The final large section consists of two subsections. A long baritone solo accompanied by a quick, syncopated figure delivers the text beginning “I believe in liberty for all men,” and the subsection closes with the full choir singing, “Thinking, dreaming, and—Ah! I believe in liberty,” with a long melisma on “Ah!” A final subsection recalls the motives, the harmonies, and the A minor key of the first section, and also features a (different) fugato passage and a soprano solo. The whole work closes with the open fifths of the opening phrase, declaring, “[I believe in] patience, patience with God.” This masterful work exhibits vivid word painting and compelling expression in its details, and strong organization in its overall form.

In addition to the *Credo*, the collection at the American Music Research Center includes copies of some eighteen published art songs and spiritual arrangements, and fifteen manuscripts, mostly popular songs. It also has her piano solo *Troubled Water*,²⁹ and a rare early publication, her *Twelve Easy Piano Lessons*, composed for the Lillian Bowles Publishing Company in 1939.

These samples give some indication of the variety and scope of black women composers’ contributions, which include everything from parlor songs to symphonies and operas. Many of the examples we’ve seen have illustrated the influence of the historical and musical heritage of African-Americans. This ethnic background is often present in the instrumental music which comprises most of this collection, although it may not always be evident at first glance or hearing. Sometimes the African-American heritage may only be expressed by a title, a program, or some stylistic detail. Other times it may be obvious, permeating the form and spirit of the music, as in Undine Smith Moore’s *Afro-American Suite* for flute, cello, and piano (1969) based on spiritual themes.

Little evidence of the gender of these composers can be found in this collection. It emerges occasionally in the predominance of the parlor music type of composition before 1920, or perhaps in a title like “Mother’s Sacrifice.” The music displays variety of style, confidence in large and small forms, and a largeness of spirit that transcends any “limitations” of either gender or

④ **CREDO**

Text, W.E.B. DU BOIS Music, MARGARET BONDS

The musical score is written for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Piano. The tempo is marked *d=* (allegretto) and the dynamic is *f* (forte). The piano part begins with *pp* (pianissimo) and *poco a poco cres.* (poco a poco crescendo) before reaching *f*. The lyrics are: "I BE-LIEVE IN GOD, WHO MADE OF ONE-BLOOD ALL NA-TIONS".

Figure 13. First page of *Credo* by Margaret Bonds. Original in the private collection of Albert McNeil.

race, a particularly impressive feat in view of the overwhelming prejudice against women composers, black and white, until very recently. Many revelations and a multitude of pleasures await those who explore the music of black women composers at the American Music Research Center.

NOTES

1. See the Selected Bibliography in my book, *Piano Music by Black Women Composers: A Catalog of Solo and Ensemble Works* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992). These are, of course, only the most helpful references, garnered through perusal of a large number of works.

2. Chicago is the home of composers Lena Johnson McLin, Irene Britton Smith, and Regina Harris Baiocchi, as well as the birthplace of Betty Jackson King, Margaret Harris, Micki Grant, and several other black women composers.

3. The Midwest Chapter of American Women Composers, Inc. in Chicago has presented several programs of music by black women composers, including the first performance in 54 years of Price's Symphony in E Minor in February 1987. Members of this group have been particularly helpful.

4. Tania Len, Dorothy Rudd Moore, Betty Jackson King, Micki Grant, Valerie Capers, Joyce Solomon, and Margaret Bonds' daughter Djane Richardson were interviewed in New York. Antoinette Handy and Jean Butler were interviewed in Washington, D.C..

5. Since much jazz is improvisatory, fewer scores are available. Fortunately there are a few transcriptions of Mary Lou Williams, Dorothy Donegan, and Hazel Scott, as well as Valerie Capers' carefully notated teaching pieces, *Portraits in Jazz*.

6. This is not the first Fisk Jubilee spiritual transcription to be published. Theodore Seward, George White's successor as director and like him, a white man from upstate New York, began to transcribe them in 1872 (Epstein 1990, 61-62).

7. Biographical information on Ella Sheppard is from Epstein 1990.

8. Sheppard's diary MS is in the Fisk University Library, Special Collections Department.

9. "Rippling Spring Waltz" is available in Walker-Hill 1992.

10. The collection at the Center has at least one piece of published sheet music by each of these composers except Ella Mossell. The Library of Congress copyright records show a "musical composition" by Mossell in 1880, but the music cannot be found in the copyright files.

11. No other biographical information on either Larkins has been found.

12. The only piano ragtime pieces by black women that have been located were composed in recent years: Mary Watkins' "Rag" for clarinet and piano of 1991 and Jean Butler's "Maria's Rag's" of 1985. However, a few pieces with syncopated characteristics were composed in the 1920s, as heard in Nora Holt's "Negro Dance" of 1921, and Florence Price's "At the Cotton Gin" (1926) and other pieces.

13. "Mother's Sacrifice" is also available in Walker-Hill 1992.

14. I am indebted to Laurel Boeckman at the Missouri Historical Society in Columbia, MO, for the information on Viola Kinney.

15. It was discovered in the uncatalogued files by Music Librarian Harold E. Samuel, after receiving my inquiry concerning Hagan's works.

16. These and other quotes are taken from the records and correspondence in the files of the Yale University School of Music registrar.

17. Frederick J. Taylor, "In Retrospect: Black Musicians in the Philadelphia Tribune." *The Black Perspective in Music*, Vol. 18, nos. 1&2 (1990):130

18. In a letter from Hagan to Dean David Stanley Smith, Yale School of Music registrar file.

19. The information about Hagan's life and works was obtained from her entry in Dannett 1966, and from the Yale University School of Music registrar's files. An article by Nora Douglas Holt in the *Chicago Defender*, April 10, 1920, on Hagan's upcoming solo recital in Kimball Hall gives her birth place as Hartford, Connecticut.

20. This and other information on Nora Holt was supplied by correspondence with Professor Rawn Spearman at the University of Lowell, Massachusetts and by his article, Spearman 1990, 20. Additional information was obtained from Dannett 1966, 144-149. Thanks to Professor Spearman, I learned of the existence of this copy of *Music and Letters*, containing Holt's "Negro Dance," in the James W. Johnson Collection at the Yale Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

21. In his review cited earlier of the "All Colored Composers" program in the *Herald*, Borowski remarked of the song, "Miss James set forth a smaller ambition. She presented a song - "Who Knows" - which disclosed a graceful melody and a harmonic setting that was attractive to the ear." The song has not been located.

22. The largest collection of surviving works is in the Florence Price archive at the University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections in Fayetteville, Arkansas. It contains some 80 pieces, many of them small teaching pieces and songs. Several other works are in the Library of Congress.

23. A non-commercial printed edition (1989) is available from Dr. Rae Linda Brown at the University of California at Irvine, CA 92717.

24. This is the date according to latest research by Rae Linda Brown (Brown 1990, 11) supplanting 1888, the date given in earlier biographical sources used for this article: Brown's dissertation, "The Orchestral Music of Florence B. Price (1888-1953): A Stylistic Analysis." Ph.D diss., Yale University, 1987; Barbara Garvey Jackson's "Florence Price, Composer." *The Black Perspective in Music*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1977); and Green 1983.

25. Perry's "Prelude for Piano" is published in Walker-Hill, 1992.

26. The arrangement of Perry's "Prelude" for string orchestra has not been located.

27. Biographical information for Perry was obtained from Green 1983, and Ammer, 1980.

28. Biographical information on Bonds comes from Green 1983, Ammer 1980, and Bonds 1967.

29. "Troubled Water" is available in Green 1983.

30. It should be noted that concert music (as opposed to folk music), of which these are all examples, is based on models established and evolved by male European composers. Until very recently, most female composers of concert music accepted and followed those models of concert music. Their defiance consisted of refusing to compose "like women" (sentimental, limited in size and scope).

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