Sex and Song

Roles and Images of Women in
Popular Music at the Turn of the Century

by Patricia Skidmore

The songbooks and sheet music of North America at the turn of the century are a little-used historical resource. Serious studies have brought us the woman-of-the-magazine, (1) the woman-of-the-novel (2) and the woman-of-the-advertisement. (3) Our forebearers have themselves documented the existence of "The Girl of Today" (4) in 1913 and the "New Woman." (5) But neither today's historians nor yesterday's commentators suspended their reading to listen. (6) Had they done so, their rewards would have been immense. For in the parlour music of the 1890-1910 era, (7) we can find much information about women—the roles they played and the images they lived among. This paper will seek to extract the roles and images of women in song. Having established what it is the songs have to say, it will explore what they mean.

The historian equipped with the evidence of song is in direct touch with the common people's world. Songs were popular if they reflected, somehow, the experiences of their singers around the parlour piano. So, it is no surprise to find that the popular songs were often grounded on real experiences or grew out of everyday situations. This is something seldom noticed by those who denigrate the tunes of the turn of the century as trite and sentimental. But it is the reason the historian goes to the sheet music—to catch a glimpse of real, daily life. In another way, songs have meaning for
the historian because they also reflect
the dreams of the singers. They portray
the reality of unreality, the strength
of myths. In the case of women in his-
tory, songs are particularly useful in
outlining the "Feminine Mystique"(8)of
1890-1910; and the popularity of these
kinds of songs testifies to the ubiqui-
tous nature of the mystique.

After viewing the connections between
song and daily realities and ascertaining
that the feminine ideal was alive and
well at the turn of the century and be-
yond, it becomes easier for the histori-
ian to account for the derailment of
feminist hopes in that era. Some have
argued that the feminists failed because
they did not attack the central enemy,
the family. When imagery in the songs
of the period is studied, it becomes
clear why they did not. And it is
equally clear why those who did, such
as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, met defeat.
More than political speeches and written
arguments, song lyrics depict what ap-
peals to the population at large.(9)
And knowing what lyrics they liked to
sing, we know how likely they were to
emancipate their "better half."

This paper, then, has four purposes: to
extract the roles of women from the
songs sung about them; to recognize the
images of women and the strength of
those images; to see the relationships
between songs and realities; and to see
evidence in song of the brick wall into
which feminist ideology ran.

Gather 'round the piano, then, and look
through the sheet music.(10) What are
the roles played by the women in the
songs? Of course, there was the sweet-
heart, central in countless lyrics. She
often went to school with her beau, and
she strolls in parks, goes for canoe
rides and makes daisy chains. She is,
of course, a "looker," wearing daisy
chains or decollete, or sparkling eyes.
She'll hold hands, give him a kiss or
tell him she loves him, provided nobody
finds out about it and he marries her.
And always, she was sweet--Adeline,
Marie, Rosie O'Grady or Katie.

After the sweetheart comes the mother,
in biological order. When we see her en
role, she is usually giving advice, al-
ways sound. We can tell from the advice
she gives that she's done some living
and thinking:

From temptations, crimes and fol-
lies,

Villains, taxi-cabs and trolleys,

Oh! Heaven will protect the working
girl.

This 1909 satire is not typical of the
sentimental "mother" songs, but the
advice-giving is. We find few songs
about her daily life, although she does
sing a lovely lullaby, and Mother
Machree must have laboured to get those
worn fingers. When we come to consider
imagery in songs, mother will figure
largely; but her role is not a subject
the songs describe in detail.

Similarly, the wife role, which appears
in a few songs, applies to older women
and dead ones. "Silver Threads Among
the Gold" is too early for us (1873),
but it heads a list of similar songs in
which the aged wife is being taken home
again or taken out for a gentle good
time in an old gray bonnet. And wife
appears in the "memory" songs, calling
in the night or walking softly as the
husband reminisces. A functioning wife
in her prime does not appear in lyrics.

In a few songs, there appears a bride
who is not a wife. The 1893 "Fatal Wed­
ding" told of an eager watching crowd
which was astounded at the following
scene in the back of the church in the
middle of the wedding:

   Speak now, or hold your peace for­
ever," soon the preacher said.
   "I must object," the woman cried,
   with voice so meek and mild,
   "The bridegroom is my husband, Sir,
   and this our little child."

Five years later, another song, "The
Moth and the Flame," told a similar tale,
sans child.

And finally, in an 1894 song entitled
"The Little Lost Child," we see a wife
and mother in the role of runaway. She
returns to her family by accident, when
she discovers the policeman who found
her little lost child is the husband she
left in a fit of jealousy years before.
"All is forgiven, in one fond embrace."

Songs with tales such as the above, with
unusual wives and mothers, are a part of
the realism depicted in the turn of the
century music, as we shall see shortly.

Now, let us notice the remaining roles
imbedded in the background of several
other songs. "Hello, Central, Give Me
Heaven" is an obvious sentimental mother­
child ballad of 1901; but it reminds
the historian that women are working as tele­
phone operators. "Mother Was a Lady"
depicts a girl appealing for respect on
those grounds; we notice that the girl
is a "pretty waitress" in a grand hotel.

The songs give us a view of another kind
of working woman, as well—the prosti­tute. In 1891, an unforgiving father
reacted to this role in "The Picture
That Is Turned To the Wall." In 1894, a
girl in an awkward plight was to be
given the benefit of the doubt since, as
the lyrics reminded the public, "She May
Have Seen Better Days." She had, in
fact, for the verse discloses that the
pitiful heap in a doorway was a deserted
wife.

Just noticeable in the lyrics is yet
another role, that of the New Woman.
This New Woman is seen dancing madly all
through the night while "The Band Played
On." And no time does she spend in a
canoe: Daisy bicycles, Josephine goes
up in a flying machine and Lucile is in­
vited to go automobubling in a Merry
Oldsmobile. By 1905, this New Woman was
admitting saucily, "I Don't Care" and My
Gal Sal was described approvingly as "an
all round good fellow."

Parlour sheet music depicts several
roles for women, then. There is the
sweetheart, the mother, the wife, the proud and not so proud working girl, and the New Woman. But roles are only a part of the picture; what of the images? Song lyrics, being based on sentiments, provide ample evidence of the feelings and ideals of turn-of-the-century people. Of course, every sweetheart is beautiful, every mother patient. We find Mother the Inspiration (Mother O' Mine) and Sweetheart the Inspiration (Love Me and the World Is Mine.) Those, we expected to find, for they are prevalent images still. We even find Wife the Inspiration. Again, she is a dead wife; but her loss proves how inspirational she had been in Berlin's "When I Lost You," written in 1912 for his young deceased bride.

There are lyrics that show us another side of the cultural expectations for women: they are gracious martyrs. "After the Ball," which sold five million copies of sheet music at fifty cents per copy in 1892, presents this martyrdom. During the ball, the narrator returned from a foray in search of a glass of water to find a man kissing his sweetheart "as lovers can." He was only her brother, but the narrator did not know that.

She tried to tell me, tried to explain;
I would not listen; pleadings were vain.
So he left her, there and then. His example was followed by the man in the 1893 "Two Little Girls in Blue" who eventually confessed:

My fancy of jealousy wronged a heart,
A heart that was good and true.
There are less virtuous martyrs, who are martyrs all the same, such as the Bird in a Gilded Cage. This wealthy fashion queen married for wealth, not for love, and she has never been happy or free from care since. The most obvious of all martyr images comes from "She Is More To Be Pitied Than Censored," which ends with the admonition:

For a moment just stop and consider
That a man was the cause of it all.
Any of the women's roles found in the songs can become an image of a martyr. Mother is the reason you behave, because "at your downfall her grief is severest." Wife may be martyred, too, as we learn in a modestly successful song called "I Won't Let You Insult Her" about an actress. The man explains that she came to her present low condition because of him:

When first we wed I thought I could never be untrue,
But scarce a year had passed away,
In shame I tell it now,
She found the man she loved so well had broken every vow.
She loved me so, I think her poor heart broke on that sad day;
She tried hard to forgive me but she wished to go away.
She went on the stage and ended up as the object of insults.

The image of the female's superiority in morals is maintained in lyrics such as
"Gold Will Buy 'Most Anything But a True Girl's Heart.'" In this song, a rich girl tries to persuade a true girl to relinquish the man they both love, but "All your wealth and jewels rare can never make us part." A similar strength in the face of gold is evidenced by the tearful girl who insists, as her departing fiancé offers her monetary compensation:

Take back your gold, for gold can never buy me;
Take back your bribe, and promise you'll be true.
Give me the love, the love that you'd deny me;
Make me your wife, that's all I ask of you.

Of course, there are contradictions in these images. One perfect girl is full of blushes at "What the Daisy Said," while the next delights in a suggestion to "Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland." One woman is a staunch moral pillar while the next succumbs to the wiles of man, becoming a martyr in the process. But surely these lyrics reflect the admixture of images in the minds of those who sang them. Once more we are reminded that inconsistency is one of humanity's more obvious traits.

The roles for women and the images of them in turn-of-the-century music can give historians some useful ideas. Instead of being mere fancies put to music, lyrics reflect to a surprising degree the realities of life. For example, "Daisy Bell (Bicycle Built for Two)" was sung endlessly in 1892; in the previous year, bicycling had caught on. A new frame and tire size, with better tires, had made the bicycle manageable and doctors had made it desirable even for ladies. The song reflects the popularity of the new sport.

In more subtle ways, the songs depict reality. Listen to "In the Baggage Coach Ahead," from 1896:
While the train rolled onward, a husband sat in tears,
Thinking of the happiness of just a few short years,
For baby's face brings pictures of a cherished hope that's dead,
But baby's cries can't waken her, in the baggage coach ahead.

At first we are apt to say with a historian of popular music, "It is hard to believe that they [sentimental ballads] were taken seriously, but obviously they were."(12) It becomes clear, however, that in many cases these songs were taken seriously because they reflected reality. "In the Baggage Coach Ahead" was written by Gus Davis who had been a Pullman porter. On one of his trains had been a sobbing child who explained to Davis that its mother was in a coffin in the car ahead.(13) Listeners of 1896 knew the tale was a realistic one; we learn it with surprise. A similar tale lies behind "A Bird in a Gilded Cage," whose composer realized he had a hit when he saw brothel girls crying as they recognized their own plight in his lyrics.(14) The origin of "Mother Was a Lady" lies in reality, too. Its composer was in a restaurant when the incident related by the song actually occurred as he watched: diners "spoke to her [the waitress] familiarly in a manner rather rude" and "one remark was passed that brought tear drops to her eye." She then turned on her tormentors and defended herself, supplying Ed Marks with his title line, "Mother Was a Lady."(15)

The songs of the 1890-1910 period often reflect real predicaments when they tell tales of heartbreak.(16) "After the Ball" was written because its composer watched an engaged couple spat at a society ball; later, the young man left with a new girl, and the young lady pretended she did not care a bit (with tears in her eyes.)(17) On a deeper level, the predicaments reflected in lyrics such as "The Lost Little Child," where a married couple have split up at great pain to both, are an adequate mirror of circumstances known to those who sang that song. We can see a bit of the reaction to an irredeemable mistake in lyrics telling how a mother prays and a father refuses to notice "The Picture That Is Turned to the Wall." The same kind of pain visits the "Mansion of Aching Hearts," whose lady has settled for luxury and loneliness:

The smile on her face is only a mask,
And many the tear that starts.

These lines, especially the phrase, "only a mask," leads to another element of the realism in song lyrics. When we accept the proposition that listeners could recognize the situations as real and identify with the feelings being expressed, we realize that these lyrics show us a consciousness of injustice, something we seldom see in other manifestations of turn-of-the-century popular culture.(18) Especially in the ballads, it is clear that the double standard in matters of sex is a thing to be condemned and the victim is to be pitied, not censored. The "Fatal Wedding" is a particularly clear example of song exposing and con-
I have this moment left a masquerade party, Of La bal masque you must know I'm very fond. But I particularly go to see the ladies, And they were there the dash ing brunette and the blonde. With beauty style and grace I was bewildered and it placed me in a quandary I confess, Gliding through the mazy whirl I spied a little black-eyed girl in décolleté the latest fad in evening dress

I lost my equilibrium. I was dazed my brain did whirl. My limbs became unsteady Gaz ing on this lovely girl. So exceeding ly fawn-like in motion, tiny hands and dainty feet. She was ev'ry thing you could wish for and so desirably petite.

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demning sexual injustice, for in the final stanza the wronged wife wins and the erring husband loses:

The parents of the bride then took the outcast [wife] by the arm. "We'll care for you through life," they said, "You've saved our child from harm." The outcast wife, the bride and parents quickly drove away; The husband died by his own hand, before the break of day.

We might even go so far as to suggest that these kinds of lyrics reveal a raised consciousness, although it is hardly appropriate to assert that these victims are New Women or that the raised consciousness had reached a truly feminist height.

However, we do get another surprising insight from song lyrics that is relevant to the New Woman role. Here, caution is in order; but it does seem defensible to say that turn-of-the-century songs depict females who are interested in real sex. We can say this if we are willing to accept Sigmund Spaeth's analysis of the lyrics of the 1920's and if we are willing to credit the people of 1890-1910 with a mental dexterity equal to that of their descendants. Spaeth insists:

In the language of popular song it is understood that such words as "hug" and "kiss" may represent any stage of procreative activity, that the night time is by no means limited to sleeping, and that illicit relationships can be charmingly discussed by using whimsical titles . . . .(19)

It is easy to believe that composer and audience shared a smile over the title, "Gold Will Buy Most Anything But a True Girl's Heart," and the smile was all the more enjoyable because the lyrics turned out to be perfectly innocent. What we are suggesting is that the New Woman of song lyrics was understood to be interested in the real thing, although the songs say only that she is a flirt. This use of song lyrics seems to go against the standard interpretation of 1890's parlour music. One author insists on calling the era "the naive nineties"(20) and another says, "The songs of the nineties were undeniably clean."(21) Clean? Entirely? Hear the final line of "In My Merry Oldsmobile":

You can go as far as you like with me
In my merry Oldsmobile.

The very well known parodies of the 1890-1910 period tell us that the public was quite aware of how close sentimentality came to sex. And the platonic nature of some songs is thin, indeed:

Gliding through the mazy whirl, I spied
A little black-eyed girl in décolleté,
The latest fad in evening dress;
I lost my equilibrium; I was dazed;
My brain did whirl;
My limbs became unsteady,
Gazing on this lovely girl.
And surely there was something connected with sex in 1910's "Every Little Movement Has a Meaning All Its Own." The songs of the nineties were never vulgar, but they were quite responsive to the Facts of Life, and they noticed what was noticeable about the New Woman:

But oh, Jane doesn't look the same—
When she left the village she was shy;
But, alas! and alack! she's gone back
With a naughty little twinkle in her eye.

James McGovern has done a fine job of demonstrating that there was a freedom in manners and morals in the years just before World War I; he could have noticed that freedom in 1894 when people were singing the lyrics just quoted from "Her Golden Hair Was Hanging Down Her Back."

The lyrics with which we have been occupied give light in one final area of women's history. Aileen Kradoir,(23) William O'Neil,(24) and others have argued that the feminist movement failed to reach fulfillment in part because it never attacked the family. There was the fortress all of the feminists hoped to change: dependency, social complacency, and over-differentiation of the sexes. Yet leaders of the women's rights movement praised family and home. Song lyrics, especially those of the most popular songs, help to explain why those feminists held back. The lyrics tell us that the roles of women and the images of them all related to a separate sphere. The public could not conceive of an equality of opportunity, since opportunity related to realities and the realities of woman's world had little or nothing to do with man's. That public did not reject equal opportunity for women; it saw the suggestion as irrelevant to reality--nonsense. This the song lyrics tell us in two ways. The women sung about were recognizable and the songs popular because they fitted the terms of the era's feminine mystique: they were weak and long-suffering, victims of injustice, with a moral superiority and a selflessness which inspired; and they were complete only as sweethearts, wives and mothers functioning in the woman's sphere.(25) In addition, when the songs do touch upon the New Woman, they tell us that she also is seen in the standard cultural prescription. She may gad about in the songs and she may flirt (or perhaps do more) but she is seen as a female in a sphere which has nothing to do with the world the feminists hoped to promote. M. Cary Thomas, Frances Willard and other leaders understood that an attack on the family would be useless. We can see why as we glean from popular music the imagery and circumstances surrounding the common woman and the common man's woman. (26)
NOTES


6. With the exception of Hughson F. Mooney, "Songs, Singers and Society, 1890-1954," American Quarterly (Fall, 1954), 221-32; and, based on folksongs rather than popular "everyman" music, John Greenway, American Folk-songs of Protest (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); and, working with a music of "higher brows" than our subject, Joseph A. Mussulman, Music in the Cultured Generation: A Social History of Music in America, 1890-1900 (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971). There is much literature similar to the latter which focuses upon music rather than the history lessons within music.

7. The decision was taken to set aside several kinds of music in order to focus on parlor sheet music. We will ignore "coon songs," because they do not reflect in a serious manner the dominant culture's attitudes toward women. We omit ragtime music because its heyday came after 1910. Finally, we will not consider hit songs with lyrics which derived directly from vaudeville or variety situations and were not intended to reflect anything else, such as 1907 "School Days." For relevant titles, see Appendix I.

8. The phrase is adopted from Dorothy Bass Fraser, "The Feminine Mystique: 1890-1910," Union Seminary Quarterly Review, XXVII, No. 4 (Summer, 1972), 223-35.

9. The sheet music industry grew out of Tin Pan Alley; the historical outline of the industry appears in Appendix II.


11. The contradictions in lyrics have often been entirely overlooked, as by Ewen, 38.


14. Ibid., 140.

15. Spaeth, Read 'em, 170.

16. Ernest R. Ball, composer of several million-sellers, said of the beginning of his career, "Then and there, I determined I would write honestly and sincerely of the things I knew about and what folks generally knew about and were interested in." Ewen, 198.

17. Spaeth, Read 'em, 192, quotes the tale from Charles K. Harris' autobiography, After the Ball: Forty Years of Melody.

18. Mooney noticed this "modern social thinking" in the songs of the 1890's, but failed to connect it with feminist attitudes. Mooney, "Songs, Singers and Society," 224-25.


20. Spaeth, A History, title of Ch. 7.


26. An interesting analysis of current rock music and its message to today's population concerning the role and image of woman appeared in March 14, 1971 New York Times as "Does Rock Degrade Women?" by Marion Meade. The conclusion reached might be taken to indicate another defeat for feminism at the hands of the traditionalist imagery is in the offing, just as the songs of the turn of the century indicate too little the public approbation of feminism then. Meade's article is reprinted in the stimulating anthology edited by R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson, The Sounds of Social Change (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1972), 173-77.
APPENDIX I

Sheet Music Best Sellers, 1890-1910

1890
Annie Rooney

1891
The Picture That Is Turned to the Wall

1892
After the Ball

Daisy Bell

My Sweetheart's the Man in the Moon

December and May

Decolette

The Fatal Wedding

Sweet Marie

Two Little Girls in Blue

1894
And Her Golden Hair Was Hanging Down Her Back

1895
The Band Played On

Just Tell Them That You Saw Me

1896
The Sunshine of Paradise Alley

Elsie from Chicago

In the Baggage Coach Ahead

Mother Was a Lady, or, If Jack Were Only Here

Sweet Rosie O'Grady

1897
Break the News to Mother

Just for the Sake of Our Daughter

Take Back Your Gold

1898
Gold Will Buy Most Anything but a True Girl's Heart

Kiss Me, Honey, Do

The MOTH and the Flame

She Is More to Be Plected than Censored

When You Were Sweet Sixteen

Always

My Wild Irish Rose

She Was Happy Till She Met You

1900
A Bird in a Slided Cage

The Blue and the Gray; or, A Mother's Gift to her Country

I've a Longing in my Heart for You, Louise

1901
Hello, Central, Give Me Heaven

In the Good Old Summer Time

Jennie Lee

The Mansion of Achting Hearts

On a Sunday Afternoon

1903
Come, Josephine, in My Flying Machine

Ida! Sweet as Apple Cider

Mother o' Mine

Sweet Adeline

That's What the Daisy Said

Bedelia

1904
She Went to the City

Toasting

When I'm Away from You, Dear

1905
Dad's Little Girl

1906
The Day that you Grow Colder

I Don't Care

In My Merry Oldsmobile

In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree

Kiss Me Again

My Gal Sal

Wait Till the Sun Shines, Melle

Where the Morning Gories Twine Around the Door

Will You Love me in December as you do in May?

1906
I Just Can't Make My Eyes Behave

I Love You Truly

Love Me and the World Is Mine

Sunbonnet Sue

1907
I'm Afraid to Come Home in the Dark

School Days

1908
Cuddle Up a Little Closer

Daisies Won't Tell

Shine on, Harvest Moon

Sweet Violets

Take Me Out to the Ball Game


1909
By the Light of the Silvery Moon

Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl

I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now

Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland

Put On Your Old Gray Bonnet

1910
Ah! Sweet Mystery of Life

Come, Josephine, in My Flying Machine

Down By the Old Mill Stream

Every Little Movement Has a Meaning All Its Own

Kiss Me, Honey, Kiss Me

Let Me Call You Sweetheart

Mother Machine

Put Your Arms Around Me, Honey

APPENDIX II

Tin Pan Alley and Its Songs

Until 1880 or so, popular songs were derived from serious music, operas or the repertoire of touring European singers. Music publishing focused upon this kind of material, plus instruction books; music was sold in print shops or in musical instrument stores. The purchasers were women, who counted piano playing among their "accomplishments."

About this time, the minstrel show began to lose its appeal and vaudeville rose in its place. It offered clean family shows for the most part, and retained the earlier made in its "coon songs" done by whites in make-up. By 1900, the revue had appeared, an elaborate, costumed vaudeville. The extravaganzas followed quickly with men like Al Jolson to bring it along. Musical comedy had a similar hero in George M. Cohan by 1906. Each of these forms offered likeable songs to its audiences, and an industry grew up to feed upon the entertainment world, and provide for it as well.

Beginning in 1880, men operating on shoestring budgets printed, promoted and profited from songs they furnished to a newly responsive public. These publishers invented ways to bring their songs to that public's attention, from planters them in shows to illustrating them in nickelodeon "flickers." Department stores set up sheet music counters. General stores were visited by "pluggers" from publishing houses. Restaurants were staffed by singing waiters and waitresses. And in 1892 it all began to pay off.

Charles K. Harris published his own "After the Ball" in that year. It was to sell five million copies of sheet music and earn him ten million dollars. Admittedly, that was a gigantic success. A song was usually considered a "hit" if it sold 250,000 copies in the 1890's. The time publishers had figured out how to promote what they had, and how to foster productivity by the composers collecting along Tin Pan Alley (New York's Twenty-eighth Street), the public had developed an insatiable appetite for songs.

The sentimental ballad was the bedrock upon which Tin Pan Alley was built. But alongside it were the little waltz, the Irish ballad, the noisy songs, the nonsensical songs and the barbershop songs. Sometimes they were written to form ula; sometimes, as one publisher boasted, "to order." Some songs were written for shows or particular stars; but most often, the writer and publisher worked for the parlour pianist and her friends.

By 1910, ragtime was sweeping the country, syncopating everything in its path. In came the turkey trot, the bunny hug and other dances. Dancing caught on, dance halls sprang up and then supper clubs. The song-made-for-singing made way for newer kinds of music, and Tin Pan Alley turned its attention to a bright future without a thought for the parlour piano.